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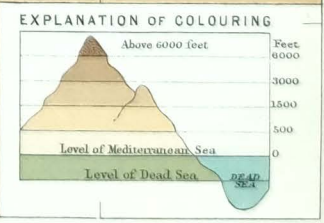
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THE
BOOK OF ISAIAH

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THE
BOOK OF ISAIAH

TRANSLATED FROM A TEXT REVISED IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESULTS
OF RECENT CRITICISM

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, CRITICAL NOTES
AND EXPLANATIONS, AND TWO MAPS

BY

G. H. BOX, M.A.

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD; SOMETIME
HEBREW MASTER AT MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL, LONDON

Together with a
PREFATORY NOTE

BY

S. R. DRIVER, D.D., LITT.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, AND CANON OF CHRIST
CHURCH, OXFORD; FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

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AND NEW YORK . . . 1908

In memory
of
many happy hours
devoted to the study
of Isaiah
during the years 1897-1904
in the Hebrew Class-Room
at Merchant Taylors' School
London,
this book is dedicated
to former pupils
by
The Author.

PREFATORY NOTE.

By PROFESSOR DRIVER.

ERRATA.

- Page viii, l. 20. For "At other times. Also" read "At other times also," etc.
- Page viii, l. 25. For "also his older contemporary. Thus only," read "also only his older contemporary. Thus what," etc.
- Page 222, l. 10. For "smoothe" read "smooth."
- Page 334, middle. For *καταπατεῖν τὰ ἔργα* read *καταπατεῖν τὰ δῶμα*.
- Page 335, 6th line from bottom. For *κλα* read *καλ*.
- Page 335, 5th line from bottom. For *'εργα* read *ἔργα*.
- Page 361, l. 18. For "Ganzanitis" read "Gauzanitis."

resorted to too hastily: still there are undoubtedly passages in the Old Testament in which, applied by skilful hands, it has effected great improvements. The importance of an exact translation cannot be too emphatically insisted on. The Authorized Version, and even the Revised Version, often fails to express the sense of the original with the exactness that is both obtainable and desirable. An exact translation removes many misunderstandings, and is often of itself sufficient to make an obscure passage clear. Short explanatory notes are often of the utmost value in making a passage intelligible by acquainting the reader with some fact or other—for instance, a fact of history or topography, a usage of language, or an ancient custom,—a knowledge of which is essential if the passage is to be understood properly. The historical setting of a prophecy is of the greatest importance.

PREFATORY NOTE.

By PROFESSOR DRIVER.

THE aim of the present volume is to help English readers in the study of the great collection of prophecies, which bears the name of Isaiah. In order to understand the prophecies, either in this or in any other book of the Old Testament, much preliminary work must be gone through. The text must be carefully considered, and, where necessary, corrected, with the help of the best methods available; an accurate translation must be made, obscure or difficult points must often be elucidated by explanatory notes, and the prophecies must be placed in their true historical setting. The Hebrew script lends itself readily to corruption, and as either philology or the context plainly shows, the traditional Hebrew text of the Old Testament contains numerous corrupt passages. Many of these can be corrected by the help of the Ancient Versions; and specimens of the corrections which may be thus made—the number of which might readily be increased—are noted on the margin of the Revised Version; but others can be removed—if they can be removed at all—only by conjecture. Conjectural emendation is a remedy which must not be resorted to too hastily: still there are undoubtedly passages in the Old Testament in which, applied by skilful hands, it has effected great improvements. The importance of an exact translation cannot be too emphatically insisted on. The Authorized Version, and even the Revised Version, often fails to express the sense of the original with the exactness that is both obtainable and desirable. An exact translation removes many misunderstandings, and is often of itself sufficient to make an obscure passage clear. Short explanatory notes are often of the utmost value in making a passage intelligible by acquainting the reader with some fact or other—for instance, a fact of history or topography, a usage of language, or an ancient custom,—a knowledge of which is essential if the passage is to be understood properly. The historical setting of a prophecy is of the greatest importance.

The prophecies enshrine, indeed, moral and spiritual truths, the value of which is quite independent of their historical setting: they exhibit ideals of conduct and belief which are valid for all time; they insist with an earnestness and eloquence, which can never lose their spell, upon the great principles of man's duty towards God and his neighbour, which remain the same in whatever society he is placed. But the prophets were more than the teachers of an abstract religion or morality: almost everything that they wrote had some reference to the age in which they lived—the religious, moral, and social needs of the people among whom they moved, their relation to foreign nations, or contemporary circumstances and events; they took a keen interest in affairs of national importance; they came forward as statesmen and advisers of the king and people, upon critical occasions of the national history. Even their theological teaching is related to the circumstances of their age: contrast, for instance, the figure of the ideal king in Isaiah with that of the ideal nation in Deutero-Isaiah, or the dominant thoughts of Amos with those of Zech. 1-8. At other times, also their teaching bears the marks of their own individuality or of the experiences through which they have passed: compare, for example, the principles which Hosea emphasizes with those emphasized by his contemporary, Amos; or the teaching of Ezekiel with that of Jeremiah, also his older contemporary. Thus ^{but} only what the prophets say takes much of the colouring and character partly from the circumstances in which they are placed, partly from their own individuality; and if they are to be properly understood, they must be placed in their true historical position, regard must be had to their individual genius, and attention must be paid to the historical and other circumstances in which, when each prophet wrote, the people addressed by him were situated. The prophets, though they were the exponents for the future not less than for their own present of a pure and noble spiritual religion, were at the same time the children of their own age.¹

¹ See more fully on this aspect of the prophet's work the present writer's *Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament* (1892), Sermon V ("The Hebrew Prophets"), or a sermon preached at St. Mark's, Marylebone Road, in 1903, and printed in the *Church Times*, August 7th, 1903.

From the historical allusions, the marked differences of literary style, and the varying character of the distinctive theological teaching, it is evident that the Book of Isaiah is not throughout the work of the same author or of the same age. That Chaps. 13¹⁻¹⁴ 23; 21¹⁻¹⁰; 34-35, 40-66, are not earlier than the closing years of the Babylonian captivity, and that Chaps. 24-27, though very different in character from those just mentioned, are the work of a prophet writing long after Isaiah's time, has been recognized for something like a century by all scholars who do not feel themselves bound by the traditional ascription of the entire book to Isaiah: Chaps. 36-39, also, are clearly only an excerpt from 2 Kings 17¹⁵ - 20⁹, with textual variations, one or two omissions, and the addition, probably from some collection of hymns, of 38⁹⁻²⁰ (Hezekiah's Song). But during the last twenty years or so, closer study has persuaded a succession of students of the book that, before reaching its present form, it passed through more stages than the analysis just given allows for: the Hebrew poets and prophets, it is held, wrote in a stricter metre than has been generally supposed; indications of a later date than Isaiah's own time have been thought to be traceable in other parts of the book besides those just indicated, and to appear in such a manner as to suggest that the original prophecies had in various ways been amplified, or supplemented, by prophetically minded men through whose hands they passed, so as to adjust them to the needs of a later age; even the whole of chaps. 40-66 is no longer considered to be the work of a single hand.

The present volume is designed with the object of placing before English readers the chief conclusions—avoiding extreme ones—which have been thus arrived at by recent scholars respecting the gradual growth of the Book of Isaiah. The book may be warmly recommended to students: it is one which may be used with profit even by those who hesitate to accept all the conclusions on this subject expressed in it. The author is himself an excellent Hebrew scholar, and he has spent great pains upon its preparation. It will be found both scholarly and suggestive. The translation is clear and eminently readable, and the notes abound with interesting and often illuminative illustrative matter. The author makes

no claim to have spoken the last word on the Book of Isaiah, but even where the conclusions adopted by him may be thought to rest upon insufficient *data*, features in the prophecies will have been pointed out, which deserve attention, and are worthy of notice by students. Even a hypothesis which is not ultimately substantiated, it must be remembered, has its value : it stimulates enquiry and directs attention to the facts which it co-ordinates and is designed to explain, even though eventually some other more adequate explanation should be found.

The following are features of the book to which the reader's attention is more particularly directed.

- (1) The translation does not merely repeat the renderings of the Authorized or even of the Revised Version, but is largely new, and it is designed—the text having been first freed from presumed glosses, and, where necessary, emended—so as to bring out, as clearly and forcibly as possible, the meaning of the original. All changes of text are mentioned in the footnotes, so that the reader is always able to judge of their nature and extent for himself.
- (2) Both the Book as a whole, and also the separate prophecies, are articulated into sections, with brief headings, explaining the gist and aim of each section, and also with somewhat longer explanatory introductions. This division both of the Book as a whole, and of the separate prophecies, into sections with explanatory prefaces, ought materially to help the reader in understanding the Book.
- (3) Numerous footnotes are added, explaining, as has been said, not only the textual emendations adopted, but also much besides which the reader will be glad to find elucidated.
- (4) Great pains are taken to describe what seems to have been the historical occasion of each prophecy, or the historical situation presupposed by it. The importance of paying attention to the historical setting of a prophecy has been pointed out above. The author does not advocate the very late dates adopted for certain prophecies by some scholars.

- (5) An endeavour has been made to reproduce the rhythmical forms of the original prophecies. The prophets show unquestionably a strong tendency to throw their discourses into the rhythmical forms of Hebrew poetry, *i.e.*, into lines more or less parallel in thought, and similar in articulation and length. Whether some scholars are not disposed to go too far in making changes in the text for the purpose of bringing the lines of a given poem into entire metrical conformity may be still an open question ; but it is certain that throughout the Book of Isaiah the separate prophecies do very largely fall into symmetrically articulated lines ; and it is a great advantage to the English reader to have the rhythmical articulation and movement of the original reproduced for him in the translation, as is done in the present volume.

S. R. DRIVER.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

August, 1908.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE aim, scope and distinctive features of the present edition of the Book of Isaiah have been clearly and sufficiently set forth by Professor Driver in the preceding *Prefatory Note*, and little requires to be added to what is there said.

In the course of a not inconsiderable experience as a teacher the present writer has become impressed with the necessity that exists for new critical translations of the text of the Old Testament Books, which shall embody the most important results of recent research and criticism. The present volume is an attempt to meet this need in the case of the longest, and (in many respects) the most important, of the Old Testament Books—the Book of Isaiah. Such a translation will, it is hoped, prove of some interest and service to readers who, without being professed students or Hebraists, desire to study the wonderful productions of Hebrew prophecy in a spirit of free and reverent inquiry, and who are unwilling to believe that the processes by which ancient writings are rendered intelligible to the modern mind necessarily divest them of religious value and power. We believe that exactly the opposite conclusion is true, and that to those who follow these lines of inquiry the grandeur of the edifice of Hebrew prophecy will only be enhanced when its fabric is seen to be made up of material which has been drawn from many different sources, and which, in many cases, has undergone a long and strange history before it became incorporated into the sacred building. The final result sets out with startling distinctness the orderly growth of these diverse elements under the control of what Liddon happily described as “the inspiration of selection.”

New and independent translations of ancient texts will be found to have a positive value of their own, if they are studied side by side. It is impossible to reproduce all the shades of meaning and the association of ideas that belong to a given literary production when this is rendered into another language. A word or expression in one tongue may cover a greater or less extended range of meaning than its nearest

corresponding equivalent in another, and independent translations, if made by competent hands, will reflect in different degrees the spirit and sense of the original. Consequently such translations may be regarded as mutually complementary, and much may be learned from a use of them *in combination*. In this way points will be made clear and emerge with distinctness in a manner much more striking than can be attained in an elaborate commentary on a standard text. The author would suggest that the readers whom he has in mind may profitably use the present translation side by side with that of the Revised Version, in the first instance. So used it will be found, he hopes, to serve the purpose of a more detailed and laborious commentary.

He hopes and believes that it will be found useful by students of the Hebrew text as well, if it be used in conjunction with the Hebrew Bible. A reconstruction of the corrected Hebrew text, which can easily be made with the aid of the critical notes, will be found to be a stimulating and profitable exercise by students who have not already made an extended study of the recent criticism of the Book.

In dealing with the text of a Biblical Book, with the objects already stated in view, it has seemed best to analyze the Book as it stands, and not seriously to disturb the traditional order. The alternative plan of first dissecting the Book into fragments, and then re-arranging them in accordance with the critical results as to dating, origin, etc., is open to serious objection and drawbacks. It is highly inconvenient, the results are often precarious and uncertain, and the process obscures the stages by which the text gradually assumed its present form. In the present translation the traditional order has only been departed from in one or two cases for special reasons which are stated in each passage; the slight re-arrangement involved will be found to carry with it no practical inconvenience for purposes of reference.

As has already been explained in the *Prefatory Note* an attempt has been made to reproduce, in some degree, the rhythm of the original. The prose of the Hebrew prophetic writers is usually rhythmical in character; it falls into stanzas made up of a certain number of distinct lines which, there is reason to believe, conform to certain metrical requirements. The dominating principle is the fall of the accent—

not a syllabic metre—a line consisting of a certain number of accentual beats. While it is true that a consistent application of metrical rules involves a certain amount of correction of the received Hebrew text, yet a sufficient amount of the traditional Hebrew text as it stands conforms to the presumed metrical requirements to justify, in the opinion of many scholars, their application to other parts of the text. In judicious hands the changes thus involved need not be arbitrary in character, and often commend themselves on other than metrical grounds. In forming an opinion on the validity of this criterion—the importance of which, if it can be shown to be justified, must be obvious—the corrected passages must, of course, be studied in detail, and also the results must be considered as a whole. The author hopes that the grounds and results of this method, as applied to the text of the Book of Isaiah, have been sufficiently indicated in the present volume to enable the reader to form an opinion on the question for himself.¹

The author's indebtedness to the work of previous scholars is sufficiently indicated in the following pages. He is conscious of special obligations to the labours of Cheyne, Duhm, and Marti, and, in another department, to those of Gunkel and Gressmann.

His warm thanks are also due to Professor Driver, who has been kind enough to read through the greater part of the work in proof, and has made several valuable suggestions for the improvement of details. For the conclusions adopted, and for the entire work, however, the author is solely responsible.

August, 1908.

G. H. BOX.

¹ In the translation the old form of English verbal inflexion has been freely used together with the modern (*e.g.*, "answers" and "answereth")—an inconsistency which, it is hoped, will be pardoned. The use has been adopted for rhythmical reasons.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. INTRODUCTORY.

THE Book of Isaiah, as it lies before us in our Bibles, has had a long and complicated history. In its present form *as a Book* it is a comparatively late production, the outcome of a series of prophetic collections which were compiled by successive generations of Redactors and Editors. These collections embody a nucleus of Isaianic material—the actual prophecies of Isaiah himself—which was added to and enlarged as time went on. But even in the earliest form of compilation which critical analysis can detect this Isaianic material has been combined with non-Isaianic matter.

The earliest allusions to material now embodied in the Book of Isaiah occur in the Book of Chronicles. There (2 Chron. 32²²) Is. 36–39 is referred to as the work of the prophet Isaiah; but not as extant in a Book of Isaiah, but as contained in *the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*. Then, again, in 2 Chron. 36^{22f} (= Ezra 1¹⁻³) allusion is made to the prophecy contained in Is. 44^{28*} as *the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah*. From these two allusions it may fairly be inferred that at the time when the Chronicler wrote (c. 300 B.C.) neither Is. 36–39 nor chapters 40–66 had yet been incorporated into the one great Book of Isaiah as we know it.

The oldest attestation of the existence of the Book “in the form in which it now lies before us” is that of Ben Sira in

* *Who says of Cyrus . . . all my purpose shall he perform [even saying of Jerusalem: Let her be built, and of the Temple: Be thy foundations laid!]*

Ecclesiasticus 48²⁰⁻²⁵.* By the time that Ben Sira wrote (? soon after 200 B.C.) it is clear from this passage that substantially the Book of Isaiah as we now possess it "was regarded as a unity, the work of the prophet whose name it bears" (Cornill). Cf. also Luke 4¹⁷ (Is. 61¹⁻² read from *the book of the Prophet Isaiah*).

§ 2. THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

The Book of Isaiah, as we have it, divides into two well-defined parts: (a) Ch. 1-39 and (b) ch. 40-66. Each of these had a separate literary history before they were united into a single whole.

(a) Ch. 1-39. Here ch. 36-39 at once stand out as a late historical appendix excerpted from the Book of Kings, and added to Is. 1-35. This must have taken place after the time of the Chronicler, but before that of Ben Sira—*i.e.*, between c. 300 and 200 B.C.

Ch. 1-35 are a combination of several smaller collections, viz.:

- i. An introduction to the whole Book (ch. 1);
- ii. The first group (containing the first collection of Isaiah's prophecies), ch. 2-12;
- iii. The second group, containing a number of oracles on Foreign Nations (some Isaianic); ch. 13-23;
- iv. The third group, dealing mainly with the Deliverance of Jerusalem, with an Eschatological Preface and Appendix; ch. 24-35.

(b) Ch. 40-66. Here two main divisions are distinguishable, viz.:

- i. Ch. 40-48 (with a later Appendix, ch. 49-55), the work of the Babylonian prophet—the "great unknown"—who is usually styled Deutero-Isaiah.

* Notice the allusions to the smiting of the camp of the Assyrians by the angel (=Is. 37^{36f}), the "adding years" to the life of the king (Hezekiah) (=Is. 38): in Eccles. 48²⁴ (*He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last; and he comforted them that mourned in Zion, etc.*) there is a clear reference to the latter part of the Book of Isaiah (ch. 40-66) as belonging to Isaiah.

- ii. Ch. 56-66. Mainly the work of an author, it would seem, who wrote in Jerusalem, shortly before the first arrival of Nehemiah, *i.e.*, before 445 B.C. This writer is sometimes styled the "Trito-Isaiah."

[For further detailed analysis see the separate introductions to the sections of the translation that follow.]

§ 3. THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

The composite character of the Book has already been indicated briefly in the previous section. This is the inevitable conclusion (however it may be modified in details) of literary-critical analysis. In the light of criticism the Book of Isaiah stands out before us as "a little library of prophetic writings." But how are we to conceive of the process of its formation looked at from the beginning—the starting-point—of its development?

In order to be able to answer this question aright we have to keep in mind constantly one or two important considerations.

(a) Ancient ideas of authorship and ancient literary canons were in several important respects different from accepted modern rules and practice. The connexion between the author and his work was not strictly defined. Writings circulated in manuscript form, and (until they had been incorporated into a sacred canon) underwent in process of circulation constant changes and modifications. No hesitation was felt in enriching what the original author had written—whether by marginal notes and glosses, which were afterwards incorporated into the text, or in other ways.

(b) This modifying process received a great impetus during and after the Exile, when literary study became active, and new theological ideas and points of view were developed. The survivals of the older literature were then redacted and adapted for purposes of edification to the needs of post-exilic Jewish readers. Thus the post-exilic editor of the third group of Isaianic prophecies (ch. 24-35) has added a large amount of eschatological matter, and evidently regarded the whole series of chapters as possessing an eschatological significance. The invasion of Sennacherib is viewed as typical of "the last great attempt to extinguish the people of Jahveh." Moreover,

after the Exile new views regarding prophecy were developed ; it was looked upon not so much as inspired preaching as prediction. This view of prophecy is strongly emphasized in Deutero-Isaiah*. We are now in a position to attempt in brief outline the task of tracing the origin of the Book of Isaiah.

Like his great predecessors, the eighth century prophets, Amos and Hosea, Isaiah was primarily a great preacher of righteousness. His orations were first of all spoken with the living voice and were directed to living issues—calculated to move his hearers in some great matter of national policy of urgent present importance. When he did write down his prophecies it was only after his contemporaries had refused to listen to his message, and when it was specially important that this should be preserved for posterity. "It is only when it was specially important to establish the fact of a prediction that we can imagine him [Isaiah] writing down and to some extent developing his original utterance (cf. 30^{s-10}), probably more for the sake of his disciples than for the mass of the people."† The *testimony* and the *instruction* referred to in 8^{1s}, and the *scroll* ‡ (*sefer*) mentioned in 30^s "not improbably contained the original portions of 6¹-8^{1s} and 28¹-30¹⁷ respectively." To these may be added the nucleus of ch. 6, 20, and (perhaps) the passage 14^{2s-22}. Other passages which certainly, or almost certainly, belong to Isaiah himself probably owe their preservation to the disciples of the great prophet.

These genuine fragments, or short sections of Isaiah's work, probably were in existence independently within the circle (or circles) of the prophet's disciples for some time before the earliest collection was made. Each fragment or section, during this interval, also must have had a history of its own. The formation of the fragments into collections or groups

* Cf. also Ben Sira's description of Isaiah in Ecclus. 48²⁴.

† Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, p. xxix f.

‡ Now, go in, write it down,
and on a scroll inscribe it,
That it may serve for a future day
as a testimony for ever.

probably did not take place till the Exile and later—though this point is not quite certain. What the exact history of these editorial processes was, what the number of editors who worked on the traditional material, it is impossible to say.

It may, however, safely be asserted that Is. 1-35 (to which 36-39 were added later as an appendix) first existed as an independent work. It was mainly completed, perhaps, about 400 B.C., and was the only Book of Isaiah then known. Meanwhile, the work of Deutero-Isaiah (Is. 40-55, written (?) between the years 546 and a few years subsequently), to which about a century later was appended the work of Trito-Isaiah (ch. 56-66) had come into circulation as an anonymous prophecy. When and how was this expanded work (Is. 40-66) appended to the earlier Book of Isaiah (ch. 1-39)? The process of combination must have taken place between c. 400 and c. 200 B.C., because the entire book was known as Isaiah's soon after 200 B.C. to Ben Sira. It may be inferred with practical certainty that anonymous prophecies were sometimes inserted in "the acknowledged works of famous prophetic writers."* There is the analogous case of Zech. 9-14, an anonymous prophecy which was appended to the little Book of Zechariah (1-8).

The process may have been facilitated, as Cornill suggests, by the position originally assigned to the Book of Isaiah in the prophetic Canon. According to a well-known and probably trustworthy tradition preserved in the Talmud (*Baba bathra* 14b) the order of the three greater prophets in the Hebrew Canon was: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, "in which [order] there is preserved a reminiscence of the fact that Isaiah as a book is younger than Jeremiah and Ezekiel." It may plausibly be supposed that the anonymous work of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, which "was too voluminous and important to be ranked among the minor Prophets," was placed immediately after the three greater prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah, 1-39). "If, however, [the original Book of] Isaiah and [the anonymous work of] Deutero- [and Trito-] Isaiah stood [thus] in immediate juxtaposition, the step which resulted in uniting them together was rendered all the easier

* Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

because, in fact, 39*7 concluded Proto-Isaiah with a highly significant reference to a catastrophe in the future that was to befall Babylon ; in this way the anonymous prophetic Book would have been united with that which immediately preceded it."*

§ 4. DATE OF THE FORMATION OF THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

The formation of the complete Book of Isaiah is placed by Cheyne (*op. cit.*, p. xix) within the period 432-180 B.C., which limits are probably correct. More exactly he suggests 250-220 B.C. as the time-limit within which the final redaction of both parts of the Book of Isaiah was completed, and the two books united into a single volume (*Introd.* pp. xxix, xxxiii). Duhm brings this process down to a much later date (150-80 B.C.) well on into the Maccabean period.†

In estimating these different hypotheses some words of Geiger may well be pondered. "The Bible [of the Jews]," he says, "is and at all times was a Word full of fresh life, not a dead book. This everlasting Word belonged not to a particular age ; it could not be dependent [for its meaning] on the time when it was written down, and as little, upon this theory, could it be without what seemed to be new truths and discoveries. Hence every period, every school, every individuality introduced into the Bible its own way of regarding the contents of the Bible. In later times this took place in the field of exegesis, but before that, when the Bible had not yet attained an absolutely fixed form, the same result was reached by manipulation of the text. Thus the Bible became the full expression of the higher life of the people. That which seemed deficient in the text of the holy book the national spirit innocently supplied, and, unconscious of any breach of law, impressed its own stamp on the traditional text."‡

* *Cornill, Introduction to Canonical Books of O.T. (E.T.)*, p. 294.

† Cheyne in *Encycl. Bibl.* art. *Isaiah, Book*, has now accepted Duhm's later dating. Marti thinks the Book of Isaiah was not finally redacted till c. 100 B.C. He also thinks the grouping of c. 1-35 into three collections was a comparatively late procedure modelled on the Bk. of Ezekiel (*Jesaia*, p. xix).

‡ Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 72 f. cited by Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. xix.

§ 5. SOME RECENT AIDS TO THE CRITICAL STUDY OF
ISAIAH.

In the present volume the following important recent works are referred to under the short titles or abbreviations here set forth :

- DUHM. (*Jesaia.*)=The Commentary contributed to Nowack's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* under the title *Das Buch Jesaia* ; 2nd revised edition (Göttingen, 1902).
- MARTI. (*Jesaja.*) = *Das Buch Jesaia erklärt von Karl Marti* (Tübingen, 1900) ; contributed to the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*.
- CHEYNE. INTRODUCTION.=*Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* by Prof. T. K. Cheyne (London, 1895).
- CHEYNE. ISAIAH, S.B.O.T. (*Heb.*) The volumes contributed
" " S.B.O.T. (*Eng.*) by the same author to Haupt's *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, viz. : *A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text of Isaiah* arranged in chronological order, with valuable textual notes (pubd. 1899) ; and *A New English Translation* based on the above critical Hebrew Text, with short illustrative notes (pubd. 1898).
- SKINNER. ISAIAH (I, II).=The well-known volumes in the *Cambridge Bible* series, by Prof. J. Skinner, viz. : Vol. I, *Commentary on Isaiah*, i-xxxix (1896) ; Vol. II, *Commentary on Isaiah*, xl-lxvi (1898).
- STAERK.=*Die Dichtungen Jesaias*. Ed. by Dr. W. Staerk (Heb. text with metrical notes). Pubd. at Leipzig, 1907.
- WHITEHOUSE. ISAIAH.=The volume contributed to the *Century Bible* on Isaiah, i-xxxix, by Prof. Owen C. Whitehouse (Revised Version, with Introduction and notes). (Edinburgh, 1905.)
- CORNILL. INTRODUCTION.=*Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament* by Carl Cornill (English Translation, London, 1907).
- GRESSMANN. = *Der Ursprung der Israelitsch-jüdischen Eschatologie* by Dr. Hugo Gressmann (Göttingen, 1905).

Besides the works just enumerated, important aids for the critical study of Isaiah are to be found in the articles *Isaiah, Book of*, by Prof. Cheyne, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (Vol. II); the same writer's article, *Isaiah, Book of*, in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* (the former of these is important as containing Prof. Cheyne's revised conclusions respecting date in advance of those of the *Introduction*); *Isaiah*, by Prof. G. A. Smith, in Hastings' *D.B.**

Of older commentaries the most important are Dillmann's (new edition by Kittel, published in 1898); Cheyne's masterly *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols., 5th ed. 1889; and Prof. G. A. Smith's two volumes on *The Book of Isaiah* contributed to the *Expositor's Bible* (1890). For English readers and students an invaluable aid as an introduction to the study of Isaiah exists in Prof. Driver's *Isaiah, his Life and Times* (2nd edition). Here, among other things, the archæological material is set forth and utilized in a sober and scientific manner.†

In every respect the commentary of BERNHARD DUHM—the 1st edition of which was published in 1892—is epoch-making. The insight displayed in this splendid work into textual and critical problems amounts to genius. Duhm's commentary has profoundly influenced all subsequent critical work on Isaiah, notably that of Cheyne and Marti.

In no respect does modern critical research show a greater advance than in the treatment of metrical and rhythmical questions.‡ In this department Duhm is an acknowledged master, and in the translation that follows his results, supplemented by those of Marti, have been freely utilized, and an attempt has been made to set forth the rhythmical form and (to some extent) the movement of the original Hebrew poems.

* *D.B.*—*Dictionary of the Bible*.

† The fullest collection of the Assyrian evidence is to be found in Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Old Testament* (=C.O.T.), English translation in two vols. (1885, 1888). The new (3rd) ed. of the German work by Winckler and Zimmern is on a totally different plan and entirely re-written. The English reader may also consult with advantage Sayce's *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*; C. J. Ball's *Light from the East*; Pinches' *The Old Testament in the Light of Assyrian Research*; cf. also A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (1906).

‡ For a summary account of recent research in this department the English reader may consult with advantage the section on *Hebrew Metre* in Cornill's *Introduction* (E.T.), pp. 15–26.

- B.C. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.
740. Death of Uzziah ; Isaiah's call.
735. Syro-Ephraimitish War.
- *735-721. Ahaz.
- 734-732. Invasion of North Israel ; capture of Damascus, Pekah slain, Hoshea made king by Tiglath Pileser.
727. Death of Tiglath Pileser.
721. Fall of Samaria.
720. Battle of Raphia ; defeat of Seve (So) by Sargon.
- *720-693. Hezekiah.
711. Ashdod and Gath conquered by Sargon.
706. Illness of Hezekiah.
- *705. Death of Sargon ; Embassy from Merodach Baladan.
701. Invasion of Judah by Sennacherib.
- *692. First year of Manasseh ; heathen reaction ; ? martyrdom of Isaiah.
- 637-608. Josiah.
625. Beginning of Jeremiah's prophetic ministry.
608. Battle of Megiddo ; death of Josiah.
607. Destruction of Nineveh.
- 604-562. Nebuchadnezzar.
593. Ezekiel's prophetic ministry begins.
586. Fall of Jerusalem. Exile begins.
546. Deutero-Isaiah.
539. Fall of Babylon ; Cyrus conqueror.
538. Decree allowing exiles to return.
529. Cambyses.
- 521-331. PERSIAN PERIOD (begins strictly with Darius I).
521. Darius I, Hystaspis.
520. Haggai.
- 520-518. Zechariah.
- 520-516. Building of Second Temple.
490. Battle of Marathon.
- 485-464. Xerxes I.
480. Battles of Thermopylae and Salamis.
- 464-424. Artaxerxes I ; Longimanus.
458. Return of exiles under Ezra ; ? Malachi.
445. First visit of Nehemiah as Governor to Jerusalem.

* For a justification of the chronological scheme implied by these dates see the introductory section to ch. 38-39 below.

B.C.

444. Promulgation of the Priestly Code of the Hexateuch by Ezra.
432. Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem.
- 458-432. (?) Trito-Isaiah.
- 358-338. Artaxerxes III, Ochus.
- 347c. Oppression of the Jews by Ochus (after reconquering Egypt and destroying Sidon).
332. Battle of Issus; end of Persian Domination.
[GREEK PERIOD (from Alexander the Great).
331. Foundation of Alexandria.
320. Capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy.
- 300-280. (?) Date of Chronicler.
- 285-247. Ptolemy II, Philadelphus.
- 247-222. Ptolemy III, Euergetes.
- 223-187. Antiochus III, the Great, King of Syria.
203. Capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus (Jerusalem under domination of Syria for about a century from this date).
- 187-175. Seleucus IV, Philopator.
180. Composition of Ecclesiasticus (?) (Ben Sira).
175. Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes.
168. *Abomination of Desolation* set up in the Temple of Jerusalem.
- 166-165. Revolt of Jews begun; victories of Judas Maccabæus, and re-dedication of the Temple.
161. Defeat and death of Judas at Eleasa.
- 158-142. Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabæus, at head of Jewish insurrection.
146. Carthage destroyed by the Romans.
142. Assassination of Jonathan.
- 142-135. Simon, brother of Jonathan, succeeds.
132. Transl. of Ben Sira into Greek.
- 135-105. John Hyrcanus, head of Jewish state.
- 109-108. Hyrcanus destroys Shechem and the Samaritan Temple on Gerizim.
105. Aristobulus I, King of Judæa.
- 104-78. Alexander Jannæus, King of Judæa.
- 78-69. Salome Alexandra Queen.
- 68-63. Hyrcanus II, Aristobulus II (civil war).
63. Intervention of the Romans; Jerusalem surrenders to Pompey.

PART I

CONTAINING PROPHECIES OF (OR DEPENDENT ON) THE
ORIGINAL ISAIAH.

(*Chapters 1-39.*)

- A. General Preface to the whole collection of Isaianic Prophecies (ch. 1) ;
- B. *Book I.* First Collection of Isaiah's Prophecies (ch. 2-12) ;
- C. *Book II.* An Intermediate Collection of Oracles mainly concerning Foreign Nations (ch. 13-23) ;
- D. *Book III.* A Third Collection of Isaianic Prophecies dealing mainly with the Deliverance of Jerusalem, with an Eschatological Preface and Appendix (ch. 24-35) ;
- E. *Book IV.* A Historical Appendix to the collected form of Isaianic Prophecies (ch. 36-39).

A NECESSARY preliminary to the study of Isaiah's prophetic career is a knowledge of the political and social background of Judah in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. It is no part of the plan of the present volume to give a detailed account of the political and social history of the times of Isaiah. This must be sought elsewhere.* Here a brief mention of one or two salient facts must suffice.

Isaiah (Heb. *Yeshā'yāhū*, LXX, *Ἡσαίας*, *Vulg. Isaias*) was son of a certain *Amoz*† of whom nothing further is known. It may, however, be safely inferred that the family to which the prophet belonged was one of the most distinguished in the aristocracy of Jerusalem (cf. 3¹⁻¹⁶, 17, 24 ; 4¹ ; 22¹⁵ ; 8²), and not improbably connected with the Royal House (cf. 7²). We also learn from the Book of Isaiah that the prophet was married, the husband of one wife (8³), and had several sons who bore specially significant names (*Shear Jashub*, 7³ ; *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, 8³ ; cf. also 8¹⁸).

* Cf. esp. Driver's *Isaiah : his Life and Times* (referred to henceforth as *Driver's Isaiah*) ; and the Introductions to *Skinner's* (Vol. I) and *Whitehouse's Isaiah*.

† The name is spelt differently from that of the prophet *Amos*.

His active prophetic life extended from 740 B.C.—the death-year of King Uzziah (*Azar-yāhū*, 'Uzzi-yāhū) when he received his prophetic call (ch. 6¹)—down to 701 B.C., the year of Sennacherib's campaign against Jerusalem. Whether he survived that fateful year is not known. According to a late (Talmudic) legend he was martyred in the reign of Manasseh, when the heathen reaction began, and this is at least possible (cf. the introduction to 22^{16f.} in the following translation).

During these four eventful decades events of the greatest importance occurred in the political and social world of Western Asia. These are closely connected with the renewed activity of the Assyrian Power, and its forcible intervention in West Asian affairs, during the reigns of the great Tiglath Pileser III* (745–727), Shalmaneser IV (726–722), Sargon (721–705), and Sennacherib (704–681).

In 738 the Assyrian king began to make his power felt in the northern states of Palestine. Menahem, King of Israel, Hiram of Tyre, and Rezin of Damascus appear as tributaries to Tiglath Pileser. This policy of submission, however, met with opposition from within Northern Israel. A movement hostile to the Assyrians was headed by Pekah (now king), who endeavoured to organize an anti-Assyrian confederacy, in alliance with Rezin of Damascus. The allies, in order to carry out their plan, found it necessary to coerce the recalcitrant Ahaz of Judah; and this led to the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion of 734 B.C. A number of Isaiah's prophecies fall within (or shortly before) the date of these events. These are as follows:

(a) *Before the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion:*

Ch. 2⁶⁻²², 3¹⁻¹⁶ (circa 740 B.C.), 3^{16-4¹} (circa 735 B.C.),
5¹⁻²⁴ (circa 735 B.C.), 9^{7-10⁴} + 5²⁶⁻³⁰ (same date),
17¹⁻¹¹ (same date), cf. 6¹⁻¹¹ (? + 734 B.C.)

(b) *During the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion (734 B.C.):*

Ch. 7¹⁻¹⁷, 8¹⁻⁴.

Ahaz evidently had entered—or was on the point of entering—into a secret understanding with the Assyrian king when the dramatic meeting between himself and the prophet, so vividly

* The Pul (= the Babylonian Pulu) of 2 Kings 15¹⁹.

described in ch. 7, took place. For the time the short-sighted policy of the Judæan king was successful. Damascus was besieged and taken by Tiglath Pileser in 732. Nor did Northern Israel escape.* Its territory was invaded, its northern provinces alienated, and a large part of the population deported. Pekah was slain and Hoshea set up in his place.

The next great crisis that ensued was the siege and fall of Samaria. The death of the great King Tiglath Pileser in 727 gave an impetus to the anti-Assyrian party in Northern Israel. Hoshea, King of Israel, who had hitherto been loyal, seems to have had his hands forced, and treasonable negotiations against the Assyrian king were opened up.†

* Apparently Israel suffered first and then Damascus. But the exact order of events in the years 734-732 is not clear. According to an inscription of Tiglath Pileser, the Assyrian monarch "appointed" Hoshea to the throne.

† The narrative in Kings (2 Kings 17⁴) says significantly: *And the King of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea: for he had sent messengers to So, King of Egypt (=Seve, King of Mutšri), and offered no present to the King of Assyria as he had done year by year* (cf. Hos. 5¹³; 7¹¹). So here should be pronounced *Seve*, and it is no longer possible to identify this king with Sabako or Shabaka who inaugurated the twenty-fifth dynasty, his reign only having commenced about 708 B.C. (so Max Müller). It now seems clear that this King *Seve* is not an Egyptian prince at all, but is identical with a King Sib'i, a military chief of the land Mut-ri in Northern Arabia (near Edom). The existence of this Arabian Mut-ri has now been proved by the researches of Winckler, Hommel and Glaser. That a certain amount of confusion has taken place in the text of the Old Testament between the names of Egypt (Mitsraim) and of this North Arabian land of Mutšri is undeniable. But the hypothesis has been carried to exaggerated lengths by Winckler and Cheyne. The latter scholar, indeed, almost eliminates Egypt from the Biblical narrative. But there is no evidence to show that the Arabian Mut-ri could have sustained such a rôle as Cheyne assigns to it. Nor is it conceivable that Egypt can have been entirely ignored in the fashion suggested as a *quantité négligable*. Egypt must have always loomed large on the Israelitish horizon.

Nevertheless the hypothesis, in a modified form, is a highly probable one, and a fair deduction from Winckler's and Hommel's discovery. It illuminates the Hagar-stories in Genesis (ch. 16, 21) and such narratives as Genesis 21. It is possible that in Is. 20 the names *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* really=Mutšri and *Cush*, both territories in North Arabia (see introduction to ch. 20 in the following translation).

It is interesting to notice that Arabians (not Egyptians) formed part of the garrison in Jerusalem in 701 B.C. (they are specially mentioned by Sennacherib). [There is an excellent discussion of the problems raised by Mutšri (or Mutšrim) in Paton's *Syria and Palestine*; cf. esp. p. 243 f.]

The inevitable retribution followed. The new King of Assyria (Shalmaneser IV) invaded Northern Israel, captured Hoshea, and began the siege of Samaria. This was brought to an end by Sargon (a usurper), who now succeeded to the Assyrian throne. Samaria fell in 721, and the northern kingdom of Israel ceased to exist. The greater part of the population was deported.

The following prophecies probably fall within the period which ends with the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.) :

8⁶⁻¹⁰. (?) Some time between 734 and 723 B.C.

8¹¹⁻¹⁶. Slightly earlier.

8¹⁶⁻¹⁸. Date uncertain.

28¹⁻⁴. 723 B.C.

The fate of Northern Israel must have made a deep and painful impression on the Palestinian states. For a time disaffection was overawed by the terror of Sargon's name. But the spirit of unrest began again to assert itself in the years that fall between 715 and 711. In the latter year the siege of Ashdod, which had become a centre of disaffection, terminated in its capture. Gath was also plundered by the Assyrians at the same period. By prompt action Sargon had checked what might have developed into a dangerous revolt. To this period Is. 20 belongs. The symbolic action of the prophet there depicted (cf. 8¹⁻⁴) was evidently intended as a warning to his countrymen to refrain from embarking upon political adventures. The death of Sargon in 705 B.C. marks another political crisis, which developed in intensity down to the fateful expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah in 701 B.C.

About this time the advent of a new force into the affairs of Egypt promised to revive the military power and position of the latter country. Shabako, the Ethiopian king, made himself master of Egypt [708-706 B.C.] and founded the twenty-fifth dynasty.

The times were ripe for another combined attempt to throw off the Assyrian yoke. A strong anti-Assyrian party asserted itself in Jerusalem. This party favoured an alliance with the rising power of Egypt (under Shabako), and actually succeeded in dragging Hezekiah into the coalition.

Isaiah fiercely denounced this intrigue in a striking series of oracles. The following prophecies fall within the eventful years 705-701 B.C. :

Ch. 1 ¹⁸⁻²⁰	
28 ⁷⁻²²	<i>Circa</i> 703 B.C. ;
29 ¹⁻⁸	Same date ;
29 ⁹⁻¹¹ (1 ²)	Same date ;
29 ¹³⁻¹⁴	Same date ;
29 ¹⁵ (1 ⁰)	} 703-702 B.C.
30 ^{1-5, 6-7}	
30 ⁸⁻¹⁷	
31 ¹⁻⁹	
1 ²⁻¹⁷	701 B.C.
22 ¹⁻¹⁴	701 B.C.

Isaiah, both as a man and a prophet, stands out as one of the grandest figures in all history. And the grandeur of his personality is matched by the sublimity and wealth of his conceptions of God, of God's relation to Israel and the world. His conception of God's majesty and holiness is of the loftiest. His favourite descriptive designation is *the Holy One of Israel*. As a consequence He possesses a vivid consciousness of human frailty and sin (cf. ch. 6). A certain severity of tone marks his prophecies from first to last. But it is an exaggeration to say that his view of the future is one of unmixed gloom, in spite of 22¹⁻¹⁴ (which may be his last recorded utterance).

It is certain that Isaiah firmly held to the view that *a remnant would return* or be converted to Jahveh, and that God was ever present among His people (both conceptions embodied in the names *Shear-jashub* and *Immanuel*). If the Messianic passages 9¹⁻⁶ and 11¹⁻¹¹ are—as probably they are—Isaianic, they point to a hopeful view of the ultimate future. There are, it must be confessed, great difficulties in exactly defining Isaiah's anticipations regarding the future.* These—as has been maintained—may have varied at different periods of his career. Did the prophet anticipate a future

* Cf. an admirable article on this subject by Prof. G. Buchanan Gray in *Expositor*, Nov., 1894.

for Judah as a nation? Or did he look for its inevitable destruction in the near future, as in the case of the Northern Kingdom (Ephraim)?

The unrelieved gloom of ch. 6* is a great difficulty, but this vanishes if, as Hackmann suggests, the chapter refers primarily to Ephraim and not to Judah. Then again, did the prophet hold to the belief in the inviolability of Zion? The answer depends upon the view we take of the character of ch. 28-31. The curious intermingling of threatening and promise is a perplexing feature here to the exegete. If, however, the element of promise, which comes in so strangely and even incongruously, be really due to the compilers of the collection, and is not an original Isaianic feature, then the answer is simple. Isaiah anticipated nothing but disaster. But the simplest solution is not always correct. In the light of Gressmann's epoch-making work on the origin of Israelitish eschatology, the use by the older prophets of traditional eschatological material must certainly be allowed for as a possibility. And this material, as he shows, included an eschatology of Bliss and of Woe. It is impossible to separate the eschatology of Bliss from the eschatology of Woe. Both "belong and correspond to each other like the two shells of a mussel." The apparent incongruity lies in the fragmentary condition of the traditional material, which material was equally familiar to the prophet and his hearers or readers. In the hands of the prophets, however, it was stamped with the ethical spirit of the religion of Jahveh.

The poetry of Isaiah has been described—and justly—as superb. His diction overwhelms us with the wealth and splendour of its imagery and thoughts.

Isaiah has well been called "the Prophet of Faith." He stands, a sublime figure, for faith in the supremacy of the spiritual over the earthly; for the potency of high ideas and ideals above brute force and power. To have combined such a lofty faith with practical statesmanship—for Isaiah was essentially a man of action—is an achievement worthy of the greatest.

* Vs. 13b is lacking in the LXX.

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS AND TYPES.*

Italic type in the text of the translation, except where otherwise explained, denotes that the passage so printed is either editorial or of doubtful origin.

The genuine prophecies of Isaiah are printed in the type here shown.

Non-Isaianic passages (*i.e.*, passages which are not based on Isaianic material, but are entirely independent compositions) are printed in the type here shown.

Heavy clarendon type indicates eschatological passages which may be as early as Isaiah's time.

() Round brackets enclose additions to the text of the translation to which there is nothing corresponding in the original.

[] Square brackets denote that the enclosed words should probably be deleted from the text as glosses or later additions.

. . . Dots in the translation denote that some words, which cannot be recovered, have probably fallen out of the original text.

* For those employed in Parts II and III see p. 178.

General Preface to the whole Collection of Isaianic Prophecies.

CHAPTER 1.

THE critical analysis of this chapter reveals differences of situation and background which show that the material must have been composed at different times. There is a well-defined break at vs. 18. The first part (vv. 2-17) implies throughout that the judgment has already fallen on the nation (see esp. vv. 7-9); the last part (vv. 18-31) speaks of the judgment as necessary but not yet accomplished. Most modern critics agree that vv. 2-17 have in view the crisis of 701 (Sennacherib's invasion). Verses 18-31 will therefore be earlier. But here again the material is composite. The fragment against nature-worship (vv. 29-31) has no clear logical connexion with what precedes. It apparently forms the close of a lost prophecy, and may be dated some time before 722 (*Cheyne*). On the other hand, the tone and language of vv. 27-28 betray a lack of vigour which is hardly consonant with Isaianic authorship. The main body of the chapter consists of four or five condensed prophetic speeches, marked by a well defined rhythmical structure and language of vigorous power. They undoubtedly proceed from Isaiah's hand.*

The chapter forms a skilfully compiled summary of Isaiah's preaching, the characteristic notes of which are successively struck. It may be analysed as follows :

- A. An address on Israel's faithlessness (vv. 2-17) ;
- B. The sin of Judah, and the choice given : two speeches of Jahveh (vv. 18-20) ;
- C. A dirge over Jerusalem's declension, passing over into a threat (vv. 21-26) ;
- D. A post-exilic addition dealing with the deliverance of a remnant and the annihilation of Apostates (vv. 27-28) ;
- E. A fragment against nature worship (vv. 29-31).

* It is not necessary to follow *Cheyne* in supposing that vv. 2-4 were written by a disciple of Isaiah (he calls attention to their distinctly literary character) when the chapter was compiled to form a preface to the complete collection.

SUPERScription.

The "vision?" of Isaiah ben-Amoz which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah.

A SUMMARY OF ISAIAH'S PREACHING.

(Ch. 1²⁻³¹.)

A. AN ADDRESS ON ISRAEL'S FAITHLESSNESS.

(vv. 2-17; about 701.)

This section again subdivides into two minor divisions: (a) Jahveh's complaint as to Israel's faithlessness followed by the prophet's comment (vv. 2-9); and (b) a denunciation of hollow ritual (vv. 10-17).

(a) *Jahveh's complaint as to Israel's faithlessness followed by the prophet's comment.*

(vv. 2-9.)

- 2 Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth,
for Jahveh speaks:
Sons have I nourished and reared
but they have revolted from me!
- 3 The ox knows his owner
and the ass his master's crib;
But Israel is without knowledge,
my people without discernment!

a (vs. 1): *Vision* (Heb. *hazôn*) = prophecy; a characteristic word in earlier Hebrew. The prophet was primarily a seer who saw visions in the ecstatic state (cf. e.g., the series in Amos 8^u). In later usage (e.g., in editorial headings) *vision* became a technical description for a collection of prophetic utterances. The heading here is, of course, purely editorial. (Isaiah says not *Judah and Jerusalem* but *Jerusalem and Judah*; cf. 3¹, 8: 5³: the specific mention of *Kings of Judah* also suggests a time when the Judæan kingdom had come to an end). It may have been designed originally to stand at the beginning of the first collection of prophecies (ch. 2-12) and afterwards removed by a later editor to its present position in front of the general preface.

- ' Ah, sinning nation,
 guilt-laden people !
Miscreant race,
 children degenerate !^b †
- ° Whereon will ye be smitten^c further,
 aggravating defection ?
The whole head is sick,
 and the whole heart diseased.
- ° From sole of foot to head
 (is no soundness therein)
(Only) bruises and wales
 and recent wounds—
(Unpressed, unbandaged,)
 and not softened with oil.^d

b (vs. 4) : The rest of vs. 4 is probably a later addition. Notice the person changes from second to third, though second is resumed in vs. 5. The phrase *forsake Jahveh* has a Deuteronomic ring, and hardly accords with the devotion to the cultus which the prophet ascribes to his contemporaries in vv. 10-17. The omitted clauses run :

*They have forsaken Jahveh
spurned Israel's Holy One ;
(are gone away (reading nāsôgu) backward).*

So Marti. Others keep two clauses and reject the third. If this is done at least the second person must be read with LXX. The third clause in Rec. text is usually rendered *they are estranged (and gone) backward* (so R.V.). But the text *nazôru* is probably a scribal error for *nasogû* = *They have turned backward* (become apostate) ; cf. 50⁵ ; Ps. 40^{15, 16}. This third clause is absent from LXX and is probably a late gloss on *spurned Israel's Holy One*.

c (vs. 5) : *whereon will ye be smitten, i.e.*, on what part of the body. The commentators cite by way of illustration Ovid's line : " Vix habet in vobis jam nova plaga locum." (Others render : *Why be smitten [further] ?*)

d (vs. 6) : Surgical operations of the simplest kind are referred to. The wound was first pressed, in order to eliminate the suppurating matter ; afterwards oil and wine were used (cf. Luke 10³⁴ : *bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine*). Wine has a cleansing and astringent, oil a mollifying and healing effect.

The word rendered *soundness* above (Heb. *mêthôm*) is regarded by Marti as doubtful. He thinks the clause *is no soundness therein* may have been a marginal remark which has crept into the text ; so also the clause *unpressed, unbandaged*. Omitting these the verse would run :

*From sole of foot to head, only bruises and wales
And recent wounds not softened with oil.*

- 7 Your land—a desolation ;
 Your cities—burnt out.
 Your tillage that is before your eyes,
 strangers devour it !^c
- 8 And / the Daughter of Zion / is left
 like a "booth in a vineyard,"^e
 Like a lodge in a cucumber-field,
 "like a walled watch-tower.
- 9 Except "Jahveh Sabaoth
 had left us a remnant,
 We had been as Sodom,
 had matched Gomorrah !

e (vs. 7 end) : The words rendered *and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers* (E.V.), even in the plausibly emended form proposed by Ewald, *and it is a desolation like the ruined land of Sodom* are to be deleted as a prosaic gloss (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti and others). The metre is much improved by removal of the words.

f (vs. 8) : *the Daughter of Zion* = Daughter Zion. Jerusalem and its population are personified as a woman (cities are poetically designated as women by such terms as *Daughter, Virgin, Mother*, cf. our "metropolis"). The designation is pathetic and poetical.

g (vs. 8) : *booth in a vineyard*, etc. "A little temporary hut covered with boughs, straw, turf or the like materials, for a shelter from the heat by day, and the cold and dews by night, for the watchmen that kept the garden or vineyard, during the short season while the fruit was ripening" (Lowth). Cf. Job 27¹³. They served to guard against the attacks of wild beasts and robbers. The image is an exceedingly forcible one, vividly suggesting frailty, isolation, and a position of peril.

g (vs. 8) : *like a walled watch-tower* ; lit. *like a watch-city*, the walled tower being described poetically as a *city* (of watch). So Marti. Others render *like a city watched* or *blockaded*.

The desolation of the country depicted in vs. 7 and the isolation of the capital described in vs. 8 exactly fit the situation in 701 as set forth by Sennacherib himself in the *Prism-Inscription* : *And as for Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, forty-six of his strong cities, fortresses and smaller towns round about their border without number. . . . I besieged, I captured. Himself, as a bird in a cage, in the midst of his royal city, Jerusalem, I shut up.*

h (vs. 9) : Rec. Text adds here *almost* ; but the word is not rendered in the chief ancient versions. It is probably "a mitigating interpretation" (so Geiger, Guthe and others).

(b) *A denunciation of hollow ritual.*

(vv. 10-17.)

The people of Jerusalem assiduously ply the ritual of sacrifice, but neglect the moral requirements of righteousness and justice. Such hollow ritual is worse than useless; it is an insult to Jahveh's majesty.

- 10 Hear the word of Jahveh
 'Ye petty chiefs of Sodom!ⁱ
 Give ear to 'our God's instruction'^j
 Ye people of Gomorrah!
- 11 What care I for your multiplied sacrifices?
 says Jahveh:
 I am sated with the burnt-offerings of rams
 and the fat of fed beasts,
 And in the blood of bulls^k and goats
 I have no pleasure.

ⁱ (vs. 10): *Ye petty chiefs of Sodom*: *petty chiefs* here strictly=*judges*. But the *judge* was chieftain and magnate as well. The Hebrew word here used corresponds to the Arabic *cadi*; and an Arab proverb runs "more unjust than a *cadi* of Sodom." Sodom and Gomorrah were proverbial examples of places which had incurred the divine curse (cf. S. Matt. 10¹⁵, 11⁴, etc.). The mention of Sodom and Gomorrah in vs. 9 suggests the bold application in this verse.

^j (vs. 10): *our God's instruction*. The word rendered *instruction* (*Tôrâh*) means primarily an *oral decision* (later *written law*). Such oral decisions were given in Jahveh's name by priest and prophet to those who came to consult them. Here the prophet bids his audience heed the prophetic revelation which follows.

^k (vs. 11): Rec. Text adds here *and lambs*. Omit with LXX, thereby improving both rhythm and parallelism. So Marti.

vs. 11 f. For similar denunciations of shallow and merely external worship cf. Amos 5²¹⁻²⁴; Hos. 6⁶. Sacrifices would be multiplied, especially in a time of great national peril (like that of Sennacherib's invasion in 701). *I am sated with burnt offerings*, etc. The primitive conception of sacrifice as the food of the gods seems to have long survived (in a slightly modified form) in the popular consciousness of Israel. Cf. such a phrase as "*food of their God*," Lev. 21⁶, etc.; and see further Robertson Smith *Rel. Semites*² 224. The incorporation and modification of such ideas forms a necessary stage in the contact of

- 12 When ye come 'to see My Face'^l ;
 who has required this at your hand ?
- 13 "My courts to trample"^m
 continue not :
 Bringing oblations"ⁿ
 is an abomination to Me !
 'New Moon' and Sabbath'^o
 I cannot 'endure'^p :

lower and higher forms of religion. An interesting suggestion of this view occurs in the Midrash on Leviticus (*Wayyikra Rabba*, xxii. v) : (*)

Has God pleasure in the blood of sacrifices? No: He has not so much ordained as permitted them. It is for yourselves, He says, and not for Me that you offer. Like a king who sees his son carousing daily with all manner of evil companions: "You shall henceforth eat and drink entirely at your will at my own table," he says. They offered sacrifices to demons and devils, for they loved sacrificing and could not do without it. And the Lord said: "Bring your offerings to Me, you shall then at least offer to the true God."

l (vs. 12) : *to see My Face* : the phrase is used in reference to worship in the sanctuary (cf. Exod. 23^{15, 17} ; 34^{20, 23} ; 1 Sam. 1²², etc.). It no doubt is a survival of earlier language which originally denoted actual sight of the divine Face in some materialized form. This offended the refined conceptions of a later time. Hence, by a change of vowels, in the Rec. Text, it is invested with the passive (and innocuous) meaning *to appear before Me*.

m (vs. 13) : *my courts to trample*. This clause belongs to vs. 13. So LXX, Lowth, Cheyne, Duhm, Marti.

n (vs. 13) : Rec. Text adds *is a mockery, incense*. Marti omits these words. He points out that the word here used for *incense* apart from the present passage and Deut. 33¹⁰ only occurs in Exilic and post-Exilic writings. It is, therefore, doubtfully Isaianic.

o (vs. 13) : *New moon* (Heb. *hōd(esh)*). The *new moon* was one of the most important days in the old cultus (cf. 1 Sam. 20^{5, 24}), on a level with the Sabbath (2 Kings 4²³ ; Amos 8⁵ ; Hos. 2¹¹).

p (vs. 13) : Rec. Text adds *the calling of convocations* (or *assemblies*). *Convocation* here, as in 4⁵ without the determinative *holy* (*holy convocation* is regular in Lev.) ; this could be held according to Lev. 23 on the Sabbath or on a fast-day (it was an assembly for worship). It is highly doubtful, however, whether the bare term *convocation* could have been used in this technical sense by Isaiah. Probably the two words are an interpolation (so Schwally, Marti).

q (vs. 13) : a verb is required (read *lāṣēth* as in Jer. 44²² or *lēhākil* as in Amos 7¹⁰). So Marti.

(*) Cf. Wünsche's German translation, p. 150 f. The passage is given as cited by Cobb (from "the Talmud"), *The Book of Psalms*, p. 142.

- 14 '[Fast]' and 'solemnity'
 '[my soul hates !]', "
- 15 And "when ye spread forth your hands"
 I hide mine eyes from you ;
 And though you multiply prayers
 I do not listen.
 "Your hands are full of blood" :-
- 16 Wash and be made clean !
 Banish the evil of your doings
 from my sight ! *
- 17 Seek out justice,
 'discipline' the violent ;
 Right the orphan,
 plead the widow's cause.

r (vs. 14) : *fast* (reading *tsóm*). So LXX ; so Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *iniquity* : perhaps a mitigating alteration.

s (vs. 14) : *solemnity* (Heb. 'atsārah) is a general term for any time of festival. Cf. Amos 5²¹ ; 2 Kings 10³⁰. Public fasts were celebrated as occasion demanded (cf. e.g., 1 Sam. 7⁶ ; 31¹³ ; 2 Sam. 1¹², etc.).

t (vs. 14) : *My soul hates*. This clause is taken as predicate to *fast and solemnity* by LXX. So Marti. Rec. Text divides the clauses differently and has *your new moons and your set feasts my soul hates*. But these terms are tautological, giving simply variant expression to what has already been said (*set feasts, i.e.*, stated festivals fixed for certain seasons, like Passover, etc.). Both may be mitigating glosses to *new moon and Sabbath*.

u (vs. 14, end). Rec. Text adds :

*They are become a burden to me ;
 I am weary of enduring (or forgiving) them !*

Again a mitigating addition ? Marti regards the clause as unoriginal.

v (vs. 15) : *when ye spread forth your hands, i.e.*, in prayer.

w (vs. 15) : *Your hands are full of blood*. The metre requires these words to be taken with vs. 16. Thus construed they form a fine antithesis. So Duhm, Marti.

x (vs. 16 end, 17 begin). Here Rec. Text has *Cease to do evil, learn to do well*. This clause is rightly omitted by Duhm, Cheyne and Marti as pleonastic and weak. The words are a colourless paraphrase.

y (vs. 17) : *discipline* (reading *yāṣṣrú*). So Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text *set right*. (?)

[The number of additions and mitigating glosses in the Rec. Text of vv. 10-17 is remarkable. They were doubtless added, as Marti points out, to blunt the edge of the sharp denunciation of the cultus to which the section gives expression.]

B. THE SIN OF JUDAH AND THE CHOICE GIVEN : TWO
UTTERANCES.

(vv. 18-20; before 701.)

It is possible, as Marti suggests, that the introductory formula *Come now, let us argue together, says Jahveh* (vs. 18) and the concluding one, *for Jahveh's mouth has decreed it* (vs. 19 end) were added when the whole chapter was compiled. Apart from these possible additions the two utterances form two tetrastichs, which may originally have been independent compositions. From internal evidence the composition of the second may be assigned to a period antecedent to the Assyrian invasion in 701.

(a.)

¹⁸ [*Come now let us argue together, says Jahveh :*]

^{aa}If your sins be as scarlet
shall they become white as snow ?
Be they red as crimson,
shall they become as wool ? ^{aa}

(b.)

¹⁹ If ye be willing and obedient
the goodness of the land shall be your
meat ;

²⁰ But if ye refuse and resist
× ^{bb}the sword shall be your meat ! ^{bb}

[*Jahveh's mouth has decreed it !*]

^{aa} (vs. 18) : *If your sins be as scarlet, shall they, etc.* The language of promise and forgiveness (*though your sins be as scarlet, they shall become, etc.*) is quite out of keeping with the stern logic of a legal plea. The most natural rendering of the Hebrew is that given above. (So Wellhausen, *ProL.* ² 443). Duhm takes it in an ironical sense : *if your sins be as scarlet they will naturally become white as snow* (you know how this can be effected). A sarcasm.

^{bb} (vs. 20) : *the sword shall be your meat* (lit. *ye shall devour the sword*). So LXX (only a difference of vowels). Marti prefers to read *ruins* (Heb., *hōrābōth*) instead of *sword* (one letter added in Hebrew). Rec. Text involves a doubtful construction : *Ye shall be meat for* (lit. *eaten by*) *the sword*.

C. A DIRGE OVER JERUSALEM'S DECLENSION, PASSING
OVER INTO A THREAT.

(vv. 21-26; before 701 B.C.)

This section is in form an elegy written in the rhythm of the Dirge (the *Kināh*). Such compositions often begin with the Hebrew word (*'ēkhā*) rendered *how*; so here and Lam. 1¹; 2¹; 4¹.^{*} The city is pictured as a wife once faithful to her husband (Jahveh) but now faithless. The image, frequent in Hosea, does not occur again in the original prophecies of Isaiah. The section may, perhaps, be dated c. 705, when the Egyptian alliance was being planned (so Marti.)

The section falls into two minor divisions (*a*) vv. 21-23 and (*b*) vv. 24-26, each of which consists of three pairs of long (Kīnah) verse-lines.

(*a*) vv. 21-23.

- ²¹ How is she become a harlot—
the trusty City and true!
(Zion) prolific in justice—
where right had once its abode!^a
- ²² Thy silver is turned to dross—
thy choice wine is ^bfruit-juice!^b

a (vs. 21 end): Rec. Text adds *but now murderers*. The words are superfluous and the metre is improved by their omission. So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. (In same vs. *Zion* is to be added to text. So LXX. Metre requires the addition: so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.)

b (vs. 22): *fruit-juice*. The word here rendered *fruit-juice* (*mōhāl*: with the alteration of a single letter) in New Hebrew means, "the dark turbid liquor pressed out from olives." It may be a survival from old Hebrew. So Cheyne. The reading of the Rec. Text (*mahul*, a passive participle, lit. = *unmixed*) is supposed to be a figure for *weakened* or *diluted*; but this is very doubtful.

* The verse-line is broken into two unequal parts by a caesura, the second part being shorter than the first. Cf. further introduction to ch. 13 (p. 73).

- ²³ 'Thy rulers (are become) unruly^c
 and comrades of thieves ;
 Every one loves a bribe
 and races after fees ;
 The orphan they do not right,
 ^dnor plead the widow's cause !^d

(b) vv. 24-26.

- ²⁴ 'Therefore^c
 The oracle of the Lord
 Jahveh Sabaoth^f is :
 Ha ! I will appease myself of mine adversaries
 and take vengeance on mine enemies :
²⁵ ^gAnd will smelt out ^hin the furnace^h thy dross
 and remove all thine alloy :

c (vs. 23) : *Thy rulers (are become) unruly* : Cheyne's rendering (reproducing the play on the two Hebrew words). The addition *are become* (Heb. *hayu*) is necessary to fill out the line. So Budde, Marti.

d (vs. 23 end) : *nor plead the widow's cause* (reading *wē-'ālmānāh lō yārībū*, cf. vs. 17 end). So Marti. Rec. text has *nor does the widow's cause come unto them* (probably a confusion in writing of the first two Hebrew words, written twice and varied). The clause in Rec. Text is too long in its present form. [The title *the Lord* used absolutely is characteristic of Isaiah, especially in introducing a threat ; cf. 3¹ ; 10^{16, 33} ; 19⁴.]

e (vs. 24) : *Therefore* often in Isaiah introduces a threat.

f (vs. 24) : Rec. Text adds here *the Hero of Israel* ; a rare and poetical designation ; cf. Gen. 49²⁴ (Jacob's Blessing) *the Hero of Jacob*. LXX here has the expression in a different place ; it may well be a later addition (so Marti). In its present form the line is too long. (Duhm retains this, but omits *Jahveh Sabaoth*.)

g (vs. 25 begin) : Rec. text adds here *and I will bring back my hand*, sc. in judgment. But the repetition of the same Hebrew word (*wē'ashibāh*) at the beginning of vv. 25 and 26 in two different senses is awkward. Omit the clause with Staerk (cf. also Marti).

h (vs. 25) : *in the furnace* (reading *bakkūr*). So Lowth and most moderns (transposing consonants of Hebrew word). Or (reading *kakkūr*), *as in the furnace*. Rec. Text = *as with lye* (?)

- “ And I will restore thy judges as at the first
 and thy counsellors as at the beginning :
 Afterwards thou shalt be called Citadel of Right,
 , trusty City and true’ !

D. A POST-EXILIC ADDITION DEALING WITH THE
 DELIVERANCE OF A REMNANT AND THE ANNIHILATION
 OF APOSTATES.

(vv. 27-28.)

This appended piece, which has an eschatological character, contrasts markedly with its context. Zion is here an abstract conception symbolizing the faithful and pious. The “ returned ” belong to her ; but not sinners and apostates. Here *judgment* and *righteousness* refer to the divine action.* The contrast also extends to the rhythm.

- “ *Zion shall be set free through judgment
 And ‘those that return of her’ through righteousness ;*
 “ *And there shall be a destruction of apostates and sinners* ;
 And ‘those who forsake Jahveh’ shall perish.*

i (vs. 26) : *Trusty City and true* : the repetition of this phrase from vs. 21 marks the end of the strophe.

[The tone of vv. 21-26, their retrospective character, and anticipation of a purely political reformation suggest a comparatively early date.]

j (vs. 27) : *those that return of her, i.e.,* those who have returned from apostasy (cf. 59²⁰). This is the reading of Rec. Text. The Versions, however, (pointing *shibyāh*) render *her captives*. So Lowth and many moderns.

k (vs. 28) : Rec. Text adds here *together*. The line is improved by its omission (so apparently Cheyne).

l (vs. 28) : *those who forsake Jahveh* : Budde (for metrical reasons) would read *those who forsake me* (Jahveh speaking).

* Jahveh’s self-vindicating righteousness as shown in redeeming His people from oppression (an analogous conception) is an idea characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah.

E. A FRAGMENT AGAINST NATURE WORSHIP.

(vv. 29-31 ; before 722 B.C.)

This section is incomplete. It apparently forms the close of a lost discourse against the old Canaanitish nature-worship. This was especially associated with sacred trees, wells, and gardens. For the latter as centres of pagan cults cf. 65³ ; 66¹⁷. The ancient nature-worship was never entirely suppressed—there was, from time to time a violent recrudescence of it—and it has survived down to our own days (cf. S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, especially ch. XI, “ High Places and Sacred Shrines ”).

-
- 29 For “ye” shall be put to shame on account of your beloved terebinths,
And to the blush for the gardens of your choice ;
- 30 For ye shall be like a terebinth whose leaf is withered,
And like a garden without water :
- 31 The strong man shall become tow ; his work a spark ;
And they shall both burn together, with none to quench them.

m (vs. 29) : *ye*. So the ancient versions and some Hebrew MSS. Rec. Text, *they*.

BOOK I.

FIRST COLLECTION OF ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES.

(CHAPTERS 2-12.)

CHAPTERS 2-12 contain a group of Isaianic discourses which show clear traces of having formed a separate collection (notice the formal opening by superscription in 2¹, and the grand *finale* in 11¹⁰-12⁶). But this Book of Prophecies is itself composed of minor collections, among which (a) 2¹-4⁶, (b) 6¹-9⁷ are clearly distinguishable. Here (a) contains the earliest of the genuine oracles of Isaiah.

I. THE EARLIEST MINOR COLLECTION.

(CHAPTERS 2¹-4⁶.)

That 2¹-4⁶ form a section by themselves is apparent from the arrangement and nature of the constituent parts. These make up a coherent and artistic whole, with an introduction and appendix. Thus (a) 2²⁻⁴ are introductory, containing a brilliant description of the future glory of Zion, which is to become the centre of the world-wide worship of Jahveh; (b) 2⁶-4¹ form a middle section, containing a group of early discourses, which in the main are undoubtedly Isaiah's; (c) 4²⁻⁶ contains a Messianic appendix. Regarding (a) and (c) critical opinion is divided, some scholars regarding such Messianic sections as necessarily post-Exilic. But recent research, especially as embodied in Gressmann's epoch-making work, *Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-judischen Eschatologie*, has shown that very definite eschatological ideas were prevalent in a popular form in Israel long before the Exile, and the probability of such being utilized by the older prophets, including Isaiah, must be allowed for (see further on this point Introduction, p. 16). The introduction and appendix here may, therefore, safely be regarded as at least contemporary with (if not earlier than) the purely Isaianic passages, and indeed as having a real literary connexion with Isaiah himself.

SUPERScription.

¹ "The Word that Isaiah ben Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem."

a (vs. 1) : This superscription may have been appended to the earliest minor collection, and afterwards retained by the editor as the heading to the larger collection embodied in ch. 2-12.

(I.) THE GLORY OF ZION IN THE AFTER DAYS.

(2²⁻⁴ (8).)

This striking section recurs with variations in Micah 4¹⁻⁴. The question arises, did Isaiah borrow from Micah, or *vice versa*, or both from an older source? Probably the last is the true explanation, though the possibility remains that both are later editorial insertions. The eschatological features here are noteworthy (Mount Zion made higher* than all the mountains, assumes the position of the holy mount of the ancient myth; universal peace; all nations flocking to the holy city: cf. *Gressmann*, pp. 116, 200, 264). There is nothing improbable in supposing that Isaiah is here citing an ancient oracle, well known to all, containing an idealistic description of the future. He makes it a sort of text and sets against it, in violent contrast, a picture drawn in glowing colours of the present evil time which is hastening the inevitable day of reckoning—Jahveh's great "Day"—with the judgment on the nation (2²⁻⁴).

The idealistic representation is a very fine one. Zion is depicted as the centre of Jahveh's sovereignty which is universally acknowledged (cf. Jer. 3¹⁷; Ps. 2⁶, etc.): the homage of the nations is spontaneous, and eager (cf. Zech. 2¹¹, 8²²). It is not the political supremacy of the Jewish nation, but the sovereignty of Jahveh that is anticipated; and this is to usher in a time of universal peace.

The poem falls into strophes of six nearly equal lines.

² And it shall come to pass in the after days

The Mount of Jahveh's House shall be established,

^b(Even the House of our God)^b on the top of the mountains

And uplifted above the hills;

And 'the nations' shall flow to it,

³ And many peoples shall go [and shall say]:

Come let us go up to Jahveh's Mount

To the House of Jacob's God,

That He may instruct us in His ways

And that we may walk in His paths.

For from Zion proceeds instruction

And Jahveh's Word from Jerusalem.

^b (vs. 2): *even the House of our God*. So (on basis of LXX) Duhm, Marti, Staerk.

^c (vs. 2): *the nations* (so parallel text in Micah, omitting *all*): Duhm, Marti, etc. Rec. Text: *all the nations*.

* Contrast Micah 3¹¹ f.

‘ And He will arbitrate between the nations
 And give the decision for many peoples ;
 And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares
 And their spears into pruning knives :
 Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
 Neither shall they learn war any more.

[⁶ *O House of Jacob, come let us walk in Jahveh's light !*]

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

c (vs. 2) : *In the after days* (so Cheyne), lit. " in the sequel [or issue] of the days." The phrase became one of the technical expressions of eschatological prophecy where it denotes the age which follows on the full visible establishment of God's sovereignty in the earth (so Hos. 3⁵ ; Ezek. 38¹⁶ ; Jer. 48⁴⁷, 49³⁹).

Upon the top of the mountains : Mount Zion is to be physically raised, so as to assume the position assigned to the mythical mountain of the gods, which reached from earth to heaven. Cf. Zech. 14¹⁰ ; Ezek. 40². See further Appendix III.

Vs. 3. *For out of Zion*, etc. Probably part of the speech of the peoples.

Vs. 4. Universal peace is a feature of Messianic prophecy.

Vs. 5 forms a transitional verse inserted probably by a post-Exilic editor. Its rhythm is unlike that of the previous verses ; notice also its hortatory character.

(II.) ISRAEL'S SIN AND THE DAY OF DOOM.

(2¹⁻²².)

This section subdivides as follows :

- (a) vv. 6-10 (idolatry and its predicted doom) ;
- (b) vv. 11-17 (the Day of Doom) ; and
- (c) vv. 18-21 (resumption of the subject of (a), idolatry and its predicted doom.

The section has been very badly preserved. The beginning is lacking ; lacunae are frequent, and editorial substitutes for illegible parts of the text are not infrequent.

It apparently is composed of two originally distinct fragments ; (1) vv. 6-10 and 18-21, and (2) vv. 11-17 which have been combined editorially. Cheyne fixes the date of composition approximately at 740 B.C. for both fragments. The contents form a striking contrast to what precedes. " The city destined to be the source of light and truth to all nations is at present a receptacle for the darkest and most degrading errors of heathenism " (Skinner). The vivid picture of the

physical convulsions that mark Jahveh's Day reflects doubtless actual experiences of earthquake and storm, and notably the famous earthquake in Uzziah's reign, which probably happened during the youthful years of Isaiah (cf. Amos 1¹; Zech. 14⁶).

(a) vv. 6-10.

For ^bJahveh has cast off His people,^b
 the House of Jacob,
 Because they are full ^c(of diviners)^c from the East,
 and of soothsayers, like the Philistines,
 And "strike compacts with" foreigners

And full is his land of silver and gold—
 his treasures are endless ;
 And full is his land of horses—
 endless are his chariots ;

And full is his land of idols—
 ^d(endless are his images)^d :
 Before the work of his own hands he 'prostrates^e himself
 before the thing which his own fingers have made !

(vs. 9.)^f

^a (vs. 6). Vs. 6 begins a new stanza with *for*: the preceding part of the poem is lacking.

^b (vs. 6) : *For Jahveh has cast off His people.* So Duhm (on basis of LXX). Rec. Text : *Thou hast cast off Thy people.*

^c (vs. 6) : *of diviners* (reading *kösēmē*). So Lowth, Duhm, Cheyne.

^e (vs. 6) : *strike compacts with*, lit. *strike* or *clap (hands) into the hands of foreigners* (reading *bidē*). So Hitzig, Duhm.

^d A hemistich is required here by the metre, and is plausibly supplied as above by Duhm.

^e Reading the verb in the singular instead of the plural.

^f The Received Text of vs. 9 may perhaps be rendered : *And human kind is lowered and man is humbled ; and—Thou canst not forgive them !* The text of this verse is not above suspicion. But in any case it can hardly have stood originally in its present place. It may be an editorial substitute for an illegible original, or an interpolation. It does not suit the metre.

* A hemistich has probably fallen out.

- 10 Enter ^g(the clefts)^g of the rocks
 and hide thyself in the dust,
 At the terror of Jahveh,
 at His majestic splendour
^{xx}(When He arises to overawe the Earth !)^{xx}

(b) *The Day of Doom.*

(vv. 11-17.)

(An independent poetical piece.)

- · · · · · ·
 · · · · · · ·
- 11 ^hAnd human haughtiness shall be lowered,^h
 And man's loftiness brought down ;
 And in that Day Jahveh alone shall be exalted.
- 12 For a day of doom has Jahveh Sabaoth
 Upon all that is proud and lofty
 And upon all that is uplifted and 'high'ⁱ ;
- 13 And upon all the cedars of Lebanonⁱ
 And upon all the oaks of Bashan ;
- 14 And upon all the lofty mountains
 And upon all the uplifted hills ;
- 15 And upon every high tower,
 And upon every *fortified* wall ;

g Metre requires an additional word : read *benigroth* in the clefts.

gg (vs. 10 end) : the refrain is supplied from vv. 19, 21.

h (vs. 11) : Rec. Text has *the eyes of man's haughtiness*, an impossible expression. The verse has been corrected in accordance with vs. 17.

i high : this is required by the parallelism (so Köhler, Cheyne and others). Received Text has *and shall be brought low*. †

j Received Text adds *the high and uplifted*. Metrical symmetry is restored by their omission. So Staerk.

* Hebrew, *cut off*, i.e., inaccessible.

- 16 And upon all the ships of Tarshish,
And upon all the choice ^kvessels^k :
- 17 And human haughtiness shall be lowered,
And man's loftiness brought down ;
And in that Day Jahveh alone shall be exalted !

(c) *Against idolatry.**(Resumption of first description, vv. 6-10 (a) above.)*

- 18 The idols^l
.
19 And men shall enter rocky caverns
and holes in the ground,
At the terror of Jahveh,
at His majestic splendour,
When He arises to overawe the earth^m !

[²¹ *(a genuine variant of the refrain, vv. 10 and 19, from another MS., according to Duhm.)*

Enter the clefts of the rocks
and the rents of the cliffs,
At the terror of Jahveh,
at His majestic splendour,
When He arises to overawe the earth !]ⁿ

^k *Vessels* (reading *sefinôth*, a word only occurring again Jon. 1⁵ in O.T.). (So Siegfried, Stade and others.) The meaning of the text reading is doubtful ; R.V. "imagery" ; some suppose it to be a name for a particular kind of ship.

^l (vs. 18). Rec. Text is obviously too short ; the two words following the first ("the idols—shall utterly pass away") cannot be right. The original text has fallen out and cannot be recovered.

^m (vs. 20). Vs. 20 is an editorial attempt to supply the missing original of vs. 18. It runs : *And in that day men shall cast their idols of silver and gold*

which they made to bow down to the moles and to the bats.

ⁿ (vs. 22). This verse, which does not occur in the true LXX text, is a late gloss. It runs : *Cease ye from man in whose nostrils is a breath ! For at what is he to be valued ?* It looks like the remark of a pious reader. Notice its didactic tone.

(III.) JUDAH'S IMPENDING RUIN DESCRIBED AND EXPLAINED.

(3¹⁻¹⁵ ; completed by 735 B.C.)

A certain amount of editorial re-writing (to take the place, perhaps, of a partly illegible original) can be detected in this section. But in the form given below (palpable glosses having been removed) it is substantially Isaianic.

- ¹ For behold
The Lord Jahveh Sabaoth removes from Jerusalem and
from Judah
Stay and staying power— ² ^ajudge and prophet, knight
and warrior^a
- ³ ^bMilitary commander^b and man of dignity, counsellor
and expert in charms.
- ⁴ I will appoint them boy-princes
and insolent folly shall rule over them ;
- ⁵ Yea, the people shall tyrannize each over other,
neighbour over neighbour ;
They shall be overbearing, boy against man of years,
underling against superior.
- ⁶ *When one man seizes hold of another
in his father's house (exclaiming) :*
*Thou possessest a cloak—thou shalt be
our chieftain ;*
*This heap of ruins—let it be
under thy control !*
- ⁷ *He will protest in that day saying :*
*" I will not be ^c(petty) despot^c—in my house
is neither bread nor cloak ;*
Ye shall not make me ^ddistrict chieftain^d !

^a (vs. 2). The two pairs are transposed (for metrical reasons). So Staerk.

^b (vs. 3). *Military commander*. By a slight change in the pointing of the Received Text the word rendered "fifty" = *equipped ones*. *Captain of equipped ones* (= *military commander*) instead of "*Captain of fifty*."

^c (vs. 7): *(petty) despot*, reading *nôges*. Rec. Text has *binder up, physician*. For the amended reading cf. vs. 12.

^d (vs. 7): *district chieftain*, lit. *chieftain of the people*. A local headman (*kadi*) is meant.

- 9 For ruined indeed is Jerusalem, fallen is Judah,
Because their tongue and their deeds are against Jahveh
To defy His glorious eyes.
- 10 Their respecting of persons witnesses against them,
and their 'sin they publish without disguise ;
Woe unto them ! For they have wrought their own
undoing.

(vv. 10, 11.)

- 12 My people ! a child is their tyrant,
and women rule over them.
My people ! Thy guides are misleaders,
and thy paths they have *effaced*!
- 13 Jahveh takes His place to plead,
and stands to judge *'His people'* ;
- 14 Jahveh enters into judgment
with the elders and princes of His people :
As for you—ye have ruthlessly devoured the vineyard ;
The plunder of the destitute is in your houses.
- 15 What mean ye by crushing My people,
and by grinding the face of the destitute ?
is the Oracle of the Lord Jahveh Sabaoth.

e (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds *like Sodom*. Omit with Cheyne and others (and for metrical reasons).

/ vv. 10-11 are regarded by many modern scholars as an editorial interpolation. They may have taken the place of four illegible lines in the original (so Cheyne). Notice their moralizing tone. Render :

10 *Happy(*) is the righteous, it is well with him : the fruit of their deeds they shall eat.* 11 *Woe unto the godless ! 'tis ill for him. The work of his hands shall be requited to him.*

f (vs. 12) : *effaced*, lit., swallowed up, *i.e.*, destroyed.

g (vs. 13) : *His people*. So LXX. Rec. Text, *peoples*.

(*) So most moderns ; text " say ye."

(IV.) AGAINST THE PROUD LADIES OF JERUSALEM.

(3¹⁶-4¹ ; same date as preceding.)

This section has two considerable editorial interpolations, viz. 3¹⁸⁻²³ an inventory of feminine finery, added by way of supplement ; and 3²⁵⁻²⁶ an elegiac piece describing Jerusalem's desolation. The latter was inserted, apparently, to explain. 4¹.

¹⁶ *And Jahveh said :*

Because Zion's daughters are haughty
And walk with neck thrown back and ogling eyes ;
Walk with mincing steps, and making a chime with their
ankles ;

¹⁷ With scabs will the Lord smite the crowns of their heads,^{gg}
Jahveh will expose ^htheir shame.^{h i}

²⁴ *And*

Instead of perfume there shall be rottenness,
and instead of a girdle a rope ;
Instead of artful curls,* baldness,
and instead of a mantle, girding of sackcloth :
A brand instead of beauty^j !

¹ And seven women shall lay hold of one man in that day,
saying :

Our own bread will we eat,
and with our own garments will we clothe ourselves ;
Only let us bear thy name,
take thou away our disgrace !

^{gg} Omit *daughters of Zion* and add suffix to previous word. So Duhm and Cheyne (for metrical reasons).

^h So Cheyne. Meaning of the text-reading uncertain.

ⁱ Here follows the first interpolation (vv. 18-23), which runs as follows :

¹⁸ *In that day Jahveh will remove the finery of the anklets, and the little suns and the moons ;* ¹⁹ *the ear-drops and the arm-chains, and the veils ;* ²⁰ *the diadems and the step-chains and the girdles and the scent boxes, and the amulets ;* ²¹ *the signet rings and the nose-rings ;* ²² *the gala-dresses, and the mantles and the shawls and the purses ;* ²³ *and the (metal) mirrors and the linen wrappers, and the turbans, and the large veils.*

^j Here follows the second interpolation (vv. 25, 26) ; Jerusalem, the bereaved mother-city, is addressed :

²⁵ *Thy liegemen by the sword shall fall,
and thy chivalry in the battle.*

²⁶ *And her gates shall lament and mourn,
and she utterly despoiled shall sit upon the ground.*

* Cheyne's rendering. (Baldness, sackcloth, branding, etc., were the marks of captivity and slavery.)

(V.) MESSIANIC (APOCALYPTIC) APPENDIX: THE GLORIOUS
DESTINY OF ZION AND THE REDEEMED.(4²⁻⁶.)

In this section apocalyptic features are pronounced. There is no historic background, but obviously the great judgment is presupposed. A purified remnant, that has survived the great catastrophe, is destined to become the community which is to live in a land blessed with super-abundant fertility. These features—the remnant, purification through judgment, extraordinary natural fertility—are part of the common stock of eschatological ideas which were current in (and before) the time of Isaiah. On the other hand, the imagery of vv. 5-6 is derived from the story of the Exodus. The verses form a weak conclusion to the oracle and may be a later addition.

A literary connexion with what precedes is provided in vs. 4 (*the filth of Zion's daughters*: cf. 13¹⁶). The abruptness of the style—characteristic of such eschatological material drawn from popular tradition—is marked. Though Isaiah probably utilized such passages their authorship can hardly be imputed to him. The absence of any well-defined rhythm and parallelism is noticeable here.

² In that Day

The *Spring* of Jahveh shall be beautiful and glorious,
And the fruit of the land majestic and splendid for the
escaped of Israel.

³ Then

He who remains in Zion and is left in Jerusalem shall be
called holy—

Yea, every one who is registered for life in Jerusalem,

⁴ When Jahveh shall have washed away the filth of Zion's
daughters, [thereof

And have purged Jerusalem's blood-stains from the midst
By a breath of judgment and by a breath of extirpation.

(vv. 5-6 (? a later addition).)

⁵ [*He will come and there shall be^a over the whole habitation
of Mount Zion, and over her assemblies, a cloud by day and smoke
with the bright illumination of a flaming fire by night^b;*

⁶ *And He shall be^a a shade [by day] from the heat, and a refuge
and shelter from storm and from rain.]*

^a (vs. 5): *He will come and there shall be.* Rec. Text, *And Jahveh will create over, etc.* But "create" is a suspicious word in such a connexion. The corrected text followed by translation is in accordance with the LXX.

^b (vs. 5). Rec. Text adds *for over every glory a canopy*: a gloss.

^c (vs. 6). So LXX. Heb., *and there shall be a pavilion for a shade, etc.*

* *Spring*, lit., *the growth* (of Jahveh), i.e., what Jahveh causes to grow. The expression is intended literally.

II. THE PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD AND ITS APPLICATION.

(Ch. 5¹⁻³⁴ ; circa 735 B.C.)

This section is independent of the First Minor Collection (2¹⁻⁴). It falls into two well-defined parts, viz. : (1) vv. 1-7, the Parable, depicting Israel's ingratitude and Jahveh's rejection that is approaching as a consequence ; and (ii) vv. 8-24, a Denunciation in the form of six "woes" directed against the vices and sins of the upper classes and leaders of the nation. The social conditions here presupposed are the same as those in 2¹⁻⁴. The prophecy may therefore be dated at about the same period as the First Minor Collection. It may possibly be a trifle later. [The last section of the chapter (5²⁵⁻³⁰) belongs to the end of 9⁷⁻¹⁰ ; see Introduction to that section, p. 56 cf. p. 60].

(I.) SONG OF THE VINEYARD.

(vv. 1-7.)

The prophet appears before the crowd in the guise of a minstrel, and in the rhythm of light popular verse, proceeds to recite the story of a "friend" and his vineyard. The adaptation of the theme to the occasion is singularly effective. Cf. Matt. 22^{38f} for a similar parable applied in much the same way and under similar circumstances.

- ¹ I would fain sing a song of my Beloved,
A love-song* touching his vineyard.
- ¹ My Beloved possessed a vineyard
On a high and fruitful knoll ;
- ² He digged it and cleared it of stones,
And with choice vines of †Sorek† did plant it ;
A tower he built in the midst
And hewed out a wine-vat within ;
To bear good grapes he expected it—
Grapes it bore worthless and wild !
- ³ Now
O men of Jerusalem and Judah
Judge betwixt me and my vineyard ;
- ⁴ Could more have been done to my vineyard
That I had not done ?
When grapes 'twas expected to bear
Why bore it grapes worthless and wild ?

* So Lowth, Cheyne, Budde (a slight emendation) ; text "a song of my Beloved."

† *Sorek*, a technical term for the choicest vines (perhaps so called from their red colour).

- 6 Now would I fain let you know
 What I purpose to do to my vineyard ;
 Its hedge will I take away—
 it shall be depastured ;
 I will breach its walls—it shall serve
 as trampling ground ;
- 6 Yea, an end will I make of it.
 It shall neither be pruned nor weeded,
 It shall shoot up in thorns and thistles,
 And on the clouds will I lay an injunction
 That they rain no rain upon it.
- 7 For Jahveh's vineyard is the Household of Israel,
 The men of Judah His darling plantation ;
 ^aFor measures He looked—but lo massacres !
 For right—but lo riot !^a

(II.) A SIXFOLD WOE.

(5⁸⁻²⁴ (26) ; circa 735 B.C.)

This powerful allocution to the upper classes in Judah has apparently suffered not inconsiderably in parts of its text. One of the sections consists only of one line (vs. 21) ! But symmetrical arrangement is clearly traceable throughout. It should be compared with the contemporary prophecy contained in Micah, ch. 2 and 3 (the text of which has suffered perhaps even more considerably).

(1.)

- 8 Ah !
 They who join house to house,
 who add field to field
 Till there is no more room
 .
 .
 And ye are settled alone
 in the midst of the land !

^a (vs. 7) : *For measures*, etc. An attempt to reproduce the assonance of the original. The word rendered *measures* = lit. *justice*. *Massacres*, lit. *shedding* (of blood) ; *riot*, lit. *a cry* (outcry).

• Therefore

In mine ears a disclosure has been made

by Jahveh Sabaoth :

Surely, many houses shall be made desolate—

(houses) great and fair, uninhabited ;

¹⁰ For ten acres of vineyard shall yield but one *bath,
and the seed of a homer but an ephah.*

(2.)

¹¹ Ah !

They who rise betimes

to addict themselves to drink,

Who prolong the evening

wine inflaming them !

¹² And

Lute and harp, timbrel and flute,

and wine, make up their banquet ;

But Jahveh's operations they regard not,

and the work of His hands they do not see.

¹³ Therefore

My people go into exile

from lack of knowledge,

Their chivalry ^bpinched^b with hunger,

and the mass of them parched with thirst.

¹⁴ Therefore

Sheol enlarges her ravenous appetite

and opens her mouth insatiable,

And down go (Zion's) splendour and throng,

her madding crowd and all who rejoice in her.

^c(vv. 15-16 probably a later insertion.)^c

^b (vs. 13) : Rec. Text has *men of hunger*. For *mēthē* read *mēzēh* (cf. Deut. 32²⁴). So most moderns.

^c Vv. 15-16 are to be regarded with Duhm as a marginal quotation from memory of 2¹¹, 17. So Stade. Render :

¹⁵ *And human kind is brought low, and man is brought down, and the eyes of the haughty are brought down ;* ¹⁶ *but Jahveh Sabaoth is exalted through judgment and the Holy God sanctifies Himself through righteousness.* These verses interrupt the connexion.

* *Ephah*, a dry measure of same capacity as the *bath* (a liquid measure) ; the *homer* = 10 ephahs (cf. Ezek. 45 ¹¹).

- 17 And lambs graze in ^dtheir desert place,
 'And fatlings feed amid their ruins.'^e

(3.)

- 18 Ah!
 They that draw iniquity (to themselves)
 with cords of ungodliness,
 And sin as with traces of a wain ;
- 19 Who say : let it hasten, let it speed,
 his work, that we may see it,
 Let the purpose of Israel's Holy One draw nigh
 /and come/ that we may perceive it.

(4.)

- 20 Ah!
 They who call evil good
 and good evil ;
 Who make darkness light
 and light darkness ;
 Who make bitter sweet
 and sweet bitter !

(5.)

- 21 Ah!
 They that are wise in their own esteem
 and astute in their own regard !

(6.)

- 22 Ah!
 They who are mighty men—at wine-quaffing ;
 and valiant warriors—at spicing drink !

d (vs. 17). Reading *bēmīdbārām* with Cheyne and others. The reading of Rec. Text is supposed to mean "as in their pasture." But the existence of such a word as that presupposed is highly doubtful.

e (vs. 17^b). So the text should probably be corrected. Rec. Text runs : (?) *And the waste places of the fat ones, sojourners (=?) nomadic shepherds) eat.* *f* (vs. 19) : *and come* transpose to second clause.

²³ Who for a bribe acquit the guilty,
and deprive the guiltless of his right !

: : : : : :

²⁴ Therefore
As fire's tongue devours stubble,
and as chaff shrivels in flame,
Their root shall become rottenness,
and their blossom ascend like dust.

⁵ [*Because they have rejected Jahveh's instruction,
and spurned Israel's Holy One.*]^g

III. THE SECOND MINOR COLLECTION.

(Ch. 6¹⁻⁹.)

With ch. 6 a fresh collection of Isaianic prophecies begins. It is probable that ch. 6 containing the account of Isaiah's vision (of consecration) was prefixed so as to form an introduction to the group 7¹⁻⁹⁷. This group itself consists of (a) ch. 7 containing prophecies of Isaiah connected with the Syro-Ephraimitic invasion, with a historical setting; (b) 8¹⁻¹⁸ containing three oracles of the same period; (c) 8¹⁹⁻⁹⁶ a fragmentary passage culminating in the Messianic description embodied in 9¹⁻⁶.

ISAIAH'S ACCOUNT OF HIS INAUGURAL VISION.

(Ch. 6 ; circa 734 B.C.).

The body of the chapter is in prose; the speeches in rhythm.

¹ In the death-year of King Uzziah I saw the Lord sitting upon a lofty and uplifted throne; the train of His vesture filled the (Heavenly) palace. ²Seraphim were standing before Him; each had six wings; one pair covered the face, another the loins, and a third served for flight. ³And they would cry again and again to one another, saying :

Holy, holy, holy is Jahveh Sabaoth,
His glory fills the whole earth.

⁴ And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the voice of him that cried, and the Temple began to fill with smoke.

^g (vs. 24). After *Jahveh* Rec. Text adds *Sabaoth*; and in last clause reads "spurned the word of Israel's Holy One." Rhythm is improved by omission. But possibly whole clause is editorial. Staerk.

- ⁶ And I said :
 Woe is me ! I am undone ! Man unclean of lips that
 I am,
 And who dwell in the midst of a people who are unclean
 of lips !
 For the King Jahveh Sabaoth mine eyes have seen !
- ⁸ Then flew unto me one of the Seraphim, with a hot stone
 in his hand, which he had taken with tongs from off the altar,
 and he touched my mouth with it and said :
 Lo,
 This has touched thy lips ;
 Thy guilt is gone and thy sin forgiven.
- ⁹ And I heard the voice of the Lord, saying :
 Whom shall I send ?
 And who will go for us ?
 And I said : Here am I—send me.
- ⁹ And He said, Go and say to this people :
 Hear on—but perceive not !
 See on—but understand not !
- ¹⁰ Coarsen this people's heart,
 Dull their ears, besmear their eyes ;
 Let them see with their eyes, and hear with their ears,
 And their heart understand and their health be restored.
- ¹¹ Then, said I, How long, O Lord ?
 And He said :
 Until there be laid waste
 Cities without inhabitant, and houses without men,
 And the land ^abe left^a a desolation,
- ¹² And Jahveh have banished men afar,
 and great be the derelict region in midst of the land.
- ¹³ And should a tenth still remain in it,
 this must again be consumed,
 Like the terebinth and the oak
 of which, after felling, a stock remains.
^b [*A holy seed is the stock thereof.*]^b

a (vs. 11). So LXX and many moderns (with a change of one letter in Hebrew text : the latter=*be wasted* [in desolation]).

b (vs. 13). This clause is wanting in LXX. So many moderns omit (Cheyne, Duhm, etc.).

CHAPTERS 7¹⁻⁹.

HERE again the material is composite, and in part fragmentary. In the main the collection belongs to the reign of Ahaz (735-721 B.C.) Chap. 7 "in its original form doubtless stood at the head of a book of prophecies" (Cheyne). The author of this book, which had a narrative setting detailing the sequence of historical events, and which was no doubt composed very soon after these events, has accurately preserved Isaiah's prophecy, on the whole.

The collection may be analysed as follows : (i) 7¹⁻¹⁶ (17), c. 734 B.C. ; (ii) 7¹⁸⁻²⁶, fragments of uncertain date ; (iii) 8¹⁻⁴, c. 734 B.C. ; (iv) 8⁵⁻¹⁰, 734-723 B.C. (?) ; (v) 8¹¹⁻¹², same period partly ; (vi) 8¹⁶⁻¹⁸ ; (vii) 8¹⁹⁻⁹, (?) 734 B.C.

(I.) ISAIAH AND AHAZ : THE SIGN OF IMMANUEL.

(vv. 1-16 (17) ; c. 734 B.C., with editorial revision.)

The critical analysis of this passage shows (a) that vs. 1 is dependent on 2 Kings 16⁵ (and not *vice versa*) ; it probably has taken the place of a longer passage ; and (b) between vv. 9 and 10 a passage may have fallen out, or been omitted—a passage "describing the event of which Immanuel is the sign." Notice the abrupt change in vs. 10 ; the prophet suddenly disappears, and his place is taken by Jahveh Himself. The question is now one directly between Jahveh and Ahaz. [It is doubtful, however, whether the text of vs. 10 is in order.] It cannot be said that vv. 8-9 yield any satisfactory sense. Vs. 17 is also doubtfully Isaianic.

¹ [And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz ben-Jotham ben-Uzziah, King of Judah, that Rezin, King of Syria, together with Pekah ben-Remaliah, King of Israel, marched up against Jerusalem to war—but was unable to continue the fight against it.] ²And the news was brought to the House of David that Syria had established herself in Ephraim. And the heart of (Ahaz) and of his people shook as the trees of the forest shake before the wind. And Jahveh said to Isaiah : Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-jashub thy son at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, on the highway of the fuller's field.

⁴ And say to him :

Be wary and calm—have no fear, neither be faint-hearted

Before these two fag-ends of smoking firebrands,
At the fierce wrath of Rezin ^aand ben-Remaliah.

