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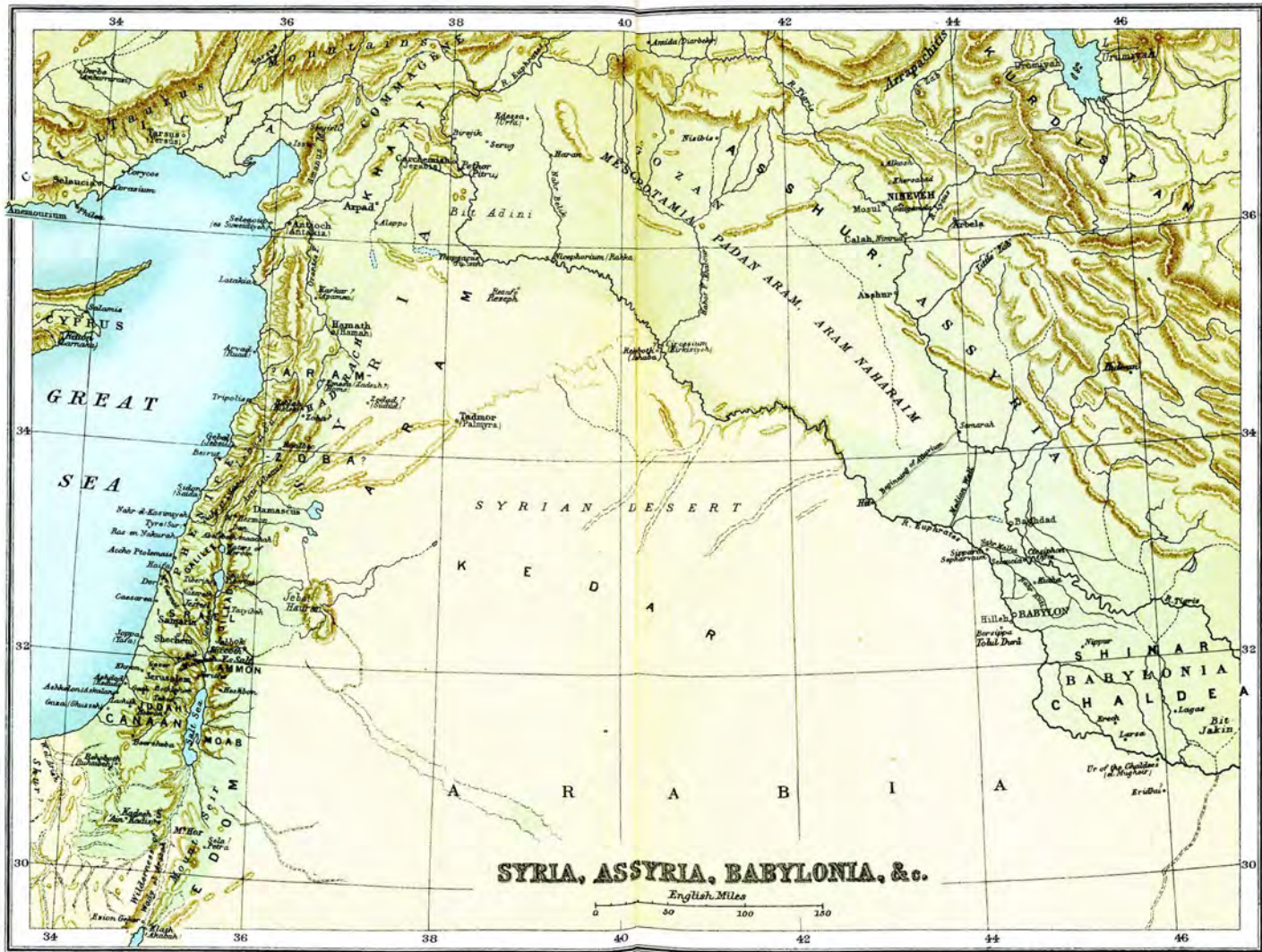
ISAIAH

XL--LXVI

DEUTERO-ISAIAH: XL-LV

TRITO-ISAIAH: LVI-LXVI

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Isaiah

XL—LXVI

DEUTERO-ISAIAH: XL-LV

TRITO-ISAIAH: LVI-LXVI

INTRODUCTIONS
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
INDEX AND MAP

EDITED BY THE REV.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A., D.D.

VOL. II

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CONTENTS

DEUTERO-ISAIAH (CHAPTERS XL-LV)

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION TO DEUTERO-ISAIAH	I
TEXT OF THE REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS	47

TRITO-ISAIAH (LVI-LXVI)

INTRODUCTION TO TRITO-ISAIAH	225
TEXT OF THE REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS	241
APPENDIX I. Chronological Tables	340
APPENDIX II. Inscription on the Clay Cylinder of Cyrus, King of Persia (538-529 B.C.)	342
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS	344
INDEX	345

MAP

Syria, Assyria, Babylonia, &c.	<i>at front.</i>
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VOL. II

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET

ISAIAH (CHAPTERS XL—LV)

OR DEUTERO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

ABBREVIATIONS

- O.T. Old Testament. N.T. New Testament.
A.V. Authorized Version. R.V. Revised Version.
LXX. Septuagint. A. or Al. Alexandrine codex. B. Vatican cod.
COT. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, translated from the second edition of the German *Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, KAT.²
*KAT.*³ The third edition in German of the above by Winckler and Zimmern, but an entirely new work on a totally different plan.
KIB. *Die Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, edited by Dr. Schrader, vols. i-vi consisting of transcribed and translated Assyrian and Babylonian documents.
ZATW. *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
SBOT. *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, ed. Paul Haupt.
*PRE.*³ *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (third edition).
DB. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*
DCG. Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.*
Enc. Bibl. Encyclopaedia Biblica.
J. Yahwistic writer in the Hexateuch.
E. Elohist writer in the Hexateuch.
P. Priestercodex or Postexilian document of the Pentateuch.
[S. . . .]. Servant passages in the Deutero-Isaiah. Other bracketed passages are later insertions either by an editor or gloss-writer introduced into the Hebrew text.
KJ. Giesebrecht, *Der Knecht Jahves des Deuterosejaia.*
RS². Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed.

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

(CHAPTERS XL-LV)

CALLED THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ I. PROLOGUE. HISTORIC ANTECEDENTS OF THE EXILE.

BETWEEN the close of Isaiah's life at the beginning of the seventh century and the exile of the Jewish population in Babylonja there intervene nearly the whole of that century and the beginning of the sixth—about a hundred years. This interval may be characterized in a single sentence. It meant for the Jewish people the final destruction of their kingdom and, in part, of their national hopes; and it also meant the purification of their religious ideas and cultus. This last was the permanent result which the overwhelming tides of foreign invasion, Scythian, Egyptian, and Babylonian, left behind them.

Isaiah of Jerusalem, as we have already noted, uttered a great warning united to a great hope. He warned the nation that destructive judgments would overtake them for their sins against Yahweh—the sins of idolatry, necromancy, blind adherence to ceremonial, and national pride as well as sins of social injustice and drunkenness. Yet he also held out the hope that a remnant of the people would repent, that these would abide with God in their midst in Jerusalem, and that the city would be preserved from destruction. Finally, that a Messiah of Davidic lineage would arise and destroy the Assyrian power and establish the reign of righteousness and peace in Jerusalem.

To these anticipations the Jewish people clung in the dark days that awaited them near the close of the Jewish monarchy; but the warnings were not equally heeded.

Isaiah's prophecy that Assyria's power would be overthrown and that a Messiah would bring about this result was not destined to be fulfilled. The reforms of Hezekiah's reign were of such transient character and influence that soon scarcely a trace remained. A period of religious reaction set in, and it is to be noted that this religious decline synchronizes with Judah's political subjection to Assyria during Manasseh's long reign (687-41) and the brief reign of his son and successor Amon (641-39). Of this relation to Assyria we have decisive evidence in the two lists of tributary kings which closely resemble one another belonging respectively to the reigns of Esar-haddon and Ašurbanipal, in which the name of Manasseh of Judah occurs. See Schrader, *COT.*, ii, p. 40 foll., and cf. 1 Chron. xxxiii. 11-13. That this vassalage to Assyria gravely prejudiced the popular estimate of Yahweh's power and prestige can admit of no doubt. From the earliest days Yahweh had been Israel's war-God, and in the thoughts of the great mass of the Hebrews this tradition still survived. In the star-worship of Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 3) we can trace Babylonian influence. On the other hand, the revival of Yahweh's worship and the drastic reforms instituted by Josiah synchronize with the decline of Assyrian power, which very rapidly set in after the death of Ašurbanipal in 626 B. C.