^a (vs. 4). Rec. Text adds *and Syria* : omit as a gloss with Staerk.

- ⁶ Because mischief has been planned against thee
 by Syria ^b and ben-Remaliah, who say :
⁶ Let us march up against Judah and terrify her,
 and force a passage into her (territory),
 And set up as King in her midst—the son of Tāb'él.
⁷ Thus says the Lord Jahveh :
 It shall not stand nor come to pass.
⁸ *For the head of Syria is Damascus,*
and the head of Damascus is Rezin ;^c
⁹ *And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and*
the head of Samaria is ben-Remaliah.

Verily if thou have no strong trust—
 no trusty stronghold shall be thine !

¹⁰ And ^dI^d again spake unto Ahaz, saying : ¹¹Ask thee a
 sign of Jahveh thy God—(let thy choice) descend, if thou wilt,
¹²to Sheol^e or soar in the height above. ¹²But Ahaz said :
 I will not ask, neither will I put Jahveh to the test. ¹³/And
 I said^f : Hear now, O House of David ; is it not enough for
 you to weary man that ye must weary my God also ?

¹⁴ Therefore the Lord Himself will give you a sign :
 Behold
 The young woman is with child and shall bring forth a Son,
 And shall call his name Immanuel ;

b (vs. 5) : Rec. Text adds *Ephraim* : omit with Staerk.

c (8b) Rec. Text adds : *And within sixty-five years Ephraim shall be so shattered as to be no longer a people.* Most moderns agree that this clause is a gloss.

d (vs. 10) : *And I again spake.* So Budde, Duhm and Staerk (this reading is favoured by the context) ; others, " And Isaiah again spake." Rec. Text, *And Jahveh again spake* ; cf. 3¹⁴.

e *To Sheol* : so most moderns (altering the pointing of the Rec. Text).

f (vs. 13) : *And I said* : so Budde, Duhm, and Staerk (as vs. 10 above). Rec. Text, *And he said.*

ADDITIONAL NOTE IN VS. 14.

Behold the young woman is with child, etc. An attractive view of this passage has been put forth by Gressmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 272 f.). He thinks that the prophet here makes use of current eschatological ideas,

- ¹⁸ Curd and honey shall he eat,
 What time he knows how to refuse the evil and choose
 the good ;
- ¹⁹ Yea, before the boy shall know how to refuse the evil
 and choose the good,
 The land before whose two kings thou cowerest shall be
 deserted.^g

(II.) FRAGMENTS DESCRIBING IN ESCHATOLOGICAL LANGUAGE
 THE DEVASTATION WROUGHT BY THE ASSYRIANS.

(vv. 18-25.)

(a.)

(vv. 18-21 ; of uncertain date.)

The glosses in vs. 18 identify the " flies " with Egypt and the " bees " with Assyria. If this be right the prophecy may be dated about the time when negotiations were being carried on between Hezekiah and the Egyptians, which resulted in an Egyptian army being sent to encounter Sennacherib (701). Both armies met on Palestinian soil (at Altakú, near Ekron). But more probably the prophet has in mind only the Assyrians, in which case the date may be considerably earlier. In describing the visitation of the land (probably Judah is meant, not Syria and Northern Israel) the prophet apparently utilized in his description of the desolation current popular eschatological ideas and phraseology respecting the Day of Jahveh (cf. *Gressmann*, p. 94).

- ¹⁸ And it shall come to pass in that Day
 Jahveh will hiss to the flies^h and to the bees,ⁱ

and by " the young woman " means the mother of the coming Deliverer (whom he expected to appear at the same time as the Assyrian invaders). It was common belief that a wonderful child would be born. But what was generally regarded as a vague possibility of the unknown future is announced by the prophet to be a present (and startling) reality. (See further Appendix I.)

^g Here follows in Rec. Text, Vs. 17 which runs : *Jahveh will bring upon thee, and upon thy people and upon thy father's house days such as have never yet come since Ephraim separated from Judah [the King of Assyria].* On stylistic grounds it is doubtful whether this vs. is Isaiah's. It certainly does not harmonize with the context, and if Isaianic, must be regarded as an isolated fragment. But would Isaiah have spoken of *Ephraim departing (separating) from Judah*? In any case the last (bracketed) words must be a later explanatory gloss.

^h (vs. 18). Rec. Text adds : *that are at the end of the streams of Egypt* ; ⁱ Rec. Text adds : *that are in the land of Assyria.* Omit both as glosses (with Cheyne).

19 And they shall all come and settle in the precipitous
ravines and rocky clefts

And upon all thorn-hedges and upon all pastures.

20 In that Day

Jahveh will shave with the razor hired beyond the River^f
The head and the hidden hair ; and even the beard
shall it sweep away.

21 And it shall come to pass in that Day

A man will keep a young cow and two sheep . . .

(b.)

(Vs. 22 : an eschatological fragment describing the happy lot of those who live on into the new Era ; for its position in the present context see notes.)

22 And it shall come to pass

^hButter and honey shall be the food of all who are left
in the midst of the land.

(c.)

(vv. 23-25 ; the subject of vv. 18-21 resumed.)

Here again the eschatological character of the language is marked. The "strikingly unrhythmical style" which, in Cheyne's opinion (*Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 37) "proves that in their present form these verses are not Isaianic," may be due to the popular form in which they were current in Isaiah's age. If they were utilized by the prophet he has not troubled to re-shape the crude material.

23 And it shall come to pass in that Day

· Wherever there used to be a thousand vines

at ^aa thousand shekels of silver*

[*there shall be thorns and briers*].

^j (vs. 20). Rec. Text adds : *with the King of Assyria* : an explanatory gloss (cf. vs. 17). So most moderns. For the beard (= symbol of dignity) cf. 50^g (note).

^k (vs. 22). Rec. Text adds here : *because of the abundance of milk butter will be their food for*. These words have all the appearance of a prosaic gloss, to explain the surprising fact how milk (butter) and honey can be the food of the poverty-stricken survivors in a devastated land. The real meaning of the vs. was misunderstood. Cf. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 215. (Budde also regards these words as a gloss.)

* *i. e.*, worth a good price.

“ With arrows and with bow will men come thither,
 For all the land will become thorns and briars.
 And as for all the mountains that used to be hoed
 with the mattock

“ Men will not come thither,
 But it shall be a cattle-run and a sheep-walk.

(III.) THE FATE OF SYRIA AND EPHRAIM : AN ORACLE OF THE
 PERIOD OF THE SYRO-EPHRAIMITISH WAR.

(8¹⁻⁴ ; circa 734 B.C.)

In this oracle, which is thoroughly Isaianic, the prophet announces, in a startling way, the impending ruin of Syria and Ephraim. It is addressed to the *people* of Judah. The date of its composition must, obviously, have been anterior to the fall of the Syrian capital—Damascus—which took place in 732 B.C.

°Hebrew :
*Maher-
 shalal-hash-
 baz.*

¹ And Jahveh said unto me : Take thee a large tablet and inscribe thereon in common characters^a, °SWIFT : SPOIL—SPEEDY : PREY ; ° ²And take for me^b as trustworthy witnesses Uriah the priest and Zechariah ben-Jeberechiah. ³And I approached the prophetess, and she conceived and bare a son. And Jahveh said unto me :

Call his name MAHER-SHALAL = HASH-BAZ ;

⁴ For before the boy knows
 How to cry “ My father ” and “ My mother,”
 The riches of Damascus shall be borne away, and the
 spoil of Samaria
 Before the King of Assyria.

¹ (vs. 25). Rec. Text : *Thou shalt not come thither for fear of thorns and briars* (cf. also A.V.) ; the consonants might be read : *If thou wert to go thither thou couldst see nothing but thorns and briars.* Kennedy, *Exp. Times*, 1897, p. 44.

^a (vs. 1) *in common characters* (?) : lit. *with a man's* (i.e., an ordinary) *stylus*. Characters such as were engraved by workmen (e.g., on the Siloam Inscription) are meant. The expression, however, is singular and the meaning not altogether certain.

^b *And take for me* (vs. 2) : Sq LXX and many moderns. Rec. Text has *And I will take* (Jahveh being the speaker).

, (IV.) JUDAH THREATENED WITH ASSYRIAN INVASION.

(vv. 5-10 ; ? some time between 734 and 723 B.C.)

In the first part of this oracle, vv. 5-8a, the imagery is consistent. The land is threatened with an engulfing flood (Assyrian invasion). With vs. 8b, however, there is an abrupt change of figure. The "outstretched wings" here must be those either of a "gigantic bird of prey" (cf. Hos. 8¹: *As a vulture [shall he come] against the house of Jahveh*), or of a great protecting bird (cf. Mal. 3²⁰, Ps. 17⁸, etc.).* In any case 8b is isolated. The following verses (9-11), which employ eschatological language, may perhaps be an appendix added by Isaiah. (Cf. 17¹²⁻¹⁴ and 14²⁴⁻²⁷). Before the great Assyrian invasion of 701 there were two other occasions on which the Assyrian armies came into dangerous proximity to Judah, viz., 724-722 (siege of Samaria), and 711 (campaign against Ashdod). Both probably furnished occasion for oracles by Isaiah. In this case the former of the occasions referred to fits in with the prophecy admirably.

- ♠ And Jahveh yet again spake unto me, saying :
- ♠ Forasmuch as this people have rejected the waters of Shiloah which flow softly,
And are 'dejected [*by reason of Rezin and ben-Remaliah*],^c
- ♠ Therefore^d behold
The Lord is bringing up 'upon you^e
the waters, mighty and great, of the River^f ;
And it shall rise above all its channels
and go over all its banks.
- ♠ And shall sweep onward into Judah
and overflow and overpass it,
reaching even to the neck.

.

And (v. 8b.)
(Jahveh's) outspread wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel.

.

c (vs. 6) : *dejected* (reading *ûmāyos*) : so Giesebrecht and many moderns. Rec. Text has *and rejoice in*. The bracketed words are suspected by Cheyne to be unoriginal. They, however, yield a good sense.

d (vs. 7) : *Therefore* : Rec. Text, *e and therefore ; e upon you*. So LXX and Staerk. Rec. Text has *upon them*.

f (vs. 7). Rec. Text adds : *the King of Assyria and all his glory* (an obvious gloss).

* Cf. Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 39.

Appendix in eschatological language.

(vv. 9-10.)

- * 'Take knowledge,^g O ye peoples, and ^h . . . ^h
 'Give earⁱ all ye distant lands of earth :
 Gird yourselves and be dismayed,
 Gird yourselves and be dismayed !
- ¹⁰ Scheme on—and it shall come to nought ;
 make a resolution—but it shall not stand !
 ' [For ^o *With-us-is-God.*^o]^j

^o Hebrew :
Immanuel.

(v.) THE SAME SUBJECT RESUMED.

(vv. 11-15 ; slightly earlier than the preceding.)

The language of this oracle is marked by a strongly personal note. It is thoroughly Isaianic. The prophet in characteristic fashion justifies his unpopular attitude.

- ¹¹ For thus said Jahveh to me while the (divine) hand held me, and He warned me against walking in this people's track, saying :
- ¹² Call ye not conspiracy all that this people call conspiracy,
 And that which they fear, fear not ye, neither dread.
- ¹³ Jahveh Sabaoth, Him count ye holy,^k
 let Him be your fear, let Him be your dread.
- ¹⁴ He shall be^l a stumbling-stone,
 a rock of offence to both Houses of Israel,
 A trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
- ¹⁵ And many shall stumble over them,
 And shall fall and be broken,
 And be snared and taken.

^g (vs. 9) : *Take knowledge* : so Lowth and many moderns. Rec. Text : (?) *Be exasperated*. ^h (vs. 9). Rec. Text : *be dismayed* (same word twice in second half of vs.). Parallelism requires some different word [(?) *Let yourselves be instructed or admonished*, Ps. 2¹⁰].

ⁱ (vs. 9) : *Give ear*. Rec. Text adds *and*. ^j (vs. 10) regarded by Cheyne as a gloss.

^k (vs. 13). Duhm proposes to read *hakshiru, make Him your conspirator* (a unique Hifil form).

^l (vs. 14). Rec. Text adds : (He shall be) *a sanctuary and* (but). But this spoils rhythm and sense. Omit as a gloss.

(VI.) AN EPILOGUE TO THE PRECEDING PROPHECIES.

(vv. 16-18 : appended subsequently ; date uncertain.)

This piece was evidently written when the failure of the prophetic addresses embodied in 7¹-8¹⁶ as regards the nation had become evident. The "testimony" is now solemnly handed over to an inner circle of disciples.

¹⁶ I will bind up the * testimony, * seal the * instruction * among my disciples ;

¹⁷ And I will wait for Jahveh, who hides His face^m, and hope in Him.

¹⁸ Behold

I and the children whom Jahveh has given me
Are signs and portents in Israel from Jahveh Sabaoth
[Who dwells in Mount Zion.]ⁿ

(VII.) THE PEOPLE'S DESPAIR (A FRAGMENT) AND THE COMING OF THE MESSIANIC KING : A CONTRAST.

(Ch. 8¹²-9⁶.)

This passage in its present form has apparently been much edited. The grand Messianic prophecy (9¹⁻⁶) is probably Isaiah's, but the original introduction to it has been lost, and 8¹²⁻²³, which may contain some Isaianic fragments (viz., 20b, 21, 22), is an editorial substitute for the original introduction. Verse 20a is obviously an editorial attempt to supply an introductory clause to 20b ("for whom there is no dawn"). But the didactic style of vs. 19 (containing apparently an address by the prophet to his disciples) is quite un-Isaianic. The verse also lacks rhythm, and it would seem uses the terms "torah" (Law) and "testimony" (suggested by 8¹⁶) in the late technical sense of Scripture (the *Written Law*). The hand of the editor is again visible in 23b (inserted as a connecting link to join vv. 21 and 22 to 9¹⁻⁶), and 23a is probably a gloss.

(a.) THE PEOPLE'S DESPAIR.

(a fragment : 8¹²⁻²³; c. 734 B.C. With later editorial additions.)

[¹⁹ *And when they say unto you, Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp and that moan (answer), Should not a people (rather) consult its God? On behalf of the living should one consult the dead? ²⁰ To the Law and to the Testimony! Surely they shall speak according to this word]*

^m (vs. 17). Rec. Text adds *from the House of Jacob* ; omit (Staerk).

ⁿ (vs. 18). Regarded by Winckler as a late addition.

* *Testimony* . . . *instruction* : i.e., the substance of the divine communications made to the prophet during the critical period just past. The term *testimony* brings out the evidential character of the predictions.

^{10b} . . . for whom there is no dawn.

¹¹ And he *shall pass through it,* sorely pressed and famishing ;

And it shall be, when famishing, he shall burst out in anger

And curse his King and his God, and
turn his gaze upward, ²²and look to the earth ;

But behold

Distress and gloom, a black cloud of anguish, and thick darkness^o ^p

. . . .
. . . .
. . . .

(b.) THE MESSIANIC KING.

(8^{23b}, 9¹⁻⁶ ; date uncertain ; ? c. 701 B.C.)

A strikingly beautiful piece which may be described with considerable confidence as "Isaianic"—at least as regards its literary form. The little poem falls into four stanzas of four double lines. There are some strongly marked eschatological features which doubtless depend upon traditions, as to the wonderful royal child, that were current and popularly accepted in Isaiah's day. For these see *Gressmann*, pp. 279 ff. [This feature will explain the allusive character of some parts of the passage.]† The present position and context of the section are due to a Redactor who mistakenly interpreted *the land of deep shadow* in 9¹ to refer to the deportation of the inhabitants of the Northern districts of Israel by Tiglath Pileser (2 Kings 15²⁹), and therefore wrongly assigned 9¹⁻⁶ to this period (c. 734 B.C.). The reference in 9⁴ suggests rather the Assyrian invasion of 701 (so Duhm). Thus interpreted the section affords a significant

^o (vs. 22). A word follows *thick darkness* in the Hebrew text which is corrupt (=chased away). No satisfactory emendation has yet been proposed. Here the fragment breaks off as abruptly as it began.

^p Vs. 23a, which follows here in the Rec. Text, seems to be a gloss designed to explain the use of the word rendered *black cloud* (Cheyne, *thick veil*). The corrected text of this gloss may be rendered: *For is there not a black pall* (Cheyne, *thick veil*) *to (the land) which has anguish?* So Duhm and Cheyne.

* *He, i.e.*, either the nation or an individual Israelite: *through it, i.e.*, through the land. The lost preceding verses will have explained the allusion.

† See further on this point Appendix I,

companion picture to 1²⁻¹⁷. It should be read in conjunction with the parallel passage 11¹⁻⁹, which is of rather later date. Many modern scholars (Stade, Hackmann, Cheyne, Volz, Marti) suppose both passages to be of post-exilic origin. But "the oracles by no means display the regular features of the post-exilic picture of the Messiah (as a conquering hero)" (Cornill). Both Messianic passages probably belong to the last period of Isaiah's life (11¹⁻⁹ quite at the end, subsequent to 701 B.C.).

q[^{23b} *In the former time He brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time hath He brought honour unto the way to the sea, the district of the nations.*]^q

(1.)

- ¹ The people that walked in darkness
 have seen a great light,
 They that dwell in the land of deep shadow,
 upon them hath the light gleamed.
- ² Thou hast multiplied ^athe exultation,^a
 hast increased the joy ;
 They joy before thee as men joy in harvest,
 as men exult when they divide the spoil.

(2.)

- ³ For his burdensome yoke,
 his shoulder yoke-bar,
 His taskmaster's rod,
 Thou hast shattered as in the *day of Midian* ;
- ⁴ For every boot of noisily-tramping warrior,
 And (every) war-cloak drenched with blood—
 Shall be burnt,
 be made food for flames.^b

q This vs. (8^{23b}) has been appended by an editor to link on the preceding vv. to 9¹⁻⁶.

a (vs. 2) *the exultation* (reading *ha-gilāh* for *ha-goy lō*): so most moderns. Rec. Text: *the nation not* (*Thou hast multiplied THE NATION and NOT increased the joy*: A.V.).

b (vs. 4). Cheyne (S.B.O.T. *Isaiah*, Hebrew text, p. 89) proposes to read this verse (emended)

*For every shield the fire consumes,
 and the buckler defiled with blood,
 And the bow, the arrows, and the quiver together,
 will be the prey of the flames.*

* The decisive victory by which the power of the Midianites was finally shattered is referred to (cf. Judges 7; Is. 10²⁶).

(3.)

For a child has been born to us,
a son has been given us,
And the dominion
is on his shoulder,
And his name *shall be called
Wonder-Counsellor,
Hero-God, Eternal Father,
Prince of Peace.*

(4.)

Of the increase of just-dealing^c
and of peace there shall be no end
Upon David's throne
and throughout his realm,
To establish and support it
by justice and righteousness
Henceforth and for ever.

^dJahveh's jealousy^d will accomplish this.

IV. JAHVEH'S OUTSTRETCHED HAND : AN ORACLE
DIRECTED PRINCIPALLY AGAINST NORTHERN ISRAEL.

(9⁷-10⁴ and 5²⁶⁻³⁰ ; c. 735 B.C.)

Ch. 9⁷⁻²⁰, 10¹⁻⁴, and 5²⁶⁻³⁰ form an artistically constructed whole, a poem consisting of five strophes, each (except the last) closing with the refrain :

*For all this His anger is not turned back
And His hand is outstretched still.*

Cheyne has shown (*Introd.*, 24 f.) that 5^{1-26a}, 9^{7-10⁴} and 5²⁶⁻³⁰ really "form one long continuous prophetic composition," which originally stood together in the order indicated. The middle section, however, (9^{7-10⁴}) was, for certain reasons, removed by an editor to its present position, while 5²⁶⁻³⁰ was left to follow 5¹⁻²⁶.

The oracle is directed mainly against Northern Israel; but 10¹⁻⁴ refers to the venial magistracy of Judah. It is not unreasonable, however, to suppose that the prophet had Judah in mind when he began to compose the oracle as well as Northern Israel. Still the abrupt change of address is peculiar, and Giesebrecht's view that 10¹⁻⁴ originally belonged among the "woes" of ch. 5 may be right. In this case the refrain will have been added to 10⁴ later.

c (vs. 6) : *Of the increase of just dealing* : so Gressmann (reading *mishôr*, cf. Mal. 2⁶). Rec. Text : *For the increase of authority*.

d Rec. Text : *the jealousy of Jahveh Sabaoth*.

* See further Appendix I.

(1.)

- 7 A word has the Lord sent into Jacob,
and it shall light upon Israel,
- 8 And the whole people shall know (it),
yea Ephraim and Samaria's citizens,
'(Who have stiffened their neck)' in pride
and in stoutness of heart saying :
- 9 Bricks have fallen down, but with hewn stone
will we build up ;
Sycamores have been cut down, but with cedars
will we fill their place.
- 10 So Jahveh exalted 'Israel's adversaries' against him,
and did spur his enemies on,
- 11 Syria on the East, and Philistines on the West,
and they devoured Israel with open mouth.
FOR ALL THIS HIS ANGER IS NOT TURNED BACK
AND HIS HAND IS OUTSTRETCHED STILL.

(2.)

- 12 But the people turned not to its smiter,
Nor did they seek Jahveh^g ;
- 13 So ^hHe^h cut off from Israel head and tail,
palm-branch and rush in one day.ⁱ

^e (vs. 8). Something has evidently fallen out of Rec. Text here. The bracketed words have been suggested by Bickell. So Cheyne.

^f (vs. 10): *Israel's adversaries* (lit. *his adversaries*, reading *tsarār* or better *tsaró*). So many moderns. Rec. Text has *the adversaries of Rezin*. *Rezin* must be regarded as originally an incorrect gloss on *his adversaries* (or *adversary*).

^g (vs. 12): Rec. Text adds *Sabaoth*.

^h (vs. 13): *He*: Rec. Text has *Jahveh*. Omit with Staerk for metrical reasons.

ⁱ vv. 14-16A follow here. Render: ¹⁴*The elder and the man of dignity he is the head, and the prophet who gives false oracles, he is the tail.*

¹⁵*And the guides of this people became misleaders,
And they that were guided were effaced.*

¹⁶*Therefore the Lord has no joy (Lag. spares not) in their young warriors,
And on their orphans and widows has no compassion.*

Vs. 14 is obviously a gloss to explain vs. 13. (So most moderns.) Vv. 15-16a read like an editorial insertion—possibly to fill up an

- ^{10b} Because every one is impious and wicked
 And every mouth speaks folly.
 FOR ALL THIS HIS ANGER IS NOT TURNED BACK
 AND HIS HAND IS OUTSTRETCHED STILL.

(3.)

- ¹¹ For like a fire did ungodliness burn,
 consuming thorns and briers,
 And set the forest-thickets aflame
 so that they roll upward in a pillar of smoke.
- ¹² By the fury of Jahvehⁱ the land was ^aburnt up^a.
 And the people became as food for flames.¹
- ¹³ They sliced on the right hand, and still were famished,
 They devoured on the left, and were still unsatisfied ;
- ^{13c} No one compassionated his fellow,
^{13c} They devoured every one ^mhis neighbour's^m flesh—
- ²⁰ Manasseh Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh ;
 And both together were against Judah.
 FOR ALL THIS HIS ANGER IS NOT TURNED BACK,
 AND HIS HAND IS OUTSTRETCHED STILL.

(4.)

Against Judah.

- 10¹ Woe unto the enactors of mischievous enactments
 And to the scribblers who scribble oppression,

illegible space. Notice they break the logical connexion between 13 and 16b. Vv. 15-16a may be the remains of an Isaianic strophe misplaced. But vs. 16 does not connect well with vs. 15.

^j (vs. 18). Rec. Text adds *Sabaoth. k Burnt up^k* so (emending text) Krochmal and some moderns. The reading of the Heb. text is supposed to mean *scorched up*, but this is philologically very doubtful. The word does not occur again.

^l The last clause of vs. 18 which follows on here in Rec. Text is out of place. Transpose (with Cheyne) to the latter part of vs. 19, where the parallelism suits. The alternative is to omit the clause altogether. (So Staerk.) For *as food for flames* Hackmann would read *as cannibals* (*Kémo 'okêlê 'ish* for *kéma'âkôleth 'êsh*). So Staerk.

^m (vs. 19). *His neighbour's* (reading *rê'ô* for *zero'ô*). So Secker, Lowth, Duhm. Rec. Text: *flesh of his own arm*,

- 1 To defraud the helpless of judgment
 And to rob the "afflicted" of their right,
 That widows may be their prey
 And orphans their plunder !
- 2 What, then, will ye do in the day of visitation
 and of crashing ruin when it comes from far ?
 To whom will ye flee for aid,
 and where will ye leave your wealth ?
- 3 ^b (*Nought remains*) *save to crouch under the captives*
And to fall under the slain.
 FOR ALL THIS HIS ANGER IS NOT TURNED BACK
 AND HIS HAND IS OUTSTRETCHED STILL.

(5) and (6), (5²⁸⁻³⁰).

As has already been pointed out these verses belong here. 5²⁵ contains at the end the refrain ; but a single verse is not sufficient for a strophe, so it seems probable that 5²⁵ is to be regarded as a fragment of a strophe, the former part being lost ; 5²⁸⁻³⁰, however, may be looked upon as complete apart from the refrain which presumably ought to conclude it. 5³⁰ stands in isolation. It may be a late insertion modelled on 8²² (Cheyne).

.

5²⁵ Therefore

Jahveh's anger is kindled against His people,
 And He has stretched forth His hand against them
 And smitten them so that the mountains trembled,
 And their carcasses were as offal in the midst of the
 streets.
 FOR ALL THIS HIS ANGER IS NOT TURNED BACK
 AND HIS HAND IS OUTSTRETCHED STILL.

a (vs. 2) : *The afflicted.* Rec. Text : *the afflicted of my people.*

b (vs. 4). The first half of vs. 4 is very difficult. In its present form it can hardly be Isaianic. Lagarde proposed to read the words of the Hebrew text (without altering the consonants) : *Beltis has sunk down, Osiris is broken, and under the slain they fall.* They will have been inserted by a later editor to take the place of two illegible lines. Cf. Is. 46¹ ; Jer. 50³.

(5 26-29.)

A powerful description of an invading enemy's advance. The unnamed invader is almost certainly the Assyrian army.

- 5²⁶ He will lift up a signal to ^{aa}a nation^{aa} from afar,
and hiss to him from the end of the earth,—
And lo ! speedily, swiftly he comes :
- 27 In his ranks none is weary, none stumbles,^a
the girdle of his loins is unloosed,
Not a thong of his sandals snaps ;
- 28 His arrows are sharpened,
And every bow is bent,
The hoofs of his horses are counted as flint,
And his wheels as a whirlwind ;
- 29 His roar is like that of a lioness,
and ^bhe growls^b like the young lions,
And seizes the prey and safely carries it off,
And there is no rescuer.

(vs. 30.)

- [³⁰ *And there shall be a growling over him in that day like the growling of the sea,
And if one look to the earth, behold distressful darkness,^c
and (?) the light is dark in its clouds^c*].

V. A COLLECTION OF ORACLES AGAINST ASSYRIA WITH A
MESSIANIC APPENDIX.

(Ch. 10⁶-11¹⁶).

With 10⁶ a fresh group of oracles begins, which is marked by a certain amount of literary unity. It consists of the following well-defined divisions : (i) 10⁶⁻¹⁶ ; (ii) 10¹⁶⁻³² ; (iii) 10³⁴⁻³⁶ ; (iv) 11¹⁻⁶ (Messianic), and (v) 11¹⁰⁻¹⁸ (also Messianic). The first three of these divisions constitute a great prophecy directed against Assyria. The

aa (vs. 26) : a nation. So most moderns. Rec. Text : nations.

a (vs. 27). Rec. Text adds *none slumbers nor sleeps* ; deleted by Duhm as a gloss. It interrupts the description of the march. So Cheyne.

b (vs. 29). *He growls* : the Rec. Text has *he roars like young lions and growls and seizes* : metre and phraseology are improved by omitting (with Staerk) the redundant *he roars*.

c *And the light is dark in its clouds* ; these words are evidently corrupt.

Messianic sections form an appropriate conclusion. As Cheyne remarks (*Introd.*, p. 48): "Such an important prophecy as 10⁵⁻²⁴ would not have been thought complete without a closing picture of Messianic bliss."

How far is this collection Isaianic? It is clear that a considerable Isaianic basis underlies it, but here, as elsewhere, analysis reveals that the unmistakably Isaianic material is fragmentary in character. The following pieces are certainly by Isaiah: (a) 10⁴⁻⁶ and 10¹²⁻¹⁶; (b) 10^{27c-22}; (c) 10³³⁻³⁴ (perhaps the conclusion of 10⁵ f.), and 11¹⁻⁹. These Isaianic fragments have, it would appear, been skilfully worked up by an editor who is responsible for the collected form and literary unity of the group. In the process connecting passages, some of which may embody Isaianic material, have been composed. As a rule there is no great difficulty in distinguishing these from the Isaianic fragments. The latter, among other distinguishing features, possess a marked artistic form and rhythm.

(I.) JAHVEH'S PLAN AND THE ASSYRIAN CONTRASTED.

(10⁵⁻¹⁵, with 14²⁴⁻²⁷ between 711 and 701.)

This fine prophecy, which, with the exception of vv. 10-12, comes indubitably from the hand of Isaiah, is unfortunately a fragment. It lacks a conclusion. This may partly be extant in vv. 33-34 (so Staerk). Cheyne, however, developing an older view, would assign 14²⁴⁻²⁷ as conclusion here; and this may be right. In any case the view that 14²⁴⁻²⁷ is a contemporary piece with 10⁵⁻¹⁵ has much to recommend it.

The date of 10⁵⁻¹⁸ can be fixed within definite limits with tolerable certainty. Of the cities mentioned in 10⁹, the fall of Carchemish took place in 717 B.C. The prophecy will have been written between this date and 701 (Sennacherib's invasion). Cheyne suggests a date shortly before the siege of Ashdod in 711 when "Isaiah had good reason to think that his country would be invaded by the Assyrians."* (*Introd.*, p. 51.) But there is a serious difficulty attaching to this view. In 711 Isaiah prophesied further Assyrian conquests (in connexion with the siege of Ashdod: see Is. 20). Can he at the same time have predicted Assyria's ruin (14²⁵)? It will be safer, therefore, to bring the date lower down and nearer to the crisis of 701.

⁶ Ah!

Asshur, the rod of mine anger and the staff^c of mine indignation!

^c (vs. 5). Rec. Text: *And a staff, it is in their hand, my indignation.* Omit *it is in their hand* as a gloss which destroys the consistency of the figure, and the rhythm. So most moderns.

* An inscription of Sargon of this date speaks of the inhabitants of Philistia, Judah, Edom and Moab as "speaking treason."

- ⁶ Against an impious nation do I send him,
 And against the people of my fury do I give him a charge,
 To take spoil and amass plunder
 And to trample them down like mire in the streets :
- ⁷ But he—not so does he plan
 Nor does his mind so reckon ;
 For his thought is extermination,
 and to cut off nations not a few :
- ⁸ ^dAre not my officers kings altogether ?
- ⁹ Is not Calno's fate that of Carchemish ?
 Hamath's that of Arpad ?
 Samaria's that of Damascus ?^e
- ¹⁰ By mine own hand's strength have I done it
 And by mine own wisdom, for I am astute ;
 I removed the bounds of the peoples,
 And their treasures I plundered ;
^fI brought cities down in the dust
 And the enthroned!

d (vs. 8). Rec. Text prefixes : *for he says*. An unnecessary gloss.
e (vs. 9, end). Here follow in Rec. Text vv. 10–12, which may be thus rendered :

¹⁰ *As mine hand has seized on the idol-kingdoms—and their graven images exceeded those of Jerusalem and Samaria—¹¹ can I not, as I have done to Samaria and her idols, do likewise to Jerusalem and her images ?*

¹² *So shall it be that when the Lord brings all His work in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem to completion I (or He : so Cheyne) will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria and the glory of his lofty looks (eyes) ; for he says.*

This passage can hardly be original, for (1) vs. 10 puts phrases into the Assyrian's mouth which are incongruous (like "idol-kingdoms"); (2) vs. 12 interrupts the speech; and (3) the whole is strikingly un-rhythmical. It may have been written to fill a gap in the original oracle, or (more probably) as an editorial supplement). Cf. the Assyrian boast in 36^{10/11}. For the places mentioned cf. Appendix II.

f (vs. 13) : *I brought cities down in the dust enthroned* (reading 'ārīm with LXX and be'āfār for Kabbir). So Duhm. The Rec. Text is in confusion and seems to contain the remnants of two lines (making six altogether). R.V. renders Rec. Text : *I have brought down as a valiant man them that sit (on thrones) (marg. the inhabitants).*

- 14 And as on a nest mine hand has seized
 On the riches of the peoples ;
 As unguarded eggs are gathered
 I have gathered up all the earth ;
 There was none that fluttered the wing
 Or opened the mouth and chirped.^g
- 15 Shall the axe vaunt itself against him that hews with it ?
 Or the saw magnify itself against him who handles it ?
 As if a rod could brandish its poiser !
 As if a staff could wield the Immaterial !

(?) CONCLUSION TO THE PRECEDING.

(14²⁴⁻²⁷ ; same date.)

16^{gg}Therefore^{gg}

- 14²⁴ Jahveh Sabaoth has sworn, saying :
 Surely
 As I have planned, so shall it be,
 And as I have purposed, it shall stand ;
- 25 That I will crush Asshur in my land,
 And upon my mountains trample him down.^h
- 26 This is the purpose purposed against all the earth,
 And this is the Hand outstretched against all the nations ;
- 27 For when Jahveh purposes who shall bring it to nought ?
 When His is the outstretched Hand, who shall turn it back ?

^g (vs. 14) : Here the boasting speech ends. What follows is the comment of the prophet.

^{gg} *Therefore* (first word of vs. 16) belongs to the conclusion.

^h (vs. 25). Here follows in the Rec. Text vs. 25b :

*And his yoke shall be removed from off them
 And his burden from off their shoulder,*

which looks like a marginal quotation adapted (Cf. 10²⁷) that has crept into the text. So Cheyne.

(II.) THE DESTRUCTION OF ASSYRIA DESCRIBED : ITS
RESULTS FOR JUDAH.(10¹⁴⁻²³ ; -date uncertain.)

The passage falls into two parts (a) vv. 16-19 describing, under the figures of sickness and a conflagration, the destruction of the Assyrians; and (b) vv. 20-23 describing the "return" or conversion of the remnant of Israel.

Not improbably (a) contains some Isaianic material embedded in its present form. The ideas of the passage—destruction under the figures of fire and pestilence, and the "return" of the remnant—are not un-Isaianic. But it can hardly have assumed its present form at the hand of Isaiah. As Prof. Skinner* remarks on vv. 16-19: "There is a certain amount of confusion in the metaphors, and indubitably the style deteriorates at this point." Cheyne regards the whole passage as it stands as post-Exilic.

¹⁶ *The Lord Jahveh Sabaoth will smite
(Asshur's) fat limbs with wasting disease,
And beneath his glittering splendour there shall burn
a burning like the burning of fire?*

¹⁷ *The Light of Israel will be the fire
And his Holy One the flame—*

¹⁸ *It shall kindle and devour his thorns and briers
in a single day ;
And the glory of his forest and of his fruitful gardens,
both soul and body, shall it consume,
And he shall be like a sick man pining away ;*

¹⁹ *Yea, the remnant of his forest-trees shall be so few
that a child may write them down.*

²⁰ *And it shall come to pass in that Day that the Remnant of Israel, all who have escaped of the House of Jacob, will no more lean on him who smote them, but will lean in faithfulness on Jahveh Israel's Holy One.* ²¹ *A remnant shall return—the Remnant of Jacob—to the Hero-God.* ²² *For though thy people, O Israel, were as the sand of the sea, (only) a remnant in it shall turn ; destruction is decisively decreed, overwhelming in righteous judgment.* ²³ *For a decisive decree of destruction is Jahveh about to execute in the midst of the earth.*

* Camb. Bible, *Isaiah*, Vol. I. p. 89.

(III.) THE SAME SUBJECT.

(10²⁴⁻³⁴ : edited late, but containing some fragmentary writing of Isaiah's ; circa 722 B.C.)

Here again critical analysis reveals composite material. An astonishingly fine fragment of Isaiah's writing—the imaginary description of the Assyrian army's march preserved in vv. 27^c-32—has been provided with an introduction by an editor, containing a consoling address to Zion ; and with a conclusion in vv. 33-34. The fragment (vv. 27^c-32) probably dates from an early period in Isaiah's career, having been composed perhaps about the time of the siege and capture of Samaria, when the danger of Assyrian invasion to Judah was brought perilously near. With it should be compared the parallel (and probably contemporary) passage in Micah 1⁹ *coll.* In both cases the plays upon the local names are a striking feature. (Whitehouse, however, dates it shortly before Sennacherib's invasion in 701.)

With respect to vv. 33-34, they may be regarded as Isaianic, but they clearly do not belong to the descriptive passage which immediately precedes them. Some scholars think they form the conclusion to the Isaianic passage contained in vv. 5 ff. It is doubtful whether Isaiah would have predicted the ruin of Assyria so categorically in 722. A date nearer to 701 is therefore desiderated for these verses, which need not be regarded (with Cheyne) as a late editorial supplement. The imagery is grand (that of a stately forest laid low by the axe) and worthy of Isaiah.

[²⁴Therefore, thus says the Lord Jahveh Sabaoth, Be not afraid, O my people that dwellest in Zion, of Asshur who smites thee with the rod and lifts up his staff against thee, like Egypt of old.

²⁵For yet a very little while and 'my fierce wrath' (against thee) shall be at an end and my anger (shall turn) to his annihilation.

²⁶Jahveh Sabaoth will brandish over him a scourge as at the smiting of Midian at 'the Raven's Rock'ⁱ ; and His rod over the sea—He will lift it up (once more) as against Egypt of old.]

²⁷ *And it shall come to pass in that Day
his burden shall be removed from off thy shoulder,
And his yoke ^kshall cease^k from off thy neck.

ⁱ My fierce wrath (vs. 25). So Lowth, Cheyne. Rec. Text has fierce wrath (without the pron. suffix).

^j (vs. 25). The Raven's Rock, i.e., the Rock of Oreb.

^k (vs. 27): shall cease. So Rob. Smith. The Hebrew text of the last clause of vs. 27 is corrupt (And the yoke shall be destroyed by reason of fatness). In the last three Hebrew words lies concealed a clause which belongs to the following description.

* Vs. 27, a genuine Isaianic verse which coheres with the preceding verses.

(FRAGMENTARY DESCRIPTION OF THE ASSYRIAN ADVANCE*
AGAINST JUDAH.)

(10^{27c-32} ; 722 B.C.)

- ^{27c} 'He has ascended from Pene-Rimmon^l,
- ²⁸ He has invaded Ai—
Marched through Migron ;
At Michmash stores his baggage :
- ²⁹ They pass through the Pass :
Geba is "their" bivouac ;
Panic-stricken is Ramah—
Gibeah of Saul flees.
- ³⁰ Utter a piercing shriek, O daughter of Gallim !
Listen, Laishah ! "Answer her" Anathoth !
- ³¹ Madmenah is a crowd of fugitives—
Gebim's inhabitants hastily gather their goods for flight.
- ³² This very day he will halt at Nob ;
He waves his hand against the Mount of the Daughter of
Zion,
the Hill of Jerusalem.

^l This clause has been restored by Duhm as above (*He has ascended from Pene-Rimmon*). Rob. Smith proposed to read it, *A destroyer has ascended from the North*, introducing the following. But the emendation involved is rather considerable, nor does it quite accord with Isaiah's style. Pene-Rimmon or Rimmon would be the Rimmon of Judges 20^{45,47}. About three-and-a-half miles east of Bethel.

^m (vs. 29) : *their (bivouac)*. So LXX. Rec. Text : " (In Geba be) our bivouac."

ⁿ *Answer her*. So most moderns (a change of vowel points only). Rec. Text : (O) *poor one* (Anathoth). There is an assonance in the Hebrew.

* From the North (an imaginary description). Cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 292. See further on the places mentioned Appendix II.

A FRAGMENTARY CONCLUSION (? to 10^s').
(10³³⁻³⁴.)

³³ Behold

· The Lord Jahveh Sabaoth
 · lops with an axe^o the boughs,
And the lofty are hewn down,^p lie low !

³⁴ Yea, the thickets of the forest are struck away^q
And the Lebanon 'with its cedars' is felled.

(III.) AND (IV.) TWO MESSIANIC APPENDICES.

(Ch. 11¹⁻⁹, 10-16.)

In Ch. 11 we have two companion pictures, both Messianic in character, which provide an eschatological conclusion to the great prophecy directed against Assyria in Ch. 10. The chapter falls naturally into two divisions, (a) vv. 1-9 a beautiful description of the Ideal King and his righteous rule in a transformed world; and (b) a picture of the formation of the Messianic community effected by the gathering in of the exiled Israelites, the dispersed "remnant" of Jahveh's people.

The two pieces are sharply distinguished both in tone and artistic form. The first is in rhythmical form of carefully constructed lines, and is a beautiful specimen of Hebrew poetry. It may safely be assigned to Isaiah. The second is deficient in poetical form and diction, and probably belongs to a later age.

(III.) THE MESSIANIC KING AND HIS RULE.

Second description.

(11¹⁻⁹; date uncertain; ? after 700 B.C.)

The passage should be compared with the parallel one in 9¹⁻⁶ (see Introduction to that section). In contrast with the latter the present description is more refined and spiritual in tone. It is also more definitely national, in connecting the Messianic King with the Davidic dynasty. It will, therefore, probably belong to a later date in Isaiah's prophetic career. Duhm would place this with 2²⁻⁴ and 33¹⁻⁵ quite at the end of Isaiah's life. The picture of transformed nature given in

^o (vs. 33). *With an axe.* So Duhm. Rec. Text: (?) *with a crash.*

^p (vs. 33). Rec. Text adds *the high.*

^q Rec. Text adds *with iron.*

^r *With its cedars.* So Cheyne (lit., *with its mighty ones*). Rec. Text: *By a mighty (majestic) one (i.e., Jahveh).* But such a construction is somewhat harsh. Perhaps *with a hatchet* should be read (*bēqardōm*).

vv. 6 ff. is derived from the common stock of eschatological ideas, though its present form is largely, no doubt, due to Isaiah's hand. (Cf. *Gressmann*, pp. 288 ff.) See further Appendix I.

On metrical grounds it has been doubted whether vv. 3-4a belong to the original Isaianic form; in any case the first three words of vs. 3 are corrupt. Cheyne also, partly on metrical grounds, regards vs. 9 as not belonging originally to vv. 1-8. (So Duhm.)

(1.)

- ¹ A shoot shall spring from Jesse's stock,
And a scion from his roots shall bear fruit.
- ² And the spirit of Jahveh shall rest upon him,
A spirit of wisdom and discernment,
A spirit of counsel and might,
A spirit of knowledge and fear of Jahveh.
- ³ * [He will not judge according to w(hat) his eyes have
seen,
Nor decide by that which his ears have heard,
⁴ But with righteousness will he judge the helpless,
And with equity give decision for the ^bpoor^b of the land.]
And he will smite ^ctyrants^c with the sceptre of his mouth,
And with the breath of his lips will he slay the godless;
- ⁵ And righteousness shall be the zone about his loins,
And faithfulness ^dthe girdle^d of his waist.

(2.)

- ⁶ And the wolf shall lodge with the lamb,
And the leopard lie down with the kid;
And the calf and the young lion ^eshall graze^e together,
And a little child be leader over them.

* *a* (vs. 3). The first clause in the Rec. Text runs: *And his scent* (= *his satisfaction, delight*) *shall be in the fear of Jahveh*. The phrase is linguistically suspicious; it probably arose from a corrupt repetition of the previous words. (So Bickell and many moderns.)

b (vs. 4): *poor*. So most moderns. Rec. Text has *meeh* (the two words differ very slightly in Hebrew).

c (vs. 4.) *Tyrants*. So Krochmal and many moderns. Rec. Text has *earth*.

d *Girdle*. So Lowth and most moderns. Rec. Text has *zone*. (Same word as in clause *a*: parallelism requires a synonym.)

e (vs. 6): *shall graze*. So LXX and many moderns. Rec. Text: *and the falling*.

- 7 The cow and the bear shall be /friends/ ;
 Their young shall lie down together,
 And the lion shall eat straw like the ox ;
- 8 And a suckling shall play over the hole of the asp,
 And over ⁸the den⁸ of the basilisk
 The weaned child shall stretch out his hand.
- 9 [They shall not harm nor destroy
 In all my holy mountain.
 For the Earth shall have been filled with the knowledge
 of Jahveh,
 As the waters cover the sea.]

(IV.) THE RETURN OF THE EXILES AND FORMATION OF THE
 MESSIANIC COMMUNITY.

(11 ⁽¹⁰⁾11-16 ; Post-Exilic.)

The contrast in tone and diction between this section and the preceding is marked. "Here a definite historical situation is assumed which can only with some violence be harmonised with the actual circumstances of Isaiah's time. Jews are in exile not only in Assyria, but in Egypt, Ethiopia, the Mediterranean lands, etc."* The situation presupposed is only conceivable after the beginning of the Exile, at the earliest. With this conclusion the unrhythmical character of the piece as a whole agrees. There is practically a consensus of opinion among modern scholars that the passage cannot be assigned to Isaiah.

It should be added that vs. 10 occupies a somewhat detached position (notice the repetition in vs. 11 of the opening formula: *And it shall come to pass in that Day*). Duhm assigns vs. 10 with vs. 9 (in the preceding section) to a redactor.

¹⁰ [*And it shall come to pass in that Day the Root of Jesse, who is to stand as a signal to the peoples—to him shall the nations resort, and his resting-place shall be glorious. . . .*]

f (vs. 7): *shall be friends* (a slight emendation). So Lagarde and many moderns. This is supported by the parallelism.

g (vs. 8): *den* (a slight emendation). So many moderns. Rec. Text: *eye* (?) or *light-hole* (doubtful).

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

¹¹ *And it shall come to pass in that Day the Lord will again a second time stretch forth His hand to purchase the remnant of His people which shall remain from Assyria and from Egypt, and from Pathros and from Ethiopia, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from the sea-countries.*

¹² ^{gg} *He will lift up an ensign to the nations,
And gather the outcast (men) of Israel,
And the dispersed (women) of Judah shall he collect
From the four corners of the earth.^{gg}*

¹³ *And Ephraim's jealousy shall depart
And the adversaries of Judah be cut off ;^h*

¹⁴ *And they shall swoop upon the shoulder of
the Philistines in the West,
Together shall they spoil the Sons of the East ;
Edom and Moab shall be within their reach,
And the sons of Ammon their subjects.*

¹⁵ *And Jahveh will 'dry up' the tongue of the
Egyptian Sea,
And wave His hand over the River ;
And smite it into seven streams,
And make men go over dry shod.*

¹⁶ *And there shall be a highway for the remnant of His people,
who shall remain from Assyria, as there was for Israel when
he came up from the land of Egypt.*

^{gg} (vs. 12) : men and women. Israelites and Judaeans shall be brought back ; cf. 49²² ; 60⁴ ; 66¹².

^h (vs. 13). Rec. Text adds here :

*Ephraim shall not be jealous of Judah
And Judah shall not be hostile (or oppress) Ephraim.*

Probably an explanatory gloss to the previous clause. (So Duhm and Cheyne.)

ⁱ (vs. 15) : *dry up*. So LXX and most moderns. Rec. Text has *ban*.

^j Rec. Text adds here : *with the fierce heat* (or by a slight emendation, reading 'ōtsem, *violence*) *of his breath*. The clause is really, according to the most probable view, a gloss, perhaps misplaced, having been intended to explain the first clause (*Jahveh will dry up*). The word rendered *fierce heat* ('ayām) does not occur again in Hebrew, and the rendering itself is very doubtful.

(V.) A LYRICAL EPILOGUE TO THE FIRST COMPLETE
ISAIANIC COLLECTION.

(Ch. 12 ; Post-Exilic.)

Ch. 12 contains two short lyrical passages, viz., (a) vv. 1-2 and (b) 3-6. These are placed in the mouth of the ransomed exiles. "As Israel sang songs of triumph after the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 15), so the restored exiles shall celebrate the great salvation with such psalms of thanksgiving and joy as these."* This chapter forms the latest addition to the collection (2-12). It is of a secondary and imitative character throughout, being composed of reminiscences of other poetical passages, mainly derived from the Psalter and the *Song of Moses*. Isaiah's literary genius could not have lent itself to anything like deliberate imitation. The non-Isaianic character of the chapter has been generally recognized among scholars.

(I.)

- ¹ AND THOU SHALT SAY IN THAT DAY [with me,
I thank Thee, Jahveh! Though thou hast been angry
Thine anger ^awas turned away and Thou didst comfort me.^a
- ² Behold the God of my safety! I will trust and not be
My strength and my song is Jah,^b [fearful,
And He has become my safety.

(II.)

(v. 3, containing a promise, connects the second song, vv. 4-6,
with the first.)

- ³ YE SHALL DRAW WATER WITH JOY FROM THE
FOUNTAINS OF DELIVERANCE,
- ⁴ AND SHALL SAY IN THAT DAY
Give thanks unto Jahveh, call upon His name,
Publish His deeds among the peoples,
Record that His Name is exalted.
- ⁵ *Make melody unto Jahveh, for He has wrought majestically.*
Let this be known through all the earth!
- ⁶ *Shout and let thy jubilant cry resound, O inhabitants of Zion!*
For great in the midst of thee is the Holy One of Israel.

^a (vs. 1): *was turned . . . didst comfort*. The verbs in the Hebrew text are pointed as jussives: *May (His anger) be turned . . . do thou comfort*.

^b (vs. 2). Rec. Text adds *Jahveh*. But such a combination (*Jah, Jahveh*) is strange. Probably the second divine name is due to accidental repetition of the first.

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

BOOK II.

*An Intermediate Collection of Oracles mainly concerning
Foreign Nations.*

(Chapters 13-23.)

WITH chapter 13 a fresh group of prophecies begins which extends to Ch. 23. The bulk of this consists of ten "massas" or "oracles" having as their subject mostly the neighbouring (foreign) peoples. Each of these is provided with a heading which contains the word *massa* ("oracle").

Interspersed among these *massas* are four short passages which have no titles and which undoubtedly come from Isaiah's hand. These are (a) 14²⁴⁻²⁷, (b) 17¹²⁻¹⁴, (c) Ch. 18, and (d) Ch. 20. Of the oracles proper 17¹⁻⁶, 18¹⁻¹¹ and 22¹⁻⁸, 12-14 may be assigned with confidence to Isaiah, while 15-16¹² may be an older prophecy adopted by Isaiah, and reaffirmed in a special postscript (16¹³⁻¹⁴). The only "oracles" which certainly or probably bear no relation to Isaiah or his age are 13¹⁻¹⁴²³ (the great oracle against Babylon); Ch. 19 (against Egypt); Ch. 21 ("Oracle, *Desert of the Sea*," one against Dumah, and one against Arabia) and Ch. 23 (against Tyre). It is possible that the collection of Ten *Massas* may have had an independent existence, before it was incorporated into the Book of Isaiah. As such it was not improbably compiled as a miscellaneous collection of oracles dealing with foreign peoples, which contained Isaianic utterances, but was not intended to be limited to such. In this form it was taken, perhaps, by a later editor, who inserted further (undoubtedly) Isaianic matter (the four untitled pieces above mentioned) and incorporated the whole into the collected form of Isaiah's Prophecies. Here it occupies a similar position* to similar groups of oracles in Ezekiel (Ch. 25-32), and Jeremiah (according to the LXX arrangement). Probably this editor is responsible for the words *which Isaiah saw* which immediately follow the heading (*Oracle of Babylon*), and which he intended to apply to the whole collection. It might be supposed that Ch. 24-27 ought to be included with this group as an eschatological appendix. Something can be said in favour of this view, which is, apparently, that of Skinner.† On the other hand Cheyne and Duhm regard the chapters in question as belonging to the next group, for which they provide an eschatological preface‡ (Ch. 24-35). In support of this view it may be urged that Ch. 28 foll. have an eschatological colouring which accords well with the character of 24-27. The latter will, therefore, be considered with the group that follows them (28 foll.) in this volume.

* The subject matter of Is. 1-39 is arranged thus: Prophecies dealing with (1) Judah-Jerusalem; (2) foreign nations; (3) the future of Judah and Jerusalem.

† See *op. cit.*, p. lxxii (Ch. 13-27) regarded as a simple group.

‡ This group also has an eschatological appendix in Ch. 34-35.

I. THE FALL OF BABYLON.

(13¹-14²³ ; Exilic, before 538 B.C.)

This piece consists (a) of a prophecy directed against Babylon (13²⁻²²) and (b) a triumphal ode to be sung by the Jews over the downfall of the hated and oppressive power (14⁴⁶⁻²¹), both passages being linked together by some connecting verses (14^{1-4a}) and concluded with a short epilogue (14²²⁻²³). The connecting verses and the epilogue are probably the work of an editor who brought the prophecy and the ode into juxtaposition. Whether the prophecy and the ode are by the same author is doubtful. In any case they cannot be the work of Isaiah. On this point there is a very general consensus of opinion among modern scholars. It is true that Babylon lay within Isaiah's horizon (cf. Ch. 39), but the Babylon of Isaiah's day had not yet become the world-power which imposed its oppressive yoke upon the nations. The tone of the oracle and the conditions presupposed are only intelligible at a date towards the end of the Babylonian exile, when the Jewish exiles were eagerly expecting the downfall of their Babylonian tyrants. Whether the pieces were written before or after 549, when Cyrus incorporated Media into his empire is uncertain. But in any case the whole must have been composed before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538. It will thus be more or less contemporary with the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah (Ch. 40-55). These conclusions are confirmed by the style, language and conceptions that characterize the chapters which are not those of Isaiah. The poetry of both compositions is very fine. The poems are in each case constructed of seven-lined strophes, in the rhythm of the Hebrew Dirge (the so-called "Kinah-measure").* Each line consists of a long member followed by a short clause (after the caesura). Thus, to take an instance, (13⁹):

*They come from a land remote,
from heaven's end.*

Other examples in Isaiah are the fine poem in 37²²⁻²⁹, and the ode on Babylon's Fall (which resembles the ode here) in Ch. 48.

In some verses here lines apparently are missing. These are indicated by dots.

¹ Oracle on Babylon [which Isaiah ben-Amoz saw.]

(A.) THE PROPHECY (13²⁻²²).

(1.)

- ² Upon a treeless mountain lift up a signal,
raise a cry to them,
Wave the hand for them to enter
the gateways of a princely line.

* Cf. the article *Poetry* in Hastings' *D.B.* (by Budde).

(*Jahveh speaks.*)

- ^a " I, even I, have issued a commission ^atouching mine anger^a
to my consecrated (warriors),
Yea, I have summoned my heroes,
my proudly exultant ones."
- ⁴ Hark ! a tumult in the mountains
as of a mighty multitude !
Hark ! an uproar of kingdoms,
of gathered nations !
It is Jahveh Sabaoth mustering
a battle host.
- (2.)
- ⁵ They come from a land remote,
from heaven's end,
Jahveh and His instruments of wrath,
to ruin the whole earth.
- ⁶ Wail ! for nigh is Jahveh's Day
As mighty destruction from the Almighty Destroyer it comes !
- ⁷ Therefore all hands hang helpless
And every mortal heart doth melt
and dismayed are . . .
- ⁸ Pangs and throes do seize them,
like a woman in travail they writhe ;
Amazed they gaze at each other,
their faces aflame.

(3.)

- ⁹ Lo ! ^cHe comes^c ruthless,
with fury and burning anger,
To make earth a desolation,
and her sinners to extirpate out of her.
- ¹⁰ For ^dHeaven^d and her Orions
shall not shed their bright beams ;
The sun is darkened at his rising,
and the moon gives no brilliant light.

a (vs. 3): *touching mine anger* ; transferred from the next clause for metrical reasons. So Duhm and Cheyne.

b (vs. 7). Metrical considerations suggest a lacuna here (so again vv. 8, 16, 17, 18, 21). So Duhm and Cheyne.

c (vs. 9). Rec. Text has *the Day of Jahveh comes*. Duhm regards *Day of Jahveh* as a gloss from vs. 6. The metre and sense are improved by its omission.

d (vs. 10): *Heaven*. Rec. Text has *stars of Heaven*, but this involves a tautology (*Orions* being included in the stars). Omit with Duhm,

(*Jahveh again speaks.*)

11 " I will punish the ^eevil of the world,^e
and the iniquity of the godless ;
I will still the arrogance of pride,
and lay low the presumption of tyrants.

12 I will make mortals rarer than fine gold,
and men than the ^{*}ore of Ophir.*

(4.)

13 " Therefore will I shake the heavens,
and earth shall quake from her place,"
At the fury of Jahveh Sabaoth,
and in the Day of His burning anger.

14 And then like a hunted gazelle,
and like sheep with none to fold them,
They shall every one turn to his own people,
and every man flee to his own land ;

15 All who are found shall be thrust through,
and whoever is caught shall fall by the sword ;

16 And their children shall be dashed in pieces
before their eyes ;
Their houses shall be despoiled . . .
and their wives ravished.

(5.)

17 Behold I stir up against them
the Medes . . .
Who regard not silver,
and in gold take no delight.

18 ^f . . . and bows . . .
: : : young men . . . ^f
(and maidens) shall be dashed in pieces ;

^g On children their eye will have no pity,
They will not compassionate the fruit of the womb.

^e *the evil of the world* ; reading *the world and its evil*.

^f (vs. 18) ; and bows . . . young men. The metre here desiderates three lines : of these apparently the words indicated are all that remain. So Duhm and Cheyne. *And maidens*, restored here by Duhm and Cheyne. Rec. Text reads the whole of this, (their) bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, but this sense is unsuitable. The predicate *dash to pieces* is not a proper one for bows.

^g Clauses transposed (to improve metre and provide a climax).

* Cheyne's rendering.

- 19 And Babylon, ^hmost beautiful of kingdoms,
 ⁱthe pride and glory of the Chaldeans,
 Shall share the overthrow inflicted by God
 upon Sodom and Gomorrah.

(6.)

- 20 It shall be uninhabited for ever,
 and unoccupied age after age ;
 No wandering nomad shall pitch tent there
 nor shepherds there make the fold.
- 21 Wild cats (?) shall lie down there,
 Their houses shall be full of jackals (?),
 And there shall ostriches dwell,
 and satyrs dance ;
- 22 Hyenas (?) shall cry to each other in its castles,
 and wolves (?) in its palaces of delight :
 Its time is nearly come,
 and its days shall not be prolonged.

(B.) THE ODE OF TRIUMPH.

(14^{ab}-21 with a late editorial introduction, 14^{1-4a}, and an Epilogue, 14²²⁻²³.)

(*End of Exile.*)

14¹ For Jahveh will compassionate Jacob, and will yet again choose Israel, and establish them upon their own land ; and settlers will join them, and attach themselves to the House of Jacob. ²And the peoples shall take them and bring them to their place, and the House of Israel shall enter into possession of them in Jahveh's land as men-servants and maid-servants, and they shall become their captors' captors, and they shall rule over their taskmasters.

³ And it shall be, when Jahveh shall have given thee rest from thy travail and from thy disquiet, and from the hard service wherein thou wast made to serve, ⁴ thou shalt take up this taunt-song upon the King of Babylon, and shalt say :

(1.)

How still the Oppressor has grown—
 stilled, too, ^athe insolent raging!

- ⁵ Jahveh has broken the rod of the godless,
 the sceptre of tyrants,

h (vs. 19) : most beautiful, lit. ornament or beauty.

i the pride and glory, lit. the beauty of pride.

a (vs. 4) : the insolent raging : reading *marhēbah*. The reading of the Rec. Text (*Madhebah*) yields no sense (*golden city* is quite unwarranted)

- 6 That smote the peoples in fury,
 with smiting incessant,
 That trod down the nations in anger,
 with tread unrelenting !
- 7 All the earth is at rest and quiet—
 they burst into jubilant singing.
- 8 ^bEven the pine-trees rejoice at thy fate,
 (and) the cedars of Libanus :
 “ No axe-man comes up against us,
 since thou wert laid low ! ”
- (2.)
- 9 Sheol below is stirred on account of thee,
 to greet thy coming ;
 It rouses for thee the shades—
 all the bell-wethers of Earth ;
 Making rise up from their thrones
 all the kings of the nations.
- 10 One and all they take up the word
 and say to thee :
 “ What ! thou, too, enfeebled like us ;
 thy fate matched unto ours ! ”
- 11 Thy majesty is brought down to Sheol,
 thy resounding stringed music ;—
 Beneath thee corruption is spread,
 thy coverlet worms.
- (3.)
- 12 How art thou fallen from heaven,
 O Lucifer, Son of the Dawn !
 (How) ^c art thou cut down to the ground,
 prostrate upon ^dcorpses^d !
- 13 And thou—thou hadst said in thine heart,
 “ Heaven’s (heights) will I scale,
 Above the stars of God
 will I exalt my throne,
 And take my seat in *the Mount of Assembly
 in the uttermost North :*

b (vs. 8). Transposing clauses (metre).

c (vs. 12), *How* : the metre requires the addition of this word. So Budde, Duhm, Cheyne.

d *prostrate upon corpses* : (reading *gewiyyôth* for *goyim* of Hebrew text). By this slight emendation (proposed by Gunkel) the phrase becomes an intelligible and suitable one (the mighty form of the King of Babylon resting inert upon a heap of corpses). The reading of the Rec. Text yields no intelligible sense.

* See for the meaning of this local name Appendix III.

14 I will ascend above the high-banked clouds,
will match the Most High !”

15 Yet to Sheol thou art brought down,
to the innermost Pit.

(4.)

16 They that see thee stare narrowly at thee,
a close scrutiny fix on thee :

“ Is this He who startled the Earth,
who shook kingdoms,

17 Who made the round World a desert,
demolished its cities,

Who let not his captives go free
each man to his home e ? ”

18 The Kings of the nations all,
do repose in honour e ;

19 But *thou!* among the slain art flung down,
among those thrust through with the sword,
Who descend g to the base g of the Pit,
as a carcase trod under foot.

(5.)

h(How art thou cut off) h from thy grave,
as an abhorred scion,

i
clothed i(with shame).j

e (vs. 17-18) : *each man to his home* : this clause is transposed (with one slight alteration) from vs. 18 where it overweights the line.

f (vs. 19). The received text here is certainly in disorder. It is thus rendered in the R.V. : *But thou art cast forth (away from thy sepulchre, like an abominable branch, clothed with) the slain, that are thrust through with the sword, that go down to the stones of the pit ; as a carcase trodden under foot.* The idea of the body being *disinterred* is inconsistent with the next verse (20). To avoid this the R.V. resorts to the awkward rendering *away from*. Both sense and metre are satisfied if the clause bracketed in the R.V. rendering is transposed with Duhm to the end of the verse and *among* inserted before *the slain*.

g *to the base*. So Gunkel, foll. by Cheyne. The *bases* (*pedestals*) of the earth are spoken of in Job 38⁶. Rec. Text has *stones of the pit*, i.e., (?) the stones cast on the body in haste (cf. 2 Sam. 18¹⁷). But in this poem Pit always = *underworld* (*Sheol*), not a *grave*. This objection also applies to the proposal to transfer the clause to vs. 20 (beginning), and making *stones of the pit* = *sepulchre of stones* (*Those who have gone down to sepulchres of stones* (i.e., have been buried in state) *with them thou shalt not be joined in burial*).

h *How art thou cut off*, the clause supplied (by conjecture) by Duhm as antecedent to *from thy grave*.

i Metrical structure suggests here a missing line.

j *with shame* : (clothed) *with shame*. Cf. Ps. 132¹⁸. So Duhm and Cheyne.

^{20k}(As for thy fathers)^k thou mayest not be joined
in burial with them,

Because thou hast wasted thy land,
hast slaughtered thy people.

May it never be named any more,
the race of the evil-doer !

²¹ For his sons, make ye ready a shambles
because of their father's guilt ;

That they rise not, and possess the earth,
and fill ^{kk}the face of the world.^{kk}

EPILOGUE.

²² *And I will arise against them, is the oracle of Jahveh Sabaoth, and will cut off from Babylon record and remnant, chick and child : such is Jahveh's oracle ;* ²³ *And I will make it a possession of the bittern, and pools of water ; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, is the oracle of Jahveh Sabaoth.*

A. FIRST OF THE APPENDED ISAIANIC FRAGMENTS.

(14 ²⁴⁻²⁷ ; possibly conclusion to 10^{sf}. See Introduction to that section.)

II. THE FATE OF PHILISTIA.

(14 ²⁸⁻³² ; c. 720 B.C.)

In this short oracle the Philistines, who are exulting in the fall of some dreaded foe, are urged not to indulge in premature rejoicing, as the hated oppression will soon be re-established. In vs. 30 a contrast is drawn with the felicity in store for Israel. In vs. 31 the warning to Philistia is reiterated, and in 32 a foreign embassy that has arrived in Jerusalem receives an answer in the name of Jahveh.

The situation reflected arose more than once during Isaiah's life. Verse 31 irresistibly suggests the Assyrian invader, and doubtless in vs. 29 *basilisk* and *flying serpent* were meant to apply to successive Assyrian (not Judæan) monarchs. The death of an Assyrian monarch in Isaiah's age, when the Assyrian power had made its conquering arms felt far and wide, usually meant the revolt of some one or other of the conquered peoples. Three such occasions occurred which would suit the details of this oracle, viz., the death of Tiglath Pileser in 727 ; of Shalmaneser IV in 722 ; and of Sargon in 705. In every one of these cases disaffection involving Philistia occurred. Cheyne, following Winckler, suggests 721 or 720, when " Sargon was completely defeated by the Elamites at Dur-ilu in N. Babylonia . . . which led to a pretty general rising in Syria and Palestine."* Hanun of Gaza threw off the Assyrian yoke, but ultimately fell into the hands of the

^k (vs. 20) : *As for thy fathers*, a happily conjectured beginning supplied by Duhm.

^{kk} (vs. 21) : *the face of the world* : so Duhm, Marti. Cf. Gen. 1 ²⁸ ; Ex. 1 ⁷. Rec. Text adds *with cities* (for which others read *'iyyim heaps*) ; but the word is metrically superfluous and is probably a gloss.

* E. Bibl., col. 2197.

Assyrians. Sargon, in fact, suppressed the rebellion everywhere. The superscription, which is editorial, may be due to a mistaken exegesis which interpreted *the rod that smote* Philistia of Ahaz.

Driver (*Isaiah*, p. 87) prefers a later date, 705 or 704, when Sargon*—the "snake"—was murdered. Subsequent to this Hezekiah allied himself with the Philistines against Sennacherib, and the embassy alluded to in vs. 32 may have been a Philistine one to the Judæan King. The only feature that conflicts with Isaianic authorship is the language of vs. 30 (*the poor, the needy*, and their felicity). This has led Duhm to assign to the oracle a post-Exilic date. But this is unnecessary. The verse in question may be a later insertion. The sequence is made clearer by its omission.

The poem in its present form consists of four strophes of four lines each. But, as we have seen, the second strophe (vs. 30) is of doubtful Isaianic authorship.

²⁶ *In the death-year of King Ahaz came this 'oracle!*

(1.)

²⁹ O rejoice not, all Philistia,
That the rod which smote thee is broken !
For from the serpent's root shall spring a basilisk,
And its fruit shall be a flying dragon.

(2.)

³⁰ [*The poor shall feed^m in my meadows,^m
And the needy shall lie down securely ;
Butⁿ thy seedⁿ will I kill with famine,
And thy remnant^o will I slay.^o*

(3.)

³¹ Howl, O gate ! Cry, O city !
Collapse entire Philistia !
For from the North comes (the invader's) smoke,
And no straggler is seen in his levies.

^l *oracle*. This may be due to an editor who substituted *oracle* here for *word* (*oracle* because this a collection of such). So Cheyne.

^m *in my meadows*. So most moderns. Rec. Text : *first born* (of the poor).

ⁿ *thy seed*. So LXX, Duhm, Cheyne. Rec. Text : *thy root*.

^o (vs. 30) : *will I slay* : so Duhm, Cheyne. Rec. Text has *he shall slay*. The alteration of person is required by the parallelism.

* Sargon had defeated Hanno at Raphia in 720 and captured Ashdod in 711.

(4.)

- ³³ What, then, shall ^p(the King of my people)^p answer
 If messengers of a nation ^p(speak to him)^p ?
 That Jahveh has founded Zion,
 And in her shall [the afflicted of] His people take refuge.

III. THE FALL OF MOAB.

(Ch. 15-16 ; date of the main prophecy uncertain† ; with an Isaianic fragment appended of 711 B.C.)

Chapters 15 and 16 describe in plaintive language the devastation wrought by some victorious foe in Moab. The invasion takes place from the north, the fugitives seeking refuge in Edom, in the south. The invader referred to may be either Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B.C.) or Assurbanipal (669-626) or Jeroboam II, King of Israel (782-741 : for the latter's conquests cf. 2 Kings 14²⁵). Appended to the prophecy is an Epilogue (16^{13f}) which may be assumed to be the work of Isaiah. But the oracle itself offers so marked a contrast in style, language and tone—it is very emotional and laboured—with Isaiah's genuine compositions that it may safely be regarded as un-Isaianic. Is it then an older prophecy adopted by Isaiah and expressly re-affirmed by him in the Epilogue ? This view has been widely held. Hitzig conjectured that the oracle was originally written with reference to the presumed subjugation of Moab by Jeroboam II (King of North Israel).‡ Recent critical discussion, however, has tended to modify this view. It is now held by many critics that the basis of these chapters is not a prophecy at all, but an elegiac description of some great disaster befalling Moab written by a contemporary. Cheyne conjectures that this elegy, originally written with Nebuchadnezzar's destructive invasion of 589 in view, reached post-Exilic times in a defective state, and was then worked over and attached by an editor to the Isaianic fragment in 16^{13f}. It may be presumed that the (post-Exilic) editor was anxious to find a suitable composition dealing with Moab to which to attach the Isaianic fragment, and for this purpose selected these chapters as an old oracle coming from the distant past.§ To him

^p Between the second and third words in the Hebrew text of vs. 32 some words have fallen out. (*) Those translated in the text above have been supplied by Bickell.

(*) This is made clear by the metrical structure.

† " 720 or 589 B.C." (Cheyne).

‡ An earlier conquest of Moab by North Israel under Omri is described in the " Moabite Stone " (ninth cent. B.C.)

§ Cf. 16¹³ (*This is the word of J. concerning Moab in time past*). The editor who wrote this clearly claims that the prophecy is ancient (as indeed it must have appeared to him), not that it was Isaianic.

the composition must have appeared to be sufficiently ancient to justify its being joined to a genuine fragment of Isaiah's work. In Jer. 48^{29,38} there is an imitated and expanded adaptation of these chapters.

The poem falls into three parts, viz., (1) Ch. 15; (2) 16¹⁻⁶; (3) 16⁷⁻¹²; and to the whole the Epilogue 16¹³⁻¹⁴ is added. The Isaianic character of the Epilogue has been doubted, but on insufficient grounds. The language of vs. 14 is vigorous and striking enough to be Isaiah's. Here undoubtedly the Assyrians are in view. The date probably is 711 when the Moabites were in revolt against Sargon. It should be noted that the so-called "Kinah" or elegiac rhythm prevails in the main body of the poem. [For the localities mentioned in this section cf. Appendix II D.]

¹ Oracle on Moab.

(1.)

(Wail ye) because in a night

Ar-Moab was stormed, overthrown !

(Wail ye) because in a night

Kir-Moab was stormed, overthrown !

² ^aThe daughter of Dibon ascends^a

^bto the city's shrine^b to weep,

On Nebo and on Medeba

(poor) Moab wails,

On all heads there is baldness,

every beard is shorn.

³ In her streets they gird them with sackcloth,

on her roofs ^c(lamentation),^c

In her broadways all Moab wails

with torrents of tears.

⁴ Heshbon and Elealeh cry out,

unto Jahaz their voice is heard.

Therefore

^dThe very loins^d of Moab complain,

her soul quakes.

^a (vs. 2) : *The daughter* (i.e., the people) of Dibon, following Duhm's brilliant emendation. Rec. Text (R.V.) has *Bayith and Dibon are gone up to the high places to weep.*

^b *to the city's shrine*, lit. *to the high-places.*

^c *lamentation* : so Duhm (reading *mispēd*) following LXX. Cf. Jer. 48³⁸. So Cheyne.

^d *the very loins* : so LXX, Lowth, Duhm. Rec. Text (with a different pointing) : *the armed soldiers* (of Moab).

- ⁵ My heart cries out for Moab,
 her fugitives (flee) to Zoar^e ;
 As for the ascent of Luhith
 with weeping do they ascend it ;
 In the way of Horonaim
 a cry of ruin / they shout / :
- ⁶ For the waters of Nimrim
 become waste spots.
 The herbage is withered, and gone is the grass,
 green there is none.
- ⁷ Therefore the abundance they have gotten,
 and what they have stored,
 Across the Wady of Willows
 they do carry it,
- ⁸ For the cry has gone round about
 the borders of Moab ;
 E'en to Eglaim its wailing (is heard),
 yea, to Beer-Elim its wailing ;
- ⁹ Because the waters of Dimon
 are full of blood.
- ^g [*For (even yet) will I bring upon Dimon
 further (woes),
 For the escaped of Moab lions,
 and for the remnant of the land . . .*].

(2) (16¹⁻⁶.)

This section embodies very little of the original elegy. Three lines of it are quoted (or worked in) in vs. 3 apparently. For the rest vs. 2 can hardly be in its original place, confusing as it does the entire representation (in vs. 1 the fugitive Moabites are in Edom ; in vs. 2 at the fords of Arnon). Then again vv. 4b, 5 seem to refer to the Messianic Age. They not improbably were added by a later hand under the impression that the Messianic Age was referred to in the context. If the intruding verses are removed a consistent picture

^e (vs. 5) : *her fugitives (flee) to Zoar*. Rec. Text has *her bolts* (i.e., princes) *to Zoar, to Eglath Shelishiyyah*. Some such word as flee has obviously fallen out before *to Zoar*. *To Eglath Shelishiyyah* is superfluous metrically. It may be the name of a locality inserted from the margin into the text. The flight takes a southerly direction.

^f (vs. 5) : *they shout* : so Lagarde, Cheyne and others. The reading of Rec. Text is unintelligible.

^g (vs. 9). Clearly this clause is not the sequel to the preceding. The original continuation is lacking. The bracketed clauses, which contain the first occurrence of a prediction in the poem, were added when the original was adapted to its present character as an oracle on Moab. If the addition was made by Isaiah then *lions* must = Assyrians. A word seems to have fallen out at end of the last line.

reveals itself. In vs. 1 the fugitive Moabites are exhorted to send a present (tribute) from Edom to the suzerain (in Jerusalem) with the request that he would intervene for their protection (vv. 3, 4a). In vs. 6 the writer, speaking in the name of the Judæan community, rejects this prayer.

¹ *Send ye a tribute a for the ruler of the land from Sela, by way of the wilderness, to the Mount of the Daughter of Zion^b : (saying)*

² "Apply counsel—be mediator ;

Make thy shadow like very night
at highest noon ;

Shelter the outcasts,
betray not the fugitive !

⁴ Let them (all) sojourn with thee,
the outcasts of Moab ;

Be thou their shelter
from before the destroyer."^c

(*The answer.*)

⁶ "We have heard of the pride of Moab, the very proud ; of his haughtiness, and his pride, and his arrogance, and of his hollow pratings."

(3.) (16⁷⁻¹². *The elegiac strain renewed.*)

⁷ And so Moab wails for Moab,
all Moab wails ;

For ^cthe raisin-cakes of Kir-hareseth^c
^dthey moan^d utterly stricken.

a (vs. 1) : *tribute* (Heb. 'eshkar) : so Grätz and others. Rec. Text has *a lamb* (*kar*).

b Verse 2, which is here obviously misplaced, runs : *And it shall come to pass that like wandering birds a scattered nest shall Moab's daughters* (i.e., (?) *communities*) *be at the fords of Arnon.*

c Here follow vv. 4b-5, which apparently have a Messianic application. They run as follows :

^{4b} *For the ruthless* (Rec. Text : *squeezer, extortioner*) *is no more, spoiling is at an end, the grinding oppressors* (lit. *down-treaders*) *are perished from the land.*

⁵ *The throne shall be established by kindness,
And there shall sit upon it in faithfulness in David's tabernacle
A judge who seeks justice and is expert in right.*

cc (vs. 7) : *the raisin-cakes of Kir-hareseth* : such cakes were a regular feature of ancient cults. Cf. Hos. 3¹ (*the children of Israel . . . turn unto other gods and love raisin-cakes*), and Jer. 7¹⁸ which refers to the women *kneading the dough to make cakes for the Queen of Heaven* (i.e., as offerings to Ashtoreth). *Raisin-cakes*, such as those referred to here, were offered at the autumnal feast of Ingathering. Cf. *the unleavened cakes* which had a place in the Mosaic ritual.

d (vs. 7) : *they moan* : so Duhm, Cheyng. Rec. Text : *ye moan.*

* (vs. 4) : so the Versions. Rec. Text : *my outcasts, O Moab.*

- ^a *dd* For withered are the vineyards of Heshbon,
the vine of Sibmah,
Whose choice vine-plants struck down
the lords of the nations,
Which reached to Ja^czer,
strayed to the desert,
Whose branches spread out,
overpassing the Sea.^{dd}
- ^b Therefore
I share in the weeping of Ja^czer
for the vine of Sibmah ;
I do drench thee with my tears,
O Heshbon and Elealeh ;
For on thy fruitage and harvest
the war-cry is fallen.
- ¹⁰ And vanished are joy and gladness,
from the garden-land ;
In the vineyards no jubilant singing,
nor shouting ;
None treads out wine in the presses,
the cry of the vintage *is* stilled.^e
- ¹¹ Therefore
As a harp to music my compassion is stirred for Moab,
and my inmost being for Kir-IJareseth.
- ¹² *And it shall come to pass when Moab^f wearies himself upon the high place, and enters his sanctuary to pray, he shall not prevail.*
Epilogue.
- ¹³ *This is the word which Jahveh spake concerning Moab in time past.* ¹⁴ *But now Jahveh has spoken, saying : In three years, ^gneither more nor less^g, Moab's glory shall be made contemptible with all her vast multitude ; and the remnant shall be small, puny, and strengthless.*

dd (vs. 8) : *the vine of Sibmah*, a celebrated vintage ; *struck down the lords of the nations* : i.e., overpowered the revellers at lordly banquets. The intoxicating power of the wine is referred to. Drunkenness in high circles of Canaanite society is often referred to in pre-Exilic writings. Cf. Is. 28^{1, 3} ; Amos 6^{4, 6}, etc. ; *to Ja^czer*, sixty-five miles north of Heshbon. ^aThe luxuriant vine-plants extend even so far, and *stray* to the desert (on the east) ; *overpassing the sea*, i.e., the Dead Sea (to its western side). Others : *passing over to the Sea*, i.e., reaching its Eastern shore.

e (vs. 10) : *is stilled* : so Lowth and many moderns. Rec. Text : *I have stilled.*

f (vs. 12). Rec. Text adds *appears when she*, due to a variant (mis-spelling) of the word rendered *wearies herself*. Omit, with most moderns.

g *neither more nor less* : lit., *as the years of a hireling*, i.e., exactly measured ; cf. 21¹⁶.

IV. THE FALL OF SYRIA AND EPHRAIM.

(17¹⁻¹¹ ; circa 735 B.C.)

This oracle, which is mainly concerned with the impending overthrow of Northern Israel, belongs chronologically to the same period as the fine prophecy, 9⁷⁻¹⁰, in conjunction with which it should be studied. The combination of Syria and Ephraim in the same prophecy clearly points to the time when these two powers were allied. But no allusion is made to the Assyrian conquest of Damascus, which took place in 732 B.C. ; nor is any hint given of the attack by the allies on Judah. The date of the prophecy will, therefore, precede that of the events described in Is. 7, and will also be prior to the fall of Damascus. It may be fixed plausibly at about 735 B.C.

The Isaianic authorship of the oracle in the main is undoubted ; but doubts have been entertained regarding vv. 7-8. In their present position they do not cohere with the context, and must be a later insertion. They may possibly be a misplaced Isaianic fragment, but this is by no means certain. Cheyne regards them as having been written by an early editor to fill up an illegible gap in the original oracle. The verses " describe the spiritual condition of Israel after the last great judgment, when there shall be no distinction of North and South, Israel and Judah " (*Introduction*, p. 93).

¹ *Oracle on Damascus.*

Behold

Soon shall Damascus cease to be a city,
And become ^aa ruin,^a ^bforsaken for ever^b ;

² ^bHer cities^b be given up to flocks—

There to lie down and none to make them afraid.

³ The fortress shall vanish from Ephraim,

And the ^{*}sovereignty^{*} from Damascus ;
And the remnant of Aram ^c(shall perish)^c ;
Is the oracle of Jahveh Sabaoth.

⁴ And it shall come to pass in that day

The glory of Jacob shall languish,
And the fatness of his flesh be made lean.

^a (vs. 1), *a ruin* : Rec. Text adds (?) *heap*. But the word is suspicious in form and probably corrupt (a case of dittography). So most moderns.

^b *forsaken for ever* ; *Her cities* : reading with Duhm 'azûbath 'ad 'ad we'arêhâ. This involves only slight emendation of the Hebrew text. Rec. Text has *the cities of Aroer are forsaken* (for Aroer cf. Appendix II E). Cheyne reads *her cities shall be forsaken for ever*. LXX supports Duhm in reading *forsaken for ever* (sing. applied to Damascus).

^c *shall perish* : so LXX. Rec. Text omits, but Rec. Text adds *like the glory of the Israelites shall they be*. Omit as a gloss (based upon next verse).

* Or *dynasty* ; cf. 60¹² (note).

- 6 And it shall be
 As when the harvestman gathers the standing corn,
 And his arms reap the ears^d ;
- 7 As when an olive-tree is beaten, and there is left in it
 gleanings
 Two or three berries on the uppermost bough,
 Four or five on the branches of the fruit tree :
 Such is the oracle of Jahveh Israel's God.
- [¹ In that Day
 Human kind shall look to its Maker,
 And its eyes regard Israel's Holy One ;
 It shall not look to ^ethe work of its hands,
 And what its own fingers have made it shall not regard^f].*
- 8 In that day
^gThy cities shall be derelict,
 Like the derelict places of the Amorite and Hivite,^g
^hDesolation shall reign :
- 10 Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy safety,
 And of ^{*}the Rock^{*} which is thy stronghold hast been
 unmindful.
 Therefore
^{*}Plantations of Adonis^{*} may'st thou plant,
 And with slips of a strange god^{*} may'st stock them—
- 11 As soon as ever thou plantest them mayest hedge them in,
 And in the morning bring thy seed to blossom—
 Yet shall the harvest flee in a day of sickness
 and desperate sorrow.

d (vs. 5). Rec. Text adds : *Yea, it shall be as when one gathers ears in the Vale of Rephaim.* Omit as a gloss with Staerk.

e (vs. 8). Rec. Text adds *to the altars.* An explanatory gloss.

f Rec. Text adds *the Asherim and the sun-pillars.* An explan. gloss.

g (vs. 9). *Thy cities shall be derelict like the derelict places of the Amorite and the Hivite.* So Duhm, Cheyne, and many moderns (in the main following the LXX). Rec. Text has (R.V.) *his strong cities shall be as the deserted places of the forest and the height.*

h (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds here *which they forsook before the Israelites.* A gloss (which does not accord with rhythm of verse). So Duhm, Cheyne.

^{*} (vs. 10) : *the Rock*, a frequent name of God, cf. 30²⁹, 44⁸ ; Deut. 32. On *plantations of Adonis*, etc., cf. Appendix III, note 2.

B. SECOND OF THE APPENDED ISAIAIC FRAGMENTS.

(17¹²⁻¹⁴ ; circa 702 B.C.)

The subject of this small but fine appended piece is the Assyrians. It cannot, therefore, well be regarded as a continuation of the preceding oracle. The abrupt change of tone and subject hardly suggests that it was placed by Isaiah himself in its present position, even as a later appendix. Was it then intended to form an introduction to Chapter 18? Both in the metrical form and subject there is a certain resemblance with the chapter that follows; but vs. 14 clearly shows that it was intended to mark the conclusion of a prophecy. It is best, therefore, to regard it as an independent piece.

The date and historical situation pre-supposed are those, probably, of Ch. 18, circa 702, when Sennacherib had taken the field against the rebellious coalition which included Judah. Cheyne, however, supports an earlier date. He supposes that Isaiah attached these verses to 17¹⁻¹¹ "during the anxious time of the siege of Samaria, to reassure those who feared that Judah might share the fate of her northern sister" (*Introd.*, p. 95). The prophet announces that Judah shall be wonderfully preserved from the Assyrian hosts, whose advance is compared to the roaring of the sea. The figure of a Flood for the attack by the foes of the people of God has eschatological affinities. Cf. *Gressmann*, pp. 65 ff.

¹² Ah,

The roar of many peoples
that roar like the roaring of seas!
And the thunder of ^hmighty^h nations
thunderous as the thunder of Ocean!

¹³ i

But He checks it, and it flees afar
And is chased like ⁱchaffⁱ before the wind,
like whirling dust before the hurricane.

^h (vs. 12): *mighty*: it is necessary for metrical reasons to transpose this word from the next clause (*mighty waters* [Ocean]). So LXX (apparently), Duhm, Gunkel, Cheyne.

ⁱ (vs. 13). Here Rec. Text adds: *nations—like the thunder of many waters do they thunder*. This is merely a variant of vs. 12b; it is wanting in the Peshitto, and is omitted in a few Hebrew MSS. So many moderns. Duhm, Gunkel, and Cheyne regard the clause as having taken the place of one now lost. But it should be noted that with its omission the little piece assumes a beautifully symmetrical form, consisting of two double lines followed by a short line, repeated (6 : 6 : 4 :: 6 : 6 : 4). So Staerk.

^j (vs. 13): *chaff*. Rec. Text adds *of the mountains*. But this is superfluous, and spoils the metre.

14 At eventide, behold terror,
 before morn it is no more !
 Such is the portion of our spoilers, and the lot of our
 plunderers !

C. THIRD OF THE APPENDED ISAIANIC PIECES :

AN ADDRESS TO THE ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADORS.

(Ch. 18 ; 702 B.C.)

This prophecy has no heading (*massa : oracle*) and is therefore to be regarded as a later insertion into the *massa*-collection. Its main subject is the same as that of the preceding—the sudden and wonderful destruction of the Assyrian army.

The dramatic form of the prophecy is a striking feature. This was determined by the picturesque circumstances which attended its utterance. An embassy from Ethiopia, apparently, had arrived in Jerusalem with the object of negotiating an alliance with the Israelitish King against Assyria, or at least of encouraging him to resist by promises of support. The situation presupposed suits the time when Hezekiah was preparing to defy Sennacherib. About the same time as Sennacherib began his reign (705) the Ethiopian monarch Taharqa (Tirhakah) was formerly supposed to have come to the throne, and was associated with this embassy. But it is now known that Tirhakah did not ascend the throne till 694 (or 691) B.C. He cannot, therefore, be referred to here.* In this prophecy the prophet meets these ambassadors, and in courteous language bids them return, assuring them, in figurative language, that the Assyrian enemy shall be cut down suddenly by Jahveh, without human aid. The tone here adopted towards Ethiopia contrasts with that of Ch. 20 (which belongs to the reign of Sargon, 711 B.C.). This fact lends some support to the view that the Cush there referred to is not to be identified with Ethiopia, but a district of the same name in Arabia.† Verse 7 is regarded by many moderns, with good reason, as a later (post-Exilic) appendix. Its prediction that Ethiopia shall, after the great catastrophe, pay homage to Jahveh in Mount Zion certainly impairs the effect produced by the preceding verses. On stylistic grounds, too, the repetition of the descriptive terms applied to the Ethiopians in vs. 2 does not accord with Isaianic authorship. The prophecy consists of two strophes, (1) vv. 1-3 and (2) vv. 4-6, marked by a well-defined metre, which is absent in vs. 7. [The embassy is pictured as descending the Nile-stream in boats.]

* At this time (702 B.C.) Shabako of Ethiopia had made himself master of Egypt.

† Cf. Introduction to Ch. 20. In that chapter Isaiah predicts an Assyrian conquest of Cush.

(1.)

- 1 Ah,
 "Land of *shrill buzzing* of wings,
 [beyond the great River of Cush]"
 2 That sends ^bships^b by the sea,
 and ^cskiffs^c of reed on the face of the waters !
 Depart ye fleet messengers
 to a nation tall and glossy,
 To a people dreaded ^d[near and far]^d
 to a nation strong and victorious.^e
 (And say)
 3 O all ye inhabitants of the World,
 and dwellers on Earth,
 When a signal is lifted up,^f look !
 When a trumpet is blown, hearken ! "

(2.)

- 4 For thus has Jahveh said unto me :
 " I will keep quiet and look on in my place,
 As (still as) the clear heat in sunshine,
 As the mist-cloud in the ^gheat^g of harvest."

a (vs. 1) : *Land of shrill buzzing of wings*. The phrase is much disputed, and the integrity of the text is not beyond suspicion. LXX read apparently *winged boats* (*hele kenāphaim*). So Cheyne. *Beyond the Great River of Cush* (Rec. Text adds *which is*) reads like a prosaic gloss : a descriptive clause parallel with 1a is required. Perhaps this is concealed in the last clause of vs. 2 (Rec. Text) : *whose land the Great River intersects*. Cheyne would read vs. 1 :

*Ah, land of winged boats,
 which the Great River cuts through.*

b (vs. 2) : *ships* (reading *tsim* or *tsiyym*). So Staerk. This yields a better parallelism. Rec. Text has *ambassadors* (*tsirim*).

c *skiffs*.^c Rec. Text has *in skiffs*. Omit preposition (with Staerk).

d (vs. 2) : *near and far* ; lit., *from where it is and onward* : A somewhat strange and inelegant expression. Probably the Hebrew text is corrupt.

e Rec. Text adds *whose land the rivers intersect*. See above under note *a*.

f (vs. 3). Rec. Text adds (*on*) *the mountains*. The word is superfluous. Omit for metrical reasons.

g (vs. 4), *heat*. So Rec. Text. LXX *day* (of Harvest). So Staerk.

- * Cheyne's rendering.

- For before the harvest, when the blossom is over,
And the flower becomes a ripening grape,
He will cut off the branches with pruning-knives,
And sever and cast away the tendrils.
- They shall be left together to the mountain birds of prey
And to the beasts of the land.
And the birds of prey shall summer thereon,
And thereon shall all the beasts of the land winter.

(Post-Exilic Appendix.)

▪ *At that time a gift shall be brought to Jahveh Sabaoth from a people tall and glossy, from a people dreaded near and far, a nation strong and victorious, whose land the Great River intersects, to the place of the Name of Jahveh Sabaoth.*

V. THE FALL OF EGYPT.

(Ch. 19 ; of composite authorship : vv. 1-15 between 528 and 485 B.C. ; vv. 16-25 (Appendix), c. 275 B.C.).

The analysis of this chapter is difficult. It is clear that the composition is not a literary unity, as the last part (vv. 16 or 18-25) is strikingly dissimilar in every way to what precedes (vv. 1-15). It may, therefore, confidently be regarded as a later appendix.

But are vv. 1-15 a uniform composition ? And are they the work of Isaiah ? In three strophes (vv. 1-4, 5-10, and 11-15) the judgment, inflicted by Jahveh in person on Egypt, is pictured in its consequences on the country's political, religious, and industrial life. By most critics this has been regarded as a single whole, and Isaianic. But a closer examination hardly justifies these conclusions. In particular vv. 5-10 are marked by a prolixity and by linguistic and stylistic peculiarities that distinguish the passage from its context. On the other hand in vv. 1-4 and 11-17 characteristic Isaianic expressions are not wanting, but the glamour of Isaiah's wonderful style, the rapid transitions, the splendid metaphors are certainly absent. The tendency of recent criticism has been to render the Isaianic character of any part of the prophecy more and more doubtful. On the assumption of an Isaianic substratum it would be natural to suppose that Isaiah has an Assyrian invasion of Egypt in view. Of the three dates alleged to be possible, for such an utterance within Isaiah's lifetime, viz., (1) about 720 when Sargon defeated the Egyptians (?) at Raphia in Southern Palestine ; (2) about 711 when Isaiah uttered a prophecy concerning Egypt's (?) coming conquest by Assyria in another connexion (cf. Ch. 20) ; (3) about 702 when the Egyptian alliance was being eagerly canvassed in Jerusalem—only the last can be considered in

this connexion. The forces opposed to Sargon in 720 (at Raphia) and in 711 were probably not Egyptian at all, but came from the North Arabian kingdom of Mutsri, the suzerain of which was Pir'u (not to be confused with Pharaoh, monarch of the South Arabian Minaean kingdom).*

But a comparison of this chapter with Isaiah's undoubted utterances on Egypt elsewhere hardly confirms the inference of Isaianic authorship. Duhm refers vv. 1-15 to the conquest and terrible punishment inflicted on Egypt by Artaxerxes Ochus in 343. "At that time three dynasties had followed each other in rapid succession, and throne-feuds and uprisings were frequent and provide a somewhat similar situation to that of this chapter" (Cornill).

Cheyne now (*Encycl. Bibl.*, col. 2198) goes nearly the whole way with this view, referring vv. 1-15 to the Persian period "though not necessarily to so late a date as the time of Artaxerxes Ochus." By the *harsh lord* of vs. 4 is meant, he thinks, some Persian king (or kings—"the writer may not have meant any single king").

The appendix (vv. 16-25) is in every way remarkable. It manifests a broad universalism—contemplating the fusion of Israelites and non-Israelites—which is hardly conceivable before the Greek period (subsequent to Alexander the Great). Indeed in vs. 18 there seems to be an explicit reference to Jewish colonists in Egypt who still spoke *the language of Canaan*.

The main body of vv. 1-15 may plausibly be dated some time between 528 (Cambyses) and 485 (Xerxes). The description of *harsh lord* would be equally applicable to the part played by both in the subjugation of Egypt. The Appendix (vv. 16 or 18 to 25) can hardly have been written before 275 B.C.

¹ *Oracle on Egypt.*

(1.)

Behold

Jahveh rides upon a swift cloud and comes to Egypt,
And the idols of Egypt shake at His presence,
And the heart of Egypt melts within her.

² "I will stir up Egypt against Egypt

And they shall fight, brother against brother, and neighbour
against neighbour,
City against city, and kingdom against kingdom.

³ Then shall Egypt's spirit within her be emptied away,

And her counsel will I confuse;
And they shall resort to the idols and to the masters of spells,
And to the ghosts and to the familiar spirits.

⁴ And I will shut up Egypt into the hand of a harsh lord,

And a fierce king shall rule over them:
Such is the oracle of the Lord Jahveh Sabaoth.

* Cf. Paton, *Syria and Palestine*, p. 247f.

(2.)

- ⁶ *And the water shall dry up from the Sea,
And the River shall become parched and dry ;*
- ⁶ *And the streams shall stink,
And the canals of Egypt become sluggish and dry up ;
Reeds and rushes shall wither.*
- ⁷ . . . ^a*by the brink of the Nile,
And every seed-patch by the Nile,
Withers, is whirled away, and disappears.*
- ⁸ *The fishermen, also, shall mourn,
And all that cast hooks into the Nile shall lament,
They who spread nets on the face of the waters shall languish.*
- ⁹ *The workers also in combed flax shall be confounded,^b*
- ¹⁰ *And those who weave it^c shall be utterly crushed,
And they that work for hire shall be grieved in soul.*

(3.)

- ¹¹ Mere fools are the princes of Zoan,
The wisest of Pharaoh's counsellors are a resourceless council !
How can ye say (ye counsellors) to Pharaoh :
" A son of the wise am I, a son of ancient kings ! "
- ¹² Where are they, pray, thy wise men ?
Let them tell thee, now, and ^dmake known^d
What Jahveh Sabaoth has purposed against Egypt.
- ¹³ Befeooled are the princes of Zoan, deceived are the princes of Noph ;
Egypt has been misled by ^ethe head and front^e of her tribes,
- ¹⁴ Jahveh has infused ^fthem^f with a spirit of perverseness—
And so they make Egypt stagger in all that she does,
As a drunkard staggers in his vomit ;
- ¹⁵ And there shall be nothing that can be done for Egypt,
Which head and tail, palm-branch, and rush can effect.

^a (vs. 7). Rec. Text : *the bare places* (= ? meadows) *by the Nile*. The Hebrew text here is corrupt.

^b (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds *and those who weave white stuff*. Probably a gloss (so Cheyne).

^c (vs. 10) : *Those who weave it* : so Cheyne (plausibly, without altering consonantal text). Rec. Text as pointed, *her pillars*.

^d (vs. 12) : *make known* : so LXX, Syr, Lowth and most moderns. Rec. Text : *that they may know*.

^e (vs. 13) : *head and front* ; lit. *corner-stone* (of her tribes), *i.e.*, the ruling class.