The last quarter of the seventh century and the opening of the sixth are filled with the prophetic activity of the most remarkable of Israelite prophets—Jeremiah. It was Jeremiah who was destined to announce the final break of prophecy with nationalism. Isaiah, as we have already seen, was not entirely emancipated from the old traditions of Hebrew nationalism. His contemporary, Micah, was in this respect more advanced (cf. Mic. iii. 12). According to Isaiah Judah was still the object of Yahweh's fatherly solicitude. His personal power and presence continued to reside there. Though Judah was

to suffer terrible chastisements—and it almost seems from Isa. vi. 11 foll. that this involved complete destruction—yet, as we learn from other passages, this was not to be. A purified remnant would survive all the fiery ordeals, and Yahweh would not suffer Jerusalem, His abode, to be captured by the foreign invader. This conception was expressed in the significant name *Immanuel*, a watchword of comforting potency in the dark days of the latter half of the eighth century.

But now even this last vestige of national hope was to be extinguished. The reformation in the age of Josiah, out of which the Deuteronomic legislation emerged, had not wrought the cure for national apostasy that had been expected. The deep wounds of the nation were even now but lightly healed (Jer. vi. 14, viii. 11). Avarice and falsity beset all ranks of society, even prophet and priest. It was a delusion to talk of peace or national well-being, for there was none. Jeremiah saw that the moral condition of Israel, social and religious, was beyond remedy. After Josiah had come the ill-fated Jehoahaz (or Shallum) and, after a brief and troubled reign, his elder brother Jehoiakim, the nominee of Pharaoh Necho. Judah had now sunk lower than ever, and had become the shuttlecock of the rival powers, Babylonia (which had succeeded to the inheritance of Assyrian supremacy) and Egypt. Once more, as in the days of Manasseh, the prestige and power of Yahweh sank in popular esteem. The mass of the people had never appropriated the teachings of Amos and Isaiah, which lifted Yahweh above the confines of nationalism and made Him the universal Lord whose nature and purpose were righteousness and whose world-wide rule was based on justice. The true prophets of Yahweh interpreted the disasters of the past as Yahweh's chastisements for idolatry and social wrong-doing. But the popular mind took quite another view. There were, in fact, two classes of opinion. Those who were worshippers of Yahweh clung to the belief which Isaiah's

teaching appeared to sustain, that Yahweh would never permit Jerusalem to be captured or its temple destroyed. This view was held by the court and priestly party sustained by the false prophets. Of these Hananiah and Pašhur were typical leaders. Even after the capture of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. they held that the evils from which Judah suffered were only transient, and that the temple, which had been left intact, would recover within two years the vessels which had been carried away by Nebuchadrezzar to Babylon. Within that short interval his dominion would be overthrown (Jer. xxviii. 2-4).

In contrast with these we have another and a very considerable section of the population who were open idolators, and their numbers must have enormously increased when the Jerusalem temple was destroyed and Yahweh, Israel's national deity, seemed impotent. The idolators would then boldly assert that the religion of Yahweh was played out. The evils from which the nation suffered they believed to be due to Josiah's reformation, which had offended the deities whose ancient cults he had abolished. A vivid chapter in Jeremiah (xliv) clearly exhibits to us these opposed theories of causation. It serves to illustrate the conditions against which Jeremiah waged constant warfare. On the one hand we have the doctrine of the true Yahweh prophets represented by Jeremiah, who declared that the disasters which had overtaken Jerusalem and had destroyed its temple took place because Israel had provoked Yahweh to anger by burning incense in the worship of other gods (xliv. 3). On the other hand we have the opposed theory of the exiled Jewish population in Egypt, inspired chiefly by the women, that the suppression of the worship of Ashtoreth was the cause of all their misfortunes (Jer. xliv. 17-19). Now the worship of Ashtoreth was the most widely diffused of all the cults of the Semitic world at that time. Not only was she worshipped in Phoenician cities, but under the name of Ištar her seductive demoralizing cult prevailed in the