^f (vs. 14) : *them*. So Secker, Lowth, Cheyne. Rec. Text : *her*.

APPENDIX.

(vv. 16-25.)

[Vv. 16-17 are generally regarded as forming the connecting link between the original prophecy and the epilogue.]

¹⁶ *In that day Egypt shall become woman-like, and shall tremble and be fearful because of the swinging of Jahveh's Hand which He swings against it.* ¹⁷ *And the land of Judah shall become a terror to Egypt; whenever anyone makes mention of it to him (Egypt) he shall be fearful on account of the purpose of Jahveh Sabaoth which He purposes against Egypt.*

¹⁸ *In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing (allegiance) to Jahveh Sabaoth; one shall be named City of the Sun.*

¹⁹ *In that day there shall be an altar in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar to Jahveh by its border; ²⁰and it shall be a sign and a witness unto Jahveh Sabaoth in the land of Egypt: yea, they shall cry unto Jahveh by reason of oppressors and He will send them a Deliverer and a champion will rescue them.*

²¹ *And Jahveh will make Himself known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know Jahveh in that day, and will worship with sacrifice and oblation, and will vow vows unto Jahveh and perform them.* ²² *And Jahveh will smite Egypt—smite and heal her: when they return unto Jahveh He will accept their entreaty and will heal them.*

²³ *In that day there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria, and Assyria will come to Egypt and Egypt to Assyria; and the Egyptians shall worship (Jahveh) with the Assyrians.*

²⁴ *In that day Israel will form a third with Egypt and Assyria—a blessing in the midst of the earth, ²⁵which Jahveh Sabaoth has blessed, saying: Blessed be my people Egypt, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my inheritance.*

D. FOURTH OF THE APPENDED ISAIANIC PIECES:
THE CAPTIVITY OF MUTSRI AND CUSH PREDICTED.

(Ch. 20; c. 711 B.C.)

The oracle embodied in this chapter (which again, like 18, has no *massa*-heading) is distinguished by having prefixed to it a historical introduction (vv. 1-3) in which Isaiah is spoken of in the third person. The point of the prophetic utterance is to enforce the moral of the fall of Ashdod. During the three years that elapsed between the beginning of the rebellion (713) and the siege and capture of Ashdod (711) Isaiah had been bidden by Jahveh to go about in the garb of a captive. The

^g (vs. 18). So some Hebrew MSS. and Vulg. (= Heliopolis). Rec. Text has *City of Destruction*; LXX: *City of Righteousness*.

^h (vs. 25), which (ref. to earth): so LXX foll. by Duhm and Cheyne. Rec. Text = (?) *for that Jahveh Sabaoth has blessed him (Israel)*. Cf. R.V.

fall of Ashdod gives occasion for explaining the meaning of this strange symbolic action. In like manner *Mitsraim* and *Cush* will be led captive by the King of Assyria, and those who relied on their aid will be dismayed. Plainly the prophet intended to warn Hezekiah, who had been listening apparently to anti-Assyrian counsels; and the warning seems, for the time, to have had some effect. But what countries are intended by *Mitsraim* and *Cush* here? It was natural formerly to understand these terms in their ordinary significance of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* respectively. But the discovery (by Winckler) of a *Mutsri* or *Mutsrān* and *Cush* in Arabia has put a different complexion on the whole matter. Winckler understands these countries (or rather provinces) to be meant here. Taken in conjunction with the fact that *Egypt* (as is now known) was at this time in a state of complete demoralization and military impotence, and moreover is not mentioned by Sargon (in the Khorsabad inscription) as aiding the coalition—Winckler's theory is a very plausible one, and has been accepted by several scholars.*

It appears from Sargon's own words that "the inhabitants of Philistia, Judah, Edom and Moab, who dwell by the Sea," at this time refused tribute. Ashdod seems to have been the focus of disaffection. Its king at this time was a certain Akhimit, who had been placed on the throne by the Assyrian king (Sargon) in place of Azuri, deposed for treasonable intrigues in 720. Akhimit, however, was now in turn deposed by the anti-Assyrian party in Ashdod, and one Yaman or Yatman set up as king.† This act of defiance led to the expedition of the "Tartan" or Assyrian commander-in-chief against Ashdod. The city was captured and plundered, and its population led into captivity. Yaman, who had fled to Pir'u, King of Melukkhā, in West Arabia, was delivered up to the Assyrian king. Judah, apparently, for the time escaped (perhaps by paying tribute). As Duhm has shown, vs. 2 probably is a later insertion. By its elimination an awkward (and probably incorrect) synchronism is avoided. Isaiah's adoption of captive garb had taken place three years before the final capture of Ashdod, and was terminated by that event.

¹ In the year that the Tartan came to Ashdod, Sargon, King of Assyria, having sent him, and assaulted Ashdod and captured it,^a ²Jahveh said:

As my servant Isaiah has gone unclad and unshod three

a Here in Rec. Text follows vs. 2 :

At that time Jahveh spake through Isaiah ben-Amoz, saying: Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and take off thy shoe from off thy foot. And he did so, going unclad and unshod.

* Notably by Hommel, Cheyne, Paton, and (with some hesitation) by Whitehouse. For further details cf. Paton, *Syria and Palestine* (especially pp. 247 ff.) where the place and importance of Mutsri are made clear (see index).

† Probably, as Winckler suggests, Yaman is the correct form of the name—and implies that the bearer of it was a native of South Arabia (Yemen).

years, a sign and a portent against Mutsri and against Cush ; 'so shall the King of Assyria lead away the captives of Mutsri and the exiles of Cush ; young and old, unclad and unshod, and with buttock exposed.^b 'And those who fixed their expectations on Cush, and their boast on Mutsri shall be dismayed and disappointed. 'And the inhabitants of the coast shall say in that day : Lo, if such is the fate of those who were the object of our expectations, and to whom we fled for help to be rescued from the King of Assyria, how can we ourselves escape ?

VI. A VISION OF THE FALL OF BABYLON.

(Ch. 21¹⁻¹⁰ ; End of the Exile ? C. 550-545 B.C.)

The prophetic writer sees in vision an onslaught delivered against Babylon which fills him with anguish. Another scene—this time within Babylon, is depicted in vs. 5 ; a Babylonian feast suddenly interrupted by the call to arms. The last part of the vision (vv. 6 ff.) describes how the prophet was bidden to station a " watchman " (*i.e.*, his prophetic consciousness) to be on the look out for any portent of the coming disaster. After long waiting the " watchman " descries a ghostly night-caravan—the sign of Babylon's downfall.

This little piece, together with the two fragmentary oracles that follow it, is distinguished by a peculiarly obscure and enigmatic style ; by the vision-form, and by the double consciousness of the prophetic ecstasy (the writer distinguishing between his normal self and his ecstatic consciousness, described as a " watchman "). The three pieces may possibly proceed from the same writer (though this is not certain) ; but in either case the writer is almost certainly not Isaiah. Most modern critics assign the oracle to the latter part of the Babylonian Exile (Cheyne, 550-545 B.C.). With this agrees the mention of Elam and Media in vs. 2, which formed parts of the wide dominion of Cyrus.

A difficulty has been felt in reconciling this view of the date with the tone of depression and anguish at Babylon's doom that marks the oracle. This contrasts vividly with the tone of exultant triumph that distinguishes other Exilic compositions, dealing with the same theme (*e.g.*, Ch. 13-14). But this feature may be due to the emotional and sympathetic personality of the writer, which invests his writing with a character distinct not only from other Exilic compositions, but equally from the undoubted writings of Isaiah himself. See further App. III. 2.

It has been argued that the prophecy may be Isaianic and that one of the sieges of Babylon by the Assyrians that took place in Isaiah's life-time (710, 703 and 696 B.C.) may be referred to, probably Sargon's capture of the city in 710, when Merodach-Baladan was its king (so Cheyne formerly, and Driver formerly, following Kleinert).

^b (vs. 4). Rec. Text adds, *the nakedness of Egypt*. A gloss.

Winckler would assign all three oracles in Ch. 21 to the reign of Assurbanipal, about 648, referring vv. 1-10 to the period of the uprising of Samassumkin of Babylon, and vv. 11-17 to the time of the wars of Assurbanipal against the Arabians.* Duhm thinks the writer of all three oracles must have been an inhabitant of Palestine. This would suit the somewhat detached attitude of the seer in vv. 1-10, though this feature may easily be explained as due to the vision-form. The oracle (vv. 1-10) has an Isaianic tinge in its language which is probably the result of the later writer's acquaintance with the prophetic work of the earlier.

¹ *The Oracle* ^a "*Desert of the Sea.*"^a

Like the on-sweep of hurricanes in the South country,
From the Desert it comes, from a terrible land.

² A distressful vision is vouchsafed to me :
^{aa} The perfidious is still perfidious, and the devastator still
devastates.^{aa}

Go up, Elam ! To the siege, O Media !
" All her (victims') sighing I have stilled."

³ Therefore are my loins filled with anguish ;
Pangs have seized me, like the pangs of a woman in travail ;
I am too tortured to listen, too distressed to see.

⁴ My brain reels ; a horrible dread has dismayed me ;
The twilight that I love is turned for me into trembling.

⁵ They prepare the table, ^bspread the carpets^b
^c " Arise, ye princes, oil the shield ! "

⁶ For thus the Lord has said unto me :
" Go station the watchman ; what he sees he shall announce.

⁷ If he sees a riding-party, horsemen in pairs,
A train of asses, a train of camels,
Then let him attend with the utmost possible attention."

⁸ And he cried ^din my hearing^d : " Upon the watch-tower, O my lord,
I do stand continually by day,
And at my post I am stationed all the nights."

^a (vs. 1) : *Desert of the Sea*. An enigmatic heading (like the two that follow). LXX (vision of) *the desert*. Some would read *Deserts* (*midbārim*). Cheyne : (Oracle on) *the Chaldeans* (*Kasdim*).

^{aa} (vs. 2) : *The perfidious*, etc., i.e., Babylon. So in last clause *her* refers to Babylon. Cf. Appendix III. 2.

^b (vs. 5) : *spread the carpets* : so now most moderns (after Hitzig) ; or *spread the table-cloths*, or *light the lamps*. The old rendering, *set the watch*, is not probable.

^c Rec. Text adds here : *they eat, they drink*. Omit for metrical reasons with Duhm and Cheyne.

^d *In my hearing* : so Syr. and Cheyne. Rec. Text (as) *a lion* (cf. Rev. 10^a).

* Cf. Cornill, *Introduction to O.T.*, p. 277.

° And lo ! just then comes a riding-party, horsemen in pairs ;
And he continued and said : " Fallen, fallen is Babylon !
All the images of her gods are shivered on the ground."

¹⁰ O my threshed (people), and my child of the threshing-floor,
What I have heard from Jahveh Sabaoth
I have announced unto you.

VII. TWO FRAGMENTARY ORACLES ON EDOM AND KEDAR.

*Same date as preceding (?) ; prefixed by a late editor to an
Isaianic fragment (the latter, c. 711 B.C.).*

(21¹¹⁻¹⁷.)

In the first of these fragments the prophetic writer hears an anxious cry from Seir asking whether the night of distress is nearing its end. In the second a caravan of Dedanites is seen in great distress, driven into hiding off the regular routes. The vision suggests the imminent approach of disaster for the nomadic Arab tribes (" within a year," vs. 16).

Both fragments are distinguished by the obscure enigmatic style that marks vv. 1-10. They also exhibit linguistic peculiarities. (Aramaisms) which suggest a comparatively late date. If all three emanate from one and the same writer it would be natural to assign them to about the same date, and a date towards the end of the Babylonian Exile is not impossible for these two fragments—in that case the Persian conquerors of Babylonia would be in the writer's view. On the other hand it is, perhaps, easier to find a suitable historic background in an earlier period. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 588 the tone of Jewish writers towards Edom is marked by a fierce and bitter hostility of which there are no indications here. But here, again, this may be due to the writer's emotional temperament. On the whole it would seem best to assign the fragments to the latter part of the Babylonian Exile (550-545 B.C.). With this accords the contents of 21¹⁰⁻¹² (cf. Appendix III, 3). As mentioned above, an earlier date (c. 648) has been proposed by Winckler for all three oracles. This is, perhaps, just possible. On the assumption that vv. 16-17 are an Isaianic fragment—perhaps all that remained legible of a prophecy by Isaiah on Kedar—it is natural to suppose that the two fragments of unknown authorship (vv. 11-15), dealing with a similar theme, were prefixed by a later editor (cf. the similar case of Ch. 15-16¹² prefixed to 16¹³⁻¹⁴)*. The Isaianic fragment will probably have referred originally to the removal of certain Arabian tribes by Sargon to Samaria in 715 B.C.

* The Isaianic character of 16¹³⁻¹⁴ and 21¹⁶⁻¹⁷ is, however, now given up by Cheyne (*Enc. Bibl.*, col. 2197). Cf. Cornill, *Introd.*, p. 274.

(i.)

¹¹ *The Oracle "Dumah."*^e

To me there comes a cry from Seir :
 " Sentinel, how far in the night ?
 Sentinel, how far in the night ? "

¹² The sentinel answers :
 " Dawn approaches—and also night ;
 Would ye inquire, inquire ;
 Come again."

(ii.)

¹³ *The Oracle " On Arabia."*

In the thickets /at eventide/ must ye lodge,
 Ye caravans of Dedanites !

¹⁴ To meet the thirsty bring ye water,
 O ye that dwell in the land of Tema,
 With the bread that he needs confront the fugitive.

¹⁵ For from before the swords are they fled,
 Before the whetted sword,^g
 And before the bent bow,
 And before the stress of war.

(iii.)

An Isaianic Fragment (?)

(21 16-17.)

¹⁶ For thus has the Lord said unto me : Within a year,
 neither more nor less, all Kedar's glory shall be at an end,
¹⁷ and the number that is left of Kedar's ^hwarlike bowmen^h
 shall be made small. Jahveh, Israel's God, has decreed it.

^e (vs. 11) : *Dumah* (= *silence*), a play upon the name of Edom. LXX apparently read *Edom* (so marg. in some Hebrew MSS.). Cheyne also reads *Oracle on Edom*. There may be a suggestion in the title (*oracle of silence*) of the enigmatic character of the contents. Cf. further Appendix III. 3.

^f (vs. 13) : *at eventide* : so LXX and other ancient versions and many moderns. Probably the expression *at eventide* (Hebrew, *bā-ereb*) was misread by the later author of the heading in *Arabia* (Heb., *ba-'Arab*). The difference is only one of vowel points in the Hebrew.

^g (vs. 15) : *the whetted sword* : so Syriac, Luzzatto, Grätz, Cheyne. Rec. Text (?) *drawn* (lit. *outstretched*).

^h (vs. 17) : *warlike bowmen*, lit. *heroes of the bow* : so Lowth, Cheyne and others, transposing Hebrew text (two words).

VIII. JERUSALEM'S INEXPIABLE SIN.

(Ch. 22¹⁻¹⁴; c. 701 B.C.)

The occasion of this prophetic utterance was one when the city had been threatened with assault by some terrible foe, which, apparently, had for the moment passed. The frantic demonstrations of joy and gaiety in which the populace indulges jar upon the prophet's sense of fitness, and fill him with despair as he contemplates the threatening future (vv. 5-7), and lead him to revert in thought to the past (vv. 8-11). The popular temper of thoughtless unbelief induces the prophet to declare that his people have committed a sin which cannot be expiated (vv. 12-14). What actual events formed the historic background here? Most moderns have fixed on some episode in Hezekiah's conflict with Sennacherib—the moment, perhaps, when, after the Judæan king's ignominious submission, the Assyrian force that had begun the blockade of Jerusalem was retiring. If some such particular episode was the immediate occasion of the prophet's deliverance, this would explain the minatory tone of the prophecy which distinguishes it from the other undoubted Isaianic utterances of 701. It is unsafe to refer the oracle to a supposed blockade of Jerusalem by Sargon in 711, since this hypothesis, to use Driver's words, "lacks adequate historical foundation."*

The further question arises, Is the prophecy in its present form a literary unity, and has the text been preserved in its integrity? To both of these questions a negative answer is given by Cheyne (and Duhm). There is certainly good ground for regarding vv. 9b-11a as a later prosaic interpolation (with Duhm). The unrhythmical character of the verses is sufficient to show this. Cheyne also supposes that there are gaps at the end of vv. 5, 6, and 7 respectively. In particular the mention of Elam and Kir in vs. 6 (and of no others) is strange. "It is not likely that Elam and Kir were sent by themselves to blockade Jerusalem." Duhm assigns vv. 1-7 to an early part of the period of conflict with Sennacherib, and regards vv. 8-14 as part of a later prophecy. Cheyne thinks that two nearly contemporaneous prophecies have been fused together; "the whole of the retrospect and denunciation in vv. 6-14 (except the prosaic interpolation vv. 9b-11a) is derived from another nearly contemporaneous prophecy, which, among other things, described the preparations of Hezekiah for a siege." The occasion of "both the prophetic passages which make up 22¹⁻¹⁴" was, he thinks, "the removal of the Assyrian blockade" (*Intro.*, p. 132).

¹ *Oracle on the Valley of Vision.*

(1.)

What ails thee, I wonder, that thou art gone up
en masse to the house-tops,

* *Introduction*, p. 206, note.

- ² Thou that art full of uproar, tumultuous city,
 exultant town ?
 Thy slain are not slain with the sword,
 nor dead in battle.
- ³ All thy chieftains were fugitives together^a,
 they fled afar off.
- ⁴ Therefore I say, Look away from me,
 let me weep bitterly !
 Be not urgent to comfort me
 for the destruction of the Daughter of my People !
- ⁵ For a day of riot, repression, and rout
 has the Lord Jahveh Sabaoth :
 In the Valley of Vision ^bthe unwalling of walls
 resounds^b to the mountains.

(2.)

^{6 c}

 And Elam took up the quiver
 with troops of ^dhorsemen (?)
 And Kir uncovered the shield,

^a (vs. 3). Here Rec. Text adds : *without bow were they captured ; all that were found of thee were together made prisoners.* The expressions *without bow* and *all that were found of thee* are suspicious. The whole looks like a corrupt doublet of vs. 3 as given above. LXX had a different text of the passage.

^b (vs. 5) : *the unwalling of walls resounds* (reading *nishma'* for *wēšhōa'*). The Rec. Text is obviously corrupt. (Notice LXX read a different text.) It is usually rendered : *they undermine a wall and a (distressful) cry (sounds) to the mountains.*

^c (vs. 6). Cheyne here conjecturally supplies a line : *They come from far—a great nation from the ends of the earth ;* and supposes that a hiatus exists between this and 6a (" vs. 6 can hardly be a complete description of the besieging army ").

^d (vs. 6). Rec. Text adds *men (with troops or chariots of men, horsemen.)*

IX. A POLITICAL INVECTIVE : AGAINST SHEBNA.

(22¹⁵⁻¹⁸ (10-23), c. 704-701 B.C. (?) ; with a later appendix,
(22²⁴⁻²⁵).

The following section is particularly interesting as being the only piece of directly personal invective included in the Isaianic collection. It has been conjectured plausibly that Shebna, the politician here addressed, was a foreigner in the royal service. His name suggests that he was of Syrian origin, and he may very well have been the leader of the faction which favoured the alliance with Egypt, so sternly denounced by the prophet in Ch. 28-31. This prophetic piece must, therefore, probably be assigned to about the same date. The original prophecy is contained, apparently, in vv. 15-18, in which Shebna's deposition and banishment are announced. In the following verse (19)—which is best taken with vv. 20-23—the original threat seems to be modified, being reduced to one of deposition from present office only to make way for a worthier holder, Eliakim. The change can best be explained by regarding vv. 19-23 as an addition, made later by Isaiah, modifying the original threat. In 36³ and 37² Eliakim does appear in the office (of Grand Vizier) here held by Shebna. The latter, however, still occupies the important position (though subordinate to his original office) of "Secretary." Changes in *personnel* were equivalent to changes in policy. Eliakim probably represented the party with which Isaiah identified himself. It may be inferred, therefore, that Shebna and his party though checked, still exercised considerable influence. The last two verses of the section (24, 25) can hardly belong to the original prophecy. Their prosaic character is manifest—they lack the rhythm of the earlier verses—and they do not form a natural continuation of vv. 19-23. They were apparently added by a later hand after Eliakim had failed to justify the brilliant hopes reposed in him. They, at any rate, suggest that Eliakim's family had begun to abuse the positions of trust which they had secured. Duhm, followed by Cheyne, assigns vv. 19-25 to *two* later hands. It is possible that vs. 23 is not Isaiah's work—its method of expression is awkward—but no cogent reason exists for denying the Isaianic authorship of 19-22. As has already been shown, vv. 24-25 may safely be regarded as a later un-Isaianic addition. It must be admitted, however, that the usually accepted critical view is by no means free from difficulties. These have been stated very exhaustively and effectively by Prof. K. Fullerton in an article, published with the title, *A New Chapter out of the Life of Isaiah*.* Here the passionate character of the language of vv. 15-18 is pointed to as suggesting some very special occasion for it. The striking nature of the promises made to Eliakim in vv. 20 ff.—the enthusiastic, almost Messianic character of the language—demands some more adequate explanation than a

* In the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. IX. pp. 621 ff. (1905).

promise of elevation to the office of major domo. Prof. Fullerton proposes a new combination to meet these difficulties. The Isaianic verses (15-18) must be regarded as posterior to Ch. 36 and 37. In the latter Shebna already occupies a high office (that of "secretary"), and seems to be well on the way to a higher position still. But after the vindication of the prophet's faith in the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib, Shebna's further promotion was checked. Eliakim, the leader of the prophetic party, remained in power till the end of Hezekiah's reign. But at the beginning of Manasseh's reign a violent heathen reaction took place. This was probably headed by Shebna, who brought about the fall of Eliakim and succeeded to his office (? 693 B.C.). This will form the occasion of vv. 15-18. The verses that follow (vv. 20-23; vs. 19 is a redactional link) are a promise of the throne (notice in vs. 21 the word rendered "authority" = "rule" or "dominion") to Eliakim, and were written by a disciple of Isaiah to encourage a revolutionary attempt made by the prophetic party to depose Manasseh and set up Eliakim (who probably belonged to the royal family) instead. This attempt ended disastrously, Eliakim losing his life. The aged prophet also suffered a martyr's death.* The last two verses (vv. 24-25) come from an anti-prophetic source. They express the contemptuous exultation of the anti-prophetic party over the fall of "the man who would be king." [A criticism of Prof. Fullerton's article by Prof. E. König has appeared in the same magazine, Vol. X, pp. 675 ff., entitled *Shebna and Eliakim.*]

In the following translation the Rec. Text of vv. 15-18 has been re-arranged in accordance with the critical suggestions of recent scholars (Cheyne, Duhm, and Staerk). 15b only weakens the previous sentence in its traditional position. It finds its appropriate place in the title. In the same way 16b in its traditional position weakens (and renders somewhat incoherent) 16a. By the re-arrangement incoherencies are removed, and the whole address assumes a precision which is remarkably effective. The clauses as re-arranged run as follows: 15b, 15a, 16b, 16a, 17b, 18a, 17a, 18b, 18d, 18c, 18d.

(1.)

^{15b} *Against Shebna, Governor of the Palace.*

^{15a} Thus says ^k [the Lord]^k Jahveh Sabaoth :
Go to this steward

^k (vs. 15a) : *the Lord*. Cheyne regards this as a later addition, "a guide to pronunciation" (of Jahveh).

* Cf. 2 Kings 21¹⁹ : *Moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another.* This brief notice not improbably refers to a massacre of members of the prophetic party.

- 16^b that is hewing out his sepulchre on high,
 is cutting out in the rock a habitation for himself
 (and say) :
- 16^a What (business) hast thou here,
 and whom hast thou here,
 that thou hewest out for thyself a sepulchre ?
- 17^b Behold
 Jahveh will grasp thee with a mighty grasp,
 18^a will roll and wind thee tightly up,
 17^a And hurl thee hurtling, O mighty man,
 18^b like a ball into a broad broad land.
 18^d Thither (shall go) thy splendid chariots,
 18^c and there shalt thou die,
 18^d Thou disgrace of the House of thy lord !

(2.)

Appendix by Isaiah (?).(22¹⁹⁻²² (23¹); somewhat later than the preceding.)

- 19 Yea, I will thrust thee from thy post
 and from thy station will ¹I pull thee down ;¹
- 20 And it shall come to pass in that day
 I will call my servant Eliakim ben-Hilkiah,
- 21 And I will clothe him with thy robe,
 and with thy sash will gird him,
 and thy authority* will I give into his hand ;
 And he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem
 and to the House of Judah ;
- 22 And I will lay upon his shoulder
 the Key of the House of David,
 So that when he opens none shall shut,
 And when he shuts none shall open.
- 23 [*And I will fix him like a peg into a secure place
 And he shall become a seat of honour to his father's house.*]

1 (vs. 19) : *I will pull thee down.* So Lowth and many moderns (with Syriac and Targum). Rec. Text has *he will pull thee down.*

* Lit. *rule*.

(3.)

SUPPLEMENT BY A LATER HAND.

(22²⁴⁻²⁵.)

²⁴ *And the whole weight of his father's house shall hang upon him, the scions (of high) and the offshoots (of low degree)—all the inferior vessels, both bowl- and jar-shaped.*

²⁵ *In that day—such is the oracle of Jahveh Sabaoth—the nail that is fixed into a secure place shall give way; it shall be hewn off and fall, and the burden (suspended) upon it shall be cut down. Jahveh has decreed it.*

X. THE FALL OF TYRE.

(23¹⁻¹². ¹⁴ (?) some time before or during 586–573 B.C.; vv. 13 and 15–18 post-Exilic additions).

Chapter 23 falls into two clearly distinguishable parts, viz., (1) vv. 1–14 and (2) vv. 15–18. The connexion of the latter passage with the former is not a close and natural one; it is prosaic (except for the dance-song cited in vs. 16) and differs markedly in style, language, and contents from what precedes. It may, therefore, safely be regarded as a later appendix. It was probably written as Cheyne (*Introduction*, pp. 138 ff.) has shown in the post-Exilic period. The period of seventy years' duration fixed for the humiliation of Tyre was doubtless based upon Jeremiah's prophecy (25¹¹!), and the influence of such late passages as Is. 45¹⁴, 60¹¹ and 61⁴ can probably be detected in the idea (as to the future use of Tyre's wealth) embodied in vs. 18.

The first part (vv. 1–14) falls into a different category. Here after the elimination of glosses (vs. 5) and a later addition (vs. 13) we have an artistically-constructed poem falling into three strophes, which, in their original form, consisted probably of seven double lines each.

Is this poem the work of Isaiah? That Isaiah must have been interested in the fortunes of Tyre, as he undoubtedly was in those of other neighbouring peoples, may safely be assumed: and a possible occasion may be found in the five years' siege of the city by Shalmaneser-Sargon. Again, Phœnicia was ravaged by Sennacherib in 701, just before his invasion of Judah; and it is noteworthy that the prophecy contemplates a visitation which embraces not only Tyre, but the whole "coast" (vv. 2, 4), and in vs. 12 Sidon is mentioned. But, as Ewald noted, though there is nothing absolutely un-Isaianic in its conceptions, the prophecy exhibits a marked "absence of the full elevation, majesty, and sublime brevity of Isaiah."* It is difficult to detect in it any of the characteristic marks of Isaiah's genius. Ewald, therefore, ascribed the

* Cornill, *Introduction*, p. 277.

authorship of it to one of the prophet's disciples. If there be in it an Isaianic substratum it is quite indistinguishable.

The siege of Tyre which the prophecy has in view is most probably the 13-year one by Nebuchadnezzar (586-573 B.C.). The difficult verse 13, which even in its original form is almost certainly a later (post-Exilic) insertion,* was apparently interpolated by a later editor who held the view that the prophecy referred to Nebuchadnezzar's siege. It is true Tyre did not then suffer the complete destruction contemplated in the prophecy (as the inserter of vs. 13 mistakenly supposed). But the absence of an immediate literal fulfilment is no difficulty.

The original poem may, therefore, plausibly be regarded as belonging to the period when Nebuchadnezzar had begun the siege, and will, consequently, be about contemporary with Ezekiel's prophecy with the same occasion in view (Ezek. 26-28). The original writer contemplates the city's utter destruction by Nebuchadnezzar. As a matter of fact, Tyre was only finally captured and devastated by Alexander the Great, and some scholars (e.g., Stade) would refer the whole chapter to the age of Alexander.

A new and brilliant solution has been proposed by Duhm. This scholar points out that Sidon is mentioned in vv. 2, 4 and 12, and in vs. 8 he proposes to read Sidon (סִדוֹן) for Tyre (טַרְשִׁישׁ).† Thus "the whole passage is to be regarded as an elegy on the awful devastation of Sidon inflicted by Artaxerxes III, Ochus in 348; it was then altered, after the devastation of Tyre by Alexander the Great into an *oracle on Tyre* (טַרְשִׁישׁ נִשְׁבָּא)."‡ This bold reconstruction is, however, unnecessary.

¹ *Oracle on Tyre.*

(1.)

Wail, ye Tarshish-ships,
for your haven^a is laid waste !

b b

a (vs. 1) : *your haven*. So Cheyne (reading *mēhōzken*, also vv. 4a and 14). Vs. 14 (*your fortress*) makes some such correction necessary. Rec. Text (which is certainly corrupt) has (*so that*) *there is no house, no entering in* (?). Others would correct here by vs. 14, and read *your fortress*.

b The second clause of vs. 1 in Rec. Text runs : *From the land of Chittim it is revealed to them*. This may be regarded as a prosaic gloss (Cheyne). It has taken the place of a double line of the original poem.

* It has probably taken the place of one line in the original poem. The phraseology of the verse is un-Isaianic.

† Vs. 5 is a gloss.

‡ Cornill, *Introduction*, 278.

- ^c Perished are^c the inhabitants of the coast,
the merchants of Sidon,
Who traversed the sea, ^dwhose messengers
were on many waters ; ^d
- ^e Whose harvest^e was the seed of Shiḥor,
and her revenue the traffic of nations. ^f
- ^g Be ashamed, O Sidon, for the Sea^g hath said :
“ I have not been in travail, nor brought forth—
Neither have I reared youths,
or brought up virgins.” ^h

(2.)

- ^a Pass over to Tarshish—wail,
ye inhabitants of the coast !
- ^b Is *this* your joyous one
whose antiquity is of ancient days ?
Whose feet were wont to carry her
far away to sojourn ?
- ^c Who has purposed this
against Tyre the ^ddispenser of crowns, ⁱ
Whose merchants were princes,
^jthe most honoured of the earth ?

c (vs. 2) : *Perished are*. So Cheyne (reading *nidmû* ; Duhm *tammû*, with similar meaning). Rec. Text has *be dumb*.

d (vs. 2) : *whose messengers were on many waters* : so Duhm (by a slight alteration of Rec. Text) and Cheyne. Rec. Text has *who replenished thee* (vs. 3). *And on great waters*, etc. Both sense and rhythm are made clear by the alteration.

e (vs. 3) : *whose harvest* : so Duhm and Cheyne. Rec. Text : *the harvest of the Nile*. Here *Nile* (*yē'ôr*) is a gloss on Shiḥor (= a rare name of the Nile).

f (vs. 3). The Rec. Text of vs. 3 does not yield any satisfactory sense. It may, perhaps, be rendered : *And on great waters the seed of Shiḥor, the harvest of the Nile, (was) her revenue, and it (i.e., the revenue was the gain of the nations* (so Skinner in *Camb. Bible*).

g (vs. 4). Here Rec. Text has *the stronghold of the sea, saying*, a prosaic gloss on the previous words *the Sea*. Perhaps *stronghold* should be corrected to *haven* (as in vs. 1).

h Here in Rec. Text follows vs. 5, which is regarded by Duhm and Cheyne as a gloss (it gives the stanza a superfluous eighth line, and is prosaic in style). Render : *When the tidings are heard they shall be sorely pained at the tidings (report) of Tyre*.

i (vs. 8) : *the dispenser of crowns*, So Rec. Text. Cheyne (following a suggestion of Renan) would read *the crowned queen*.

j (vs. 8). Rec. Text adds *her traders*, probably a variant on the preceding *her merchants*,

- ° Jahveh Sabaoth has purposed it
^h to desecrate majesty,
 To contemn all splendour,^h
 all the most honoured of earth.

(3.)

- 10 ^l Pass over to the land of Egypt, ye ships of Tarshish ;
 there is no haven any more.^l
 11 His hand He has stretched out over the Sea,
 He has shaken kingdoms ;
 Jahveh has issued a commission against Canaan,
 to destroy her fortresses :
 12 ^m " Exult no more,
 thou ravished "Daughter" of Sidon ;
 Arise, pass over to Chittim—
 there, too, thou shalt have no rest !
 13 ^o
 14 Wail ye Tarshish-ships,
 For ^p your haven^p is laid waste !

^h (vs. 9) : *to desecrate majesty, to contemn all splendour.* So Duhm (transposing one word) with excellent effect on sense and rhythm. Rec. Text has *To desecrate the majesty of all splendour, to contemn,* etc.

^l (vs. 10) : *Pass over to the land of Egypt, ye ships of Tarshish ; there is no haven any more.* So Cheyne reading מוצר מצר for ארץ כיאר (ארץ). In the last clause *haven* (reading מרהו for מוח by transposing a single letter) is due to Duhm. It is impossible to extract any satisfactory sense from the Rec. Text. The best rendering is perhaps *Pass through thy land as the Nile, O Daughter of Tarshish ; there is no girdle* (? = restraining power about thee) *any more.* The Rec. Text is certainly corrupt. LXX has *till thine own land : for indeed no longer come there ships from Carthage.* Marti emends 1st line *Weep ships of Tarshish.*

^m (vs. 12). Rec. Text adds *And He said :* metrically superfluous. ⁿ (vs. 12) : *Daughter.* Rec. Text : *Virgin-Daughter.* The addition of *Virgin* overloads the line. Omit as probably due to reminiscence of the phrase *Virgin-Daughter of Zion.*

^o (vs. 13). " Every attempt to extract a meaning from the verse (13) as it stands [in the Rec. Text] is beset by insuperable difficulties " (Skinner). Various attempts have been made to emend it in such a way as to make it cohere with the rest of the poem, but none has any claim to be regarded as successful. *The verse is almost certainly a post-Exilic editorial insertion which has taken the place of one of the double lines of the original poem, now irrecoverably lost.* This editor regarded the poem as referring to Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre (586-573 B.C.). The inserted verse (which itself was later glossed) may be rendered thus : *Behold the land of Chaldea ; (gloss, this is the people ; it was not Assyria) they (reading the verb as pl., Rec. Text He) have appointed it (i.e., Tyre) for desert-beasts ; they have set up their siege-towers ; they have razed her palaces ; they have made it a ruin.*

^p (vs. 14) : *your haven* (as in vs. 1) for Rec. Text : *your fortress.*

(APPENDIX POST-EXILIC.)

(vv. 15-18.)

In tone these verses contrast markedly with those that precede. Tyre, the proud "dispenser of crowns" (or "crowned queen") of vs. 12 is now pictured as a harlot (cf. Nahum 3^{6, 8}; Ezek. 16²⁷, 23¹⁰, where the same disparaging figure has other applications). Tyre is evidently again wealthy, and this leads the writer to predict that her riches will be "dedicated to Jahveh."

The composition is only intelligible if it is placed in the post-Exilic period, when the Jewish community at Jerusalem was miserably poor. The language is quite un-Isaianic in character.

23¹⁵ *And it shall come to pass in that day Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, during the reign of one dynasty (?) ; at the end of seventy years it shall happen to Tyre as to the Harlot of the song :*

16 Seize lyre—walk up and down the street,
O Harlot by the world forgot !
Twang well—sing many a ditty sweet
To win a last forget-me-not !

17 *And it shall come to pass at the end of seventy years Jahveh will take account of Tyre, and she will return to her harlot-hire and play the wanton with all the kingdoms of the world on the face of the earth. But her traffic and her hire shall be dedicated to Jahveh ; it shall not be treasured nor hoarded, but to those who dwell in Jahveh's presence shall her traffic belong for (the provision of) food in abundance and stately clothing.*

BOOK III.

A THIRD COLLECTION OF ISAIANIC PROPHECIES DEALING
MAINLY WITH THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM: WITH AN
ESCHATOLOGICAL PREFACE AND APPENDIX.

(CHAPTERS 24-35.)

WITH the Third Collection of Isaianic Prophecies the original Book of Isaiah was brought to a close (ch. 1-35). The central portion of this group consists of a number of prophetic compositions, largely proceeding from Isaiah's hand, and dealing mainly with the invasion of Sennacherib (ch. 28-33). To the post-Exilic editor who combined this collection with the two preceding Books the dominating interest was eschatological. The invasion of Sennacherib was invested with an eschatological significance and was "regarded as typical of the last great attempt to extinguish the people of Jahveh"* at the end of the Age. This editor will also have been responsible for prefixing the eschatological preface (ch. 24-27) and affixing the eschatological appendix (ch. 34-35) to the central group.

The Third Collection thus falls into three main parts, viz. :

- I. Eschatological Preface (ch. 24-27).
- II. Prophecies dealing mainly with the Deliverance of Jerusalem (ch. 28-33).
- III. Eschatological Appendix (ch. 34-35).

The detailed analysis of each of these groups will be found below.

I. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL PREFACE (CHAPTERS 24-27).

Chapters 24-27, though without a separate heading, yet form a distinct section by themselves, marked by striking peculiarities. They consist of passages, partly descriptive, partly lyrical, and partly apocalyptic in character. In fact the last (*i.e.*, the apocalyptic) element is the most outstanding feature in the whole production. When the lyrical passages, which apparently are somewhat later insertions, † have been separated, an apocalypse, which may be regarded as a uniform composition, ‡ is revealed. The inserted "songs" are as follows : (a) 25¹⁻⁵ (commemorating the destruction of a strong city) ; (b) 25⁹⁻¹¹ (the taunt-song on Moab) ; (c) 26¹⁻¹⁹ (a poetical meditation) ; and (d) the song in 27²⁻⁵. When these are separated a uniform apocalypse stands forth embodied in 24, 25⁶⁻⁸, 26²⁰⁻²⁷¹, 27¹²⁻¹³ ; in 27¹, ⁹⁻¹¹

* Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. xxvii.

† The first of the lyrical passages (25¹⁻⁵), as Ewald long ago perceived, breaks the connexion between 24²³ and 25⁸.

‡ This, however, has been denied, *e.g.*, by Boehmer, who analyses the original apocalypse into two independent passages, viz., (1) 24¹⁻²³ and 25⁶⁻⁸, and (2) 26⁹⁻²¹ and 27^{1, 12, 13}.

Cheyne sees a fragment of "an exhortation to the Jews to break off from their sins, and so become entitled to deliverance"; and this fragment "is certainly parenthetical and very possibly a later insertion."* The subject of the main apocalyptic section is a great world-catastrophe which convulses the entire world. A picture of world-wide desolation is drawn in lurid colours. This is followed by a description of the divine judgment on the evil-powers (heavenly and earthly), and of Jahveh's enthronement on Mount Zion (ch. 24). Finally, the "coronation festival"—"a feast of fat things for all peoples"—is described (25⁶⁻⁸). The definitely apocalyptic character with which this composition is stamped is unmistakable. Everything is on the vast scale familiar to us in the late apocalyptic literature (cf. 24^{1, 12-20} with Ezek. 38^{10, 20}; Zech. 14^{4, 5}, etc.). The banquet of 25⁶ is a regular feature in eschatological descriptions (cf. Rev. 19⁹). In 24²¹ *the host of the heavenly height* are punished by being committed to prison "in the pit" exactly as in the Bk. of Enoch 18¹³⁻¹⁶ (cf. Jude ⁶; Rev. 20^{2, 3}); and in 26¹⁹ Israel's dead are revived by the infusion of heavenly dew—a feature which reappears in later eschatological writings, as also does the "trumpet" which is the signal for gathering together the dispersed (27¹³). Another characteristic eschatological feature is the conception of the people of God as being "hidden" away while the execution of the judgment is taking place (26²⁰, "Come, my people, enter into thy chambers," etc.). Compare with this the idea of the flight of the righteous (Mark 13¹⁴⁻²⁰; Rev. 12^{13f.}; cf. Zech. 14^{2f.}). A further characteristic of apocalyptic is also in evidence in these chapters, viz., the employment of veiled and symbolical language, the full meaning and significance of which it is often difficult to grasp.

These characteristic features of apocalyptic, though in the developed form in which they here appear they raise a presumption in favour of a late date, are in themselves indecisive. But, taken in conjunction with the other phenomena that meet us, they render the presumption a practical certainty. The language of 24² implies that the priestly class is the foremost one in the nation, and consequently presupposes the post-Exilic period. But the language of the Apocalypse and of the lyrical passages also implies a definite historical situation, though the obscurity of the diction already referred to does not make the task of determining what this exactly was an easy one.

Duhm—to whom the critical analysis of the chapters is mainly due—assigns the whole (with the exception of 25⁹⁻¹¹ which he makes later) to the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–106 B.C.). The main Apocalypse he dates soon after 135 (the beginning of Hyrcanus's reign), and before 120 (the Parthian campaign of Antiochus Sidetes) when Judah was devastated and Jerusalem besieged by the Syrian king. In 26¹⁻¹⁰ he detects an allusion to the destruction of Samaria by John Hyrcanus (between 113 and 105), and assigns 25¹⁻⁵ to the same period (the "city of the nations" in 25³ = Rome); 25⁹⁻¹¹ he thinks belongs to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (105–79 B.C.). So late a date is, however, precluded by the history of the Canon. Other views have wavered between the beginning of the Persian period (Dillmann, Oort), and

* *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 2201.

the end, just before the advent of Alexander the Great. The most satisfactory solution, from every point of view, is that of Cheyne. This scholar assigns the Apocalypse to the latter years of the Persian period, when the Persian Empire was desolated by war, and was in the throes of dissolution (350-330 B.C.). During this gloomy time Judah must have suffered much from the collision of Persian and Egyptian forces. "The frequent passage of large Persian armies was itself a calamity for the Jews, and once, if not twice, the Jews appear to have been concerned in a revolt against Persia. Cruelly was their rebellion punished by the able but unscrupulous Artaxerxes Ochus."* The gloomy description in 27^{10, 11} refers to Jerusalem as it was soon after 347 B.C., after Artaxerxes, having reconquered Egypt, and destroyed Sidon, had wreaked his vengeance on the Jews for their share in the general rebellion. The songs of praise which the Jews *in far countries* raise in honour of Jahveh referred to in 24^{14-15a} were probably the result of Alexander the Great's victorious march through Asia Minor in 334 B.C. This will mark the *terminus ad quem* for the date of the composition of the Apocalypse proper. The date of the other pieces is probably somewhat later. Alexander's great victory at Issus has intervened. Cheyne, therefore, plausibly dates them circa 332 B.C.

The author of the Apocalypse, at any rate, appears to have been a Palestinian, for by "this mountain" in 25^{6, 7, 10} Mount Zion is undoubtedly meant. In 24¹⁴⁻¹⁹ the colonies of the Diaspora (the Jewish "Dispersion") are clearly alluded to. The importance of these chapters from the standpoint of Biblical Theology is very considerable. The style and diction, however, are decidedly lacking in natural power and vigour. The method of expression is laboured and ornate; synonyms are piled up; and the use of paronomasia and other peculiar rhetorical devices is frequently resorted to. Anything more unlike the majestic and pregnant diction of Isaiah could hardly be conceived.

In the following translation the material of these chapters has been re-arranged in accordance with the critical analysis of Duhm and Cheyne, in the following order: (i) The Apocalypse proper, 24, 25⁶⁻⁸, 26²⁰⁻²¹, 27^{1, 12, 13}; (ii) the fragmentary exhortation, 27^{7, 9-11}; (iii) a poetical meditation and retrospect, 26¹⁻¹⁹; (iv) three songs, 25^{1-5a} (b), 25⁹⁻¹¹ (12), and 27²⁻⁵.

(I.) THE DIVINE JUDGMENT AND ITS RESULTS: AN APOCALYPSE.

(Ch. 24, 25⁶⁻⁸, 26²⁰⁻²¹, 27^{1, 12, 13}; c. 332 B.C.)

The principal theme of ch. 24 is the last judgment. But the writer's language in the first twenty verses has a descriptive element in it; it is to some extent coloured by the actual state of things existing before his eyes. In 24²¹ the point of view becomes definitely prophetic and purely eschatological, and so remains to the end of the section. "The author is writing obviously while the impression of some vast catastrophe is fresh and vivid, which powerfully fanned into flame the

* Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 155 f.

Messianic and eschatological hopes of Israel."* As has already been pointed out, the immediate cause was in all probability the triumphant march of Alexander the Great through Asia Minor.

Ch. 24¹ Behold Jahveh is about to make the earth a wilderness and wild ; He turns it upside down and scatters its inhabitants. ²And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest ; as with the servant, so with his master ; as with the maid, so with her mistress ; as with the buyer, so with the seller ; as with the lender, so with the borrower ; as with the creditor, so with the debtor. ³The Earth shall be made a wild wilderness and clean despoiled, for this is the sentence Jahveh has pronounced.

⁴ Earth stricken with anguish languishes ;

The round world minishes, languishes—

^aHigh Heaven like Earth^a doth minish.

⁵ Earth has been profaned beneath her inhabitants,

Because they have transgressed laws, disregarded the ordinance,
Broken the everlasting covenant.

⁶ Therefore

A curse ^bcrushes^b the Earth,

And the dwellers thereon suffer the penalty of guilt ;

Therefore

Earth's inhabitants ^ccease to be,^c

And few mortals are left.

⁷ The new wine languishes, the vine minishes,

All the merry-hearted do sigh.

⁸ The joy of timbrels ceases,

The noise of the jubilant crowd ends,

The joy of the lute ceases.

⁹ They drink wine with a song no more,

Strong drink is bitter to the drinkers thereof.

¹⁰ Shattered is the City of Chaos,

Every house closed against entry.

¹¹ In the streets ^d(lack of) wine causes outcry^d ;

All gladness ^ehas passed away,^e

^fJoy has been banished from the earth.

a (vs. 4) : *High Heaven like Earth* : so Gunkel and Cheyne (by an alteration of the Massoretic vowel-points). Rec. Text has *the height* (= ? the highest) *of the people*.

b (vs. 6) : *crushes* : lit. *devours*.

c (vs. 6) : *cease to be* : so Oort, Grätz, Cheyne. Rec. Text : *burn or glow* (sc. under the curse).

d (vs. 11) : *(lack of) wine causes outcry*, lit. *there is outcry because of the wine*.

e (vs. 11) : *has passed away* : so Houbigant, Secker, Lowth and many moderns (transposing one letter). Rec. Text has *is darkened* (a striking figure, but the existence of the verb is highly doubtful. (The text of Judges 19⁹ is probably corrupt).

f (vs. 11) : *Joy has been banished*, etc. Cheyne's rendering.

* Cornill, *Introduction*, p. 280.

- 12 In the City is left desolation,
And the gate is battered into ruin.
- 13 For thus shall it be in the midst of the Earth,
Among the peoples, as when an olive-tree is beaten,
As the after-gleaning when the vintage is over.
- 14 Yonder lift up their voice, they cry aloud,
Because of Jahveh's majesty they shout from the sea :
- 15 " Therefore *šin* the coast-lands^g give honour to Jahveh,
In the coast-lands of the Sea, to the name of Jahveh, Israel's
God."
- 16 From Earth's *ḥ*bounds^h we have heard songs of praise :
" Honour (comes) to the righteous ! "
But I say : I pine ! I pine ! Woe is me !
The perfidious are perfidious, yea perfidiously perfidious are the
perfidious.
- 17 Panic, pit-fall, and trap are upon thee,
O inhabitant of the earth !
- 18 And it shall be
Whoever flees from the noise of the panic shall fall into the pit,
And whoever emerges from the pit shall be taken in the trap ;
For lattices out of high heaven are opened,
And Earth's foundations do quake.
- 19 The breaking Earth doth break,
The *ʾ*rent Earth is rent,ⁱ
The staggering Earth doth stagger.
- 20 Earth reeling reels like a drunkard,
And rocks like a garden-booth ;
Its rebellion lies heavy upon it—
It falls and shall rise no more.
- 21 And it shall come to pass in that Day
Jahveh will punish the host of the heavenly height in the height,
And the kings of the earth upon the earth.
- 22 And they shall be bundled together as prisoners into a pit,
And be shut up in a dungeon,
And after many days they shall be visited.
- 23 Then shall the moon be confounded, and the sun put to shame,
Because Jahveh Sabaoth has become King in Mount Zion and
in Jerusalem ;
And before His elders (there shall be) glory.

^g (vs. 15) : *in the coast-lands* : so Lowth and many moderns (cf. LXX).
Rec. Text : *in the East* (?) (lit. *in the (region of) lights*).

^h (vs. 16) : *bounds* : so LXX, Syriac, Cheyne. Rec. Text has "bound"
(sing.).

ⁱ (vs. 19) : *The rent Earth is rent* : so Cheyne (reading *pārōk hithpārēkāh*).
Cf. [1 Kings 19¹¹]. Rec. Text : *The cracking earth cracks* (?), but reading
doubtful.

CH. 25

- ⁶ And Jahveh Sabaoth will make
 On this mountain for all the peoples
*j*A feast of fat kine, a feast of old wine,
 Of fat kine full of marrow, of old wine well-refined.
- ⁷ And on this mountain He will annihilate
 The veil-surface that veils all the peoples
 And the covering that is woven over all the nations ;
- ⁸ [^kHe has annihilated death for ever^k]
 And the Lord Jahveh will wipe away tears from all faces,
 And the reproach of His people will He remove from off all the
 earth.
 Jahveh has decreed it.

CH. 26

- ²⁰ Come, my people, enter into thy chambers,
 And shut thy doors behind thee ;
 Hide thyself for a little moment,
 Until the indignation be overpast.
- ²¹ For behold Jahveh is coming forth out of His place
 To punish Earth's inhabitants for their iniquity ;
 And Earth shall disclose her bloodshed,
 And shall no more cover her slain.

CH. 27.

- ¹ In that Day
 Jahveh will punish with His sword—
 His hard and great and strong (sword)—the Leviathan the fugitive
 serpent, and the Leviathan the coiled serpent, and will slay the monster
 of *the Sea*.^l
- ¹² And it shall come to pass in that Day Jahveh will thresh from the
 corn-ears of *the River*^m to (those of) the Torrent of Egypt, and ye
 shall be gleaned one by one, O ye children of Israel.
- ¹³ And it shall come to pass in that Day
 A blast shall be blown on a great horn,
 And those shall come who were lost in the land of Assyria and
 who were outcasts in the land of Egypt, and will worship Jahveh
 in the holy mountain, in Jerusalem.

j (vs. 6) : *A feast of fat kine, a feast of old wine* (there is an assonance in the Hebrew) ; lit. *a feast of fat things . . . of wine on the lees.*

k *He has annihilated death for ever* : regarded by Cheyne as a gloss (note the asyndeton).

^l (vs. 1) : *the Sea, i.e., the Nile.* The monster of the Sea = probably Egypt (cf. Ezek. 29³ ; 32²). "The two Leviathans (cf. Job 3⁸, 26¹³) may be Babylonia and Persia, the earlier and the later oppressor of Israel" (Cheyne).

^m (vs. 12) : *the River, i.e., the Euphrates.*

(II.) AN EXHORTATION TO REPENTANCE :

A Fragment.

(27^(a) 7-11 ; c. 332 B.C.)

This section is a difficult one. It is clearly a fragment, having no logical connexion with its context. This will become apparent when its contents are examined. In vs. 7 the writer alludes, it would seem, to the punishment recently inflicted on Persia by Alexander the Great, and contrasts the severity of this with the suffering (severe as that was) endured by Israel in the recent past at the hands of this same Persian oppressor ("Has He [Jahveh] smitten him (Israel) as He has smitten his smiter [*i.e.*, Persia]?). The oppressor who almost annihilated Israel has himself been smitten (at Issus). But will Israel profit by this Divine interposition? Only if Israel itself recognizes its own sin—"its lapse into illegal practices"—and abolishes idolatrous symbols from the land (vs. 9). This language may be a mere archaistic fashion of speech, or it may imply that even at so late a period as the Persian age idolatrous worship, involving the use of "asherahs" and "sun-pillars," was not unknown in Israel. The recrudescence of ancient popular superstitious practices is a well-known phenomenon, particularly in times of special stress. The prophetic writer declares Israel to be an undiscerning people, and "therefore its maker has no compassion upon it" (vs. 11).

Verse 8 cannot belong to the body of the composition—it has no logical connexion with its context; it must be regarded with Duhm and Cheyne as a gloss on vs. 10, which has been incorporated into the context from the margin. The beginning of the exhortation is lacking.

⁶ a a

⁷ Has He smitten him as He has smitten his smiter ?
 Has (Israel) been slain as ^bhis slayers^b have been slain ?^c

^a Vs. 6 occupies an isolated position : it neither connects with the song that precedes (27²⁻⁵) nor with the fragment that follows. It was perhaps inserted to form a connecting link between the song and the fragment, after these had been combined into a consecutive piece. The verse (6) may be thus rendered : (*In days*) to come *Jacob shall take root ; Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit.*

^b (vs. 7) : *his slayers* : so LXX, Pesh, Lowth and most moderns. Rec. Text has *them that have been slain by him.*

^c Here follows in the Rec. Text vs. 8, which may be rendered : *By scaring her away, by driving her forth He* (so LXX ; Rec. Text. *Thou contendst with her* (*i.e.*, with Israel) ; *He has removed her with His rough blast in the day of the east wind.* The verse is probably a gloss on vs. 10 (*the fortified city*, etc.). The figure apparently is that of a divorced wife (notice the feminine suffixes) and alludes to captivity and exile.

- ⁹ Therefore on this condition may Jacob's guilt be expiated—
And this is ^dthe (desired) result^d of the removal of his sin—
That he should make all altar-stones like pulverized chalk-stones,
The Asherim and the sun-pillars not remaining erect.
- ¹⁰ For the fortified city is solitary,
^eA deserted habitation,^e and forsaken like the wilderness ;
There the calf feeds, and there lies down and consumes the
branches thereof.
- ¹¹ When its boughs are dry they shall be broken off—
Women come and set them ablaze ;
For it is not a people of discernment,
Therefore its maker does not compassionate it,
And its Fashioner shows it no favour.

(III.) A POETICAL MEDITATION AND RETROSPECT.

(26¹⁻¹⁰ ; c. 332 B.C.)

Next to the main Apocalypse this is the most important document embodied in Ch. 24-27. In the form of an elaborately constructed poem the writer sets forth his reflections in a mingled strain of exultant praise and wistful longing and retrospect. Jerusalem has apparently just issued safe from a long period of depression and danger—it has been spared by the great conqueror (Alexander), while prouder cities have been utterly humiliated. But the effects of recent Persian oppression (especially by Artaxerxes Ochus [359-338]) are still painfully visible in the dismantled city-walls and sparse population. The failures of the past make their effects felt in the present. The last verse is a notable utterance. It abruptly announces a promise of literal resurrection for those members of the community who have been snatched away by death from the prospect of achieved deliverance and felicity.

The poem is a remarkable one, highly artificial in structure, and consists of four seven-lined strophes. "The first strophe is full of joy and hope. The three following ones are chiefly retrospective and melancholy. But each opens with a line in a strong idealistic tone, describing either a principle of the divine action, or the experience of a happier past."* The thought and connexion are closely interwoven, a word or idea often being taken up from one verse and developed in the next.

The opening words (*In that Day shall this song be sung*, etc.) must be regarded as an editorial heading. The glorious *Day* of the great consummation has not yet dawned for the writer of the poem ; he only stands on the very threshold of a great deliverance.

d (vs. 9) : *the (desired) result* (Cheyne) ; lit. *the fruit*.

e (vs. 10) : *a deserted habitation* ; lit. *a habitation expelled*.

* Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 158.

¹ [In that Day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah.]

(1.)

- A strong city is ours ; deliverance He appoints
for walls and moat.
- ² Open ye the gates that there may enter a righteous nation,
one keeping faithfulness.
- ³ A steadfast disposition Thou safeguardest in ^awelfare,^a
for on Thee it is reliant.
- ⁴ Rely on Jahveh for ever, for ^bJahveh^b
is ^can everlasting Rock^c.
- ⁵ For He has abased those that dwelt on high,
the lofty city,
^dLaying it low^d to the ground,
levelling it even to the dust !
- ⁶ ^eThe feet^e of the afflicted trample it,
the steps of the hapless.

(2.)

- ⁷ The path for the righteous is all smooth,
the road of the righteous^f Thou makest even.
- ⁸ Yea, in the path of Thy judgments,
O Jahveh, have we waited for Thee,
Thy name and thy memorial (have been)
(our) soul's desire.
- ⁹ With my soul have I desired Thee, yea with my spirit within me
I seek Thee earnestly :
When Thy judgments (come) on the earth, the inhabitants of the
world
learn righteousness.
- ¹⁰ Let favour be shown to the wicked, he will not learn righteousness
even in the land of rectitude ;
He deals perversely still, and cannot see
Jahveh's majesty.

a (vs. 3) : *welfare*. Rec. Text has *welfare, welfare* = (?) *perfect welfare*. But the repetition is due to dittography and spoils the metre.

b (vs. 4) : *Jahveh*. Rec. Text has *Jah Jahveh*. *Jah* (Heb. *bējah*) is again due to dittography.

c *an everlasting Rock* ; lit. *a Rock of Ages*.

d (vs. 5) : *laying it low* : Rec. Text repeats (another dittograph).

e (vs. 6) : *The feet*. Rec. Text : *the foot even the feet* (another dittograph).

f (vs. 7) : *Thou*. Rec. Text adds *that art upright* (another variant not expressed in LXX).

(3.)

- 11 Thy Hand^g has been lifted up (yet) they saw it not ;
 let them see it and be ashamed !
 Let zeal for ^hThy^h people, yea the fire (appointed) for thine enemies,
 devour them, ^hO Jahveh^h !
- 12 O do Thou ordain welfare for us, for indeed all our work
 Thou hast wrought for us.
- 13 O Jahveh, our God, lords have had dominion over us
 other than Thyself ;
 (But) ⁱonly of Thee do we make our boastⁱ Thy name do we
 celebrate.
- 14 The dead* shall not revive, the Shades shall not rise ;
 to that end Thou didst punish (them) :
 Yea, Thou didst destroy them, and make to perish
 the memory of them.

(4.)

- 15 Thou hast increased the nation^j, glorified Thyself, hast extended
 all the borders of the land.
- 16 ^hIn trouble ^lwe sought after Thee, ^l^mwe cried out in distress^m
 when Thy discipline was upon us.
- 17 As a pregnant woman, who draws nigh to her time for delivery,
ⁿcries out in her pangs,
 So have we been because of Thee, O Jahveh !

g (vs. 11) : *Thy Hand* : Rec. Text adds *Jahveh* at the beginning of the verse (due to dittography).

h (vs. 11) : *Thy people* : the suffix is required by the parallelism-
h (vs. 11), *O Jahveh*, added to end of verse from the beginning of the following, " to equalize the lines " (so Duhm and Cheyne).

i (vs. 13). *only of Thee do we make our boast* : so Cheyne, following Duhm, who adds *do we make our boast* (Heb., *nithhallél*) " to make sense and to lengthen the stichus." The Rec. Text is obscure : *By Thee only* (*i.e.*, through Thy help alone) *can we celebrate Thy name*.

j (vs. 15). Rec. Text adds *O Jahveh, Thou hast increased the nation* ; another repetition with *Jahveh* added. The words overload the line. Omit with Duhm and Cheyne.

k (vs. 16). Rec. Text adds *O Jahveh* (unnecessarily).

l (vs. 16) *we sought after Thee* : so some MSS. of LXX, Lowth, and several moderns. Rec. Text has *they sought after Thee*.

m (vs. 16) : *we cried out in distress* : so Cheyne (reading *tsā'aknu millahats kī*) improving on a suggested correction of Houbigant.

n (vs. 17). Rec. Text adds *is in travail* ; not expressed in LXX. Probably an insertion to make vs. 17 correspond with vs. 18.

* (vs. 14) : *The dead, i.e.*, Israel's dead enemies.

- ¹⁸ We were with child, we were in travail,^o
 (Yet) we made not the land safe,
 neither were inhabitants of the world born.
- ¹⁹ Thy dead^p shall arise : *q* awake and shout for joy
 ye that dwell in the dust^q !
 For a dew of lights is Thy dew (O Jahveh),
 and Earth shall bring forth Shades.

(IV.) THREE SONGS.

(25^{1-5a(b)} ; 25⁹⁻¹¹ (1^a), 27²⁻⁵ ; same date as the preceding,
 c. 332 B.C.)

The three lyrical passages that follow probably belong to the same date as 26¹⁻¹⁹. The first of these,

(^a) 25^{1-5(b)},

forms a psalm of thanksgiving over the fall of some powerful heathen city. This event is regarded as the fulfilment of ancient prophecy (25¹). Probably the city (though the term may have a collective meaning and include other cities like Gaza, etc.) meant is Tyre, which fell to Alexander in 332 B.C. Though to all appearance it was absolutely impregnable, the downfall of Tyre had been the theme of more than one Hebrew prophet (cf. Is. 23¹⁻¹⁴ ; Ezek. 26 ; Joel 3⁴⁻⁸ ; Zech. 9²⁻⁴). Its utter ruin by Alexander cannot fail to have made a deep impression on the Jews. The poem is imitated from the Psalms. Its (late) Psalm-like style is unmistakable. The text of the poem appears to be in considerable disorder, especially in vv. 3, 4 (end), and 5. The present writer believes that vv. 4 (end) and 5—after variants and glosses have been eliminated—yield the concluding lines of stanzas 3 and 4, which are restored accordingly in the version given below. For a full discussion and justification of this view reference must be made elsewhere. (See an art. by G. H. Box in *Exp. Times*, Sept. 1908.)

¹ Jahveh, my God art Thou,
 I exalt Thee, I praise Thy Name ;
 Wondrous deeds hast Thou wrought,
 Counsels decreed long ago—immutable, sure.

^o (vs. 18). Here Rec. Text adds *when we brought forth it was wind*, "a most displeasing gloss on the preceding two verbs" (Duhm and Cheyne).

^p (vs. 19). Rec. Text adds (after *thy dead*) *shall live, my dead bodies* (read, perhaps, *their dead bodies* ; so Syriac). These words are not expressed in the LXX. Probably *my (their) dead bodies* is a gloss on *thy dead* (inserted, probably, to emphasize the idea of a bodily resurrection).

^q *awake and shout for joy ye that dwell in the dust* : Cheyne reads as futures, *they that dwell in the dust shall awake and shout for joy*.

- ^a Thou cities hast reduced to a mound,
A citadel-fortress to ruins ;
The "proud castle" is a city no more—
It shall never again be rebuilt.
- ^b For this a fierce people do honour Thee,
Heathen (?) cities ^b ^b
Tyrants do hold Thee in awe
- ^{5a} "Because presumption of pride Thou abasest."^c
- ⁴ To the hapless Thou hast proved a stronghold,
To the needy a stronghold in distress ;
A refuge from storm, a shadow from heat—
^dFrom rain-storm in winter, from heat in the parched steppe.^d

(b) 25⁹⁻¹¹ (1²). (? same date.)

A second song, less regular in structure than the first, here follows. Its subject is the humiliation of Moab. The express mention of Moab makes it probable that some definite historical occasion is referred to—some humiliation—which, however, cannot now be determined. The spirit of fierce hostility manifested by the writer of the "song" is noticeable. Cheyne regards the employment of the name "Moab" here as archaistic. "Why should not 'Moab' be an imaginative type of all the proud enemies of Israel (cf. Neh. 13¹; Ezra 9¹)?"* But this is somewhat forced and hardly accords with Old Testament usage.

- ⁹ *And it shall be said in that Day*
Lo! here is our God,
For whom we have waited,
That He should deliver us ;^e
Let us exult and rejoice in His deliverance.

a (vs. 2) : *proud castle* (lit., *castle of the proud*) : so LXX, Lowth, and many moderns. Rec. Text : *castle of aliens*.

b (vs. 3). Probably a verb parallel to *do honour Thee* should be supplied here (? *do call Thee blessed, bērakūkā*).

c Here a line must be supplied. Cheyne, following Bickell, adopts *Because Thou hast made known Thy right hand*. But the missing line may be concealed in vv. 4b, 5a for the spirit of tyrants . . . the arrogance of the proud Thou abasest. Here the spirit of tyrants is perhaps a variant of the arrogance (reading *gē'ōn* for *shē'ōn* in vs. 5a : so Cheyne) of the proud (rendered above *presumption of pride*).

d (vs. 4) : *from rain-storm in winter, from heat in the parched steppe* (reading *mī-zerem ḥor mēḥōreb betsāyōn*). A variant of the last two words is perhaps to be seen in *heat by the shadow of a cloud* (vs. 5 end : *chōreb bētsēl 'āb*). The last words of vs. 5 should be rendered (probably) *Proud ones* (reading *zēdim* for *zēmīr*) *tyrants He humbles*, and represent marginal variants on the last line of the third stanza (*presumption of pride Thou abasest*).

e (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds here *This is Jahveh for whom we have waited* ; a variant on line 2 (so Duhm and Cheyne).

* *Introd.*, p. 159.

- ¹⁰ For the hand of Jahveh will rest
 Upon this mountain ;
 But Moab shall be trodden down in his place
 As a straw-heap is trodden down in the water of a dung-pit.
- ¹¹ And if he spread out his hands therein
 As a swimmer spreads out to swim,
 His pride shall be humiliated
 In spite of the tricks of his hands./

(c) 27²⁻⁵ (*same date*).

The third " song " forms a sort of counterpart to the fine Isaianic *Song of the Vineyard* (5¹⁻⁷). It falls into two stanzas of six lines each (vv. 2-4a and 4b-5). The former of these expresses Jahveh's satisfaction in His vineyard (= the theocratic nation) ; the latter explains what Jahveh would do if the vineyard were attacked by *thorns and thistles* (= heathen enemies).

- ² *a*(And it shall be said)^a in that Day!
^bDelightsome^b vineyard! Sing of it,
³ I Jahveh am its guard,
 Each moment do I water it
 lest it by ill be marred ;
 By night and day I am guard of it—
⁴ wrath am I spared.
 O that I might now confront
 thistle ^cand^c thorn!
 Of war would I make them bear the brunt,
 all of them burn!
⁵ Or else ^dthey must to my stronghold cling
^eand their peace to make with me learn.^e

II. PROPHECIES DEALING MAINLY WITH THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM (CHAPTERS 28-33).

The important group of discourses collected together in chapters 28-33 have as their principal theme the crisis which culminated in the

f Here follows in the Rec. Text vs. 12, which is really a misplaced gloss on 26⁵ (so Cheyne). Render *And thy steep fortified walls He brings down, lays low, levels with the ground, even with the dust.*

a (vs. 2): *And it shall be said*. These words must be supplied ; they are missing in the Rec. Text.

b (vs. 2): *delightsome* : so some Hebrew MSS., LXX, Targum, but majority of Hebrew MSS. read *dhemer* = *red wine*.

c (vs. 4): *and* : to be supplied (so Cheyne).

d (vs. 4): *they must* ; Hebrew text : *he must* ; the figure (*thistle and thorn*) is abruptly dropped and the ungodly are spoken of directly.

e (vs. 5): *And their peace to make with me learn*. In the Rec. Text the words of the last line are repeated in a slightly different order (probably a variant reading, but without importance ; so Duham and Cheyne).

invasion of Sennacherib in 701. They largely turn on the events that preceded and led up to that crisis, especially the negotiations, having in view an anti-Assyrian coalition with Egypt—a project scathingly denounced by Isaiah (cf. 28¹⁵, 29¹⁵, 30^{1f}, 31^{1f}).

The group was apparently formed in the first place independently by an editor, or editors. In this form, also, it may be presumed that it had for some time an independent existence. This may be inferred from the fact that Ch. 33 must be regarded as a later appendix (so practically all moderns), and not improbably Ch. 32 should be looked upon as an appendix also, though somewhat earlier in date than Ch. 33. It is admitted on all hands that Ch. 28–31 are largely Isaianic, though the presence of considerable interpolations is suspected, especially by Cheyne, who regards as post-Exilic additions 28²³⁻²⁶, 29¹⁶⁻²⁴, 30¹⁸⁻²⁶, and 30²⁷⁻³³ (apart from minor interpolations). The un-Isaianic character of the first of these passages is, however, by no means proved. Fuller discussion of these points will be found in the introductory sections that follow. The group may be analyzed as follows: (I) 28¹⁻⁴ (5, 6) 7-22; (II) 28²³⁻²⁹; (III) 29¹⁻⁸; (IV) 29⁹⁻¹¹⁽¹²⁾; (V) 29¹³⁻¹⁴; (VI) (a) 29¹⁵ (16), (b) 30¹⁻⁵, (c) 30⁶⁻⁷, (d) 30⁸⁻¹⁷, (e) 31¹⁻³, (f) 31⁴⁻⁹ [a series of oracles mainly on the Egyptian alliance; these are best considered together]; (VII) (a) 29¹⁷⁻²⁴, (b) 30¹⁸⁻²⁶, (c) 30²⁷⁻³³ [? post-Exilic interpolations in the preceding series]; (VIII) 32¹⁻⁸; (IX) 32⁹⁻¹⁴; (X) 32¹⁵⁻²⁰; (XI) 33.

The historical situation presupposed by the collection as a whole is undoubtedly that of the years 704–701 B.C. There is no sufficient ground for assigning the situation to any other period within the lifetime of Isaiah. No evidence exists of negotiations with Egypt having taken place within the years 725–722; while in 711, as we have seen, no question of such a compact arose.

The presence of the introductory "Woe" (Hebrew: *hoy*) is to be noticed in several of the discourses (cf. 28¹, 29^{1, 15}, 30¹, 31¹, 33¹). As has already been pointed out the eschatological colouring of these chapters is marked. For further discussion of this point and its bearing on the alternation of the notes of doom and bliss so noticeable in this group reference must be made to the general Introduction.

(I.) THE FATE OF LUXURY-LOVING SAMARIA : A WARNING TO JERUSALEM.

(28¹⁻⁴ (5, 6) 7-22); (*original date of vv. 1–4, c. 723 B.C.; of the whole combined section, c. 703 B.C.*)

The first four verses are clearly a prophecy of the imminent fall of Samaria, and must therefore have been composed before 722. In their present context they form an introduction to the section contained in vv. 7–22. This, in highly dramatic language, introduces a scene in Jerusalem in one of the eventful years just before 701. Apparently the prophet has surprised a party of the leaders of the pro-Egyptian faction carousing and indulging in drunken excess. The sin and folly of Ephraim are being repeated in Jerusalem. In the dialogue that follows a sarcasm directed against the prophet produces a telling retort.

The section ends with an oracle denouncing the irreligious reliance of leaders and people upon mere diplomatic cleverness for warding off impending danger. When the storm of judgment descends all such subterfuges will be swept away.

The whole section in its present form—including the older oracle announcing the fall of Samaria, which is here repeated with telling effect—is boldly and finely conceived, and presumably owes its arrangement to Isaiah himself. As, obviously, it could not have been spoken as it stands, the prophet will have composed it probably for the “book” or roll mentioned in 30^a, which may have formed the basis of the collection now embodied in Ch. 28–31. In its original form the “book” perhaps contained a summary of the prophetic discourses against the Egyptian alliance. It is difficult to suppose, however, that vv. 5–6 belong to the original form of the chapter. They come in very awkwardly between vv. 1–4 and vs. 7 (“and these also”), interrupting the connexion and application which are of the closest. The eschatological character of the intruding verses is marked (notice especially “in that Day”).

(a.) *The Fate of Samaria.*

(An older oracle repeated, vv. 1–4.)

28¹ Ah!

The proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,
And the fading flower of his beauteous splendour,
Which top the fat valley of the wine-smitten!

² Behold

“Jahveh” has (ready) one strong and mighty,
Like a storm of hail, a destroying tempest—
Like a storm of whelming, overflowing waters—
Which casts down to the earth with violence.

³ And

Trampled under foot shall they be—
The proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,
⁴ And the fading flower of his beauteous splendour,
Which top the fat valley of the wine-smitten.
Like an early fig before the fruit-harvest shall it be;
As soon as a man sees it—
The moment it is in his hand—he swallows it.^b

^a (vs. 2): *Jahveh*: so many Hebrew MSS. Rec. Text has *the Lord*.

^b (vs. 4, end). Here follow in Rec. Text vv. 5 and 6, which may thus be rendered:

⁶ *In that Day*

*Jahveh Sabaoth will be a crown of splendour
And a diadem of beauty to the remnant of His people;*

⁶ *And a spirit of judgment to him who sits on the judgment-seat.
And valour to them that repel the onslaught at the gate.*

(b.) *The moral applied : a warning to Jerusalem.*

(vv. 7-22.)

7 But these also (in Jerusalem) reel with wine,
and stagger with strong drink ;
Priest and prophet^c
are dazed with wine^d ;
They reel in the vision,
they totter in delivering judgment.

8 All tables are full of vomit ;
filth everywhere.

9 " Whom," say they, " would he teach knowledge ?
And to whom explain a revelation ? To (babes) just weaned,
(infants) just parted from the breast ? ¹⁰ For (it is eternally)
" tsav le-tsav, tsav le-tsav ; kav le-kav, kav le-kav ; here
a little, there a little." ¹¹ Yea, verily through stammering
lips and in a foreign tongue will He speak to this people—
¹² He who said to them : This is the (true) rest ; grant rest
to the weary : this is the (true) refreshment. But they would
not listen. ¹³ So Jahveh's word shall indeed be to them
" tsav le-tsav, tsav le-tsav ; kav le-kav, kav le-kav ; here
a little, there a little,"^e that they may go and stumble
backward and be shattered, be ensnared and taken.

¹⁴ Therefore
Hear the word of Jahveh,
ye men of scorn,
Rulers of this people
which is in Jerusalem !

¹⁵ Because ye have said :
We have concluded a covenant with Death,
And with Sheol have we made a compact ;

^c (vs. 7). Here Rec. Text adds *reel with strong drink*.

^d (vs. 7). Here Rec. Text adds *they stagger by reason of strong drink*. The expressions in both cases are mainly repetitions (? variants from margin). The verse is much improved, and gains in force by their omission (so Staerk).

^e (vv. 10, 13). The Hebrew words (*tsav le-tsav . . . kav le-kav*) are best perhaps transliterated (their meaning is uncertain). They sarcastically express the speaker's disgust at the iteration and monotony of the same themes in the prophet's discourses (imitating the drunkard's words).

“The overflowing Flood,” when it passes through,
 shall not reach us,
 Because we have made a lie our refuge,
 and in falsehood have hid ourselves.

16 Therefore

Thus says the Lord Jahveh :
 Behold! I am about to lay in Zion a stone,
a tried stone,
 A precious foundation-corner-stone ;
 He who believes shall not ^egive way^g.

17 And I will make justice the line
and righteousness the plummet ;
 And hail shall sweep away the refuge,^h
and the hiding-place shall waters overwhelm ;

18 And your covenant with Death shall be ‘annulled,’ⁱ
and your compact with Sheol shall not stand :
 When the overflowing Flood passes through
Ye shall be beaten down by it.

19 As often as it passes through
it shall take you.
 For morning by morning shall it pass through,
by day and by night,
 And (then) it shall be sheer terror
to understand the “ revelation ” ^j

ee (vv. 15, 18) : *the overflowing Flood* (Hebrew, *shôt* here = Arabian *saut*, Flood, probably). The term has an eschatological significance, a world-flood which brings about the final catastrophe being presupposed (cf. *Gressmann*, p. 147, etc.). E.V. renders, *the overflowing scourge* (i.e., Jahveh’s instrument of punishment), an impossible expression. Duhm emends to *shôt shôtef* = the *Scourger’s scourge*. So Marti.

f (vs. 16) : *I am about to lay* : so the versions and most moderns. Rec. Text (as pointed) : *I am He that has founded*.

g (vs. 16) : *give way* (reading *yâmûsh*) : so Cheyne and Guthe (others *be put to shame*, reading *yëbôsh*). Rec. Text has *make haste*.

h (vs. 17). Rec. Text adds *of lies*. Omit with Duhm (for metrical and other reasons). Others retain and add *of falsehood* after *hiding-place*.

i (vs. 18) : *annulled* (reading *wêthupar*). Rec. Text has *wiped out* (reading the verb which elsewhere is always used in the metaphorical sense of *wiping out*, *obliterating sin*, i.e., *forgiving*, *atoning for*, e.g., 6⁷, 22¹⁴).

j (vs. 19, end). Here follows in Rec. Text vs. 20 (? a proverbial expression for an intolerable situation, which has crept into the text

- ²¹ For Jahveh will arise *as* in Mount Perazim,
 He will be wroth *as* in the Vale of Gibeon,
 To execute His enterprise—
 strange is His enterprise !
 To perform His work—
 outlandish is His work !ⁱⁱ
- ²² And now
 Do not play the scorner
 lest your hands be tightened,
 For a decisive decree of destruction
 have I heard from Jahveh Sabaoth.^h

(II.) PLOUGHING AND THRESHING : A PARABOLIC POEM.

(28²³⁻²⁹ ; *date uncertain, probably Isaianic.*)

The poem skilfully suggests an analogy between the operations of husbandry and those of Jahveh in the judgment which He brings upon His people. Just as the farmer ploughs not for the sake of ploughing, but in order to sow ; so Jahveh's operations with His people are directed towards preparing the soil, as it were, for future sowing (vv. 24-26) ; similarly a lesson is drawn from threshing (vv. 27-29). This must vary with the material that is to be threshed. The rough instruments used for the coarser grain would ruin the more delicate. In Judah, likewise, the delicate product of the "holy seed"—from which the true Israel is destined to arise—must not be battered to destruction ; but the severity of the judgment must be mitigated for their sake.

The Isaianic character of the passage has been disputed, especially by Cheyne. He urges that "it is on every ground impossible this passage should have been written as the sequel of vv. 14-22.* Its consoling tendency does not suit the context. "Not the gentleness but the severity of Jahveh is the prophet's constant message to the rulers at this period."† But the present position of the passage may

from the margin : so Cheyne). It may be rendered : *For the bed is too short to allow of one's stretching out at length, and the coverlet too narrow to cover oneself.* (Rec. Text : *to gather oneself together*) in it.

‡ (vs. 20) : *As in Mount Perazim . . . in the Vale of Gibeon.* The allusions are to famous victories won by David over the Philistines, in the vicinity of Jerusalem : cf. 2 Sam. 5^{20f} (Baal Perazim) and 2 Sam. 5²⁵ (Geba) ; in 1 Chron. 14¹⁶, Gibeon, as here). The "strangeness" of Jahveh's procedure lies in the fact that He fights His own people through their foreign foes.

^h (vs. 22, end). Rec. Text adds *upon the whole earth*. The words overload the line and overburden the metre. They may be due to reminiscence of 10²³. Omit (for these reasons) with Duhm and Cheyne.

* *Introd.*, p. 184 f.† *Ibid.*

easily be due to a later hand than the prophet's : and the difference of tone is at once explained if the passage is taken as originally addressed to " an inner circle " of friends and disciples to whom the prophet had already disclosed his hopes as to the survival of a purified remnant of the nation for the future. There is nothing in the language of the section that militates decisively against the Isaianic authorship. It has the proverbial manner, which is natural. Isaiah could as easily adopt, and adapt to his own purposes, the conventional form and phraseology of the proverbial poem as he could that of the minstrel's song (5¹⁰). This consideration will help perhaps to explain the presence of so rare a word as that rendered " excellent wisdom " in vs. 29 (*tūshiyāh*), which is a technical term of the wisdom Literature (Job, Proverbs). There is, therefore, no cogent reason for assigning the passage—which is vigorous alike in conception and expression—to the post-Exilic period, or for denying its Isaianic character.

(a.)

- ²³ Give ear, and hearken to my voice,
 attend and hearken to my speech.
²⁴ Is the ploughman continually ploughing ?²
 (continually) opening and harrowing his ground ?
²⁵ Does he not, when he has levelled its surface,
 scatter fennel and sow cummin broadcast,
 And plant wheat^m and barley,ⁿ
 and spelt as its border ?
²⁶ °It is Jahveh who has trained^o him aright,
 his God who teaches him.

(b.)

- ¹⁷ Fennel is not threshed with sledges,
 nor cart-wheel rolled over cummin ;
 But fennel is beaten out with a staff,
 and cummin with a flail.

^l (vs. 24). Rec. Text adds *in order to sow*. Probably a gloss (it obscures the language of the verse). Omit.

^m (vs. 25). Rec. Text adds (?) *in rows*. But probably the Hebrew word *sōrāh* so rendered is a copyist's mis-writing of the following word, *barley* (Heb. *se'ērah*). So Cheyne, Duhm.

ⁿ (vs. 25). Rec. Text adds (?) *in the appointed place* (so R.V.). Here again the Hebrew word (*nismān*) is a corrupt repetition of the word rendered spelt (*kussemeth*).

^o (vs. 26): *It is Jahveh who has trained him*: (*Jahveh* being added to the Rec. Text). By the addition both rhythm and sense are improved.

28 Is bread-corn ^{utterly} crushed ?

Nay he does not keep threshing it perpetually,
But when he has rolled his wagon-wheel (over it)
He scatters it^g without crushing it.

29 This also proceeds from Jahveh^r ;

He displays wonderful counsel, excellent wisdom.

(III.) THE FATE OF ARIEL (ARIAL).

(29¹⁻⁸ ; c. 703 B.C.)

This and the following sections (29⁸⁻¹² and 29¹³⁻¹⁴) have been linked together by the editor under a single "Woe." But, though doubtless emanating originally from the same period, they can hardly be treated as forming parts of a single discourse. They are, therefore, dealt with here under separate headings.

The first eight verses of Ch. 29 have for their theme an impending humiliation and a wonderful deliverance of Jerusalem, which is here referred to symbolically as *Ariel*, or (as perhaps the name should be spelt) *Arial*, i.e., *Altar-Hearth* (City).^{*} Jerusalem is symbolically designated "Altar-hearth." "We may suppose that Isaiah addressed these words to the worshippers in the Temple, and that the great altar with its bleeding victims stood out before his mind as an emblem of Jerusalem's fate, and suggested the name 'Ariel.'"[†]

Cheyne (cf. *Introd.*, p. 188 f.) regards vv. 5, 7 and 8 as interpolations "inserted late to mitigate the sternness of the woe pronounced on Jerusalem, which, the prophecies being regarded as having a post-Exilic as well as a pre-Exilic reference, depressed pious Jews in later times."[‡] That there is a certain inconsistency in the picture drawn is undeniable. But this can be explained when the eschatological character of the

p (vs. 28): *utterly*: in the Rec. Text the line is too short, and the question is not indicated. Read, perhaps, *hādāhōk* (or ? *hādōk*) *lehem yūdāk*, and render as above.

q (vs. 28). Rec. Text has *and his horsemen* (? do not crush it). This cannot be right. Read with Duhm *ūpērāsō* (instead of *ūpārāshāw*) and render as above. So Duhm; Cheyne, however, adopts an emendation proposed by Grätz, and reads *wēhārūtsō*. Then render (*But when he rolls his wagon wheel over it*) or *his sledge, he (takes care) not to crush it*.

r (vs. 29). Rec. Text adds *Sabaoth*; the rhythm is improved by the omission of the word.

* "Ariel" (so LXX) perhaps implies the explanation "God's lion," but this hardly suits the context here (see note on vs. 2). The explanation "altar-hearth" (or "hearth of El") is in every way preferable. This word occurs in Ezek. 43^{16, 18}, where it is once spelt *har'el* which might be interpreted as meaning *mount of God* (cf. vs. 8, end, *mount Zion*).

† Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

‡ In *Introd. to Prophets of Israel*² (Rob. Smith), p. xxxvi f.

language used is rightly estimated (cf. General Introduction). In the following translation the verses in question are distinguished by italic type.

29¹: Ah !

Ariel, Ariel,

city 'gainst which David camped !

Add year to year,

let the feasts go their round ;

² Then will I distress Ariel,

and there shall be *moaning and bemoaning,*

And she shall be to me an Altar-Hearth indeed :

³ I will encamp ^blike David^b against thee,

And beleaguer thee with entrenchments,

and set up siege-works against thee ;

⁴ And thou shalt be laid low, speaking from the ground,

and from the dust shall thy speech come humbly.^c

⁵ *Then shall be made like fine dust*

the horde of ^dthy foes,^d

And like flitting chaff

the horde of tyrants :

And suddenly, full suddenly

⁶ From Jahveh Sabaoth shall she be visited

With thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise,

(With) whirlwind and tempest, and flame of devouring fire.

⁷ *And like a dream, a vision of the night, shall the horde of all the nations that war against Ariel be, and all^e . . . and her fortifications, and that distress her. ⁸And just as when*

a Cheyne thinks a passage has been lost here.

b (vs. 3) : *like David* : so LXX. Rec. Text : *round about*.

c (vs. 4). The latter part of vs. 4 in Rec. Text is probably a gloss on the preceding. It may be rendered thus : *And thy voice shall be like a ghost's from the ground, and from the dust thy speech shall twitter*.

d (vs. 5) : *thy foes* : so Grätz, Kittel, Cheyne. Rec. Text has *thy strangers*.

e (vs. 7). The Hebrew text is here corrupt. The word that follows in the Rec. Text = *that war against her*. Perhaps the sentence should be read : *and all their entrenchments and their siege-works, [and all that distress her]* : the bracketed words are awkward and redundant (? to be omitted as a gloss).

* Cheyne's rendering reproducing the assonance.

a hungry man dreams, and behold ! he is eating ; but he awakes and his appetite is (still) unappeased ; and just as when a thirsty man dreams, and behold ! he is drinking ; but he awakes, and behold ! he is faint, and his longing is still eager : so shall the horde of all the nations be that war against Mount Zion.

(IV.) FATUOUS BLINDNESS REBUKED.

(Ch. 29⁹⁻¹¹ (12), same date as preceding). *The passage is apparently addressed to the rulers.*

- ⁹ 'Feign amazement', and be amazed !
 'Blind yourselves,' and be blinded !
 'Be drunken'—but not with wine !
 'Reel'—but not with strong drink !
¹⁰ For Jahveh has poured out upon you
 a spirit of deep sleep,
 And has closed up your eyes^h
 and your headsⁱ has He muffled :
¹¹ And so the vision of all this is to you
 like the words of a sealed book.'

(V.) THE CONSEQUENCES OF INSINCERE WORSHIP.

(29¹²⁻¹⁴ ; same date as preceding.)

- ¹² *And the Lord^k said :*
 Because this people draw near with their mouth,
 And with their lips do me honour, while their heart they
 keep far from me,
 And their fear of me is 'a mockery', a rote-learned precept
 of men :

f (vs. 9), so Cheyne and others (reading *hittamehû*) ; cf. Hab. 1⁶. Rec. Text has *delay ye* (same word as Gen. 19¹⁶).

g (vs. 9) : *Blind yourselves . . . be drunken . . . reel* : to be read as imperatives (so Cheyne and others). Rec. Text points as perfects (*they blind themselves*, etc.).

h, i (vs. 10), *the prophets, the seers*, added in the Rec. Text, are incorrect glosses.

j (vs. 11). The rest of vs. 11 is apparently a prosaic gloss, developing 11a (notice its unrhymical character). It may be rendered thus : ¹¹ *Which if one delivers to a learned man, saying : Pray read this ; he says : I cannot, because it is sealed. ¹² And should the book be delivered to an unlearned man, with the words : Pray read this ; he says, I am unlearned.*

k (vs. 13) : *the Lord* : many Hebrew codices read *Jahveh* (the words, *And the Lord said*, are in any case editorial).

l (vs. 13) : *a mockery* (reading *wēlōhhû* for *wattēhî*). So Staerk. Rec. Text runs : *And their fear of me is become a rote-learned precept*, etc.

¹⁴ Therefore

Behold I will again deal with it wonderfully,

yes wonderfully and wondrously ;

And the wisdom of their wise men shall perish,

and the astuteness of their astute ones shall disappear.

(VI.) A SERIES OF ORACLES (MAINLY FRAGMENTS) DEALING
WITH THE EGYPTIAN ALLIANCE.

(29¹⁵ (1⁶), 30¹⁻⁵, 30⁶⁻⁷, 30⁸⁻¹⁷, 31¹⁻⁹ ; c. 703-702 B.C.)

The sections here collected are consecutive in the Rec. Text of the Book of Isaiah, except that three considerable intervening passages, viz., 29¹⁷⁻²⁴, 30¹⁸⁻²⁶ and 30²⁷⁻³³, which (whether Isaianic or not) have the appearance of insertions, have been transferred for separate consideration under the next heading (VII). The following sections consist of four (or five) fragments on the Egyptian alliance, and a section (30⁸⁻¹⁷) which looks like a conclusion composed by the prophet himself as the end of a collection of prophecies. The fourth Egyptian fragment (31¹⁻⁹) that follows this will, therefore, presumably be a supplementary "woe," composed somewhat later than the preceding. These may be dated c. 703 ; the supplementary fragment c. 702 B.C.

(a.) *The Egyptian Alliance. First Fragment.*

(29¹⁵ (1⁶) ; c. 703 B.C.)

The oracle is fragmentary, no punishment corresponding to the "woe" being mentioned. Verse 16 can hardly be original ; it may have been written to take the place of some illegible lines. [It hardly belongs to the supplementary passage, 29¹⁷⁻²⁴, that follows. The latter introduces a totally different subject.] The fourth (short) line is apparently missing (so Duhm).

¹⁵ Ah !

They that conceal from Jahveh

their deep designs,

So that their work is done in darkness,

And who say : Who sees us ?

And who perceives us ?

¹⁶ m

. m

m Here, perhaps, some illegible lines, or a lacuna, have been filled up by an editor by the composition of vs. 16, which may be rendered thus :

¹⁶ O your perversity ! Is the potter to be counted as (no better than) the clay ?

Shall the thing made say of its maker : He made me not ?

Or the thing formed say of him that formed it : He has no understanding ?

(b.) *The Egyptian Alliance. Second Fragment.*(30¹⁻⁵ ; c. 703 B.C.)

"Here we are still in the clear atmosphere of prophetic oratory ; Isaiah insists, but insists in vain, on the futility of an alliance with Egypt."* The prophet apparently has in view the journey of the Israelitish ambassadors to Egypt. [Cheyne, *J.Q.R.*, July, 1898, has raised doubts as to the authenticity of vv. 4-5, which, he thinks, may be insertions.] On *Zoan* and *Hanes* (vs. 4) cf. p. 365.

30¹ Ah !

Refractory sons !

says Jahveh's oracle :

Executing a plan

which is not mine,

•Weaving a web^a

contrary to my spirit,

That they may add

sin to sin ;

• Who embark on a journey down to Egypt

without recourse to advice from me,

To take shelter in the shelter of Pharaoh,

and to find refuge in the shadow of Egypt.

• So shall ^bthe shelter^b turn to your discomfitureand ^cthe refuge^c to your disgrace.• ^dFor the princes (of Judah) have encamped in Zoan,

and his ambassadors reach Hanes ;

^a (vs. 1): *weaving a web*, i.e., carrying on an international intrigue (*concluding a treaty*, Cheyne), or *pouring out a drink-offering* (such as accompanied the ratifying of a treaty).

^{b, c} (vs. 3): *the shelter* . . . *the refuge*: Rec. Text has *the shelter of Pharaoh* . . . *the refuge in the shadow of Egypt*. The additions are explanatory, and spoil the metre. Omit.

^d (vs. 4): *For the princes (of Judah)*, etc., lit. *his princes* ; the " his " is ambiguous. Others refer it to Pharaoh, the " princes " and " ambassadors," being those of the Egyptian monarch who are ready to welcome the Israelitish embassy, and make promises, which in the end will turn out to be of no avail. Then render (keeping the Rec. Text of vs. 5) thus :

^b *For though his (Pharaoh's) princes are in Zoan,
and his ambassadors (messengers) reach Hanes,*

^c *Yet all come to shame* (or, according to another reading
into bad odour)

on account of a people that can avail, etc.

* Cheyne, *Intro.*, p. 196.

- 5 'They have all brought gifts^c
 to a people that can avail them nought,
 That will be of no help or avail,
 but (only) a (source of) shame and disgrace.

(c.) *The Egyptian Alliance. Third Fragment.*

(30^{b-7}; c. 703 B.C.)

The following is, perhaps, a parallel oracle to the preceding, dealing with the same subject (the journey of the ambassadors of Judah to Egypt). The terrors of the desert that had to be traversed are vividly described. The oracle is apparently fragmentary, the original beginning being lost. A later hand has added the reference to *Rahab* (end of vs. 6), the mythical sea-monster (otherwise Tiamat) of the Babylonian creation-story, who is sometimes in the Hebrew Bible identified symbolically with Egypt. To the same hand, probably, is due the heading, which should be rendered *Oracle on the monster of the South-Land*. South-Country = Egypt in apocalyptic Books (cf. Dan. 8⁹, 11^{4c}). See Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 66. See further the note on Ch. 27¹ (p. 116 of this volume).

- * [*Oracle on ^dthe monster^d of the South-Land.*]

.

- Through a land of distress and difficulty,
 Of the 'roaring^e lioness and lion,
 The viper and the flying dragon,
 They carry their wealth upon the backs of young asses,
 And their treasures upon the humps of camels,
 To a people that can be of no avail,
 7 'Whose help is vain and empty :

[*Therefore have I called her*

^g*Rahab the quelled (monster)^g.*]

c (vs. 5): *They have all brought gifts* (reading *hēbi'û shay*): so Krochmal, Grätz. Rec. Text has *come to shame* (Hebrew, *hōbîsh*) with a variant reading *come into bad odour* (Hebrew, *hōb'îsh*).

d the monster: the word may be rendered *beasts* (of the South-Land).

e roaring (reading *nōhēm*): so Klostermann, Cheyne. Rec. Text = (?) *from whence*.

f (vs. 7): Rec. Text prefixes *Egypt*—(*their help is vain and empty*)

g (vs. 7): *Rahab the quelled (monster)*: so probably the Hebrew text should be read (with Gunkel). In the Rec. Text the word rendered *the quelled* is divided into two. Then it may be rendered *Rahab* (= the Egyptians) *they are inaction*.

(d.) *The coming Doom explained and described.*(30^{a-17}; c. 703 B.C.)

This section summarizes the prophet's thoughts and teaching regarding the course of events which culminated in the Egyptian alliance referred to in the preceding sections. It has the appearance of having been written as a conclusion to the collected oracles on the Egyptian alliance. Possibly the scroll referred to in vs. 8 (cf. 8¹⁶) contained the nucleus of the collection which is now embodied in Ch. 28-31.

- ^a Now go in, write it down,^h
 and on a scroll inscribe it,
 That it may serve for a future day
 as a testimony for ever.
- ^b For it is a rebellious people,
 false children,
 Children unwilling to hear
 the instruction of Jahveh ;
- ¹⁰ Who say to the seers : See not !
 and to the prophets : Prophecy notⁱ right things,
 Speak to us smooth things,
 prophesy illusions !
- ¹¹ Get off the (well-worn) track,
 decline from the (beaten) path,
 Ease our society
 of Israel's Holy One !
- ¹² Therefore [*thus says Israel's Holy One*],
 Because ye reject this word, and put your trust in ⁱwile^j
 and craft, and rely thereon ; ¹³ therefore this act of guilt shall
 be to you like a split, bulging out in a lofty wall, ready to fall,
 the breaking of which comes suddenly, full suddenly. ¹⁴ Yea,
 it shall be broken as one breaks a potter's pitcher, smashing

^h (vs. 8). Rec. Text adds here *on a tablet in their company*. If these words are a genuine part of the original text they suggest that some enigmatic sentence (like *Rahab—they are Inaction*; cf. *maher-shalal-hash-baz*) is intended. But the words are suspicious (especially *in their company*); they also overload the line. Duhm and Cheyne omit (probably rightly) as an insertion (perhaps added, as Cheyne suggests, in view of the last (interpolated) clause of vs. 7).

ⁱ (vs. 10). Rec. Text adds *unto us*: the line is metrically improved by its omission.

^j (vs. 12), *wile* (reading ⁱ*ihkēsh*): so most moderns. Rec. Text has *oppression* (two letters transposed).

- And trust in horsemen
because they are very numerous,
But look not to Israel's Holy One,
and Jahveh do not consult !
^a Yet, He, too, is wise, and brings on trouble ;
and His words He has not recalled :
He will arise against the house of miscreants,
and against the help of the workers of wickedness.
^b Yea, the Egyptians are men and not God ;
their horses are flesh and not spirit ;
Jahveh will stretch out His hand,
and helper shall stumble, and holpen fall :
And they shall all perish together.

(f.) *Jahveh and Jerusalem.*

(31^{a, b} ; *in its original form* ; c. 702 B.C.)

The analysis of this composite section is difficult. The figure of the lion growling over his prey, in vs. 4, is a striking one. But the application here is not so clear. According to some scholars the point of it is to express Jahveh's resolve to defend Jerusalem against Assyria. Thus Duhm constructs out of verses 4-5, 8a an Isaianic oracle announcing Jahveh's protection of Jerusalem, and the discomfiture of Assyria.*

But "the figure would certainly be 'ill-chosen' if the lion were represented as protecting his prey and the shepherds as anxious to destroy it."† The only consistent interpretation would seem to be that Jahveh (through the Assyrians) will seize and hold Jerusalem as a lion holds his helpless prey. Then the noisy throng of shepherds will represent the Egyptians, who try to frighten him away. In vv. 5-9 tone and substance are quite different. These verses speak of Jahveh's protecting Jerusalem from the Assyrian, and announce the latter's downfall. At the same time it is difficult to find any coherence of thought throughout. Probably vv. 6-7 are a post-Exilic insertion, as Cheyne suggests. The hortatory tone and the lack of rhythm mark them out from their context.‡ Verses 5, 8a and 9b may be more or less Isaianic. According

* After vs. 4, vs. 5 and 8a follow thus, according to this reconstruction :

^b *So shall Jahveh give protection
to Jerusalem ;
Protecting, delivering,
sparing and rescuing (her).*

^{ba} *And Asshur shall fall by no mortal's sword,
And the sword of no human being shall devour him.*

† Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

‡ Notice also *Sons of Israel* used of Judah. This is late (cf. 27^{1a}).

to Duhm, vv. 8b, 9a are a quotation from a poem, and have nothing to do with their present context. Certainly little or no logical connexion is apparent. These extraneous elements (vv. 6-7, 8b-9a) are printed below within square brackets. The curious double thread—of threatening and promise—which here appears is reminiscent of 29¹⁻⁸. It is possible that the original prophecy, which announced the coming discomfiture of the Egyptians (the shepherds), and the triumph of Jahveh over Jerusalem through Assyria, contained also a prediction of Assyria's downfall, after his providential work had been fulfilled, and of Zion's rescue at the last moment. Such a view of Assyria would thoroughly accord with Isaiah's doctrine of divine Providence (cf. 10⁴ ff.). But if so the original prophecy has reached us in a sadly mutilated state.

31⁴ For thus has Jahveh said to me :

As growls a lion,
 or a young lion over his prey,
 When there is called against him
 the whole band of shepherds—
 At their cry he is not dismayed,
 nor at their noise daunted—
 So shall Jahveh Sabaoth descend to fight
 against Mount Zion and against the hill thereof.

⁵ Like fluttering birds

 So shall Jahveh give protection
 to Jerusalem ;
 Protecting, delivering,
 sparing and rescuing (her).

⁶ [Return ye unto Him as to one against whom men have engaged in deep defection, O ye Sons of Israel. 'For in that Day they will reject every man his idols of silver and his idols of gold which their own hands have made for them [^bfor a sin^b].]

⁸ And Asshur shall fall by no mortal's sword,
 Nor shall any human being's sword devour him :
 [He shall flee from the sword,
 And his young warriors shall be reduced to forced service ;

b (vs. 6) : for a sin ; LXX omits,

^a ^{bb} *His rock from terror shall he overpass,
and his princes shall flee terrified from the standard]*
*Such is Jahveh's oracle, Who has a fire in Zion,
and a furnace in Jerusalem.*

(VII) THREE INSERTIONS IN THE PRECEDING

(dealing with Israel's regeneration, and the punishment of Assyria). (29¹⁷⁻²⁴, 30¹⁸⁻²⁶, 30²⁷⁻³³; ? all post-Exilic.)

Of the three passages here collected the first two (29¹⁷⁻²⁴, 30¹⁸⁻²⁶) are concerned with the regeneration of Israel; the last (30²⁷⁻³³) with the punishment of Assyria. Strong reasons have been advanced by Cheyne (*Introd., ad loc.*) against the Isaianic character of all three passages. These are most cogent in regard to 29¹⁷⁻²⁴; less so in the case of the other two. All are assigned by Cheyne to the post-Exilic period.

(a.) *Israel's Regeneration.*

(29¹⁷⁻²⁴; *post-Exilic.*)

This section obviously cannot have been addressed to the scheming politicians whose intrigues are denounced by Isaiah in the earlier part of Ch. 29. Can it have been addressed to the prophet's inner circle of disciples? Hardly. The persons denounced are the tyrants who oppress the poor, and who are carefully distinguished from "Jacob" and "Israel." The "humble" and "needy" of vs. 19 are the oppressed pious so often thus described in the Psalms. There are several linguistic points of contact with the Psalms (note especially the "tyrant" (= external heathen oppressor) and the "scorner" (= freethinking Jews) of vs. 20). All these indications suggest a post-Exilic date, and exclude Isaianic authorship.

¹⁷ Surely yet a very little while

And Lebanon shall be turned into garden-land,

And garden-land be esteemed a forest.

¹⁸ And in that Day even the deaf shall hear the words of a book,

And out of gloom and darkness shall the eyes of the blind see;

¹⁹ The humble shall obtain fresh joy in Jahveh,

And the most needy shall exult in Israel's Holy One;

²⁰ For the tyrant will be no more, and the scorner

will be at an end,

And all who were watchful for (opportunities) of evil

will have been cut off,

bb (vs. 9): *His rock from terror shall he overpass*: Duhm explains this figure to be that of a hunted animal which in its terror passes by the rock where it usually takes shelter. Marti takes *rock* as subject, *His rock* (= the main body of troops on which he, the enemy, relies) shall disperse in terror. But this is very forced. *His princes flee terrified from the standard, i.e., his bravest and best do not rally even round the standard, but flee panic-stricken,*

- ²¹ (All) who brought men into condemnation by (false) words,
 And laid snares for the umpire in the gate,
 And turned away the guiltless on an empty pretext.
- ²² Therefore,
 Thus says Jahveh, ^athe God^a of Jacob's House,
^bwho redeemed Abraham^b :
 Henceforth Jacob shall not be put to shame,
 Nor shall his countenance henceforward ^cbe abashed^c ;
- ²³ For when he sees ^dthe work of my hands in his midst,
 they shall count my name holy,
 Yea, they will count Jacob's Holy One holy,
 and dread Israel's God ;
- ²⁴ Those who erred in spirit shall gain discernment,
 and the murmurers shall learn doctrine.

(b.) *The same subject continued and developed.*

(30¹⁸⁻²⁸ ; *post-Exilic.*)

This section is full of the glowing language of promise and consolation. It is obviously not addressed to the *rebellious people, the false children* of the earlier part of the chapter, but to a "penitent and believing community," which suffers much because Jahveh has *withdrawn Himself* (vs. 20). A glorious future is pictured in which all such drawbacks will have been removed, idolatry will have disappeared, and nature will be transformed.

The idea of the transformation of nature is one, of course, that was familiar to Isaiah (cf. Ch. 11) ; but other features are present here which suggest a later age than that of Isaiah. In particular the idea of Jahveh as being the Divine Teacher (vs. 20) would imply a late date, after the cessation of prophecy. In its present position the passage can hardly be in its right place. The opening of vs. 18 ("and therefore") does not cohere with what immediately precedes. It not improbably, as originally composed, followed on 29¹⁶⁻²⁴ (the first of the three passages here collected), in which case the logical connexion implied by the opening words of 30¹⁸ would be "Such being the fair

^a (vs. 22) : *the God* (reading 'ēl) : so Lowth, Duhm, Cheyne. The Rec. Text, reading ('el) is a preposition = *touching concerning*. The Rec. Text involves the construction of the sentence. If retained the clause *who redeemed Israel* must be regarded as an interpolation.

^b *who redeemed Abraham* (a late Jewish legend of Abraham's persecution by heathen neighbours may be referred to). Ruben has proposed to read *who redeemed him* (Jacob) *in* (better *from*) *the womb* (reading 'ōthō māvehem for 'abrāhām). This is very plausible.

^c (vs. 22) : *be abashed* (reading *yehpārū*) : so Secker, Lowth, Grätz (with Symm. Theod.). Rec. Text has *wax pale*.

^d (vs. 23). Rec. Text adds *his children*, an explanatory gloss on *the work of my hands*.

prospects of Israel," as Cheyne suggests.* If this is correct the section will belong to the same date as the preceding.

- 30¹⁸ Therefore, Jahveh longs to be gracious to you,
 Therefore He arises to compassionate you ;
 For a God of justice is Jahveh ;
 Happy are all who long for Him !
- 19 For, O people in Zion, that dwellest in Jerusalem,
 thou shalt weep no more ;
 He will indeed be gracious unto thee at the sound of thy crying ;
 As soon as ever He hears it He has already answered thee.
- 20 And though the Lord give you, O Israel,
 bread in scant measure, and water strictly allowed,
 Yet thy Teacher will not again withdraw Himself,
 but thine eyes shall continually see thy Teacher ;
- 21 And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee
 † When ye swerve to the right or to the left † :
 " This is the way, walk ye in it."
- 22 Then shalt thou^a defile thy carved images
 overlaid with silver,
 And thy molten images plated with gold ;
 Thou shalt scatter them as an unclean thing ;
 " Begone," shalt thou say to them.
- 23 Then will He give rain for thy seed
 wherewith thou sowest the ground ;
 And the bread-corn, the produce of the ground,
 shall be rich and abundant.
 In that Day shall thy cattle feed
 in a broad pasture ;
- 24 And the oxen and the young asses that till the ground,
 salted provender shall they eat, which has
 been winnowed with shovel and fork.
- 25 And there shall be upon every lofty mountain,
 And upon every uplifted hill,
 Streams of running water,
 In the day of great slaughter
 when the towers fall.
- 26 And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
 And the light of the sun shall be sevenfold,^b
 In the day that Jahveh binds up the breach of His people,
 And their wound-stroke heals.

^a (vs. 22): *shalt thou*. Rec. Text has *shall ye*. The 2nd sing. is required by the rest of the verse.

^b (vs. 26). Rec. Text adds here *as the light of seven days*. Obviously a gloss (and an incorrect one) on *sevenfold*. LXX omits ; so many moderns (Lowth, Gesenius, Cheyne).

* *Introd.*, p. 197.

† So Cheyne renders, transposing clauses *b* and *c* in the translation (for the sake of clearness).

(c.) *Jahveh smites the Assyrians.*(30²⁷⁻³³ ; *doubtfully Isaianic ; date uncertain (? post-Exilic)*).

The passage here following is marked by vigorous poetic power. It cannot have been written by the author of the preceding section. If Isaianic it must be referred to the year of Sennacherib's invasion, 701 B.C. But can Isaiah have written it? Several modern scholars have doubted and denied its Isaianic character. "The bitterness expressed towards Assyria, and the want of reserve in the description of its punishment, do not remind us of Isaiah, and there are other phenomena which point to the authorship of a much later prophet."* The phrase *name of Jahveh* (= *the glory of Jahveh*) would be strange in the mouth of Isaiah. Some other of the linguistic phenomena, also, point away from Isaiah.†

On the whole the passage is probably not Isaianic, but is almost certainly earlier than the other supplementary pieces. According to Cheyne it is post-Exilic. On the view of its later date *Assyria* (*Asshur*) must be regarded (? like *Edom* in Ch. 63) as symbolical.

30²⁷ Behold the Name of Jahveh comes from far
With burning anger, and with heavy uplifted clouds,
With lips full of rage,

And a tongue like a devouring fire ;

²⁸ His breath is like an overflowing torrent

Which reaches even to the neck,
To toss nations in the sieve of worthlessness,

While a bridle that leads astray
is in the jaws of peoples.

²⁹ A song b shall ye take up^b

As on a night when a feast is hallowed,
And gladness of heart (shall be yours) like his who proceeds with
a flute

To go into Jahveh's Mount, to the Rock of Israel.

³⁰ And Jahveh will cause His majestic thunder to be heard.

And the descent of His arm to be seen,
In furious anger and flame of devouring fire,
Cloud-burst, and rain, and hail-stones.

³¹ For at Jahveh's thunder-voice Asshur shall be dismayed
[when He smites with the rod^c].

b (vs. 29): *shall ye take up*, lit. *shall be yours*.

c, d (vv. 31, 32). The clause *when He smites with the rod* is probably not original. It may be an editorial insertion (to fill up an illegible line?). But it is best to regard it (with Duhm) as part of a gloss.

* Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 199.

† See the full discussion in Cheyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 ff.

- ³² *And every sweep of the rod of destiny,^d
shall be to the accompaniment of timbrels and lutes ;
And in battles of wave-offerings will He assail them.*
- ³³ *For 'alreadye^e la burning-placel is laid out—
It has been prepared deep and wide ;
The pile thereof is ^hblazing wood^h in abundance ;
Jahveh's breath, like a stream of brimstone, kindles it.*

CHAPTERS 32 AND 33.

Chapters 32 and 33 form a series of appendices to the collection of prophecies embodied in Ch. 28-31. Three distinct prophecies fall within Ch. 32, viz., (a) 32¹⁻⁸, (b) 32⁹⁻¹⁴, and (c) 32¹⁵⁻²⁰. Here (a) and (c) describe the Messianic Age and Israel's regeneration ; while (b) is addressed to the ladies of Jerusalem. Chapter 33 has a liturgical and meditative character. Most modern scholars have abandoned—or are doubtful as to—the Isaianic character of Ch. 33. Regarding Ch. 32 the case is different. By many (including Duhm) the Isaianic authorship (after the removal of interpolations) is retained. Cheyne, however, advances strong arguments against the Isaianic character of the entire chapter.* To the present writer 32¹⁻⁸ and 32¹⁵⁻²⁰ seem to be possibly (though doubtfully) Isaianic ; but 32⁹⁻²⁰ can hardly be the work of Isaiah. (See further the introductions to the sections that follow.) Bickell's view that 32¹⁻⁸ and 32¹⁵⁻²⁰ are pendants to 2⁴ and 11¹⁻⁸, following the same metrical scheme, is an attractive one.

(VIII.) THE MESSIANIC AGE : A DESCRIPTION OF THE
RENOVATED STATE.

(32¹⁻⁸ (8-8) ; *date and authorship doubtful ; if Isaianic, after
701 B.C.*)

The section, perhaps, owes its present position to the picture it gives of a reformed nobility, in contrast with the corrupt upper class who

^d Here Rec. Text adds *which Jahveh causes to light upon him*. The words are explanatory and weak. They may best be regarded as a gloss in combination with the doubtful words in vs. 31. In its complete form the gloss runs : *with the rod will he be smitten which Jahveh will cause to light upon him*. The gloss was intended to explain the opening words of vs. 32 (so Duhm).

^e (vs. 33) : *already* (lit. *since yesterday*) : so the versions, and many moderns. Rec. Text has *opposite* (the difference is only one of points in the Hebrew).

^f *a burning-place* (reading *tefeth*). Others (altering points) *his Topheth*. Rec. Text : doubtful (= ? a *Tophet-like place*).

^g Here Rec. Text adds *yea for a King* (read *is this also for a King* (*prepared*)?). The words are a (mistaken) gloss perhaps on *Asshur* (vs. 31) which the glossator mistook to mean *King of Assyria*, or there may be a witty allusion to the god Molech (= *Melek, King*).

^h *blazing wood* : lit. *fire and wood* (a hendiadys).

* Cornill, (*Introd.*, p. 280 f.) also agrees.

are denounced in Ch. 28-31. The social relationships of the renovated state are to be transformed.

Is the composition Isaianic? On the one hand if vv. 6-8 are excluded as a later insertion (as by Duhm) there is nothing in the passage that absolutely precludes Isaianic authorship. On the other hand the vague and colourless reference to the "King" in vs. 1 would be strange if the passage is really Isaianic.* The style, too, it may be urged, lacks the fire and vigour that mark the work of the prophet. If Isaianic, its composition may most plausibly be assigned to the close of Isaiah's ministry, in the years subsequent to the great crisis in 701. In any case the prosaic definition of various classes given in vv. 6-8 cannot be Isaianic. (Notice its didactic character, which is strongly reminiscent of the Book of Proverbs; cf. especially Prov. 21²⁴).

32¹ Behold

*A King shall reign righteously,
And ^aprinces^a rule justly.*

- ² *Each shall be like a hiding-place from the wind,
Like a covert ^bfrom grievous rain-storm,^b
Like water-courses in a parched ground,
Like the shadow of a rock in a weary land.*

- ³ *The eyes of those who see shall not be closed,
The ears of those who hear shall hearken;*
⁴ *The mind of the hasty shall discern with judgment,
And the tongue of stammerers shall hasten to speak.^c*
⁵ *No more shall the fool be called noble,
Nor the knave spoken of as princely.*

- ⁶ [For the fool speaks folly,
And his heart ^dmeditates^d mischief,
In practising impiety
And in speaking error against Jahveh;
^eIn keeping the hungry unsatisfied^e
And depriving the thirsty of drink.

^a (vs. 1): *princes*. Rec. Text: *as for princes—they*, etc.

^b (vs. 2): *from grievous rain-storm* (reading *mi-zerem kâbêd*), transferring the epithet *grievous* from the last line of the verse ("heavy rock") where the line is overloaded to this line which in the Rec. Text is too short (*as a covert from storm*).

^c Rec. Text adds here *distinctly*: perhaps an explanatory gloss (it overloads the line): so Marti.

^d (vs. 6): *meditates* (reading *yaḥshôb*): so LXX. Rec. Text: *practises*.

^e *In keeping . . . unsatisfied*, lit. *in emptying out the soul of the hungry*.

* Contrast 9¹⁻⁶; 11¹⁻⁴.

7 And the knave—/his knaveries/ are evil ;
 He plans villainies,
 To ruin the humble with lying words,
 Even when the needy's plea is right ;
 8 But the noble plans noble things,
 And in noble things does he continue.]

(IX.) AGAINST THE LADIES OF JERUSALEM.

(32⁹⁻¹⁴ ; *doubtfully Isaianic* ; ? *post-Exilic*.)

These verses form a counterpart to the address to the women of Jerusalem in 31⁶⁻⁴. A comparison of the two passages, however, hardly favours the Isaianic authorship of the present section. There is a lack of concreteness in the representation of the latter, a vague and indefinite quality in the language, which suggest that the writer is not writing face to face with living realities. The self-confident women are warned that they will soon have reason to "shudder" because of the desolation and utter ruin of the land. The principal theme of the address is, however, hardly developed at all. The vagueness of the language in vv. 10 and 11 would be surprising indeed if the section were Isaianic. "If Isaiah had wished to address himself to the women, he would surely have spared no pains to awaken their consciences. In 31⁶ he did attempt to do this ; he condescended to depict, in the style of a Hogarth, the outward signs of their heartless luxury."* This vagueness also extends to the latter part of the address (depicting the desolation), where no mention is made of the Assyrians. † The section must be regarded (with Duhm and Bickell) as independent of vv. 15-20. The rhythm is different, and it should be noted that whereas the writer of vv. 9-14 assumes a detached attitude towards the sinners denounced, in vv. 15f. he identifies himself with his people (*poured out . . . upon us*). On the whole it seems easier to suppose that it is the work of a student of Isaiah than of Isaiah himself. Duhm and Bickell, however, regard the section as genuinely Isaianic.

9 *Ye women that are at ease !*
 hear my voice !
Ye confident daughters !
 give ear to my speech !
 10 *In little more than a year^h*
 ye shall quake, ye confident ones,
For the vintage shall fail,
 the (fruit) gathering shall not come.

f (vs. 7) : *His knaveries*, lit. *his instruments* ; there is a play on the words in the Hebrew.

g (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds *rise up* ; perhaps to be omitted (with Duhm and Staerk) for the sake of metrical uniformity.

h (vs. 10) : *in little more than a year* ; lit. *days beyond (or added to) a year* (cf. our phrase "a year and a day"). Cf. 29¹ (*add year to year*).

* Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 177.

† The vague phrase in vs. 9 (*some days to a year*) should be noted in this connexion. It looks as if it were modelled on 29¹.

- ¹¹ Tremble, ye women that are at ease !
quake, ye confident ones !
Strip you, make you bare !
ⁱGird on (sackcloth) and mourn !^s
- ¹² For the delightful fields,
for the fruitful vine !
- ¹³ For the land of my people,
which shoots up in briars, ⁱ
For all houses of mirth
in the exultant town !
- ¹⁴ Because palace is forsaken,
the city with its hum abandoned ;
Ophel and watch-tower become
^{ka} a bare spot^k for ever,
A joy of wild asses,
a pasture of flocks.

(X.) THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION.

(32¹⁵⁻²⁰ ; doubtfully Isaianic ; ? post-Exilic.)

The substance of this section is a picture of a transformed land and a regenerated people. The colouring is eschatological. The opening words of vs. 15 are probably to be regarded with Bickell as an editorial link, designed to connect the preceding section with what follows (vv. 15b-20).

- ¹⁵ [Until there be poured out upon us a spirit
from the (heavenly) height]
And the steppe shall become garden-land,
and the garden-land be esteemed a forest ;
- ¹⁶ Justice shall dwell in the steppe,
and the garden-land shall righteousness make her abode ;

ⁱ (vs. 11, 12) : *gird on (sackcloth) and mourn* reading *hāgōrah ū-sefōdāh* : so Staerk. The Rec. Text is in considerable disorder here. R.V. renders it *gird (sackcloth) upon your loins. They shall smite upon the breasts (for the pleasant fields, etc.)*. Here *they shall smite* is a masculine part (which is out of place). The meaning *smite* is doubtful—the verb being the regular one for *to mourn*. A very slight change (of pointing) would enable vs. 12 to be rendered : *for the fields they mourn, for the pleasant fields, etc.* It should be noted, however, that the Rec. Text yields an odd line ; by the corrections adopted in the translation above this anomaly and the grammatical one are removed.

^j (vs. 13) : *briars*. Rec. Text has *thorns and briars*. The metre is improved by the omission of *thorns*.

^k (vs. 14) : *a bare spot* (reading *ma'reh*) with Duhm, etc. Rec. Text has *caves*.

¹⁷ *And*

*The outcome of righteousness shall be peace,
and the effect ^lof justice^l ^mconfidence^m ;*

¹⁸ *My people shall inhabit the mansion of peace,*

Sure dwellings and quiet resting places ;ⁿ

²⁰ *Happy are ye who sow beside all waters,*

Who speed the feet of the ox and the ass.

(XI.) A PRAYER AND VISION OF OPPRESSED ISRAEL.

(Ch. 33 ; *post-Exilic.*)

This chapter is in many respects a remarkable one. The first section (vv. 1-13) opens with a "woe" against the nation's oppressors, announcing coming retribution (vs. 1). This breaks off into supplication (vs. 2) and vivid realization of the hoped-for deliverance resulting on Jahveh's glorious intervention (vv. 3-4). A consequence of this also is the filling of Zion with righteousness and judgment (vv. 5-6). The writer returns to the gloomy present which finds the city in the utmost distress owing to some perfidious breach of faith on the part of the enemy ; in sympathy with the inhabitants the land is in anguish (vv. 7-9) ; but once more faith asserts itself in the midst of danger—Jahveh is pictured as announcing the swift annihilation of the invaders (vv. 10-13). In another section (vv. 14-16) the result of Jahveh's appearing is described as it affects sinners within the community (vs. 14) and the righteous who dwell securely. The last part of the chapter (vv. 17-24) paints the age of felicity which is to come, when present distress is merely a memory (vv. 18-19). The vision includes "the King in his beauty" and a broad domain (vs. 17), Jerusalem in a state of perfect security, safe in Jahveh's protection (vv. 20, 21), and a forgiven and happy people, blest with all manner of felicity (vs. 24).

If Isaianic it must, obviously, refer to some unrecorded incident in 701—some embassy of Hezekiah which had returned with news of

l (vs. 17) : *of justice* (so Duhm and Cheyne), required by context and parallelism.

m confidence (reading (?) *battuhoth*). Rec. Text, which is certainly corrupt, has *quietness and assurance for ever*. These words overload the line, and are otherwise open to suspicion.

n Here in the Rec. Text follows vs. 19, which may thus be rendered :

*And it shall hail when the forest comes down,
And in lowliness shall the city be laid low.*

An announcement of divine judgment on Jerusalem (= "the city") ; but here it intrudes in so awkward a manner that "it may not unreasonably be regarded as an interpolation" (Skinner). So most moderns.

Sennacherib's insistence on the surrender of the capital (in violation of the agreed-upon terms of submission). In this case the present chapter would shortly follow, in the date of its composition, 22¹⁻¹⁴. But can such a composition as this lay any claim to Isaianic authorship whatever? The answer must be an unhesitating negative. The whole character of the piece*—its lyrical emotionalism, its apocalyptic features, and the religious ideas that distinguish it, all suggest a late psalm rather than an Isaianic prophecy. The passage as a whole possesses an almost liturgical character, and finds a close parallel in 26¹⁻¹⁹. Not improbably it belongs to much the same period (the last years of Persian rule in Palestine, perhaps to the reign of Artaxerxes III, Ochus).

The theme of the composition is, apparently, Sennacherib's invasion of 701. "The author imaginatively places himself in the time of Sennacherib's invasion (cf. Psalms 46 and 48), and endeavours to write as Isaiah would then have written, though it is probable that he is also thinking of the sufferings endured by his people in post-Exilic times, when Persian armies were not infrequent visitors in Palestine."

The religious situation and standpoint implied throughout are those of the later Jewish Community. The prayer in vs. 2 is that of the Church-nation which, as a community, is on the whole righteous (in a legalistic sense), though *sinners* are still included in it. The hostile nations, represented by the hosts of Sennacherib (and later of Artaxerxes Ochus), are conceived of as banded together against Jahveh's community, and their fate is here portrayed, as in other eschatological passages in the Old Testament (cf. Ezek. 38, 39; Zech. 14; Isaiah 66⁶⁻²⁴, etc.).

The chapter is a fine example of the class of composition to which it belongs—much finer than 26¹⁻¹⁹. There is a striking parallel to it in 37²²⁻³² (likewise a post-Exilic poem). The diction is vigorous, and classical, and can hardly be said to contain any un-Isaianic elements. Duhm and Bickell bring the date of the composition much lower down. Duhm regards the enemies referred to as the Syrians under Antiochus Eupator (cf. vv. 8, 19 with 1 Maccab. 6^{82, 29}). The situation is that subsequent to the battle of Beth-Zacharias and the capture of Beth-Zur (164 B.C.), when Jerusalem was *in extremis*. Bickell analyses it into two poems, the first written after a defeat, the second after Simon Maccabæus had captured the Acra of Jerusalem (142 B.C.).† These dates are, however, rendered highly precarious by the history of the formation of the canonical collection of prophetic writings, which seems to have been closed and completed definitely by 200 B.C. In its original form the poem probably consisted of sixteen four-line stanzas. According to the (conjectured) metrical scheme some lines have fallen out; these are indicated in the translation given below by dots. [It is conceivable that the fine first verse may be Isaianic, the rest of the poem being a late composition based on it.]

* "Such a prayer as that in vs. 2, where the author identifies himself with his people, is without parallel in the acknowledged writings of Isaiah" (Skinner, *Camb. Bible on Isaiah*, vol. I, p. 247).

† See Cheyne in *Encycl. Bib.*, col. 2199.

33¹ *Ah!*

*Spoiler—and thyself not spoiled,
And plunderer, when none has plundered thee ;
When thou hast ceased to spoil, thou shalt be despoiled ;
When thou hast made an end of plundering they shall plunder thee.*

² Jahveh ! be gracious to us—for Thee do we wait,

Be Thou ^aour Arm^a every morning,
Our deliverance in time of distress.

³ At the sound of a tumult peoples are fled,
At thine uplifting nations are scattered ;

⁴ And ^bbooty^b is gathered ^cas locusts gather,^c
As grasshoppers swarm, they swarm upon it.

⁵ Immeasurably exalted is Jahveh, for He dwells on high,
He has filled Zion with justice and righteousness,

⁶ ^dWith abundance of deliverance, with wisdom and knowledge ;
The fear of Jahveh—that is its treasure.

⁷ ^eBehold the heroes of Ariel^e cry without,
The ambassadors of peace weep bitterly ;

⁸ /He has violated the covenant, despised cities,
Of men makes no account.

⁹ The earth mourns, it withers,
Lebanon is shamed, it is withered ;
Sharon has become like the Arabah,
Bashan and Carmel shake off their leaves.

¹⁰ " Now will I arise," says Jahveh,
" Now will I exalt, now will I uplift myself.

¹¹ Ye conceive hay, ye bring forth stubble,
Your own (angry) breath is a fire that shall devour you.

a (vs. 2) : *our Arm* : so Lowth and many moderns, following Targum, Syriac, Jerome. Rec. Text : *their arm*.

b (vs. 4) : *booty*, instead of *your booty*, in Rec. Text (reading *shālāl hēmō* for *shēlalkem*). So Duhm, Cheyne.

c *as locusts gather* : lit. *like the gathering of locusts*.

d Rec. Text prefixes to vs. 6 *and there shall be stability in thy fortunes* (lit. *times*). This overloads the line, and may be a gloss on the following words, *abundance of deliverance*. Omit with Cheyne.

e *The heroes of Ariel*, lit. *the Ariels* ; the term has a double implication, as it can mean both *heroes and men of Ariel* (i.e., Jerusalem) ; *Ariel* (there is doubtless an allusion to 29¹) being interpreted to mean *God's hero*, which may be applied to city or people. The word should probably be read in the Hebrew text *'ari'ēlim*.

f (vs. 8). Rec. Text prefixes to vs. 8 : *The highways are desolate, the wayfaring man ceases*. This clause is metrically superfluous. It is probably a marginal gloss on vs. 9. Omit with Duhm and Cheyne.

- ¹³ " And peoples shall become as if burned to lime,
Like thorns cut down which are set on fire.
- ¹³ Those afar off *hear* what I have done,
And the near *sacknowledge* my power."
- ¹⁴ Sinners in Zion are afraid,
Trembling has seized the impious ;
" Who of us," (say they) " can sojourn with devouring fire ?
Who of us can sojourn with everlasting burnings ? "
- ¹⁵ He that walks in full righteousness, and speaks uprightness^b—
- ¹⁶ He shall dwell in lofty security ;
Rocky fastnesses shall be his high retreat ;
His bread is provided—his water sure.
- ¹⁷ The King in his beauty shall thine eyes behold,
They shall gaze on a far-stretching land.
- ¹⁸ Thy mind shall muse (thus) on the (vanished) terror :
" Where is he that counted ? Where is he that weighed ? "
- ⁱWhere are the tablet-writers ? Where are the measuring clerks ? ⁱ
- ¹⁹ The arrogant people thou shalt see no more,
The people of speech obscure, unintelligible,
Gibbering in a meaningless tongue.
- ²⁰ ⁱThine eyes shall see Jerusalem,
A quiet mansion, a tent that shall not be removed,
Whose pegs are never withdrawn,
And of whose cords none ever snaps.

g (vs. 13): *hear* . . . *acknowledge*: so LXX, Duhm, Cheyne. Rec. Text takes the verbs as imperatives: *hear, ye that are afar off* . . . *ye that are near, acknowledge*, etc.

h (vs. 15). Here Rec. Text adds the following lines which expand the thought of the first line of the verse (15a) in the style of the Psalms (Ps. 15, 24³⁻⁴), and may be a quotation from a similar poem (so Duhm and Cheyne).

- ^{15b} *He who rejects the gain of oppression,
Who shakes his hand free from holding a bribe,
Who stops his ears from hearing of bloodshed,
And who shuts his eyes against the sight of evil.*

i (vs. 18), *Where are the tablet-writers ? Where are the measuring clerks ?* So Cheyne (working on a suggested correction of Nah. 3¹⁷ by Paul Ruben), reading 'ayyēh^htišārīm 'ayyēh mindidim. *Tišār* = Assy. : *dupšarru*; *mindid* = Assy. : *mindidu*, "the person who is appointed to measure wheat." Rec. Text has *where is he that counted the towers ?*

j (vs. 20). Rec. Text prefixes to vs. 20 :

Behold Zion, the city of our festal assembly !

The clause overloads the stanza, and is metrically superfluous. Nor

* Cheyne's rendering.

- ^k *There shall we have a mighty river,^k
^l A place of ^m broad encompassing streams^m ;
 Thereon no fleet with oars can go,
 Neither can stately ships pass over it.
- ⁿ For Jahveh is our Judge !
 Jahveh is our marshal !
 Jahveh is our King !
 He will deliver us !
- ^o *Then ^o shall the blind divide booty in abundance,^o
 (And) the lame plunder at large.
- ^p No inhabitant shall say : " I am sick " ;
^p (For) they that dwell therein are a forgiven people.^p

III. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL APPENDIX.

(CHAPTERS 34-35.)

Chapters 34 and 35 form a late appendix not only to the Third Collection of Isaianic prophecies, but to the combined collection,

do the words logically fit in with the context at all well. They are probably a marginal gloss, perhaps, as Duhm suggests, a quotation from some pilgrim's song (so Cheyne).

^k (vs. 21) : *There shall we have a mighty river* (omitting 'addir, reading *yihyeh* for *yhw*, and transposing *nēhārim*). Cheyne proposes to read : *There have we the river of Jahveh* (cf. in both cases, Ps. 46^b). So (essentially) Duhm and Kittel. Another suggestion is to read : *For a glorious name shall be ours, a place*, etc. (Haupt), but the corrections involving reference to the river (= the river of Paradise, cf. Ps. 46^a.) are preferable. Rec. Text can hardly be right. It may, perhaps, be rendered : *but a glorious One, Jahveh, we have instead of broad rivers*, etc.

^l (vs. 21) : *a place of, or in place of.*

^m (vs. 21) : *broad encompassing streams* ; lit. *streams broad on both sides* ; *rivers* (added in Rec. Text before *streams*) may be an explanatory gloss on the less common word *streams* (so Cheyne), or should be transferred to clause 1.

ⁿ (vs. 23). Rec. Text prefixes to vs. 23 the following :

Thy tacklings hang loose ;

They do not hold fast the foot of their mast ;

They have not spread out the sail.

The words do not cohere with the context. They have every appearance of being an interpolation. Probably they are a marginal gloss (perhaps a quotation ; cf. Ezek. 27²⁶⁻²⁹). Notice how by their omission the particle *then* acquires its proper logical force.

^o (vs. 23) : *shall the blind divide booty in abundance* (reading *yēhallēk 'iwwēr* for *hullak 'ad*). So Cheyne (adopting a suggestion of Ges.-Bühl). This correction improves the parallelism greatly. Rec. Text has : *then is divided plunder of booty.*

^p (For) *they that dwell therein are a forgiven people* ; lit. *the people that dwell therein have had iniquity forgiven.*

Ch. 1-33. They bear an eschatological character, Ch. 34 being a vivid description of the Divine judgment on Edom and the nations, and Ch. 35 a picture of the Golden Age that is to follow. Both chapters may be grouped in their eschatological features with 59¹⁶⁻²⁰ and 63¹⁻⁶ (see the Introductions to those sections).

Though the themes of the chapters are different they may be regarded as probably the work of a single author, who cannot very well have written before 400 B.C., and whose work is possibly somewhat later.

(I.) A PROPHECY OF DOOM ON EDOM AND THE NATIONS.

(*Ch. 34 ; about or some time after 400 B.C.*)

The chapter opens with a lurid description of universal judgment (vv. 1-4), passing, by an abrupt transition, to a threat of special vengeance against Edom (vv. 8-17). As is well known, Jewish enmity to Edom was kindled to fever heat by the conduct of the Edomites at the siege and destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.* But this hostility lasted on to much later times. It is probable that the feeling of antagonism was further inflamed by Edomitish encroachments on Jewish territory during the Exile and afterwards. The southern part of Judah was affected most. It was hither that large numbers of Edomite colonists migrated when expelled from their own territory (probably in the fourth century B.C.) by the Nabateans from Arabia (cf. 1 Macc. 5⁶⁵). To this period such pieces as this chapter may plausibly be referred, though an even later date is not by any means impossible. A pre-Exilic date is ruled out by the following considerations: (1) the writer is dependent upon Ch. 13²⁻¹⁴²³ (middle of sixth century B.C.). A careful comparison of the two passages makes it clear that the dependence is on the part of Ch. 34, and not *vice versa*. † The writer of 34 also shows traces of familiarity with other post-Exilic writings. ‡ (2) The reference in 34¹⁶ to the "Book of Jahveh" probably implies the existence already of a collection of sacred writings.

In its original form the poem probably consisted of seventeen four-lined stanzas. These correspond each to one verse in the Rec. Text, but the verse-division in the latter has not been accurately carried out.

34¹ Draw nigh, ye nations, to hear,
And attend, ye peoples ;
Let the Earth and its fulness hear,
The round world and its offspring.

² For Jahveh has indignation against all the nations,
And anger against all their host.

He has banned them, given them up to slaughter.

* Cf. Ps. 137⁷ ; Ezek. 25¹² ; 35^{5, 10} f. ; Obad. vv. 10-16.

† Cf. 34²⁻⁴ with 13^{5, 9-13} ; 34¹¹⁻¹⁵ with 13¹⁹⁻²².

‡ Cf. Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 206 f.

- ³ And their slain shall be flung forth,
 And their carcases—the stench of them shall ascend ;
 The mountains shall melt with their blood,
⁴ And all ^athe hills^a shall dissolve.

And the heavens shall roll up like a scroll,
 And all their host shall fade away,
 As the leaves fade (and fall) from the vine,
 And as that which fades from off the fig-tree.

- ^b For drunk with His fury—
 Intoxicated with it^b—is ^cJahveh's sword^c in heaven ;
 Lo ! upon Edom it descends,
 And upon the people of ^dHis ban^d for judgment.

- ⁶ A sword has Jahveh which is gorged with blood,
 It is made greasy with fat ;
 With the blood of lambs and he-goats,
 With the fat of the kidneys of rams.

For Jahveh has a sacrifice in Bozrah,
 And a great slaughter in the land of Edom ;

- ⁷ Wild oxen shall be led down with them,
 And bullocks together with steers.

And their land shall be drunk with blood,
 And their dust made greasy with fat ;

- ⁸ For a day of vengeance has Jahveh,
 A year of reprisal for the quarrel of Zion.

- ⁹ The land's streams shall be turned into pitch,
 And its dust into brimstone ;

It shall become ^epitch,

- ¹⁰ Burning night and day.

a (vs. 4) : *the hills* (reading *gēbā'ōth*). This is required by the parallelism. Rec. Text has *the host of heaven* which is probably a marginal gloss on *their host* in a later part of the verse.

b (vs. 5) : *For drunk with His fury—intoxicated with it*. So Cheyne. Rec. Text has simply *For drink is*. But the verb used requires a complement, and a corresponding verb is desiderated in the second line.

c (vs. 5) : *Jahveh's sword* : so Cheyne. Rec. Text : *my sword*.

d (vs. 5) : *His ban*. Rec. Text : *my ban*.

e *pitch* . . . *none passing through it*. So the LXX divides the clauses. In the Massoretic Hebrew text they are arranged differently : *(It shall become) burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day ; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever ; from generation to generation it shall lie waste ; none shall pass through it for ever and ever*.

It shall not be quenched for ever,
 Its smoke shall ascend from generation to generation ;
 It shall lie waste in perpetuity,
 None /passing/ through it.^e

- ¹¹ The pelican and the bittern shall take it in possession,
 And the eagle-owl and raven dwell therein ;
 And ḡJahvehḡ will stretch out upon it
 The measuring-line of Chaos and the plummet of Devastation.
- ¹² ḡSatyrs shall dwell therein,
 Its nobles shall cease to be^k ;
 None shall exist there who can proclaim a kingdom,
 And all the princes thereof shall be no more.
- ¹³ Its palaces ḡshall be a wilderness of thorns,ⁱ
 Nettles and thistles shall be in its fortresses ;
 It shall become a haunt of jackals,
 A court for ostriches.
- ¹⁴ Wild cats (?) shall join the hyenas (?),
 And satyr shall meet with satyr ;
 Only there does Lilith repose,
 And find herself a place of rest.
- ¹⁵ There the arrowsnake nests and lays,
 ḡAnd broods over and hatches her eggs^j ;
 Only there do the vultures collect,
 ḡNone misses its mate.^k

f (vs. 10) : *passing* : Cheyne follows Bickell and Duhm in adding *to and fro* (lit. *none passing through nor returning therein* ; cf. Zech. 7¹⁴ ; 9⁸).

g (vs. 11) : *Jahveh* added to Rec. Text by Cheyne ; the addition renders the line metrically complete.

h (vs. 12) : *Satyrs shall dwell therein, its nobles shall cease to be*. So LXX and Cheyne. For these two lines, Rec. Text has simply *its nobles* (render : *As for its nobles—none shall exist there, etc.*).

i (vs. 13) : *shall be a wilderness of thorns* (lit. *shall shoot up in thorns*).

j (vs. 15) : *And broods over and hatches her eggs* (reading *bētsēhā* for *bētsillāh* and transposing verbs). The emendation is due to Duhm. Rec. Text has *and hatches and gathers under her shadow*.

k (vs. 15) : *none misses its mate* : transposed from vs. 16. The clause was miswritten, then corrected, and inserted in the wrong place (so Cheyne).

- 16 Search out in the Book of Jahveh^l ;
 Not one of these is missing^m :
 For ⁿJahveh's mouth—it has commanded ;
 And His breath it is which has collected them.
- 17 He it is who has cast the lot for them,
 And His hand has apportioned it ^o(unto them)^o by line ;
 For ever shall they possess it,
 Unto all generations shall they dwell therein.

(II.) THE GOLDEN AGE THAT FOLLOWS ; A CONTRASTED
 PICTURE.

(Ch. 35 ; same date and author as preceding.)

The marked contrast between the substance of Ch. 35 and the preceding one is clearly designed. There are many points of contact in this passage with the second part of the Book of Isaiah (Ch. 40 ff.). The writer—who, there is no reason to doubt, is the author of Ch. 34—must have been acquainted with the later part of the Book. It should be noted that Ch. 35 forms a poem constructed in the same metre and rhythm as the preceding. It consists (in its original form) of ten four-lined stanzas, each of which corresponds to a single verse in the Massoretic Hebrew text. But here again the verse-division has not been carried out with strict accuracy.

The subject of the chapter is the redemption of Israel, as opposed to the judgment on Edom (cf. 34⁸, 35⁴). "The author, however, speaks of this redemption not as one who announces it for the first time ; he, rather, presupposes as familiar to his readers a number of already existing prophecies on the subject, and emphasizes only particular points on which he desires to lay stress (and which still await fulfilment), and ranges these almost like aphorisms one against the other."*

l (vs. 16). Rec. Text adds *and read*. This is probably a gloss on *search out*. Metre is improved by its omission.

m Here follows in Rec. Text the clause transposed to end of vs. 15. Notice the arrangement of the stanzas (in four lines) supports this procedure.

n *Jahveh's mouth* : Rec. Text : *my mouth*. The correction improves the metre (so Cheyne).

o *unto them* : the rhythm is improved by the omission of this expression (so Cheyne).

* Dillmann, *Jesaja*⁸, I, 305.

- ¹ Let the wilderness and the parched land rejoice,
 Let the steppe exult and burst forth ;
 Like the narcissus ²let it burst into blossom,
 Let it exult ^awith perpetual exultation and singing.^a

The glory of Lebanon is given to it,
 The majesty of Carmel and Sharon ;
 These* shall see the glory of Jahveh,
 The majesty of our God.

- ² Strengthen the hands that hang down,
 And the tottering knees make firm ;
⁴ Say to† those whose hearts beat wildly,†
 Be strong, have no fear !

^bLo, your God (comes) !
 (He will surely) avenge (His people),
 A retribution of God is coming^b ;
 He Himself will come to deliver you.

- ⁵ Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened,
 And the ears of the deaf unstopped ;
⁶ Then shall the lame man leap as a hart,
 And the tongue of the dumb give a ringing shout.

For waters break out in the wilderness,
 And torrents in the steppe ;
⁷ And the burnt ground becomes a pool,
 And the thirsty land brimming springs.

^cIn the haunt of jackals (and hyænas)
 (Shall be) a resting place (for your flocks and your herds),
 (And) the court (for ostriches)^c
 Is given up to reeds and rushes.

a (vs. 2) : *with perpetual exultation and singing* : so Rec. Heb. Text. Some scholars, however, propose to correct, and read : *Let the bank* (so Kennicott) *or plain* (Houb. Lowth) *of Jordan rejoice*. Cf. LXX (*And the desolate places of Jordan shall*, etc.).

b (vs. 4) : *Lo, your God comes!* etc. The bracketed words have been supplied by Bickell's conjectural restoration. So Cheyne. There is plainly a lacuna in the Rec. Text here. This is usually rendered : *Behold your God! Vengeance comes, the recompense of God; He Himself*, etc. This is unrhythmical.

c (vs. 7) : *In the haunt of jackals*, etc. The rendering given above follows mainly Bickell's restoration. So Cheyne. The Rec. Text "appears to have suffered extensive mutilation" (Skinner). Literally rendered it runs : *In the haunt of jackals, its resting place, a court for reeds and rushes*. This obviously yields no sense.

* *I.e.*, the wilderness, the parched land, and the steppe mentioned in vs. 1.

† Cheyne's rendering.

- ° And there ^aa pure highway^d shall arise,
 It shall be called the Holy Way ;
 The unclean shall not pass over it,^e
 And no fools shall err /therein./
- ° No lion shall be there,
 Nor any ravenous beast come up thereon^g ;
 But the redeemed shall walk ^hon it,^h
- 10 And Jahveh's ransomed ones shall return.

They shall come to Zion with jubilation,
 And with everlasting joy upon their heads ;
 Gladness and joy shall overtake them,
 Sorrow and sighing shall have fled away.

d (vs. 8) : *a pure highway* : so LXX, Cheyne. Rec. Text : *a highway and a way*.

e (vs. 8). Here follows in Rec. Text a clause which is probably a gloss. In its correct form it runs thus : *And it shall be for His people when going on pilgrimage*. As it appears in the Rec. Text *for them* is read instead of *for His people*. Then render : *But He Himself shall be with them, walking in the way*.

f (vs. 8) : *therein* added to Rec. Text ; the addition improves sense and rhythm.

g (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds *no such shall be found there*. This is prosaic and redundant ; it also spoils the metre.[¶] Omit with Cheyne.

h (vs. 9) : *on it* ; added to Rec. Text (so LXX).

BOOK IV.

A HISTORICAL APPENDIX TO THE COLLECTED FORM OF
ISAIANIC PROPHECIES.

CHAPTERS 36-39.)

CHAPTERS 36-39 form a group by themselves, and stand out distinguished by their predominantly narrative character from the normal type of prophetic writing. They clearly form a second later appendix to the complete Isaianic collection embodied in Ch. 1-33, of which Ch. 34-35 form, as we have already seen, a first. The section contains narrative accounts of three important episodes, "each of which illustrates the commanding influence exercised by the prophet in the reign of Hezekiah."* These are (1) a two-fold account of Sennacherib's failure to secure the surrender of Jerusalem (Ch. 36-37); (2) Hezekiah's sickness and recovery (Ch. 38); and (3) Merodach-Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah (Ch. 39). There is no doubt that these chapters were excerpted from the canonical Book of Kings. With some variations they correspond with 2 Kings 18¹³⁻²⁰¹⁹, and a comparison of the two texts clearly demonstrates the superior character and priority of the recension in Kings. From the latter there are only two important points of divergence in Isaiah, viz., (a) the omission of the section contained in 2 Kings 18¹⁴⁻¹⁸ (account of Hezekiah's submission) and (b) the insertion in the Isaiah-text of Hezekiah's psalm of thanksgiving (38⁹⁻²⁰), from another (and later) source. The omission referred to in (a) was probably deliberate, as the passage did not fit in well with the edifying purpose of the section as a whole. Further, as Stade has shown, Ch. 36-37 (= 2 Kings 18¹³⁻¹⁹) is to be regarded as a combination of two independent narratives of the same events. In other words, the section as it stood in Kings and was transferred thence to the Book of Isaiah, is itself composite and dependent upon earlier sources (see further below). It also seems clear that the so-called "Psalm of Hezekiah" (Is. 38⁹⁻²⁰) was only inserted in its present position after the section had been transferred from the Book of Kings. The narrative of Hezekiah's sickness and of the embassy of Merodach-Baladan not improbably belongs to the author of the second narrative referred to above (Is. 37^{9b-38}). Thus the entire composite narrative represents, it would appear, a combination of three sources. The contents of the chapters can be conveniently grouped under two main divisions, viz.:

- I. *Sennacherib's Blockade of Jerusalem* (Ch. 36-37), and
- II. *Two episodes in Hezekiah's reign* (Ch. 38-39).

Within these limits some re-arrangement of the material will be necessary.

* Skinner, *Isaiah*, I, p. 261.

I. SENNACHERIB'S BLOCKADE OF JERUSALEM.

(Ch. 36-37.)

As has already been pointed out, this narrative is composite, representing a fusion of two originally independent accounts. The section contained in 37⁹⁻³⁸, according to which Sennacherib advanced as far as Libnah and then sent a letter to Hezekiah, which merely repeats the substance of what had already been said by the Rabshakeh, cannot be the true sequel of 36-37^{9a}. It is in the highest degree improbable that Sennacherib could have imagined that the mere despatch of a letter would have been likely to effect what the Rabshakeh had failed to secure in person, when he appeared with a large force before Jerusalem. The true sequel of vs. 9^a is, no doubt, vv. 37, 38. The intervening verses (37^{9b-38}) will thus form the second account. But the latter is itself, probably, of composite character. The taunt-song, with the accompanying sign (37²²⁻³²) appears to interrupt the sequence of the narrative in which it occurs. The "therefore" of vs. 33 connects logically with vs. 21. Thus vv. 22-32 may plausibly be regarded as an insertion into the main body of the prophetic history, from another source.

Of the two parallel narratives indicated above the former (36-37⁹) is generally regarded by recent critical scholars as the older and more trustworthy. The second narrative (37⁹⁻³⁸) is marked by secondary features, which stamp it as a (considerably) later composition. But even the earlier can according to Cornill,* only have been composed later than Ezekiel (cf. Is. 36⁹ with Ezek. 29^{9f}). In any case the formation of the narratives cannot have been effected until long after the age of Isaiah. They probably belonged originally to a collection of prophetic biographies, which were written for purposes of edification, rather than strict historical record. Consequently minute accuracy of detail is not to be looked for. At the same time there is doubtless a basis of sound tradition underlying their present form. This at any rate is true of the earlier narrative, which states what in fact was doubtless the real cause of Sennacherib's withdrawal from Palestine without actually effecting the capture of Jerusalem, viz., bad news (of rebellion) from home. The second narrative also may, possibly, have some basis in fact, if, as there is some reason to believe, Sennacherib's host suffered from pestilence on the borders of Egypt.(†)

In view of the late date at which the two narratives were compiled "naturally," to use Cornill's words, "small security exists for the authenticity of the oracles of Isaiah preserved" in them. At the same time it is not necessary to suppose that Isaiah's attitude during the crisis so vividly portrayed is seriously misrepresented in them.

* *Introduction*, p. 283.

† In connecting Sennacherib's withdrawal with the news of Tirhakah's advance the second narrator has confused the representation. Tirhakah belongs to a period several years later than 701. The second narrator supposes the "rumour" of vs. 7 to refer to an Egyptian advance, whereas it really has reference to news from Babylonia.

(I.) SENNACHERIB'S BLOCKADE OF JERUSALEM: FIRST NARRATIVE.

(36-37^a. 37. 38 = 2 Kings 18¹²-19⁷. 36. 37 ; ? after 586 B.C.)*

¹And it came to pass [at that time]^a that Sennacherib, King of Assyria, went up against all the fortified cities of Judah, and took them. ²And the King of Assyria sent the Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem to King Hezekiah with a large force ; and he took up a position by the conduit of the upper pool on the highway of the Fuller's Field. ³ And there went out unto him Eliakim ben-Hilkiah, Governor of the Palace, and Shebna the Secretary, and Joah ben-Asaph the Recorder. ⁴And the Rab-shakeh said unto them : Say, I pray, to Hezekiah : Thus says the great King, the King of Assyria : What is this confidence ^bwhich lends thee confidence ?^b ⁵Thinkest thou that a mere word of the lips is counsel and strength for war^c ? Now in whom dost thou confide that thou hast rebelled against me ? ⁶Behold thou confidest in the staff of that broken reed, Egypt, whereon if a man lean, it will run into his hand and pierce it. Such is Pharaoh, King of Egypt, to all those who confide in him.^d

a (vs. 1). Rec. Text has, instead of the bracketed words, *in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah*. Probably the true position of this clause in the Kings-text was at the head of 2 Kings 20 (account of Hezekiah's sickness, etc. = Is. 38 f.) and was transferred thence by an editor to its present position under the mistaken idea that the date of Hezekiah's illness synchronized with the events detailed in this chapter. The bracketed words are supplied by Cheyne on the analogy of similar passages elsewhere ; cf. e.g., Is. 39¹.

b (vs. 4) : *which lends thee confidence*, lit. *wherein thou confidest*.

c (vs. 5) : *Thinkest thou* (lit. *dost thou say*, So, 2 Kings 18²⁰) . . . *for war*. Rec. Text has : *I say, thy counsel and strength for war are but vain words*.

d Here follows in Rec. Text, vs. 7 : *And if ye say* (so 2 Kings 18²² ; Hebrew text here *thou sayest*) *unto me : we confide in Jahveh our God, is not that He whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah has removed, and has said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Before this altar shall ye worship ?* The vs. interrupts the address to Hezekiah, who is spoken of in it in the third person. Doubtless it is an interpolation. Cf. Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 218.

* There are certain minor variations between the parallel Hebrew texts of Kings and Isaiah, for which see commentaries on the Hebrew text. The Isaiah-recension shows a tendency to abbreviate.

^aAnd now, make a wager, I pray, with my lord the King^c ; I will give thee two thousand horses if thou, for thy part, canst provide riders upon them. ⁹How, then, canst thou repulse the attack of one^d of the least of my lord's servants ? But thou confidest in Egypt for chariots and for horsemen ! ¹⁰And now is it (thinkest thou) without Jahveh's sanction that I have come up against this land to destroy it ? (Nay) Jahveh Himself said unto me : Go up against this land and destroy it. ¹¹Then said Eliakim and Shebna and Joab to the Rab-shakeh : Speak, we pray, to thy servants in Aramaic ; for we understand it ; but speak not unto us in Hebrew in the presence of the people who are on the wall. ¹²And the Rab-shakeh said : Is it to thy lord and to thee that my lord has sent me to speak these words ? Is it not to the men who sit upon the wall, (who will be forced) to eat and drink filth with yourselves ? ¹³And the Rab-shakeh came forward and cried with a loud voice in Hebrew, and said : Hear ye the words of the great King, the King of Assyria. ¹⁴Thus says the King : Let not Hezekiah deceive you, for he is powerless to rescue you ; ¹⁵and do not let Hezekiah induce you to trust in Jahveh, saying : " Jahveh will surely rescue us ; this city shall not be surrendered to the King of Assyria." ¹⁶Hearken not to Hezekiah ; for thus says the King^e : ¹⁶Make a peaceful submission^f to me, and surrender, and ye shall every one eat of his own vine, and every one of his own fig-tree, and every one of you shall drink the water of his own cistern, ¹⁷ until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and new wine, a land of bread and vineyards.^h

c (vs. 8). Rec. Text adds *of Assyria* (so vs. 16).

f (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds here *(one) governor*.

g (vs. 16) : *make a peaceful submission* ; lit. *make a blessing with me*.

h Here in the Rec. Text follow vv. 18–20, which may be rendered thus :

¹⁸ (*Beware*) lest Hezekiah beguile you, saying : Jahveh will rescue us ! Did any of the gods of the nations rescue his land from the grasp of the King of Assyria ? ¹⁹ Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad ? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim ? (*And where are the gods of the land of Samaria* ?)* Have they as a matter of fact delivered Samaria out of my

* So LXX, 2 Kings 18³⁴.

¹And they kept silence and answered him not a word, for the King's express commandment ran : Answer him not. ²Then came Eliakim ben-Hilkiah, the Governor of the Palace, and Shebna the Secretary, and Joah ben Asaph the Recorder with rent clothes to Hezekiah, and told him the words of the Rabshakeh.

CH. 37.

¹And when King Hezekiah heard it, he rent his clothes and covered himself with sackcloth, and came to the House of Jahveh. ²And he sent Eliakim the Governor of the Palace, and Shebna the Secretary, and the elders of the priests, covered with sackcloth, to the prophet Isaiah ben Amoz. ³And they said to him : Thus says Hezekiah : This day is one of distress and of punishment and of rejection ; for children are come to the birth, and strength there is none to bring forth : ⁴Perchance Jahveh thy God will hear the words of the Rab-shakeh whom the King of Assyria his master has sent ⁱ[to insult the living God]ⁱ, and will punish the words which Jahveh thy God has heard ; wherefore do thou lift up thy prayer for the remnant that is left. ⁵ And when the servants of King Hezekiah came to Isaiah, ⁶ Isaiah said to them : Thus shall ye say to your lord : thus says Jahveh : Be not afraid by reason of the words which thou hast heard ! ⁷ Behold, I will disquiet him, and when he hears a rumour he will return to his own land ; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

hand ? ²⁰ Which among all the gods of these lands rescued their land from my grasp that Jahveh should now rescue Jerusalem from my grasp ? This section, with its implied hostility to Jahveh on the part of the Assyrians is inconsistent with vs. 10. The section spoils the effect of the speech. It is probably a later interpolation modelled on Ch. 10⁹⁻¹¹ (cf. Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 218).

i (vs. 4) : *to insult the living God* : regarded by Cheyne as an insertion in the original text.

j (vs. 6). Rec. Text here adds : *with which the servants of the King of Assyria have reviled me* : regarded by Cheyne as, like the above, an insertion (cf. *Introd.*, p. 218).

(II.) THE SAME SUBJECT : SECOND NARRATIVE.

(Is. 37^{8-21, 33-36} = 2 Kings 19^{8-20, 32-35} ; *later than the first Narrative.*)

This narrative in its present form is marked by inconsistencies and legendary features which demonstrate its secondary and later character. The following points are especially notable : (1) the enormous number of the victims of the pestilence (185,000) ; (2) this is represented as the reason of Sennacherib's withdrawal, whereas in the earlier narrative a "rumour" (*i.e.*, probably tidings of revolt in Babylonia) is the cause ; (3) the mention of Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, which is due to a confusion of the history of the period.

It looks as if an original and independent parallel narrative of the Assyrian mission to Jerusalem had been worked over by a later redactor, who inserted the legendary and doubtful matter. Evidently vs. 8 is a redactor's attempt to explain the presence of the King of Assyria, at Libnah, instead of Lachish. The original second narrative will therefore, have had this detail—that Sennacherib sent an embassy from Libnah to Jerusalem, Sennacherib's "messengers" bring a threatening letter to Hezekiah, who spreads it before Jahveh, and utters a prayer for deliverance. The answer to the prayer comes in an oracle delivered by the prophet (vv. 33-35). The original ending may have been at vs. 34 (*By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and into this city he shall not come, says Jahveh*).

It would seem that when the two narratives were combined certain insertions and harmonistic additions were made. The "rumour" of 37⁷ (first narrative) was referred to a supposed advance of Tirhakah (vs. 9, second narrative) ; the two narratives were connected harmonistically by vs. 8 ; and in vs. 36 the immediate cause of Sennacherib's withdrawal was assigned to a fearful pestilence. The number here (185,000) is obviously legendary. At the same time the mention of pestilence as the cause may be an original feature of the second narrative. Verses 37, 38 would seem to form the proper conclusion of both narratives. The taunt-song and accompanying prophecy, vv. 22-32, have all the appearance of being a later insertion, and are best treated separately. The presumed additions (or redactional adjustments) to the original second narrative are marked in the following translation by square brackets and italic type.

CH. 37.

⁸[*Then the Rab-shakeh returned and found the King of Assyria besieging Libnah, for he had heard that he had moved camp from Lachish, and he heard say concerning Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia: He has marched out to give thee battle. And when he heard it*] he sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying : ¹⁰[*Thus shall ye say to Hezekiah, King of Judah*] : Let not thy God in whom thou trustest deceive thee, so that thou shouldest think "Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the King of Assyria." ¹¹Behold thou thyself hast heard what the Kings

of Assyria have done to all lands, in putting them to the ban, and shalt thou win deliverance? ¹²Did the gods of the nations destroyed by my fathers win deliverance? *Gozan, and Haran, and Rezep, and the Benê-Eden in Telassar? ¹³Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arpad, and the King of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena and *Avvah? ¹⁴And Hezekiah received the letter at the hands of the messengers, and read it, and went up into the House of Jahveh. And Hezekiah spread it before Jahveh. ¹⁵And Hezekiah prayed unto Jahveh^b saying: ¹⁶“O Jahveh Sabaoth, God of Israel, Who art enthroned upon the Cherubim, Thou art God alone of all the kingdoms of the earth; Thou hast made the heavens and the earth. ¹⁷Incline thine ear, O Jahveh, and hear; Open thine eyes, O Jahveh, and see; and hear the words of Sennacherib who has sent to insult the Living God. ¹⁸Of a truth, O Jahveh, the Kings of Assyria have ^cbanned all ^dthe nations^d and their land,¹⁹ and put their gods into the fire; for they were not (real) gods, but men's handiwork, wood and stone; so they destroyed them. ²⁰And now, O Jahveh our God, deliver us from his grasp, that all the kingdoms of earth may know that Thou alone, O Jahveh, art ^eGod.^e

²¹ Then sent Isaiah ben Amoz to Hezekiah, saying: Thus says Jahveh, God of Israel: Because thou hast prayed unto me concerning the King of Assyria . . .

²² Therefore thus says Jahveh concerning the King of Assyria:
He shall not come into this city,
Nor shoot an arrow there,
Nor come before it with a shield,
Nor cast up a mound against it.

²³ By the way that he came, by the same shall he return,
And into this city he shall not come—

is Jahveh's oracle.

²⁴ [I will protect this city, to deliver it,
For mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.]

²⁵ [Then the angel of Jahveh went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and eighty-five thousand. And when men arose in the morning these were all stark dead.]

a (vs. 13): *Avvah* (cf. 2 Kings 17²⁴), a more correct form than *Ivvah* (Hebrew text here).

b (vs. 15). This bracketed clause is wanting in the LXX.

c (vs. 18): *banned*: so Duhm, Cheyne (cf. vs. 11).

d (vs. 18): *the nations* (so parallelism in 2 Kings 19¹⁸ and most moderns) Rec. Text: *the lands*.

e (vs. 20): *God* (so parallel in 2 Kings). Rec. Text omits.

* Cf. for the places mentioned in this and the following verse, Appendix II (cf. also 10⁹).

(III.) THE SEQUEL TO BOTH NARRATIVES.

(37²⁷⁻³⁰ = 2 Kings 19³⁶⁻³⁷.)

²⁷ So Sennacherib, King of Assyria, broke up camp, and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh. ²⁸And it came to pass as he was worshipping in the house of ^d[. . .]^d his god, that his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer slew him with the sword · but they made good their escape to the land of Armenia, and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.

(IV.) A TAUNT-SONG UPON SENNACHERIB.

(37²⁸⁻³² = 2 Kings 19³¹⁻³². *In its present form post-Isaianic, but probably containing genuine Isaianic material.*)

The passage consists of two poetical pieces, viz., (a) vv. 22-29, a fine poem in the elegiac or *kinah*-rhythm,* and (b) vv. 30-32, a less exalted composition, in a different rhythm. The latter may be by a different hand ; it is addressed to Hezekiah, while the preceding song is addressed to Sennacherib.

A close examination of the contents of (a) reveals features which make its Isaianic character more than doubtful. In particular vs. 25 (" I dry up with the sole of my foot all the Nile-streams of Egypt ") involves a confusion between earlier and later history which would have been impossible to a contemporary. The reference clearly is to an invasion of Egypt by Sennacherib. The Assyrian attack on Egypt belongs, however, to a later time. The phraseology both of (a) and (b) is marked, too, by un-Isaianic features. At the same time there are points of contact with Isaiah, and it is not improbable that a certain amount of genuine Isaianic material has been embodied in both compositions. But their actual composition can hardly belong to the age of Isaiah.

37²² [^aThis is the word that Jahveh has spoken against him :]^a

Thee, Thee she despises, she scorns—

Zion, the virgin-daughter !

Behind thee she shakes her head—

The virgin Jerusalem !

^d Rec. Text has *Nisrok*. But no god of this name can be identified. Perhaps *Nisrok* is a corruption of *Nusku*, a god who is sometimes mentioned in Assyrian Inscriptions.

^a (vs. 22). The bracketed words represent the heading (probably adapted).

* Cf. the introduction to Ch. 13-14 above.

(a.) vv. 22-29.

- 22 *Whom hast thou insulted and reviled ?*
And against whom uplifted the voice ?
Thou hast exalted thine eyes to heaven
against Israel's Holy One.
- 23 *By thy minions thou hast insulted*
the Lord, and hast said :
b With my chariots^b the highest hills I ascend,
the recesses of Lebanon ;
And cut down its tallest cedars,
the choice of its fir-trees ;
And penetrate its ^clast retreat,^c
its thickest woods.^d
- 24 *I also dig and do drink*
e foreign waters^e ;
I dry up with the sole of my foot
all the Nile-streams of Egypt.
 [Jahveh speaks.]
- 25 *Long ago I made it (all ready)—*
Hast thou not heard ?—f
And planned it from times long since past ;
Now do I bring it to pass :
So thy task is to make heaps of ruin
of fortified cities.
- g

- 27 *Their inhabitants, impotent all,*
are dismayed and confounded ;
Like field-grass they become, tender grass,
blades of green on the housetops ^hand hills.^h

b (vs. 24) : *With my chariots* : so Cheyne. Rec. Text has *with the multitude of my chariots*.

c (vs. 24) : *last retreat* (reading *mélôn*), so parallel in Kings (lit. *its remotest (lodging- or) stopping-place*. (The same word is rendered *bivouac* in 10²⁰). Rec. Text here has *its remotest height*.

d (vs. 24) : *its thickest woods* ; lit. *its forest-garden*.

e (vs. 25) : *foreign waters* : so parallelism in Kings. Rec. Text here : *waters only*.

f (vs. 26) : *Long ago . . . not heard* : clauses transposed for sake of metre. So Haupt, Cheyne.

g Cheyne thinks a long and short line are missing here.

h (vs. 27) : *and hills* (reading *û-shêf'â'im* for M.F. *û-shêdēmâh*). So Klostermann and Cheyne. The last three words of vs. 28 in Rec. Text here run : *a cornfield before [it is in] stalk* (Kings : *a blasting before [it is in] stalk*). These are certainly corrupt. As emended the two last words are to be taken with the following verse.

²⁸ *'Before me (stand revealed) thy rising up, i thy sitting down,
thy going out, thy coming in ; i*

²⁹ *Thy raging and uproar^l against Me,
are come up in mine ears.
So my ring in thy nose do I put,
and in thy lips my bridle,
And (now) I do turn thee back
by the way thou art come.*

(b.) vv. 30-32.

³⁰ *And this shall be the sign to thee : Ye shall eat this year that which grows of itself, and in the second year that which springs from it ; and in the third year ye shall sow and reap, and plant vineyards and eat the fruit thereof.*

³¹ *And those of the House of Judah who have escaped and are left shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward ; ³² for out of Jerusalem shall go forth a Remnant, and those who have escaped out of Mount Zion. The jealousy of Jahveh Sabaoth shall perform this.*

II. TWO EPISODES IN HEZEKIAH'S REIGN.

(Ch. 38-39.)

The former of these narratives deals with Hezekiah's illness and recovery (Ch. 38). Here it is to be observed, however, that the Psalm of thanksgiving (vv. 9-20) is clearly an insertion from an independent source, as it does not appear in the parallel narrative in Kings (2 Kings 20¹⁻¹¹). It will therefore be considered separately here.

The latter narrative (Ch. 39) describes an embassy which had been despatched by Merodach-Baladan from Babylon to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery from his illness.

From what has been said in the General Introduction it is clear that these chapters (38, 39) precede chronologically Ch. 36-37, which refer to events in 701. If, as we suppose, the datum in the *fourteenth year of King Hezekiah* (Is. 36¹ = 2 Kings 18¹³) has been misplaced, and belonged originally to these chapters (Is. 38¹ = 2 Kings 20¹), the difficult question of chronology may, perhaps, be adjusted as follows :

i (vs. 28) : *Before me (stand revealed) thy rising up* (reading *lēfānai kumēkā*) ; so Wellhausen, Duhm, Cheyne, Skinner (cf. Ps. 139²).

j (vs. 28). Rec. Text adds *do I know* ; omit.

k (vs. 29). Rec. Text adds *because of thy raging against me* ; the clause is superfluous and awkward. Omit with Cheyne.

l (vs. 29) : *uproar* ; so Budde and others. Rec. Text : *careless ease* (one letter different in the Hebrew).

the date of the illness is 706 B.C. (= fourteenth year of Hezekiah) ; the following year (705 B.C.) was the time when the embassy from Babylon arrived. Reckoning from 706 B.C., it will be possible to count fifteen years (cf. Is. 38⁶) as thirteen complete years (reckoning from date of accession in each year), and two parts of complete years (one at the beginning and one at the end of the period) ; this resulting in 693 B.C. as the death-year of King Hezekiah.

The critical analysis thus shows the following sections : (1) Hezekiah's illness and recovery (38¹⁻⁸, ²¹, ²²) ; (2) A Psalm of Thanksgiving (38⁹⁻²⁰) ; and (3) The Embassy of Merodach-Baladan. (1) and (3) may be by the author of the second narrative in Ch. 36-37* ; (2) which is certainly post-Exilic is probably later.

(I.) HEZEKIAH'S ILLNESS AND RECOVERY.

(Is. 38¹⁻⁸ (²¹, ²²) = 2 K. 20¹⁻¹¹.)

Here vv. 1-5, together with 2 Kings 20⁷ (= vs. 21), form what appears to have been the original narrative. The whole so arranged is consistent and coherent. Verses 7-8 look like a later accretion "born of the later Jewish craving for extraordinary 'signs' (1 Cor. 12⁸)."[†] The inconsistency of Hezekiah's asking for a sign when, according to the narrative, he has already recovered is obvious. Another incongruity is vs. 6 (= 2 Kings 20⁸) : *And from the grasp of the King of Assyria will I rescue thee,* [†] etc. This addition is probably due to the compiler of the King's-narrative, who apparently misdated the episode, supposing it to have taken place during the siege of Jerusalem described in the previous chapters.

The last two verses (21, 22) "originally must have been placed as a marginal note near vs. 6, but the subsequent insertion of the song involved their transference to the end of the chapter."[§] It is obvious that in their present position they are out of place. The translation "Now Isaiah *had* said" (R.V.) is unwarranted. (The forced rendering by a pluperfect is an attempt to evade the difficulty raised by the present position of the verses.) In the following translation later accretions are distinguished by italic type and square brackets.

38¹ In those days Hezekiah became mortally ill. And the prophet Isaiah ben Amoz came to him, and said unto him : Give (the last) directions to thy household, for thou art about to die, and shalt not recover. ²Then Hezekiah turned his face to the wall, and prayed to

* An affinity in language to the redactor of Deuteronomy (D²), who is the chief author of Kings, is common to Is. 38 and to the second narrative. Cf. Cheyne, *op. cit.*, 215 n.

[†] Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 220.

[‡] Cf. for the expressions used 2 Kings 19³⁴ = Is. 37³⁵.

[§] Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Jahveh, ³ and said : I beseech Thee, O Jahveh, remember now how I have walked before Thee faithfully and whole-heartedly, and have done that which is good in Thy sight. And Hezekiah wept bitterly.

⁴ And the word of Jahveh came to Isaiah as follows : ⁵ Go, and say to Hezekiah : Thus says Jahveh, the God of thy father David : I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears : I will add to thy days fifteen years.

⁶ [*And from the grasp of the King of Assyria will I rescue thee and this city, and I will shield this city.*]^a^b

⁷ [*And this shall be the sign to thee from Jahveh, that Jahveh will perform this thing which He has promised. ⁸Behold I will turn the shadow of the steps, ^awhich the sun has gone down on the steps of Ahaz, ^dbackward ten steps ; and the sun turned back ten steps on the steps which it had gone down.*]

(II.) A PSALM OF THANKSGIVING.

(38⁹⁻²⁰ : *post-Exilic.*)

A number of considerations converge to shew that this poem is a very late insertion into its present context. Among the most important of these* are (a) the arguments drawn from style and language. The poem is full of literary reminiscences, especially of certain Psalms (see Ps. 6⁵ ; 30⁹ ; 88¹⁰⁻¹² ; 94¹⁷ ; 105¹⁷), and of the Book of Job (e.g., Ch. 14) ; the language also has many late features : (b) The heading (vs. 9) and liturgical appendix (vs. 20) clearly indicate that the poem was taken from a late liturgical collection (cf. the psalm in Hab. 3) ; it has been demonstrated that such headings of psalms and liturgical songs are all of post-Exilic origin ; (c) The character of the poem is inconsistent with its ascription to Hezekiah. There is nothing to suggest that the speaker is a king. The speaker is, perhaps, the community, as in many of the Psalms. (For a similar late liturgical

^a (vs. 6, end). Kings adds *for mine own sake and for my servant David's sake.*

^b Here (before the insertion of the Psalm [vv. 9-20] followed vv. 21-22 [first as a marginal note probably]). Vs. 21 : *And Isaiah said : Let them fetch a cake of figs and press it on the boil, that he may recover.* ²² *And Hezekiah said : What is the sign that I shall go up to Jahveh's House ?*

^c Vv. 7-8 appear in a somewhat fuller form in 2 Kings 20⁸⁻¹¹.

^d (vs. 8) : *which the sun has gone down on the steps of Ahaz* (reading the sun with Kautzsch and Duhm, for Rec. Text with the sun). So Cheyne, Skinner. R.V. has *which (shadow) is gone down on the dial of Ahaz with the sun.* Cheyne, by a further slight alteration of the Hebrew text (reading the shadow : Hebrew with art.) and omitting ten steps renders 8a : *Behold I will cause the shadow to go back as many steps as the sun has gone down on the step-clock of Ahaz.*

* Cf. Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 224 f. for a full discussion.

insertion cf. the "Prayer of Jonah" in Jon. 2.* The period of composition is, according to Cheyne, probably the last century of Persian rule in Palestine (fourth century B.C.). The poem is written in the rhythm of the dirge (kinah-verse), and may originally have consisted of five four-lined stanzas (tetrastichs) of which only the first (vv. 10-13) and the last (vv. 17b-19) have been preserved intact. The text is in many parts of the poem very corrupt.

* *a Miktam* of Hezekiah, King of Judah, when he had been sick and was recovered from his sickness.

(1.)

¹⁰ I had thought, ^bI must needs depart

at life's full noon^c; ^b

I am consigned to the gates of Sheol

the rest of my years;

¹¹ I had thought to see ^dJahveh^d no more

in the land of the living;

Behold human kind no more

with ^ethe world's inhabitants.^e

(2.)

¹² Mine abode is plucked up and stripped from me,

like a shepherd's tent;

He has rolled up like a weaver my life—

He cuts me off from the thrum!

Night and day ^gI am delivered up,^g

¹³ I cry out till the morn;

^a (vs. 9), *A miktam*: so many moderns. Rec. Text: *a writing* (Hebrew, *miktav*).

^b (vs. 10): *I must needs depart at life's full noon* (the verb transposed from end to beginning for sake of metre): so Duhm, Cheyne. The Rec. Text of this and following clauses is thus rendered in R.V.:

In the noontide of my days, I shall go into

the gates of the grave (Sheol):

I am deprived of the residue of my years.

^c (vs. 10): *at life's full noon* (lit. *in the pause, resting time* (= noon) of my days; others: *in the quiet, peacefulness* (= even tenour) of my days).

^d (vs. 11), *Jahveh*: so Duhm, Marti, and some MSS. Rec. Text has *Jah* repeated (*Jah Jah*: a very easy corruption of *Jahveh*).

^e (vs. 11), *the world's inhabitants* (reading *heled*; so some MSS.). Rec. Text has *the inhabitants of cessation* (= place where life ceases, the underworld).

^f (vs. 12): *He has rolled up*: so Duhm, comparing LXX (*Jahveh* is the weaver). Rec. Text: *I have rolled up*.

^g (vs. 12): *I am delivered up*: so LXX and Duhm. Rec. Text: *Thou deliverest me up* (sc. to pain and torment).

* Ps. 88 is similar in tone and feeling to "Hezekiah's Miktam," and may belong to the same period. The two should be read in conjunction.

Like a lion—so does He break
all of my bones.^h

(3.)

- 14 ⁱLike a swift,ⁱ even so do ⁱI scream,^j
I do mourn like a dove ;
Mine eyes do ⁱlook longingly^{jj} heavenward—
^hHave a care for me,^h Lord !
16 What can I utter ^land say to Him^l
seeing He has done it ?
^mRestless I must toss all my sleep-time,
because of soul-bitterness.^m

(4.)

- 16 ⁿTherefore, O Lord, my heart's hopes
do repose in Thee ;
Refresh Thou my spirit, give me health—
and revive meⁿ :

^h (vs. 13). Rec. Text here repeats *night and day* (lit. *from day to night*) *Thou deliverest me (I am delivered) up*. The repetition is accidental. Omit.

ⁱ (vs. 14): *like a swift* ; (Rec. Text adds) *a crane*. Probably the latter has been imported into the text from Jer. 8¹⁷ (unless the word rendered *crane* be really an epithet of *swift*).

^j (vs. 14): *I scream* (lit. *squeak*).

^{jj} *look longingly* : so Klostermann, Duhm and others. Rec. Text : *fail*.

^h (vs. 14): *Have a care for me* (pointing *eskāh* : so Klostermann, Cheyne, Duhm (cf. Lowth)). Rec. Text : *I am oppressed*. Rec. Text also adds *be Thou my surety* (cf. Job 17³). Probably a gloss on previous word (so Duhm).

^l (vs. 15): *and say to him* : so Targum, Houb., Duhm, and Cheyne. Rec. Text : *since He has said unto me (and likewise done it)*.

^m (vs. 15): *Restless . . . bitterness* : so Duhm* (partly on the basis of versions). Rec. Text (?) : *I go in solemn procession all my years because of bitterness of soul*. The Hebrew text is very uncertain. Cheyne (S.B.O.T.) boldly reconstructs the whole of vs. 15 as follows :

*What can I utter and what return shall I
make to Him seeing He has delivered ?
I will give thanks to Him throughout my years
because of the healing.*

ⁿ (vs. 16). *Therefore . . . revive me* : so Duhm.† Here again the Hebrew text is corrupt. The R.V. rendering (which is a very forced one of the Hebrew text) is : *O Lord, by these things men live, and wholly*

* Reading 'eddēdāh kol shēnathi.

† Reading 'Adōnai 'al-zeh meyahel lēkā libbi hānah lēruhi wēhah-limēni, i.e., lit. *Lord, therefore my heart waits (i.e., hopes) for Thee, etc.*

- 17 ° *And now, Oh withhold my soul*
 from the pit of destruction ;
And cast away *q* *behind Thy back*
 all of my sins.

(5.)

- 18 For Sheol does not give Thee thanks
 nor Death praise thee ;
 They that sink into the pit do not hope
 for *r*Thy gracious love.
 19 He who lives, who lives does Thee praise
 as do I this day,
 A father gives knowledge to sons
 of Thy faithfulness true.

LITURGICAL APPENDIX.

- 20 *Jahveh* *sbe* *Thou pleaseds to deliver me ;*
And 'stringed music' will we play
All the days of our life
In front of Jahveh's House.

(III.) THE EMBASSY OF MERODACH-BALADAN.

(Is. 39 = 2 Kings 20¹²⁻¹³.)

This chapter probably was excerpted from the same late biographical source as the preceding (Ch. 38). The speech placed in the mouth of the prophet obviously reflects later feeling regarding Babylon, and cannot have been uttered by Isaiah. But the episode on which the narrative is based is, of course, historical.

therein is the life of my spirit ; wherefore recover Thou me and make me to live. [Duhm in 1892 proposed to read first line : *Lord about it my heart tells Thee* (cf. Ps. 27⁹).

o (vs. 17). The opening clause in the Rec. Text may perhaps be rendered : *Behold for (my) welfare it was very bitter to me*, but the line is unrhythmical, and is wanting in the LXX. It may have come in from the margin (so Duhm).

p (vs. 17) : *And now, O withhold my soul* : so Duhm, reading *we'attāh hoskāh*. Others : *and Thou hast withholden* (so LXX) ; cf. Ps. 78⁵⁰ ; Job 33¹⁸. Rec. Text : *And Thou hast loved my soul (and delivered it) from*, etc.

q (vs. 17) : *And cast away.* Rec. Text : *for Thou hast cast away.*

r (vs. 18) : *Thy gracious love* (loving-kindness) : so Duhm and Cheyne (cf. Ps. 18¹³ for parallelism of loving-kindness and faithfulness). Rec. Text has *Thy faithfulness*.

s (vs. 20) : *Be thou pleased* (reading *rētsēh*) : so Cheyne. The verb is lacking in Rec. Text.

t (vs. 20) : *stringed music* : so (without suffix) Duhm and Cheyne. Rec. Text : *my stringed music*.

CH. 39.

¹At that time Merodach-Baladan ben-Baladan, King of Babylon, sent ^achamberlains with a present to Hezekiah, having heard that Hezekiah had been ill and was recovered. ²And Hezekiah was pleased on their account, and showed them his treasure-house, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the fine oil, and the whole of his armoury, and all that was found in his stores; there was nothing in his house and in all his dominion that Hezekiah did not show them. ³Then came Isaiah the prophet to King Hezekiah, and said: What have these men said, and whence do they come unto thee? And Hezekiah said: From a distant country are they come unto me, from Babylon. ⁴And he said: What have they seen in thy house? And Hezekiah said: All that is in my house have they seen; there is nothing in my stores that I have not shown them. ⁵Then said Isaiah to Hezekiah: Hear the word of ^bJahveh! ⁶Behold the days come when all that is in thine house and that which thy fathers have stored up until this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left, says Jahveh. ⁷And of thy sons who shall issue from thee some shall be taken and made chamberlains in the palace of the King of Babylon. ⁸And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah: Good is Jahveh's word which thou hast spoken. [For, he thought, there will at least be peace and ^dsettled rule^d in my days.]

a (vs. 1): *chamberlains* (reading *sārīšim* for *sefārīm*). So Duhm, Cheyne. Rec. Text: *letters* (or *letter*). LXX: *a letter and envoys*. The suffixes (*their, them*) in vs. 2 imply the reading *envoys*.

b (vs. 5): *Jahveh* (without *Sabaoth*): so parallel in Kings: Duhm and Cheyne. Rec. Text here adds *Sabaoth*.

c (vs. 7). Rec. Text adds *whom thou shalt beget*: perhaps an addition intended to limit the reference to Manasseh.

d (vs. 8): *settled rule*: lit. *stability*.

PART II.

CONTAINING PROPHECIES OF (OR DEPENDENT ON)

DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

(Chapters 40-55.)

- A. *Book I.* The Original Prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah (ch. 40-48).
B. *Book II.* Appendix to the above (ch. 49-55).

PART II.

(Chapters 40-55.)

IN passing from Ch. 39 to 40 the reader can hardly fail to be conscious of having entered a totally different region of prophetic literature. The collection of material embodied in Ch. 1-39 is largely made up, as we have seen, of fragments and short sections of the most diverse character, origin, and date, which have been subjected to a long and complicated process of editorial revision and adjustment. In Ch. 40f. the phenomena are totally different. Here we are at once confronted with a long and connected prophetic discourse (Ch. 40-48)—a purely literary production—which is marked by unity of style and thought, and consistency of historic background.

What that background is is clear enough. We are no longer in the world of the Prophet Isaiah of Jerusalem. Assyria and its monarchs—Sargon, Sennacherib—are never so much as mentioned. Another Empire has become the oppressive world-power, viz., that of Babylon, and the writer of these chapters is looking forward with breathless eagerness to the coming deliverance, the prospect of which is beginning to dawn. The Babylonian Exile is not predicted but presupposed. The writer is obviously living in the latter years of the Exile (probably after 548), and alludes to Cyrus as a historical personage well known to his readers and contemporaries (cf. 44²⁸; 45¹⁻⁸; also 41^{2-4, 25}; 45¹³; 46¹¹; 48¹⁴⁻¹⁶).

It is not necessary here to labour the point further regarding the later authorship of Is. 40 foll. This has now become a commonplace of Old Testament criticism.*

The further question arises, are these chapters to be regarded as a literary unity? This subject has been much debated within recent years. It now seems clear (*a*) that Ch. 49–55, while dependent on Deutero-Isaiah and, in fact, probably written by him, belong to a later date than Ch. 40–48. They must be regarded as an appendix to the latter. (*b*) It is also generally agreed that Ch. 56–66 are an independent writing, or collection of writings, of a later date than Ch. 40–55 (see introduction to Part III).

Another question that has been keenly debated within recent years in connexion with these chapters is the problem raised by the so-called "Songs of the Servant of Jahveh." Under this descriptive term the following passages are understood: (1) 42¹⁻⁷; (2) 49¹⁻⁶; (3) 50⁴⁻⁹; and (4) 52¹³⁻⁵³¹²

Recent criticism has, on the whole, tended to strengthen the view that these "songs" are separable from their present context, and were in fact inserted into the expanded book of Deutero-Isaiah after its completion; but whether by Deutero-Isaiah himself, or by a later hand, is still a much-debated point. The view that they are insertions by a later hand is supported by Duhm, Cheyne (*S.B.O.T.*), Schian and Kusters. Whether they originally existed in a separate collected form or were composed for insertion in the book is also disputed. Some scholars, too, would place the last of the "songs" (52¹²⁻⁵³) in a different category, and regard it as a composition entirely distinct from the rest.†

* "When we further take into account occasional indications of later linguistic usage, and allow sufficient weight to the fact that these chapters throughout show themselves dependent on Jeremiah, while no writer from the time of Isaiah till the end of the Babylonian Exile displays the slightest trace of any acquaintance with this highly characteristic and supremely significant spiritual product, the conclusion is not to be evaded that in it we have the work of a prophet of the period towards the end of the Babylonian Exile, which by error or accident was united with the Book of Isaiah ben Amoz." (Cornill, *Introduction*, E.T., p. 286.) Cf. also the discussion in Driver, *L.O.T.*, pp. 223–231; the same writer's *Isaiah*, pp. 133 f.; Skinner's *Isaiah* in *Camb. Bible*, vol. II, pp. xxxix f., etc., etc.

† See the introduction to the translation of 52¹²⁻⁵³¹² below.

In the following translation all the songs are distinguished by a special type.

The work of Deutero-Isaiah (Ch. 40-55) is in every respect a remarkable and supremely significant production. In many ways it fixes the high-water mark of Old Testament religion, and not without reason has the gifted prophetic writer been designated the "evangelist of the Old Testament." God's supremacy over history, His providential ordering of events, His gracious purposes for Israel and the world, have never received more splendid expression than in these chapters. The author is an idealist dominated by a lofty enthusiasm. So far as his purpose is practical and immediate, it is to inspire the community of his countrymen in exile with his own high hopes and courageous faith.

In spite of some points of contact, both in language and substance, with the first Isaiah, the work of Deutero-Isaiah is pervaded by an essential and far-reaching difference of character. "This displays itself externally in the whole method and manner of the composition. While Isaiah overwhelms us with an unending and inexhaustible wealth of thoughts and images, we have here two main thoughts and two images which—though indeed amid perpetually fresh turns of expression and gorgeous verbiage—are constantly recurring; while Isaiah is first and foremost a preacher of repentance and herald of judgment, here consolation is equally prominent; while Isaiah closely associates the final salvation with an ideal descendant of David, here Jacob-Israel and Zion-Jerusalem appear as the upholders and representatives of the future kingdom of God, and the whole representation is dominated by the fundamental idea—wholly strange to Isaiah—of the Servant of Jahveh."*

Deutero-Isaiah throughout shows himself dependent upon Jeremiah. The study of the latter prophet's book would form an excellent preparation for approaching the following chapters. †

[A very elaborate and brilliantly-constructed theory, involving among larger issues various questions concerning the latter part of

* Cornill, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

† The English reader will find this a comparatively easy task with the aid of Prof. Driver's *Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: a Revised Translation* (1906).

the Book of Isaiah has been put forth by E. Sellin in his *Serubbabel* (Leipzig, 1898).* Here Sellin maintains (a) that the servant of Jahveh was a real individual—a historical personage, none other in fact than Zerubbabel; (b) that a Messianic movement took place, headed by Zerubbabel, who was ultimately executed for high treason (this is referred to in Is. 53⁹ where Sellin reads *his cross tāwō*, from the word *bmtw* in the Hebrew text); (c) the great prophecy of Restoration (Is. 40–55) was written after the downfall of Zerubbabel, passages implying an earlier date, being in fact quotations from earlier prophecies. Sellin thinks Deutero-Isaiah began his career at Babylon by prophesying the successes of Cyrus. The contents of these prophecies are, he thinks, the *former things* which are appealed to, and the *new things* are the glorification of Israel through Zerubbabel. Deutero-Isaiah, writing after Zerubbabel's death, declares that these prophecies shall still be fulfilled through the great martyrdom. In his later works Sellin identifies the Servant with King Jehoiachin. See further p. 266 note.]

EXPLANATION OF TYPES.

In the translation that follows, in Parts II and III, the following types are employed :

Italic type in the text of the translation, except where otherwise explained, denotes that the passage so printed is either editorial or of doubtful origin.

The genuine prophecies of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah are printed in the type here shown.

Heavy Clarendon type is used to distinguish the so-called "Songs of the Servant of Jahveh" and the passages based on them which occur in the work of Trito-Isaiah.

A FEW PASSAGES WHERE THE USE OF OLDER TRADITIONAL MATERIAL IS MARKED IN A SPECIAL AND UNUSUAL WAY HAVE BEEN PRINTED IN SMALL CAPITAL TYPE.

* Sellin's latest monograph on the subject, *Das Rätsel des deuterojesajanischen Buches* (Leipzig, 1908), has not been seen by the present writer.

A. BOOK I.

THE ORIGINAL PROPHECIES OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH
(with some inserted matter).

(CHAPTERS 40-48.)

CHAPTERS 40-48, apart from some inserted matter, clearly form a single writing. A characteristic note is struck in the opening cry of consolation, *Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people*, which recurs throughout, and an appropriate climax is reached in the triumphant summons *Come out from Babylon* (48²⁰).

The contemporary character of the composition is clearly marked. Babylon is still the oppressive world-power, which tyrannizes over Israel (cf. 43¹⁴; 47⁵⁻⁹; 48¹⁴); and Cyrus is referred to as God's elect instrument for carrying out the divine purpose of humiliating the despot and releasing the captives. The main theme of the chapters is the redemption of Israel from bondage, and Cyrus is hailed as liberator (cf. 41²⁶; 45¹³; 46¹¹; 48^{14, 15}). The author, it seems clear, must have written these chapters in Babylonia, before the fall of Babylon (538), but after Cyrus had begun to loom large in the political world. The glowing language used in reference to the mighty things he had already accomplished—his trampling on rulers like clay—certainly seems to imply that Cyrus's conquest of Crœsus and the Lydian kingdom (546) had for some time been a *fait accompli*. The date of composition, therefore, would fall probably about midway between 546 and 538.

Theologically these chapters are remarkable for the lofty expression given in numerous passages to God's uniqueness, transcendence and holiness. God is depicted as the almighty Creator of heaven and earth (cf. 40¹²⁻¹⁴; 44²⁴; 48¹³, etc.); the timeless and eternal one (41⁴; 44⁶; 48¹²); and the only God of prophecy (40²¹; 42⁹; 44⁷⁻⁸; 46⁹⁻¹¹; 48³⁻⁷). His true godhead as against the unreal character of heathen gods is insisted upon (41²¹⁻²⁹; 42⁸⁻⁹; 44⁹⁻¹³; 45²⁵⁻²⁹); Jahveh

is God alone (43¹⁰; 44⁸; 45^{5-6, 18, 21, 26}; 46⁹); the idols and idolatry are vanity and nothingness (40¹⁸⁻²²; 41⁵⁻⁷; 44⁹⁻¹⁷; 45²⁰; 46⁶⁻⁷; 48⁵).

* * * * *

The work of Deutero-Isaiah is distinguished by a certain *lyrical* quality among the other products of the prophetic literature of Israel. His language has a poetic quality which reflects the exalted mood of an ecstatic spirit viewing events and persons from the altitude of a sublime idealism, rather than from the point of view of a practical politician or man of affairs. He lives and moves in a world of ideas and ideals rather than of concrete realities.

There is a certain sequence in the contents of the prophecy, but it would be vain to attempt to find any ordered and sustained development of thought. The same theme is constantly repeated under varying images and with a wealth of glowing diction.

A certain amount of insertion has taken place. Such inserted passages are indicated in the following translation by italicic type.

(I.) THE PROLOGUE.

(40¹⁻⁴ (5) 9-11.)

ANNOUNCING THE DAWN OF BETTER TIMES.

Verses 6-8 belong in contents to the following section, immediately before which they should therefore be restored (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti). On the other hand vv. 9-11 cohere so closely with vv. 1-4 that they may safely be regarded as continuous with the latter. Verse 5 is rightly considered to be a later insertion. It is in a different rhythm and is logically superfluous.

The prologue is a finely conceived piece of imaginative writing. The writer's "state of mind borders on ecstasy; his ears are filled with the music of heavenly voices telling him that the night is far spent and the day is at hand; and although his home is with the exiles in Babylon, his gaze is fixed throughout on Jerusalem and the great Divine event which is the consummation of Israel's redemption."* The Prologue forms a little poem made up of four stanzas of four long (double) lines in the so-called *Kinah*-rhythm.

* Skinner, *Isaiah* (Camb. Bible), II, 1.

rhythm here is not the *Kinah*-measure (as above) : the alternating half-lines are of equal length.

The whole section naturally falls into the following subdivisions :

- A. The eternal character of Jahveh's word proclaimed (40⁶⁻⁸) ;
- B. Jahveh's transcendence (40¹²⁻³¹) ;
- C. Jahveh controls history, and is the redeemer of His people (41¹⁻²⁰) ;
- D. Jahveh, the only true God, and the gods of the heathen (41²¹⁻²⁹).

(A.) THE ETERNAL CHARACTER OF JAHVEH'S WORD
PROCLAIMED.

(40⁶⁻⁸.)

- ⁶ Hark ! (a voice) says : Proclaim !
^aAnd I say^a : Proclaim what ?

All flesh is grass,

All ^bits glory^b like the flowers of the field ;

- ⁷ The grass withers, the flowers do fade,
Because Jahveh's breath blows on them.^c

- ⁸ The grass withers, the flowers do fade,
But the word of our God stands eternal.

(B.) JAHVEH'S TRANSCENDENCE.

(40¹²⁻³¹.)

This section divides into four paragraphs as follows :

- (1) vv. 12-16 ; (2) vv. 17-20 ; (3) vv. 21-26 ; and (4) vv. 27-31.

(1.) JAHVEH'S INCOMPARABLE POWER AND WISDOM SET FORTH.

(40¹²⁻¹⁶.)

The first subsection is made up of three strophes, each consisting of a distich and tetrastich.

In the opening verse (12) there is an allusion to the work of creation, the division and delimitation of sea and dry land, of heaven and earth (cf. Job 28²⁵f.). For such a God—supreme in heaven and earth—as is here described no sacrifices would be sufficient (vs. 16).

- ¹² Who in his hollow hand has measured the waters,
And determined the heavens with a span ?
And comprehended in a tierce the dust of the earth,
And with scales weighed the mountains,
And the hills with a balance ?

^a (vs. 6) : *and I say* : so LXX and Vulg. and most moderns.

^b (vs. 6) : *its glory* : so LXX (reading probably *hādārō*.) Cheyne proposes *its strength*. Rec. Text, *its loving-kindness* (= ? *grace*).

^c (end of vs. 7). Rec. Text adds *surely the people is grass*. "A weak homiletical addition" (Cheyne), rejected by most moderns.

- 13 Who has determined the spirit of Jahveh ?
 Who was His counsellor to advise Him ?
- 14 With whom took He counsel for enlightenment,
 To be instructed in the path of right,^d
 And to be shown the way of true insight ?
- 15 Lo the nations are like a drop on a bucket,
 And as fine dust on a balance are they reckoned ;
 Lo, islands He uplifts like a mote ;
 And Lebanon is not sufficient for fuel,
 Nor do its beasts suffice for burnt-offerings.

(2.) GOD IS INCOMPARABLE.

(40¹⁷⁻¹⁹ ; 41⁶⁻⁷ ; 40²⁰.)

Between vv. 19 and 20 there is a lacuna, which, following Oort, Duhm, Cheyne and Marti, can best be filled up by inserting 41⁶⁻⁷. The latter verses do not harmonize with their present context, but fit in admirably here.

The passage is notable as being the first of a series of attacks on idolatry (cf. 44⁹⁻²⁰ ; 45²⁰ ; 46^{1, 2, 5-7}).^{*} These may be echoes of Jewish controversy with the heathen. In the heathen world, of course, idolatry was widespread, and Babylon, in particular, was the centre of an extensive and magnificent organized idol-worship. The writer can hardly have in mind any body of Jews.

The passage, so restored, falls into a series of eight distichs.