cities of Assyria and Babylonia, especially in the former (in the two cities Nineveh and Arbela¹). She was worshipped in a variety of aspects, as giver of increase (somewhat resembling Venus) and goddess of love, as war-goddess, and as the deity to whom, like the madonna, beautiful hymns of penitence were addressed. Her cult was far more widely spread over the Semitic world than that of Yahweh, and was probably more ancient. To the ordinary Jewish inhabitant the arguments addressed by Rabshakeh to the beleaguered inhabitants of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 22) must have recurred in varied forms a century later. And they came with tenfold force after the successive disasters of 597 and 586 B.C. But after 586 B.C. the destruction of Yahweh's temple must have meant to most unsophisticated minds the downfall of Yahweh, Israel's God. They were altogether unequal to the intellectual effort of a reinterpretation of Yahweh's nature and purpose. The vast extension of His domain and the moral elevation of His personality and ends, which the teaching of Amos first emphasized and which Isaiah had preached, were beyond their ken. All that they were able to apprehend was that the rôle of Yahweh, the national war-God of Samuel and Elisha, was at an end. It seemed to close in the last tragic scene with the blackened ruins of Yahweh's temple as its background.

We can now grasp the dimensions of Jeremiah's herculean task. He had to confront two parties. First, the court party and priesthood supported by the false prophets who clung to the last vestige of nationalism and believed that Yahweh would preserve His sanctuary and would save Jerusalem; and second, the increasing band of idolators who believed that the power of Yahweh was waning. The warfare against the first, though bitter and implacable, was not of long duration. Jeremiah had to bear for some years the opprobrium of anti-patriotism.

¹ See Asurbanipal's insc. (Rassam cyl.) *passim*.

He boldly and passionately proclaimed that the national polity was to be overthrown. Since Jehoiakim had abandoned the traditions of reform inaugurated by Josiah, the future was hopeless. 'The harvest was past, the summer ended, yet the people were not saved.' The stern logic of facts finally proved in 586 B.C. that Jeremiah was right and the court party wrong.

But in the case of idolatry with its worship of 'other gods' Jeremiah had to cope with a more persistent and insidious foe. Ezekiel chap. viii presents a lurid picture of the vitality and prevalence of idolatrous practices and mystic rites in Jerusalem during the exile. And we shall later have occasion to note the renewed strength of idolatry among the exiled Jews.

The teaching of Jeremiah presupposes the final destruction of the national and local ties on which Yahweh's religion had hitherto rested. The Babylonian invasions of 597 and 587 B.C. shattered the national basis of Hebrew religion. Henceforth it was not to be local, external, and national, but it was to be spiritual, internal, and personal. Instead of the religion of a social and traditional organization there was to be the religion of personality and character. There was to be a *new covenant* with Israel. The terms of this new covenant should be carefully studied in Jer. xxxi. 27-34, which Giesebrecht and Cornill rightly regard as the genuine utterance of the prophet. The New Covenant implies that Israel shall henceforth be ruled, not by a system of external ordinances, but by a law written in the heart, an internal operative principle filling every one with the knowledge of (i.e. loyalty to) Yahweh. Accordingly Jeremiah carried the development of prophetic teaching one step further, which was the logical result of the downfall of the Jewish state and its national sanctuary. Stress was now laid on personality re-created by divine grace. Lastly, the prophet did not leave his countrymen without hope of a restoration from exile. It is indeed

doubtful whether any prophet whose utterances were mere denunciations of evil and threatenings of disaster would produce a permanent impression. That Jeremiah foreshadowed a restoration is clear from the episode related in chap. xxxii, which records his redemption of some land which his family had possessed in his native village of Anathoth. This event took place in the midst of the siege of Jerusalem, and the occasion makes the act still more significant as an expression of the prophet's faith in the return of Israel from captivity. With this we may compare another passage of like tenor, viz. Jer. xxxi. 15-17 (cf. verses 6-9), which is likewise the genuine utterance of the prophet.

The profound influence which the message and life of Jeremiah exerted on his countrymen, more especially on the exiled communities and their spiritual leader, will be noted in the pages which immediately follow. Great as this influence was, it seems hardly probable that it would have availed to arrest the gradual disintegration of the Jewish nationality, like that of their Ephraimite kinsmen, and with it the disappearance of the religion of Yahweh at this momentous crisis, if it were not for the co-operation of other potent personal influences and the emergence of a powerful historic factor which providentially intervened to avert such a dire disaster. These we shall now consider.