- 40¹⁷ All nations are as nothing before Him,
 Are reckoned by Him as of nought and emptiness.
- 18 To whom, then, will ye liken God,
 What likeness will ye place beside Him ?
- 19 An image ! The craftsman has cast it,
 And the goldsmith overlays it with gold^a ;
- 41⁶ They do help, each man his comrade,
 To his fellow each says : Lose not heart !

^d (vs. 14) : Rec. Text adds here *and teach Him knowledge*. Omit as a gloss (the words are not represented in LXX). So most moderns.

^a (40¹⁹ end). Rec. Text adds *and chains of silver a goldsmith*, an incomplete editorial gloss (the verb is missing) or possibly a corrupt variant on the preceding line. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (cf. LXX).

* Cf. also Hab. 2¹⁸⁻¹⁹ ; Jer. 10¹⁻⁹ ; Ps. 115⁴⁻⁷ ; Baruch 6 (" *all post-Exilic passages,*" Cheyne).

- 41⁷ And the craftsman heartens the goldsmith,
 He who smooths with the hammer, him who smites on
 the anvil ;
 One says of the soldering : 'Tis good ;
 And with nails he proceedeth to fasten it.^b
- 40²⁰ ^cHe who carves and cuts out a sculpture^e
 Chooses a tree undecaying,
 Seeks out for himself a skilled craftsman,
 To erect a non-tottering image.

(3.) THE SAME SUBJECT FURTHER DEVELOPED.

(40²¹⁻²⁶.)

This subsection, again, seems to be addressed to mankind at large. The writer eloquently attests how he has learnt in the book of nature and of history to appreciate Jahveh's majesty (from the very first creation has been proclaiming that Jahveh, the Almighty and Eternal God, cannot be represented by any likeness). The section may be divided into three strophes each consisting of four distichs.

- 21 Do ye not know ? Do ye not hear ?
 Has it not been told you from the first ?
 Have ye not become aware (of the fact)
^dfrom the foundation of^d Earth ?
- 22 (It is He) Who sits throned above 'the circle of Earth'^e
 So that the dwellers thereon are as locusts,
 Who has stretched out the heavens 'as a firmament'^f
 And spread them out as a tent to dwell in ;

^b (41⁷). Rec. Text adds *it will not totter* : probably an accidental repetition. It overloads the line. (Or possibly it is an explanatory gloss.) So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

^c (vs. 20) : *He who carves and cuts out a sculpture* (so Duhm, reading *ha-maskin temünāh* ; cf. LXX, explaining verb as a denominative from *sakkin*, knife ; cf. Targ.). The Rec. Text is usually explained as = *He that is impoverished as to an oblation* (highly doubtful).

^d (vs. 21) : *from the foundation*. The preposition (*from*) is required by the parallelism. Rec. Text has (have ye not discerned) *the foundations of Earth*.

^e (vs. 22) : *the circle of Earth* (i.e., the Horizon). Others, *the vault of the earth*.

^f (vs. 22) : *as a firmament* : so Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *as a fine cloth* (?). (The Hebrew word is doubtful in this sense.)

- 23 (It is He) who turns princes to nothing,
 Who makes Earth's judges of no account ;
- 24 Scarcely have they been planted,
 Scarcely have they been sown,
 Scant hold has been secured by the root
 of their stock in the earth—
 When He blows upon them, and they wither,
 And like stubble the tempest whirls them away.
- 25 To whom would ye liken me, then,
 As my equal ? says the Holy One.
- 26 Lift up on high your eyes,
 And see : who has created those ?
 He who brings out their host by number,
 And calleth them all by name ;
- 27 For fear of Him Who is of great might, and strong power^g
 Not one is out of its place.

(4.) JAHVEH, THE ETERNAL GOD, IS THE HELP OF THOSE
 WHO TRUST IN HIM.

(40²⁷⁻³¹.)

Here the writer addresses himself to his own people Jacob-Israel. This mighty and eternal God, before Whom all that is earthly and mortal shrinks into insignificance (vv. 12-26), is yet the Guider of the destinies of those who trust in Him, and the renewer of their strength. The passage is an earnest exhortation to maintain faith in Jahveh (against sceptical doubts as to His interest in the fortunes of His people).

The double-distich metrical scheme is maintained here also.

- 27 Why dost thou say, O Jacob,
 And speak, O Israel :
 " *My fate* is hidden from Jahveh,
 And my right ignored by my God ? "

^g (vs. 26) : *For fear of Him who is of great might and strong power* (lit. *great of might, and strong of power*). So Duhm. Rec. Text has a different pointing of the Hebrew : *By greatness of might, and for that (He is) strong in power.*

* *My fate*, lit. *my way* : cf. 53⁸ (note).

- 28 "Come now" ! Hast not thou perceived ?
 Hast thou not heard ?
 An everlasting God is Jahveh,
 Creator of the ends of the Earth !
- 29 He faints not, neither grows weary,
 Unsearchable is His insight ;
 To the weary, strength He imparts,
 He makes the feeble powerful ;
- 30 Youths may faint and grow weary,
 Young warriors may stumble ;
- 31 But those who wait for Jahveh renew (their) strength,
 They put forth as it were eagles' wings.^b

(C.) JAHVEH CONTROLS HISTORY, AND IS THE REDEEMER
 OF HIS PEOPLE.

(41 1-5, 8-20.)

The despairing doubt as to whether Jahveh cares for His people or not (40 27) is groundless ; for it is Jahveh who has called the conquering hero Cyrus (41 1-4). Therefore let not Jahveh's servant, Israel, be fearful, but take courage ; for he is about to be redeemed (41 8-20).

The passage falls into two subdivisions : (1) vv. 1-5, and (2) vv. 8-20 [Vv. 6-7 have been transposed to the previous chapter (between 40 19 and 40 20).]

(1.) THE APPEARANCE OF CYRUS A PROOF OF JAHVEH'S POWER.

(41 1-4 (5))

The prophetic writer here descends to the level of contemporary history. "Although he is more of a theologian than earlier prophets, he is, nevertheless, like them an interpreter to Israel of the signs of the times, and the great historical fact which was the occasion of his message is the rise of the Persian Power."^{*} At the time when these chapters were written Cyrus had already fixed upon himself the attention of the world by a brilliant series of successes. Media had been conquered in 549 ; Cræsus in 546 (probably), and Persia annexed.

^a (vs. 28) : *Come now* (reading *wē-attā*). So LXX and Duhm. The line is improved metrically by the addition.

^b (vs. 31). The rest of the verse in Rec. Text, *they run and do not grow weary, they go on and do not faint* spoils the metrical scheme. Probably the clause is a late gloss (notice it spoils figure).

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

The fall of Babylon was still in the future (538) but was already assured. The passage consists of four double distichs.

The form is partly dramatic, Jahveh being the speaker.

41¹ List to me in silence, ye coastlands,
 And ye peoples, ^await for my arguing^a !
 Let them draw nigh, and then speak ;
 Let us approach the tribunal together !

² Who has roused up from the East
^bThe man on whose steps attends victory^b ?
 (Who) gives up peoples before him,
 And (before him) ^csubdues^c kings ?

⁴His sword makes them^d like dust,
 Like the driven stubble his bow ;

³ He pursues them, passes on in safety
^eO'er path he treads not with his foot.^e

a (vs. 1) : *wait for my arguing* (reading *yahālū lēthokahtī*). So Klostermann, Cheyne (cf. 42⁴ ; Job 13⁹). Duhm prefers *wait before me* (reading *nikhī*). Rec. Text (apparently due to accidental repetition from last verse 40³¹) : *And let (the peoples) renew their strength*.

b (vs. 2) : *the man on whose steps, etc.*, lit. *the man whom victory meets at his every step*. [Victory here is the rendering of a Hebrew word which ordinarily means *righteousness (tsedeh)*. But in Deutero-Isaiah this term is used with a widely-extended application in special senses, especially in the sense of *right* or *righteousness vindicated in action, i.e.*, in such a context as this *victory*.] Others would keep the ordinary meaning and render : *(Who has raised up one from the East) whom he calls in righteousness to his foot ?*

c (vs. 2) : *subdues* (pointing *yārōd* : cf. 45¹). So Ewald and Duhm. Klostermann and Cheyne, following LXX, would read *affrights (yaharid)*. So Marti. Rec. Text (as traditionally pointed) may, perhaps, be rendered *and kings he causeth him to dominate*. But the form of the verb is strange.

d (vs. 2) : *his sword makes them* (reading *tēsīmēm* with Duhm and Cheyne). The alternative is to follow LXX and alter suffixes : *He makes their sword as dust (their bow as driven stubble)*. Rec. Text : *he makes his sword as dust* (? a figure of swift conquest—but forced).

e (vs. 3) : *o'er path he treads not with his foot*. A hyperbolical description of incredible speed : so swift is his march that he does not seem to touch the ground with his foot. (Cf. Dan. 8⁵ : *touched not the ground*).

- ⁴ Who has wrought and accomplished it all ?
 He who called the generations from the beginning,
 I, Jahveh, who am the First,
 And with the last I am the same!

(2.) AN EXHORTATION TO ISRAEL.

(41^{8-20.})

I.

- ⁸ But Thou, O Israel, my Servant,
 Jacob whom I have chosen,
 Offspring of Abraham, my Friend,
^a !^a
⁹ Thou whom I fetched from the ends of the Earth,
 Whom I called from its outermost parts ;
 To whom I did say : my Servant art thou,
 I have chosen and not rejected thee.
¹⁰ Fear not, for I am with thee ;
 Look not dismayed, for I am thy God :
 I strengthen thee, yea, I do help thee—
 Uphold thee with ^bmy vindicating hand.^b

II.

(A poem in three strophes.)

The metre here changes to the Kinah-measure (vv. 11-16). There is also probably a change of theme. The section seems to have in view

f (vs. 4, end.) Here in Rec. Text follows vs. 5, which (with one slight alteration in pointing) may be rendered as follows :

⁶ *The coastlands gazed and were amazed ;*

The ends of the earth did tremble ;

*They approached and came (together to judgment).**

The verse is regarded by Duhm and Cheyne as a later addition to the Text, made to effect a connexion between vv. 1-4 and 6-7 after the later had been misplaced into their present position from the previous chapter. This view has great probability.

a (vs. 8) : Duhm thinks a line (required by the strict metrical scheme) has fallen out.

b (vs. 10) : *my vindicating hand* (lit. *my right hand of righteousness. i.e.*, which is righteous and therefore works righteousness. As regards Jahveh, righteousness = the effecting of welfare and deliverance ; as regards Israel the deliverance so effected).

* The bracketed words are restored by Duhm on the basis of the LXX.

not the Chaldeans in Babylon but rather the assembled enemies of Jerusalem whose annihilation is predicted. In other words, it is eschatological (cf. Micah 4¹¹⁻¹⁸; Zech. 12⁸⁻⁷). (So Marti.)

- ¹¹ BEHOLD, ASHAMED AND CONFOUNDED SHALL THEY BE,
ALL THAT WERE INFLAMED AGAINST THEE ;
NOUGHT SHALL THEY BECOME AND SHALL PERISH,
THE MEN THAT STROVE WITH THEE :
- ¹² THOU SHALT SEEK THEM BUT FIND THEM NOT,
THY MEN OF CONTENTION ;
NOUGHT SHALL THEY BECOME AND NOTHINGNESS—
THE MEN THAT WARRED WITH THEE.
- ¹³ FOR I, JAHVEH THY GOD,
HOLD FAST THY RIGHT HAND ;
I WHO SAY TO THEE : BE NOT AFRAID,
IT IS I WHO DO HELP THEE !
- ¹⁴ BE NOT AFRAID, THOU WORM JACOB,
^cTHOU SMALL WORM^c ISRAEL :
IT IS I WHO DO HELP THEE—IS JAHVEH'S ORACLE—
AND THY REDEEMER IS THE HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL.
- ¹⁵ BEHOLD, I MAKE OF THEE ^dA NEW THRESHING-SLEDGE,^d
^eWELL FURNISHED WITH TEETH^e ;
^fTHOU SHALT THRESH MOUNTAINS, AND CRUSH THEM,
AND HILLS SHALT THOU MAKE LIKE CHAFF.
- ¹⁶ THOU SHALT WINNOW THEM, AND THE BLAST SHALL WHIRL
THEM AWAY,
AND THE TEMPEST SHALL SCATTER THEM ;
BUT THOU THYSELF SHALT EXULT IN JAHVEH,
AND IN ISRAEL'S HOLY ONE SHALT MAKE THY BOAST.

^c (vs. 14): *Thou small worm* (reading *rinnath*). So Ewald and many moderns. Rec. Text has *ye men* (? ellipse for *ye few men* = *ye petty folk*) of *Israel*.

^d (vs. 15): *a new threshing-sledge*. Rec. Text has *a new sharp instrument* (*hārûts*), *threshing-sledge*. Doubtless, as Duhm suggests, the former term (*sharp instrument*) is a mere variant on the latter (it denotes the same implement, cf. 28²⁷). A heavy sledge is meant "studded on its under surface with sharp stones or knives, drawn by oxen over the floor" (cf. Driver's *Joel and Amos*, pp. 227 f.). The worm will turn, and in Jahveh's might, crush its foes.

^e (vs. 15): *well furnished with teeth*, lit. *possessor of mouths*.

^f (vs. 15): *Thou shalt thresh mountains*: a figure here, apparently, for formidable foes. Cf. Micah 4¹³ ("Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion"); Is. 25¹⁰.

III.

The poet descends to the present and pictures the hard case of the exiles in pathetic language. But the coming deliverance shall match their need. The metre returns to the distich form.

- 17 The afflicted^g seeking water when (water) there is none,
Whose tongue is parched with thirst—
I, Jahveh, will answer them,
I, Israel's God, will not forsake them.
- 18 On bare heights will I open rivers,
And in the midst of the valleys fountains;
I will make the wilderness a brimming pool,
And parched land springs of water.
- 19 I will set in the wilderness the cedar,
the acacia, the myrtle and the oleaster;
I will place in the desert the pine,
the plane and the sherbin-tree together;
- 20 That men may see and acknowledge,
And consider and understand at once,
That Jahveh's hand it is that has done this,
And Israel's Holy One Who has created it.

(D.) JAHVEH, THE ONLY TRUE GOD, AND THE GODS OF THE
HEATHEN.
(41²¹⁻²⁹.)

Another disputation (cf. vv. 1-4), but this time between Jahveh and the gods. The idols can adduce nothing to show that they possess any power of forecasting the future. Before events both of the past and future they can only maintain a stolid silence. They are indeed only lifeless pieces of material. The emphasis laid on the power of prediction as such is a noticeable feature.

The section falls into four strophes consisting of double distichs.

(The heathen gods are addressed.)

- 21 Bring forward your suit,
says Jahveh ^a(the [true] God)^a;
Produce ^byour strong proofs^b
says Jacob's King:

^g (vs. 17). Rec. Text adds here *and the needy*: an unmetrical addition, which overloads the line. Omit with Duhm and Cheyne.

^a (vs. 21): *(the [true] God)*: so LXX and Duhm. The added word (*hā'ēl*) is required to fill out the line.

^b (vs. 21): *your strong proofs*: (cf. Arab *'iṣma* = *defence* in a forensic sense). Cheyne, following Grätz, would read *your idols*, but this is hardly so suitable, and is, moreover, unnecessary.

- ²² Let them 'approach' and declare to us
 what is to happen ;
^dHow former events were foretold,^d declare ye,
 that we may lay it to heart^e :
- Or else things to come do ye announce
 that we may mark their issue ;
- ²³ Declare things to come hereafter
 that we may know ye are gods ;
 Yea, do something, be it good or be it evil,
 that we may both stand amazed, and see somewhat.
- ²⁴ Behold, ye are altogether nought,
 and your work is mere nothingness!^f
- ²⁵ * One have I roused from the North, and he is come,
 from the sun-rising ^gone who calls on My Name^g ;
^hThat he may trample^h on governors as mortar,
 even as the potter treads clay.
- ²⁶ Who declared it from the first that we might know,
 And from aforetime that we might say, Right ?
 . None indeed declared, none announced it,
 None indeed there was who heard your words.

^c (vs. 22) : *approach*. So the Versions, Lowth and many moderns ; cf. **¶**50 ⁸, 41 ¹. Rec. Text has *let them produce* (lit. *cause to approach*) (*them*).

^d (vs. 22) : *how former events were foretold*, lit. *the former things what they be*. Former things here = past events as predicted. The challenge is to produce past predictions which have been fulfilled.

^e (vs. 22). Here Rec. Text adds *that we may mark their issue*. Many moderns follow Duhm in transposing this clause to the end of the verse, thereby improving both parallelism and metre. So here.

^f (vs. 24) : Rec. Text adds *an abomination is he that chooses you* ; probably a marginal note (originally addressed to the Jewish reader) which has intruded into the text. So Duhm, Cheyne.

^g (vs. 25) : *one who calls on My Name* : the writer represents Cyrus as knowing Jahveh by name, and acknowledging him in worship. No contradiction with 45 ^{4f}. is necessarily involved (see note there). Dillman's explanation that the expression means he will make Jahveh known by his deeds is forced. [Cheyne, however, would read 25a : *I have roused one from the North, from the East have I called him by name*. So Marti. *And he is come* is omitted by LXX.]

^h (vs. 25) : *that he may trample* (reading *wēyābūs*). So most moderns. Rec. Text (?) *that he may come upon*.

* vs. 25 f. : Who among the gods has predicted the appearance of a Cyrus ?

- 27 ⁱI declared it first unto Zion,
 And to Jerusalem I gave a good-news Bringerⁱ;
 28 ^jBut among these (vain gods) there was none,^j
 Among these was no counsellor (found),
 That I might ask them, and they gave an answer.^k
 29 Behold they are all ^l(mere nothingness),^l
 Vain (and) worthless are ^mtheir deeds,^m
 Wind and emptiness their molten-images.

(III.) ISRAEL, ACTUAL AND IDEAL, AND ITS ASSURED
 FUTURE.

(42¹-44²³.)

The second main division of the Book (after the Prologue) is chiefly concerned with the fortunes of Israel as *the Servant of Jahveh*. That Deutero-Isaiah applies this term to the nation—to the people of Israel—is unquestionable (cf. 41⁸; 44^{1, 2}). But, as Marti has pointed out, it does not follow that all the passages occurring in Deutero-Isaiah, which speak of the servant must necessarily bear this meaning and this meaning only (see further below).

The whole section naturally falls into the following subdivisions :

- A. The lofty Destiny of Jahveh's Servant (the first of the Servant Songs), (42¹⁻⁷);
- B. A poem calling on the whole earth to rejoice in Israel's redemption by Jahveh; preceded by an assertion of his unique majesty and glory (42⁸⁻¹³);
- C. Jahveh's declaration of personal intervention to rescue His People (42¹⁴⁻¹⁷);
- D. Israel's sad present plight is but the prelude to a glorious future which is already dawning (42¹⁸-43⁷, with 43⁸ prefixed);
- E. Israel Jahveh's witness before the heathen (43⁸⁻¹³);

i (vs. 27). So Cheyne (reading *higgaditihā*, or with plural suffix instead of *hinnēh hinnām*). Rec. Text may be rendered: *A forerunner* (i.e., herald, lit. a first one) has Zion (saying): *Behold, behold them!* etc. So Duhm. There is a reference to 40⁹ ⁱ, apparently.

j (vs. 28): *But among these (vain gods) there was none* (reading *mē'ēllē*: so apparently LXX; see Duhm). Duhm prefers to read *but as for these* (sc. nations). Rec. Text (with a slight alteration of points) may be rendered: *But when I looked, there was none.*

k (vs. 28, end). Perhaps, as Cheyne seems to suggest, some lines have here fallen out.

l (vs. 29): *mere nothingness* (supplying *mē'āyin* with Duhm). Rec. Text runs: *Behold they are all vanity; worthless, etc.*

m (vs. 29): *their deeds, i.e., those of the false gods.*

- F. The Fall of Babylon and Israel's Deliverance—a second and more wonderful Exodus (43¹⁴⁻²¹);
- G. This Deliverance is due to Jahveh's grace alone: the gracious promises repeated (43²²⁻⁴⁴ 5);
- H. The eternity and uniqueness of Jahveh, and the folly of idolatry—the argument from prophecy repeated (44⁶⁻²⁰).

(A.) THE LOFTY DESTINY OF JAHVEH'S SERVANT.

(The first of the "Servant-Songs.")

(42¹⁻⁷.)

The actual "Song" * is included in the first four verses. Not improbably vv. 5-7 (the text of which has suffered not a little) are an appendix by a different hand.

The questions raised and discussed by critical scholars in connexion with these "Songs" within recent years have given rise to quite an extensive literature.† Here it is obviously impossible to do more than touch on one or two of the most important points.

As has already been stated above (p. 176) the "Songs" have certain distinctive features which mark them out from their context; they, in fact, are easily separable from their context, and it seems highly probable that they were inserted into the text of Deutero-Isaiah, after the original prophetic writing (Ch. 40-48) had been expanded by the addition of Chapters 49-55.

Stylistically they are carefully constructed poems, all (with the exception of 49¹⁻⁶) in the same metre. Thought and diction are undoubtedly akin to those of Deutero-Isaiah, but yet there is a certain difference. As we have seen, the main theme—Jahveh's Servant—is common to both: but the theme itself is handled very differently in each case. In the case of Deutero-Isaiah "it is Israel as he is who is the Servant of Jahveh—chosen by Jahveh, preserved by Him and destined for a glorious future, which is already dawning; but Israel, as he is, is blind and dumb, snared and robbed, a worm, despised by the heathen and full of sins. On the other hand, the hero of these poems affords a deliberate

* The other three "Songs" are included in the appended chapters 49-55, viz., 49¹⁻⁶, 50⁴⁻⁹, 52¹⁻³-53¹².

† See the works cited at end of the article, *Servant of the Lord* in *Encycl. Bibl.*, col. 4419 f.

contrast : he is blameless, Jahveh's disciple daily enlightened by Him, called to undertake a mission to his own people and to the heathen ; but in striking contrast with Deutero-Isaiah, who loudly publishes to all the world his message, the *Servant* of these poems *does not clamour nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street*. He also suffers, but just as a Jeremiah and a Job have suffered, by the taunts and insults of the unbelieving, by leprosy with which Jahveh has smitten him, not as Israel suffers through foreign oppressors. He is not exactly a prophet, but a prophet's disciple, a teacher of the Law, and therefore honoured by the author of the Book of Malachi (2 4^r.) as the ideal of " Levi " ; in Ch. 53 the question how the blind people can be released from the guilt of sin, is answered in a manner that, if Deutero-Isaiah had composed these poems, must have involved him in the inconsistency of confuting his own express conclusions on this subject (elsewhere)." * Duhm concludes that the author of the poems, reflecting as they do such a strikingly profound, calm and serene spirit, cannot therefore be identical with the " excitable and changeful " Deutero-Isaiah. The poems were perhaps written after the Book of Job and before Malachi ; probably not in the Exile. Whether the poems existed once in a separate form, and were then later incorporated into Deutero-Isaiah, or were specially composed for insertion in their present contexts is a moot point. The former view is regarded by Duhm as the more probable.

The motive for the insertion is not difficult to divine. The *Servant* already appeared in the original work of Deutero-Isaiah, but the latter's treatment of the theme may well have been felt to be inadequate, and to need supplementing by a profounder exposition. The difficult question remains, what exactly is meant by *the Servant of Jahveh* in these connexions ? It is clear enough that apart from the four " Songs " and their appendices the *Servant* is identical with the people of Israel as it actually is. Deutero-Isaiah does not dis sever the ideal from the actual Israel. " Blind " and " deaf " as it is, the actual nation *as a whole* is, in his eyes, the heir to the glories of the future. The *Servant* of the " Songs " is also probably a personification—but a personification of

* Duhm, *Jesaia* ³, p. 277.

Israel mainly under its ideal aspect. This ideal Israel, however, in a sense, is historically connected with an inner circle of pious Israelites, who already form a suffering and oppressed minority of the people. The suffering of the righteous few—their often tragic fate—was a source of constant perplexity both during and after the Exile. How keenly the problem was felt is attested by some of the Psalms and by the Book of Job. It may be supposed that the author of the "Songs," reflecting on the same problem, was led "to perceive that the suffering of the righteous for the guilty is a divinely appointed law of the spiritual life, that it is a soteriological principle, and that this principle is so essentially bound up with the vocation of Israel that the Divine purpose of salvation could only be effected through its operation. If this was his thought, it was natural that it should find expression in his conception of the Servant of Jahveh, who embodies all that is of religious significance in the true idea of Israel. The sufferings of all the righteous men who bore on their hearts the burden of Israel's guilt, are transferred to the ideal figure in whom Israel's character and destiny are reflected; and thus Jahveh's Servant is the meek and patient martyr and the sinless sacrifice for his people."*

A very attractive view, which in all essentials agrees with that just stated, was put forth by Cheyne in his *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (1898),† Cheyne, however, here rightly emphasizes the relation of the "Songs" to contemporary or recent actual experiences of the righteous. A pious minority of the Judæan community—called by Malachi "fearers of Jahveh"—belonging mainly to the poorer class, appears to have suffered much at the hands of its neighbours, especially those who happened to be rich. Their stricter views about religious obligations naturally brought them into collision with their laxer contemporaries, who ascribed the "unprosperous and even miserable condition" of these poor pious "to the judgment of God, while the tyrannical rich men, to rid themselves of these troublesome nonconformists, sometimes accused them falsely before the judges, and obtained their condemnation to death." The "great religious

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

† Ch. III.

thinker and poet of the age of Ezra " who composed the "Songs," "looking back on these sad events, saw them irradiated by the light of a divine purpose. He fused the different nameless martyrs and confessors into a single colossal form, and identified this ideal personage with the true people of Israel. In doing so he may very likely have thought of the prophet Jeremiah, who certainly regarded himself and his disciples as conjointly the sole representative of the true Israel."*

Considered under its ideal aspect the mission of the "Servant" was still awaiting accomplishment in the future. But the "Servant" has a present aspect also. From this point of view the "Servant of Jahveh" means "the company of religious teachers which formed the kernel of the Jewish people." This circle "was to convert first the lukewarm or indifferent Jews, and then the other nations to the true religion. The spirit of his [the Servant's] preaching was prophetic; the basis of his message was legal." The "Songs" thus "represent a perfect fusion of the legal and the prophetic religion."† The missionary side of the Servant's activity, as described in these "Songs," is intensely interesting. The poet evidently conceives the noble band of Jewish religious teachers (living both before and after Ezra), whom he imaginatively fuses into the ideal figure of the Servant, as forming a numerous company, engaged in an apostolic mission in various lands (Egypt, Babylonia, the Mediterranean coastlands): these "teachers of the Law at home and abroad" are the apostles of the Jewish congregation formed by Ezra.

It is evident that the term "Servant of Jahveh" became (like other terms, *e.g.*, the "Word of God") greatly enriched in religious significance. In Deutero-Isaiah, as we have seen, the term denotes the nation as a whole, as it is, and as it is destined to become. In the "Songs" it denotes an ideal personification, which is already partly embodied in the pious minority of the people, and is more exactly conceived of as made up of a band of religious teachers and pastors (Teachers of the Law). In the Trito-Isaiah, where the "Servant-Songs" are evidently pre-supposed, and the Servant is introduced

* *Op. cit.*, p. 86 f.

† *Cheyne, op. cit.*, p. 217.

by the writer at three points* as engaging in a soliloquy, "the servant is evidently regarded as a personification of the company of the prophets."†

It will, in any case, probably be felt by most readers that either the ideal Israel (as set forth above) or an ideal Israelite is meant by the term. Duhm's hypothesis that the Servant described in these poems was a historic person, who lived, suffered, and died a martyr's death; and that the composer of the "Songs" was a disciple of his, can hardly be sustained.

The view that an ideal Israelite is meant, in fact the Messiah, has always been held by the Christian Church. It probably was first formulated by the earliest generation of Jewish Christians.‡ It is significant that the earliest exegesis understands the term in a collective sense; cf. Dan. 12³, where *they that turn many to righteousness* is clearly an interpretation of *the righteous one my servant shall make the many righteous*, Is. 53¹¹.§

The instinct of the Christian Church which recognized in Jesus Christ the embodiment and fulfilment of the ideal Servant of Jahveh was, of course, a right one, and satisfies equally both the views set forth above.

(1.) THE SERVANT'S MISSION DESCRIBED.

The first of the "Songs of the Servant of Jahveh."
(42¹⁻⁴.)

The poem falls into three equal quatrains.

(*Jahveh speaks.*)

- ¹ Behold my Servant whom I uphold,
My chosen in whom my soul delights;
I have put "my spirit" upon him,
He shall publish ^bLaw^b to the nations.

a, b (vs. 1): *my spirit*: like the prophets, he is endowed with the spirit of Jahveh (cf. 11²¹, where the Messiah is endowed fully with the spirit). *Law*: the word here used = *judgment, judicial decision*, but in a special sense here the religion of Jahveh as an ordered system.

* Is. 61¹⁻³; 62^{1, 6-7}. † Cheyne, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

‡ The Targum also admits the Messianic interpretation (cf. on 42¹ and 53¹³), but not consistently.

§ In both cases *to make righteous* = to lead to righteousness by teaching and exhortation, not to justify. Cf. Driver on the Daniel passage. Note also in this connexion that the LXX adopts the national interpretation by inserting the words "Jacob" and "Israel" in Is. 42¹.

- ² He shall not cry nor ^croar,^c
 Nor make his voice heard in the street ;
³ Crushed reed he shall not break,
 Nor wick dimly burning quench.
- ⁴ Faithfully shall he publish Law ;
 His force shall not be dimmed nor his spirit crushed,
 Until he settle Law in the earth
 And for his direction the coastlands wait.

(2.) APPENDIX TO THE ABOVE.

(42⁵⁻⁷.)

In these verses Jahveh gives emphatic confirmation to the assertions made in vv. 1-4 regarding the Servant's mission. He is to be a *light of the nations*. The verses are in a different metre from the preceding, and approach more nearly both in style and thought to Deutero-Isaiah. As they clearly supplement the "Song" they were probably added by the hand that inserted the "Songs" into Deutero-Isaiah's work. This, the view of Schian and Cheyne, has now been accepted by Duhm, and its correctness is confirmed by the observation that vs. 9 connects logically in the closest manner with 41²¹⁻²⁹ and is really its immediate continuation.

- ⁵ Thus says Jahveh the (true) God,
 Who ^aspread out^a the heavens and stretched them forth,
 Who ^bcreated^b the earth with its products,
 Who gives breath to the people upon it
 And spirit to them that walk thereon ;

c (vs. 2) : roar (reading *yish'ag*), sc., as a lion. So Reifmann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text: *lift up*, sc. voice.

a (vs. 5) : *spread out . . . created*, transposing the verbs. The verb translated *spread out* ^e(*rāka^c*) is the root from which the Hebrew word rendered *firmament* is derived. For the line thus restored (*Who spread out the heavens and stretched them forth*) cf. the restored text of 40²², (*Who has stretched out the heavens as a firmament*). The verbs so transposed suit the objects in each case better, and the awkward Zeugma in the second case is avoided.

⁶ *I, Jahveh, ^bhave called thee in righteousness,
And taken hold of thy hand,
Have formed thee and made thee ^cfor a people's redemption,^c
To be a light of the nations ;*

⁷ *To open eyes that are blind,
And uncloseth ears that are deaf ;
To bring out from confinement captives,
From the prison-house dwellers in darkness.*

(B.) A POEM CALLING ON THE WHOLE EARTH TO REJOICE
IN ISRAEL'S REDEMPTION BY JAHVEH, PRECEDED
BY AN ASSERTION OF HIS UNIQUE MAJESTY
AND GLORY.

(42⁶⁻¹³.)

The first two verses of this section (8 and 9), as their form and contents show, are really the continuation and close of the section 41²¹⁻²⁹.

The section vv. 10-13 develops the thought of "new things" mentioned in vs. 9, in a "new song" celebrating Jahveh's redemption of His people. Verse 12 is rightly regarded by Duhm, Cheyne and Marti as a gloss. It merely repeats the thought of vs. 10.

b (vs. 6) : *have (called . . . taken hold . . . formed)*. Rec. Hebrew Text: *will (call . . . take hold . . . form)*. Cf. A.V.

c (vs. 6) : *for a people's redemption* (reading *lijdóth* for *liberith*). So Duhm. *The people here = Jahveh's people*. Rec. Text, *for a people's covenant, i.e., the covenant upon which a people (= the ideal Israel) is constituted*. (For the expression *thou shalt be a covenant, i.e., the cause of or mediator of a covenant* ; cf. Gen. 12², *thou shalt be a blessing*). For the idea of Israel's future national life being based on a new covenant cf. 55³, Jer. 31³¹⁻³³. The expression recurs in 49^{6b}, but Duhm regards it there as a late gloss derived from the present passage after it had become corrupt. Others (retaining *covenant*) make *people* = human kind. But *peoples* must be read in order to secure this sense (*a covenant of the peoples*). As vs. 7 clearly refers to Israel and not to the nations, a reference to the Servant's commission to his own people ought to precede the mention of his work among the nations. This need is clearly met by Duhm's emendation embodied in the translation above (*for a people's redemption*).

(vv. 8-9 ; *conclusion of 41* ²¹⁻²⁹.)

The unreal character of the heathen gods having been demonstrated (41 ²¹⁻²⁹), Jahveh will not share His honour with them.

(*Jahveh speaks.*)

- ⁸ I am Jahveh ^a(the [true] God)^a—
 such is my Name—
 My honour I give to no other,
 nor my praise to the idols ;
⁹ Lo, ^bformer predictions^b come to pass,
 and new things do I announce ;
 Before they spring into existence
 I make them known to you.

(*A poem developing the thought of " new things " :*

Three stanzas of four lines each.)

- ¹⁰ Sing unto Jahveh a new song,
 His praise from the end of the earth ;
 Let the sea ^croar^c and the fulness thereof,
 The coastlands and their inhabitants.
¹¹ Let the wilderness and its cities ^drejoice,^d
 The villages Kedar inhabits ;
 Let Sela's inhabitants exult,
 Shout amain from the top of the mountains !^e

a (vs. 8) : *the [true] God*. So LXX and Duhm. In the Rec. Text the line is obviously too short.

b (vs. 9) : *former predictions*, lit. *former events* (the things formerly predicted). The reference is probably to the fulfilment of prophecy as seen in the successes of Cyrus.

c (vs. 10) : *roar* (reading *yir'am*). So Lowth (after Ps. 96 ¹¹, 98 ⁷). Rec. Text has *ye seafarers (and the fulness thereof)*.

d (vs. 11) : *rejoice* (reading *yāsūsū*). So LXX, Targum, Klostermann, Grätz, Cheyne. Rec. Text has *lift up (their voice)*. The *cities* and *villages* meant are those on the oases (such cities as Tadmor and Petra).

e Here follows in Rec. Text vs. 12, which (as explained) is probably a gloss :

*Let them give glory to Jahveh,
 And declare His praise in the coastlands.*

- 13 *Jahveh goes forth like a hero,
 Like a warrior He stirs up zeal ;
 Raises the loud, piercing battle-shout,
 Plays the hero against His foes.

(C.) JAHVEH'S DECLARATION OF PERSONAL INTERVENTION
 TO RESCUE HIS PEOPLE.

(42¹⁴⁻¹⁷.)

The verses that follow (14-17) are placed in Jahveh's mouth, and (in continuation of the figure of the warrior in vs. 13) may be regarded as His battle-song.

The piece falls into two stanzas, each consisting of four distichs. The anthropomorphism is exceedingly bold.

(*Jahveh speaks.*)

- 14 I have long time been silent,
 Been still and restrained myself ;
 Now will I groan like a travelling woman,
 And gasp and pant together.
- 15 I will waste mountains and hills,
 And will dry up all their herbage ;
 I will make rivers into "parched ground"^a
 And pools I will dry up.
- 16 I will lead the blind on the way^b
 In paths they know not will I guide them ;
 I will turn darkness before them into light,
 And rugged ground into table-land.
- 17 Such are the things
 I have determined to do, and will not leave undone.
 "Clothed with^c shame shall they be that trust in a graven
 image,
 Who say to metal castings : Ye are our gods !

^a (vs. 15) : *parched ground* (reading *tsiyyāh*). So Oort, Duhm. Rec. Text has *islands*.

^b (vs. 16). Rec. Text adds *they know not*. It is superfluous and spoils the metre. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

^c (vs. 17) : *clothed with* (reading *yilbashū*). So Reifmann, Cheyne. Rec. Text adds before the latter phrase *they draw backward*. Probably an insertion from Ps. 40¹⁶.

* This vs. gives the reason for the jubilation. Jahveh takes the field against the enemy, the Babylonians and their allies.

(D.) ISRAEL'S SAD PRESENT PLIGHT IS BUT THE PRELUDE
TO A GLORIOUS FUTURE WHICH IS ALREADY DAWNING.

(42¹⁸–43⁷, with 43⁸ prefixed.)

The text of the first part of this section seems to be in considerable disorder, owing to the intrusion of glosses or editorial rewriting. Schian, Cheyne and Marti all agree that vs. 19 is to be regarded as a later addition (see below).

The whole section probably represents a poem consisting of five (or six) strophes, each consisting of four distichs.

In the first strophe vs. 19 clearly interrupts the address in the second person of vs. 18, which is resumed in vs. 20. Haupt has made it probable that vs. 19, in fact, contains two sets of glosses, 19a being a gloss on vs. 18, and 19b on 19a. The state of the case will become clear when the text is translated as it stands in the Masoretic Recension, only the tertiary glosses being put back in their original position :

(vs. 18) : Ye deaf hear, and ye blind look that ye may see !
(vs. 19) : *Who is blind but my Servant* (tertiary gloss, *i.e.*, *blind as the servant of Jahveh*) *and deaf as my messenger* (tertiary gloss [*who is blind*] *as their ruler whom I send*). (vs. 20) : Ye have seen many things, etc.

Further vs. 21 (*Jahveh was pleased for His righteousness' sake to magnify direction and glorify it*) has a prosaic ring, and a theological tone. It wears every appearance of being a pious and edifying gloss. "Blind" Israel had not realized in Exile God's providential measures for educating His chosen people, nor its ultimately glorious results. (It may, however, have taken the place of two missing lines.) Haupt also suggests that the isolated vs. 43⁸ might suitably be prefixed to 42^{18, 20}. This suggestion seems to the present writer a very plausible one, and is adopted in the restored text translated below (the transference of 43⁸ also improves the section which follows 43⁷ considerably, giving it greater coherence.)

In this way 42¹⁸⁻²² will yield two incomplete strophes (supposing two lines to have fallen out after 18b and two before and one after 22a) of four double distichs ; and the whole section will consist of six such strophes. Duhm and Marti, however, only secure five ; Duhm (retaining vs. 19 partly) makes the first strophe to consist of vv. 18, 19a [emended] 22 [all but first clause] ; Marti, of 18, 20, 22 [all but first clause]. The latter part of vs. 24 is also clearly an insertion of an edifying character. Its omission brings the strophe to its right dimensions.

(1.)

43⁸ ^aHo !^a a people blind, but not sightless,
And deaf, but not without ears !

a (43⁸) : *Ho !* (reading *hoy*). Cf. 55¹. So Cheyne. Rec. Text : *he has brought forth* (sometimes treated as an imperative *bring forth*).

- 42¹⁸ ^bYe blind look up that ye may see ;
 And ye deaf hearken^b !
 19 ^c*Who is blind but my Servant ?*
 And deaf as my messenger^c ?
 20 ^dMuch have ye seen without marking it^d—
 'He whose ears were opened does not hear !'

(2.)

- 21 ^e*Jahveh was pleased for His righteousness' sake*
To magnify direction and glorify it !
 22 And yet it is a people spoiled and plundered,

'Snared are they' all in holes
 And hidden in prisons ;
 They are become a prey, and there is no rescuer ;
 A plunder, and none to say, Restore !

b (42¹⁸) : *Ye blind . . . ye deaf* : clauses transposed (improving metre and logical sequence). So Haupt and others.

c (vs. 19) : *Who is blind but my Servant* (gloss, i.e., *blind as the Servant of Jahveh*) and *deaf as my messenger* (gloss as *their ruler whom I send*). So Haupt. The verse in its original form is probably secondary (taking the place of two missing lines) and has itself been later glossed. In Rec. Text it runs as follows : *Who is blind but my Servant (LXX my servants), and deaf as my messenger whom I send ? Who is blind as the (God) befriended one (LXX, their ruler) and deaf* (so some Hebrew MSS.) *as the Servant of Jahveh*. The word rendered (God) *befriended one* is of uncertain meaning. Others take it as = *muslim*, "the surrendered one" (to God's will and service)—but this hardly fits "blind" Israel. The LXX (pointing differently) *their ruler*. The whole verse is probably a gloss, which has itself been glossed. It may (as Cheyne surmises) have taken the place of two missing lines (two such are required to complete the strophe). In its original form (which Duhm regards as part of the original text of the passage, and not as a gloss) it may have run, as that scholar supposes, as follows : *Who is blind but my servants, and deaf as their rulers ?*

d (vs. 20) : *much have ye seen without marking it* (reading 2nd pl. forms of verbs). So Haupt. Rec. Text may be rendered : *Much hast thou seen without marking it*.

e (vs. 20) : *He whose ears . . . hear* : the Versions, Lowth, and several moderns read : *Thou whose ears were open, yet didst thou not hear* (so Cheyne).

f (vs. 21) : the verse is probably due to an editor, and may have taken the place of two illegible lines. (Notice its theological and edifying tone.)

f (vs. 22) : *snared are they*. So Houb., Secker, Lowth and most moderns (altering the Hebrew pointing, which, however, can be translated in the same way). The language is metaphorical (of captivity). It is not to be understood literally of imprisonment.

(3.)

- ²³ Who among you will give ear to this,
Attend and listen for a future time ?
- ²⁴ Who gave up Jacob to plunderers
And Israel to spoilers,^g
- ²⁵ And poured out upon him His burning anger
And ^hHis violence like a flame,^h
So that it scorched him round about, though he knew
it not,
And burned him but he laid it not to heart ?

(4.)

- ⁴³¹ And now, thus says Jahveh,
O Jacob, thy creator, and He that formed thee, O Israel :
Fear not, for I redeem thee,
I call thee by name, thou art mine.
- ² When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee,
And through rivers, they shall not overflow thee ;
When thou goest through fire thou shalt not be scorched,
Neither shall the flame burn thee.

(5.)

- ³ For I am Jahveh thy God,
Israel's Holy One, thy Deliverer ;
I give Egypt as thy ransom,
Ethiopia and Seba in thy stead :
- ⁴ Because thou art precious in my sight,
Art honoured, and I do love thee ;
I do give ^alands^a in thy stead,
And peoples in lieu of thy life.

^g (vs. 24). The rest of the verse in Rec. Text runs as follows :
*Was it not Jahveh, He against whom we have sinned, and in whose ways
they would not walk, and to whose instruction they were not obedient.*
Style and tone suggest that this is an insertion (so Duhm, Cheyne,
Marti). [LXX reads *they sinned for we have sinned*—a distinct
improvement.]

^h (vs. 25) : *his violence* (reading 'ezüzô) *like a flame* (reading *kallehâbâh*
for *milhmâhâ*). So Klostermann, Cheyne. Rec. Text has *the violence
of war*.

^a (vs. 4) : *lands* (reading 'adâmoth). So Duhm. Rec. Text has *man*
(*'adam*).

(6.)

The Ingathering of the Dispersion (cf. 49¹².)

- ⁵ ^bFrom the Orient bring I thy seed,
 And from the westering lands will I gather thee ;
⁶ I say to the North : Give up !
 And to the South : Hold not back !
 Bring my sons from far,
 And my daughters from the ends of the Earth ;
⁷ All who are called by my name,
 Whom for my glory I have^c formed and made.

(E.) ISRAEL JAHVEH'S WITNESS BEFORE THE HEATHEN :
AN EXPOSTULATION.(42⁹⁻¹³.)

Another judgment-scene like 41¹⁻⁴, 41²¹⁻²⁸. The piece apparently consists of three strophes of four distichs ; the first strophe, however, is imperfect, two lines being missing. Did the misplaced vs. 8 fill up the gap ?

The contents are an expostulation to Israel. In urgent tones Jahveh rouses Israel from his lethargy to step forward in his true character as Jahveh's witness before the nations. The argument from prophecy is repeated, only this time it is addressed not to the nations but to "blind and deaf" Israel. Perhaps the section began originally with some such appeal as : *Wherefore will ye hold your peace when Jahveh pleads with the nations ? Can ye not even yet see and understand ? Let us approach the tribunal together.**

(1.)

- ⁹ All the nations ^bare gathered together,^b
 And the peoples ^bassembled^b ;

^b (vs. 5). Rec. Text prefixes : *Fear not for I am with thee*. The clause is a repetition ; it adds a superfluous line to the strophe. Omit (Duhm, Cheyne).

^c (vs. 7). Rec. Text adds *created, I have created* (? a scribal error, Cheyne). *Three* synonyms in same line is contrary to Deutero-Isaiah's usage : he is fond of two.

^a In the Rec. Text vs. 8 seems to have taken the place of two missing lines (for vs. 8 prefixed to 42¹⁸ ; see introduction to that section).

^b (vs. 9) : *are gathered together . . . assembled* : so the verbs in the Rec. Text are to be taken. It is not necessary to alter to imperatives as Israel (not the nations) is addressed.

* Cf. Cheyne, *S.B.O.T., Isaiah* (English version), p. 178, note 34.

Who among them can declare such as 'this,^c
 And make known to us ^dformer predictions^d?
 Their witnesses let them produce that they may be proved
 in the right,
 'That we may listen and say^e: It is true!

(2.)

- 10 Ye are my ^ftrusted witnesses,^f
 And ^gmy servants^g whom I have chosen ;
 That ye may acknowledge and believe me,
 And discern that ^hI am (ever) the same^h :
 Before me was no god formed
 Nor shall there be after me.
 11 I, even I am Jahveh,
 And beside me is no Deliverer.

(3.)

- 12 It was I who declared and wrought deliverance,
 Who announced ⁱ(and performed it) ⁱ;
 There was no strange (god) among you,
 And ye are ^jmy trusted witnesses^j ;
 I am God ^k(from of old),^k
 13 And from now ever am I the same ;
 None can rescue from my hand ;
 When I work who shall reverse it ?

c (vs. 9) : *this, i.e.*, the prophecy set forth in vv. 1-7.

d (vs. 9) : *former predictions*. Cf. note on 42^o. Cheyne and Marti would read : *and as a first one make it known to us* ; cf. 41²⁷.

e (vs. 9) : *that we may listen and say* : so Cheyne. Rec. Text has *that they may listen and say*.

f (vs. 10) : *my trusted witnesses* (reading *ne'emānai* for *nē'um Jahveh*) : so Duhm (lit. *my witnesses, my trusted ones*). In a speech uttered by Jahveh the expression *says Jahveh* is strange. Rec. Text has *says (oracle of) Jahveh*.

g (vs. 10) : *My servants*. So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (note the parallelism). Rec. Text punctuates as singular, *My servant*.

h (vs. 10) : *I am (ever) the same* : cf. 41⁴, 46⁴, 48¹² (there may be an implied reference to the explanation of the name Jahveh = *He Who (eternally) is in*, Ex. 3^{14f}).

i (vs. 12) : something is required to complete the line. Marti suggests as above (reading *wē'asīthi*, cf. Ps. 22¹²).

j (vs. 12) : *my trusted witnesses* : cf. note *f* (on vs. 10).

k (vs. 12) : *from of old* (reading *miqgedem* with Cheyne or *mē'ōtam* with Duhm). The pendent *from now ever* is wanting in Rec. Text. (Cheyne proposes to read : *I am your redeemer for I am God*.)

(F.) THE FALL OF BABYLON AND ISRAEL'S DELIVERANCE
—A SECOND AND MORE WONDERFUL EXODUS.

(43¹⁴⁻²¹.)

The section opens with a brief reference to Babylon (vs. 14), but the text of this verse is hopelessly corrupt. Vv. 20b and 21 are a late insertion, (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti,) the contents, "a poor copy of 19b, 20" (Cheyne). Allowing for lacunæ, the poem seems to fall into three strophes, each consisting of four distichs.

(1.)

¹⁴ Thus says Jahveh,
Your redeemer, the Holy One of Israel :
For your sake I send to Babylon

^a
.
.
.
.
.
.
.
^a

¹⁵ I, Jahveh your Holy One,
The Creator of Israel, your King.

(2.)

¹⁶ Thus says Jahveh,

^b ^b
Who makes in the Sea a way
And in mighty waters a path ;

¹⁷ Who brings forth chariot and horse,
^cWar-host and warriors together^c ;
They lie down, they cannot arise—
Are extinguished, quenched like a wick.

^a (vs. 14) : the text of the rest of the verse in the Rec. Text is hopelessly corrupt. As it stands it may best be rendered, perhaps, as in R.V. : *And I will bring down all of them as fugitives, even the Chaldeans in the ships of their rejoicing* (i.e., they shall all be sent down the Euphrates as fugitives in ships). But this translation is only a makeshift. The text is imperfect : probably *and the Chaldeans* is a genuine fragment of an incomplete line. Cheyne (*S.B.O.T.*, Hebrew Text, p. 134) has proposed to emend thus :

[For your sake I send to] Elam
and rouse up my heroes all of them.

And the Chaldeans
and I still their joyous shouts with sighs.

^b (vs. 16). Probably a line is missing here (containing some descriptive epithets of Jahveh ; cf. vs. 14 above). So Duhm, Cheyne.

^c (vs. 17) : *war-host and warriors* (lit. *strong ones, collective*) together. So Duhm, followed by Marti, taking in *together* from the following line. Klostermann would fill out the line as it stands in Rec. Text by adding

(3.)

- 18 Recall not ^devents of first days,^d
 Nor consider the things of old !
 19 Behold I accomplish a new thing—
 It already springs forth ; will ye heed not ?
 Yea, a way will I make in the wilderness,
 And streams in 'the Wild ;^e
 20 The beasts of the field shall honour me,
 The jackals and ostriches.^f

(G.) THIS DELIVERANCE IS DUE TO JAHVEH'S GRACE
 ALONE ; THE GRACIOUS PROMISES REPEATED.

(43²²⁻⁴⁴⁵.)

The passage is parallel with 42¹⁸⁻⁴³⁷. It may conveniently be subdivided into two parts : (1) 43²²⁻²⁸ and (2) 44¹⁻⁵. The burden of (1) is that Jahveh's action in delivering Israel is due to His grace alone. "The natural order of things has been reversed. Israel should have sued for Jahveh's favour with words and acts of dutiful love. Instead of this it has laid upon Jahveh a heavy burden, which only His fidelity to His gracious purpose could have induced Him to accept. He has been compelled (so the prophet would say) to awaken Israel from its slumber, and devise an elaborate scheme for saving it from the further consequences of its sins."^{*}

The references to sacrifice in vv. 22 f. are difficult to follow in connexion with the general argument of the section. It is hardly probable

"large" (*rab*) after *war-host* or *force*. Then render : *A force (large) and potent ; together they lie down*, etc. So Cheyne. (Duhm's treatment best conserves rhythm.) The allusions are, of course, to the fate of the Egyptian army at the Exodus in the Red Sea.

^d (vs. 18) : *events of first days*, lit. *former things*. The future has a wonder in store beside which the deliverance from Egypt will pale into insignificance. Cf. Jer. 16^{14f} ; 23^{7f}.

^e (vs. 19) : *the wild* (Heb. *yeshimon*) = the "howling wilderness," utterly devoid of moisture and vegetation. There no flocks can gain any sustenance as they can in the "wilderness" or "steppe" (prairie-land ; Hebrew, *midbār*). Cf. Deut. 32¹⁰ ; Ps. 68⁷ ; 78⁴⁰, etc.

^f (vs. 20a) : Here follow in Rec. Text the rest of vs. 20 and 21 :

^{20b} : *For I give waters in the wilderness, streams in the Wild to provide drink for my people, my chosen.* ²¹ *The people which I have formed for myself shall tell forth my praise.* A gloss explaining the purpose of the "streams in the Wild" (and missing the point of the original description).

* Cheyne, *S.B.O.T.* (English translation), p. 178 f. (note 40).

that the writer can intend to refer to the pre-Exilic period when sacrificial worship, in the purely external sense, was certainly not neglected in Israel. The Exile must, therefore, be meant. But the writer cannot be blaming the people for their failure to offer sacrifices, when the means for doing so (the Temple, and the cultus) had been swept away. He is simply stating the fact. Jahveh's gracious readiness to rescue His people cannot be explained by the multiplicity of the sacrifices offered by His worshippers—because, as a matter of fact, none such have been offered at all during the Exile. Israel (during the Exile) has not been burdened with sacrifices for Jahveh, but has burdened Jahveh with its sins. Yet, in spite of all this, Jahveh proves Himself to be Israel's God "by forgiving its iniquities and undertaking its cause against its enemies." In (2) gracious promises abruptly follow to heighten the contrast.

Marti has pointed out that 43²⁵, ²⁶ interrupt the close connexion that binds vs. 24 with vs. 27. If these verses are removed four strophes of four distichs result (with one line missing in strophe 2).

(1.)

- 43²² But it is not upon me thou hast called, O Jacob,
 "Nor hast wearied thyself about me," O Israel!
²³ No lamb of burnt offering of thine hast thou brought me,
 Nor with sacrifices of thine hast honoured me;
 With offerings I have not burdened thee,
 Nor with incense wearied thee;
²⁴ No sweet cane with money hast thou bought me,
 Nor with the fat of thy sacrifices sated me.

(2.)

- ²⁴ Only with thy sins hast thou burdened me,
 And with thine iniquities wearied me^b!

a (vs. 22): *nor . . . about me* (reading *wēlo bi*; cf. LXX.) Rec. Text (*hi*) = *much less hast thou*.

b Here follow vv. 25 and 26 in Rec. Text:

²⁵ *Yet it is I who blot out thy rebellions [for mine own sake],
 and thy sins I do not remember.*

²⁶ *Remind me, let us plead together;
 Count up (thy good deeds) that thou mayest
 be justified.*

The verses interrupt the close connexion between vv. 24 and 27. Vs. 25 expresses the thought of the whole section well, and for that very reason may well have been added originally in the margin to supplement vs. 22. Vs. 26 does not fit well into the context. If they are removed (so Marti) the strophe assumes its right proportions (without one missing line).

- 27 ^cThy first father^c sin did commit
 And Thy ^dmediators^d rebelled against me ;
 28 ^eThy princes profaned my sanctuary^e

So I gave up Jacob to the ban,
 And Israel to reviling !

(3) and (4).

Jahveh's gracious promise of a brilliant future. The Divine spirit will be outpoured upon Israel; strangers will desire to attach themselves to Jahveh's people. (Bickell regards 44¹⁻⁵ as a specimen of syllabic metre.)

(3.)

- 44¹ ^aBut now^a listen, O Jacob, my Servant,
 And Israel whom I have chosen !
 2 Thus says Jahveh who made thee,
 He who formed thee from the womb, who helps thee :
 Fear not, O Jacob, my Servant,
 And thou, ^bJeshurun,^b whom I have chosen :
 3 ^cFor water will I pour upon the thirsty,
 And rills upon the dry ground.^c

c (vs. 27) : *Thy first father, i.e., not Abraham* (who is called Jahveh's "friend," 41⁶), but Jacob (cf. Hos. E.V. 12²¹).

d (vs. 27) : *thy mediators* (lit. *thy interpreters* : Gen. 42²³, in Job. 33²³ the angels are so termed) = the (false) prophets. Cf. Jer. 23¹¹⁻¹⁸.

e (vs. 28) : *Thy princes profaned my sanctuary.* So LXX and Syr : Houb, Klostermann and Cheyne. Duhm proposes to read *gates* (*sha'arê*) for *princes*, and to insert between this and the verb *my heritage* (*nahäläthi*) : *So I had to profane my heritage . . . the holy gates.* Rec. Text : *So I had to profane consecrated princes* (= the priests ? cf. I Chron. 24⁵). The second line of vs. 28 is missing.

a (vs. 1) : *But now*, marking contrast, as in 43¹.

b (vs. 2) : *Jeshurun* : a name of honour, possibly devised by Deutero-Isaiah, as a deliberate contrast to *Jacob*. It = the *upright, pious one*—so Israel is to be in the future. It only occurs again in the late passages Deut. 32¹⁵, 33⁵, 28.

c (vs. 3) : the expressions are to be understood metaphorically of spiritual awakening.

(4.)

- My spirit will I pour upon thy seed,
 And my blessing upon thine offspring ;
 4 And they shall spring ^das grass amidst waters,^d
 As willows by water-courses.
 5 ^eOne shall say : I am Jahveh's ;
 Another shall ^fcall himself " Jacob " ;
 And another shall mark ^ghis hand^g : " Jahveh's,"
 And receive the ^hsurname^h : " Israel."

(H.) THE ETERNITY AND UNIQUENESS OF JAHVEH, AND
 THE FOLLY OF IDOLATRY—THE ARGUMENT FROM
 PROPHECY REPEATED.

(44⁶⁻²³.)

The unity of the section is clearly broken by the long piece on idolatry, which interrupts the close logical connexion of vv. 8 and 21. Vv. 9-20 are, therefore, rightly regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a late insertion (cf. 46⁶⁻⁸; Jer. 10¹⁻¹⁰). They are in rhythm and spirit utterly unlike Deutero-Isaiah's writing. The last verse of the section (vs. 23) is a lyrical outburst (in six lines) which forms an appropriate close to the entire division, 42¹⁻⁴⁴²³.

- 6 Thus says Jahveh, the King of Israel,
 Yea, his redeemer Jahveh Sabaoth :
 I am the first and I am the last,
 And beside me is no god at all.

d (vs. 4) : *as grass amidst waters*. So LXX and most moderns. Rec. Text = ? *as among grass* (A.V.).

e (vs. 5) : Non-Jews will join the Jewish community as proselytes. (The reference can hardly be to Israelites proud of their race.)

f (vs. 5) : *call himself " Jacob,"* lit. *call himself by the name of Jacob* (reading *yikharē* with Lowth and many moderns.) Rec. Text : *Call on the name of Jacob*.

g (vs. 5) : *his hand* (accus.). So Rec. Text. Klostermann, Cheyne, and some Greek versions read *on his hand*. The allusion is to the sacred tattoo-marks on the person (forbidden in Lev. 19²⁸). Cf. Ezek. 9⁴; Gal. 6¹⁷; Rev. 7³, 13¹⁶.

h (vs. 5). Surname as a title of honour.

- 7 ^aWho is like me ? (Let him stand) and proclaim
 And declare it and set it in order before me !
 Who has announced from of old things future ?
 Yea, what is to come let them (now) declare to us ^a !
- 8 Be not afraid and be not disquieted,
 Have I not long ago proclaimed and declared it ^b ?
 Ye are my witnesses. 'Is there a God
 Or a Rock beside me at all ^c ?
- 9 *Those who fashion images are all ^dan empty show,^d
 And their precious things are unprofitable,
 And ^etheir witnesses^e have neither sight nor perception,
 that they may be put to shame.*
- 10 ^fWho has ever formed a god, or cast an image,
 to no profit ?
- 11 Behold, its charmers all shall be put to shame,
 And its enchanters brought to confusion.
 Let them assemble all and stand forth—
 They shall be terror-struck, put to shame at once.
- 12 ^gThe smith works with the coals,^g
 Fashions it with hammers and manufactures it with his
 brawny arm ;
 He also grows hungry and is strengthless ; drinks no water
 and is faint.

a (vs. 7). The verse as rendered above is emended partly from the LXX (adds *let him stand*) and partly in accordance with Oort's conjecture (*Who has announced from of old*). At the end *to us* instead of *to them*. Rec. Text as it stands can only be rendered very awkwardly: *And who, as I, proclaims (and let him declare it and set it in order before me) since I founded the people of antiquity? And the things that are coming and shall come let them declare unto them.*

b (vs. 8). Rec. Text adds to *thee*. Duhm omits, so Cheyne.

c (vs. 8): *Is there a God . . . at all?* (reading *hāyesh 'el we'im tsūr mi-bal'ādai*). So Duhm, Klostermann, Cheyne (in the main). Rec. Text: *Is there a God besides me? Yea, there is no Rock; I know of none.*

d (vs. 9): *an empty show*, lit. *a void (chaos)*.

e (vs. 9): *their witnesses, i.e., their devotees*; cf. 43 ⁹.

f (vs. 10): *Who has ever formed a god, etc.* A rhetorical question (Who has ever been guilty of such incredible folly?).

g (vs. 12): *The smith works with the coals*. So Duhm, Skinner. *The smith* here = lit. *the worker in iron* and corresponds to *the carpenter* (lit. *worker in wood*) of the following verse. Apparently the verse was early misunderstood: *iron* was read as object and a verb supplied (from the last word of previous verse). Hence the LXX rendering: *For the craftsman sharpens iron*. *Iron* then seems to have been glossed

- ¹⁸ *The carpenter stretches out a line,
Traces it (i.e., the idol block) out with a stylus, forms it
with carving-tools,^h
Like a human figure, like the beauty of a man, to dwell in
a 'house.'*
- ¹⁴ *(He proceeds) to cut down timber^k for his use,
'And chooses a plane or an oak which God has planted
and the rain nourished.'*

with the word *axe*. Rec. Text is untranslatable as it stands, desiderating a verb such as is supplied in LXX. It runs: *The worker in iron and axe, and works with the coals*. Probably, however, it was read by the glossator: *The craftsman sharpens* (last word of previous verse rendered at once) *iron*, to which he added the gloss, *axe*. The verse describes the operations of the blacksmith and introduces a sarcastic description of the manufacture of an idol. Cf. *Wisd.* 13¹¹⁻¹².

h (vs. 13). Rec. Text adds here: *and with compasses marks it out and forms it*. Probably varied reading on preceding. Omit with Duhm, Marti; Haupt (and Cheyne, partly; both in *S.B.O.T.*) propose a rather different text, as follows:

The carpenter stretches out a line,

Determines it (i.e., the idol-block, reading yethakkenēhū) with a stylus, with carving tools shapes it (the verb yēthoorēhū may, it is supposed, possibly bear this meaning; cf. LXX), like a human figure, etc.

i (vs. 13): *a house, i.e., a private house or chapel probably.*

j (vs. 14): *He proceeds* (reading *hālak*). Some verb such as this seems to have fallen out of the text (so Marti).

k (vs. 14): *timber* (reading 'ētsim). So LXX, Grätz, Cheyne. Rec. Text: *cedars*. [Cheyne regards the whole clause *that he may cut down timber for his use*, as a marginal note on the description, which has intruded into the text.] The mention of *cutting* before *planting* is certainly premature in the Rec. Text. This difficulty is obviated if the text is corrected in accordance with Marti's suggestions adopted above (see next note).

l (vs. 14): *And chooses* (reading *wayyibhar* for *wayyihah*, which has intruded from vs. 15), a *plane* (reading *tīdhār*, cf. 41¹⁰ instead of the unknown *tirzāh* of Rec. Text) or an oak which God has planted (reading 'el for 'oren) and the rain nourished. So Marti. For trees planted by God (not men) cf. Ps. 104¹⁶. In this way the difficulties of the verse are removed. In the Rec. Text the cutting down is mentioned before the planting—an unnatural sequence. Rec. Text runs: *To cut down for himself cedars, And he takes an ilex (?) or an oak, and fosters it (lit. makes it grow strong) among the trees of the forest; he plants a pine (?) and the rain nourishes it*. The clause *and fosters it among the trees of the forest* is highly doubtful and should be deleted (so Cheyne and Marti). Probably the words *and fosters it* are due to ditrography with the following *among the trees of the forest*, which are, in turn, a gloss.

- 15 *That it may serve man's need for burning!*
"One kindles fire" therefrom and warms himself,
Yea, he sets it ablaze and bakes bread;
Yea, he forms it into a godⁿ and worships,
Makes it into an image and bows down to it!
- 16 *Half of it he burns in the fire,*
"On the coals therefrom" ^phe roasts^p flesh; ^phe eats^p the roast
and is satisfied;
He also warms himself and says: Aha! I am warm; I feel
the glow!
- 17 *And the rest of it he makes into a god,^q into*
an image and bows down to it^a;
He worships and prays to it, saying: Rescue me
for thou art my God!
- 18 *They have neither insight nor discernment,*
For their eyes "are plastered over," past seeing,
and their minds, past understanding.
- 19 *He does not remember—there is neither sense nor*
discernment (enough)—to say:
Half of it I have burnt in the fire,
Bread also have I baked upon the coals from it,
I roasted flesh, I did eat;
And of the remainder shall I make an abomination?^r
^sTo a wooden image^s shall I bow down?

m (vs. 15): *One kindles fire* (reading *wayyikdah*). So LXX (some MSS), Klostermann, Cheyne, and Marti. Rec. Text has *and takes*.

n (vs. 15): *into a god* (reading *lē'ēl*). So Klostermann, Cheyne, LXX (some MSS).

o (vs. 16): *on the coals therefrom* (reading *'al geḥālāw*). So Duhm, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti (after the Syriac).

p (vs. 16): *he roasts; he eats*: verbs transposed. So Oort, Duhm, etc. (after Syriac).

q (vs. 17): *into an image and bows down to it* (by rearrangement of consonants of Rec. Text). So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text: *even his image: he bows down to it*.

r (vs. 18): *are plastered over* (reading *taḥū*, pl.). So Duhm, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has sing. (*he hath shut*, A.V.).

s (vs. 19): *To a wooden image* (reading *lēpešel 'ēts.*) Cf. vv. 15 and 17. Rec. Text has *to the produce of a tree (or wood)*.

- ²⁰ *'Whoso gets satisfaction from ashes,^t a deluded
heart has turned him aside,
That he cannot rescue himself and say: Is
there not a lie in my right hand?*

(vv. 21–22. Continuation of vv. 6–8.)

- ²¹ Remember these things, O Jacob,
And Israel, for thou art "my Servant"^u ;
²² I have blotted out as a mist thy rebellions,
And as a cloud thy sins.^v

Lyrical Epilogue.

- ²³ Be jubilant, O heavens ; for Jahveh ^whas bestowed
deliverance^w !
Shout, O ye deeps of Earth !
Break forth, O mountains, into jubilant cries !
O forest and every tree in it !
For Jahveh has redeemed Jacob,
And glorifies Himself in Israel !

^t (vs. 20) : *Whoso gets satisfaction from ashes, i.e., in things which become or are reduced to ashes (the allusion is apparently to the wood from which the idols are made). Duhm suggests that the figure may be of a shepherd trying to feed a flock on pasture which has been reduced to ashes (contrast the green grass of the true religion in Ps. 23). But this is somewhat fanciful.*

^u (vs. 21) : *My servant* : Duhm proposes to read *My witness* (one letter less in Hebrew, 'ēdi).

^v In Rec. Text vv. 21 and 22 have clauses which have probably intruded into the text from the margin (notice their tautological character) :

^{21 b} *I have formed thee, a Servant art thou to me ;*

O Israel, thou wilt not renounce me (reading titteshēni for the enigmatical tinnasheni).

^{22 b} *Return to me, for I have redeemed thee.*

^w (vs. 23) : *has bestowed deliverance (reading hōshi'a). So Klostermann. Rec. Text : has accomplished (it).*

(IV.) CYRUS THE ANOINTED OF JAHVEH, AND THE
DOWNFALL OF THE BABYLONIAN WORLD-EMPIRE.

(44²⁴-48²².)

The third main division of the Book (after the Prologue) is concerned principally with the advent of Cyrus and the Fall of Babylon.

The whole section naturally falls into the following subdivisions :

- A. The Divine Commission to Cyrus (44²⁴-45²⁵) ;
- B. The downfall of the gods of Babylon (46¹⁻¹³) ;
- C. A Triumphal Ode on the Fall of Babylon (47¹⁻¹⁵) ;
- D. Prophecies old and new of Cyrus's victorious career and its consequences (48¹⁻²²).

(A.) THE DIVINE COMMISSION TO CYRUS.

(44²⁴-45²⁵.)

In this part of the Book the dominating theme is no longer the relation of Israel to Jahveh, but the victorious career of the divinely guided hero Cyrus, and the glorious results that are to follow the redemption of Israel, effected by him. Cyrus occupies the central place ; he is addressed directly by name, and his commission is exactly defined. " He is to set the exiles free, to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple ; and the far-reaching moral result of his singular generosity to Israel will be the downfall of heathenism everywhere and the universal conviction that Jehovah is the only God who is a Deliverer."*

Kittel in a valuable essay† has suggested that the language used by Deutero-Isaiah here in addressing Cyrus may have been modelled on the official court (Babylonian) phraseology such as is used in the royal inscriptions. It may even have been intended to influence the King (cf. the early apologies addressed to the Roman Emperors by defenders of Christian faith). There is probably some truth in this idea. At any rate a Jewish writer living in Babylon and especially one so keenly interested in passing events as Deutero-Isaiah, can hardly have been uninfluenced by current Babylonian modes of speech.

This section again subdivides into two minor divisions, viz. :

- (i) An address by Jahveh to Israel announcing His choice of Cyrus and His commission to the latter (44²⁴-45⁸) ; and
- (ii) A justification of the choice of Cyrus (45⁹⁻²⁵).

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

† *Cyrus und Deuterocesaja* in *Z.A.T.W.*, xviii (1898).

(I.) AN ADDRESS BY JAHVEH TO ISRAEL ANNOUNCING HIS CHOICE OF CYRUS, AND HIS COMMISSION TO THE LATTER.

(44²⁴—45⁷ (8) .)

This section forms a poem consisting probably of five strophes of five long lines, followed (45⁸) by a short lyric intermezzo.

Jahveh addresses Israel.

(1.)

- 24 Thus says Jahveh thy redeemer,
 He who formed thee from the womb :
 I am Jahveh who wrought all things :
 I stretched out the heavens alone,
 spread forth the earth—^awho was with me^a ?
 25 (I am He) who brings ^bsoothsayers^b omens to nought,
 and makes the diviners mad,
 Who turns the wise ones backward,
 and their knowledge stultifies ;

(2.)

- 26 Who establishes the word of ^cHis servants,^c
 and the counsel of His messengers^d ;
 Who says of Jerusalem : Let her be inhabited !
 ^e(And of the Temple : Be thy foundation laid !)^e
 And of ^fthe cities of Judah^f : Let them be built !
 The ruins thereof will I upraise !

a (vs. 24) : *who was with me* ? So the Kētibh, LXX, Vulg., and some Hebrew MSS. The Qērē followed by A.V. has *by myself*.

b (25) : *soothsayers* (*omens*) : reading *bārim* (so also in Jer. 50³⁴) from the root *bārāh* (cf. Haupt on Prov. I⁸ in S.B.O.T.). So Duhm. Rec. Text (*baddim*) = *praters*, imposters.

c (vs. 26) : *His servants*, so Klostermann, Duhm, and many moderns. Rec. Text : *His servant* (but note the parallel " His messengers "). The prophets are meant. The *word* and *counsel* of such = predictions.

d (vs. 26) : Rec. Text adds here *performs*. But metre is improved by its omission (the omitted word occurs also in vs. 28).

e (vs. 26) : *And of the Temple : Be thy foundation laid !* So Duhm (adopting the variant in vs. 28). Metre and sense are completed by this transposition.

f (vs. 26) : *the cities of Judah* : Duhm proposes *the ruins of the land* (reading 'iyyē hā-ādāmāh), but unnecessarily.

- 27 Who says to ^gthe flood^g : Be dry !
 Thy streams will I parch !
 28 Who says of Cyrus : ^hmy friend^h !
 All my purpose shall He perform^h !

Jahveh addresses Cyrus.

(3.)

- 45¹ Thus says Jahveh ⁱ(the [true] God)ⁱ,
 to His anointed, to Cyrus,
 (The man) whose right hand I have grasped,
^jto terrify nations,^j
^kTo open doors before him,
 and that gates may not be closed :
 2 I myself will go before thee,
 and level ^l'mountains'^l ;
 Doors of brass will I shatter,
 and bars of iron cut through.

g (vs. 27) : *the flood* : a metaphor for the obstacles impeding the deliverance (there may be an allusion to the Exodus).

h (vs. 28) : *my friend* ! (reading *rē'i*). so Kuenen and many moderns. Cf. Zech. 13⁷ where the same emendation is required. Rec. Text : *my shepherd* (= my ruler). The difference in Hebrew is only one of points.

k (vs. 28) : Rec. Text here adds : *That is to say (even saying) of Jerusalem : let her be built : and of the Temple be thy foundation laid.* The first part of this sentence is probably a gloss on 26b ; and the second part belongs there too (transposed as above).

i (vs. 1) : (*the [true] God*) : so LXX, Duhm, Marti ; the addition improves the line metrically.

j (vs. 1) : *to terrify nations* (reading *lāhā'arid*) ; various other emendations have been proposed). So Klostermann (essentially), Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text = ? *to subdue*. The following *before him* in this clause should probably be omitted (with Marti), as repeated from the next. In this way the clause is made of same length as parallel ones.

k (vs. 1) : Here follows in Rec. Text *and the loins of kings I ungird* : probably misplaced, belonging to 5b (so Duhm, Marti).

l (vs. 2) : *mountains* (reading *hārārim*). So LXX ; Cheyne, following Houb. Klostermann, prefers *ways* reading *hā-dērakim*) but less suitably.

(4.)

- ³ I will give thee ^mthe treasures of darkness,^m
 and the hoards of secret places ;
 "For it is I, Jahveh, who call thee by thy name,
 the God of Israel.
- ⁴ For the sake of Jacob, my Servant,
 and Israel my Chosen,
 I called thee by thy name ; ^oI delight in thee,^o
 though thou hast not known me.
- ⁵ I am Jahveh, and there is none else,
 and beside me there is no God.

(5.)

- ^p [The loins of kings I ungird],^p
 but I gird thee,^q
- ⁶ That men may know from the east,
 and from the west,
 'That I am Jahveh, and there is none else,
 there is none beside me^r ;
- ⁷ (I am He) who forms light and creates darkness,
 who produces welfare and^s calamity.
 It is I, Jahveh ^t(the [true] God)^t
 who effect all this.

^m (vs. 3) : *the treasures of darkness, i.e.,* treasures hid in darkness (deep dungeons) or hoarded away (cf. parallel expression following).

ⁿ (vs. 3) : Rec. Text adds here : *that thou mayest know* (that it is, etc.). This overloads the line, which is greatly improved by its omission (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti).

^o (vs. 4) : *I delight in thee* (reading 'ertsēkā). So LXX, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *I surnamed thee* (i.e., gave thee honourable titles such as *my friend*).

^p (vs. 5) : [*the loins of kings I ungird*] : transposed with Duhm from vs. 1. The clause may have been omitted accidentally, and then inserted in wrong place from the margin. It fills out the line here very suitably.

^q (vs. 5) : Rec. Text adds here, *though thou hast not known me* (? repeated from end of 4 or beginning of 6). Omit with Duhm, Marti.

^r (vs. 6) : clauses transposed (cp. vs. 6 beginning). In this way metrical requirements are satisfied.

^s (vs. 7). Rec. Text adds *creates* : omit with Duhm and Marti, improving the metre. The word was probably repeated from previous line.

^t (vs. 7) : (*the [true] God*). So LXX, Duhm (necessary to fill out the line).

*A Lyric Intermezzo.**(The blessings which will follow the victory of true religion.)*

⁸ Shower ye heavens from above,
 And let the skies distil righteousness !
 Let the earth open ^u(her womb),^u
 That deliverance ^v(and peace)^v ^wmay grow^w ;
 And let her cause ^xvictory^x to spring up also !
 I, Jahveh, have created it.

(II.) A JUSTIFICATION OF THE CHOICE OF CYRUS.

(Addressed to the Exiles.)(45 ⁹⁻²⁵.)

The section falls into three distinct paragraphs, viz., (a) vv. 9-13, (b) vv. 14-17, and (c) vv. 18-25. Of these (a) is a direct justification of the Divine choice of Cyrus to be the instrument of Israel's deliverance, against the objections of exiles who did not welcome the idea of this being effected by a heathen conqueror. But (b) and (c) also serve the same end indirectly, in showing how the splendid deeds of the Persian hero will redound to the glory of Israel, and the triumph of the true religion.

The metre of the three passages is not uniform.

(a.) vv. 9-13.

Consisting of four tetrastichs ; vv. 10 and 13b are probably secondary.

⁹ Ah ! he who strives with his Fashioner—
 A potsherd among the potsherds of Earth !
 Shall the clay say to its Fashioner : What makest thou ?
 And^a his work : Thou^a hast no ^bpower^b !^c

^u (vs. 8) : (*her womb*), (reading *rahmāh*). Cf. for the figure 55 ¹⁰. So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. The object is missing in Rec. Text.

^v (vs. 8) : (*and peace*) : two subjects are required for the plural verb. Duhm suggests *and peace* (reading *wē shālôm*).

^w (vs. 8) : *grow* (reading *wēyifrehû*). So Marti. Rec. Text may best be rendered, perhaps, *that they may be fruitful in deliverance* (= fourth line above).

^x (vs. 8) : *victory*, lit. *righteousness* (i.e., as vindicated in action, the triumph of the right).

^a (vs. 9) : *his work* : *Thou*. So many moderns (LXX has the second person for the latter part of clause). Rec. Text : *Thy work* : *He*.

^b (vs. 9) : *power*, lit. *hands*.

^c (vs. 9, end). Here follows in Rec. Text vs. 10 which is rightly regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a gloss. Contents do not

- ¹¹ Thus says Jahveh,
 Israel's Holy One and Fashioner :
 Concerning things to come ^dwould ye question me,^d
^eAnd about the work of my hands lay commands upon
 me ?
- ¹² It is I who have made the Earth,
 And man upon it created ;
 My hands it was that stretched out the heavens,
 And all their host ordained.
- ¹³ (So) it is I who have roused him in righteousness,
 And all his ways do smoothe ;
 He it is who shall build my City,
 And set my exiles free!

(b.) vv. 14-17.

The passage seems to have received additions (perhaps to take the place of some illegible writing) and modifications in a later sense. In particular, as Cheyne* has pointed out, the idea of the heathen offering tribute to Israel, and being enslaved, is one that belongs to a later phase. "It is not Second Isaiah who is full of the thoughts of the riches to be acquired by Israel from the nations, but later writers (cf. 60⁶, ¹¹; 61⁶; 23¹⁹)." The description of the enslavement of foreigners is also probably "a late insertion" (cf. 60¹⁰; 61⁵).

Cheyne's treatment of the text, which is followed below (also by Marti) brings it nearer its original form. The picture is of the captives of the nations, whose conquest by Cyrus had been permitted (48³) as a "compensation for his liberation of Israel," passing before the

suit the figure. By its omission the passage gains in coherence and impressiveness, Render :

Woe to him who says to a father : What begettest thou ?

Or to a woman : What bringest thou forth ?

Notice this verse interrupts the connexion between the figure (vs. 9) and its application (vs. 11).

d (vs. 11) : *would ye question me* (reading *tish'alūni*). So Secker, Lowth, and many moderns. Rec. Text : *question me* (imperative, i.e., *ask me* but do not criticise ; and *command me*, i.e., *leave to my care*).

e (vs. 11) : Rec. Text adds here *about my sons (and about, etc.)*. An incorrect gloss on the following expression (*work of my hands*).

f (vs. 13, end). Rec. Text adds here *not for price and not for reward, says Jahveh Sabaoth*. Rightly regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a gloss, "by which the effect of vv. 9-13 is injured."

* S.B.O.T., *Isaiah* (Hebrew text), p. 140 (on 45¹⁴).

liberated captives of Israel, and " confessing the sole divinity of Israel's God."

In its original form it consisted apparently of two strophes of five long lines.

- 14 Thus says Jahveh Sabaoth :
 ^aThe exiles^a of Egypt,
 And the "captives"^a of Cush and the Sabeans,
 men of stature,
 Before thee shall pass^b

 And to thee shall bow down,
 to thee shall they "pray,"^c
 Saying : Only in thee is God, and there is none else,
 no Godhead at all.
- 15 Verily ^dwith thee^d God hides Himself,
 the God of Israel is a deliverer !
- 16 Ashamed and put to confusion
 are all who rose up against Him ;
 They are gone off in confusion
 the idol-making craftsmen.
- 17 But Israel is delivered by Jahveh
 with an everlasting deliverance ;
 Ye shall neither be put to shame nor confusion
 to all eternity.

(c.) vv. 18-25.

Israel's deliverance affords the heathen definite proof that there is a God in Israel (vs. 15), but He does not (as the heathen in vs. 15 say) hide Himself ; He has spoken openly. Whenever, therefore, the heathen are only made acquainted with His predictions " every knee

a (vs. 14) : *the exiles . . . the captives* : so Cheyne (reading *gālūth* and *shēbī*). Rec. Text : *the labour . . . merchandise*. For the peoples mentioned in this verse cf. 43³.

b (vs. 14). Rec. Text has here : *and become thine ; after thee shall they go, in chains shall they pass*. Omit with Cheyne, Marti (for reason above stated).

c (vs. 14) : *pray* : the prayers are addressed *through* Israel (as prophetic mediator) to God.

d (vs. 15) : *with thee, i.e., Israel* (reading *'itiēkā*), parallel with *in thee*, vs. 14. So Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *thou (art a God who)*.

shall bow, every tongue shall swear" (vs. 23).* Here again can be seen what great stress Deutero-Isaiah lays upon prophetic predictions. The thought implied in vs. 18 is an interesting and beautiful one. Just as God did not create the earth to be an empty waste—a chaos—but for a beneficent purpose (to be the home of men), so He does not send Cyrus merely to destroy (as at first sight might appear from his conquest of the peoples), but for the welfare ultimately of the human race.

The piece consists of three strophes of seven long lines.

18 For thus says Jahveh^a—

He is the (true) God—
Who formed and made the earth—
He established it ;
Not to be a chaos did He create it,
To be inhabited He formed it :
I am Jahveh, and there is none else,
^b(no God beside me).^b

19 Not in secret have I spoken,
^cin the land of darkness,^c

Nor said to the seed of Jacob :
seek me ^din chaos^d !
I, Jahveh, promise what is true
and announce what is right.

20 Assemble and come, draw nigh together,
^{dd}O ye escaped of the nations ! ^{dd}
Senseless are they who carry
the wood of their idol.

a (vs. 18) : Rec. Text adds *Creator of the heavens*. This overloads the line, and introduces an alien theme. The writer is concerned with the creation of the *earth* for a special (beneficent) purpose. Omit with Duhm.

b (vs. 18) : (*no God beside me*). This clause is supplied from the parallel in vs. 21. It is necessary to complete the stichus.

c (vs. 19) : *in the land of darkness, i.e.,* perhaps the underworld. Jahveh, unlike some heathen gods, needs no magician to interpret His will. Rec. Text has *in a place of the land of darkness*. Here *place of* is probably a mere scribal error. It brings one word too many into the line. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne.

d (vs. 19) : *in chaos, i.e.,* "without definite guidance and without hope of result" (Skinner). Jahveh has dealt openly with His people, and without disguise (read *battôhû*).

dd (vs. 20) : *O ye escaped of the nations, i.e.,* those heathen who survive Cyrus' world-wide conquests.

* Marti, p. 312.

- And pray ^e
to a god that cannot deliver.
- 21 Declare and produce ^f
let them also take counsel together !
Who did announce this of old,
did declare it long ago ?
Is it not I, Jahveh, and there is none else,
no God beside me ?
God ^gwho is righteous^g and delivers—
there is none beside me !
- 22 Turn to me and be delivered
all ye ends of the Earth !
For I am God, and there is none else.
^hBy myself have I sworn,^h
ⁱTruth is gone forth from my mouth,
a word which shall not be recalled :
That unto me shall every knee bow,
every tongue swear.
- 24 ⁱOnly through Jahveh has Jacob^j
victories and strength ;
^kOn his account shall be put to confusion and shame
all who were incensed against him ;
- 25 But in Jahveh shall triumph and make their boast
all the seed of Israel.

vv. 22-25 : the universalism of the passage is remarkable (vs. 23 is cited by S. Paul, Rom. 14¹¹ ; cf. Phil. 2^{10, 11}).

^e (vs. 20) : the line is formally incomplete (though there is no logical break).

^f (vs. 21) : apparently the object has fallen out here.

^g (vs. 21) : *who is righteous, i.e., who speaks true in prediction.* Deutero-Isaiah is thinking of old prophecies. Such as those in Jer. 30 and 31.

^h (vs. 23) : *By myself have I sworn.* Cf. Gen. 22¹⁶ ; Jer. 22⁵ ; and cf. Heb. 6¹³. In 49¹⁸ the form of such an oath is given *As I live, says Jahveh.*

ⁱ (vs. 23) : *Truth is gone forth, etc.* Cf. 55^{10f}.

^j (vs. 24) : *Only through Jahveh has Jacob* (reading *le-yā'ākōb*). So Cheyne, Marti (see vs. 25). Rec. Text : *one said to me* (or of me), altered by some into *shall it be said*.

^k (vs. 24) : *on his account . . . confusion* (reading *'ālāw yikkālēmū* cf. 41¹¹). So Cheyne. (Duhm proposes *together shall perish* but less suitably). Rec. Text : *To him shall come.*

(B.) THE DOWNFALL OF THE GODS OF BABYLON.

(46¹⁻¹³.)

The unity of the chapter is disputed. In vv. 6-8 Duhm, Cheyne and Marti see another inserted passage on idolatry, written in the sarcastic vein of 44⁹⁻²⁰. With the latter the verses agree in spirit and style and are utterly unlike Deutero-Isaiah's writing.

Verses 1-2 also are distinguished from the rest of the chapter in rhythm and style. They may (as Cheyne suggests) be a quotation from "a song of derision on Babylon." Apparently the poem consisted of stanzas of three short lines each, but the text has suffered.

The chapter thus divides into

(a) vv. 1-2,

(b) vv. 3-11 (with an insertion vv. 6-8), followed by a conclusion, vv. 12-13.

The theme here passes from Cyrus to the fall of Babylon.

In the opening verses (1-2) the scene depicted is that of a procession of beasts of burden hastily carrying off the images of the gods, on the approach of the Persians (not the carrying off of the images by the conquerors).

(a.) vv. 1-2.

46¹ "Bel" is bowed down, "Nebo" doth crouch ;
 Their idols are consigned to the beasts,^b
 "Lifted up, laden on the jaded."^c

² They crouch, are bowed down together ;
 They are powerless to rescue the loads,
 And themselves to captivity are gone.

a (vs. 1) : *Bel . . . Nebo : Bel* (= Heb., *Baal*) as a generic term (= *lord*) applicable to any god ; as a proper name it usu = Merodach, the tutelary god of Babylon (= Bel-Merodach). Nebo was the son of Merodach, and the chief seat of his worship was Borsippa.

b (vs. 1) : Rec. Text adds *and to the cattle* ; probably a gloss. Omit (so Duhm and Marti).

c (vs. 1) : *lifted up, laden on the jaded* (sc., beasts), (reading *nēsū'im* 'amūsīm, etc.). Cf. Duhm and Marti. Rec. Text has *the things that ye carried about* (i.e., in religious processions, such as those of the New Year Festival, when the images of these gods were carried through the streets of Babylon in solemn procession ; cf. 45²⁰), *are made a load, a burden to the jaded*. The anticipation here expressed was not realized by the event. In Cyrus (as inscriptions show) the idols of Babylon found a protector against innovating reforms.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Cheyne (*S.B.O.T.*, Hebrew Text, p. 141) proposes a radically restored text of the passage, which runs as follows :

*Bel bows down, Nebo is torn off his pedestal,
Their images are put to shame,
Lifted up, yea laden on young asses.
They are torn, yea, hacked off from their pedestals,
They cannot deliver themselves ;
As for them they are gone into captivity.*

For the Hebrew text here proposed and its justification see *op. cit.* *ut supr.*

(b.) vv. 3-11.

(vv. 6-8 a later insertion.)

- ³ Hearken unto me, O House of Jacob,
And all the remnant of the House of Israel,
Who have been ^dborne^d as a load from the birth,
Who have been ^ecarried^e from the womb :
- ⁴ Even to old age I am the same,
Even to gray hairs I will give support ;
^eIt is I who have borne the burden,^e and I who will still
carry it ;
Yea, I it is who will give support and will rescue.
- ⁵ To whom will ye liken and equal me
and compare me that we may be like ?
- ⁶ *Those 'who contribute' gold from the bag
And weigh silver in the balance,
They hire a goldsmith to make of it a god ;
They bow themselves down, yea worship :*

^d (vs. 3) : *borne . . . carried* : the expressions are taken up and repeated from vs. 1 (where they = *laden on . . . lifted up*).

^e (vs. 4) : *It is I who have borne the burden* : (reading '*āmasti*'). So Duhm, Klostermann, Cheyne. Rec. Text, *it is I who have done it*.

^f (vs. 6) : *who contribute* (reading *ha-sōlim* ; cf. Job 28^{16, 19} ; Lam. 4³). So Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *they that pour out* (?), (the Hebrew word is doubtful),

- ⁷ They carry it upon the shoulder, support (its weight),
^gAnd deposit it in position;
 There it stands,^g not moving from its place:
 Yea, if one cry to it it answers not,
 It delivers not a man out of his trouble.
⁸ Remember this, and ^hown yourselves guilty.^h
 Lay it, ye ^hApostates,^h to heart!

(vv. 9–11. Continuation of vs. 5.)

- ⁹ Remember the former things of old,
 For I am God and there is none else,
 Elohim and there is none like me;
¹⁰ Who declare from the first the issue,
 From of old, things not yet accomplished;
 Who say: My purpose shall stand,
 And all My pleasure will I accomplish;
¹¹ Who have called from the East a ^jbird of prey,^j
 From a land remote the man of my purpose—
 As I have spoken I will bring it to pass;
 As I have ^kplanned^k I will accomplish.
 vv. 9–11 : three tetrastichs (the second line of the first being missing).

^g (vs. 7): *And deposit it in position; there it stands.* So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (reading *wa-ya'amōd*), and taking it with the next clause. Rec. Text: *they deposit it in position and it stands.*

^h (vs. 8): *own yourselves guilty* (reading *hithashshēmū*). So Klostermann, Cheyne. Others, *Be ashamed*, or again, *consider*. If text is kept it may, perhaps, be rendered as R.V. margin, *stand fast*.

ⁱ (vs. 8): *Apostates*, lit. *rebellious*. There seems reason to believe that even in very late times idolatry was practised in certain Jewish circles.

^j (vs. 11): *bird of prey*: so Nebuchadnezzar is called an *eagle*, Ezek. 17³; Jer. 49²².

^k (vs. 11): *planned*, lit. *formed*, *i.e.*, *foreordained*. Duhm would read *yā'atsti* (*purposed*).

(vv. 12-13. *Conclusion.*)*(Three long lines.)*

- 12 Hearken to me, ye 'down-hearted,'
 ^mwho have banished (the hope of) victory^m :
 13 I have brought nigh my (boon of) victory—it is not
 remote—
 my deliverance shall not tarry ;
 I appoint in Zion deliverance,
 for Israel my glory.

(C.) A TRIUMPHAL ODE ON THE FALL OF BABYLON.

(47¹⁻¹⁵.)

The "taunt-song" that follows recalls in several respects the ode on the King of Babylon in 14⁴⁻²¹. Babylon is here represented under the figure of a proud and luxurious queen suddenly brought low to the abject position of a slave. "This female personification of Babylon forms an effective, and no doubt intentional contrast to the figure of Zion, the desolate and bereaved widow, who is soon to be restored to the honour and joys of motherhood (Ch. 49^{14f} ; 51^{17f} ; 54)."

The ode is written throughout, probably in the rhythm of the elegy (Kinah), and, in the corrected form of the text proposed by Duhm, consists of five strophes, each containing seven long lines.

(1.)

- 47¹ Come down and sit in the dust,
 O virgin Babylon !
 On the ground be seated, throneless,
 O maiden Chaldæa !
 For no longer shalt thou be called
 The Tender, the Dainty !

l (vs. 12) : *down-hearted* (reading 'ōbēdē lēb). So most moderns. Rec. Text: *stout-hearted* (= courageous, Ps. 76⁵), here apparently = stiff-hearted, obstinate. But the context requires the meaning *dispirited, dejected*.

m (vs. 12) : *who have banished (the hope of) victory*, lit. *who are far from victory*. The word rendered *victory* in this and following verse, lit. = righteousness, i.e., Jahveh's righteousness vindicated in Israel's deliverance (cf. 45^{24f}). It is better to keep this meaning here, as in the next verse (13). Some, however, prefer to understand it here (vs. 12) as *righteousness* = right relation to God.

- 2 ^aTake the mill-stones and grind meal,^a
 Uncover thy veil ;
 Remove the skirt, uncover the leg,
 wade through rivers !^{aa}
 3 ^bI will take vengeance and not be ^centreated,^c
 ^dsays our Redeemer^d ;
 4 Jahveh Sabaoth is His name,
 Israel's Holy One.

(2.)

- 5 Sit silent, enter into darkness,
 O maiden Chaldæa !
 For no longer shalt thou be called
 The mistress of Kingdoms.
 6 I (indeed) was wroth with my people,
 profaned my heritage ;
 I gave them into thy power ; thou didst show
 unto them no pity ;
 On the aged thou madest press
 thy heavy yoke.

a (vs. 2) : *Take the millstones and grind meal* : menial occupations of a female slave ; cf. Ex. 11⁵, Job 31¹⁰. The rest of the verse probably describes other degradations involved in her new condition. Some take it to refer to hardships endured in going into exile.

aa (end of vs. 2 = 3a) : Rec. Text adds, *bared be thy nakedness, yea, let thy shame be seen*. Probably a gloss on 2b ; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, omit.

b (vs. 3) : *I will take vengeance* : it is best to read 'eḫkôm nēḫāmāh : so Grätz, Cheyne. (Rec. Text has same meaning.)

c (vs. 3) : *not be entreated* (vocalizing Hebrew Text differently), Gunning, Skinner. Perhaps it is even better to read with Klostermann, Grätz, Cheyne, 'eḫra', and *will not refrain* (cf. Ezek. 24¹⁶) : = *irreversible vengeance will I take* (Cheyne).

d (vs. 3) : *says our Redeemer* : so Klostermann, Duhm, Kittel, Gunning, Cheyne, Marti, Skinner. The emendation *says* (reading 'āmar for ādam) is supported by LXX (Codex A). By taking in *our Redeemer* from the next line metrical balance is restored, and a beautifully appropriate sense gained.

- 7 Thou saidst : 'I shall endure for ever,
 be Mistress perpetually^e ;
 Thou didst not lay /these things/ to heart,
 nor remember their issue !

(3.)

- 8 And now hear this, O Voluptuous,
 who art seated securely,
 Thou who dost say in thy heart ;
 I, and none besides !
 I shall not sit in widowhood,
 nor know the loss of children ;
 9 Therefore both these things shall come to thee,
 in a moment, on the self-same day ;
 Loss of children and widowhood ^gin full measure^g
 ^hdo come^h upon thee,
 'Despite the vast number of thy spells,
 despite thy many enchantments,
 10 And though thou wast confident in thy wickedness,
 and saidst : None sees me !

(4.)

- Behold, thy wisdom and thy knowledge—
 this has perverted thee ;
 And so thou didst say in thy heart :
 I, and none besides !
 11 Therefore calamity shall befall thee
 which thou shalt be at a loss how ⁱto charm away ;^j
 And destruction shall descend upon thee
 which thou shalt be powerless to appease ;

^e (vs. 7) : *I shall endure for ever, be Mistress perpetually.* So Hitzig and many moderns. The punctuation in Rec. Text divides the words differently : *I shall be Mistress for ever, so that,* etc.

^f (vs. 7) : *these things, i.e., thy cruelties.* She did not think of the inevitable retribution (cf. next clause).

^g (vs. 9) : *in full measure.* So Rec. Text, LXX and Syriac. *Suddenly* (reading *pith'ôm*). So Lowth, Grätz, Marti (Krochmal and Buhl would point Rec. Text *hêth'ômim = as twins*).

^h (vs. 9) : *Do come.* Klostermann, Cheyne, *shall come* (reading *impf.*).

ⁱ (vs. 9) : clauses transposed with Duhm for the sake of metre (cf. also vs. 12).

^j (vs. 11) : *to charm away* (pointing as infinitive with suffix). So Targum, Rashi, and many moderns. Others (cf. A.V.) take the word as = *its dawn* (A.V., *thou shalt not know from whence it ariseth*).

- And suddenly shall come^b crashing ruin,
 which thou shalt be at a loss how ^l(to bribe away).^l
¹² Persist, pray, with thy spells,
 and with thy many enchantments^m ;
 Perchance thou mayest somewhat avail,
 Perchance thou mayest terror inspire !

(5.)

- ¹³ Thou art wearied with thy much counsel ;
 pray let them stand forth,
 And save thee, "the dividers of heaven,"
 they that gaze on the stars,
 "The men who make known each new moon"^o
 whence (troubles) are coming^p !
¹⁴ Behold they are become like stubble,
 which the fire has burned,
 They cannot rescue themselves
 from the grasp of the flame.^q
¹⁵ Such are they^r become to thee whom
 thou didst expend thyself on from thy youth ;
 They flee staggering every one before him,
 there is none to save thee !

^k (vs. 11) : Rec. Text adds *upon thee* ; probably an accidental repetition. It spoils metre. Omit with Duhm.

^l (vs. 11) : (*to bribe away*), (reading *shahdāh* ; cf. Job 6²², Prov. 6³⁶). So Cheyne.

^m (vs. 12) : Rec. Text adds, *with which thou hast wearied thyself from thy youth* : probably cited (or accidentally repeated—or a variant reading) from v. 15 (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti).

ⁿ (vs. 13) : *the dividers of heaven, i.e.*, into the signs of the Zodiac for astrological purposes.

^o (vs. 13) : *the men who make known each new moon* : A.V. happily, *the monthly prognosticators* : *i.e.*, those who prepared monthly almanacs (astrological) in which coming disasters were foretold, lucky and unlucky days indicated, etc.

^p (vs. 13, end) : Rec. Text adds *upon thee* : "unmetrical and superfluous" (Duhm).

^q (vs. 14) : Rec. Text adds : *it is not a coal for warming oneself at ; no fire to sit before*. A prosaic addition which spoils metre. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (perhaps it is a reminiscence of 44¹⁸).

^r (vs. 15) : Rec. Text adds *even thy merchants*, "a gloss suggested by 13¹⁴, Nah. 2¹⁸, but destructive of the consistency of the stanza" (Cheyne). So Marti. Others read the word as = *thy enchanters* (so Ewald, Duhm).

(D.) PROPHECIES OLD AND NEW OF CYRUS' VICTORIOUS CAREER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: A RECAPITULATION.

(48¹⁻²².)

"The chapter is largely a recapitulation of certain outstanding themes of the prophecy, several of which are here touched upon for the last time. The references to the victories of Cyrus, the predictions of the fall of Babylon, the appeal to prophecy, and the distinction between "former things" and "new things" henceforth disappear from the circle of the author's thoughts, along with other familiar subjects such as the polemic against idolatry, and the impressive inculcation of the sole deity of Jehovah."* It thus serves to mark the end of the first great division of this part of the Book. In its present form the chapter appears to be highly composite. Interpolations have been made in such a way as to form a sort of interlinear commentary. These are indicated in the body of the following translation by italic type. The later character of these elements is accepted by Duhm, Cheyne and Marti.†

The chapter naturally falls into four sections: (a) vv. 1-11; (b) vv. 12-16; (c) vv. 17-19; and (d) vv. 20-21 with an appended editorial vs. 22.

(a.) vv. 1-11.

A vindication of Jahveh's methods of revealing His will to Israel: Prophecy proves Jahveh's control of events.

- 48¹ Hear ye this, O House of Jacob,
Who are called by the name of Israel,
And from the loins^a of Judah have issued,
Who swear by the Name of Jahveh,
And celebrate the God of Israel—
Not indeed truthfully nor rightfully—
² *For after the Holy City they call themselves,*
And on Israel's God do rely
Whose Name is Jahveh Sabaoth.
³ The former things long ago I declared
 From my mouth they issued forth and I announced them;
 Suddenly I wrought and they came to pass,
⁴ *Because I knew thou wast obstinate,*
And thy neck an iron band,
And thy forehead brass.

a (vs. 1): *loins* (reading *mē'ē*): so Secker, Duhm, and many moderns. Rec. Text: *waters* (the metaphor may be explained from Ps. 68²⁴, the ancestor of a nation compared to a cistern).

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

† The interpolated matter, written by a post-Exilic editor, consists largely of "severe reproachful remarks addressed to his contemporaries, who had fallen back, as he considered into obstinate unbelief" (Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 301, where see a detailed discussion on the question).

- ⁶ I declared it to thee long ago,
 · Before it came to pass announced it to thee,
 · *Lest thou should'st say: My idol wrought them,*
 · *My graven and my molten image appointed them.*
- ⁶ Thou hast heard ^b
 And 'thou^c—wilt thou not ^dbear witness^d to it?
 I announce to thee new events henceforth,
 'Things secret^e which thou hast not known.
- ⁷ Now—not long ago—are they created,
 'In former times^f thou heard'st them not,
Lest thou should'st say: Behold I knew them.
- ⁸ Thou, indeed, hast neither heard nor known them,
 Nor was thine ear (then) opened long ago,
 · *For I knew how utterly treacherous thou art,*
 · *That thou wast called: Apostate from the birth.*
- ⁹ For my Name's sake I defer mine anger,
 And for my praise ^gdo pity thee^g that I may not cut thee off.
- ¹⁰ Behold, I have refined thee, but not ^hwith gain of silver^h;
 I have tried thee in the furnace ⁱin vain.ⁱ
- ¹¹ 'For my Name's sake^j will I do it—
 For how is it profaned
 And my glory to another will I not give.

^b (vs. 6). Rec. Text has *see it all*, probably a conjectural reading supplied by the editor to take the place of some illegible words (Duhm).

^c (vs. 6): *thou*: so Duhm, Cheyne. Rec. Text: *ye*.

^d (vs. 6): *bear witness*: (reading *tā'id*). So Duhm, Cheyne. Rec. Text: (ye) *declare*.

^e (vs. 6): *things secret*, lit. "things kept" (in reserve): that this meaning is a possible one is shown by the usage of the word in Assyrian. (See Haupt's note on this verse in *S.B.O.T.* Hebrew Text, p. 143.) Cheyne proposes *things difficult* (*bētsūrōh*, cf. Jer. 33³).

^f (vs. 7): *in former times* (*formerly*), (reading *lēfānīm*). So Klostermann, Cheyne, and others. Rec. Text: *heretofore* (lit. ? *before this day*).

^g (vs. 9): *do pity thee*: (reading *'eḥmōl'alēkhā*). So Grätz, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text: *I do muzzle (my anger) for thee*.

^h (vs. 10): *with gain of silver* (Cheyne): the phrase is difficult and uncertain; this rend. = with silver as a result. Others as *silver* (*i.e.*, as severely as silver is tried).

ⁱ (vs. 10): *in vain* (reading *hinnām*: cf. 52^{3, 6}). So Klostermann, Cheyne. Rec. Text: (*in the furnace*) of affliction.

^j (vs. 11): *for my Name's sake* (reading *lēma'an shēmī*). So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (*name* is implied by the following clause, *how is it profaned*) Rec. Text: *for mine own sake, for mine own sake*.

(b.) vv. 12-16.

The substance of the "new things" of vs. 6 is that Cyrus accomplishes Jahveh's will on the Chaldeans.

- 12 Hearken unto me, O Jacob,
and Israel, My Called One :
 ^kI am (ever) the same, I the first,
 . . . I also the last.^k
- 13 Yea, 'twas My hand founded the earth
and My right hand spread out the heavens,
 ^lWhen unto them I do call
 they stand forth together.^l
- 14 Assemble yourselves all and hearken ;
 Who among them has declared these things ?
 ^m(Who) has brought him^m to work His pleasure on
 Babylon,
 ⁿ(to manifest)ⁿ His arm on Chaldæa ?
- 15 It is I, myself, who have spoken, and also called him,
 have brought him and made prosperous his way.
- 16 ^oIn secret have I not spoken,
 ^pFrom the time it came about I have announced.^p

^k (vs. 12) : *I am (ever) the same . . . last* : cf. 41⁴, 44⁶.

^l (vs. 13) : *When unto them I do call*, etc. Cf. Ps. 33⁹. The heavens (already created) obey Jahveh's summons at once.

^m (vs. 14) : (*who*) *has brought him* (deleting *Jahveh* and reading *hēbi'ō* : cf. vs. 15b). So Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has (*he*) *whom Jahveh loves (shall work, etc.)*. This reading could easily have arisen out of the one adopted above. Cyrus is, of course, referred to.

ⁿ (vs. 14) : (*to manifest*) : so, following Targum, Cheyne, Marti (reading *wēyōdi'a* or *wigallēh*. Cf. 53¹). Rec. Text omits.

^o (vs. 16). Rec. Text prefixes, *Draw nigh, hear ye this*. Probably a late insertion (Cheyne, Marti). The verse has also received an addition at the end : *And now the Lord Jahveh has sent me and His spirit (i.e., the prophetic spirit with which He has endowed His prophet ; as in Zech. 7¹² ; Is. 61¹)*. Here the prophet is the speaker. In the original form of the verse (as given above) Jahveh is the speaker.

^p (vs. 16) : *from the time it came about I have announced* (reading *hishma'ti*), i.e., new things. The fulfilment of old predictions gives occasion for the utterance of new prophecies, and also for interpreting the real inner significance of passing events. *From the time it* (sc. the call and advent of Cyrus) *came about I have announced (new things)*. For *I have announced*, Rec. Text has *there am I*. [Omit from the beginning before *in secret*, etc., as correlated to *and now*, last clause.]

(c.) vv. 17-19.

The Blessing of Obedience.

A passage of singular beauty, but written from a standpoint altogether different from that of Deutero-Isaiah. The writer is not looking forward to deliverance from captivity, but expresses disappointment that Israel has not followed its Divine Guide, and kept the Divine Law. This is the standpoint of later Judaism. The passage also breaks the connexion between the song of triumph (vs. 20 f.) and the antecedent announcement of deliverance (vv. 12-16a). So Duhm, Cheyne, Skinner, Marti. The verses have a striking parallel in Ps. 81¹⁴⁻¹⁷.

- ¹⁷ Thus says Jahveh thy redeemer,
 Israel's Holy One :
 I am Jahveh thy God,
 Who teach thee for thy profit.
 Who lead thee in the way thou shouldst go.
 Oh that thou hadst hearkened to my commands !
 Then had thy peace been as a river,
 And thy prosperity as the waves of the sea :
¹⁸ Thy seed also had been as the sand,
 ^aAnd thine offspring as the dust^a ;
 Neither cut off nor destroyed
 ^rwould thy name be^r before me !

vv. 20-21 (22).

Lyrical conclusion : (sequel to vs. 16).

The song of the redeemed at the second Exodus : the words are placed in the mouth of the redeemed people. The song consists of seven distichs made up of short lines.

- ²⁰ Come out from Babylon,
 Flee from Chaldæa !
 With sounds of jubilation declare it,
 Make this announcement !

^a (vs. 19) : *And thine offspring as the dust* (reading *wētse'ētsā'ēkā kēmō 'āfār*). So Marti (Cheyne, and *the offspring of thy loins as the dust of the earth* : but this introduces an abnormally long line in the midst of a series of properly constructed ones). The addition of *the earth after dust* is unnecessary in such a connexion ; cf. Job 27¹⁸, Zech. 9³. Rec. Text has *and the offspring of thy loins like the grains thereof* (sc. of the sea). [Here *mē'ēkā* is due to dittography with the following word, probably, and *kim'ōthār* is a corruption of *kēmi 'āfār*].

^r (vs. 19) : *would thy name be* : as it is now : the writer brings his view down to his present. *Thy name*, so Marti. Rec. Text : *its name*.

- Publish it abroad
to the end of the earth !
Say : Jahveh has redeemed
His servant Jacob !
21 'He led them through deserts,
and they thirsted not'^s ;
Water from the rock
He made flow for them ;
Yea, He cleft the rock
and the water gushed out.
22 [*There is no peace, says Jahveh, for the godless.*]^t
-

^s (vs. 21) : clauses transposed (Haupt), improving metre.

^t (vs. 22). This verse is a late interpolation from 57²¹, where it has a logical connexion with its context. Here it has none.

B. BOOK II.

APPENDIX TO THE ORIGINAL PROPHECIES OF
DEUTERO-ISAIAH

(with some inserted matter).

CHAPTERS 49-55.

THESE chapters are distinguished from 40-48 by the sudden disappearance from them of the main thoughts and themes that mark the first part of Deutero-Isaiah's work. The insistence on God's uniqueness, and creative power; the unreal character of idols and idolatry; the commission of Cyrus, the exodus from Babylon—these subjects no longer figure in the author's writing as formerly. Zion-Jerusalem and its future glory occupy the central place, "and in place of the return from Babylon the gathering in of the Israelites scattered throughout the world to Zion is prominently set forth (49^{10-12, 22}; 56⁸)."*

The population of Zion, it is implied, is sparse and a great increase is promised. Zion is now despised, but in the glorious future that awaits her things will be different. In 52¹² the writer addresses a summons to the exiles to depart from Babylon—but not now in haste. This would suit a later time than the glowing exhortations in 40-48. Phraseologically these chapters (49-55) can hardly be distinguished from 40-48. Such slight differences as do exist may easily be explained as due to the difference of the themes treated, and to the later date of the writing.†

* Cornill, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

† Cheyne (*S.B.O.T.*, Hebrew, p. 126) notes the following differences: (a) nowhere in 49-55 does the group of persons addressed bear the names (so familiar in 40-48) of *Jacob* and *Israel* [but the prophet is *not* addressing surely the same group of persons; in these chapters he addresses mainly Zion-Jerusalem]; (b) in 52¹ Jerusalem is called *the Holy City*, a late phrase; (c) Adjectives and participles in feminine plural used as neuter substantives are conspicuous in 40-48, but absent in 49-55; [these differences can be explained by difference of theme].

On the whole it is most probable that these chapters were written some years later than 40-48 by Deutero-Isaiah. They may have been composed, as Cornill supposes, "under the immediate impression produced by the issue of the edict in which Cyrus gave permission to the exiles to return home." The appended chapters were probably not written in Palestine, but Babylonia; and this fact may serve to explain the writer's lack of grasp on concrete realities. He views the Jerusalem community through a haze.*

Cheyne, however, holds that the appended chapters were written "after the introduction of Ezra's law-book (432 B.C.), not in Palestine, however, but in Babylonia. The writer had the two-fold object of encouraging the community of Zion, and of inducing more exiles to take part in the great work devolving upon that community." The "twofold-object" here described may very well have been that of Deutero-Isaiah himself, writing after 536 B.C. (year of issue of Cyrus's decree). To ascribe these chapters to another writer and to so late a date as 432 is unnecessary, and, moreover, fails to explain the remarkable resemblance in style and phraseology which these chapters display with Ch. 40-48 (contrast, in these respects, Ch. 56-66).

This section of the Book falls into two main divisions:

- (I) 49¹-54¹⁷ having for its theme the re-establishment and glorious future of Israel and of Zion;
- and (II) 55¹⁻¹³: a call to embrace the coming salvation.

(I.) THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT AND GLORIOUS FUTURE OF ISRAEL AND OF ZION.

(49¹-54¹⁷.)

The whole section falls into the following subdivisions:

- A. The Servant of Jahveh: his fidelity and the ultimate accomplishment of his mission (containing the second of the Servant-Songs), (49¹⁻¹³);
- B. The Consolation of Zion (49¹⁴-50³);

* Cheyne (*S.B.O.T.*, English edition, p. 210) notes that the phrase *the people in whose heart is my teaching* (51⁷) is "a most inappropriate description for the people described by Haggai and Zechariah (520 B.C.). Not less inapplicable to the Jews of Judæa is the beautiful rhetoric of 55^{1, 2}, with its appeal, *Why should ye spend money for that which is not bread?*"

- C. The Servant's trust in Jahveh unshaken by suffering (containing the third of the Servant-Songs), (50⁴⁻¹¹);
 D. Divine Help is nigh and assured; a consolatory exhortation (51¹⁻¹⁰);
 E. Jerusalem's Deliverance from Oppression (51^{17-52¹³});
 F. The Martyr's supreme Reward (the fourth and last of the Servant-Songs), (52^{13-53¹²});
 G. Jerusalem's future felicity and glory (54¹⁻¹⁷).

(A.) THE SERVANT OF JAHVEH: HIS FIDELITY, AND THE
 ULTIMATE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF HIS MISSION.

(Containing the second of the "Servant-Songs.")

(49¹⁻¹³.)

As in 42^{1f}, the actual "Song" (vv. 1-6) is followed by some linking verses (7-12) which were composed by the hand that inserted the "Songs" into the expanded work of Deutero-Isaiah.

(1.) *The second of the Songs of the Servant of Jahveh.*

(49¹⁻⁶.)

Here the Servant speaks for himself, and describes in beautiful language his preparation for his mission. But in spite of this he had experienced moments of doubt and misgiving—due to the apparent failure of his work in Israel. These doubts were met and dispelled by a fresh revelation. Henceforth his prophetic work is not to be confined to *raising up the tribes of Jacob* (though this has first to be accomplished before the wider mission can begin). *Therefore, Jahveh says, I set thee for a light of the nations that my deliverance may be to the end of the earth.*

The poem consists of six quatrains, the metre being identical with that in the first of the "Songs" (42¹⁻⁴).

(*The Servant speaks.*)

- ¹ Harken, ye coastlands, unto me,
 And attend, ye nations, from afar!
 Jahveh has called me from the womb,
 From my mother's lap made mention of my name;
- ² He made my mouth like a sharp sword,
 In the shadow of His hand He hid me;
 He made me a polished shaft,
 In His quiver concealed me;

^a He said to me : Thou art my Servant,
^aIn whom I will make myself glorious :
 (5b) ^bAnd I was honoured in Jahveh's sight,
 And my God became my strength.^b

⁴ But as for me, I said : for naught have I laboured ;
 To no purpose, vainly, have I spent my strength ;
 Nevertheless my right is with Jahveh,
 And my recompense with my God.

(5a) But now Jahveh doth say—
 He who formed me from the womb to be His servant,
 To bring Jacob back unto Him,
^cAnd that Israel might not be swept away^c :

⁶ 'Tis too light a thing^d to upraise the tribes of Jacob,
 And the preserved of Israel to restore ;
 So I make thee a light of the nations,
 That my deliverance may be to the end of the earth.

(2.) *The connecting verses (7–12), Appendix to the above.*

This section is very closely connected with the preceding "song," which forms a sort of text to it. It, however, restricts itself almost entirely to the thought of Israel's restoration, which theme is developed in vv. 8–12; the larger mission of the Servant to the outside world is dismissed in vs. 7. The metrical articulation is not quite clear, but it apparently falls into seven quatrains, the rhythm not being essentially different from—though far less artistically developed than—that of the preceding "Song."

a (vs. 3) : Rec. Text adds *Israel*. Omitted by Klostermann, Duhm, Cheyne as a gloss (so one Hebrew MSS., but all the versions give it). It may have been suggested by 44²³.

b Duhm happily combines 5b with 3 to form the third quatrain. So Cheyne. The rearrangement much improves the sequence.

c (vs. 5a) : *And that Israel might not be swept away* : so Hebrew Text may be rendered (Duhm) ; others *that Israel might be gathered to him*. Marti proposes to make Jahveh's speech begin here and renders (reading 'ešsof) : *I will gather Israel*.

d (vs. 6). Rec. Text adds *that thou shouldst be to me a servant*. This spoils metre ; omit with Duhm, Cheyne.

- ⁷ Thus says Jahveh
 Israel's Redeemer and Holy One,
 To him who is ^adespised of man,^a abhorred of the people,
 The servant of tyrants :

Kings shall see ^bit^b and ^carise,^c
 Princes, and do homage ;
 Because of Jahveh who is true,
 And of Israel's Holy One who chose thee.

- ⁸ Thus says Jahveh
^a(Israel's Redeemer and Holy One)^a :
 In a time of favour do I answer thee,
 And in a day of deliverance help thee^e ;

In raising up the ^f(ruined) land,^f
 In allotting the desolate heritages ;

- ⁹ Saying to the prisoners : Go forth !
 And to those in darkness : Show yourselves !

They shall pasture on all ways,
^gEven on all bare heights shall their pasture be :

- ¹⁰ They shall neither hunger nor thirst,
 Nor shall the ^hhot wind^h or the sun smite them :

a (vs. 7) : *despised of men* (reading *nibzeh 'enôsh*). So Budde (making the parallelism with next expression complete). Others (keeping *nefesh* of Rec. Text) render *who is deeply despised* (lit. *despised of soul*, i.e., heartily ; cf. Ps. 17⁹, *my deadly enemies* = they that hate me in soul, soulfully).

b (vs. 7) : *it*, viz., the exaltation of Israel.

c (vs. 7) : *arise* in amazement. The verse is remarkable as anticipating the main thought of 52¹³⁻⁵³ (the great suffering servant-passage).

d (vs. 8) : a line is missing ; perhaps it can be supplied from 7.

e (vs. 8). Rec. Text adds here *and form thee and set thee as a people's covenant*. Probably a late gloss derived from 42⁶ after the latter had become corrupt (cf. note there). So Duhm. It may have been written here in the margin and thence have got into the text.

f (*ruined*) *land* : a word is required with *land* to correspond to *desolate* (with heritages). Marti suggests *'erets häriûth* (cf. vs. 19). The subject here (in *raising . . . allotting . . . saying*) is Jahveh. *The prisoners* and *those in darkness* = the exiles. Cf. 42⁷.

g (vs. 9) : *even on all bare heights*, etc. Cf. 41¹⁸.

h (vs. 10) : *hot wind*. So LXX. (The sirocco, not the mirage.)

- For ⁱHe who compassionatesⁱ them leads them,
 And to brimming fountains guides them ;
 11 And I will make ⁱall mountainsⁱ a road,
 And highways shall be lifted up.
- 12 Behold, these from afar do they come,
^k(And these from the end of the earth)^k ;
 And behold these from ⁱthe sea (do come)
 And these from the land of the ^mSyenites.^m

(3.) Lyric conclusion.

- 13 Ring out jubilantly, O heavens, and exult, O Earth !
 Let the mountains break forth into jubilation !
 For Jahveh comforts His people,
 And His afflicted ones compassionates.

i (vs. 10) : *He who compassionates them.* Cf. vs. 13 ; 54¹⁹.

j (vs. 11) : *all mountains.* So Grätz, Cheyne, Marti (with Targum, Syriac ; cf. LXX). Rec. Text : *my mountains* (= ? mountains of Palestine) a difficult expression of uncertain meaning. So Rec. Text has *my highway* in the same way.

(vs. 12) : This verse describes dramatically the return of the exiles from remote parts of the earth.

k (vs. 12) : (*And these from the end of the earth.*) This clause is supplied by Cheyne ; so Marti.

l (vs. 12) : Rec. Text adds here *from the north and* (interpolated from Ps. 107⁹). Omit with Cheyne, Marti.

m (vs. 12) : *Syenites* (reading *sewēnim*) ; cf. Ezek. 29¹⁰, 30⁶. *Syene* (*Aswān*), the southern limit of Egypt (identical with the island of Elephantine, where, as the recently discovered papyri show, there was a Jewish settlement in the fifth century B.C., and no doubt earlier). Thus the three great centres of the Jewish Dispersion are here represented : Babylonia ("the ends of the earth"), the sea with its coastlands, and Egypt (cf. Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 275). Rec. Text has *Sinim*. [Sin = Pelusium cannot be right, as it lay on the frontier of Egypt, near Palestine ; that Sinim = China is also an untenable theory, now largely abandoned.]

Vs. 13 concludes the passage on the Servant ; cf. 42^{10, 11} ; 45⁸ ; 44²³ ; 48^{20, 21}.

(B.) THE CONSOLATION OF ZION.

(49¹⁴-50³.)

The passage divides into two parts:

- (1) The speedy rebuilding of Jerusalem and the return of its population promised (49¹⁴⁻²¹);
- (2) Three oracles confirming the promises to Zion (49^{22-50³}).

(1.) THE SPEEDY REBUILDING OF JERUSALEM AND THE RETURN OF ITS POPULATION PROMISED.

(49¹⁴⁻²¹.)

This poem forms the counterpart to the ode of triumph on Babylon contained in Ch. 46. It is marked by a strongly emotional tone. Zion, "the idealized city," is pictured as the wife of Jahveh and the mother of her inhabitants. Though now forsaken and childless she is assured of Jahveh's unalterable affection, and soon she shall experience the joy of being a mother again. The amazement and joyful surprise with which she recognizes her children offer a fine contrast to the picture in the opening verses. (Note also the contrasted pictures of Zion's fate and that of the "Virgin Babylon"). The poem is constructed in long lines which probably ought to be grouped in seven strophes of three lines each.

49¹⁴ But Zion said: Jahveh has forsaken me,
and ^amy Lord^a forgotten me!

15 Can a woman forget her suckling,
have no compassion on the son of her womb?
Should even these forget
yet will I not forget thee!

16 Behold on ^bMy hands^b ^cI have graven
(O Zion), thy walls^c;
^d(Thy waste places)^d are ever before Me:
^eThy builders^e make haste,
(While) those who have ruined and wasted thee
from thee go forth.

^a (vs. 14): *my Lord*: Rec. Text: as pointed, *the Lord*. Jahveh is represented as Zion's husband.

^b (vs. 16): *my hands* (reading with LXX *kappai*), lit. *my palms*. So Cheyne. Another reading (Syriac) is *palms of my hands*.

^c (vs. 16): *I have graven, O Zion, thy walls*. So Marti (Cheyne partly). *Zion* is added to complete the second part of the line. Rec. Text has *I have graven thee: thy walls (are ever before me)*.

^d (vs. 16): (*thy waste places*), (reading *horbothayik*). So Marti.

^e (vs. 17): *Thy builders* (pointing *bōnaik*). So Versions and many moderns; it suits context (walls, ruins, etc.). Rec. Text: *Thy sons* (a difference of pointing only).

18 ^dLift up thine eyes round about and see ;
 they are all assembled,
 They come to thee (I swear it), as I live—
 is Jahveh's oracle ;
 Yea, with them all as with an ornament shalt thou clothe
 thyself,
 and fasten them on as a bride (her girdle).

19 ^eFor thy waste and desolate places,
 and thy ruined land,

For then thou shalt be too strait for thy inhabitants,
^hDevouring foes^h shall be far away ;
 20 ⁱEven yet shall this cry resound in thine earsⁱ
 from ^jthe sons of thy bereavement^j :
 This place is too strait for me,
 make way that I may dwell !

d (vs. 18). Zion adorns herself with her returned children as a bride with her jewels. For the figure of the bride cf. vs. 14 above ; Jer. 2³².

e (vs. 18) : the division of the lines is that adopted by Duhm and Marti. In the usual rendering *As I live* introduces the following clause : (*As I live, says Jahveh, thou shalt clothe thee with them all, etc.*).

f (vs. 18) : *and fasten them on as a bride (her girdle)*. The verb *fasten on* (*kishshar*) suggests the ornamental girdle (*kishshurim*) which formed part of a bride's trousseau. Cf. Jer. 23³ (*Can a bride forget . . . her girdle ?*).

g (vs. 19) : vs. 19a contains the first line of a strophe, the other two of which are missing (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti).

h (vs. 19) : *Devouring foes*, lit. *those who swallowed thee up*.

i (vs. 20) : *even yet shall this cry resound in thine ears*, lit. *they shall yet say in thy hearing*. (The mother overhears the talk of her young and vigorous sons.)

j (vs. 20) : *the sons of thy bereavement, i.e., those born in the time of Zion's bereavement* (see next verse).

- 21 Thou, indeed, shalt say in thine heart :
 Who has borne me these,
 Seeing I am childless and unfruitful^k ?
 And these, who has brought them up ?
 Behold, I was left solitary, alone ;
 ^lAnd these, who then are they ?^l

(2.) THREE SHORT ORACLES CONFIRMING THE PROMISES TO ZION.

(49^{22-50³}.)

The metre of vv. 1-13 reappears.

(a.) 49²²⁻²³.

The restoration of the exiles effected spontaneously by the nations. "The conception is intermediate between that of Ch. 45^{14f}, where the nations acknowledge the divinity of Jahveh and the religious supremacy of Israel, and that of 60^{4, 8}; 66²⁰; cf. 11^{11, 12}."*

There is a sharp contrast in the representation given in vs. 22 (the nations anxiously and tenderly bringing back the exiles), and vs. 23a (their kings and queens doing homage, licking the dust of Israel's feet). The latter does not harmonize with the conceptions of Deutero-Isaiah, but reflects rather the spirit of later Judaism. Probably therefore vs. 23a is a later addition.

- 22 Thus says the Lord,
 ^aJahveh
 Lo, I lift up my Hand to the nations,
 And to the peoples raise up my banner ;

^k (vs. 21) : Rec. Text adds, *exiled and put away* (divorced). These words are lacking in the LXX ; they introduce a feature out of harmony with the rest of the verse (it is not Zion that is exiled, but her children).

^l (vs. 21) : *And these, who then are they ?* (reading *wē-ēlleh mi 'ēfo hem* cf. Judg. 8¹⁸ and Moore's note on text). [The addition of *and* before *these* is supported by LXX, Cheyne, Marti.] Rec. Text has *and these, where are they ?* (Dillmann, *these how (is it) with them*, giving *'ēfō* a highly uncertain meaning.)

^a (vs. 22) : the second line is imperfect. For the gestures here described : lifting the hand as a signal, cf. 13² ; signal with the banner, 5²⁶ ; 11^{10, 12} ; 62¹⁰.

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

And they shall bring thy sons ^bin the bosom,^b
 And thy daughters shall be carried on the shoulder^c ;
 (23b) And thou shalt know that I am Jahveh
 In whom those who hope shall not be put to shame.

(b.) 49 24-26.

The text of this passage appears to be in some disorder. *For thus says Jahveh* is clearly out of place at the beginning of vs. 25 ; it ought to precede the introductory verse of the oracle (vs. 24). In vs. 26 also the last clause adds a superfluous line to the stanza. It will fall into place well if added to the opening clause above. It may, as Duhm suggests, have been displaced from its original position in order to make the end of vs. 26 have the same sequence as 60^{18b}. Marti regards vs. 24 as a gloss. But Duhm rightly says this is unjustifiable in view of the fact that the proverb is constructed in exactly the same way as that of the mother in vs. 15, and forms a counterpart to it. In vs. 24 *righteous one* (*tsaddik*) must be a scribal error for *tyrant* ('*arits*). So the Peshitto, Targum.

The oracle declares that Jahveh's strength is more than a match for any force that can be arrayed against it.

*Can the prey be taken from a man of might,
 or the captives of a tyrant escape ?*

Yes, even this (unlikely as it is) *can* happen ; but not so in the case of Jahveh, who will plead Zion's cause, and deliver her sons against all the power that can be brought against Him. The last vs. (26) expresses a thought (*I will cause thine oppressors to eat their own flesh*) which is a common feature in later eschatology (cf. Ezek. 38²¹ ; Hag. 2²² ; Zech. 14¹³), denoting internecine conflict, but sounds somewhat strange in Deutero-Isaiah.

b (vs. 22) : *in the bosom* : *i.e.*, of the garment, where little children were carried ; cf. Numb. 11¹² (*Carry them in thy bosom as a nursing father carries the sucking child*). The expressions are of course metaphorical, denoting the tender care with which the nations lead the exiles back.

c (vs. 22) : here follows vs. 23a in Rec. Text :

*And kings shall be thy foster-fathers,
 And their queens thy nursing mothers :
 With faces to earth they shall do thee homage,
 And the dust of thy feet shall they lick.*

Probably a later addition (see above).

- ^a[For thus says Jahveh
Thy Redeemer, the Hero of Jacob]^a :
- ²⁴ Can the prey be taken from a man of might,
Or the captives of a ^btyrant^b escape ?
- ²⁵ Yea, even the captives of a man of might may be taken,
And the prey of a tyrant escape ;
^cBut thy cause will I plead^c
And thy sons will I deliver.
- ²⁶ I will cause thine oppressors to eat their own flesh,
With their own blood as with new wine shall they be
And all flesh shall know [drunken,
That I, Jahveh, am thy deliverer.

(c.) Ch. 50¹⁻³.

The third oracle meets another difficulty which must have been felt by the Exiles, viz., that the covenant relation between Jahveh and Israel (Zion)—figured under the relationship of husband and wife—had been irretrievably broken.

Duhm regards vv. 2b, 3 as suspicious on the ground that they introduce an idea which does not harmonise with the context. But as Gunkel (*Chaos*, p. 98 f.) has pointed out, the difficulty disappears if the verses in question are viewed as containing an allusion to well-known current traditional material regarding Jahveh's work at creation. The God who had performed such marvels as those here referred to—" parching " the sea, " making rivers a desert," etc.—is able to rescue and redeem Israel. The force of the illustration depends upon the presumption that an appeal is being made to a tradition that was thoroughly familiar to the original readers of the prophecy. The prophet is simply citing something that everybody would at once have recognised. An even more striking instance is met with in Ch. 51⁹⁻¹¹. Allusions to the same creation-tradition occur elsewhere in the O.T. For the " parching " (drying up) of the sea, cf. Is. 51¹⁰ ; Ps. 74¹⁵ (also Ezek. 30¹²) : through Jahveh's " rebuke," Ps. 68³⁰ (31) ; 104⁷ ; for the fish dying on dry land, cf. Ezek. 29⁵ ; and for the heavens " in mourning " Ezek. 32^{7f}. These verses (2b, 3) as being a citation from tradition, are here printed in small capital type.

^a The first clause is transposed from vs. 25a ; the second from vs. 26, end. (So Duhm.)

^b (vs. 24) : *tyrant* (reading 'ārits). So Peshitto, Targum, and most moderns. Rec. Text has a *righteous one* ; for the exegetical difficulties involved in explaining this see the Commentaries (especially Skinner, *ad loc.*).

^c (vs. 25) : *But thy cause* (reading rībēk ; one letter different from Rec. Text) *will I plead*. So Duhm, Marti. Rec. Text : *but with him who contends with thee I will contend*.

50¹ Thus says Jahveh

^a^a
^bWhere, then, is your mother's bill of divorce
 With which I put her away? ^b

^cOr to which of my creditors is it
 To whom I have sold you? ^c

^dBehold for your iniquities were ye sold
 And for your rebellions was your mother put away.^d

² ^eWhy when I came was there no one?
 When I called was there none to answer?
 Is my hand too short to redeem?
 Have I no strength to rescue?

BEHOLD WITH MY REBUKE I PARCH THE SEA,
 I MAKE RIVERS A DESERT;
 THEIR FISH 'DRY UP' FOR LACK OF WATER,
^eAND THEIR MONSTERS ON THIRSTY LAND.^e

³ I CLOTHE THE HEAVENS^h IN MOURNING,
 AND SACKCLOTH^h I MAKE THEIR COVERING.

.

a (vs. 1) : again a line missing after the introductory formula.

b (vs. 1) : *where . . . away*. No such document exists—the door has not been closed against reconciliation (a *bill of divorce* made the return of the wife impossible; cf. Deut. 24 1-4).

c (vs. 1) : a rhetorical question—Jahveh has no creditors.

d (vs. 1) : *Behold for your iniquities*, etc. The true explanation of their incurring such consequences as slavery is, not that Jahveh has sold them, but because they have sinned grievously.

e (vs. 2) : Why has the divine message of redemption (uttered through the prophet) aroused so little enthusiasm? Is it possible that doubt exists as to Jahveh's capacity to redeem and rescue?

f (vs. 2) : *dry up* (reading *tibash*); so LXX, Lowth, Gunkel, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text, *stink* (cf. Ex. 7 18).

g (vs. 2) : *And their monsters on thirsty land* (reading *Abēhemtām ba-tseme'ah*); so Gunkel, Cheyne. Rec. Text: *and die of thirst*.

h (vs. 3) : *mourning . . . sackcloth*. The darkening of the heavens is a feature that appears in the Babylonian myth of the conflict with Chaos and its associates.

- ^cIn the morning He wakens^c mine ear
 that I may listen disciple-like ;
⁵ ^dAnd I—I have not been rebellious,
 have not turned back.
⁶ ^eMy back I gave to the smiters
 and my cheeks to those who plucked out the beard ;
 My face I did not hide
 from ^finsult and spitting.^f
⁷ ^gBut the Lord Jahveh will help me—
 therefore am I not confounded ;
 Therefore I have made my face like flint
 and know I shall not be put to shame.
⁸ Nigh is my Vindicator ; who will contend with me ?
 ^hLet us stand forth together^h !
 Who is ⁱthe man who opposes my causeⁱ ?
 Let him draw nigh me !

c (vs. 4) : *In the morning He wakens*. In the Rec. Text these words are repeated (a copyist's mistake : *He wakens morning by morning, He wakens*) ; omit with Cheyne, Duhm. For the phrase *in the morning* cf. the standing expression in Jeremiah, *rising up early and* (Jer. 7¹², 35⁵ ; 11⁷ ; 25³, etc.). Here it emphasizes the continuous and unbroken character of the new revelation given to the Servant. In constant communion with Jahveh he repeatedly hears the divine voice directing and guiding him.

d (vs. 5) : Rec. Text adds (at the beginning of the verse), *The Lord Jahveh has opened mine ear* (i.e., given me a revelation ; cf. I Sam. 9¹⁵) ; a variant on the last clause of vs. 4. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (it overloads the verse metrically, and spoils the logical sequence).

e (vs. 6) : *my back*, etc. : for the figure cf. Ps. 129³ (of the sufferings of Israel—the plowers plowed upon my back) : *plucked out the beard* (cf. Neh. 13²⁵) ; the beard is regarded in the East as a symbol of dignity ; cf. 7²⁰.

f (vs. 6) : *insult and spitting* (reading *kêlimmûth*) ; cf. Deut. 25⁹ ; S. Matt. 26⁶⁷, etc.

g (vs. 7) : for the whole verse cf. 42⁷ : *I have made my face like flint* (a figure expressing unflinching determination) ; cf. Ezek. 3⁸, 9.

vv. 8-9 : The Servant's vindication asserted in forensic language (so often in the Book of Job). Cf. for the whole passage Rom. 8³¹⁻³⁵.

h (vs. 8) : *let us stand forth together* ; cf. 41¹ ; 47¹², 13.

i (vs. 8) : *the man who opposes my cause*, lit. *the master of my cause* (*dominus litis*), i.e., one who has a case against another before a judicial tribunal ; cf. Ex. 24¹⁴ (*whoever has a cause* ; Hebrew, *ba'al dēbārim*).

⁹ Behold, the Lord Jahveh will help me—
Who then can ^jworst me? ⁱ

^kBehold they shall all fall to pieces like a garment,
the moth shall consume them.^k

(2.) APPENDIX ADAPTING THE PRECEDING TO LATER TIMES.

(50¹⁰⁻¹¹; added by a later hand.)

The line of cleavage between the pious and the godless within the nation is even more sharply drawn in these verses, which are justly regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a later appendix. Notice their improving and hortatory tone. The circumstances pre-supposed are those of the later Jerusalem community (cf. 57¹⁶; 66²). There are points of contact with Trito-Isaiah. The two verses form two strophes each consisting of three double lines.

¹⁰ *Whoever among you is a fearer of Jahveh,*
let him hearken to the voice of His Servant;
Whoever doth walk in darkness,
with no gleam of light^m;
Let him trust in the Name of Jahveh,
and rely on his God.

¹¹ *Behold, all ye who kindle a fire,*
who set firebrands aflameⁿ;
Begone into the flame of your fire
and into the firebrands ye have lighted!
At my hand this is appointed you—
that ye lie in a place of torment^o!

j (vs. 9): *worst me, i.e.,* prove in the wrong, condemn (the opposite of *vindicate* above).

k (vs. 9): *Behold they all, etc.* For the image cf. the parallel passage 51⁶⁻⁸. The foes in view are probably oppressive fellow-countrymen (cf. the similar situation depicted in Jer. 17^{17f.}; 20^{7, 11f.}; Ps. 22^{6 f.}, etc.). Marti, however, interprets of foreign foes oppressing Israel.

l (vs. 10): *let him hearken* (reading *yishma'*). So LXX, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has participle (*that hearkens . . . that walks, etc.*).

m (vs. 10): *walk in darkness with no gleam of light*; cf. 9¹. The expressions are metaphorical, indicating a state of distress with no visible prospect of deliverance.

In vs. 11 the ungodly majority in Israel are addressed: *fire* and *firebrands* are metaphorical expressions denoting the plottings and machinations of the anti-religious party (wickedness is compared to a fire in Ch. 9¹⁷ (E.V. 9¹⁸)).

n (vs. 11): *who set firebrands aflame* (reading *m'ivré* for *me'azzéré* with Secker and most moderns). Rec. Text has *that give yourselves about with firebrands* (cf. Prov. 26¹⁸), but this does not suit the figure.

o (vs. 11): *a place of torment, i.e.,* Gehenna, cf. 66²⁴.

(D.) DIVINE HELP IS NIGH AND ASSURED : A CONSOLATORY EXHORTATION.

(51¹⁻¹⁶.)

The Prophet resumes the strain of buoyant hopefulness and encouragement, which was interrupted by the soliloquy of the Servant.

The section falls into three parts, viz., (1) vv. 1-8; (2) vv. 9-10; and (3) vv. 12-16.

(1.) *An Exhortation.*(51¹⁻⁸.)

The theme of this fine poetical piece is an appeal to the faith of the righteous element among the Exiles. Let them look to the wonderful past—to Jahveh's providential ordering of it—and take courage. In spite of their small numbers Jahveh will confer on them rich blessings. A glorious future is dawning.

The section forms a poem of five strophes, each consisting of four double lines. It is characterised by Duhm as a "sublime" and "magnificent" poetical piece. Each strophe (with the exception of the second which is mutilated) begins with an imperative.

- 51¹ List to me ^aye that would overtake Victory,^a
 that seek for (the intervention of) Jahveh !
 Look to the rock whence ye were hewn
 and to the ^bquarry^b whence ye were digged !
² Look unto Abraham your father,
 and unto Sarah who bore you !
 He was one, all alone, when I called him,
 and I blessed and increased him.

Verses 1-2. The wonderful history of Abraham, who from a single individual became the *fons et origo* of an innumerable host, is appealed to to show that there is no need to despair on account of numbers being at present small. (Cf. the curious parallel in Ezek. 33²⁴ where the same reasoning on the part of those left behind in the land is sternly refuted by the prophet.)

a (vs. 1) : *ye that would overtake Victory* : lit. *ye that pursue after righteousness, i.e.,* not right conduct (though this meaning is preferred by some here, e.g., *Skinner*), but *right* in the objective sense so common in Deutero-Isaiah, *i.e.,* right vindicated in action by Jahveh ; so vv. 5, 6, 8 below ; cf. also 49⁴⁻⁸.

b (vs. 1) : *quarry*. Rec. Text adds *pit* (Hebrew, *bôr*), an obvious gloss on the rare word (Hebrew, *maq̄qebeth*, only here in this sense). Omit with most moderns.

- ⁸ For like a garment the moth shall consume them,
 and like wool the worm^p :
 But my redress shall last for ever
 and my deliverance age after age.

(2.) A REQUEST TO JAHVEH THAT HIS POWER MAY BE
 MANIFESTED.

(51⁹⁻¹⁰ (11) .)

The Prophet (rather than the believing community of Israelites) is the speaker here. He appeals to Jahveh's might (the *arm of Jahveh* by a strong personification is directly addressed) to strike as in the days of old. There are some very clear allusions to the ancient creation-myth which described in detail the conflict of Jahveh with Chaos, in the person of the dragon (identical with Rahab). The Sea—which was regarded as the chaotic element in the primeval myth—personified by *Tiamat* (Hebrew, *tēhôm rabbāh*, the *great deep*) had been subdued by Jahveh's might, but not entirely overcome. It was constantly challenging the power that held it in check (cf. Job 7¹²: *Am I a sea or a sea-monster that thou settest a watch over me?* Ps. 89^{10f}).

Knowledge of this ancient story was widespread in the prophetic period. It has been preserved most fully in Babylonian records (cf. especially Gunkel *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 401–428, and on this passage in particular pp. 30–32). Not improbably a version of it may once have existed in the Jahvistic narrative (of the Hexateuch), preceding Gen. 2.* It should be noted that the prophetic writer here shows signs of acquaintance with the Jahvist's narrative (Abraham, Eden, the Garden of Jahveh), but not with the Priestly narrative embodied in Gen. 1. It is striking that these allusions to the traditional story of Jahveh's conflict are put on exactly the same level as a historical fact (the passage of the Red Sea, vs. 10). All are regarded as evidences of Jahveh's power, and a knowledge of all the allusions is presupposed on the part of the original readers. Here again it is clear that the prophetic writer is quoting well-known traditional material.† It is possible, however, that vs. 10b (containing the historical reference) does not depend upon Deutero-Isaiah. Verse 11 is a citation from 35¹⁰ which has been added (from the margin) by a later hand. Verses 9–10 form a lyrical poem written in long (double) lines.

^p (vs. 8) : Rec. Text adds here *shall consume them*. In these last two strophes the thought reverts to 40⁸⁻⁹.

* The Priestly narrative embodied in Gen. 1¹–2⁴ may have displaced this earlier account.

† Cf. a discussion of the passage in Oesterley's *Evolution of the Messianic Idea*, pp. 50–53.

- ⁹ AWAKE, AWAKE, ⁹PUT ON STRENGTH,⁹
 O ARM OF JAHVEH!
 AWAKE AS IN THE ANCIENT DAYS,
 THE GENERATIONS OF OLD TIME!
 WAS IT NOT THOU WHO DIDST 'SHATTER' RAHAB,
 DIDST 'DISHONOUR' THE DRAGON?
- ¹⁰ WAS IT NOT THOU WHO DIDST PARCH THE SEA,
 THE WATERS OF 'MIGHTY OCEAN'?
 "[Who didst make of the deep sea a way
 for the redeemed to pass over?]"^u

q (vs. 9): *put on strength*, cf. Ps. 93¹ (perhaps as in the Babylonian myth, taking up the terrible weapons used in this warfare, is meant).

r (vs. 9): *shatter* (reading *ha-môhetseth*: cf. Job 26¹² where the same verb is used with *Rahab* as object). Rec. Text has *hew in pieces* (or *hew out*); hardly a suitable verb in this connexion.

s (vs. 9): *dishonour* (reading *mêhallelth*); so Duhm, Cheyne (cf. Gunkel). The ignominious treatment of the dragon's dead body by the conquering deity (which is a feature of the original myth) is referred to. Rec. Text: *that pierced* (?); (this meaning is doubted by some scholars).

t (vs. 10): *mighty ocean* (Hebrew, *Têhôm rabbâh*), corresponding to the Babylonian *Tiâmat* (same word as the Hebrew), *i.e.*, the monster personifying the deep.

u (vs. 10b): Duhm supposes that this clause, with its historical reference, is an insertion. Its omission would certainly render the context more consistent with the grandeur of the prophet's conception. He is thinking of a new creation greater than the first—the creation, *viz.*, of a new moral order, and the triumph in the world of the true religion.

v (end of vs. 10): here in Rec. Text follows vs. 11 (a citation of 35¹⁰ to illustrate *redeemed* in 10b, transferred to the text from the margin):

*And Jahveh's ransomed ones shall return,
 And come to Zion with jubilation,
 With everlasting joy upon their heads;
 Gladness and joy shall overtake them,
 Sorrow and sighing shall have fled away.*

(3.) THE GROUNDLESSNESS OF ISRAEL'S FEARS.

(51¹²⁻¹⁶.)

The section is written in a tone of expostulation. With such a God—supreme in creation—to console them, what justification was there for Israel's state of constant dread regarding oppressors? The thought interrupted by vs. 9-12 is resumed. The language becomes natural if it is interpreted to refer to an immediate past—the Chaldean oppression, which seemed interminable, has just been brought to an end by Cyrus. If the language is interpreted to refer to the present, then this part of the Book of Isaiah must have been written well before the fall of Babylon (to Cyrus). The text of the section is in a bad state of preservation. The poem is written in the long (double) lines of the earlier part of the chapter; but in vv. 15-16 the rhythm abruptly changes. These verses, which are unoriginal in character, may be due to an editor (cf. Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 303).

- ¹² I it is—I—who do comfort ^wthee^w;
 ^xhow is it that thou wast afraid^x
 Of man that is mortal, of the earth-born
 ^ythat is given up as the grass^y?
- ¹³ And didst forget Jahveh thy Maker who has stretched
 out the heavens
 and founded the earth?
 And wast in terror all the day continually
 for the fury of ^{aa}the oppressor^{aa}?

^w (vs. 12): *thee*: Rec. Text: *you*. The alteration is supported by LXX. So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

^x (vs. 12): *how is it thou wast afraid* (reading *mī 'attāh wattīrā*), lit. *who art thou that thou wast afraid?* This slight alteration of the text is supported by Duhm, Marti.

^y (vs. 12): *that is given up as the grass* (sc. to destruction).

^{aa} (vs. 13): *the oppressor*, i.e., the Chaldean Empire. [The tyranny of the "oppressor" is now at an end; the decree of Cyrus has been issued, and the exiles are about to return. The LXX translates the tenses as pasts, in the manner adopted above. Many moderns, however, think the *present* is referred to (how is it that thou *art* afraid . . . *dost* forget . . . *art* in terror? etc.). In this case the passage must have been written before the fall of Babylon. But this is not necessary and a reference to the immediate past (just after the issue of Cyrus's decree) is more natural. At the end of the verse a clause follows in the Hebrew Text which may be a gloss, and, in any case, can hardly be in order as it stands. It may be rendered: *when he aims* (his arrows) *to destroy thee* (so LXX: Hebrew, *to destroy alone*) *where is the fury of the oppressor?*]

- 14 ^{bb} *Soon shall the crouching (prisoner) be freed—
he shall not die^{bb}*
- 15 ^{cc} *And it is I who am Jahveh thy God,
Who stir up the sea so that its waves do roar,
Whose name is Jahveh Sabaoth.*
- 16 *And I did put my words in thy mouth
And in . . . the shadow of my hand I hid thee
^{dd}that I may stretch out^{dd} the heavens and found the earth,
and say to Zion: My people art thou.*

(E.) JERUSALEM'S DELIVERANCE FROM OPPRESSION.

(51¹⁷⁻⁵²¹².)

This section forms an elegiac poem written in the rhythm of the dirge (Kīnāh). Zion pictured as a woman, prostrate and senseless, having drunk to its dregs the cup of Jahveh's fury, is addressed. She is bidden to arise—the cup is taken from her and handed to her enemies. (51¹⁷⁻²²). She is further bidden to put aside the garments of slavery and don holiday attire. Jahveh will no longer suffice. His name to be reviled owing to the banishment of His people (52¹⁻⁶). The remaining verses (52⁷⁻¹²) contain a description of Jahveh's triumphal return to

^{bb} (vs. 14): *Soon shall the crouching prisoner be freed—he shall not die*: Rec. Text adds (*and go down*) to the pit, nor shall his bread fail. The figure is that of a prisoner in danger of dying from starvation (Israel in Exile). But the language is obscure. The LXX gives an entirely different (and much shorter) text. On the basis of the LXX (partly) Cheyne conjectures *Thy deliverance will hasten, it will not tarry, nor will it linger* (reading *yēmāhēr yish'ēk, lō yē'ahēr wē-lō yūhmahmah*).

^{cc} (vv. 15-16). These verses are reminiscent of other passages. Apart from its opening words (*I am Jahveh thy God*) vs. 15 recurs in Jer. 31³⁵ (cf. Job 26¹²). [the phrase may, however, be a traditional expression derived from the creation myth, and therefore older than these passages]. Verse 16a = 51²¹; 16b = 49². The verses may be a compilation by an editor to take the place of an illegible or mutilated passage.

^{dd} (vs. 16): *that I may stretch out* (reading *līntōth*, cf. vs. 13). Rec. Text: *that I may plant* (an unsuitable expression in such a connexion). The thought expressed is that a new moral universe is to be created as the result of God's dealings with Israel.

- 20 Thy sons 'fell fainting' (and) lay^e
 ^hlike an antelope meshed—
 (Thy sons) who are full of the fury of Jahveh,
 of the rebuke of thy God.
- (2.)
- 21 'Therefore hear this, O afflicted one,
 and drunken, but not with wine :
- 22 Thus says 'Jahveh thy God,ⁱ
 who pleads His people's cause :
 Lo, from thy hand I have taken
 the cup of reeling ;
^kThou shalt not drink it again—
 the chalice of my fury^k ;
- 23 But into the hand of 'thine oppressors' I put it,
 ^m(and of those who afflicted thee),^m
 (Even of them) who did say to thee :
 Bow down that we may pass o'er !
 So thou ⁿmadest ground of thy back,ⁿ
 a very street for wayfarers !

f (vs. 20) : *fell fainting*, or *swooned*, lit. *were shrouded*.

g (vs. 20) : Rec. Text adds *at the head of all streets* : probably a gloss-citation from Lam. 2¹⁹. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (the words overload the line).

h (vs. 20) : *like an antelope meshed*, lit. *like an antelope (in) a net* (exhausted by vain struggles to get free). But the expression is strange. Cheyne has suggested reading *in the midst of ruins* (Hebrew, *bēthōk ḥorābōth*).

i (vs. 21) : contrast the announcement made in 47⁸.

j (vs. 22) : *Jahveh thy God* : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *Thy Lord Jahveh and thy God* (the metre is improved by the omission).

k (vs. 22) : the parts of this line are transposed, for metrical reasons. So Duhm, Cheyne, etc.

l (vs. 23) : *thine oppressors* (reading *mōnaik*, cf. 49⁸). So Secker, Lowth, and many moderns. Rec. Text has *thy tormentors* (Hebrew, *yōgaik*).

m (vs. 23) : (*And of those who afflicted thee*), lit. *and into the hand of those who*, etc. (reading *û-bēyad mē'annaik*) : so Cheyne (Duhm keeps *mōgaik* and in the added clause reads *mōnaik*). This short clause is required by the metrical structure ; the words restored (notice paronomasia in Hebrew) could easily have fallen out by homoiotelenon.

n (vs. 23) : *madest ground of thy back*, etc. An allusion to actual custom of treating the conquered. Cf. Josh. 10²⁴. A more terrible application of it is referred to in Judges 8⁷ ; Amos 1³. Cf. also Ps. 129³ (the *ploughers ploughed upon my back*), and the Arabic custom of the *doseh* or "treading" described in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

(3.)

52¹ Awake ! awake ! put thou on
 thy strength, O Zion !
 Put on thy garments of beauty
 O ^a[Jerusalem],^a holy City !
 For never more shall enter within thee
^bthe uncircumcised and unclean.^b

² Shake the dust from thyself, and arise,
 O captive Jerusalem !
 Loose thee the bands of thy neck,
 O ^c'captive' Daughter of Zion !

cc

 cc

(vv. 3-6.)

These verses introduce a sudden change both in form and subject. The rhythm of the poem gives place to prose. Zion is no longer addressed, or, indeed, in evidence. Instead Jahveh appears as deliberating on the state of affairs brought about by the captivity of His people which He resolves to end. Neither in form nor contents does the passage harmonize with the work of Deutero-Isaiah. It must be regarded as a late insertion.*

³ For thus says Jahveh : ^aFor nought were ye sold, and not for money shall ye be redeemed. ⁴ For thus says the Lord

a (52¹) : [Jerusalem] : this word is suspected by Duhm to be an addition. The clause is complete and metrically long enough without it.

b (vs. 1) : *The uncircumcised and unclean, i.e.,* not heathen generally but (in this connexion) the Chaldeans. It was during the Exile among the uncircumcised Chaldeans that circumcision first came to be regarded as distinctive of Judaism.

c (vs. 2) : *captive* (reading *shēbiyyāh* as in former clause). So Oort, Budde, Duhm. Rec. Text: *be seated (shēbi), i.e.,* take thy throne.

cc (vs. 2) : two lines required by the metre are missing.

d (vs. 3) : *for nought, etc.* Jahveh received no compensation for permitting His people to be "sold."

* Cf. Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 303.

Jahveh: To Egypt my people went down, to sojourn there, and Assyria oppressed them 'for nothing.'^e ⁵ And now, 'what have I (obtained) here,' is Jahveh's oracle, that my people has been taken away? ⁸Behold those who waited for me are become a byword,⁸ is Jahveh's oracle, and continually all the day ^hmy Name is spurned.^h ⁶ Therefore 'my people shall know my Nameⁱ in that day that it is I who have promised.ⁱ

e (vs. 4) : *for nothing* same meaning as *for nought* above.

f (vs. 5) : *what have I (obtained) here?* etc. [*here* = in Babylonia (inconsistent with vs. 11)], *i.e.*, what advantage has accrued to me (Jahveh) from permitting the Babylonian captivity? The writer enumerates the various unjust oppressions of Israel. Israel went down to Egypt as a guest—and was oppressed; Assyria played the oppressor also without any legitimate reason or excuse, and now Babylon. The expression introducing the question = lit. *what is there to me?* and may be taken as above. Others explain by the idiom occurring in 22¹, 1⁶ (expressing "a strong sense of incongruity between what is and what ought to be," Skinner). Then, render, *What am I about here* (in Babylonia), or *What do I find here* (*i.e.*, in the existing state of affairs) to justify a captivity so much more severe.

g (vs. 5) : *Behold those who waited for me are become a byword* : so Cheyne, following Klostermann (reading *hinneh māshāl hāyū mēyahālē lī*). Cf. Ps. 31²⁵; 44¹⁵. Duhm suggests *My Temple is cast down* (reading *mushlāk hēkālī* : cf. Jer. 9¹⁹).

[Duhm keeps the Rec. Text of 5a; he renders the whole verse : *But now, what have I here? is Jahveh's oracle. For my people have been taken away for nought; my Temple is cast down, etc.* The word rendered for *nought* here (*hinnām*) is altered by Cheyne to *behold* (*hinneh*.) Rec. Text yields no tolerable sense. It is rendered in R.V. (*Now, therefore, what do I here, saith the Lord, seeing that my people is taken away for nought?*) *They that rule over them* (*i.e.*, the Chaldeans) *do howl, etc.* : *howl* is nowhere else used of an exultant shout, as it is supposed to be here.

h (vs. 5) : *My Name is spurned*. Israel's misfortunes are attributed by the heathen to Jahveh's impotence.

i (vs. 6) : *My people shall know My Name, i.e.*, shall experience all that Jahveh's name implies—the fruits of His divine intervention for righteousness' sake. Rec. Text has a superfluous *Therefore*.

j (vs. 6) : Rec. Text adds *Behold it is I*.

(4.)

- 7 ^kBehold, o'er the mountains are hastening^k
 the feet of the glad newsbringer—
 Of him who announces peace, brings glad tidings of good,
 announces deliverance ;
 Who says to Zion : ^l(Thy Redeemer is come),^l
 ^mThy God is made King^m !
- 8 ⁿ"All thy watchmen" lift up the voice,
 together shout jubilant ;
 Because ^oeye to eye^o they behold
 Jahveh's return to Zion !
- 9 Break forth into jubilation together,
 O Jerusalem's ruins !
 For Jahveh has consoled His people,
 has redeemed Jerusalem !

vv. 7-9 : Jahveh's triumphant return to Zion.

k (vs. 7) : *Behold, o'er the mountains are hastening* : so Cheyne, followed by Marti (reading *hên mêmaharôth* for *hinnêni mannâ'û*). Rec. Text: (*Behold it is I*) *how beautiful upon the mountains* : but not the beauty but the speed of the messengers' feet require mention in the context. [In Nah. 2¹, which may be dependent on this passage, the opening words run *Behold upon the mountains the feet*, etc. Hebrew, *hinneh 'al hehârim* : this partly confirms the emendation here.]

l (vs. 7) : (*Thy Redeemer is come*), (reading *bâ gô'âlêk*). So Budde (for metrical reasons), followed by Cheyne, Marti.

m (vs. 7) : *Thy God is made King, i.e.*, now actually and visibly assumes His sovereignty : cf. Ps. 93¹, 97¹, 47^{7f}.

n (vs. 8) : *All thy watchmen, i.e.*, those of the city (not the prophets). *All (hól)* is read by Grätz for *Hark (Kól)*. So Marti.

o (vs. 8) : *eye to eye, i.e.*, Jahveh will come so near that He and the watchmen shall see each other "eye to eye" (cf. Jer. 32¹⁴ : *his eyes shall look on the eyes of Nebuchadnezzar*) ; so Numb. 14¹⁴.

Vs. 9 : cf. 44²⁸ ; 51³.

(5.)

- 10 Jahveh has *ḥ*bared His holy Arm^ḥ
 in the sight of all nations,
 And all the ends of the earth shall see
 the deliverance of our God.
- ḡ ḡ
- 11 Depart, depart ! Go out thence,
 touch nothing unclean !
 Go out from her midst, purify yourselves,
 Ye bearers of 'the vessels of Jahveh' !
- 12 ^sFor ye shall not go out in haste
 nor in flight go forth ;
 For before you Jahveh doth go,
 and your rearguard is Israel's God.

(F.) THE MARTYR'S SUPREME REWARD.

(The fourth and last of the Songs of the Servant of Jahveh.)(52¹³-53¹².)

This section, forming the climax of the Servant passages, is by far the most remarkable of the series, and exhibits many features that are peculiar to itself. In the former "Songs" the activity of the Servant as a prophetic teacher—uniting in himself the characteristics of Law and prophecy—his preparation for his work, his prosecution of it in Israel amid discouragement and persecution, and, finally, his great mission, as a religious teacher to the world have been developed. So far no reference has been made to the possibility of his career being interrupted by death. Here, however, a different picture is presented. The Servant is depicted as a man of sorrows, enduring patiently the

ḥ (vs. 10) : *bared His holy arm, i.e.*, has thrown back the loose overgarment from the right shoulder in readiness for forcible intervention. The reference is probably retrospective. (Contrast Ps. 74¹¹—the opposite action.) For the *arm of Jahveh*, cf. 40¹⁰ ; 51⁹ ; 53¹.

ḡ (vs. 10, end) : a long (double) line is lacking here. It probably contained some mention of Babylon, to which reference is made in the next verse (" *her midst* ").

r (vs. 11) : *the vessels of Jahveh, i.e.*, not Jahveh's weapons (in which case the reference would be to armour-bearers) but the sacred utensils borne by the priests (as at the Exodus from Egypt).

s (vs. 12) : in contrast with the first Exodus this second one is to take place with quiet deliberation and in perfect safety. For *with haste* cf. Ex. 12¹¹ ; Deut. 16³ ; *your rearguard*, Ex. 14¹⁹.

suffering brought about by a terrible disease (apparently leprosy), persecuted and despised by his contemporaries, who, seemingly, at the last bound him to a shameful death. But martyrdom is only the prelude to supreme glory. The Servant's unparalleled sufferings—the tragedy of his death—in due time produce a remarkable revulsion of feeling. In the martyr's tragic career his contemporaries see mirrored the awful consequences of their own sin. Penitence, confession, and recognition of the martyr's mission are the result.

The question arises, what relation does this passage bear to the other Servant-passages, and how does it affect the question of interpreting the significance of the Servant-idea?

On the theory that the Servant-passages all belong together, which the present writer accepts, it is possible to explain the individualizing features of Ch. 53 as due to conscious reminiscence of the career of some great prophetic teacher like Jeremiah. The influence of the Book of Job is also apparent. The ideal personified in the figure of the Servant, while it can only receive complete fulfilment in the future, yet has already been partially realized in the experiences of the pious minority of the people, which are a constant (though as yet only a partial) expression of what Cheyne calls the Genius of the true Israel.

The theory, advocated by Marti, which identifies the Servant here and elsewhere with the actual nation of Israel, and regards the sufferings here depicted as symbolical of Israel's experiences in the Exile, is less natural. In this case Ch. 53 represents the thoughts of the heathen world regarding Israel. But this view involves a very strained interpretation of the vicarious elements in the chapter.

Another view, which seeks to do justice to the individualizing features of Ch. 53 has gained ground in recent years. One form of this,* indeed, would refer all the Servant-Songs to the career of Zerubbabel, who, at first hailed as the Messiah, was ultimately executed on a charge of high treason. His tragic death is, according to the earlier view of Sellin, the theme of Ch. 53. Kittel, also, has defended this view, holding that the hero of the songs, which originally formed an independent poem, is "not Israel, or any section of Israel personified, but an individual, whom the Messianic hope glorified for a moment, viz., Zerubbabel."† Bertholet would refer part of the great passage to an individual, viz., the Maccabean martyr Eleazar (2 Macc. 6¹⁸⁻³¹). He regards 52¹²⁻⁵³¹² as of composite origin, referring 53^{1-11a} to Eleazar, while 52¹³⁻¹⁵ and 53^{11b, 12} glorify some teacher of the Law.

The section is most remarkable for the profundity of its religious ideas. The idea of the Servant's resurrection seems necessarily to be

* Sellin's, in his *Serubbabel* (Leipzig, 1898). In his later works (*Studien zur Entstehung der jüdischen Gemeinde*, 1901, and *Das Rätsel des deutero-jes. Buches*, 1908) he identifies the Servant with King Jehoiachin. See a criticism of this theory by Prof. D. S. Margolionth in *Expositor* (July, 1908).

† See Cheyne, *Isaiah* (S.B.O.T., Hebrew, p. 199). There is much to suggest that Zerubbabel did gather round himself some expectations of a Messianic character. Cf. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, pp. 14-16.

implied. That of vicarious suffering is expressed throughout the passage with startling distinctness and remarkable power. The principle that the innocent suffer for the guilty was, of course, by no means new. It had indeed become a source of perplexity in religious minds as spiritual religion developed. "But," to use Prof. Skinner's words, "this prophet accepts the principle and discerns in it a moral significance by which it is deprived of the appearance of arbitrariness or injustice. The essence of the Servant's sacrifice lies in the fact that whilst himself innocent he acquiesces in the divine judgment on sin, and willingly endures it for the sake of his people. And it is the perception of this truth on the part of the people that brings home to them the sense of their own guilt, and removes the obstacle which their impenitence had interposed to Jahveh's purpose of salvation. The suffering of the innocent on behalf of the guilty is thus seen to be a moral necessity, since it was only through such sufferings as the sinless Servant of the Lord was alone capable of, that punishment could reach its end in the taking away of sin and the bringing in of everlasting righteousness."*

It should be added that the earliest interpretation of the passage known to us is the reference in Dan. 12³ where *they that turn many to righteousness* clearly refers to Is. 53¹¹ (*my righteous Servant shall make many righteous*, according to the traditional text). Here clearly the *Servant* is interpreted to mean the righteous community (the pious minority) in Israel. The early Christian interpretation of the passage as referring to the *personal* Messiah, seems to have been something quite new. It apparently came upon the early Christians themselves with all the force of a new revelation when they read the passage in the light of Christ's sufferings and death.

The text has unfortunately suffered much. But it is clear that the poem is written in the same metre as the first two Servant-Songs, and falls into quatrains (probably 14).†

(*Jahveh speaks.*)

**13 Lo ! my Servant shall ^aprosper, ^bshall rise,
Be uplifted and highly exalted,**

a (vs. 13) : *prosper* (Heb., *yaskil*) have success. The word primarily = *to be wise*, but sometimes has the meaning *to win success* prominently developed (cf. Jer. 23⁶ : *A King shall reign and prosper*). Both Duhm and Marti think the word incongruous here with the main idea of exaltation. Duhm would omit ; Marti, following Budde, regards it as a corruption of *Israel* (*Behold my Servant Israel shall rise*).

b (vs. 13) : *shall rise* : this verb belongs to the first line (so Budde, Duhm, Marti).

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 134 f.

† Owing to the kindness of his friend, the Rev. C. J. Ball, the editor has been enabled to cite some emendations of the text proposed by Mr. Ball in a paper (unpublished) read before the *Society of Biblical Archæology*.

(14^a) As on ^bhis account^b many were appalled,
^c(And princes shuddered at his fate)^c—

15 ^dSo shall many nations do homage,^d
 Before him kings shall be 'speechless';
 For what had never been told them they see,
 And what had never been heard of they contemplate.

[The opening stanzas (52¹³⁻¹⁵) form the prelude of the poem. They define in general terms the theme. A very awkward parenthesis and confusion of expression are avoided if with Duhamel and Marti the second and third clauses of vs. 14 are transposed so as to follow 53^{2b}. This procedure results in a very great improvement. The missing fourth line in the first quatrain is supplied by Marti in the form of the bracketed words above.]

(The prophetic writer speaks.)

53¹ ^aWho could have believed what we heard,
 And to whom could Jahveh's Arm have (thus) disclosed
 itself^a ?

b (vs. 14a) : *on his account* : so Targum, Peshitto (the third person is required by the context). Rec. Text : *on thy account*.

c (vs. 14) : (*And princes shuddered at his fate* [lit. *on account of him*]). So Marti (reading *wēsārīm sā'ārū 'ālāw* : cf. 49⁷; Ezek. 32¹⁰). In the Rec. Text the lacuna seems to have been wrongly filled in by the distich—

*For (so) ruined was his aspect from a man's,
 And his form from that of the sons of men.*

By their omission a close and good logical connexion is secured between vs. 15 and what precedes.

d (vs. 15) : *so shall many nations do homage* (reading *yishtaḥāwū*, cf. 49⁷). The Rec. Text (Hebrew, *yazzeḥ* = *sprinkle, startle* ?) cannot be right. The letters forming it must contain the remnants of some other verb (Moore proposes *yirgēzū* : *so shall many nations be moved*. Ball suggests *yāzōllū* : *so shall many nations tremble* [cf. 63¹⁰] or *yazū'ū* [cf. Esth. 5⁹]).

e (vs. 15) : *speechless* with surprise, as in the case of Job (29^{9f}).

a (53¹) : *Who could have believed what we heard* ? etc. The writer is referring to the past and by suggesting that the revelation then set forth regarding the Servant was so paradoxical as to be incredible—though now it has become an accepted fact—prepares the minds of his readers for accepting the great further paradox that the Servant shall rise from the dead and be supremely exalted. (*What we heard*, i.e., probably the prophecies regarding the Servant embodied in 42¹⁻⁴; 49¹⁻⁶; 50⁴⁻⁹. The substance of these had been preached by the prophetic party before they were written down). *Jahveh's Arm*, i.e., Jahveh's providential working (a metaphor); cf. 51⁹; 52¹⁰, etc.

(2^a) He grew up as ^ba sapling^b ^cbefore us,^c
 And as ^ba sprout from a root in dry ground.^b

53¹⁻⁹: Who is the speaker in these verses? Hardly the heathen kings and nations of 52¹⁶, as Marti supposes. For there they are depicted as amazed at the Servant's exaltation, of which they had never previously heard. The speaker is probably the prophet himself. By *what we heard* he means what had been revealed to himself and the other members of the prophetic circle regarding the Servant, and proclaimed by them in the past. It should be noted that the speaker throughout consistently uses historic tenses in his picture of the Servant's sufferings and death. On the other hand, the exaltation of the Servant is still future (cf. 52¹³⁻¹⁶, 53⁸⁻¹⁰). In the light of what was happening at the time when the Servant was suffering, the prophecies regarding him had seemed incredible. But now that the people have had time to reflect a great change has come over their thoughts concerning him. They have begun to realise the guilt incurred by the community in permitting or compassing the death of a Jeremiah.* Probably also by the time this chapter was written some form of the Book of Job had already come into existence. The problem of suffering and its meaning had become a burning question. The situation was ripe for enforcing the moral value and even necessity of the sufferings of the righteous (cf. also Ps. 22 and 60). In this chapter the prophetic writer works out to its utmost limits the seeming paradox, and declares not only that the sufferings of the great martyr have a supreme value, but that they are destined to issue in his supreme exaltation.

b (vs. 2a): *a sapling . . . sprout from a root in dry ground*; cf. Job 14⁷; Is. 11¹⁰.

c (vs. 2a): *before us* (reading *lēfānēnū*); so Ewald. The prophet ranks himself with contemporaries. Marti prefers *afortime* (reading *lēfānim*, cf. 48⁷). Rec. Text: *before Him*.

* There may be a reference to this in the post-Exilic passage, Zech. 12¹⁰, where the penitent community is described thus: *And I (Jahveh) pour out upon the House of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and of supplication, and they shall look upon (him) whom they have pierced, and mourn for him*, etc. Possibly something has fallen out of the text after *look upon* (so Wellhausen). The fourth quatrain (53^{2 b} + 52^{14 bc}) gives a description of the external appearance of the Servant. Such doubtless was the aspect of the small band of true Israelites who were the representatives and teachers of the prophetic religion during the Exile (and earlier). "The Israelites in general saw nothing to admire in them" (Cheyne). Notice that the prophetic writer continues to merge himself into the unreceptive mass of his fellow-countrymen. He speaks as the child of the guilty, and, as such, to some extent, sharing their guilt (cf. Lam. 5⁷).

- (2^b) No form had he^d that we should regard him,
 And no aspect that we should desire him ;
 14 ^{dd}For^{dd} his aspect was 'marred^e from a man's,
 And his form from that of the sons of men,
 3 ^fHe was despised and lightly esteemed,^f
 A man of suffering and familiar with sickness—
 Yea, ^glike one whom men hide the face from^g—
 Despised and we ^hheeded him not^h !
 4 Surely it was our 'sicknessⁱ he bore,
 And our sufferings ^j(he) did endure them !
^kThough for our part we thought him *plague-stricken,*
 Smitten and humbled of God.^k

d (vs. 2b) : Rec. Text adds *nor majesty* : omit with Bertholet and Marti ; the alternative is to keep this and omit *that we should regard him* (with both kept the metrical form is spoilt). Parallellism favours first alternative.

dd (52¹⁴) : *For* (reading *hi* for *kên*). So Ball. Rec. Text: *so* (marred was his aspect, etc.).

e (52¹⁴) : *marred* (pointing *moshâth* as Pual participle) ; so most moderns. Rec. Text: *something marred*.

f (vs. 3) : *He was despised and lightly esteemed* (reading *nibzeh hû wênikleh*) ; so Cheyne, followed by Marti. Rec. Text is difficult and has some suspicious features (*nibzeh wahâdal 'ishim* : where notice especially the unusual form, *'ishim* probably as Cheyne suggests due to dittography).

g (vs. 3) : *like one whom men hide the face from*, lit. *from whom there is a hiding of the face* : men instinctively covered their faces from the sight of him. The representation suggests leprosy (cf. in Job 17⁹ : *I am a spitting in the face*). The LXX and Vulg. render *and as one who hid his face from us*, which is a possible translation of the text. It would still describe a leper. (But cf. 50⁶ which does not suit this.)

h (vs. 3) : *heeded him not* : took no account of him, regarding him as good as dead.

i (vs. 4) : *sickness* : some Hebrew codices read as singular. Rec. Text plural (*sicknesses*).

j (vs. 4) : (*he*) : (*hû*). So some Hebrew MSS. Vulg. Syriac. Rec. Text omits.

k (vs. 4) : *Though for our part . . . humbled of God* : Ball's rendering.

* Vulg. *quasi leprosum*, "as a leper," "to which rendering we may partly trace the mediæval sympathy for lepers" (Cheyne). That leprosy was popularly regarded as punishment for grievous sin appears clearly in the Book of Job. Cf. also such passages as Numb. 12^{9, 10} ; 2 Kings 15⁶.

⁵ But he was 'dishonoured' for our rebellions,
Crushed for the iniquities of us ;
^mOur wholesome chastening^m fell upon him,
And by his stripes we were healed.

⁶ "All we like sheep had gone astray—
Had turned, each to his own way ;
While Jahveh made to light upon him
The guilt of us all,

⁷ °Though oppressed he showed himself meek,^o
Nor would open his mouth,
Like the sheep that is led to the slaughter
And like an ewe that before her shearers is dumb.^p

l (vs. 5) : *dishonoured* (pointing as Pual participle *mēhullāl*) ; so Gunkel, Cheyne. (So Cod. A in the LXX). Cf. 51¹⁰ and note in Gunkel's *Schöpfung*, p. 31. "The traditional belief in a Poel and a Poal of *hālal* meaning to *pierce, be pierced* . . . is very questionable" (Cheyne).

m (vs. 5) : *our wholesome chastening* : lit. the *chastening of our peace*, i.e., needful to secure our well-being (*shālóm*). Dr. Weir suggested *our retributive chastening* (reading *shillümēnū* : this reading appears in the consonantal text of 32, Hebrew MSS.). "Chastisement" (*chastening*, Hebrew *mūsār*) "is pain inflicted for moral ends and with remedial intent (Prov. 3^{11f}, etc.)" (Skinner).

n (vs. 6) : the past godless state of the nation naturally and inevitably led to the rejection of the Servant. For the figure (*like sheep gone astray*) cf. Ps. 119¹⁷⁰.

o (vs. 7) : *Though oppressed he showed himself meek* : *oppressed* here refers to harsh treatment, outrages and insults perpetrated by contemporaries. The same word is used of the tyrannical treatment of Israel in Egypt (Ex. 3⁷) : *showed himself meek*, humbled himself, was submissive (cf. Ex. 10⁶). [Read, transposing *waw, niggas wēhū na'āneh.*]

p (vs. 7, end) : Rec. Text adds *and would not open his mouth* : probably repeated by mistake from second line of the verse. So most moderns. This quatrain (vs. 8) makes clear that the Servant's sufferings ended only with his death. It is not evident whether this was compassed by a judicial murder, or whether it was due to the results of disease. The text and interpretation of the verse (in details) are difficult and uncertain. [For the Rec. Text see below.]

- ^q 'Debarred from justice' he was 'taken away'
 And 'his fate'—who 'gave it a thought,'
 That he had been cut off from the land of the living,
 For "our rebellions" had been "smitten to death" ?
- ^r And his grave "was appointed" with the "rebellious,"
 And with the 'godless' 'his long home' ;
 Although he had done no violence,
 Nor was any deceit in his mouth.

q (vs. 8) : *Debarred from justice* (reading 'ātsūr mi-mishpāt ; for 'ātsūr min cf. 1 Ch. 12¹, Gen. 16²) ; so Marti.

r (vs. 8) : *taken away, i.e.,* carried off by death.

s (vs. 8) : *his fate* (reading dārkō for M.T. dōrō). So Cheyne, followed by Marti. Cf. Ps. 37⁵, Is. 40²⁷.

t (vs. 8) : *gave it a thought* (reading perf. omitting a yod). So Marti (yod due to dittography).

u (vs. 8) : *our rebellions* (instead of *the rebellion of my people*) : so Budde, Marti (cf. vs. 5).

v (vs. 8) : *smitten to death* (reading nigga' la-māweth) : so LXX, Houb., Kennicott, Lowth, and most moderns.

In the Rec. Text of vs. 8 the first two clauses have been variously explained. Thus clause (*a*) has been rendered : *without hindrance and without right he was taken away, i.e.,* he was put to death without a protest being raised ; or *through oppression and through judgment (i.e., through an oppressive judgment* so Cheyne) he was taken away ; *judgment* here = judicial process : a judicial murder is implied ; or *From oppression and from judgment he was taken away, i.e.,* released by death. Clause (*b*) is rendered in R.V. : *And as for his generation who among them considered* : but the construction is harsh. Duhm (taking dōr in its Aramaic sense of *dwelling-place*) renders : *Who enquires after his dwelling-place* (with God) ; but *dwelling-place* on earth would be more natural. The last two clauses are clear—only the unemended last clause = *for the rebellion of my people was he smitten* (lit. *was a stroke upon him*).

w (vs. 9) : *was appointed* (reading wa-yuttan) : so Marti. Rec. Text : *and one appointed* (a difference of vowels only).

x (vs. 9) : *rebellious* (reading pōshē'im, cf. vs. 5) : so Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *godless*.

y (vs. 9) : *godless* (reading rēsha'im). So Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *rich* ('āshir). If this be right *rich* here must be equivalent to *wicked* (so *poor* often = *pious* in the Psalms). But this is unsatisfactory and unnecessary. Others (e.g., Duhm) read 'ashok or 'ashik, *oppressor* or *oppressors* (plural). Others, *evil doers* ('ōsē ra').

z (vs. 9) : *his long home* (reading Bēth olāmō, cf. Eccles. 12⁶) : so Ball. Rec. Text : (*bēmōthāw*) *in his deaths* (LXX *in his death*). Some would read (by a slight alteration) *bamatho, i.e., his sepulchral mound* (?), lit. *his high place*. Cheyne proposes *gedisho* (cf. Job 32¹⁷), *his tomb*.

10 *But it pleased Jahveh to crush, to dishonour him.
If he were to make himself an offering for guilt,
He would see a posterity, would prolong his days,
And the pleasure of Jahveh would prosper in his hands.*

11 *aa*
· · · · ·
· · · · ·
He would deliver from anguish his soul,
Would cause him to see light to the full.^{aa}
· · · · ·
· · · · ·

Vv. 10-12. These verses express the divine purpose which lay behind the sufferings of the Servant, his supreme reward and glorious destiny. He will establish the true religion and bring the many to righteousness. "The idea of a resurrection from the dead appears to be necessarily implied."* The Servant will live again in his spiritual progeny—those whom he has spiritually awakened. "The Genius which inspired the prophetic martyrs could not die" (Cheyne). The Rec. Text of vv. 10-11 is in considerable disorder, and appears to be almost hopelessly corrupt. The translation given above is mainly that of Cheyne (in *S.B.O.T.*). This represents Rec. Text with a minimum of alteration (reading *hallêlô* for *hehêli*, and *yâsim* for *tâsim* in vs. 10, for vs. 11 see below). But even so the verse can only possibly represent a late editorial form, after textual confusion had begun. The hypothetical phraseology can only be due to an editor. [Notice the incongruous rhythm also.] Ball's restoration of vs. 10 on the basis of the present text comes nearer to a possible original (both in rhythm and sense):

1. *But Jahveh was pleased to crush him ;*
2. *With sickness his soul was wasted ;*
3. *But he saw a seed that would last,*
4. *And Jahveh's purpose did prosper by his means.*

(Reading in line 2 *mêhölâ'im* [cf. LXX] *têsham nafshô* [*âshâm* being due to dittography], and in line 3 *wa-yar'* for *yir'eh*).

aa (vs. 11). Here Cheyne supposes two lines to have fallen out; two lines would be required if vs. 10 in its present form represents an original quatrain. The two lines of vs. 11 translated above probably do represent substantially two original lines. *He would deliver* (reading *yehallêts*: cf. LXX. So Duhm, Marti), *from anguish* (reading *mê'âmâl*: a difference of pointing only. So Duhm, Marti). *Would cause him to see light to the full* (read *yar'êhû 'ôr wêyisba'*: cf. LXX); for the idea cf. Ps. 36¹⁰, 50²³. So substantially Duhm.

Perhaps the most thorough attempt yet made to reduce the present

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

text to order is Marti's. After pointing out and eliminating two sets of doublets, he deduces the following four lines, which he regards as approximating to the original text underlying our present vv. 10-11. These verses thus embody, according to Marti, not *two* quatrains, but only one. He reads:

wē-'yahweh ḥāfēts bē'abdō
wa-yehallēts mē'āmāl nafshō
yar'ēhū 'ōr wē-yisba'
ū-bezar'ō yatsdīkēhū :

which may be rendered :

1. *But Jahveh had pleasure in His Servant,*
2. *And rescued his soul from misery ;*
3. *He lets him see light to the full,*
4. *And in his seed (descendants) brings him vindication. . . .*

[The fourth line here represents the words *beda'tō yatsdīk* of the Rec. Text = *by his knowledge he shall give vindication or make righteous*. For detailed discussion justifying the alterations proposed reference must be made to Marti, p. 351.]

Duhm's treatment of this passage is very far-reaching. He finds in it two quatrains, which he restores as follows :

(a.)

- vs. 10 : 1. *we-yahweh ḥāfēts dakkē'ō*
2. *hehēlif 'eth sēbō*
3. *massā nafshō yir'eh*
4. *zera' 'erek yāmim*

(b.)

- vs. 11 : 1. *wēḥēfets yahweh bēyādo*
2. *yēhallēts mē'āmāl nafsho*
3. *yar'ēhū 'ōr yisba'*
4. *mēra'āthō yatsdīkēhu*

i.e.,

- vs. 10 : 1. *But Jahveh was pleased to purify him, (Aramaic sense of verb)*
2. *To let his old age blossom afresh ;*
3. *He shall see the desire of his soul,*
4. *A long-lived seed.*

- vs. 11 : 1. *And the purpose of Jahveh is in his hand ;*
2. *He (Jahveh) rescues his soul from misery,*
3. *Lets him see light to the full,*
4. *Justifies him from his wickedness.*

[Here line 1 in vs. 11 means that the Servant is destined to carry out Jahveh's purpose in establishing the true Israel, and in propagating the true religion in the world. Line 3, *Lets him (the Servant) see light, i.e., enjoy prosperity ;* line 4, *his wickedness, i.e., the opinion which regarded him as wicked*. Duhm supposes clear allusions to be made to the story of Job.]

(*Jahveh again speaks.*)

In the two last strophes, as in the two first, Jahveh is the speaker (notice *My Servant*, 52¹³ and 53¹¹). The theme is the Servant's ultimate triumph.

(11^c) My Servant is ^{bb}the scorn of the many,^{bb}
Although their iniquities he bore.

¹² Therefore he shall ^{cc}enjoy possession among^{cc} the great
And with the mighty divide spoil ;

(12^c) Because he poured out his ^{dd}life-blood,^{dd}
And with rebellious let himself be numbered ;
Though it was he who had borne the sins of many,
And for the rebellious interposed.

(G.) JERUSALEM'S FUTURE FELICITY AND GLORY.

(Ch. 54.)

This chapter belongs in thought and contents to the series of oracles of consolation which begins at 49¹⁴, and which is interrupted by the third and fourth Servant passages (50⁴⁻¹¹ and 52¹³-53¹²). There is no obvious point of contact with the great Servant passage which immediately precedes—a fact which supports the view that the latter was inserted into the prophecy of Restoration at some time subsequent to the completion of the latter. The chapter falls into two divisions, (1) vv. 1-10, and (2) vv. 11-17.

(1.) ZION THE RESTORED BRIDE OF JAHVEH.

(54¹⁻¹⁰.)

Zion, the barren and disconsolate, is bidden to rejoice because her children are more numerous now than in her former condition as the "married" wife of Jahveh. She must enlarge her borders to receive them (vv. 1-3). The "shame" of her youth, the reproach of her widowhood are wiped away, and she is now reconciled to her divine husband (vv. 4-6). Her rejection had been but for a brief moment ;

bb (v. 11c) : *the scorn of the many* : so Duhm (reading *tsēhok* for *tsaddik*) ; Rec. Text : *righteous for the many* ; this is kept by Marti.

cc (vs. 12) : *enjoy possessions*, lit. *inherit for himself* (reading *yinhal* *lō* : cf. LXX). Rec. Text : *I will divide for him* (a portion).

dd (vs. 12c) : *life-blood*, lit. *soul* (the idea underlying this expression, to *pour out the soul*, is the ancient one that the life (soul) is in the blood ; cf. Lev. 17¹⁴). Rec. Text after *life blood adds to death* (Hebrew, *lamāweth*). But this is superfluous (cf. Ps. 141³) and is probably a gloss (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti). The metre is improved by its omission.

now her restoration is final, and is based on an everlasting covenant, as unchangeable as the oath to Noah. The composition has a certain lyrical quality, though it is not a regularly constructed poem. The first six verses are the most regular, each verse containing a double distich: vv. 7-10 are less regular.

- 54¹ Be jubilant, O barren, who didst bear not!
^aCry exultant,^a O thou who didst travail not!
 For ^bmore are the children of the desolate
 Than those of the married, says Jahveh.^b
- ² Make wide the space of thy tent
 And the curtains^c ^dstretch forth^d unsparing,
 Make thy cords long,
 Make thy tent-pins strong.
- ³ ^e For right and left shalt thou ^fspread out abroad^f;
 And thy seed shall ^gtake possession of nations,^g
 And populate desolate cities.
- ⁴ Have no fear, for thou shalt not be put to shame,
 Be not confused, for thou shalt not be made to blush:
 For the shame of thy youth thou shalt forget,
 And ^hthe reproach of thy widowhood^h remember no more!

a (vs. 1): *cry exultant*, lit. *break forth and cry*. Rec. Text adds (after *break forth*) *into jubilation* (Hebrew, *rinnāh*). The word is unnecessary (cf. 52⁹) and spoils metre. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

b (vs. 1): *For more are the children*, etc. The contrast is between Zion's present and past. The children are regarded as already born (cf. 49¹⁴), and await their mother's acknowledgment. [The verse is cited by S. Paul in Gal. 4²⁷.]

c (vs. 2): Rec. Text adds *of thy habitations*: wanting in LXX. Omit with Duhm, etc. The verse contemplates one large tent. The curtains are the tent hangings (cf. Jer. 49²⁹; Hab. 3⁷).

d (vs. 2): *stretch forth* (reading *hatti* imperative): so LXX and other versions. Oort, Duhm, Grätz, etc. Rec. Text: *let them (people) stretch forth*.

e (vs. 3): a hemistich has fallen out: so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

f (vs. 3): *spread out abroad*: cf. Gen. 28¹⁴; 30^{30, 43}; Ex. 1¹² (for same verb).

g (vs. 3): *take possession of nations*: cf. Gen. 22¹⁷; 24⁶⁰.

h (vs. 4): *the reproach of thy widowhood*, a reference to the time of the Exile (when Zion was cast off by God). [*The shame of youth* will refer to the young wife's bitter experience of Egyptian and, later, Assyrian bondage.]

⁵ [ⁱFor thy Husband (indeed) is thy Maker—
 Jahveh Sabaoth His Name ;
 And thy redeemer is Israel's Holy One,
 God of the whole earth is He called.]ⁱ

⁶ For as an ^houtcast^k wife ^j(does He bring thee back)^j
 And (as) a ^hdowncast,^k has He called thee :
 Yea, ^tthe wife of my youth shall not be rejected,^t
 Says ^m(Jahveh)^m thy God !

⁷ For a little moment did I ⁿcast thee off,ⁿ
 But with great compassion do I gather thee ;
⁸ ^oIn wrath^o I did hide my face from thee,^o
 But with kindness everlasting I compassionate thee,
 Says Jahveh thy redeemer.

ⁱ (vs. 5). This verse has some features which suggest that it is a later insertion. (Marti notes especially the second line, *Jahveh Sabaoth His name* : cf. 48^a). It interrupts the close connexion in thought between vv. 4 and 6. *Thy Husband* = lit. *He who marries thee* (a participle). Perhaps it should be pointed differently as Duhm suggests (*bē'ālāik*), as *Thy Master*. A new marriage is not pre-supposed. (So Marti.) *Thy redeemer* : cf. 41¹⁴.

^j (vs. 6) : (*does He bring thee back*) : a verb seems to be required in the first line, as in the other verses, and also for metrical reasons. Read *yēshibēk* ? *He brings thee back*.

^k (vs. 6) : *outcast . . . downcast* : lit. *forsaken . . . grieved in spirit* (there is an assonance in the Hebrew).

^l (vs. 6) : *the wife of my youth shall not be rejected* (reading *'ēsheth nē'ūrāi bal timmā'es*). The construction of the clause is difficult and doubtful in the Rec. Hebrew Text. Render : *And a wife of youth—can she be rejected* (?).

^m (vs. 6) : (Jahveh) : transposed from clause a for metrical reasons ; with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

vv. 7-10. These verses have some metrical peculiarities. They form three five-lined strophes ; elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah the distich is regularly employed. An exception is found in 40¹²⁻¹⁴ where, likewise, five-lined strophes occur.

ⁿ (vs. 7) : *cast thee off*, lit. *forsake thee*.

^o (vs. 8) : *In wrath* : Rec. Text has *in a gush* (?) of wrath. But the word rendered *gush* (*shetsef* for *shetef*, for the sake of assonance) is doubtful, and is probably due to dittography. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (and for metrical reasons).

^p (vs. 8) : Rec. Text adds *for a moment*, an "unpleasing repetition" : it spoils the metre, and is not expressed in LXX. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

- ⁹ ^qAs (that) in the days^q of Noah is this (crisis) to me :
² ^rAs I (then) swar^r
 That Noah's waters should pass over the earth no more ;
 So now I do swear
 That I will not be wroth with thee nor rebuke thee !
- ¹⁰ ^sThough the mountains should move
 And the hills be shaken ;
 Yet my kindness from thee shall not move,
 Nor my 'covenant of peace' be shaken :
 Says Jahveh who compassionates thee !

(2.) THE NEW JERUSALEM.

(54¹¹⁻¹⁷.)

The rebuilding of Jerusalem is described in glowing language (vv. 11-12) ; her citizens will all be disciples of Jahveh ; she will enjoy perfect security, be "far from oppression," and the malice of foes (vv. 13-17).

Verses 11-14a form three tristichs—another departure from the usual distich ; vv. 14b-17 are of uncertain rhythm, and probably contain some interpolations.

- ¹¹ Thou afflicted, storm-tossed, disconsolate !
 Behold, I will set ^uthy bases in rubies,^u
 And ^vthy foundations^v in sapphires !

^q (vs. 9) : *As (that) in the days of (reading Kimé)* : so the Versions, some Hebrew MSS., and most modern scholars. Rec. Text: *for (this is as) the waters of* (a different division of words only).

^r (vs. 9) : *As I (then) sware* : cf. Gen. 8^{21f.} (J.). (read *Ka'asher* for M.T. *'asher*. So Oort, Duhm with LXX.)

^s (vs. 10) : God's gracious kindness and His covenant are more firmly fixed than the ordinances of Nature herself. Cf. for the thought Jer. 31^{35f.} ; 33²⁰⁻²⁸ ; Ps. 46^{3f.}

^t (vs. 10) : *covenant of peace* : cf. Ezek. 37²⁶ ; Mal. 2⁵.

vv. 11-14a : For this (figurative) description of the external glory of the rebuilt Jerusalem cf. Tobit 13¹⁶⁻¹⁷ ; Rev. 21¹⁰⁻²¹. Such descriptions became a regular feature in eschatological descriptions.

^u (vs. 11) : *thy bases in rubies* (reading *bēnofek 'ādānaik*). So Wellhausen, Ryssel, Grätz, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *thy stones in antimony*—the latter term being "a picturesque expression for the black asphalt-mortar used in old buildings in Jerusalem."*

^v (vs. 11) : *thy foundations* (reading *wisōdōthaik*). So Bühl, Marti. Rec. Text, *And I will found thee* (mainly a difference of vocalization).

* Guthe ap. Cheyne *ad hoc* (S.B.O.T., Hebrew Text).

- 12 I will make ^wof jasper^w thy pinnacles,
 And thy gates of (glowing) carbuncles,
 And all thy border of jewels.
- 13 And all ^zwho build thee^z will be ^ydisciples of Jahveh,^y
 And great shall thy children's prosperity be ;
- (14a) ^zIn welfare^z shalt thou be established.
- (14b) ^{aa}Thou shalt be far^{aa} from oppression, for thou shalt have
 nought to fear,
 And from destruction, for it shall not approach thee.
- 15 [^{bb}If any should stir up strife (it is) not of me ;
 Whoso stirs up strife with thee, on thy account shall fall.]^{bb}
- 16 Behold it was I who created the smith,
 Who blows on the fire of coals,
 And produces a weapon ^{cc}according to its work.^{cc}
 And it was I who created the destroyer ^{dd}to ravage.^{dd}

^w (vs. 12) : of jasper : others rubies.

^x (vs. 13) : who build thee (reading *bōnaik*). Rec. Text : thy sons.
 So Duhm, etc.

^y (vs. 13) : disciples of Jahveh : for the thought (willing and obedient followers of Jahveh's will) cf. Jer. 13¹⁴ ; Joel 3¹⁻² (Eng. 2²⁸⁻²⁹) ; John 6⁴⁵.

^z (vs. 14a) : in welfare, lit. in righteousness, i.e., realized in a community conformed to right conduct (an objective sense) ; cf. 45⁸.

^{aa} (vs. 14b) : Thou shalt be far (reading *tirhāki*) : so Grätz and others.
 Rec. Text : be thou far (i.e., let it be far from thy thoughts).

^{bb} (vs. 15) : " a substitute for an illegible passage " (Cheyne). The idea of the vs. seems to have been suggested by vs. 17 (" No weapon formed against thee," etc.). *On thy account shall fall* : or *shall fall (in his ruin) on thee* ; R.V. margin suggests *fall away to thee, i.e., go over to thy side*. Cheyne has suggested (reading an emended text) : *If a nation attacks thee (cf. Gen. 49¹⁹), it is not by my will ; whoever attacks thee shall come praying to thee*. " Seeing the hopelessness of the struggle the assailants offer prayer to Israel as a supernaturally gifted people." Vs. 16 confirms vs. 14 by showing that Jahveh, as the creator of those who manufacture the weapons of war, as well as of those who use them, holds the factors of war in His grasp.

^{cc} (vs. 16) : according to its work, i.e., adapted for its particular work, whatever that may be. Others : according to his (the craftsman's) craft (so Cheyne, Marti) ; others, for its work.

^{dd} (vs. 16) : to ravage : so Rec. Text. Cheyne following Klostermann renders to take a pledge (for thy debt), (reading *lahbōl*). " Guilt is regarded as a debt. . . . A destroyer has been specially created to take from God's human debtors a pledge that their debt will be paid in full. But Israel's debt has been abundantly paid (40²) ; it has nothing more to fear from any accuser or destroyer in heaven or on earth."*

* Cheyne, *Isaiah* (S.B.O.T., English), ix, 376, p. 187.

- 17 No weapon formed against thee shall prosper ;
 And every tongue "that shall enter into contention with
 thou shalt prove in the wrong. [thee"
 "[*This is the inheritance of the Servants of Jahveh,*
And their portion that is of Me, says Jahveh.]"

(II.) A CALL TO EMBRACE THE COMING SALVATION.

(55¹⁻¹³.)