§ 2. THE EXILE PERIOD. EZEKIEL.—THE AUTHOR OF THE 'SERVANT-POEMS' AND THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

It is difficult to form an even approximate estimate of the number of Jews who were deported from their Palestinian homes to Babylonia during the interval 597-86 B. C. The subject has been carefully discussed by Meyer¹ on the basis of the notices in 2 Kings xxv. 4 foll., II foll., 22; Jer. xxxix. 4 foll., 7, 9 foll., lii. 28 foll.,

¹ *Entstehung des Judentums*, pp. 108-14.

and we should be justified in assuming that over 100,000 men, women, and children were transported to Babylonian settlements during the eleven years referred to. Unfortunately for Palestine, this exiled multitude consisted of the most prosperous and energetic of the population, and included the artisans as well as cultivators of the soil (cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 16). And this was not by any means the entire loss in manhood which the country sustained. There must have been also a considerable migration to Egypt (2 Kings xxv. 26; Jer. xliii, xliv), as the recent discoveries in Assouan (Syene) clearly prove.

The forlorn condition of Judah, deprived of all but the weakest and poorest of the population, and possessing no leaders capable of restoring prosperity to the state, can be readily imagined. The land became in consequence an easy prey to the ambitious designs of the Egyptian king Pharaoh Hophra (Apries) and of his successor Amasis until a victorious campaign against the latter by Nebuchadrezzar (568 B. C.) put an end to danger from this quarter. Meanwhile fresh troubles arose within Palestine itself. The Edomites, who had already taken part in the destruction of Jerusalem (Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 7, 10; Ps. cxxxvii. 7), forced their way into Judah from the South-East, at this time of depopulation and weakness, and established themselves in the region of Hebron.

Jerusalem still remained the centre of the depopulated region. Among the ruins left by the invader modest buildings were once more reared. Jer. xli. 5 gives a glimpse of the surviving religious life. There we learn that after the departure of the Babylonians offerings were brought from Samaria, Shechem, and Shiloh to the spot where the old temple of Solomon, now in ruins, stood. From Lam. i. 4 we might infer that there were still priests in Jerusalem, and we may assume that the altar of Yahweh in the temple enclosure was re-erected. But the darker obverse side of the religious life of Judah is presented in Ezek. xxxiii. 25, and the indications contained

in Jeremiah's oracles confirm the impression of a widespread idolatry.

We now turn to the life of the exiles in Babylonia. Among the spots where they settled was Tel Abib, near the river Kebar, which is identified as one of the numerous canals of the Euphrates (Ezek. i. 3, viii. 1). In Ezra viii. 15-17 mention is also made of the places Casiphia and Ahava. It is impossible to assert definitely whether the exiles were scattered over the country or lived in compact settlements. We may infer from Ezek. xiii. 9 and Ezra viii. 17 that they maintained their ancient clan or family descent carefully preserved in registers. Accordingly it was the heads of these families (fathers' houses) who were the leaders of the individual communities (Ezek. viii. 1 foll.; Ezra viii. 1). These exiles, as we learn from Jer. xxvii. foll. and Ezek. xii. 21-xiii. 23, had been deluded by the hopes with which false prophets and soothsayers had flattered them to look for liberation from evils and the return to their native land in the near future when the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar should be broken. With strange self-gratulation they regarded themselves as the true Israel, and looked down with self-complacency on those who had remained behind in the home-land. To a certain extent this superiority was well founded. We have already observed that the best manhood of Judah had been deported to Babylonia, and there can be no doubt that the general condition of these exiled communities was superior to that of their kinsmen in Palestine. The protection of the Babylonian monarch and the settled order and government of Babylonia brought them distinct and far-reaching advantages which reacted on the subsequent development of Judaism. The Babylonians treated their war-captives more humanely than the Romans in subsequent days did. The latter sold them as slaves, but the Babylonian conquerors not infrequently settled them as free men within their own borders¹;

¹ See Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums*, p. 113, footnote.

and, even if they were reduced to the status of slaves, their position was far more tolerable than it would have been under the Roman Empire in Italy¹. The tone of respect with which Ezekiel speaks of Nebuchadrezzar was well justified. Babylonia was a land of industrious peace which, unlike Assyria, flourished by agriculture and commerce rather than by spoliation and war. Jeremiah had excellent reasons for his wholesome counsel to the exiled population: 'Build houses and dwell in them, plant gardens and eat their fruit, and seek the welfare of the land² whither I have exiled you' (Jer. xxix. 5).