This passage forms the conclusion to the oracles of consolation of Deutero-Isaiah. It falls into two parts: (1) vv. 1-5, and (2) vv. -13.

(1.) THE INVITATION AND PROMISE.

(vv. 1-5.)

Words of invitation are addressed to the "thirsty" (vv. 1-2), which remind one of many passages in the New Testament, especially of Jesus' gracious words in Matt. 11²⁸⁻³⁰ (*Come unto me all ye that labour, etc.*). Here the Jews of the Dispersion are urgently addressed. They are offered not merely material but spiritual blessings. If they accept in the right way Jahveh will make an everlasting covenant with them, and they shall share in the realization of the Messianic promises. The passage forms two strophes, each consisting of four distichs.

- 55¹ Ho ! all that are "thirsty" come to the waters !
 All ye that are "strengthless" eat !
 Yea come, buy grain without money,
 And wine and milk without payment.

ee (vs. 17) : *that shall enter into contention with thee*, lit. *that shall raise itself (in contention) with thee as regards judgment, i.e., in a trial at law. In judgment* (Hebrew, *la-mishpāt*) may be a gloss (so Duhm).

f (vs. 17) : another addition to the original text. Deutero-Isaiah never calls the Israelites generally *servants of Jahveh*. In 44²⁸ (corrected text) *His (Jahveh's) Servants* means the prophets. The word rendered *portion* here is identical with that usually rendered *righteousness (vindication)*. For the meaning here assigned to it cf. D. S. Margolionth in *Expository Times*, ix. 376.

a (vs. 1) : *thirsty* in a figurative sense ; the unsatisfied longing and weariness of exiles is doubtless implied. The figurative language is maintained to the end of the strophe.

b (vs. 1) : *strengthless* (reading *kōah*). So Duhm, Marti ; Oort and Ryssel proposed *foodless* (reading *lehem*), but this does not suit the opening line. Rec. Text : *without money*, and following on this immediately *Come buy grain and (eat)*. Omit, as a repetition from following line : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. [The LXX only expresses the words once.]

- ² 'Why spend money for what is not bread,
And your earnings for what doth not satisfy ?
Only hearken to me and what is good ye shall eat,
And your soul shall be ravished with dainties.
- ³ [^d*Incline your ear, and come unto me ;
Hear and your soul shall live^d].*
- 'I will grant you an everlasting covenant,
The sure promises of loving-kindness to David :
- ⁴ As once I made him a witness 'to peoples,'
A leader and commander of nations ;
- ⁵ So people whom thou know'st not shalt thou call,
Folk who know not thee shall run to thee ;
Because of Jahveh thy God,
And of Israel's Holy One, because He hath honoured
thee.
-

c (vs. 2). Life without God is a perpetual striving for things that bring no lasting satisfaction. The religious life, on the other hand, is a constant receiving (without any giving) and results in abundant satisfaction of the highest cravings of the soul. Cf. Luke 10³⁸⁻⁴³.

d (vs. 3). The bracketed words only repeat what is said in vs. 2b. They are doubtless a gloss, which has crept in between the two strophes (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti).

e (vs. 3) : *I will grant* (Rec. Text : *and I will grant* ; omit *and* with Duhm, Cheyne and Marti). The contents of the *everlasting covenant* are defined as *the sure promises of loving-kindness to David*. The promise of mercy to David (2 Sam. 7⁸⁻¹⁶) is eternally valid. It is fulfilled in a higher manner by being transferred to the whole nation. Just as David, the conqueror and leader of nations, was a standing witness to Jahveh's might and majesty, so (in a higher way) shall Israel in the future be a witness for Jahveh to the nations of the world, many of whom do not yet know of Israel's existence (cf. the picture of Jerusalem as the spiritual metropolis of the world in 2²⁻⁴). The expectation of a *personal Messiah* is thus spiritualized and transferred to the nation as a whole. Israel is to become the priest of the world. This purely idealistic conception accords with the idealizing tendencies of Deutero-Isaiah that appear elsewhere (cf. the spiritualizing of Noah's oath in 54^{9f.} ; of sacrifice in 40¹⁸ ; so Marti).

f (vs. 4) : *to peoples* (reading *lë'ammim*) : so the Versions, Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *of nations* (*le'ümmim*).

(2.) THE KINGDOM IS AT HAND.

(vv. 6-13.)

The prophetic writer proceeds to insist on the urgency of the summons. Now is the accepted time for all to avail themselves of the blessings of salvation (vv. 6-7); true, Jahveh's thoughts and purposes soar far above human powers of comprehension, but He is nigh (vv. 8-9); the fiat has gone forth to usher in the eternal redemption—the fiat which is irreversible and cannot fail of accomplishment (vv. 10-11); the great deliverance is on the eve of accomplishment—the very desert through which the exiles are to pass shall spring up into blossom and remain as a perpetual memorial of Jahveh's power (vv. 12-13).

The section forms a series of three strophes, each consisting of four distichs. [Vs. 7 probably does not belong to its present context; see note.]

⁶ Seek ye Jahveh, 'while He may be found,'
Call ye upon Him now that He is near!

⁷ *[Let the ungodly forsake his way,
And the wicked man his thoughts,
And return unto Jahveh that He may compassionate him,
And to our God, for He will pardon abundantly.]^g*

⁸ ^hFor my thoughts are not your thoughts
Nor your ways my ways, says Jahveh's oracle.

⁹ ⁱAs the heavens are higherⁱ than the earth,
So are my ways higher than your ways,
And my thoughts than your thoughts.

^f (vs. 6) : *while He may be found* : Now is the day of salvation : cf. 49⁸ ; Jer. 29¹²⁻¹⁴.

^g (vs. 7). This verse does not fit in well with vs. 6; it rather impairs the open invitation and suggests insertion. Its style too is unlike that of Deutero-Isaiah (notice its pastoral tone), and its presence disturbs the strophic arrangement. It is probably, as Duhm suggests, a marginal citation from another poem which has come into the text.

^h (vs. 8). These verses (8-9) give a reason for the summons in vs. 6. Jahveh's purposes of redemption are so high and wonderful that the promised salvation, when it is realized, will exceed all that can now be imagined. To neglect the opportunity of participating in such is the worst of folly.

ⁱ (vs. 9) : *as the heavens are higher* (read *higēhōah* with the ancient Versions, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti; cf. Ps. 103¹¹).

^j (vs. 9) : a line is desiderated here by the metrical structure (so Duhm, Marti).

- 10 For as the rain descends and the snow from heaven,
 And thither returns not except it have watered the earth
 And have made it bring forth and sprout,
 And given seed to the sower and bread to the eater ;
- 11 So shall be my word that ^hhas gone out^k of my mouth ;
 It shall not return to me void,
 Except it have accomplished that which I pleased,
 And attained that for which I sent it.
- 12 For with joy ye shall go out
 And in peace be led forth ;
 Mountains and hills shall burst before you into jubilation
 And all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.
- 13 Instead of the thorn-bush shall come up the pine,
 And instead of 'the nettle'^l shall come up the myrtle ;
 And it shall be to Jahveh a memorial,
 An everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

Vv. 10-11. Jahveh's word is endowed with inherent power. The thought, developed under a beautiful image, reverts to 40^a.

^h (vs. 11) : *has gone out* (reading as perfect *yātsā*) ; so Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *shall go out*.

Vv. 12-13. The joyful exodus from Babylon. Jahveh will Himself lead the exiles back ; cf. 40¹⁰ ; 52¹². The word here used for *led forth* is used of solemn religious processions.

^l (vs. 13) : *the nettle* (Hebrew, *širpad*) : not otherwise mentioned ; some desert plant must be meant.

PART III.

CONTAINING THE PROPHECIES OF THE SO-CALLED TRITO-ISAIAH.

(CHAPTERS 56-66.)

CHAP. 55 concludes the Prophecy of Consolation of Deutero-Isaiah. With Ch. 56 an entirely new section of the Book begins. Here everything breathes a different atmosphere. Zion's felicity—the day of the longed-for salvation—has not yet dawned. But the obstacle is no longer Babylon, but godless members of the Jerusalem community, and heretics. There is here no question of a Return—a new Exodus. The Jews are settled in the Holy Land; Jerusalem is no longer in ruins, but has a settled population; the Temple has been rebuilt. But matters are not well with the restored community. There are grave symptoms of internal weakness. Social conditions are unsatisfactory; the rich oppress the poor. The old Israelitish population of the land (in Judæa and Samaria) is unwilling to submit to the "yoke of the Law," and threatens to build a rival Temple. The chapters form a distinct group by themselves, though the various items are strung rather loosely together. They were evidently written at a critical time, when it was all important to strengthen the faith of the strict religious party by kindling hope among them in the coming salvation. The godless are to be brought into judgment, and redress is to come for the pious followed by the glorification of the Holy City.

Apart from some inconsiderable additions the chapters are regarded by many modern scholars, including Duhm and Marti, as having emanated from one author, who is styled for the sake of convenience the TRITO-ISAIAH. He wrote in the middle of the fifth century, apparently (c. 450 B.C.) a few years before the arrival of Nehemiah in Jerusalem. This view has, however, met with much opposition from Cheyne.

Cheyne, in his *Introduction* (p. xxxi f.), regards this group of chapters as entirely devoid of unity. "It consists of about ten compositions, which, except 63⁷⁻⁶⁴¹¹, all belong to the time of Nehemiah, the religious phenomena of which they accurately reflect." Cheyne, while rejecting the theory of a Trito-Isaiah, admits that "so much [of this view] at least is correct that all the compositions, except perhaps 56^a-57¹¹ proceed from the same school (hence their phraseological resemblances), and several of them may possibly come from the same writer. The different writers have none of them any original power. Most of them are considerably influenced by Deutero-Isaiah, whose phraseology and rhythm they seek in a mechanical way to copy. The difference between their model and themselves is, however, immense." He regards 63⁷⁻⁶⁴¹¹ as belonging to a much later date than the age of Nehemiah, in fact to the last years of the Persian period (the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus). He also supposes that Ch. 60-62 (originally written as a supplement to the prophecy of Restoration, 40-55, which they were intended immediately to follow) should in their original order stand as follows: 61, 62, 60.

The chapters as a whole may be regarded as an appendix written to supplement the great prophecy of Restoration (Is. 40-55), and, in the main, emanating from one author, the so-called Trito-Isaiah.

The arrangement of the chapters is loose; but suggested re-arrangements are unnecessary and precarious.

I. A WORD OF CONSOLATION ADDRESSED TO PROSELYTES AND JEWISH EUNUCHS.

(56¹⁻⁸.)

One of the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah had announced that strangers should join themselves to Israel (44⁶; cf. 14¹), and this is now being fulfilled.

The proselytes addressed in this section have some ground for fear that they may be excluded from Jahveh's community as not being Israelites born.

Another class, also, is addressed here, viz., a number of Israelites who in royal employment had been forced to become eunuchs, and as such had to deplore their childlessness.

For both classes the prophetic author has a word of consolation. Proselytes, if they hold firmly to the true religion, and especially if they refrain from profaning the Sabbath, shall bring their sacrifices with acceptance to God's altar and be admitted to His Temple, which is a

House of Prayer for all peoples. Eunuchs also who fulfil the same requirements shall have a *monument* and a *name* within Jahveh's walls *better than sons and daughters.* It is obvious that the Temple is built and in existence as one of the great institutions of the Restored Community. It is also clear that the spirit of exclusiveness, which later asserted itself so strongly under Ezra and Nehemiah, is already at work. The writer of the prophecy, while a zealous champion of the Law and its institutions, is no mere exclusivist. To him the Temple is a *House of Prayer for all peoples.* He seems (from vs. 7) to be meeting the doubts of proselytes and eunuchs who are not yet present in the Holy City (notice the phrase *I will bring them to my Holy Mountain*), but lingering in Babylonia, awaiting return.

In form 56¹⁻⁸ is not a very finished production. Duhm even suspects that it may be an insertion by a later hand.

56¹ Thus says Jahveh :

Keep ^athe law,^a and practise ^aright conduct^a ;
For my deliverance is nearly come
And my vindication of right is soon to be manifested.

² Happy the man who practises this,
The mortal who clings fast thereto,
Keeping ^bthe Sabbath^b so as not to profane it,
And keeping his hand from practising any evil.

Vv. 1-2. The urgent exhortation of the prophetic writer is based upon the nearness of Jahveh's deliverance ; cf. 57¹⁴, 58⁸, 59¹⁵, 60¹, etc., which passages show how much this thought dominated Trito-Isaiah (cf. in Deutero-Isaiah, 46¹³, 55⁹).

a (vs. 1) : *the law* (Hebrew, *mishpāt*) . . . *right conduct* (lit. *righteousness*). By the first term is meant conformity to a system of ordinances, by the second a legal righteousness. So again the objective sense of *righteousness* (*vindication of right*, vs. 1b) means in Trito-Isaiah the state of things brought about by Jahveh's intervention, when the Law and legal observances will be honoured and godlessness extirpated from the community. It is to be noted that deliverance is still future. The glorious *salvation* anticipated by Deutero-Isaiah in connexion with the restoration and re-establishment of Zion is still (nearly a century later) unrealized. It has also changed its character.

b (vs. 2) : *the Sabbath* (which is never mentioned by Deutero-Isaiah) with circumcision had become, in the absence of the cultus, a sort of sacramental symbol of the religion of Jahveh in the Exile. The post-Exilic Sabbath became also something very different from the old observance, as may be inferred from the trouble Nehemiah had in regulating it (cf. Neh. 13¹⁵). Cf. also Ezek. 20¹³.

- ³ 'And let not the foreigner say^d :
 Jahveh will surely 'separate' me from His people ;
 And let not the eunuch say :
 Behold a dry tree am I.
- ⁴ For thus says Jahveh :
 The eunuchs who keep /my Sabbaths,^f
 And choose that wherein I delight,
 And cling fast to my covenant—
- ⁵ I will give them in my House^g a ^hmonument^h and name
 that is better than sons and daughters ;
 An everlasting name will I give them
 that shall not be cut off.

c (vs. 3). The foreigner and eunuch are bidden to lay aside the fear that they may be debarred from participating in the coming salvation, as if they could hope nothing from it for themselves.

d (vs. 3) : Rec. Text adds : *who has joined himself to Jahveh, saying* : the words are regarded by Duhm and Marti as a gloss ; they spoil the symmetrical arrangement of the clauses (notice also the awkward repetition of *say . . . saying*, which is disguised in the E.V. by rendering the former word *speak*).

e (vs. 3) : *separate* (Hebrew, *hibdil*), a technical term for the separation of Israel from the heathen ; cf. *e.g.*, Ezra 6²¹, Neh. 13³. There were Israelitish eunuchs both in Jerusalem (Jer. 34¹⁰) and abroad (Is. 39⁷). The complaint of the eunuchs here contemplated seems to be concerned not with their childlessness in general, but as it affected their status in the new community at Jerusalem that is to come into being in the future. Of what use will their migration to Jerusalem be ? The future cannot be for such as they (who are childless). The writer appears to be unaware of the law of Deut. 23¹ (according to which such persons are to be excluded from the congregation) or else he ignores it.

f (vs. 4) : *my Sabbaths* : an expression characteristic of Ezekiel and the Priestly Code.

g (vs. 5) : Rec. Text adds *and within my walls*. Duhm and Marti regard this as a gloss.

h (vs. 5) : *monument*. The expression is intended literally. A monument within the Temple, a testimony of the public esteem, will be better than a numerous progeny. Such a *monument* (lit. *hand*) was erected by Absalom when confronted with the prospect of dying childless (called *Absalom's hand*, cf. 1 Sam. 15¹², R.V. margin).

- ⁶ The 'foreigners, also, who join themselves to Jahveh'ⁱ
to minister unto Him and love 'His name'^j
to be His servants'^{jj} (and handmaidens)^{jj}—
every one who keeps the Sabbath so as not to profane
it :
- ⁷ I will bring them to my holy mountain,
And gladden them in my House of Prayer ;
Their burnt offerings and sacrifices shall be^k accepted
upon my altar,
For My House shall be called a House of Prayer for
all peoples^l:
- ⁸ ^mThe oracle of the Lord Jahveh
Who gathers ⁿthe outcasts of Israelⁿ is :
^oI will yet gather (more) to him
(In addition) to his gathered ones.^o

i (vs. 6) : *foreigners who join themselves to Jahveh, i.e., proselytes, who accepted the mark of Jewish nationality (circumcision) and practised the requirements of the religion. Apparently they feared the spirit of exclusiveness in the new community which later asserted itself so strongly.*

j (vs. 6) : *His name* : so Duhm. Rec. Text : *the name of Jahveh.*

jj (vs. 6) : (*and handmaidens*) : So LXX, Duhm (reading *û-lishêf'âhòth*).

k (vs. 7) : (*shall be*), (reading *yihyu*). This word has presumably fallen out of Rec. Text. It is required to complete the sentence.

l (vs. 7) : *For My House shall be called, etc.* Cited by our Lord, Mark 11¹⁷, Matt. 21¹³, Luke 19⁴⁶. The phrase in this context is a notable one, though, as Marti points out, it does not imply that the distinction between Judaism and the heathen is overcome ; Judaism still maintains its prerogatives—it is to Jerusalem that the nations are to bring their offerings, and the Law is also maintained. But the passage is certainly directed against the exclusive spirit that soon asserted itself so strongly in Jerusalem. The writer is a kindred spirit to the author of the Book of Ruth.

m (vs. 8) : *The oracle of the Lord, etc.* This formula usually follows the sentence to which it refers. Here the reverse is the case.

n (vs. 8) : *the outcasts of Israel, i.e., the Dispersed* : cf. 11¹².

o (vs. 8) : *I will yet gather (more) to him, etc.* The language is obscure and difficult. A partial *gathering* has already taken place. "The promise is that yet more shall be gathered, and, amongst these, men from "all peoples" (Skinner).

II. A PROTEST AGAINST THE EVIL RULERS OF THE COMMUNITY
AND THE IDOLATRY RAMPANT AMONG THE PEOPLE.

(56⁹-57¹³.)

This section comes in very abruptly after 56¹⁻⁸, with which it stands in no logical relation. It presupposes a state of things such as is known from the Book of Malachi to have existed before the Reformation of Ezra-Nehemiah had been carried out.

The section forms nine strophes, each consisting of four long (double) lines (in the *Ḳināh* rhythm).

The whole passage naturally falls into two divisions: (1) 56^{9-57²}, and (2) 57³⁻¹³.

(I.) AGAINST UNWORTHY RULERS.

(56⁹-57².)

The unprotected flock is exposed to the ravages of all the wild beasts of the field (vs. 9); the leaders of the community are inefficient (*dumb dogs*), slothful, grasping, sensual (vv. 10-11). The result is that the righteous perish unheeded (57¹⁻²). [The flock, of course, is a figure for the community; the shepherds its leaders. The wild beasts the heathen.] The picture given of the internal condition of the community is sombre in the extreme.

56⁹ *Ḳ*O all ye wild beasts in the field, come hither to devour^ḡ;
all ye wild beasts in the forest!

10 *Ḳ*My watchmen^ḡ are all of them blind
*r*they know not (how to give heed)^r;

p (vs. 9): *O all ye wild beasts in the field*, etc. This apostrophe to the wild beasts of the steppe is an imitation of Jer. 12⁹ (cf. Ezek. 34^{5, 8, 39¹⁷}). Such an invitation (even in a rhetorical sense) could hardly have been given during the Exile, when Israel was already suffering so much at the hands of the heathen. But it is comprehensible if understood of the time when Malachi could express the wish that the Temple might be closed against a lifeless and hypocritical worship (Mal. 1¹⁰).

q (vs. 10): *my watchmen* (reading *tsōfaī*): so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (Bude would read *O watchmen of my people*). Rec. Text has *his watchmen* (it might be read *watch ye*; so LXX, and in other ways). By *watchmen* the spiritual leaders of the community are meant (not merely the prophets). The gloss in vs. 11, *that is shepherds*, belongs probably to this word.

r (vs. 10): *they know not (how to give heed)*, (adding to Rec. Text *hābīn*). The clause in its original form has been accidentally repeated in vs. 11.

They are dumb dogs all
 which cannot bark,^s
 'Crouching' and lying down,
 loving to slumber.

- ¹¹ And these dogs are "greedy",
 they know not how to be satisfied";
 They all turn their own way
 each for gain of his own.^w
- ¹² Come, they say, Let me fetch wine,
 we will swill strong drink;
 And to-morrow shall be as to-day
 an exceeding high (one)!

57¹ The righteous perishes, and there is none
 that lays it to heart;
 And "men of piety" are swept away
 while no one heeds;

^s (vs. 10): *They are dumb dogs all*, etc. They give no warning of the approach of foes (cf. for the general idea Ezek. 33⁹).

^t (vs. 10): *crouching* (reading *gōhārim*, cf. 1 Kings 18⁴⁰); so Grätz, Cheyne. Rec. Text has *raving* (?), (Hebrew, *hōzīm*), for which some MSS. read *seers* (*seeing*), (Hebrew, *hōzīm*). Neither of the two last senses is very appropriate.

Vv. 11-12. A lurid picture of the greed and sensuality of the community's leaders; cf. by way of illustration Neh. 5⁷⁻¹², 6¹⁰⁻¹⁴, Mal. 1¹²; cf. also for a companion picture Is. 28⁷.

^w (vs. 11): *greedy*, lit. "strong of soul," *i.e.*, appetite.

^v (vs. 11). Here Rec. Text adds *And they are shepherds, they cannot discern*, marginal glosses explained above (vs. 10: *shepherds* = pastors, gloss on *watchmen*).

^w (vs. 11, end): Rec. Text adds *without exception* (?), (lit. *from one end of it*); wanting in LXX; it overloads line and is probably due to dittography. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

Vv. 1-2. The leaders of the community being so worthless and careless, the righteous is brought low; cf. Micah 7², Ps. 12².

^a (vs. 1): *The men of piety* = the later Hasidim (the *Assidæans* of the Maccabees).

For before ^bthe evil^b the righteous is swept away,
 enters into 'peace'^c :
 'They rest upon their beds,'^c
^d(all)^d that walked ^duprightly.^d

(II.) AGAINST THE IDOLATROUS PARTY.

(57³⁻¹³.)

The invective here is turned with fierce passion against a party which is described as idolatrous both in tendency and action. Who are the persons addressed? Several scholars have thought it is the Samaritan community (so Skinner, Cheyne in *S.B.O.T.*). But it is safer, with Marti, to suppose that it is the pro-Samaritan section of the Jewish population in Jerusalem and Judæa, who were opposed to the strict party of Ezra-Nehemiah, and to the Priestly Law, and who were later expelled by Nehemiah from the community, and went over to the Samaritans.

³ 'But as for you—do ye hither draw nigh
 ye sons of a sorceress,
 Ye brood of an adulteress and harlot^f :
⁴ over whom make you merry ?
 At whom do ye 'make a wide mouth,'^f
 put out a long tongue ?
 Are ye not apostate children,
 a false brood ?

b (vs. 1) : *the evil*, i.e., of the present (not *the evil to come* as in A.V.).

c (vs. 1 f.) : *the peace* and *rest* meant are those of the grave (cf. Job 3^{13f}) ; the *beds* are the coffins or biers of the dead in the tomb (cf. 2 Chron. 16¹⁴, Ezek. 32²⁶).

d (vs. 2) : (*all*) added by Duhm, Cheyne, to help sense and grammar. *uprightly* (reading *nekoḥoth*) : so Klostermann, Cheyne (cf. 26¹⁰, 33¹³). Rec. Text : *his straight way* (?).

e (vs. 3) : *sons of a sorceress . . . brood of an adulteress and harlot* (reading the last two words *mēnā'efeth wē-zōnāh* with Klostermann, Budde and others, instead of the impossible collocation in the Rec. Text). The expressions are probably not to be understood literally, but in a metaphorical sense of idolatrous tendencies, idolatry being often described as fornication and adultery (cf. Ezek. 16³, 44⁶, 23). Others think the expressions refer to the mixed origin of the Samaritans (interpreting the whole passage as referring to the Samaritans).

f (vs. 4) : *make a wide mouth* (in derision) ; cf. Ps. 35²¹.

⁵ [^gYe that inflame yourselves among the terebinths
under every green tree,
That slay the children in the wadies,
in the midst of the rocky clefts.^g]

⁶ ^hIn the deceivers of the wadi is thy portion,^h
they, they are thy lot ;
To them also thou hast poured out libations,
hast offered an oblationⁱ :

⁷ On a mountain high and uplifted
^jThou didst set thy bed,^j
Thither, too, thou didst ascend
to sacrifice sacrifice.

g (vs. 5). This verse does not accord metrically with the preceding strophe—it is constructed in four equal lines in the Hebrew text. It is regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a citation from another poem, which has come in from the margin. The cultus under the trees referred to was an extremely licentious one (cf. Hos. 4¹³, Jer. 2²⁰, 23-27 ; 3⁶). Child-sacrifice here referred to became widespread again in the reign of Manasseh (cf. 2 Kings 21⁶ ; cf. Jer. 7³¹, Ezek. 16^{20f.}). [This verse may be dependent on Ezek. 16^{20f.} *In the midst of* (reading *bēthōk* for *taḥath* with LXX : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti) *the rocky clefts* : this detail regarding child sacrifice is only mentioned here (Marti).]

Vv. 6-7 describe the idolatry practised in the wadies and on the hills.

h (vs. 6) : *in the deceivers of the wadi is thy portion*. There is a play upon the two words in the Hebrew : (" in the *ḥalākīm* is thy *ḥelek* "). The word *ḥālāk* means *smooth* either in a literal or metaphorical sense ; in the latter it = " slippery," " deceitful," " flattering " (cf. Ezek. 12²⁴, *flattering divination*). The reference would then be to some kind of idol-worship, unspecified, which was practised in the wadies. Such a term as *deceivers* might well be applied to false gods of any kind (cf. *lies* in Am. 2⁴ : *their lies have caused them to err*). Others render *in the smooth ones* (i.e., *smooth stones*) *of the wadi is thy portion* : the *smooth stones* being the unhewn stones made smooth by the winter torrents. Of such unhewn stones altars were anciently built (cf. Exod. 20²⁵, Deut. 27⁶⁻⁸). " To have a portion in anything " means to identify oneself with it.

i (vs. 6, end). Rec. Text adds *shall I be appeased for these things?* i.e., pass them over without punishment. This sentence does not suit the context altogether, and also spoils the metrical scheme. The words, as Duhm suggests, may be due to dittography. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

j (vs. 7) : *Thou didst set up thy bed*. The expression is suggested by the comparison of idolatry to adultery. Cf. *o.g.*, Ezek. 16²².

- ⁸ ^kBehind the door and the door-post
 thou didst set thy memorial,^k
 For ^hby reason of it^l thou didst uncover and ascend
 and enlarge thy bed ;
 And ^mthou didst buy thyself such^m
 as thou didst love intercourse with,
ⁿ(And didst multiply thy foulness with themⁿ)—
 thou didst see ^othe phallus.^o
- ⁹ ^pAnd thou didst anoint thyself with oil^p for ^qMelek,^q
 didst make thy perfumes many ;

k (vs. 8) : *Behind the door and the door-post*, etc. Some form of household idolatry is alluded to. The law in Deut. 6⁹, 11²⁰ was doubtless intended to displace heathen practices such as those alluded to here. Probably some emblem of a god, especially a household deity, is alluded to. Possibly, however, the *memorial* here alluded to may have been some phallic symbol, a household Priapus, symbolizing fertility. Doors and thresholds possessed great significance in ancient cults ; cf. Exod. 12⁷, 21²⁻⁶ ; 1 Sam. 5^{4f.} ; Zeph. 1⁹. For *door-post* (Hebrew, *mēzūzāh*) cf. Exod. 12⁷, 21⁶ ; Deut. 6⁹.

l (vs. 8) : *by reason of it* (reading *mē'ittō* with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti).

Rec. Text : *from me, i.e., away from (in rebellion from) me ?*

m (vs. 8) : *thou didst buy thyself such* (reading *wa-tikri lāk mēhem*) : *such*, lit. = *those of them* ; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *And thou didst make a covenant with (?) them*. For the whole conception see Ezek. 16³²⁻³⁴ ; (this passage seems clearly to be dependent on Ezek. 16 as a whole).

n (vs. 8) : (*And didst multiply thy foulness with them*) ; supplied by Duhm (cf. LXX of vs. 9a) ; so Cheyne, Marti (reading *wa-tarbi taznūthēk 'ittām*).

o (vs. 8) : *the phallus* (lit. *hand*) : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

p (vs. 9) : *And thou didst anoint thyself with oil* (reading *wa-tāsūki* ; so probably Symmachus, Jerome). This verb goes naturally with *oil* (cf. Ezek. 16⁹ ; 2 Sam. 12²⁰ ; Ruth 3³). The harlot's preparations for enticing her lovers are referred to (cf. Hos. 2¹⁵ ; Ezek. 23⁴⁰). Rec. Text has *And thou hast journeyed (?)* (very doubtful word) *with oil* (to Melek). In this case pilgrimages and deputations to foreign shrines are alluded to (hardly political embassies). [In the corrected text, as translated above, the community, represented as a harlot in festal attire, entices men *from a distance*.]

q (vs. 9) : *Melek, i.e., the north-Israelitish god* whose name has usually been vocalized with the vowels of a word (*bōsheth*), meaning *shameful thing* in Jewish tradition, and hence appears under the form of *Molek* (*Moloch*), more specifically the Ammonite god *Milkom* (cf. 1 Kings 11⁵) may be meant. The fact that Tobiah the *Ammonite* had relations with a certain section of the Jews of Jerusalem at this time (cf. Neh. 2¹⁰, 4⁷, 6¹, etc.) is not without significance.

- *Thou didst send thy messengers far*
 and deep, down to Sheol ;
 10 Though, wearied with the length of thy journeying,
 thou saidst not : 'It is hopeless' !
 "Quickening of thy strength" thou didst gain,
 therefore "thou didst not desist."
 11 "Of whom wast thou in fear and dread ?
 For thou art faithless,"
 And me thou didst not remember,
 nor lay (thy duty) to heart !
 Is it not so ? I indeed kept silence
 and *hid (mine eyes),*
 *Therefore
 And of me thou hadst no fear.

r (vs. 9) : *Thou didst send thy messengers far*, etc. Here undoubtedly deputations to foreign shrines are referred to.

s (vs. 9) : *and deep down to Sheol*, lit. *and thou didst make deep* [sc. *thy sending*] *to Sheol*, i.e., thou didst send to consult the oracles of foreign deities which were especially connected with the underworld (Sheol), such as, e.g., the Egyptian god Osiris, who was honoured in Phœnicia.

t (vs. 10) : *It is hopeless*, an exclamation—cf. Jer. 2²⁵, 18¹².

u (vs. 10) : *quickening of thy strength*, lit. *the living again of thy hand* (read *hāyōth* with Bühl for the doubtful *hāyath*) : a proverbial expression ? [But the expression is very obscure.]

v (vs. 10) : *thou didst not desist* (reading *lō hādalt* ; cf. Ps. 49⁹). So Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *Thou wast weak (ill)*.

Vs. 11 forms the fifth strophe. They have shown a shameless and defiant disregard of God in their acts. The rhetorical question implies the answer "of no one." Others take the sentence differently, as a mild expostulation on the part of Jahveh : thus Cheyne renders the double line : *Of whom then wast thou in such craven fear that thou didst play the traitor* (and gavest to me no thought), etc., i.e., Why did the people allow themselves to be frightened into apostasy by undue fear of other gods, and because Jahveh had kept silence so long. [*For thou art faithless* might be rendered *that thou wast faithless*.] But the former view suits the tone of the passage as a whole better.

x (vs. 11) : *Is it not so ? I indeed kept silence* : so Duhm, Marti, Skinner. Because Jahveh kept silence they went on practising such idolatries ; cf. Ps. 50²¹.

y (vs. 11) : *hid (mine eyes)* : so Cheyne, Marti (reading after the LXX *ú-ma'ltm* and supplying 'ēnāi as object ; cf. Ps. 10¹). Jahveh appeared to acquiesce (cf. Ps. 50²¹, 10¹¹). Rec. Text : *even of old (?)*.

z (vs. 11) : *Therefore . . .* Only one word of the fourth line remains. A hemistich has fallen out, expressing some such thought as (*therefore, thou didst play the wanton more and more*). So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

¹² I will expose thy "righteousness"
 and thy works ;
 Nor shall avail thee, ¹³when thou criest,
 thine abominations, nor rescue thee !
 All of them shall the wind whirl away,
 a breath shall take them ;
 But who trusts in me shall inherit the land,
 and possess my holy mountain.

III. A PROMISE OF DIVINE HELP TO THE OPPRESSED AND
 CRUSHED PARTY OF THE PIOUS.

(57 ¹⁴⁻²¹.)

There is a striking contrast in tone between this section and the last. It contains a message of consolation for the depressed and suffering pious minority in the community. That the section is entirely distinct and independent from what precedes is shown by the difference of metre. It consists of six double distichs. It is not necessary, however, to follow Cheyne (*Introduction*, p. 320 f.) in ascribing the section to a different writer. The section may much more naturally be regarded as the complement to the preceding. In various ways the influence of Deutero-Isaiah is marked, some of the phraseology being clearly modelled on the language of the earlier writer.

¹⁴ "Cast up, cast up, make level the way,
 Lift stumbling-blocks out of the way of my people !
 For thus says the ^bLofty and Uplifted,^b
 Who sits (throned) for ever, whose name is Holy One :

Vs. 12, forming the sixth strophe, announces the divine judgment on all these practices. "Righteousness" = (*thy*) *pretended righteousness* (in an ironical sense). *Thy works*, i.e., the practices depicted in vv. 6-10 ; cf. Rev. 3 ¹⁶, ¹⁵. (*Thine abominations* reading *shikkutsaik* with Weir ; cf. 66 ³). Rec. Text: *thy medley (of Gods) (?)*, (*thy idol-collection*): a very doubtful Hebrew word, only occurring here.

vs. 14 : The verse is obviously a reminiscence of 40 ³ from which the image of the highway (of salvation) is taken. Only there it is used literally of a way through the desert ; here, in a metaphorical sense, of a way made possible by the removal of spiritual obstacles. The writer suggests that the older prophecy is now to be fulfilled. (He may also have in mind a further return of the Jews of the Dispersion. But the following verses suggest that he is thinking primarily of spiritual obstacles. Cf. the application of the words to the mission of John the Baptist, Mark 1 ³, John 1 ²⁹).

a (vs. 14). Rec. Text prefixes *And it shall be said* (the speaker must be Jahveh, in what follows) ; "probably a scribe's insertion, perhaps to explain the imperative which suddenly follows" (Cheyne). Others would make the supposed speaker the prophet ; so Lowth (reading first person with Jerome), *then I will say*.

b (vs. 14) : *the Lofty and Uplifted*, cf. 6 ¹.

- 15 In the height ^cas Holy One^c I sit (enthroned),
 And with him who is ^dcrushed and lowly in spirit,^d
 To revive the spirit of the lowly
 And to revive the heart of the crushed.
- 16 ^eFor I will not contend for ever,
 Nor perpetually be in a state of wrath,
 For the spirit would faint before me,
 And the souls which I have made.^e
- 17 ^fBecause of his guilt^f I was wroth ^ffor a moment,^f
 And smote him hiding myself in wrath ;
^gAnd he went on backturning in his own heart's way,^g
- 18 His ways have I seen, ^h[says Jahveh].^h
- 18^b And I will heal him and ⁱgive him rest,ⁱ
 And will requite him with full consolation ;

c (vs. 15) : *as Holy One* (reading with LXX *bēkādōsh* with *Beth essentiaē*) ; so Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has the same sense.

d (vs. 15) : *crushed and lowly in spirit*. These terms have here a historical rather than a theological significance. The party of the pious were an oppressed minority when this chapter was written, and their spirit had been subdued in the school of affliction. At the same time the thought of the excellence of humility is clearly present if only implicit.

e (vs. 16). Persistence in wrath would undo the work of creation. Therefore when affliction has produced a sufficiently humble spirit, Jahveh relents. *Spirit* and *souls* are parallel here, and mean human life as sustained by the Divine power (the life-principle is divine, cf. Gen. 2⁷).

f (vs. 17) : *Because of his guilt . . . for a moment* (reading *ba'āwōnō rega'*, cf. LXX). So Klostermann, Oort, Cheyne, Marti (cf. 54^{7, 8}). Rec. Text : Because of the guilt of his unjust gain (*bits'ō*). But the mention of a particular sin is unsuitable in this context, in any case we should expect idolatry to be singled out rather than *unjust gain*.

g (vs. 17) : *and he went on backturning*, etc. : the consequence of the chastisement, not its designed result.

h (vs. 18) [*says Jahveh*] transferred from vs. 19 (so Duhm, Cheyne).

i (vs. 18) : *give him rest* (reading *wa'ānihēhū*, altering points). So Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Like a good physician Jahveh will heal him (cf. Ex. 15²⁶ ; Jer. 3²² ; Hos. 14⁵) and after the turmoil and trial of the Exile *give him rest* (cf. 14³). Rec. Text has *I will lead him*.

¹⁸ 'Yea, for his mourners ¹⁹ I create anew ^kfruit of the lips,
^l'Peace, peace, to the far off and near.'

²⁰ ^mBut the ungodly are like the "uptossed" sea,
 For it cannot repose,
 And its waters "toss up" mire and dirt.

²¹ There is no peace, says my God, for the ungodly^m !

IV. THE TRUE FAST: WITH A LATER APPENDIX ON THE SABBATH.

(Ch. 58.)

After announcing his commission to lift up his voice against unreal religious service (vv. 1-2) the prophetic writer takes up the question of fasting. He meets the popular complaint that their fasts had been disregarded by God by asking if the kind of fast they practise could possibly please Him (vv. 3b-5); he then describes the kind of fast that is acceptable to Jahveh (vv. 6-7), and promises that if they carry out such, salvation shall not be delayed any longer. (vv. 8-12). A similar promise is given in connexion with the proper observance of the Sabbath (vv. 13-14).

The question of fasting had already arisen and been dealt with by the prophet Zechariah (7^a; cf. 8¹⁹). It was evidently a matter that agitated the newly-formed community in Jerusalem. By fasting and prayer it was hoped that the required standard of righteousness might be attained which would enable the Messianic prophecies to be fulfilled. The fasts contemplated were doubtless those that had grown up out of pious custom. Spontaneous fasting, as a means of propitiating the deity, was common in old Israel (cf. *e.g.*, Judges 20²⁸; 1 Sam. 7⁸, etc.). In later Judaism it became one of the recognized marks of piety.

The verses on the Sabbath are probably a later appendix.

j (vs. 18): *yea for his mourners*, taking the words with the third stichus (so Cheyne, Marti) [add *I*, Hebrew *'ani*, to *create*, Marti, etc.].

k (vs. 19): *fruit of the lips, i.e., praise, thanksgiving*; cf. Hos. 14² (R.V., margin), Hebrew 13¹⁶.

l (vs. 19): *Peace, peace to the far off and near*, a second objective after *create* (rather than an exclamation); *peace* = welfare, prosperity. *The far off and near* = the Jews at home and abroad.

m (vv. 20-21). These verses contrast the fate of the ungodly. For the image cf. Jude¹⁹.

n (vs. 20): *uptossed . . . toss up* (reading *nigdāsh . . . wa-yigdēshū* from a verb *gādash* = to heap up; cf. Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 322). Rec. Text (*nigrāsh . . . wa-nigrēshū*) can only mean *driven away*. The emendation must be made also in Amos 8⁸.

(I.) THE TRUE FAST.

(58¹⁻¹².)

The poem consists of double distichs (like 57¹⁴⁻²⁰). It falls into strophes (which do not always coincide with the verse divisions).

58¹ Cry with (full) throat : refrain not !

Like a trumpet lift up thy voice :

^aDeclare to My people their rebellion,
And to the House of Jacob their sin.^a

² ^bMe indeed they daily consult,
And to know my ways is their delight,
As a nation that has practised righteousness,
And not forsaken the law of its God.^b

They ask me concerning ^cordinances of righteousness,^c

^dTo draw nigh to God^d is their delight.

³ " Why have we ^efasted^e and Thou seest not ?
Mortified ourselves and Thou dost not notice ? "

Surely on your fast-day ^fye find (time for) your business,^f

^gAnd all money lent on pledge ye exact.^g

a (vs. 1) : *Declare to my people*, etc. : cf. Micah 3⁸, on which this verse may be dependent. The true prophet, as distinguished from the false, is ready so to act.

b (vs. 2). The people are zealous in the performance of the externals of religion ; *righteousness* = *law*, here as in 56¹.

c (vs. 2) : *ordinances of righteousness* : such questions as dealt with matters concerned with the correctness of cultus and ritual ; not " righteous judgments " on Israel's enemies and oppressors.

d (vs. 2) : *To draw nigh to God*, viz., in sacrifice or prayer in the sanctuary ; cf. Lev. 16¹ ; Zeph. 3².

e (vs. 3) : *fasted*, on the days commemorating the disasters that befell Jerusalem and Judah ; to observe such had become a pious custom during the Exile ; cf. Zech. 7^{2f.} ; 8¹⁹.

f (vs. 3) : *ye find (time for) your business* : the Ancient Versions read *your business* ; so Houb., Lowth, and many moderns. Rec. Text has *business*. [For the word cf. 44²⁸.]

g (vs. 3) : *and all money lent on pledge ye exact* (reading *wē-kol 'ābōf bēyedkem tingōsū*, lit. *and every pledge in your hand ye exact*), i.e., all money for which a pledge has been given, cf. Deut. 24¹⁰⁻¹³). So Klostermann, followed by Cheyne, Marti (LXX partly supports). Rec. Text : *and all your labourers (?) ye oppress*—a reference to the oppression of slaves and servants. Fast days implied cessation of work, but these men did not extend this to their servants. But the word rendered *labourers* is very doubtful. Some more particular statement (parallel to *business*) is desiderated by the context.

- ⁴ Surely for strife and contention ye fast,
^hAnd to smite the poor with the fist.^h

Your fasting at present is not such
 As ⁱto make your voice heard on high.ⁱ

- ⁵ Can such be the fast that I choose,
 A day when a man mortifies himself?

To droop one's head like a bulrush,
 And to make one's bed of sackcloth and ashes—
 Wilt thou call *this* a fast,
 A day acceptable to Jahveh?

- ⁶ Is not *this* the fast that I choose,
^j (says Jahveh's oracle^j)?
 To loose ^hthe fetters of unrighteousness,^h
 To untie the bands of 'violence'?

To let those who are ^mcrushed^m go free,
 And every yoke to snap?

^h (vs. 4) : *and to smite the poor with the fist* (reading *bē'egrōf rāsh* with LXX instead of *bē'egrōf resha'*). So Houb., Lowth, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text: *with godless fist.* (*And to smite with godless fist.*)

ⁱ (vs. 4) : *to make your voice heard on high, viz., your prayer.*

Vv. 6 f. True fasting consists in abstaining from every form of oppression, and in the performance of positive works of mercy and benevolence. For the thought cf. S. Matt. 5⁷, 6¹², 18³⁵.

^j (vs. 6). A line is desiderated here by the metrical scheme, which is partly supplied by the bracketed words in the LXX. Read, perhaps *the day I delight in (?) says Jahveh's oracle* (*yôm rētsōni, ne'ūm Jahveh*).

^h (vs. 6) : *the fetters of unrighteousness, i.e., "unjust and oppressive obligations"* (Skinner).

^l (vs. 6) : *violence* (reading *hāmās* : parallel with *resha'* as in Prov. 4¹⁷) : so Cheyne, Marti. The repetition of *yoke* in the same verse is an inelegance.

^m (vs. 6) : *crushed, i.e., by debt* (bankrupts who had been compelled to sell their liberty to creditors are meant). Cf. Deut. 23³³ and (for such oppression of poor at this time) Neh. 5¹⁻¹³.

- 7 Is it not "to divide thy bread for the hungry,"
And "to bring the vagrant home" ?

When thou seest the naked to cover him,
And "hide not thyself from thine own flesh" ?

- 8 Then shall "thy light" break forth as the dawn,
And thy "restoration" "spring forth" speedily :

And thy "righteousness" shall go before thee,
Jahveh's glory shall be thy rearward.

- 9 Then when thou criest Jahveh will answer,
When thou appealest He will say : Here am I.

If from the midst thou remove the yoke,
"The pointing finger" and mischievous speech,

n (vs. 7) : *to divide thy bread for the hungry*, cf. the example set by Nehemiah, Neh. 5¹⁷. Cf. also Job 31¹³⁻²².

o (vs. 7) : *to bring the vagrant home*, i.e., the homeless to thy house. Read either *mūrādīm* or *nōddādīm* (= forced to wander or wander simply). So Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *restlessness* (an abstract noun) adding the gloss *poor*.

p (vs. 7) : *hide not thyself from thine own flesh*, i.e., fellow-Israelites. Cf. for the phrase, Deut. 22^{1, 3, 4}.

q (vs. 8) : *thy light*, i.e., prosperity, happiness ; cf. 9¹, 60^{1, 3}.

r (vs. 8) : *restoration* : the Hebrew word means literally the new flesh formed when the wound is healing ; then metaphorically health, restoration (in Neh. 4¹ (4⁷ E.V.) it is used of restoration of walls of the Temple. Here it probably = recovered health, prosperity.

s (vs. 8) : *spring forth*. In Syriac this verb is used of light shining forth. Such a meaning would suit the parallelism here well.

t (vs. 8) : *righteousness*, i.e., as *shewn in* the fulfilment of religious duties. This constitutes the condition of Jahveh's intervention and the bringing in of His salvation. [As Marti points out, in these verses a marked point of difference comes to view between the thought of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah. In the former the promise of salvation is *unconditional* (cf. 43^{22-44 6} ; 55¹⁻¹³). As it was not realized, later writers, and among them Trito-Isaiah, interpreted the promises conditionally.]

u (vs. 9) : *the pointing finger*, lit. *the stretching forth of the finger*, a gesture of contempt and derision ; cf. the Latin phrase *infamis digitus* (Gesenius).

- 10 And ^vbestow^v ^wthy bread^w on the hungry,
And satisfy the bowed-down soul—

Then shall thy light stream forth in the darkness,
And thy gloom shall be as the noonday ;

- 11 And Jahveh will lead thee continually

z z

And He will satisfy thy soul in parched lands,
And thy strength will He ^yrenew,^y
And thou shalt be like a well-watered garden,
And like ^za place of springs^z whose waters deceive not.

- 12 ^{aa}Thy sons^{aa} shall re-build the ancient ruins,
Thou shalt re-erect the time-honoured foundations ;
And men shall call thee, Repairer of Ruins,
Restorer of ^{bb}razed habitations^{bb} for inhabiting.

v (vs. 10) : *bestow* (read *tāfik*, imperfect with Duhm) ; lit. *bring out, furnish*.

w (vs. 10) : *thy bread* (reading *lahmēkā* ; so LXX, Peshitto, Lowth, Grätz, and many moderns. Rec. Text has *thy soul* (*draw out thy soul to the hungry*, A.V.), doubtless a case of dittography from the following word.

x (vs. 11) : a line has probably fallen out here (so Marti—perhaps some such sentence as *And will guard thee continually*).

y (vs. 11) : *renew* (reading *yahālif* ; cf. 40³¹). So Secker, Lowth, and many moderns. Rec. Text has *make strong* (?), (the verb does not occur elsewhere).

z (vs. 11) : *a place of springs* (Hebrew, *mōtsā* ; omit *mayim 'asher* in Rec. Text with Cheyne, Duhm) ; an oasis with unfailing springs is probably meant (contrast Jer. 15¹⁸).

aa (vs. 12) : *Thy sons* (reading *bānēkā* for *mimmekā*) : so Weir, Loeb, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : (*they that shall be*) of thee (?) a curious expression.

bb (vs. 12) : *razed habitations* (reading *nēhītsōth*, cf. the verb) : so Lagarde, Oort, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. The word so read would occur only here ; but the same is true of *hārisuth* in 49¹⁹. Rec. Text has *paths* (*nethiboth*)—hardly a suitable term to join to *for inhabiting*.

(II.) AN APPENDIX ON THE SABBATH.

(58^{13, 14}.)

The verses on the Sabbath which follow are regarded by Marti as of later date than 58¹⁻¹². It is clear from 58¹³ that the ruined walls have not yet been re-erected; it must therefore belong to the period preceding Nehemiah's arrival. On the other hand these verses (58^{13, 14}) in their high estimation of the importance of the Sabbath go beyond Neh. 9¹⁴, Ex. 16²³; at the same time their method of expression shows traces of the influence of the preceding section (58¹⁻¹²). They were, therefore, probably added as a conclusion to the preceding section by a later hand. (So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.)

- ¹³ ^{cc}If thou turnest back thy foot^{cc} from the Sabbath,
^{dd}Not doing ^{dd}thy business on My holy day;
 And callest the Sabbath a delight,
 The ^{ee}[holy one of Jahveh honourable]^{ee}
 And dost honour it not doing ^{ff}thy wont,^{ff}
 Nor finding (in it a time for) thy business nor speaking
 idly;
- ¹⁴ ^{gg}Then shalt thou have thy delight in Jahveh,
 And I will make thee ride over the heights of the earth,
 And I will cause thee to enjoy the inheritance of Jacob thy
 father;
 For Jahveh's mouth has decreed it.^{gg}

cc (vs. 13): *If thou turnest back thy foot*, as if it were holy ground (a sanctuary); cf. Ex. 3⁵.

dd (vs. 13): *not doing*, lit. *so as not to do* (reading *me'ásóth*). So Houb., Lowth, and many moderns (with LXX).

ee (vs. 13): [*the holy one of Jahveh's honourable*]: *the holy one of Jahveh* is a strange expression to apply to the Sabbath; *honourable* with the following expression (*and dost honour*) is tautologous. Hence Duhm proposes to read *lêhōdesh yahweh mahmād*, i.e., *the new moon of Jahveh a joy (something desirable)*.

ff (vs. 13): *thy wont*, lit. *thy ways*.

gg (vs. 14): This verse mainly consists of quotations: line 1 = Job 22²⁶; line 2 = Deut. 32¹⁸, and means that all difficulties shall be overcome: *cause to enjoy*, lit. *eat*; cf. 1²⁹.

V. THE OBSTACLES TO ISRAEL'S SALVATION AND THEIR
REMOVAL THROUGH THE DIVINE INTERVENTION.

(59¹⁻²¹.)

The chapter is parallel with 58¹⁻¹². The theme which is there developed in conjunction with the special question of fasting is here dealt with more generally. The same historical situation is implied. The chapter falls naturally into three divisions, in the first of which the prophetic writer makes clear that the great obstacle between Jahveh and his people is sin (vv. 1-8); this gives place to a sigh for deliverance followed by confession (vv. 9-15); there follows a triumphant and prophetic vision of deliverance (vv. 16-21).

The chapter is constructed in the same metre as 58¹⁻¹². There is one considerable later addition (vv. 5-8). Some scholars regard the last section (vv. 16-21) as an independent passage, cf. a different date; but see further on this point the introduction to that section below.

(I.) A DENUNCIATION OF THE COMMUNITY'S SINS.

(59¹⁻⁸.)

The prophetic writer meets the thought that occurs to the popular mind—which is inclined to believe that Jahveh's failure to effect deliverance is due to impotence—by declaring that the real obstacle is their own sins. He points to flagrant breaches of the mural code by way of justifying his words. A quotation (added later) from another writing (vv. 5-8) gives an appalling picture of corruption, which, however, can hardly apply to the whole community.

59¹ ^aBehold Jahveh's hand is not too short to deliver,^a

Nor His ear too ^bdull^b to hear!

² But your iniquities have become the barrier^c

And your sins the cause of veiling the Face.^d

a (vs. 1): *Behold Jahveh's hand is not too short to deliver*: a reminiscence of 50². It sets forth the theme of the whole chapter.

b (vs. 1): *dull*: cf. 6¹⁰ (whole expression similar).

c (vs. 2): Rec. Text adds here, *between you and your God*, and after *the Face* the words *from you so that He hears not*: both are regarded by Duhm and Marti as glosses which disturb the metrical scheme and symmetry of the verses, and spoil the parallelism.

d (vs. 2): *the cause of veiling the Face*: lit. *have hidden the Face*. *The Face* here = the Divine Presence which was later expressed by such terms as *the Shekinah*, *the Name*, etc.

- ³ For 'your hands are defiled with blood,^e
And your fingers with iniquity ;
Your lips speak lies,
And your tongue mutters depravity.
- ⁴ [^]None sues in righteousness
And none pleads in honesty ;^f
^g(Nought but) trust in pretences and speaking falsehood^g !
^hConceiving trouble and begetting mischief.^h
- ⁵ [ⁱ'Basilisks' eggs do they hatch,ⁱ
And spiders' webs do they weave ;
^jHe who eats of their eggs shall die,^j
^kAnd when one is crushed it breaks out into an adder.^k
- ⁶ ^lTheir webs serve not for clothing,
Nor can men cover themselves with their works ;
Their works are works of mischief,
And the deed of violence is in their hands. .

^e (vs. 3) : *your hands*, etc. ; cf. 1¹⁸.

^f (vs. 4) : *none sues in righteousness . . . pleads*, etc. The terms are forensic, and refer to abuses in legal procedure : *sues*, lit. *calls*, i.e., "summons" (*in jus vocare*) ; cf. Job 9¹⁶ : *pleads*, the same word as in 43²⁶ ("to enter into controversy with").

^g (vs. 4) : (*Nought but*) *trust in pretences*, etc., a vivid description of the unscrupulous methods of argument employed by the litigants.

^h (vs. 4) : *conceiving trouble*, etc. : cited from Job 15³⁶.

Vv. 5-8 are probably an insertion "from some favourite book of moral teaching, or possibly from some very late Psalm" (Cheyne). So Marti (and also Duhm). Notice vs. 7 = Prov. 1¹⁶ ; vv. 7-8 also occur in LXX of Ps. 14³ (cited in Rom. 3^{10f.}). The description can hardly apply to the whole community, but only to a limited class of the worst section.

ⁱ (vs. 5) : *Basilisks' eggs*, etc. The figure refers probably to plots and projects hatched by the godless.

^j (vs. 5) : *He who eats of their eggs*, i.e., either the godless or his victim (the eggs are equally fatal to both).

^k (vs. 5) : *And when one is crushed it breaks out into an adder*, i.e., when the plot is stamped out, its deadly nature only becomes more clearly revealed in the process.

^l (vs. 6) : *their webs serve not for clothing*, etc. The second image (that of the spider's web) is now developed. The figure suggests the uselessness of their schemes for any good purpose to the community.

- ⁷ *Their feet run to evil,
And make haste to shed innocent blood.
Their thoughts are thoughts of mischief,
Rapine and ruin are in their highways.*
- ⁸ *The way of peace they know not,
And there is no justice in their "tracks"^m ;
"Their paths they have made crooked for themselves"—
Who treads thereon knows no peace.]*

(II.) THE PEOPLE'S SORROW AND CONFESSION.

(59⁹⁻¹⁰.)

In pathetic language the prophetic writer, identifying himself with the community and, speaking in their name, describes the people's sorrow, and their ardent and almost despairing desire to see the promised salvation realized. The section ends in a confession of sin, spoken in the people's name.

No greater contrast could well be imagined than the depressed tone of this short piece as compared with the exuberant spirit and language of Deutero-Isaiah.

- ⁹ *Therefore has "right" been far from us,
And redress has not overtaken us ;
We wait for the light—but, lo darkness !
For bright beams—but in gloom do we walk !*
- ¹⁰ [†]*Like blind men "we grope along" the wall,
Yea sightless we do "grope along" ;
We stumble at high noon as in the twilight,
' . . . ' like the dead.[†]*

m (vs. 8) : *tracks* : a common word in Proverbs (especially in metaphorical sense of course of life) ; cf. Proverbs 4²⁸, 5²¹, etc.

n (vs. 8) : *their paths they have made crooked for themselves* ; cf. Prov. 2¹⁵, 10⁹, 27¹⁶.

[These verses are markedly different in tone from vv. 1-4. The latter define special sins as an indictment against the whole community. These are of a more general and far-reaching character. Notice also these verses are in the third person, vv. 1-4 in the second.]

o (vs. 9) : *right, i.e.*, the long-expected assertion of it by Jahveh.

p (vs. 10) : *Like blind men*, etc. A pathetic description of the precarious situation of the Jewish community of Judæa at the time. What a contrast to the soaring hopes of Deutero-Isaiah !

q (vs. 10) : *we grope along* (reading *nēmashsheshāh* in both places (cf. Deut. 28²⁹) instead of the doubtful *negashsheshāh* of Rec. Text) ; so Cheyne, Marti.

r (vs. 10) : the Rec. Text here is corrupt. (Render *among them that are lusty we are [as the dead] (?)*). Cheyne has proposed *And we dwell in the darkness (like the dead)*, (reading *wēnēshēb be-mahashakkim ka-methim* : cf. Lam. 3⁹).

- ¹¹ 'Like bears' we all do groan,
 And 'moan' sore like doves :
 We look for right, but there is none,
 For deliverance—but it remains far from us.
- ¹² For our rebellions are many before Thee,
 And "our sins testify against us"^u ;
 For "we are conscious of"^v our rebellions,
 And our iniquities—we know them !
- ¹³ "Rebellion and denial of Jahveh,
 And defection from our God ;"^w
 Speaking "perverseness"^x and obliquity,
 "Uttering from the heart lying words."
- ¹⁴ "And justice has been driven back,
 And righteousness stands afar off ;
 For truth stumbles in the market place,
 And rectitude cannot enter.

s (vs. 11) : *like bears*, i.e., hungry bears, probably.

t (vs. 11) : *moan* or *mourn* : for the mourning of doves cf. 38¹⁴ ; Ezek. 7¹⁶ ; Nah. 2⁷.

u (vs. 12) : *our sins testify against us* : cf. Jer. 14⁷.

v (vs. 12) : *we are conscious of* (lit. *are with us*, i.e., in our minds) : cf. Job 12³.

w (vs. 13) : *rebellion*, etc. Probably moral lapses are meant, not idolatry. The last part of verse refers to sins of speech.

x (vs. 13) : *perverseness* (reading 'ikkēsh) ; with Cheyne, Marti, LXX, Targum. Cf. 30¹². Rec. Text has *oppression*.

y (vs. 13) : Rec. Text adds *conceiving* (?) before *uttering*. But the word (which is highly doubtful in form) is probably a miswritten form of the following (*hōrō hōgō*). Omit with Cheyne, Marti. Others would keep and alter pointing (*hārō wē-hāgō*).

z (vs. 14) : *justice, righteousness* (i.e., civic righteousness), *truth, rectitude* are personified.

- 15 And so truth is ^{aa}not to be found,^{aa}
^{bb}And insight departs from the city^{bb} ;
 AND JAHVEH SAW IT AND WAS DISPLEASED
^{cc}AND WAS ANGRY^{cc} THAT THERE WAS NO JUSTICE.

(III.) THE COMING OF SALVATION : A VISION OF DELIVERANCE.

(59¹⁶⁻²⁰ (21.))

This section forms the final part of the prophetic discourse. The writer describes in eschatological language Jahveh's personal intervention and its consequences.

The passage has a distinctively apocalyptic colouring. The writer, overwhelmed with the conviction that truth and righteousness have disappeared altogether, takes refuge in an eschatological vision of the future. He is drawing in fact upon the common stock of traditional eschatological material. According to one of its popular forms this tradition, it may be inferred, described how when truth and right had perished from off the earth Jahveh Himself intervened to restore and re-create moral order. The "adversaries" and "enemies" whom He visits in His wrath are not to be identified (in the tradition) with a particular people, or class of people, but belong to the drama of the future, to the great final conflict (symbolized in other forms of the eschatological tradition by Gog and Magog).

Another feature of the tradition is, apparently, the stream or river which is put to flight by Jahveh's breath. The stream, in fact, is Jahveh's enemy, and represents presumably the dragon of Chaos between whom and Jahveh the great conflict raged at Creation, and is continued from time to time, until the End.

The equipment and arming are also features of the ancient myth.* To this traditional material embodied, in a widespread and familiar

aa (vs. 15) : *not to be found*, lit. *missing*.

bb (vs. 15) : *and insight (or wisdom) departs from the city* (reading *wē-šar mē'ir haskēl*). So Marti, suggesting as alternatives to *from the city* either *from the market place* (*mi-sha'ar*) or *from the rulers* (*me-ro'im*). This affords a good parallel to the first line of the verse. Rec. Text has *And he that departs from evil is plundered* (or *withdraws himself*). [In Marti's emendation *insight* (*haskēl*) is based on the LXX]. Cheyne (reading *mishkakkēl*) renders : *And whoso avoids evil must put himself down as childless*.

cc (vs. 15), (*And was angry*), (reading *wa-ye'enaf*). So Marti. A verb has fallen out at the beginning of this line in Rec. Text (for Gunkel's restoration see note at beginning of next section), vs. 15b, forms the transition to the apocalyptic passage following.

* Cf. on the whole passage Gunkel, *Chaos*, pp. 108 f.

myth, the prophetic writer here is doubtless alluding. But he is using the old material for religious and edifying purposes, and, of course, intends the old language to be understood allegorically.*

The last verse of the section (vs. 21) can hardly belong to the original form of the chapter. It must be regarded as a later appendix, written in prosaic language, and referring to the Reformed Jewish community at Jerusalem which had accepted the Law (after 444 B.C.). [Marti interprets the section as referring to Jahveh's punishment of enemies *within the community*. He does not admit its apocalyptic character.]

16 AND HE SAW THAT ^{dd}THERE WAS NOT A MAN, ^{dd}
AND WAS ASTONISHED THAT THERE WAS NONE TO
INTERPOSE ;
SO HIS OWN ARM WROUGHT HIM DELIVERANCE,
AND HIS ^{ee}FURY^{ee}—IT DID UPHOLD HIM.

17 AND RIGHTEOUSNESS HE PUT ON ^{ff}AS ARMOUR,^{ff}
AND ON HIS HEAD THE HELMET OF DELIVERANCE ;
AND HE PUT ON GARMENTS OF VENGEANCE,^{gg}
AND CLAD HIMSELF WITH JEALOUSY AS A MANTLE.

Vv. 16–20. The transition to this section of the poem is effected in vs. 15b (which belongs metrically with 15a to the previous section). Gunkel reads 15b as follows :

*And Jahveh looked with His eyes
And perceived that there was no justice.*

(Reading *wa-yar' yahweh be'enāu*
wa-yēda' kī ēn mishpat).

dd (vs. 16) : *there was not a man*. If these words were intended by the writer to apply to the situation of affairs in Judah existing when he wrote (there was no man to stem the tide of injustice) Nehemiah clearly had not yet appeared.

ee (vs. 16) : *fury* (reading *hāmātho* as in the parallel passage 63 ⁴). Rec. Text has *righteousness*. But the representation (*righteousness* "upholding" and put on as armour) is inconsistent and the repetition in two consecutive lines is awkward.

ff (vs. 17) : *as armour, i.e., breast armour* (probably a coat of mail).

gg (vs. 17). Rec. Text adds here *as clothing*. Probably the Hebrew word (*tilbōsheth*) is a miswritten form of the word rendered *And He put on*. It is not expressed in LXX. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

* The prophetic writer again alludes to this eschatological tradition in 63 ¹⁻⁶. Hence the similarity of language which is so striking between certain verses here and there (cf. especially 59 ¹⁶ with 63 ⁴).

18 ^{hh} ACCORDING TO DESERTS HE RENDERETH RECOMPENSE, ^{hh}
 "WRATH" TO HIS ADVERSARIES, "DISGRACE" TO HIS
 ENEMIES ;

19 AND ^{kk} THEY SHALL SEE ^{kk} JAHVEH'S NAME FROM THE WEST,
 AND HIS GLORY FROM THE RISING OF THE SUN.

"FOR AS A RIVER THE ENEMY COMES
 WHOM THE BREATH OF JAHVEH PUTTETH TO FLIGHT."

hh (vs. 18) : *According to deserts He rendereth recompense* (reading *gēmūl* for the second *ké'al* with Cheyne ; so Targum) ; or with Duhm, altering the verb *yēshallēm* into a noun, *shillūm* : *as the deserts so the retribution*. Rec. Text (*According to deeds accordingly he will repay*) is hardly grammatical in Hebrew.

ii (vs. 18) : *wrath*. Gunkel reads *violence* (Hebrew, *hāmas*).

jj (vs. 18) : *disgrace* (reading *kelimmāh*) ; so Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti (following LXX). Rec. Text : *recompense*. [Rec. Text adds at end of verse to the coastlands *He will repay recompense* : a gloss* on *to His enemies*. The words are wanting in the LXX. Omit with Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.]

kk (vs. 19) : *they shall see* (reading *wēyir'ū*, a difference of pointing) ; so the ancient versions and most moderns. Rec. Text : *they shall fear*. *To see the Name of Jahveh* means to see His power and presence visibly manifested, a terror to His foes, but only to them ; cf. 60³, 66^{18, 19} ; Ps. 102^{16 f.}

ll (vs. 19) : *For as a River (or stream) the Enemy comes whom the breath of Jahveh putteth to flight* ; so Gunkel. Here the *stream* represents Jahveh's enemy. The term here used for *adversary* (Hebrew, *tsār*) is used in a technical sense of *Chaos* in several passages which contain mythical allusions (cf. Gunkel, *op. cit.*, p. 84). One form of the Creation story depicted the conflict of Jahveh with the dragon of Chaos (Tiamat) and the dragon's allies. Others render the clause *For it (Jahveh's judgment) shall come as a stream pent in which the breath of Jahveh driveth* (reading *kēnāhār* instead of *ka-nāhār* with art.) : *i.e.*, Jahveh's judgment will come as a stream confined within narrow banks, and driven by the wind, swift and irresistible (so Marti). Cheyne renders : *For He (Jahveh) comes like the river of Egypt* (reading *kinēhar mitsor*) *when Jahveh's breath blows upon it* (reading *nāshebāh bō*). But this is hardly in place here.

* The gloss identifies the heathen world with Jahveh's enemies.

20 ^{mm}AND SO AS A REDEEMER SHALL HE COME FOR ZION,
TO TURN AWAY REBELLION FROM JACOB.^{mm}

APPENDIX ADDED LATER.

(For the Reformed Community.)

21 *And as for Me, this is My covenant with them, says Jahveh : My spirit which is upon thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart from thy mouth, nor from the mouth of thy descendants, nor from that of their descendants, says Jahveh, from henceforth and for ever.*

[This verse comes in very abruptly after what precedes. Notice the abrupt change of person (*with them . . . upon thee*, etc.) and its unmetrical and prosaic character. The persons addressed are the redeemed community, *i.e.*, the reformed community which has accepted the yoke of the Law. The passage is a later insertion, with no logical connexion with what precedes. For *My Spirit* cf. Neh. 9²⁰; *My words which I have put into thy mouth* cf. 51⁶; Deut. 6^{6f.}; Ps. 1².]

VI. THE GLORY OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.

(60¹⁻²².)

This chapter sustains a note of exuberant hopefulness which recalls the manner of Deutero-Isaiah. In contents also it has close parallels in the prophecies of the latter; cf. 49¹⁴⁻²¹, 52^{1f.}; 54¹⁻¹⁷. In fact the tone and style of this and the two following chapters (61 and 62) have led some critics to suppose that they are misplaced sections of Deutero-Isaiah's work, and refer to the return from Babylon. But everything in the chapters can be applied to the Jewish community of c. 450 B.C., and there is every reason to presume that they belong, as their position suggests, to the Book of Trito-Isaiah.

Ch. 60 is a fine poem, consisting of ten strophes, each made up of four long (double) lines. It is full of reminiscences of Deutero-Isaiah, and may well have been written as a supplement to the earlier work (Ch. 40-55), as Cheyne suggests. The introductory strophe (vv. 1-3) in a magnificent apostrophe to Zion (who is addressed throughout) describes the light of Jahveh's glory breaking in upon Zion while the rest of the world is in darkness. The next three strophes (vv. 4-9)

mm (vs. 20): *And so as a Redeemer*, etc. Jahveh's Day has two aspects: judgment for enemies, salvation for the faithful. [The whole clause reads like the prophetic application of what precedes.] *To turn away rebellion from Jacob* (reading *lēhāshīb pēsha' mi-ya'akob*; cf. LXX and Rom. 11²⁶). So Duhm, Gunkel. Rec. Text has *And for those who turn away from rebellion in Jacob*. At end of the verse Rec. Text adds *says Jahveh's oracle*. Omit with LXX: it spoils metre.

have for their main theme the return of the Dispersion (the exiles are depicted as being brought home by the nations; cf. 49²²). Zion's glorious position in the world as the world's spiritual metropolis—the homage of the nations—are described in another three strophes (vv. 10-16).

In the last three strophes (vv. 17-21) the prosperity of the new community, both material and moral, is described in striking language of an apocalyptic character.

- 60¹ Arise, shine! for thy light is come,
 And the glory of Jahveh has risen upon thee.
² For behold darkness doth cover the earth,
 And a black cloud the peoples;
 But upon thee Jahveh doth rise,
 And His glory upon thee appears;
³ And nations proceed to thy light,
 And kings to the brightness of thy rising.
⁴ ^aLift up thine eyes around, and see!
 They are gathered all, and do come to thee^a;
^bThy sons come from afar,
 And thy daughters are borne on the side.^b
⁵ Then shalt thou see and ^cbe radiant,^c
 And thy heart shall tremble and ^dthrob,^d
 For ^ethe treasure of the sea^e shall be turned to thee,
 The riches of the nations shall come to thee.

Vv. 1-3. While the rest of the world is buried in darkness, Zion, pictured as a city glittering in the first rays of the morning sun, is irradiated with the brilliance of Jahveh's glory. The poet places himself imaginatively at the time described, and uses tenses which depict the accomplished fact. The glory concentrated on Zion attracts the nations who come to it.

Vv. 4-9 describe the return of Zion's exiles from all quarters of the world, escorted by the heathen, who also bring the riches of the world to the Holy City.

a (vs. 4): *Lift up . . . to thee*: cited word for word from 49¹⁸.

b (vs. 4): *Thy sons, etc.*, cf. 49²², 66¹². *Thy daughters are borne on the side, i.e.*, brought back with the same amount of care with which young children are carried by their nurses. The Eastern mode of carrying young children is on the hip.

c (vs. 5): *be radiant* (Cheyne); lit. *be lightened* (cf. Ps. 34⁵).

d (vs. 5): *throb* (reading *rahab*). So Cheyne. Rec. Text: (*rahab*)= be enlarged, filled with joy. Ps. 119³².

e (vs. 5): *the treasure of the sea*. This is a late sense for the Hebrew word *hāmōn*: cf. Ps. 37¹⁶; Eccles. 5⁹. Sea-borne wealth is meant,

- ⁶ 'An abundance of camels shall cover thee,
 Young camels of 'Midian and Ephah^g ;
^hAll those of Sheba shall come,^h
 'Jahveh's glorious deeds to proclaim ;^h
⁷ All 'Kedar's' flocks to thee shall gather,
 'Nebaioth's' rams ^hshall eagerly thee seek,^h
 With acceptance they shall mount upon my altar,
 And 'beauteous shall my House of Prayer be made.'^l

that carried by the seafaring peoples in their ships : cf. Deut. 33¹⁰ ; Zech. 9³. This anticipation that the wealth of the nations should flow to Jerusalem was cherished by later prophetic writers. Cf. Hag. 2⁷ ; Is. 23¹⁸.

j (vs. 6) : the treasures coming in from the East are first described. *For an abundance of camels shall cover thee* ; cf. Ezek. 26¹⁰.

g (vs. 6) : *Midian and Ephah*. Ephah was a Midianite tribe (Gen. 30⁴). The *Midianites* here appear as "camel-Bedouin" (Marti). In Gen. 37^{28f}. they are represented as traders. The name appears to be given to Arab tribes who wandered about the deserts of Arabia and Palestine.

h (vs. 6) : *All those of Sheba*, etc. : Sheba in S.W. Arabia (Yemen). Rec. Text adds after *shall come* the words *gold and frankincense shall they carry* : this clause is regarded by Duhm, Cheyne and Marti as a gloss. It increases the strophe by an additional line and spoils the metrical structure. The gloss is based upon such passages as 1 Kings 10² ; Ezek. 27²² ; Jer. 6²⁰.

i (vs. 6) : *Jahveh's glorious deeds to proclaim*, lit. *Jahveh's praise-worthy deeds they shall herald*. Jerusalem will be more famous than in the time of Solomon ; cf. 63⁷ ; 1 Kings 10⁶⁻⁹.

j (vs. 7) : *Kedar . . . Nebaioth*. Kedar is a name given to a pastoral nomadic tribe in the Syrian desert (cf. Jer. 2¹⁰). Here probably it is a general designation for North Arabian tribes (so 21¹⁰). *Nebaioth*. Here as in Gen. 25¹³ Nebaioth and Kedar are mentioned side by side (so also in the Cuneiform Inscriptions and later in Pliny, *Cedrei et Nabataei*). They were North-Arabian nomads, whose descendants it was (probably) that built up the Nabatean Kingdom which existed in S. and E. Palestine from the time of Alexander the Great till Trajan. These tribes were rich in flocks (Jer. 49²²).

h (vs. 7) : *shall eagerly thee seek* (reading *yeshaharunek*) ; so Klostermann, Cheyne. Rec. Text has *shall minister unto thee* (Hebrew, *yesharêthunek*, "accidentally substituted from vs. 10" (Cheyne)) ; i.e., serve thee as sacrificial victims. [The rams are pictured as seeking Zion and mounting the altar of their own accord.]

l (vs. 7) : *and beauteous shall my House of Prayer be made* (reading

- 8 Who are those that fly like a cloud,
 And like doves to their "windows" ?
 9 For to me "the ships do gather,"
 The vessels of Tarshish in the van—
 To bring thy sons from afar,
 Their silver and their gold with them,
 To the Name of Jahveh thy God,
 And to Israel's Holy One, for He hath beautified thee.
- 10 And °strangers shall build thy walls,^o
 And unto thee their kings shall minister ;
^pFor in my wrath^p it was that I smote thee,
 But in my favour I have compassionated thee.

û-bêth tšfillâthi yippâ'êr). So LXX, Duhm, Marti. Rec. Text has *And My beauteous House will I beautify*. But, as Cheyne points out, *My beauteous House* is an unsuitable title for the Temple. The Temple is the *beauty* (or *glory*) of Israel (64¹⁰) ; Jahveh's *glory* is His people (cf. 44²³, 49³, 60²¹, 61³, 64¹⁴).

m (vs. 8) : *windows, i.e., of the cotes.*

Vs. 8 f. The prophetic writer turns from the East to the West and describes the ships coming swiftly with the exiles in the direction of Jerusalem : *that fly like a cloud . . . like doves, i.e., so swiftly.*

n (vs. 8) : *the ships do gather* (reading *tsiyyim yikkâwû*). So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti). [The word for *ships* is rendered by some *seafarers*.] Rec. Text has *for the coastlands shall wait for me* ; but this makes *in the van* (in the following line) without logical connexion. The emended text renders it quite clear and coherent. The *ships* (or *seafarers*) bring back the exiles, and at the same time the treasure of the world, which is evidence of the world's submission to Jahveh. Cf. for the thought 55⁵.

Vv. 10-16 describe how by the labour and gifts of foreign peoples the walls of Jerusalem shall be rebuilt, and Zion shall be mistress of her old-time oppressors.

o (vs. 10) : *strangers shall build thy walls* : the walls of Jerusalem are still unbuilt, and the expectation here expressed is that this work will be done by the foreign peoples. As a matter of fact Nehemiah carried out the work.

p (vs. 10) : *in my wrath* : cf. 54^{7, 8}.

- ¹¹ Thy gates 'shall stand open' continually,
Day and night they shall not be closed ;
That the riches of the nations may be brought thee,
'Their kings leading (the way).^s
- ¹³ The 'glory of Lebanon shall come to thee,
Pine, plane, and cypress together,
That I may beautify the place of my sanctuary
And make my footstool honourable.^t
- ¹⁴ They, too, shall approach "bending low"^u—
The sons of those who did humble^v and spurn thee ;
And they shall call thee, City of Jahveh,
Zion of the Holy One of Israel.

q (vs. 11) : *shall stand open* (read *wēnīstēhu* : *nīfal* as in 48⁸ ; the intransitive sense of the Piel is without sufficient support).

r (vs. 11) : *their kings leading (the way)*, (reading *nōhāgim*, participle active), *i.e.*, the kings of the nations leading the procession of gifts. So Duhm and most moderns. Rec. Text has *and their Kings led with them* (as captives).

s (vs. 11, end). Here follows in Rec. Text vs. 12, which may be rendered thus : *For the nation and dynasty that will not serve thee shall perish, and the nations* (read perhaps *coastlands* with Cheyne, or *the lands* with Duhm) *shall be utterly laid waste*. This verse is prosaic and unrhymical in character, it spoils the metrical scheme, and (as Skinner admits) "seems to intrude awkwardly between vs. 11 and vs. 13." It is doubtless a gloss on vs. 11b based on Zech. 14¹⁶⁻¹⁹ which has come in from the margin (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti). The word rendered *dynasty* (*usu* = *kingdom*) probably has this sense in Ex. 19⁶ as well ; cf. Is. 17².

t (vs. 13) : *the glory of Lebanon*, etc. The most beautiful trees of Lebanon shall be brought to beautify the Temple, which had been rebuilt in a very simple style (cf. Hag. 2^{3, 7}). For the trees mentioned cf. 41¹⁹.

u (vs. 14) : *bending low* (pointing *shāhōāh*, infinitive absol.). So Marti.

v (vs. 14) : *after those who did humble (thee)*. Rec. Text adds *On the soles of thy feet shall bow down all those who (did spurn thee)*. These words are lacking in LXX. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (they spoil metre).

- 15 ^wInstead of thy being forsaken,
 And hated, none passing through (thee),
 I will make thee an everlasting pride,
 A joy for all generations.
- 16 ^{*Thou shalt suck the milk of nations,}
 And royal breasts, too, thou shalt suck ;
 So shalt thou know that I, Jahveh, am thy Deliverer,
 And that thy Redeemer is the Hero of Jacob.
- 17 Instead of ^ybrass I will bring in gold,
 Instead of iron^y I will bring in silver^z ;
 And I will appoint as ^{aa}thy government^{aa} Peace,
 And as thy despot Righteousness.

w (vs. 15) : for the representation cf. 49^{14, 21} ; 54^{6, 11} ; 62^{4, 12} ; Neh. 2¹⁷. The city which had hitherto been avoided by travellers becomes a resort for the world.

x (vs. 16). The figure (*thou shalt suck*, etc.) has been developed apparently from 49²³ (not very happily). (Point *shad-breast* for M.T.; *shōd* = riches won by conquest? : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. A similar correction must be made 66¹¹ ; Job 24⁹).

Vv. 17-22 (the last three strophes) paint in glowing colours the internal and external felicity of the new Jerusalem. Some of the features here dwelt upon belong to the common stock of apocalyptic imagery and ideas. Note especially here the purity of the land and people (vs. 18, vs. 21), the material plenty (vs. 17), the wondrous fertility of the elect righteous (vs. 22 ; cf. Enoch 10¹⁷⁻¹⁹), and the immediate presence of Jahveh symbolized as light ; vv. 19, 20 ; cf. Rev. 21^{23, *}

y (vs. 17) : *brass . . . gold . . . iron . . . silver*. Cf. 9¹⁰ ; 1 Kings 10^{21, 27} ; contrast 1 Kings 14^{26 f}.

z (vs. 17) : Rec. Text adds here *and instead of timber, brass, and instead of stones, iron* : probably a gloss (the clause is inconsistent with vs. 13). It also spoils the metre. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

aa (vs. 17) : *thy government, i.e., thy governor* (abstract for concrete). Persian tyrants and unscrupulous rulers will give place to peace and righteousness.

* See further on this point *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (by Oesterley and Box), Ch. XI.

- 18 No more shall violence be heard of in thy land,
 Nor ^{bb}rapine and ruin^{bb} within thy borders ;
^{cc}But thou shalt call thy walls Deliverance,
 And thy gates Renown.^{cc}
- 19 ^{dd}No more shall the sun be thy light,^{cc}
 Nor the moon for brightness illuminate thee ;
 But Jahveh shall be thine everlasting light,
 And thy God thy beauty.
- 20 Thy sun shall set never more,
 And thy moon shall not wane ;
 But Jahveh shall be thine everlasting light,
 And ^{ff}thy days of mourning^{ff} be ended.
- 21 And thy people shall ^{ee}all be righteous,^{ee}
 Shall possess the land for ever,
^{hh}The scion of the planting of Jahveh,
 The work of His hands^{hh} to beautify Himself.
- 22 The smallest a clan shall become,
 The least a mighty strong nation ;
 I, Jahveh, " "
 I will hasten it in its due season.

bb (vs. 18) : *rapine and ruin* : cf. 51¹⁹, 59⁷ (same expression).

cc (vs. 18) : *But thou shalt call thy walls Deliverance*, etc. *Deliverance* because they will avail to protect from all hostility ; the gates shall be called *Renown* because they admit the constant stream of pilgrims who make the city so famous.

dd (vs. 19) : *No more shall the sun be thy light*, etc. For this apocalyptic feature cf. 24²³ ; Rev. 21²³, 22⁵ ; cf. further Ezek. 43² ; Is. 4⁵, 30²⁸.

ee (vs. 19) : Rec. Text adds here *by day* (LXX *by day and by night*). Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, as probably a late insertion.

ff (vs. 20) : *thy days of mourning* : cf. 57¹⁶, 61².

gg (vs. 21) : *all be righteous* : contrast the disappearance of the righteous in the present (57¹).

hh (vs. 21) : *the scion of the planting of Jahveh* (as in 61²) ; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (*the work of His hands*). Rec. Text has *the scion of My planting, the work of My hands*. Cf. *the plant of righteousness* in the Book of Enoch (applied to the righteous elect).

ii (vs. 22) : something has dropped out, the line being incomplete ; probably a title of Jahveh (so Duhm, Marti, Cheyne).

VII. THE COMING SALVATION TO ZION PROCLAIMED.

(61^{1-62¹²}.)

The theme of this section of the Book is substantially the same as that in the preceding—the coming salvation. The section divides into three sub-sections, which are distinguished by differences of metre. These are (i) 61^{1-9, 11, 62¹⁻³}; (ii) 62⁴⁻⁹; and (iii) 62¹⁰⁻¹², to which add (iv) 61¹⁰ (a misplaced fragment?)

. (I.) THE PROCLAMATION OF THE COMING YEAR OF GRACE.

(61^{1-9, 11, 62¹⁻³}.)

The speaker announces himself as the herald of the coming salvation, and soliloquizes on his divine commission (vv. 1-3). The soliloquy passes into a general description of the brilliant future in store for Zion—the old ruins are to be rebuilt (vs. 4), Israel shall be recognized as the priestly people of the world, and be given a position of honour accordingly (vv. 5-6), and the people are to receive double compensation for past sufferings (vv. 7-8); so great shall their felicity be that it will excite the wonder and admiration of the world (vv. 9-11). The speaker, who has already appeared at the opening of Ch. 61, again comes forward and declares that he will not be silent till the promised deliverance comes leading to Zion's glory which is again briefly described (62¹⁻³). The whole forms a poem of six quatrains of long double lines (= 8 short lines in each strophe).

The question naturally arises, who is the speaker who is introduced soliloquizing in 61¹⁻³ and again in 62¹ (also 62⁹⁻¹⁰)? According to what is the most widely-held view it is the prophet himself (so Duhm and Marti); but another view, which has powerful support, is that the speaker here is the Servant of Jahveh. This view may be stated adequately and succinctly in the words of Prof. Cheyne. "The speaker is the Servant of Jahveh. He is not, indeed, expressly called so, but the same omission is made in 50⁴⁻⁹ (where, too, observe two other parallelisms, viz., the use of the term *the Lord Jahveh*, and the description of the speaker's office as prophetic and consolatory). And he [the author of this part of Isaiah] distinctly refers to the portraiture of the Servant in 42^{1, 7}, though he omits one most important feature, viz., the teaching of religion to the nations. It is true, he uses some expressions which belong more properly to a prophet than to the Servant of Jahveh, but this is only an additional proof that he is an imitator of the songs in the *Servant*, as well as of the Second [Deutero-] Isaiah. He regards the Servant of Jahveh as personifying the company of prophets (*i.e.*, of adherents and propagators of the highest type of religion). It is only this ideal personage who can be said to have set watchmen over the walls of Jerusalem (62⁹) to do in their degree that which he [the Servant] is doing with the highest spiritual gifts." *

* *Isaiah* [S.B.O.T., Eng.], p. 196.

In this sense, then, the present passage may plausibly be regarded as belonging to the cycle of Servant passages, viz., that it is a secondary and later composition, based upon and imitating them, and expresses Trito-Isaiah's conception of the Servant's essential character and mission. The fact that the later writer's conception falls so far below the earlier one is only what might be expected. The conception of the Servant varied with different writers. Deutero-Isaiah's conception falls below that of the author of the Servant-Songs. So also does Trito-Isaiah's. In much the same way the latter writer's conception of the promised salvation falls below Deutero-Isaiah's. We should also expect Trito-Isaiah, who imitates and interprets in his own way the other great features of Is. 40-55, to have made some such attempt with the cycle of the Servant passages, if he was acquainted with them, as it is clear he was.

On the whole it is certainly easier to adopt this view than to suppose that the prophet, speaking in his own name, is deliberately transferring to himself some of the Servant's special endowments. [In Luke 4¹⁸. Our Lord applies this passage to Himself and His mission.]

61¹ *The spirit of the Lord Jahveh is upon me,^a
 Because Jahveh has ^banointed^b me ;
 To bring glad tidings to the meek He has sent me,
 To bind up the broken-hearted^c ;
^dTo proclaim liberty to the captives
 And release to the bound^d ;*

a (vs. 1) : *The spirit of the Lord Jahveh is upon me* : cf. 42¹ (1st Servant-Song) ; 48¹⁶.

b (vs. 1) : *anointed* : *anoint* is sometimes used in a metaphorical sense. So here. He has been consecrated for his mission by Jahveh.

c (vs. 1) : *to bring glad tidings*, etc. In Deutero-Isaiah this is the function neither of the prophet nor the Servant, but of a band or company of heralds.

c (vs. 1) : *to bring glad tidings to the meek . . . to bind up the broken-hearted* : the reference is to the pious among the Jews, who have learnt in the school of suffering, both at home and abroad. [Marti refers the expressions to the oppressed pious of the Jerusalem community ; cf. 57^{1 f. 12}. For the phraseology cf. Ps. 147³ ; 34¹⁸ ; 51¹⁷.

d (vs. 1) : *to proclaim liberty to the captives*, etc. The reference is, according to Cheyne, to the Jews of the Dispersion (whether in literal or metaphorical servitude). This view of the passage is supported by the general character of the chapter which enlarges on the effect of the coming salvation on the nations. Marti, however, refers it to the oppression of the poor by the rich both among Jews and heathen (cf. Neh. 5⁶⁻⁸). For *And release to the bound* LXX reads *and opening of eyes to the blind* : so Cheyne, but this is against the parallelism [Cheyne regards it as an allusion to 42⁷ : *to open blind eyes*].

- ² 'To proclaim the year of favour of Jahveh,
And the day of vengeance of our God.'^e
- ³ To console all who mourn,
To give^f them ^ga coronal instead of a coronach^g;
Oil of joy for ^ga garment of mourning,^g
A song of praise for a spirit ^hdimmed^h;
And they shall be called, 'Terebinths of righteousness,'
The Planting of Jahveh to beautify Himself.
- ⁴ They shall build up the ancient wastes,
Re-erect the desolations of former (generations).

e (vs. 1) : *to proclaim the year of favour of Jahveh*, etc. The idea of the year of salvation is borrowed from a law similar to that of the Jubilee; cf. Jer. 34⁸, Ezek. 46¹⁷, Lev. 25¹⁰. The word rendered *liberty* above (Hebrew, *dôrôr*) is the technical term used in this connexion. *The day of vengeance of our God* : i.e., on Israel's oppressors and godless Israelites. Salvation also means judgment on the godless.

Vv. 2b-4a, forming the second strophe, depict "the year of favour;" the signs of mourning and grief are to be exchanged for the symbols of joy.

f (vs. 3) : Rec. Text adds *to the mourners of Zion, to bestow upon* (Hebrew, *la'abêlê tsiyyon tâthêth*) : a variant or correction on the three preceding words in M.T. Omit with Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

g (vs. 3) : *a coronal instead of a coronach*, lit. *a coronal instead of ashes* : there is a play on the words in Hebrew (*pe'êr, 'êfer*). The word rendered *coronal* is strictly a turban, or headdress, worn by men of position (especially priests), by fashionable ladies (3²⁰), and according to vs. 10 of this chapter by a bridegroom (as part of the festive attire). *Ashes* sprinkled on the head were a sign of mourning (cf. 2 Sam. 13¹⁹, Ezek. 27³⁰).

g (vs. 3) : *a garment of mourning* (transferring *garment* from next clause here); so Bickell, Cheyne, Oort, Duhm. Rec. Text has *mourning* (alone), and in next clause *a garment of praise*. [Oil was used for purposes of anointing on occasions of festivity and joy; cf. Amos 6⁸; Ps. 23⁵, 45⁸; Luke 7⁴⁶.]

h (vs. 3) : *dimmed*, lit. dimly burning; cf. 42³ (same word).

i (vs. 3) : *Terebinths of righteousness* : the evergreen tree is a symbol of the life of the righteous; for the same figure cf. Jer. 17⁸; Ps. 1³, 92¹⁴. The parallelism favours Rec. Text. Cheyne proposes to read *children* (Hebrew, *yaldê*) of *righteousness*, but this is unnecessary.

- ⁱThey shall renew the wasted cities,
 The desolations of many generations ;ⁱ
⁵ And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks,
 Aliens shall be your ploughmen and vine-dressers.
⁶ But as for you—^jJahveh's priests ye shall be called,^j
 Ministers of our God shall ye be named ;
 The riches of the nations shall ye eat,
^kAnd with their glory ye shall adorn yourselves.^k

- ⁷. Because ^ltheir shame^l was in double measure,
 And insult ^mand spitting^m was their lot ;
 Therefore in their land they shall possess double,
 Joy everlasting shall be theirs.

i (vs. 4) : *They shall renew*, etc. Cf. (for the whole verse) 49 ⁶, 58 ¹². The second part of the verse takes up the first.

j (vs. 6) : *Jahveh's priests shall ye be called*. Israel is to be the priestly nation, *i.e.*, is to occupy a position with regard to the other nations similar to that of priests in relation to laymen. There is no idea of every individual Israelite exercising priestly functions (cf. 66 ²¹), but the whole race is to form a priestly dynasty (cf. Ex. 19 ⁶ ; 1 Pet. 2 ⁹). [For the idea of the heathen being their servants, and their enjoyment of the world's riches cf. 49 ^{22f.}, 60 ⁶⁻¹⁶, 62 ^{11f.} ; Hag. 2 ^{7f.} ; Zecl. 8 ²³.] *Stand* in vs. 5 means, as servants before their master, ready to obey his behests. For *ministers* (*i.e.*, of priestly service here) in parallelism with *priests* cf. Joel 1 ⁶ ; Jer. 33 ²¹.

k (vs. 6) : *And with their glory ye shall adorn yourselves* (reading *tithaddāru* for Rec. Text *tithyammāru* ; cf. Prov. 25 ⁶ ; cf. Is. 63 ¹). So Cheyne and Marti. Rec. Text may, perhaps, be rendered *ye shall succeed to their glory* or *in their glory shall you make your boast* (so Ancient Versions ; deriving verb from 'amar).

l (vs. 7) : *their shame* : so Cheyne, Marti and others. Rec. Text : *your shame*.

m (vs. 7) : *and spitting* (reading *wārōk* for *yarōnnū*), in accordance with Klostermann's brilliant emendation. Cf. 50 ⁶. So Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text is corrupt and yields no coherent sense. Lit. it runs : *For your shame double and insult they shall be in jubilation their portion*.

- ⁸ For I, Jahveh, love justice,
I hate "iniquitous plundering"^m ;
And I will give them their recompense faithfully,
And will make with them "an everlasting covenant."
- ⁹ Their posterity shall be known among the nations,
And their offspring in the midst of the peoples ;
All who see them will be ready to acknowledge
That they are a race which Jahveh has blessed.^o
- ¹¹ ^pFor like the earth which puts forth its sprouts,
And like a garden which grows what is sown in it,
So shall the Lord Jahveh cause victory to spring up,
And renown before all the nations.^p

(*The Servant again soliloquizes.*)

- 62¹ For Zion's sake I will not keep silence,
And for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest,
Till her vindication emerge like "bright beams,"^a
And her deliverance like a burning torch.

m (vs. 8) : *iniquitous plundering*, lit. *robbery with iniquity* (reading *be'awlāh*). The iniquitous treatment of Israel by its foes is referred to. Rec. Text (different pointing) has *robbery in burnt offering*. By *Their recompense* Israel's reward for past suffering is meant ; cf. 40¹⁰, 62¹¹.

n (vs. 8) : *an everlasting covenant* : cf. 55³.

o (vs. 9, end). Here follows in Rec. Text vs. 10. It obviously interrupts the close connexion existing between vv. 9 and 11, and is clearly out of place. Its original position may have been, as Cheyne suggests, after 62¹² (see translation there), though it may have come in here from the margin, where it may have been cited as a quotation from another poem.

p (vs. 11) : as surely as the seed germinates in the earth, so surely Jahveh will bring His promised salvation to pass. Cf. for the thought 55¹⁰, 42⁹, 43¹⁰, 58⁸.

Vs. 1 : the speaker here is naturally the same as in 61¹, *i.e.*, he is the Servant ; on the other view it is the prophet himself in both places. [Others make Jahveh the speaker here.] The Servant declares that he will not desist in his function as God's remembrancer till the promised salvation shall have come.

(*a*) (vs. 1) : *bright beams*, lit. *brightness*, *i.e.*, becomes brilliantly manifest.

- ² Nations shall see thy vindication,
 And all kings thy glory^b ;
³ ^cAnd a beauteous crown shalt thou be in Jahveh's hand,
 And a royal diadem in the hand of thy God.^c

(II.) THE CERTAINTY OF THE COMING SALVATION.

(62 4-9.)

The section forms a poem of three strophes, each consisting of five long lines in the so-called *Kināh*-metre.

- ⁴ No more shalt thou be called Forsaken,
 and thy land ^dDesolate,
 But thou shalt be called ^emy Delight,^e
 and thy land ^fmarried^f ;
 For Jahveh delighteth in thee
 and thy land shall (again) be married.

b (vs. 2) : Rec. Text adds : *And thou shalt be called by a new name which Jahveh's mouth will determine.* The clause is obviously out of place here. It is probably a gloss on vs. 4 which has come into the text from the margin ; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. The point of the verse is an assertion that the new Jerusalem shall be called by neither of the names given in vs. 4, but by a new name, which is at present a great mystery (cf. Rev. 2¹⁷, 3¹²). A new name is " the symbol both of a new character and a new relation to God " (Skinner). Cf. also 65¹².

c (vs. 3) : *And a beauteous crown shalt thou be in Jahveh's hand.* Unlike the heathen gods of cities, who are often represented with the mural crown on their heads, Jahveh carries it in His hand. Jerusalem is the seat of Jahveh's world-wide sovereignty.

Vv. 4-5 (the first strophe) describe the reunion of Zion, the " forsaken " Bride with her divine husband. Cf. 40¹⁴⁻²¹, 54¹⁻⁸.

d (vs. 4) : *Desolate* (reading the word *shōmēmāh*). Rec. Text : *a Desolation.* Rec. Text adds *be called any more* : the repetition is inelegant and overloads the line. Omit with Budde, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

e (vs. 4) : *my Delight*, Hebrew, *heftsi-bah* = Hephzi-bah (= my delight is in her). This was the actual name of Manasseh's mother (I Kings 21¹). Similarly *Forsaken*, Hebrew *'azūbāh*, is found as a proper name in I Kings 22⁴¹.

f (vs. 4) : *married* : Hebrew *bē'ūlāh* (Beulah).

- ⁶ For as a young man marries a virgin,
 so shall ^gthy Builder^g marry thee ;
 Yea, with a bridegroom's joy over a bride
 thy God shall joy over thee.

(*The Servant again speaks.*)

- ⁶ Over thy walls, O Jerusalem,
 I have ^hset^h watchmen ;
 All the day and all the night through
 they are never silent.
 Ye who are Jahveh's remembrancers
 take ye no rest ;
- ⁷ Him, too, give ye no rest
 until He establish,
 And until He doth make Jerusalem
 a renown in the earth.

Vv. 6-7 : here again the Servant speaks (compare the verse with vs. 1). Who are the *watchmen* referred to ? This question is answered by Prof. Cheyne as follows : " The *watchmen* (lit. *keepers*) spoken of are not the ordinary watchmen of the city, though like these, but in another sense, they have to *keep* guard over the ruined walls. They are prophets (like the writer) and friends of the prophets, and the weapon with which they guard the city is prayer (cf. Ps. 106²³ ; Ex. 32^{10-14, 31-22} ; Jer. 11^{14, 15¹}). The same function (of putting Jahveh in mind of His promises) must of necessity belong to the Servant of Jahveh from whom the individual prophets may be said to derive their commission."* The word for *watchmen* used here (Hebrew, *shōmerim*) is different from that used in 56¹⁰, 52⁸ (Hebrew, *tsōfim* = "lookers out"). It is the word used of the city-watchmen who *kept* guard (cf. Ps. 127¹ ; Cant. 3³, 5⁷).

The Jewish commentators explain *watchmen* here to mean angelic beings who form the invisible guard of the holy city.† In this case the speaker in vs. 6a is Jahveh, and in 6b the prophet, unless, indeed, Jahveh addresses the angels as *Ye who are Jahveh's remembrancers*. There is much to be said for this last view, which is favoured by most moderns (so Duhm, Marti, Skinner).

^g (vs. 5) : *thy Builder* (reading *yib'-ālēk bōnēk*) : so Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (so Lowth substantially). Cheyne compares Ps. 147² (*Jahveh is the builder up of Jerusalem*).

^h (vs. 6) : *set* or *appointed*.

* *Isaiah* (S.B.O.T., Eng.), p. 197.

† Cf. the angelic *watchers* in the Book of Enoch.

- 8 By His right hand Jahveh has sworn,
 and by His strong arm :
 No more will I give thy corn
 to be food for thy foes,
 Nor shall strangers drink thy new wine
 for which thou hast toiled ;
- 9 But who have garnered the corn shall eat it,
 and 'praise Jahveh' ;
 And who gather in (the grapes) shall drink (the new wine)
 'in my holy courts.'

(III.) A SUMMONS TO THE INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM TO
 PREPARE THE WAY FOR THE RETURN OF THE
 WHOLE DIASPORA.

(62¹⁰⁻¹².)

The old view of this passage was that it referred to the first Return, and consequently belonged to the time of Deutero-Isaiah. But the large number of reminiscences in the language betrays its secondary character. The Return referred to is the larger one of the whole Diaspora. The poem consists of two strophes written in the same long (Kinah) verse lines of the preceding sections ; but each strophe consists of only four lines (instead of five).

- 10 Pass through, pass through *i*the gates^j !
 Prepare a way for the people !
^kCast up, cast up the highway^k !
 Free it from stones !
^lLift up a banner o'er the peoples^l
 m m
- 11 Lo, Jahveh hath made "proclamation"
 to the end of the earth.

Vv. 8-9 (3rd strophe) : Jerusalem will be protected from the ravages and incursions of hostile neighbours. The foes and *strangers* are the Samaritans and their allies.

i (vs. 9) : *praise Jahveh . . . in my Holy Courts* : these phrases obviously presuppose the existence of the Temple and its worship. The reference is to the festivals in the Temple when the firstfruits were eaten, with rejoicing before Jahveh : cf. Deut. 12^{17f.}, 14^{23 ff.}, 16⁹⁻¹⁷.

j (vs. 10) : *the gates, viz., of Jerusalem* (not Babylon). The people of Jerusalem are addressed, being bidden to sally forth and prepare the way for the return of the Exiles.

k (vs. 10) : *Cast up . . . the highway* ; cf. 57¹⁴.

l (vs. 10) : *Lift up a banner, etc.* ; cf. 49²¹.

m (vs. 10) : A short half-line is missing.

n (vs. 11) : *proclamation, viz., of the approach of deliverance, and a summons to those who are still in exile to return.*

Say to the Daughters of Zion :

Lo, thy deliverance cometh ;

°Behold His reward is with Him,

and His recompense before Him.°

¹² And men shall call them, ^rthe Holy People,^p

°The Redeemed of Jahveh^q ;

And Thou shalt be called Sought Out,

The City Unforsaken.

(IV.) ZION'S RESPONSE.

(A misplaced fragment (?))

(61¹⁰.)

This verse, as has already been pointed out, is out of place in its present position in the Rec. Text. The speaker is not the prophet, but Zion, who utters a joyful expression of thanksgiving (cf. 12¹⁻²). If it is by the author of the rest of the section its place may be assigned here (at the end). In any case it is a fragment, made up of three distichs.

61¹⁰I will rejoice heartily in Jahveh,

My soul shall exult in my God ;

For He has clothed me with the garments of deliverance,

In the mantle of victory has arrayed me ;

Like a bridegroom who °orders^r his coronal (I rejoice),

And like a bride who decks herself with her jewels.

.

o (vs. 11) : *Behold His reward*, etc. : cited verbatim from 40¹⁰.

p (vs. 12) : *The Holy People* (the priestly nation) : cf. 61⁹.

q (vs. 12) : *The Redeemed of Jahveh* : cf. 35¹⁰, 51¹⁰.

r (vs. 10) : *orders* (reading *yākin*) : so Hitzig and most moderns. Rec. Text: *makes priestly* (?), (Hebrew, *yekāhēn*).

VIII. THE DAY OF JAHVEH'S VENGEANCE.

(63¹⁻⁶.)

This section gives a picture of the divine judgment on the nations different from anything that occurs in Deutero-Isaiah. Though marked out from what immediately precedes by strikingly peculiar features, its present position has a certain logical propriety. The picture of Zion's felicity and deliverance requires the contrasted one of Jahveh's vengeance on His foes to complete it.

The passage has a marked apocalyptic and eschatological character, and is probably not to be directly referred to any definite historical situation. The scene is the great final judgment on Jahveh's enemies. It is true Edom* is singled out for special mention. But as in Ch. 34 Edom is probably a symbol for the heathen nations generally.†

Both in contents and language the section resembles 59¹⁶⁻²⁰ in conjunction with which it should be read. In fact Ch.^f 34-35, 59¹⁶⁻²⁰ and 63¹⁻⁶ may be regarded as forming an eschatological group by themselves. The eschatological ideas expressed in them seem to have been current in a very definite form during the period 450-400 or even later.

The dramatic form of the section is similar to that in Ps. 24⁷⁻¹⁰, which also may have an eschatological significance.

The chorus (or the prophet) sees a majestic and solitary figure approaching from Edom (cf. 34⁶), clothed in splendid but blood-stained garments (cf. the *garments of vengeance* in 59¹⁷). In answer to the exclamation of surprise, which is uttered at the apparition Jahveh answers that it is He Himself, the almighty Deliverer (vs. 1). In answer to a further question (vs. 2) Jahveh explains the blood-red vesture as the result of His penal judgment of His foes. The day of vengeance has come and passed; the foes of Israel have been exterminated, as in some vast wine-press; and all this has been accomplished by Jahveh without any human helper (vv. 3-6). Cf. Driver, *Sermons on O.T.*, pp. 179 ff.

The poem is constructed in double lines (like 61¹⁻⁶²³).

(*The onlooker speaks.*)

63¹ ^aWHO IS THIS THAT IS COMING FROM EDOM,
IN BRIGHT RED GARMENTS FROM BOZRAH^a ?

a (vs. 1) : *Who is this that is coming from Edom, in bright red garments from Bozrah ?* (lit. *that is red of garments*). Many scholars, including Lagarde, Oort, Duhm, Gunning and Marti, read *all red* (reading *mē'oddām* for *mē'ēdōm*) instead of *from Edom*, and in the second line *redder in (his) garments than a vintager* (reading *mi-bōtsēr* for *mi-bōtsvāh*). For *all red* (lit. *made red, me'oddām*) cf. Nah. 2⁴. [The words rendered

* It is not necessary to alter the text of vs. 1 and change *Edom* into *reddened*. See notes.

† There is no doubt a historical reason for this (see Introduction to Ch. 34). In later Jewish literature Edom is a symbol for Rome (cf. 2 Esd. 6⁸⁻¹⁰).

^bTHAT IS GLORIOUS^b IN HIS APPAREL,
^cMARCHING^c IN THE FULNESS OF HIS STRENGTH ?

(*Jahveh speaks.*)

IT IS I ^cWHO MAKE MYSELF GLORIOUS^c IN REDRESS,
 AM ^dMIGHTY^d TO DELIVER.

(*The onlooker again speaks.*)

² WHY IS THERE RED ^cON THINE APPAREL^c
 AND THY GARMENTS LIKE HIS WHO TREADS IN THE
 WINE-PRESS ?

(*Jahveh answers.*)

² A WINE-TROUGH HAVE I TRODDEN ALONE,
 AND OF THE PEOPLES NO MAN WAS WITH ME ;
³ SO IN MY WRATH ^fI DID TREAD^f THEM
 AND IN MY FURY TRAMPLE THEM ;

all red and redder are different in Hebrew.] For the arguments against these textual alterations see Cheyne, *Introd.*, p. 348. The objection that the judgment is on all the nations, and not merely on Edom has already been met in the introduction to the section above.

Bozrah was a principal city in Edom (cf. Gen. 36²³; Amos 1¹²; Jer. 49^{13, 22}.) Its exact site is uncertain. Wetzstein identifies it with Petra, but its site may be represented by *El-Bulseira*, south of the Dead Sea.

b (vs. 1): *that is glorious or splendid.* The original word here (*hādūr*) may possibly have the meaning *swelling*, and so majestic, splendid; but this is doubtful. *Duhm* suggests *inflated*, i.e., by the wind (loose robes blown out).

c (vs. 1): *marching* (reading *tsō'ēd*): so Lowth and many moderns; cf. Judges 5⁴; 2 Sam. 5²⁴. Rec. Text: *swaying* (?), *vaunting himself* (?). [In 51¹⁴ the word occurs = *the crouching one.*]

c (vs. 1): *Who make Myself glorious* (reading *nīdhār* [suggested by the previous *hādūr*]) instead of *medabber*. So Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *that speak in righteousness*.

d (vs. 1): *mighty*: read *rab koah* for *rab* alone in Rec. Text; so Cheyne, Marti.

e (vs. 2): *on Thine apparel* (read *malbushekā*; lit. *why is Thine apparel red* ?); so Houb., Lowth, Cheyne. Rec. Text has preposition prefixed to apparel (*to thy apparel*). [The name *Edom* suggests red (*'ādōm*) in Hebrew; *Bozrah* suggests *vintage* (*bātsir*).]

f (vs. 3): *I did tread*: the tenses throughout are pointed in the Hebrew as futures (probably for dogmatic reasons). All moderns alter as above. For the figure (of the wine-trough) cf. Lam. 1¹⁵; Joel 4¹³ (E.V. 3¹³).

as referring to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 586 by Nebuchadnezzar. In this case, however, the composition of the section must be placed during the Exile, and before the Return, which is inconsistent with 63¹⁸, unless Duhm's explanation is accepted that the writer (Trito-Isaiah) ignores the existence of the Second Temple altogether in his retrospect (though it was standing) as being too insignificant, and reverts to the First. This view, however, is artificial and unconvincing.

There remains the alternative view that a *later* destruction of the Temple is referred to. This is to be preferred. The further question arises *when* did this later destruction take place? Some scholars have supposed that the Second Temple was devastated, not long after the date of its rebuilding, by the Samaritans. If such a destruction could be made probable it would fit in with Trito-Isaiah's authorship of this section extremely well. But the theory cannot be said to have been rendered even plausible. Much more likely to be correct is the view of Prof. Cheyne that a destruction of the Temple took place in the reign of the tyrant, Artaxerxes Ochus (between 363 and 345 B.C.) in favour of which there is some positive if indirect evidence.* Prof. Cheyne would, therefore, assign the present section to about the same date as Ch. 24-27 (c. 350 B.C.), its most pronounced affinities being with "that other remarkable liturgical work 26²⁻¹⁰." In this case the section cannot, of course, be the work of Trito-Isaiah.

It is possible, however, to assign it to this author if with Marti 64⁹⁻¹¹ is regarded as a later addition, appended in the late Persian period after Ochus had devastated the Holy Land and the Temple. It is difficult to choose between these two views, but perhaps the balance of probability inclines to the latter. Theologically the section is full of interest. "The passage is one of the most instructive of O.T. prayers, and deserves careful study as an expression of the chastened and tremulous type of piety begotten in the sorrow of the Exile."†

It falls naturally into two parts which are distinguished by differences of metre, viz., (i) 63⁷⁻¹⁴ and (ii) 63^{15-64¹¹}.‡

(I.) JAHVEH'S GLORIOUS DEEDS IN THE DAYS OF OLD
RECALLED.
(63⁷⁻¹⁴.)

The prayer begins in a strain of thanksgiving for Jahveh's goodness to the nation in the days of old (vv. 7-9a); but Israel, despite the divine love and help which was continually being manifested afresh, proved obstinate and rebellious (vv. 9a-10); a picture of the glorious days of Moses, to which piety looks back wistfully, completes the retrospect (vv. 11-14).

* See the matter fully discussed in Cheyne's *Introduction*, p. 356 ff.

† Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 198 (see the whole of his introductory note).

‡ Duhm and Cheyne divide differently, viz., (i) 63⁷⁻¹⁸ and 63^{17-64¹¹}. But the metre is against this.

The section consists of four strophes, each made up of five long (double) lines (in the so-called *Ḳināh*-rhythm).

(1.)

- 7 Jahveh's acts of love will I ^acelebrate,^a
 Jahveh's deeds of renown,
 In accordance with all He has wrought for us—
 ^bJahveh, so great in goodness^b—
 'Has wrought for us^c after His compassion
 and His great loving-kindness.
 6 He said : Surely they are My people,
 sons that will not prove false,
 And so He became their Deliverer
 9 ^dfrom all their distress.^d

(2.)

- 'It was not a messenger or angel,^e
 (but) His presence that delivered them,
 In His love and His clemency He
 did Himself redeem them,
 'He also did take them up and did carry them
 all the days of old.^f

Vv. 7-9a : First Strophe. Thanksgiving for Jahveh's gracious acts in Israel's past history is a frequent feature in O.T. prayers ; cf. Neh. 9⁵ ff. ; Ps. 77¹⁰⁻¹⁶, 78¹⁻⁴, 79^{1f.}, etc.

a (vs. 7) : *celebrate*, lit. *commemorate* : cf. 26¹³ (same word).

b (vs. 7) : *Jahveh so great in goodness* (omitting ׀ before *rab-tub*) : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (LXX implies this reading). Rec. Text : *And the great goodness towards the House of Israel*. (Budde, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti omit *towards the House of Israel* as unmetrical and superfluous.)

c (vs. 7) : *has wrought for us* (reading *gēmālānū*) : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text *has wrought for them*.

d (vs. 9) : *from all their distress* (reading *mi-kol* for *bē-kol*) : so LXX, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *in all*. The metre shows conclusively that this clause belongs to this strophe (the first), not to the following. This makes a considerable difference to the exegesis of the passage.

e (vs. 9) : *It was not a messenger or angel* (pointing with LXX *lō tsīr u-mal'āk*) : so Bp. Horsley (1793), Budde, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has (from beginning of vs. 9) : *(In all their affliction) He was afflicted, and the angel (of His presence) saved them* (following the *Ḳēvē*, reading *lō*). The clause means that no ordinary angel or messenger, but the *Angel of Jahveh*, in whom Jahveh Himself was present (cf. Gen. 16⁷) accompanied the Israelites and delivered them. In Ex. 33¹⁴ this Angel is called by Jahveh *My presence* (i.e., *my personal manifestation* lit. *my face*).

f (vs. 9) : *He also did take them up and carry them* : cf. Deut. 32¹⁵.

- 10 But as for them, ^gthey resisted and pained
His Holy Spirit^g ;
^hSo He changed Himself into their enemy,
He Himself fought against them.^h
- (3.)
- 11 ⁱ(Israel) recalledⁱ the days of old,
ⁱthe years of past ages (saying)ⁱ :
Where is He ^kWho brought up^k from the sea
^lthe shepherd^l of His flock ?
Where is He Who did put ^mwithin it^m
His Holy Spirit ?
- 12 ⁿHe Who made go at Moses' right hand
His glorious arm,
Who cleft the waters before them
to make Himself a nameⁿ ?

g (vs. 10) : *They resisted and pained His Holy Spirit* : cf. Acts 7⁵¹ ; Eph. 4³⁰. Only here, again in vs. 11 and Ps. 51¹¹ is the epithet *holy* applied in the O.T. to Jahveh's spirit. The *spirit* here (cf. vs. 11) is the spirit which guides and directs ; it is in fact the equivalent of Jahveh's Presence. The expression is clearly a hypostasizing one, *the spirit* being conceived to possess a kind of personality (note the expression pained). *Holy* is applied to the spirit as a term connoting one of the most awful and glorious attributes of God. The whole idea belongs to a comparatively late stage of religious reflection.

h (vs. 10) : *so He changed Himself into their enemy, etc.* : cf. 43^{27f.}, 57¹⁷ ; Deut. 32¹⁹⁻²⁰.

i (vs. 11) : *(Israel) recalled* : Rec. Text has simply *And he recalled (remembered)* : since in the second clause it is clearly the words of the people that are cited, the subject must be Israel (or an equivalent).

j (vs. 11) : *the years of past ages (saying)* : so Cheyne, Marti (reading *shênôth dôr wâ-dôr* from Deut. 32⁷, "which seems to be alluded to"). A short line here is desiderated by the metre. Rec. Text has after *the days of old* the words *Moses his people*, doubtless marginal glosses—*Moses* a gloss on *shepherd* and *His people* a gloss on *His flock* in the next line. So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, Skinner.

k (vs. 11) : *who brought up* (reading *ha-ma'alêh*) : so LXX, Syriac, some Hebrew MSS. and many moderns. Rec. Text has *who brought them up (with the shepherds, etc.)*.

l (vs. 11) : *the shepherd* (reading *rô'êh*) : so the Versions, some Hebrew MSS. and editions. Rec. Text has *shepherds* (plural substituted to include Aaron ?).

m (vs. 11) : *within it, i.e., His flock, the community*.

n (vs. 12) : *He who made go at Moses' right hand, etc.* Jahveh's right Hand accompanied Moses in the form of the "rod of God" with its wonder-working power ; cf. Ex. 7²⁰, 17⁹. In the latter part of

(4.)

- 13 He Who made them go through °the deeps°
without stumbling,
14 Like the cattle that go down to the valley,
°like a horse through the steppe^p ;
q q
°the spirit of Jahveh leading them,^s
r r
so leddest Thou Thy people
To make Thyself a glorious name
.

(II.) AN URGENT AND PITEOUS APPEAL TO THE DIVINE
CLEMENCY FOR IMMEDIATE HELP.

(63¹⁵-64¹¹.)

From the past the writer turns to the grey realities of the present and beseeches Jahveh not to hide Himself any longer from His people.

The whole forms a poem of seven or rather (if 64⁹⁻¹¹ is regarded as a later addition) of six strophes, each strophe being made up of four distichs.

the verse the reference is to the dividing of the Red Sea for the passage of the Israelites ; cf. Ex. 14^{16, 21} ; Ps. 78¹³. [Rec. Text conjoins with *Name* the word *everlasting*. This makes the line too long. Omit with Duhm, Marti.]

Vv. 13-14 (forming the fourth strophe) are sadly mutilated at the end.

o (vs. 13) : *the deeps, i.e., of the Red Sea* ; cf. Ps. 77¹⁶, 106⁹.

p (vs. 14) : *like a horse through the steppe*, transposed from vs. 13 (at end of first line) to vs. 14 ; so Marti (and Cheyne virtually). The figure suggests firmness and security, just as the horse treads securely and freely the open prairie-land.

q, r (vs. 14) : the text of the last part of the strophe is in a ruinous state. Parts of three lines apparently are lost hopelessly. For q Duhm suggests : *He made His people journey like sheep* (reading *wa-yassa' ka-tsôn 'ammó* = Ps. 78^{52 a}). For r he suggests : *Like a shepherd who shepherds His flock* (reading *kêrô'êh 'edrô yir'eh* = Is. 40¹¹).

s (vs. 14) : *The spirit of Jahveh leading them* (reading *tanhennû*) : so the Versions, Ewald, Oort, Klostermann, Cheyne ; cf. Ps. 143¹⁰, (*let Thy good spirit lead me in an even land*). Rec. Text has *The Spirit of Jahveh giving them rest* (Hebrew, *tēniḥennû*).

(1.)

- 15 ^tLook down from heaven and behold
 From Thy holy and beauteous palace^t ;
 Where are "Thy jealousy" and prowess,
 "The stirring of Thy pity" and compassion" ?
- 16 ^uFor Abraham knoweth us not,
 And Israel doth not acknowledge us^u—
 Thou, Thou, O Jahveh, art our Father,
 Our Redeemer from of old is Thy name.

(2.)

- 17 ^vWhy, Jahveh, dost Thou make us to err from Thy ways,
 Dost harden our hearts that we fear Thee not^v ?
 Return for Thy servants' sake,
 "For the tribes of Thine inheritance !

Vv. 15-16 form the first strophe [Duhm and Cheyne make this consist of five long verses, like the strophes of the preceding section, of which they make this the last. But the textual alterations made necessary are considerable. Marti's lines only necessitate one large textual alteration, which can be justified. Moreover there is a natural break at this point of the poem, where the poet turns from the past to the present, which is appropriately marked by the metrical change].

t (vs. 15) : *Look down from heaven*, etc. The poet seems to express the feeling that for the time being, at any rate, Jahveh has withdrawn Himself into His heavenly palace, out of sight of His people's sufferings. The word here rendered *palace* (Hebrew, *zēbūl*) is rare. It occurs again in 1 Kings 8¹⁹ ; 2 Chron. 6². Jahveh's palace is, of course, in Heaven (cf. 57¹⁵).

u (vs. 15) : *Thy jealousy* : cf. 59¹⁷, 9⁷, 37³².

v (vs. 15) : *The stirring of Thy pity* : cf. 16¹¹.

w (vs. 15, end ; 16 beginning) : Rec. Text adds *are restrained towards me* (LXX *us*). *For Thou art our Father*. The latter expression anticipates 16b and comes in here very awkwardly. It is probably a gloss. The former (cf. 64¹¹) is also probably the gloss of a reader (so Marti). Both sense and metre are rendered more coherent by the omission.

x (vs. 16) : *For Abraham knoweth us not*, etc. This looks like an allusion to some form of ancestor-worship (at Machpelah ?) which was later transformed by the Rabbis into the doctrine of the merits of the Fathers (cf. Mt. 3⁹). The Poet emphasizes here the Fatherhood of God. In the O.T. Jahveh is the Father of the nation rather than of the individual believer.

y (vs. 17) : *Why, Jahveh, dost Thou make us to err*, etc. The severe and long-continued punishment checks the people's attempts to cultivate piety and carry out their religious obligations. This seems to be the underlying idea ; cf. 57^{15b}, 64^{5, 7} ; and Mal. 3¹⁴. The word rendered *dost harden* is a very strong one ; it only occurs again in Job 39¹⁸.

z (vs. 17) : *For (the tribes, etc.), i.e., for the sake of* (adding to the text *lēma'an* with LXX). The metre supports.

- 1⁸ ^{aa}Why do the ungodly despise Thy sanctuary,
 Our adversaries desecrate Thy holy House^{aa} ?
 1⁹ Like those we are become ^{bb}over whom Thou rulest no
 more,^{bb}
 Over whom ^{cc}Thou hast ceased to claim lordship.^{cc}

(3.)

- 1^{9b} O that Thou wouldst ^arend the heavens,^a wouldst come
 down,
 That before Thee the mountains might quake,

aa (vs. 18). The Rec. Text here is in confusion in the first clause. It runs: *for a little while they possessed thy holy people* (either subject or object is lacking). The LXX reads the text, *For a little while have we possessed Thy holy mountain*; so Lowth and many moderns. But the word rendered *for a little while* is highly doubtful. A more satisfactory text is secured if the suggestion of Buhl (in *Ges-Buhl Lexicon*) is adopted, and the consonants of the Hebrew text re-grouped as follows: קְפֹה צַעֲרֵי רִשְׁעִים קְרִיִּשִׁׁי. *Why do the ungodly despise (make little of*: cf. the קַל = *be little*, Jer. 30¹⁹) *Thy sanctuary*. Illustrate from Mal. 1¹⁰⁻¹³. *Desecrate* in clause b = lit. *trample down*; cf. the Greek καταπατεῖν τὰ ἁγία, 1 Macc. 3^{46, 51}; Matt. 7⁹. It is not a devastation of the Temple that is referred to but its desecration by ungodly Israelites. The *ungodly* are no doubt the pro-Samaritan party. *Holy House*, lit. *sanctuary*.

bb (vs. 19): *over whom Thou rulest no more*, lit. *over whom long time Thou hast not ruled*.

cc (vs. 19): *Thou hast ceased to claim lordship*, lit. *over whom Thy name has not been called*.

63^{19b}-64^{3a} (the third strophe). An expression of intense longing that Jahveh would manifest once more His might for the vindication of right. The tenses used after the introductory particle *O that* are perfects and should strictly be rendered (*O that*) *Thou hadst rent . . . come down . . . had quaked*. Normally this type of sentence would express a wish that might have been realized in the past, but could no longer be. Here, however, it means *O that Thou hadst rent* (now already) and is a more impassioned expression for: *O that Thou wouldst* (cf. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*², § 140).

a (63^{19b}): *rend the heavens*: cf. 51⁹. For the conception of a theophany such as is here contemplated cf. Ps. 50¹⁻⁶; Hab. 3^{3f}.

- 64¹ As fire kindles the brushwood,
 As water which the fire makes to boil,
 To make known Thy name to Thine adversaries,
 So that nations might tremble before Thee,^b
 2 While Thou didst "terrible things^c which we hoped not
 for,^d
 3 And whereof from of old men had not heard !

(4.)

“Ear, indeed, hath not heard,
 Nor hath eye seen,^e
 Thy deeds and heroic acts which Thou wilt do’
 For “those who wait for Thee^f !

b (64¹) : the manner of the theophany is first described (*as fire*, etc.) and then its purpose (*to make known*). *As fire kindles the brushwood* (into flame), *i.e.*, mayest Thou rend the heavens (corresponding to the first clause of the strophe). *As water which the fire makes to boil*, *i.e.*, may the mountains quake before thee (corresponding to the second line of the strophe). Cheyne, following Klostermann, proposes to read the two clauses :

*That as fire of hay blazes up
 So fire might flame from heaven.*

(בְּקִרָה אֵשׁ הִשִּׁיט מִשְׁמַיִם תִּבְעֵר אֵשׁ). But this is unnecessary (LXX, however, supports תִּבְעֵר for M.T. תִּבְעֵה). *To make known Thy Name*, etc., *i.e.*, that Thy adversaries (cf. 63¹⁸) may learn by experience who and what Thou art. *Nations tremble before thee*, *i.e.*, in the judgment now manifested.

c (vs. 2) : *terrible things* : a standing phrase for the marvels of the Exodus (cf. Deut. 10²¹; Ps. 106²²). The Exodus was the great typical deliverance.

d (vs. 2) : Rec. Text adds here : *Thou hadst come down, Before Thee the mountains might quake* : an accidental repetition from the opening lines of the strophe.

e (vs. 3) : *Ear, indeed, hath not heard nor hath eye seen* (reading *lō he'ezināh 'ōzen wē'ayin*, etc.). So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti (cf. I Cor. 2⁹) ; cf. Job 13¹ ; Prov. 20¹². Rec. Text runs on with preceding clause, and may be rendered thus : (*And from of old men have not heard*), *have not perceived by the ear, no eye hath seen* (*a God beside Thee*, etc.).

f (vs. 3) : *Thy deeds and heroic acts which Thou wilt do* (reading *ma'āsehā ū-gēbūrōthēkā ta'āseh* : following LXX in the main ; *καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου ἃ ποιήσεις*). Rec. Text has *a God beside Thee who worketh* ('*ēlōhim zūlātheka ya'āseh*).

g (vs. 3) : *those who wait for thee* (reading *limēhakkē lāk*). So Ancient Versions, Lowth and many moderns. Rec. Text has *for him that waiteth for Him*.

- 4 ^hO that Thou might'st meet those who work righteousness,^h
 'Who remember Thy ways'ⁱ!
 But, behold, Thou wast wroth and we sinned,
ⁱ(Wroth) at our deeds, and we became guilty.^j

(5.)

- 5 We all like ^hone defiled^h have become,
 Our righteous deeds like a garment polluted ;
 We all like leaves ⁱare withered,ⁱ
 And our iniquity like the wind ^mdoth whirl us away.^m
- 6 ^mThere is none that calls on Thy name,^m
ⁿThat arouses himself to lay hold on Theeⁿ :
 For Thou hast hidden Thy face from us,
^oAnd hast consigned us into the power of our iniquity.^o

h (vs. 4) : *O that Thou might'st meet those who work righteousness* (reading *lú* [so Grätz, Ewald, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti] *pāga'tā 'ōsē tsedek* [so Duhm, Grätz, Cheyne, Marti with LXX, Syriac]). Rec. Text has *Thou meetest him that joyfully works righteousness* [here *'eth sās wē* is to be deleted as probably a miswriting for following word ; so Cheyne, also Grätz, Duhm ; the words are not expressed in LXX].

i (vs. 4) : *who remember Thy ways* (reading *ū-dēwākēkā yizkōrū*) : so LXX, Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *that remember Thee in Thy ways*. [The verb *meet* in this verse is clearly used not in a hostile sense ; cf. Gen. 32¹].

j (vs. 4) : *(wroth) at our deeds and we became guilty* (reading *bēma'ālālēnū wa-nirsha'* : cf. Zech. 1^{4, 6} ; so Marti. Cheyne, following Wellhausen, prefers *bēma'ālēnū (wroth) at our breach of faith*. Rec. Text: *In them (have we been of) long time and shall we be saved* : so R.V. This is obviously corrupt.

Vv. 5-6 : As a consequence of the divine anger the people have sunk more deeply into the power of their sins.

h (vs. 5) : *one defiled, i.e., leuitically unclean*.

l (vs. 5) : *are withered* (reading *wa-nibbōl*) : so Duhm, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti (for M.T. *wa-nābel*, Hif. of *bālal*, which yields no satisfactory sense).

m (vs. 5) : *doth whirl us away* (pointing the verb as a singular) required by the singular *our iniquity*, which is the correct reading) : so Duhm, Kittel, Cheyne, Marti.

m (vs. 6) : *There is none that calls on Thy name* : cf. 59⁴ ; Gen. 4²⁶.

n (vs. 6) : *that arouses himself, etc.* ; cf. 51¹⁷, 56².

o (vs. 6) : *and hast consigned us into the power of our iniquity* (reading *wa-temaggēnēnū* : cf. Hos. 11⁸) ; so LXX, Syriac, Targum, Houb., Lowth and many moderns. Rec. Text has *and hast melted us (watemūgēnū) by the hand of our iniquity*.

(6.)

- 7 And now, O Jahveh, Thou art our Father,
 7 And we are all the work of Thy hands^p ;
 7 We are the clay,
 And Thou art our Fashioner.^q
 8 Be not exceedingly wroth, O Jahveh,
 And remember not iniquity for ever !
 7 Ah, do but look down^r—
 7 (For^s) we are all Thy people !

(vv. 9–11 ; probably a later addition.)

- 9 Thy holy cities are become a desert,^s
 Jerusalem 'a curse^t ;

Vv. 7–8 (the sixth strophe) : a final appeal in pathetic language.

p (vs. 7) : *And we are all the work of Thy hands* transposed from end of the verse for the sake of the parallelism. So Haupt, Cheyne, Marti. The metre is also improved.

q (vs. 7) : *We are the clay*, etc. ; cf. Job 10⁹. The same figure is used with a different application in 29¹⁸ ; 45⁹.

r (vs. 8) : *Ah, do but look down*. The poet reverts to the same appeal as at the beginning 63¹⁸. This forms a good close to the prayer and confirms the view that vv. 9–11 are a later addition.

s (vs. 8) : (*For*) (adding *ki*) : so LXX, Duhm, etc.

Vv. 9–11 : metrically this strophe is not so carefully constructed as the six preceding it. The parallelism between the couplets is not here maintained. Further, as Marti points out, there is a certain incongruity between vs. 10 here which speaks of a destruction of the Temple, and 63¹⁸ which implies its continued existence. The verses are probably a later addition, inserted by the same hand that added the glosses in 63^{18f}. The devastation of the Temple and the cities of Judah referred to probably took place in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus (*circa* 350 B.C.). See further introduction to the whole section.

s (vs. 9). Rec. Text adds here, *Zion has become a desert* ; probably a variant to the preceding clause. Omit with Duhm and Cheyne.

t (vs. 9) : *a curse* (reading *liḳḳlālāh*) : cf. Zech. 8¹³ ; so LXX, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text (probably a substitute to soften the original expression), *a desolation*.

- 10 *Our holy and beautiful "House,"
Where our fathers did praise Thee,
"Has been burned with fire"^v ;
And "all we delighted in"^w has become a ruin.*
- 11 *Wilt Thou at such things restrain Thyself, O Jahveh ?
Wilt Thou be silent and afflict us exceedingly ?*

X. THE PUNISHMENT OF APOSTATES AND THE REWARD OF
THE FAITHFUL : A SERIES OF THREATS AND PROMISES
ADDRESSED TO TWO PARTIES.

(65¹-66²⁴.)

The two chapters consist of a number of detached passages, which, however, are all concerned with one general theme. Now one, and now the other party is addressed. As in 57^{3d}, these parties are probably both *within* the Jewish community: the pious and strict party on the one side, and the pro-Samaritan party on the other (rather than the actual Samaritans). This latter section of the population—which finds its adherents mainly among the "people of the land"—is viewed with the greatest repugnance by the writer of these chapters (doubtless Trito-Isaiah). The only remedy he can see is a divine judgment which shall purify the land of these, and make it the possession of the pious.

The chapters presuppose the situation in Judah as it existed before the reforms of Ezra-Nehemiah were inaugurated, *i.e.*, c. 450 B.C.

The chapters fall into the following sub-divisions: (i) 65¹⁻⁷; (ii) 65⁸⁻¹²; (iii) 65¹³⁻²⁰; (iv) 61²¹⁻²⁵; (v) 66¹⁻⁴; (vi) 66⁵⁻¹¹; (vii) 66^{12-19a}; (viii) 66^{18b-22}; (ix) 66²³⁻²⁴.

u (vs. 10): *House, i.e.*, Temple. Some make the reference here to be to the first Temple. It is true the second Temple was originally a somewhat mean structure (cf. Hag. 2³; Ezra 3¹²), but in the course of 170 years it had no doubt been much beautified, as well as become the centre of many hallowed associations.

v (vs. 10): *has been burned with fire*, lit. *has become a burning of fire* (cf. 9⁵).

w (vs. 10): *all we delighted in* (or *prized*), "our desirable or precious things"; cf. Lam. 2¹.

(I.) AGAINST A STUBBORN AND IDOLATROUS CLASS.

(65¹⁻⁷.)

The divine overtures have been scornfully rejected by a stubborn people, whose scandalous and superstitious practices have constantly provoked Jahveh. The section ends with the expression of a divine threat of punishment.

The persons addressed were probably the older element of the Judæan population (and their adherents) who had been left behind in the land, when the better elements of the population were deported. To the returned Exiles (the Golah) much of the practice of this element must have appeared in the highest degree repugnant. The "people of the Land" were addicted still to many purely heathen superstitions, and were not prepared to submit to the Law which had become the central feature of what was practically a new religion, the exponents of which were the Reformers from Babylon, later represented by Ezra and Nehemiah and their coadjutors.

The passage is written in the common form of distichs.

- 65¹ ^aI was to be enquired of by those who asked me not,^a
 To be found by them that sought me not ;
 I said, Here am I, here am I,
 To a people that ^bdid not call^b on my name.
- ² I have spread out my hands all the day
 To unruly ^c(and rebellious)^c people,
^dWho go the way that is not good,
 After their own thoughts^d ;

a (vs. 1) : *I was to be enquired of*, etc., *i.e.*, I was ready to answer . . . to allow myself to be found (the so-called *Nif. tol.* in the Hebrew). The expressions *may* possibly refer to these people's unwillingness to pray, but more probably to their unwillingness to comply with the demands of strict (legal) worship. *Asked Me not* (reading *she'ālūni* : so LXX, Syriac) ; so Lowth, Grätz. Rec. Text : *asked*.

b (vs. 1) : *did not call* (pointing *kārā*) : so Lowth and many moderns. Rec. Text has *that was not called* (*by my name*).

c (vs. 2) : (*and rebellious*), (reading *ū-mōreh*) : so LXX (cf. Rom. 10²¹), Duhm, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti.

d (vs. 2) : *Who go the way that is not good*, etc., *i.e.*, who will not follow the good way of the Law, but pursue their own inclinations.

- ³ People that do 'vex' me
 'To my face continually' ;
 That sacrifice 'in the gardens'
 And 'burn incense on the bricks' ;
- ⁴ *That sit in the graves
 And pass the night in secret places^h ;
 'Who eat swine's flesh'ⁱ
 And 'in) whose vessels is broth of unclean meats.'^j

e (vs. 3) : *vex* : cf. Deut. 32¹⁸.

f (vs. 3) : *to My face*, etc., *i.e.*, quite close to Jahveh, in the holy city itself (Marti).

g (vs. 3) : *in the gardens* : sacred groves were the seats of various pagan cults connected with nature-worship ; cf. 66¹⁷, 1²⁰. The worship of sacred trees and sacred wells goes back to a primitive antiquity (the stories of the patriarchs to a large extent revolve around such sacred spots). Such worship survives in Syria to the present day. (See *Curtiss, op. cit. passim*).

g (vs. 3) : *and burn incense on the bricks* (the word rendered *burn incense* may mean simply *sacrifice*), *i.e.*, on altars made of sun-dried bricks (Cheyne) probably, but this is by no means certain. What rite is referred to is unknown. [Marti suggests that if the difficulty of the preposition *upon* could be surmounted the word might be pointed as plural of *libneh* = *white poplar* (?), "who burn incense (under (?)) white poplars" ; this would agree with context and Hos. 4¹³ admirably.]

h (vs. 4) : *that sit in graves and pass the night in secret places* : "sitting in graves" was doubtless connected with ancestor-worship, with the object of obtaining oracles from the dead. *Pass the night* suggests a reference to the custom of "incubation" or sleeping in particular spots in order to obtain dream-oracles. Lowth quotes the following passage from the Æneid VII, 86 :

*Huc dona sacerdos
 Cum tulit, et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti
 Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit ;
 Multa modis simulacra, videt volitantia miris,
 Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
 Colloquio, atque imis Acheronta affatur Avernis.*

[It is not clear whether the *secret places* are connected with the graves or not.]

i (vs. 4) : *who eat swine's flesh*, *viz.*, in sacrificial meals. Swine among the Semites were only used in a few exceptional rites (cf. W. R. Smith, "Rel. Semites²," pp. 218, 290^f, 351). Some strange and mystic cult of this kind is no doubt referred to here.

j (vs. 4) : *in whose vessels is broth of unclean meats* (reading *bikhêlêhem* with Lowth, Oort, Klostermann, Cheyne ; so Targum ; and following the Kêrê *mêrak* = broth). *Unclean flesh* (Hebrew *piggûlim*), cf. Lev. 7¹⁸, 19⁷ ; Hos. 4¹⁴ ; a magical hell-broth is meant, brewed from the

- ⁵ Who say, *Keep by thyself*!
 Come not nigh me, else 'I shall sanctify thee'¹
 These are 'a smoke in my nostrils,
 A fire that glows continually.¹
- ⁶ Behold, 'it is recorded'^m before Me
 I will not keep silence until I have requitedⁿ
- ⁷ 'Their iniquities and the iniquities of their forefathers
 together
 Says ^p(the Lord)^p Jahveh—
 (Theirs) who have 'sacrificed upon the mountains,^q
 And upon the hills have insulted Me :
 I will first measure their recompense
 '(And then requite it)' into their bosom.

sacrifice of such animals as are enumerated in 66¹⁷ (the mouse and such like). [For *broth* the Hebrew consonantal text has *pērak*, which may mean *piece*.]

k (vs. 5) : *Keep by thyself* ; lit. *draw near to thyself*, cf. 49²⁰.

l (vs. 5) : *I shall sanctify thee* (reading *kiddashīkā*, Piel) ; so Geiger and many moderns. [The rendering of the Rec. Text, *I am holier than thou* cannot be justified.] The expression refers to the "holiness" acquired by participation in the mystical rites alluded to. The initiated has become invested with a dangerous degree of taboo, which necessitates that contact should be avoided (cf. Ezek. 44¹⁸). See on the whole subject Rob. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 357-368. The passage throws a lurid light on the state of things prevailing in certain circles in Judah at this time.

l (vs. 5) : *a smoke*, etc. ; cf. Jer. 17⁴ ; Deut. 32²².

m (vs. 6) : *it is recorded* sc. in the heavenly books. Cf. 4³. The *Book of Life* or of the living is often referred to (in which men were registered for life) in apocalyptic passages especially. Cf. Ex. 32^{23f.} ; 1 Sam. 25²⁰ ; Ps. 69²⁹, 139¹⁶ ; Dan. 12¹. Cf. also Rev. 7^{3ff.}, etc. The idea that deeds were registered in Heaven by God, and that the Books were opened for judgment (especially at the beginning of the New Year) seems to have been an ancient one (Babylonian). It is embodied in the Jewish New Year Celebration (*Rosh ha-shānāh*).

n (vs. 6) : Rec. Text adds here *Yea, I will requite into their bosom*. Probably *I will requite* here belongs to the end of vs. 7. It was accidentally omitted, placed in margin, and then wrongly in text.

o (vs. 7) : *Their iniquities . . . their forefathers* (reading 'awōnēt^hhem . . . abōt^hhem) ; so the Versions, Houb., Lowth and many moderns. Rec. Text : *your . . . your*.

p (vs. 7) : (*the Lord*) : inserted in the Text (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti).

q (vs. 7) : *sacrificed upon the mountains* : the illegal worship of the high places so often denounced in the prophets is referred to. Cf. Hos. 4¹³ ; Ezek. 6¹³, etc.

r (vs. 7) : (*And then requite it*) : the verb (Hebrew, *wē-shillamti*) is inserted here from vs. 6 (as explained above).

(II.) THE FAITHFUL SHALL BE PRESERVED BUT IDOLATERS
DESTROYED.(65⁸⁻¹².)

In the judgment on the apostates that has been announced the faithful and pious party in Israel shall be preserved.

⁸ Thus says Jahveh :

'As when the new wine is found in the cluster

And men say, Destroy it not

For a blessing is in it :

So will I do for My servants' sake

'And' not destroy the whole.

⁹ And I will bring forth from Jacob a posterity

And from Judah "inheritors of My mountains" ;

And My chosen "shall possess (My land),"

And therein shall My servants dwell.

¹⁰ And "Sharon" shall become a pasture for flocks,

And "the Valley of Achor" a resting-place for herds.

s (vs. 8) : *As when the new wine*, etc. The cluster is a figure for the nation as a whole, which includes a large element that is worthless. Just as the cluster is not cast away if it contains even a little of "the new wine," so for the sake of the small element of faithful people the whole nation shall not be annihilated in the coming judgment. The words *Destroy it not for a blessing is in it* may be the opening of a well-known vintage-song. In the titles of certain Psalms (57, 58, 59 and 75) a traditional tune to this song is probably alluded to.

t (vs. 8) : *and not* : lit. *so as not to*.

u (vs. 9) : *inheritors of My mountains* : the discriminating effect of the judgment will be to make the faithful the sole possessors of Jahveh's mountains : cf. 57¹³, 14²⁵.

v (vs. 9) : *shall possess (My land)*, (reading *wē-yārēshū 'artsi*) : so Marti. Rec. Text has *and (my chosen) shall possess it*.

w (vs. 10) : *Sharon . . . the Valley of Achor* : the names denote, the former the western, and the latter the eastern boundary of the land which is to be "inherited" by the faithful. *Sharon*, cf. 33⁹, 35³ (always with the article in Hebrew. *The Sharon*, i.e., probably *the level land*) is the name given to the northern part of the Maritime Plain (from near Carmel to Joppa). It varies from eight to twelve miles in breadth (cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 147 ff.). *The Valley of Achor* was one of the valleys running up from the Jordan valley into the mountainous country. It was somewhere near Jericho, but the exact situation of it has not been certainly fixed ; cf. Josh. 7²⁴, 15⁷ ; Hos. 2¹⁵. [At end of vs. 10 Rec. Text adds *for My people who have enquired of Me*. The words fall outside the metre, and are probably a gloss ; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

¹¹ But as for you, ye that forsake Jahveh,
 Who forget My holy mountain,
 Who †prepare a table for Fortune,
 And pour out mixed wine for Destiny :‡

Vv. 11-12 announce the fate of the apostates (cf. for a similar turn of the address 57^a).

x (vs. 11) : *Who forget My holy mountain, i.e., neglect the obligations of the Temple ritual.* This is the natural interpretation, and, of course, implies the existence of the restored Temple.

y (vs. 11) : *prepare a table for Fortune and pour out mixed wine for Destiny.* The *lectisternia* are alluded to, which were a well-known feature in ancient pagan worship. A meal was prepared for the gods, the table being spread and furnished with various food and drink. Perhaps the table of shewbread was a transformed kind of *lectisternium*, adapted to the higher religion. The *spreading of the table and pouring out of mixed wine* are both elements in one rite, and the two deities here mentioned were probably worshipped in this way together. Jerome (as quoted by Lowth) thus describes such rites : *Est in cunctis urbibus, et maxime in Aegypto, et in Alexandria, idolatriæ vetus consuetudo, ut ultimo die anni, et mensis ejus qui extremus est, ponant mensam refertam varii generis epulis, et poculum mulso mixtum ; vel præteriti anni vel futuri fertilitatem auspicantes. Hoc autem faciebant et Israelitæ, omnium simulacrorum portenta venerantes ; et nequaquam altaris victimas, sed hujusmodi mensæ liba fundebant.* Cf. Jer. 7¹⁸, 19¹³, 44¹⁷ ; the Epistle of Jeremiah, in the Apocrypha, vv. 26-28 ; Bel and the Dragon, vs. 11 ; cf. also I Cor. 10²¹ (τράπεζα δαιμονίων, "the table of demons") *Fortune (Gad)* and *Destiny (Meni)* here are, of course, divine names. The name *Gad*, which means "good fortune" or "good luck" ("he is personified luck") occurs in various Semitic proper names, not only as the name of one of the Israelitish tribes, but also in such compounds as *Baal-gad* (Josh. 11¹⁷, 12⁷, 13⁸), *migdal-gad* (Josh. 15³⁷), and often in Phœnician and Palmyrene names of persons. A temple to the *Fortune of Gaza* is known to have existed in that city.* In fact evidences of the existence of a god of this name (the Greek equivalent is τύχη) in Syria in later times abound (a Syriac writer of the fifth century A.D. mentions that *lectisternia* were still prepared for Gad in his time). Doubtless the worship of such a god goes back to a considerable antiquity in Palestine (as the place-names cited above suggest). The identification of Gad with Jupiter, "the greater luck," may belong to a later time than this passage. *Destiny (Meni)* may possibly be the same deity as the goddess *Mandi*, one of the three great divinities of the pre-Mohammedan Arabs.† *Meni* has been identified with the

* "Baethgen Beiträge zur Sem. Rel. Gesch.," ap. Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

† For an interesting account of the significance of the mention of this goddess in the 53rd sura cf. the Koran, cf. Lyall, *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. xxix. Cf. also on this goddess Wellhausen, *Reste Arab Heid.*, p. 25.

- ¹² ^a I destine^a you for the sword,
 To the slaughter shall ye all bow down ;
^{aa} Because when I called ye did not answer,
 When I spake ye did not listen ;
^{bb} [*But did that which was evil in My sight,
 And choose that wherein I had no delight.*^{bb}]

(III.) THE PROMISED FELICITY OF THE FAITHFUL CONTRASTED
 WITH THE FATE OF THE UNGODLY.

(65 ¹³⁻²⁰.)

The idolatrous party shall be annihilated leaving behind them nothing but a name as a formula of imprecation. This is followed by a glowing picture of the Messianic age, which is described in apocalyptic language. The picture of the glorious future is carried on into the next section (vv. 21-25), but in a different metre.

The felicity of the new (Messianic) age includes " an entire transformation of the conditions of human existence, compared to the creation of " new heavens and a new earth " (vs. 17) ; Jahveh's delight in His handiwork dissipating the sorrows of earth (vv. 18, 19) ; patriarchal longevity (vs. 20) ; and [in the section that follows this] undisturbed possession of the land (vv. 21-23) ; immediate answer to prayer (vs. 24), and harmony in the animal world (vs. 25)."^{*} The eschatological character of the passage as a whole is obvious, and what has already been said in connexion with 63¹⁻⁶ (see introduction to that section and references) will in large measure apply to these verses, also (vv. 17-20, 21-24). The metre here changes to the *Ḳinah* measure. The section (vv. 13-20) forms five strophes, each consisting of four long double lines (as 63⁷⁻¹⁴).

planet Venus, " the lesser luck " of the Arabs, but, as Skinner points out, *Meni* may be the antithesis of *Gad*, and be the deity of *evil* destiny [in the LXX it should be noted that *Gad* = *Δαιμονιον*, and *Meni* = *τύχη* ; the reverse order is what would naturally be expected, and according to Jerome this inverted order was found in his time in some LXX MSS. : so some codices of LXX now extant]. It has been suggested that just as *Gad* appears in the name of one of the Hebrew tribes, so *Meni* may be an element in the name Benjamin (מִנְיָמַי = מִנְיָמַי ; so Kerber, cited by Marti.)

z (vs. 12) : *I destine* : a play on the words.

aa (vs. 12) : *When I called*, etc. : there is an implied reference to vv. 1, 2, which shows that the persons here addressed are identified with those in vs. 1.

bb [*But did that which was evil*, etc.] This clause is regarded by Duhm as a later insertion from 66^{4b} ; so Marti.

* Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

- ¹³ Therefore thus says
the Lord Jahveh :
Behold My servants shall eat,
but ye shall be hungry ;
Behold, My servants shall drink,
but ye shall be thirsty ;
Behold, My servants shall rejoice,
but ye shall be shamed ;
- ¹⁴ Behold, My servants shall be jubilant,
^afor joy of heart,^a
But ye shall cry out for anguish of heart,
and for breaking of spirit.^b
- ¹⁵ And ye shall leave your name for ^ca curse^c
to My chosen,^d
^eBut behold^e 'My servants' shall be called
by another name.
- ¹⁶ ^fHe who blesses himself in the land shall bless himself
by the God of ^htruth^h ;
And ^ghe who swears in the land shall swear^g
by the God of ^htruth^h ;

a (vs. 14) : for joy of heart : cf. Deut. 28 ⁴⁷.

b (vs. 14) : Rec. Text adds *shall ye wail* : this makes the line too long. Duhm omits (so Marti) as probably added by a copyist.

c (vs. 15) : *a curse, i.e., a formula of cursing.*

d (vs. 15) : Rec. Text adds *And let the Lord Jahveh slay thee.* The formula of the curse has probably been inserted into the text from the margin ; so Marti. The omission of this clause restores symmetry and coherence to the strophe. For the actual words of such a formula cf. Jer. 29 ²² : (*Jahveh make thee like Zedekiah . . . whom the King of Babylon roasted in the fire*). [In any case the formula given is incomplete.]

e (vs. 15) : *but behold* (reading *wē-hinneḥ*) ; so Marti (who thinks the preceding יהוה is a corruption of יהנה).

f (vs. 15) : *My servants* : so LXX, Klostermann, Marti (the change to third person was perhaps brought about by the insertion). Rec. Text : *His servants.*

g (vs. 16) : omit here in Hebrew text אשׁר, a prosaic addition (cf. for a similar instance Deut. 33 ²⁰). So Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

h (vs. 16) : *truth* (pointing the Hebrew word *ōmen*, cf. 25 ¹) ; so Weir, Cheyne, Dillmann, Duhm, Marti. Rec. Text : *the Amen* (cf. 2 Cor. 1 ²⁰ ; Rev. 3 ¹⁴). But such a liturgical phrase in this connexion is suspicious.

i (vs. 16) : *he who swears in the land*, etc. Cf. 48 ¹. [When a man blesses himself, *i.e.*, invokes a blessing on himself (cf. Gen. 22 ¹⁸, 26 ⁴, 48 ²⁰ ; Jer. 4 ²) he will use some such expression as "may the God of truth (*i.e.*, the God who fulfils both His threats and His promises) bless me."]

- Because ^jthe former troubles are forgotten,^j
 and because they are hidden from mine eyes.
 17 FOR, BEHOLD ^kI CREATE A NEW HEAVEN
 AND A NEW EARTH.^k

- AND THE FORMER THINGS SHALL NOT BE REMEMBERED,
 NOR ^lCOME INTO MIND^l;
 18 BUT ^mTHEY SHALL REJOICE AND EXULT^m ETERNALLY
ⁿIN WHATⁿ I CREATE.
 FOR BEHOLD I CREATE JERUSALEM AN EXULTATION,
 AND HER PEOPLE A JOY;
 19 AND IN JERUSALEM I WILL EXULT
 AND REJOICE IN MY PEOPLE.

- NO MORE SHALL BE HEARD WITHIN HER ^oTHE SOUND OF
 WEEPING,
 NOR THE SOUND OF A CRY^o;
 20 ^pNEVER MORE SHALL THERE COME ^qFROM THENCE^q
^rA BABE OF (FEW) DAYS,^r

j (vs. 16) : *the former troubles are forgotten*, etc. ; cf. 54¹¹ ; Rev. 21^{4f}.
k (vs. 17) : *I create a new heaven and a new earth*, i.e., a new universe ;
 cf. 66²² ; 2 Pet. 3¹³ ; Rev. 21¹. This is a frequent theme in apocalyptic
 passages ; cf. 11⁶⁻⁹ ; 29¹⁷, 30^{23 ff}, 32¹⁵⁻²⁰, 35¹⁻¹⁰.

l (vs. 17) : *come into mind* ; a Jeremican expression (cf. Jer. 3¹⁶, 7³¹).

m (vs. 18) : *they shall rejoice and exult* (reading *yāsīsū wē-yāgilū*) :
 so LXX, in the main, and Syriac and Targum ; so Duhm, Grätz,
 Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *rejoice and exult* (imperatives).

n (vs. 18) : *in what* (reading *'al 'asher*) : so Grätz, Cheyne, Marti
 (*'al* fell out after *'ad*).

o (vs. 19) : *the sound of weeping nor the sound of a cry* : cf. Jer. 7³⁴,
 16⁹, etc.

p (vs. 20) : The miraculous extension of the normal limits of life is
 a common feature in apocalyptic passages describing the felicity of the
 coming age ; cf. Zech. 8⁴ and especially in the earliest section of the
 Book of Enoch 5⁹, 10¹⁷, 25⁹.

q (vs. 20) : *from thence*, sc. from Jerusalem.

r (vs. 20) : *a babe*, etc., lit. *an infant of days*, i.e., few days ; cf.
 Gen. 24^{6b} for a similar use of *days*.

NOR AN OLD MAN THAT DOES NOT FULFIL
 'HIS ALLOTTED SPAN'^s ;
 BUT 'THE YOUNGEST A HUNDRED YEARS OLD'^t
 SHALL DIE.^u

(IV.) THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

(65²¹⁻²⁵.)

The subject of the preceding section is continued, but in a different metre, viz., in four double distichs (like 65⁸⁻¹²).

²¹ THEY SHALL BUILD HOUSES AND INHABIT THEM,
 THEY SHALL PLANT VINEYARDS AND EAT THE FRUIT OF
 THEM ;

²² THEY SHALL NOT BUILD AND ANOTHER INHABIT,
 THEY SHALL NOT PLANT AND ANOTHER EAT :

FOR 'AS THE DAYS OF THE TREES'^v SHALL BE THE DAYS OF
 MY PEOPLE,

AND THE WORK OF THEIR HANDS SHALL MY CHOSEN
 'EXHAUST'^w ;

^s (vs. 20) : *his allotted span* : lit. *his days*, i.e., the days of his life. None shall die prematurely ; cf. Gen. 25²⁰ ; Ezek. 23²⁰ ; Job 5²⁰.

^t (vs. 20) : *the youngest a hundred years old*, etc. : death at a hundred would be regarded as untimely : nobody will die before that age in the new community. There is evidently no idea in the author's mind of immortality, only of natural life prolonged. The whole representation reminds one of the picture given in the first part of the Book of Enoch.

^u (vs. 20) : the last clause of the verse runs *But he who sins being a hundred years old shall be accursed*. Haupt suspects, probably rightly, that this clause is a late theological gloss. The strophe is complete without it, and in any case the line is too long. The meaning of the clause is apparently that if a man goes to the age of a hundred blameless and then sins he will be accursed (i.e., will come under the curse). In view of vs. 25 this could hardly have been written by the original writer.

Vv. 21-23 : Prolongation of days means that each will enjoy the fruit of his labour (contrast Deut. 28³⁰).

^v (vs. 22) : *as the days of the trees* (lit. *of the tree*, gen. article) ; cf. Ps. 92^{12, 13} ; Job 14^{8f.}

^w (vs. 22) : *exhaust* : lit. *wear out* ; "long enjoy," A.V. Cf. Job 21¹³.

23 THEY SHALL NOT LABOUR FOR NOTHING,
NOR *BRING (CHILDREN) INTO BEING FOR SUDDEN
DESTRUCTION* :

FOR 'A RACE BLESSED' BY JAHVEH ARE THEY,
AND *THEIR OFFSPRING (SHALL BE) WITH THEM.*

24 ^{aa}AND BEFORE THEY CALL I WILL ANSWER ;
WHILE THEY ARE YET SPEAKING I WILL HEAR.

25 ^{bb}THE WOLF AND THE LAMB SHALL (THEN) FEED TOGETHER,
AND THE LION EAT STRAW LIKE THE OX^{cc} ;
THEY SHALL NOT HARM NOR DESTROY
IN ALL MY HOLY MOUNTAIN, SAYS JAHVEH.

(V.) AGAINST THE SCHISMATIC PLAN OF ERECTING A RIVAL
TEMPLE.

(66¹⁻⁴.)

The section begins with a remarkable declaration of Jahveh's spiritual transcendence and the inadequacy of any earthly dwelling place to contain His presence. The conditions of worship acceptable to Jahveh are then described, and it is shown how gravely these are disregarded by those addressed. The section ends with a threat of punishment for disobedience to the Divine Law.

The argument about the inadequacy of any earthly dwelling place is obviously one that might be directed against the Jerusalem Temple itself. Hence the view has been put forward by Gressmann that the polemic was composed before the rebuilding of the Temple, and was directed against the efforts of Haggai and Zechariah to bring the project to realization. But vs. 2 (see notes) implies the existence of the second Temple. Evidently, then, the section is directed against a schismatic proposal to erect a rival Temple. This threat

x (vs. 23) : *bring (children) into being for sudden destruction* : lit. bring forth. Cf. for the idea Jer. 15 8 ; Ps. 78³³. Cheyne would read now *yēgaddelū* for *yēledū* : *they shall not* have the trouble of bringing up children only to see them perish. Another proposal is to read *yil'ū* for *yēledū* : *nor toil for sudden destruction* (i.e., to have the results of labour destroyed). This certainly suits the parallelism. So Perles.

y (vs. 23) : *a race blessed*, lit. *a seed of those blessed*.

z (vs. 23) : *their offspring shall be with them*, i.e., they shall see several generations of their descendants ; cf. 61 9 ; Job 21 8.

aa (vs. 24) : their prayers shall be answered almost before they have been uttered ; cf. 58 9 ; Jer. 29 12 ; Dan. 9 21.

bb (vs. 25) : cf. with the whole vs. 11 6-8.

cc (vs. 25) : Rec. Text adds here : *but the serpent dust shall be its food* : an allusion to Gen. 3 14. Probably a gloss. So Duhm.

seems to have been used by the old population of Judah who were unwilling to accept the strict requirements of the legalistic party. As a matter of fact when that party did secure its triumph the threatened schism took place, and ultimately resulted in the erection of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim. The author of the section can hardly be credited with a full appreciation of the height to which his argument could be carried, and was later carried (cf. Jn. 4²¹⁻²⁴; Acts 7⁴⁸⁻⁶⁰, etc.). Cheyne (see his *Introduction*, p. 376) would join on to vv. 1-4, vv. 5, 17, and 18a, regarding the whole as belonging together. But against this see *Marti Comment*, p. 409.

The passage forms five ordinary double distichs.

66¹ Thus says Jahveh : "Heaven is My throne,
And Earth is My footstool ;
What manner of house would ye build for Me,
And what manner of place as My abode^a ?

² ^bAll these^b My hand has made,
And all these are Mine, is Jahveh's oracle.
But for such I have regard—for the afflicted
And the 'crushed' and him who ^dtrembles at My word.^d

³ He who slaughters an ox (is also) 'a man-slayer' ;
He who sacrifices a sheep (is also) a dog-strangler^f ;

a (vs. 1) : *Heaven is my throne*, etc. : Jahveh, whose throne is in Heaven, (cf. 57^{1b}), and whose footstool the Earth is (cf. 60¹³) asks these schismatics : *What sort of House is it ye would build Me ?* The meaning of the double question is " I have no need of a house built by your hands " (Marti). *What manner of ?* might be rendered *where ?*

b (vs. 2) : *all these*, i.e., not the Heaven and the Earth, but corresponding to the question in vs. 1. All such, viz., a House, an abode (resting place), i.e., Jahveh has already made Himself a Temple, with its cultus and a community in Jerusalem. He already possesses an earthly dwelling-place and needs no other. The abode which has no material limitations, and in which Jahveh is always ready to dwell is the afflicted and humble worshipper, who is loyal to His Law.

c (vs. 2) : *crushed*, lit. *wounded of spirit*. Cheyne renders *downcast*.

d (vs. 2) : *trembles at* (read 'el for 'al) *My Word*, i.e., stand in awe at, and are obedient to My Law ; cf. Ezra 9⁴, 10⁵.

e (vs. 3) : *a man-slayer* : the reference may be to murder simply, or to human sacrifice.

f (vs. 3) : *a dog-strangler* : lit. breaker of a dog's neck. This was evidently some sacrifice connected with illicit cults. For the sacredness of the dog among the Semites cf. Rob. Smith, *op. cit.*³, p. 291 f.

Vs. 3 : Here the author draws a lurid picture of the persons he is addressing. In the four opening lines of this verse the latter part of each line forms the predicate (as translated above). The meaning

He who brings an oblation (is also) a ^g(pouder out) of swine's blood^g ;

^kHe who makes a memorial-offering of incense (is also) the blesser of 'an idol'^k ;

As these have chosen their own ways,

And their soul delights in their abominations—

⁴ So will I choose 'wanton insults'^j for them,
And ^kwhat they dread^k I will bring on them :

Because when I called, none answered ;

When I spake, they did not hear :

But did that which was evil in my sight,

And chose that in which I had no delight.

(VI.) THE OLD PROMISES REITERATED, AND THEIR SPEEDY FULFILMENT ANNOUNCED.

(66⁵⁻¹¹.)

The enemies of the faithful shall soon be discomfited. An eschatological description of the punishment follows (vs. 6), and is succeeded

appears to be not that *he who slaughters an ox* is as good as a *man-slayer*, but that the person who does the one thing also does the other ; in other words these people combined Jahveh-worship with the grossest forms of idolatry and superstition. This view of the meaning is supported by the reference in the last clause of the verse to these people as "delighting in their abominations." [The other interpretation that one form of sacrifice is as worthless in God's sight as the other could hardly have been in the mind of the original writer.]

g (vs. 3) : *a (pouder out) of swine's blood*. A participle is required here as in the other predicative clauses. Read *nôsêk* with Houb., Secker, Lowth and most moderns. Cf. (for sacrificial use of swine) 65⁴.

h (vs. 3) : *he who makes a memorial-offering of incense* : the word here rendered *makes a memorial* (Heb., *hizkîr*) is organically the same as the technical term for *memorial offering* ('*azkârâh*) in the Levitical ritual ; the *memorial offering* consisted of that part of the meat-offering (*minhah*) which was to be burned with incense on the altar (cf. Lev. 2², 24⁷).

i (vs. 3) : *an idol*, lit. *vanity, nothingness* (Heb., '*âwen*), i.e., one who is nought, a non-god. Cf. 41²⁰.

j (vs. 4) : *wanton insults* : the same word is rendered in 3⁴ *insolent jolly*. [Cheyne renders in *S.B.O.T.* "troubles that shall harass them" ; formerly "freaks of fortune"]. The ideas of wantonness [petulance] and outrage are combined in the expression. The insults and outrages they had inflicted on Jahveh shall return on themselves.

k (vs. 4) : *what they dread*, i.e., the things they dread and strive to avert by magical rites.

SHE BEFORE 'HER PANGS' CAME UPON HER
 WAS DELIVERED OF A MALE.

8 WHO HAS (EVER) HEARD THE LIKE OF THIS ?
 WHO HAS (EVER) SEEN SUCH A THING ?

CAN ^s(THE PEOPLE OF)^s A LAND BE TRAVAILED WITH
 IN A SINGLE DAY ?

CAN A (WHOLE) NATION BE BORN
 ALL AT ONCE ?

FOR NO SOONER WERE THEY TRAVAILED WITH THAN
 BROUGHT FORTH BY HER—
 ZION'S SONS !

9 'Should I bring to the birth and not cause to bring forth ?
 says Jahveh :

Or should I Who cause to bring forth shut (the womb) ?
 says thy God.^f

10 "Rejoice," O Jerusalem, and exult in her
 all ye who love her ;

Joy joyfully with her
 all ye "who mourned over her" ;

r (vs. 7) : *her pangs*. The clause suggests a reminiscence of the idea embodied later in the phrase the "birth pangs of the Messiah," the "woes" inaugurating the Messianic era (cf. Matt. 24⁸ ; Mark 13⁸). Probably this expression is the survival of a much older idea (cf. *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* by Oesterley and Box, p. 218, note).

s (vs. 8), (*the people of*) : both sense and metre require the insertion of *people* ('*am*') before *land* : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti.

t (vs. 9) : the questions in vs. 9 embody the writer's view as to the applicability of the eschatological promises and hopes to Zion's present situation. They may be paraphrased thus : Should I (says Jahveh), Who have established the little community in the holy city, and rebuilt the holy sanctuary, stop short here ? Should I leave the promises only half fulfilled ? For the figure cf. 37³⁹ ("The children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth").

u (vs. 10) : *Rejoice* (reading *sim'hi* with LXX) ; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has *rejoice ye with* (Jerusalem), but the imperative sing. is supported by *thy God* at end of verse.

v (vs. 10) : *who mourned over her* : cf. 57¹⁸, 61^{2, 3}.

- 14 AND ^gWHEN YE SEE IT YOUR HEART SHALL BE JOYFUL, ^g
 AND YOUR BONES LIKE YOUNG GRASS SHALL FLOURISH ;
 AND JAHVEH'S ^hKINDNESS^h TO HIS SERVANTS SHALL BE
 MANIFESTED,
 AND ⁱHIS INDIGNATIONⁱ TOWARDS HIS ENEMIES.
- 15 ^jFOR BEHOLD JAHVEH SHALL COME ^kLIKE FIRE,^k
 AND ^lLIKE THE WHIRLWIND SHALL BE HIS CHARIOTS,^l
 TO RENDER HIS ANGER IN BURNING HEAT,
 AND HIS REBUKE IN FLAMES OF FIRE.
- 16 FOR BY FIRE WILL JAHVEH ^mENTER INTO JUDGMENT,^m
 AND ⁿBY HIS SWORD,ⁿ WITH ALL FLESH.^o
- 17 They who consecrate and purify themselves
^pFor the gardens,^p ^qafter one in the midst^q ;

g (vs. 14) : *when ye see it your heart shall be joyful*, etc. In the experience of Jahveh's loving-kindness life in the new Jerusalem shall be joyful indeed.

h (vs. 14) : *kindness* (reading *hesed*, and altering the verb to *wē-nōda'*) : so Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text has (*and Jahveh's*) *hand* (shall be made known) ; but *hand* is not a good antithesis to *indignation*.

i (vs. 14) : *His indignation* (reading *za'amō*) : so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *And He shall be indignant*.

j (vs. 15) : Jahveh appears for judgment in fire and storm to take vengeance on His enemies. Cf. 29⁸, 30^{27, 30}.

k (vs. 15) : *like fire* (reading *kā'ēsh* with LXX) ; so Lowth, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Rec. Text : *in fire* ; cf. Deut. 5^{22 ff.}

l (vs. 15) : *like the whirlwind shall be His chariots* ; cf. Jer. 4¹³ (clause identical). Jahveh's chariots are referred to in Hab. 3⁸ ; Ps. 68¹⁷ (18). The image is derived from the storm clouds on which Jahveh rides ; cf. e.g., Ps. 18¹⁰.

m (vs. 16) : *enter into judgment* : cf. Ezek. 38²².

n (vs. 16) : *by His sword*. For Jahveh's sword cf. 27¹, 34^{5, 6}.

o (vs. 16, end) : Rec. Text adds *And many shall those slain by Jahveh* *bc.* This line has no parallel clause. It is probably a gloss added by a reader who wished to indicate the result of the judgment in accordance with Jer. 25³³ ; Zeph. 2¹². So Duhm, Marti.

Vv. 17-18a. From the universal judgment the writer passes abruptly to another fierce description of the enormities practised by the apostate party. The abruptness is explained if we can suppose that the prophetic writer is quoting, as it were, an eschatological passage, and then interjects his own application of it to his surroundings.

p (vs. 17) : *for the gardens* (cf. 65³), *i.e.*, that they might enter these sacred enclosures and participate in the forbidden rites.

q (vs. 17) : *after one in the midst*, *i.e.*, " following the actions of a hierophant or mystagogue, who stands in the midst of a brotherhood

Who eat 'swine's flesh'

'And the swarming creatures' and 'mice'—

(18a) "Their works and their thoughts"

Shall together come to an end, is Jahveh's oracle.

(VIII.) THE KNOWLEDGE OF JAHVEH'S POWER EXTENDS
TO THE REMOTEST NATIONS ; IT RESULTS IN THE
BRINGING BACK OF THE DIASPORA (ESCHATOLOGICAL).

(66 18^b-22.)

The section, which has a strongly-marked eschatological colouring, forms five double distichs.

18 "FOR BEHOLD THE TIME APPROACHES" FOR GATHERING
"ALL NATIONS AND TONGUES";

and regulates the important ceremony of purification" (Skinner; cf. Ezek. 8¹¹. The Massoretes (*Kêrê*) read *one* as feminine, thinking, perhaps, of the image of some goddess as the central object. Cheyne adopts Klostermann's clever emendation and (read 'ahad 'ehād ba-tēnūk) renders *the one (consecrating) the other on the tip of the ear*. Cf. Ex. 29^{20,21}; Lev. 8^{23,24}; 14¹⁴⁻¹⁷. "The sacred blood was applied to the extremities of the body, which were most in danger of desecration, to represent the renewed bond between the god and his worshipper (cf. Rob. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*², p. 344)."* There seems, however, to be no valid objection against the text reading as explained above.

r (vs. 17) : *swine's flesh* ; cf. 65⁴.

s (vs. 17) : *and the swarming creatures* (reading *sherets*), i.e., vermin. So Duhm. Rec. Text (*shekets*, a doubtful form), (*the*) *abomination*.

t (vs. 17) : *mice*. The mouse is here referred to like the *dog* and the *swine* in connexion with illicit sacrificial meals.

u (vs. 18a) : *their works and their thoughts*, i.e., their idolatry and superstitious practices and their plans (for a rival temple) shall together come to an end. The clause is transposed with Duhm from vs. 18a. So Marti.

a (vs. 18) : *for behold the time approaches* (reading *kî hinneh bā'āh hā'ēth*) : so Cheyne (emending הנה הנה into כִּי הנה הנה : the two Hebrew words following הנה הנה in M.T. are to be transposed to vs. 17 as already explained) So Marti. Duhm (keeping הנה הנה) would read simply, *And I am about to come* (reading *bā* for *bā'āh*) *to gather*, etc. The Rec. Text (as it stands) of this clause is certainly corrupt, and cannot be translated.

b (vs. 18) : *all nations and tongues* : a favourite phrase in apocalyptic descriptions ; cf. Dan. 3⁴. The nations, apparently, are to be assembled for the judgment. One regular feature in such descriptions is that the nations are to assemble before Jerusalem.

* Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 370.

AND ^cTHEY SHALL COME AND SHALL SEE MY GLORY,^c
AND ^dI WILL WORK A SIGN AMONG THEM^d;

AND I WILL SEND FROM THEM 'THOSE WHO HAVE ESCAPED'^e
UNTO THE FURTHEST COASTLANDS,
WHICH HAVE NOT HEARD MY NAME,
NOR SEEN MY GLORY.

AND ^eTHEY^e SHALL DECLARE MY GLORY AMONG THE
NATIONS,
20 AND SHALL BRING ALL YOUR BRETHREN OUT OF ALL THE
NATIONS
AS AN OBOLATION TO JAHVEH^h TO MY HOLY MOUNTAIN,
TO JERUSALEM, SAYS JAHVEH,

c (vs. 18): *they shall come and see My glory.* Jahveh's action before Jerusalem is such as to demonstrate His majesty and glory. Cf. (in the case of the Egyptians) Ex. 14 ^{4, 7, 18} (Jahveh glorifies Himself).

d (vs. 18): *I will work a sign among them, i.e., work a miracle, as in the case of the Egyptians; cf. Ex. 10² (same phrase).*

e (vs. 18): *those who have escaped (escaped ones): i.e., who have survived the judgment.*

f (vs. 19): Rec. Text adds here: *the nations Tarshish Put* (Rec. Text wrongly *Pul*) and *Lud, Mesbech, Rosh* (so LXX), *Tubal and Javan*. This is an obvious gloss interrupting the flow of the prophetic discourse. So Dillmann, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. *Tarshish* = Tartessus in Spain probably (but this is not certain). [*Tarshish-ships* (cf. 2¹⁸, etc.) = large sea-going vessels fit to ply to Tarshish; cf. our "East-Indiamen."] *Put* and *Lud* are mentioned together in Jer. 46 ⁹; Ezek. 27¹⁰, 30⁶. Perhaps two African peoples are meant (in Gen. 10 ^{8, 13} the two are linked with Egypt). *Mesech and Rosh* (so LXX corrected text for Rec. Text *that draw the bow*) appear in Ezekiel as belonging to the land of Magog in N.E. Asia Minor (cf. Ezek. 38^{2f}, 39¹). *Tubal* = the *Tibareni* of classical writers. Cf. Gen. 10²; Ezek. 38^{2f}, 39¹. Their territory lay S.E. of the Black Sea. *Javan, i.e., the Ionians*: the Hebrew name for the Greek race. [All these names here seem to have been taken from the Book of Ezekiel (27^{10f}, 38¹, 39¹).]

g (vs. 10): *they*; the subject apparently is indefinite.

h (vs. 20): Rec. Text adds *upon horses and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon dromedaries*: a prosaic enumeration; obviously an interpolation (so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti).

- 'AS THE ISRAELITES BRING THE OBLATION
 IN A PURE VESSEL INTO JAHVEH'S HOUSE.ⁱ
 21 AND 'SOME OF THEM' ALSO WILL I TAKE
 'FOR LEVITICAL PRIESTS,' SAYS JAHVEH.
- 22 'FOR EVEN AS THE NEW HEAVENS,
 AND THE NEW EARTH WHICH I WILL MAKE,
 SHALL CONTINUE BEFORE ME, SAYS JAHVEH'S ORACLE :
 SO SHALL YOUR POSTERITY AND NAME CONTINUE.'^l

(IX.) APPENDIX.

(A later addition.)(66²³⁻²⁴.)

"Month by month, and week by week, all flesh shall come to Jerusalem to worship, while the dead bodies of the rebellious Israelites shall remain as a fearful spectacle and an abhorring to all flesh." (Skinner.)

The passage is clearly a later addition, coming in as it does after the well-rounded close of vs. 22. The phrase *all flesh* here means not all mankind (as in vs. 16) but all Jews and proselytes (as in Joel 2²⁹); and the rebels (*men who have rebelled against Me*) are not heathen enemies but godless Jews. The final touch in vs. 24 goes beyond anything in Ch. 56-66.

i (vs. 20): *as the Israelites bring the oblation*, etc., *i.e.*, the Diaspora, brought as an oblation by the heathen nations, shall be as acceptable to Jahveh as an oblation brought by Jews in a pure vessel.

j (vs. 21): *some of them*, *i.e.*, some of your brethren brought back (vs. 20). The priesthood will not be confined to Jerusalem families, but shall be extended to some of the Diaspora. The idea of *priests* being taken from the Gentiles is too bold a one to be ascribed to Trito-Isaiah.

k (vs. 21): *for Levitical priests* (reading *le'kēhānim lewiyyim*): so Kuenen, Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. Cf. Mal. 2⁴⁻⁹. The expression *Levite-priests* is common in Deuteronomy (cf. 17⁹). The sharp distinction between *priests* and *Levites* arose later (after Ezra). [Levites among the Diaspora are alone meant, presumably.] Rec. Text has *for the priests for the Levites*, *i.e.*, to act as servants for the priests and Levites.

l (vs. 22): cf. Jer. 31^{35 f.}, 33^{25 f.}

²³ *And it shall come to pass ^mfrom new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath,^m all flesh shall come to worship before Me, says Jahveh ;*

²⁴ *ⁿAnd they shall issue forth and look upon the carcasses of the men who rebelled against Me ; ^ofor the worm (of corruption) thereof doth not die, nor is the fire thereof quenched^o ; and they shall be an ^pabhorrence^p to all flesh.*

m (vs. 23) : *from new moon*, etc., lit. *as often as a month recurs, on its new moon* ; as often as a week recurs, on its Sabbath ; cf. Numb. 28^{10, 14}. *Sabbath* here = *week*, as in Numb. 28¹⁰ ; Lev. 23¹⁵, 25⁸ ; and in N.T. (cf. e.g., Mark 16^{2, 9}).

n (vs. 24) : Though the place is not mentioned by name to which they issue forth, it is doubtless the *Valley of the son of Hinnom* (Jer. 7^{31f}), or *Valley of Hinnom*, Neh. 11³⁰ ; *i.e.*, the Greek γεεννα (Gehenna). Cf. Enoch 27^{2, 3}. See further the Bible dictionaries.

o (vs. 24) : *for the worm thereof*, etc., cf. Judith 16¹⁷ ; Ecclus. 7¹⁷ ; Mark 9^{44f}.

p (vs. 24) : *abhorrence* : the Hebrew word here used only occurs again, Dan. 12⁷.

APPENDIX I.

THREE MESSIANIC PASSAGES (Ch. 7¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 9¹⁻⁶; 11¹⁻⁹).

THE first of these is the prophecy of Immanuel's birth (7¹⁴⁻¹⁶). Gressmann (*op. cit.*, p. 276 f.) after pointing out that in interpreting this passage we must proceed from the twofold assumption (a) that Isaiah means to announce *good* news to Judah (the destruction of Israel and Syria), and (b) that he prophesies a *wonder*, goes on to say:

"We must suppose that there was current in the time of Isaiah a well-known prophecy of the birth of a wonderful child who was destined to bear the name Immanuel, and in his childhood to eat milk and honey,* and before he shall have learned to distinguish between good and evil, *i.e.*, before he is five years old, to become the Deliverer of his people, or the bringer of good fortune. The wonder which Isaiah prophesies to Ahaz consists in this, that he announces the fulfilment of this [old prophecy] as a present reality [*für die Gegenwart*]: 'The woman whom thou knowest of, O King, is already with child, and after an interval the Deliverer Immanuel shall be born, as the old oracle promises!' On such a view the tremendous faith and splendid courage of Isaiah stand out clearly before us. He boldly enunciates as actual fact and present reality what for the rest lies in an unknown future. . . . Now, in the time near at hand, will Immanuel appear who will emancipate us from all our troubles."

The child is, of course, no ordinary mortal, but in the popular imagination was invested with a supernatural character. A trace of this is to be seen in the food which he is represented as destined to eat—milk and honey—which in the primitive form of the saga was the food of the gods. In Messianic prophecy, of course, the ancient material is largely transformed and invested with a higher religious significance.

With Is. 7¹⁴⁻¹⁶ should be compared Micah 5^{1 ff.} where the wonderful birth of the *Messiah* is alluded to. The presence of the ancient idea, though in a very considerably modified form, seems clear enough in this passage.

Probably, also, the same ancient conception is to be detected in Is. 9¹⁻⁶, where the birth of a wonderful child, who is destined to sit on the throne of David, is depicted. Here again it is the wonderful child who lived in the popular imagination as destined to fill an eschatological rôle that is probably alluded to. The birth which belongs to the future is pictured prophetically as an accomplished fact. Notice the marked eschatological colouring. The abolition of war (vs. 4: *every boot of noisily tramping warrior, and (every) war-cloak drenched with blood, shall be burnt*, etc.) was one of the regular features of the myth concerning

* *I.e.*, the food of Paradise, in the ancient myth; misunderstood later to mean the food of privation.

the return of the Golden Age. Notice also the abrupt allusive style, which, as Gressmann well points out, implies the use of pre-existing material.

The mysterious names borne by the child are highly significant in this connexion. "The name-giving and changing of the names both of persons and things plays a great rôle in eschatological addresses (Hos. 2^{1, 3}; Is. 1²⁸, 4³, 58¹², 60¹⁴⁻⁸, 61⁶, 62¹²; Ezek. 48³⁶). It is, perhaps, an ancient feature, and goes with the great 'change of fortune' (עֲוֵרָה). As in the beginning of the existing world all things received definite names, so in the future world they are destined to be re-named."*

Gressmann goes on to discuss the remarkable names given in 9⁵ to the wonderful child. He points out that the title *Hero-God* ('*el gibbôr*) is given elsewhere to Jahveh (cf. Is. 10²¹, Jer. 32¹⁸; Deut. 10¹⁷)† The '*El*-religion, to which these expressions essentially belong, was not of Israelitish but of Canaanite origin as Gunkel (*Genesis* 2nd ed. p. 165) has pointed out. The *Hero-God* of Is. 9⁵ is a human king and God at the same time "a sort of demi-God" (Gressmann). [Marti explains the title, on the analogy of *Wonder of a counsellor* = *wonder-counsellor*, as *God of a Hero* (i.e., among heroes), *God-Hero*: a hero endowed with wonderful strength and powers. "As to divine origin the name says nothing."] With *Eternal Father* (lit. *Father for eternity*) cf. 57¹⁵ (*He who dwells eternally* applied to Jahveh). [Marti explains the expression here as meaning *Father*, i.e., sustainer of his people *perpetually*, i.e., constantly; an honorific description.] Gressmann also considers the epithet *Wonder-Counsellor* as exceeding the usual measure of language applied to a king. According to Is. 25¹ it is Jahveh who has *wrought wonders, counsels decreed long ago*. Gressmann concludes, therefore, that these names were not invented by the prophet, but derived by him from tradition. They are ultimately of mythical origin, and have been incorporated into the higher religion.

What has been said already will largely apply also to the other great Messianic passage in Is. 11¹. There, however, the connexion between the Messiah and the Messianic period (originally the eschatological King and the return of the Golden Age) is much more close in the delineation than in Is. 9¹⁻⁶. See Gressmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 288 ff.

APPENDIX II.

SOME GEOGRAPHICAL ALLUSIONS.

A. (In Is. 10⁹): The six cities here mentioned "are enumerated in geographical order from north to south," the first of each pair being, however, nearer to Jerusalem than the second" (Skinner).

Carchemish (Assyrian, Gargamish), on the right bank of the Euphrates, fell to Sargon in 717. It had stood at the head of the great Hittite confederacy, and been in frequent conflict with Assyria.

* Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

† Cf. also Ezek. 32²¹ ("the strong among the mighty" = "hero-gods") where it is applied to the primæval giants in Sheol.

Calno, probably = *Kullani* in North Syria, which was captured by Tiglath Pileser III in 738. It may be identical with the Calneh of Amos 6².

Hamath, the modern *Hamā* on the Orontes (about midway between Carchemish and Damascus) was captured by Tiglath Pileser in 738, and again by Sargon in 720.

Arpad, = the modern *Tell-Erfād*, about fifteen miles north of Aleppo, was captured by Tiglath Pileser in 740.

[*Damascus* fell c. 732; *Samaria* in 722.]

B. (in Is. 36¹⁰ and 37^{12f.})

Sepharvaim (Is. 36¹⁹), probably a city in North Syria, perhaps the *Shabarain* of the Babylonian Chronicle, which was situated between Hamath and Damascus, and was destroyed by Shalmaneser. [Some would identify it with Sibraim in Ezek. 47¹⁶, "which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath"]. The above view is much more probable than Schrader's which identifies Sepharvaim with Sippar in the north of Babylon.

Gozan (Is. 37¹²), Assyrian *Gazana* = *Gāznanitis* in Mesopotamia, one of the districts to which the northern Israelites were exiled (cf. 1 Kings 17⁸, 18¹¹). "It lay on the river Chaboras, a northern affluent of the Euphrates" (Skinner).

Haran (Is. 37¹²), (Hebrew, *Hārān*) = Assyrian, *Harrānu*, the Greek, *Καρχήαι*; an important commercial town in north-west Mesopotamia.

Rezeph (Is. 37¹²) = the Assyrian *Rasappa*, the Greek *Ρησαδα*, and the modern *Rusafē*; it lies on the road which leads from Palmyra northwards to the Euphrates.

The Benê-Eden (Is. 37¹²), *i.e.*, the inhabitants of the district referred to as *Bit-Adini* in the cuneiform inscriptions. It was "situated on both banks of the middle Euphrates" (Whitehouse).

Telassar (Is. 37¹²), *i.e.*, "the mound or hill of Assur"; it has not been identified with certainty. [Winckler suggests that the word should be read Tel-Bassar (= Til-Baschir), a locality on the right bank of the Euphrates.]

[**Hena** and **Avvah** (Is. 37¹³) have not been exactly located; they were places, doubtless, in Syria.]

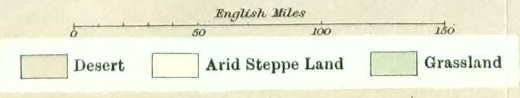
All the districts enumerated in Is. 37¹²⁻¹³ had long been incorporated in the Assyrian Empire at the time referred to in the narrative (701).

C. (in Is. 10^{27c-32}). The description here given is an imaginary one of an invader's advance from the north. It might have actually taken place as described any time after the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.), when the northern frontier of Judah would have been perilously exposed to attack. The prophet here, apparently, pictures the Assyrians continuing their victorious advance, after the capture of the northern capital, into Judah. All the places mentioned lay either on or not very far off the high road which led from Jerusalem to the capital of the northern kingdom.

† **Pene-Rimmon** or **Rimmon** would be identical with the Rimmon mentioned in Judges 20⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷ to the rock near which the remnant of the defeated Benjamites fled. It lay about three and a half miles east of Bethel (which is itself about four hours, ten miles, north of Jerusalem, and dominated the high road to Samaria).



SYRIA, ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA, &c.



Ai (the text has '*Ayyāth*, which doubtless is identical with the more common form *Ai*) is east of Bethel about two miles; cf. Gen. 12⁸; Jer. 49³, etc.

Migrōn perhaps identical with the modern Makrūn (cf. Bædeker, *Palest.* 4, p. 117); cf. 1 Sam. 14².

Michmash (= "store, place of storing"), south of Ai, north of Geba; about four miles south-east of Bethel; identical with the modern Machmās. It is often referred to in 1 Sam. (cf. 1 Sam. 13 *passim*, 14⁶⁻³¹). The meaning of the name is alluded to by Isaiah in the clause describing what the invader does at the spot (*At Mickmash stores his baggage*).

The **Pass** = the *Wādi Suwēnit* (Marti).

Geba. The town and surrounding district were so called; = the modern *Jeb'a*, lies on the edge of the *Wādi Suwēnit*, about five miles north of Jerusalem. It was a Levitical city. Cf. Josh. 21¹⁷, etc.

Ramah = the modern *er-Rām*, west of Geba (less than two miles).

Gibeah of Saul probably = the modern *Tell-el-Fūl* south of Ramah and Geba (on the road to Jerusalem).

Neither **Gallim** nor **Laishah** have yet been identified.

Anathoth, now *'Anata*, about three miles north-north-east from Jerusalem, Jeremiah was born there (cf. Jer. 1¹).

Neither **Madmenah** (= "Dung-heap") nor **Gebim** (= "cisterns") have yet been identified.

Nob (cf. 1 Sam. 21¹, 22^{11, 18}; Neh. 11³²) must have been quite close to Jerusalem. Its exact site, however, is unknown (Conder now identifies it with *Sh'afāt*).

D. (in Is. 15 and 16, mainly Moabite localities).

Ar-Moab and **Kir-Moab** were the two principal strong places of Moab. **Ar** lay in the Arnon (Num. 21^{16, 28}), and is not to be confused with *Rabba*, the later capital (about ten miles further south). **Kir Moab** is identified with the modern el **Kerak**, and lies about seventeen miles south of the Arnon. It may be identical with **Kir-hareseth** (16⁷) and **Kir heres** (16¹¹).

Dibon, the modern *Dhiban*, about six miles north of the Arnon. It became well known in modern times as the place where the famous Moabite stone was discovered. From its situation it would naturally be the first to receive the tidings of the fall of the southern fortresses (*Ar* and *Kir-Moab*).

Nebo, *i.e.*, probably the mountain of that name, *Jebel Nebā*. It stands near the mouth (east) of the Jordan at the northernmost part of the Dead Sea (others take *Nebo* here to mean a town near the mountain).

Medeba, the modern *Mādebā*; it is mentioned on the Moabite Stone (l. 8). It lies twelve miles east of the north end of the Dead Sea.

Heshbon and **Elealeh** are often mentioned together. **Heshbon**, the modern *Hesbān*, lies about eight miles north of Medeba. It was once the Amorite capital (Num. 21²⁴), passed into the possession of the Israelites (Num. 32³⁷; Josh. 13¹⁷, 21³⁰), and appears in this prophecy as a Moabite City. **Elealeh** (= "the ascent") is the modern *Hirbet el 'Al*, from two to three miles further north.

Jahaz has not been identified, but probably lay some little distance south of Heshbon. It was here that Sihon fought Israel (Num. 21²³).

Zoar (*Tso'ar*), south-east of the Dead Sea; it is identified with the present *Hirbet es-Safia*.

Luhith. According to the Onomasticon of Eusebius Luhith lay between Rabbath-Moab and Zoar.

Horonaim. Jer. 48⁶ mentions the "slope of Horonaim." The exact locality cannot be fixed.

The waters of Nimrim may, perhaps, be identified with *Wādi Numeirah* which runs into the Dead Sea a little south of Kerak.

The Wady of Willows, *i.e.*, the *Wādi el-Aḥsa* ("valley of water-pits," the scene of the incident referred to in 2 Kings 3^{16ff.}), which formed part of the boundary between Moab and Edom.

Eglaim and **Beer-elim** (= ? *well of terebinths*) cannot certainly be identified.

Dimon is conjectured to be another form of **Dibon**, but this is pure hypothesis.

Ē. (in Is. 172).

The cities of **Aroer** (so M.T.), *i.e.*, presumably the towns lying around Aroer. The well-known *Aroer* was situated in the territory of Moab, on the Arnon (Num. 32³⁴; Deut. 2³⁶, etc.). But this is much too far south to have been reckoned part of the territory of Damascus. Some assume that an otherwise unknown Aroer existed in Syria. But probably the text of the passage is corrupt (see translation and note there). Cf. also Appendix III. 4.

APPENDIX III.

SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. The Mount of Assembly in the uttermost North (Is. 14¹³). A mythological conception is here clearly alluded to; presumably it is Babylonian. An Olympus, located in the far north, on which the gods assembled is suggested. Schrader on this passage* identifies this mythological mountain with *Arālu* (the chief of the gods is represented as having been born in "the house of the mountain-summit of the lands, the mountain of *Arālu*"). Though there is no direct evidence that the Babylonians located this mountain in the extreme north, it is not improbable that they did so. The divine mountain, according to Israelitish ideas was, of course, either Mount Sinai or Mount Zion. The conception of a holy mountain in the north is clearly not of Israelitish origin. It is remarkable, therefore, that we find traces of the idea in some O.T. passages. Thus, there is the remarkable verse in Ps. 48, which, literally rendered, runs: *Beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, (on) the uttermost parts of the north, the city of the great King* (vs. 2 E.V., 3 in Hebrew). As Gressmann (*op. cit.*, p. 116) points out, this is absolutely incomprehensible as a description of Jerusalem. Zion, as we know, was Jahveh's mountain. But here the eschatological Zion is in the poet's view. From other passages it is made evident that Zion is destined in the final drama of the

* In his *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.* (translated by Whitehouse), II, p. 79 following.

world to become the highest mountain on the earth (cf. Is. 2² = Micah 4¹; Zech. 14¹⁰). If as Gunkel conjectures the *highest mountain* is the mountain in the north (the mythical mountain of the gods which reached from earth to heaven) on which, in the original form of the myth, the heavenly city of the great King lay (cf. Rev. 21¹⁰), then all is clear. In the last days, according to eschatological prophecy, Zion is to be elevated to the position occupied by the great mountain of tradition in the north. (See further the interesting discussion in Gressmann *loc. cit.*)

Ewald connects the sanctity of the northern position (relative to the Altar) adopted for the slaughter of certain sacrifices [cf. Lev. 1¹¹, 6¹⁸] with the mythical holy mountain in the north. Cf. also Book of Enoch lxxvii, 3, where "the fourth quarter [of the heaven], called the north, is divided into three parts . . . the third part with the garden of righteousness." Thus, according to one view prevalent in the later period, Paradise was located in the north.

2. On Is. 21^{2, 10}. *The perfidious is still perfidious, and the devastator still devastates.* The view taken above (on the text *in loc.*) is that these terms are descriptive of Babylon's oppressive conduct to her captives.

The prophetic writer suffers strangely mingled emotions. On the one hand Babylon is to him the oppressive and barbarously cruel power, that has treated its captives with rigour and without mercy; cf. his description of Israel in vs. 12 as "my threshed people" (*i.e.*, the people that has been harried by Babylon). On the other hand the great city had become to the prophet and his people their adopted home, and he views the prospect of its siege and capture with undisguised dismay, and announces the coming catastrophe to his people as something calculated to inspire them with dread (vv. 2-4, 12). The prospect of exchanging one tyrant (Babylon) for another (Persia) did not appeal to this writer apparently; and Babylon's utter ruin—beyond which nothing could at present be clearly seen—was something full of terror (contrast the hopes of Deutero-Isaiah).

[Some scholars prefer to apply the terms in vs. 2 to the *besiegers of Babylon, i.e.*, to the troops of Cyrus; *the robber* ("treacherous dealer") *robs and the devastator devastates, i.e.*, pursue their career of havoc and conquest.]

All her (victims') sighing I have stilled (vs. 2), *i.e.*, all the sighing produced by Babylon's ruthless oppression. Others render *all the mourning over it, i.e.*, over Babylon's destruction, *I have stilled, i.e.*, reduced to silence in the universal desolation of death. Jahveh is the speaker.

3. The "Dumah"-Oracle (Is. 21¹¹⁻¹²). If *Dumah* in the heading is correct it may be intended to suggest Edom's fate; the land is destined to become the land of the silence (*Dumah* = silence) of death; cf. Mal. 1^{3f}. The heading was added, of course, by the editor.

Sentinel, how far in the night? Sentinel, how far in the night? The repetition of the question emphasizes its urgency. The meaning is, Is not the night of oppression and suffering nearly over? The prophet is addressed. Oppression by the Babylonian power had been unbroken from about 589 B.C. But the prospect of deliverance (the coming fall of Babylon) is at last beginning to dawn. The prophet's reply is

ambiguous: *Dawn approaches—but also night*. The prospect ahead is clouded and uncertain; the dawn of deliverance is, indeed, approaching, but may only prove to be the harbinger of another night. But the prophet's language is undecided. He apparently suggests that a later vision may make matters clearer. "If you would inquire further," he says, "come again" (later).

The oracle "On Arabia" (Is. 21¹³⁻¹⁵). On the view of the date of this piece taken above (*viz.*, that it belongs to the end of the Babylonian Exile, c. 550-545 B.C.) the contents of the oracle show that the prophet anticipated no better fate for the subject tribes at the hands of the Persian Conquerors of Babylon than from Babylon itself. See further Driver, *Isaiah*, pp. 218 f.

4. Some Egyptian localities mentioned in Is. 19 and 30.

(1) *Zoan* (Is. 19¹¹, 30⁴), mentioned as an ancient city in Numb. 13²², is identical with Tanis, situated between the easterly mouths of the Nile. It was the capital of the twenty-first dynasty. Owing, perhaps, to its proximity to Canaan it not infrequently figures in the O.T. as representative of Egypt.

(2) *Hanes* (Is. 30⁴) is identified with the Egyptian *Hnès*, the later *Heracleopolis magna* and the present *Achnàs el-medîne*, which lies to the south of Memphis on an island in the Nile. [Zoan and Hanes may be regarded as marking the extreme limits of Lower Egypt N. and S.].

(3) *Noph* (Is. 19¹³) = Memphis, the old capital of Lower Egypt, situated at the lower corner of the Delta, near Cairo. An older form of the name probably is *Moph* (Hos. 9⁶) = Egyptian *Mennufer*, *Men-nophi*.

THE END.