The Jews who devoted themselves to agriculture or commerce in Babylonia lived in a much larger world than their Palestinian brethren. The latter probably gave up their exiled compatriots for lost in much the same way as the descendants of the deported Gileadites and Naphtalites as well as the Ephraimites of Samaria (in 721 B.C.) who became absorbed into the population of the surrounding districts in Assyria and Media (2 Kings xvii. 6, cf. xv. 29). Doubtless the process was slow, but it was sure, and, in the circumstances, inevitable. It is in fact pretty certain that this fate did overtake a considerable number of the Jews who settled down in the Euphrates lands, lived prosperously, resigned themselves with contentment to their lot, and placed themselves under the tutelage of the gods of the land whose temples adorned the chief cities of Babylonia of which these were respectively the lords and patrons. All this would be expected of a foreign race planted on foreign soil, inasmuch as the social life of any Semitic land was closely bound up with its religious cultus

¹ 'The slave had a great amount of freedom, and was in no respect worse off than a child or even a wife. He could acquire property, marry a free woman, engage in trade, and act as principal in contract with a free man' (Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, &c.*, p. 168). See also art. 'Servant (Slave)' in Hastings' *DB.*, pp. 463, 467.

² So read with LXX (followed by Giesebrecht, Duhm, and Cornill).

and sacra. Of this we have a vivid illustration on Palestinian soil in the case of the deported Babylonians whom the King of Assyria had placed in Samaria, who at once became worshippers of Yahweh (2 Kings xvii. 24 foll.).

It was in truth a very critical period in the history of the Jews and their religion. The capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and the destruction of its temple must have come upon the exiles of 597 B.C. as a terrible shock, which aroused many a patriot Jew from the vain delusive dreams of a speedy overthrow of Nebuchadrezzar and of the restoration of the temple treasures. The imminent danger now to the *Palestinian* Jew was that he would surrender his belief in the power of Yahweh and lapse back into the Canaanite cults to which the Hebrews in former centuries had been so prone (cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 4-20). As we have already seen, this proved to be the actual result. The danger to a Hebrew in a *foreign* country, which was also the land of his *conquerors*, was that he would worship the conqueror's gods, the patrons and lords of the foreign soil, who had, in accordance with current Semitic ideas, shown that they were mightier than Yahweh the God of the Jew. How serious this danger was both in the days of Ezekiel and later in the time of the Deutero-Isaiah is shown by many indications. The prophecies of Ezekiel sometimes appear to partake of the character of an *apologia pro fide sua*. He is at the greatest pains to maintain the honour and glory of Yahweh in the midst of a gainsaying generation. All the resources of his eloquence and his highly-wrought style, which loved to express itself in rich elaborate diction and in the complex, cumulative effects of a luxuriant imagination, were devoted to his single great theme—the majestic and overwhelming might and glory of Yahweh, the God of Israel. In attestation of this he sets forth the terrible chastisements which God would inflict on all the unfaithfulness and idolatry of Israel and the vindication of His might in Israel's restoration.¹

¹ Compare Lofthouse in his introduction to Ezekiel in this

This restoration is portrayed in an elaborated scheme which occupies the last nine chapters of the book.

Ezekiel is the first among the trio of great personalities who belong to the exile period and rescued the religion of Yahwēh from dire peril of utter extinction in this—perhaps the greatest—crisis of Hebrew history. We must, therefore, consider for a few moments this powerful creative genius, so many-sided in his gifts, at once prophet, priest, and far-sighted statesman.

In the days of Ezekiel the externalities of the past national life and religion of Israel had been buried in ashes and ruins. In exchange for these Jeremiah had led the people to the more permanent internal foundations of a spiritual renewal. But can a religion permanently subsist in this world of space and time without some external concrete embodiment? To the Jewish exile in Babylonia, unable to break away from the local traditions of religious life, the ritual of sacrifice so integral to worship was impossible in an alien land (cf. Isa. xliii. 23 foll. and note). Ezekiel, with the imaginative and at the same time practical genius of a statesman, took up once more the broken threads of Israel's religious traditions and wove the strands anew into statelier and more attractive forms of ritual and of national polity, adapted to the new conditions of life and thought. He was the pioneer in the reconstruction of national life on the basis of a reorganized ecclesiastical system. This reconstruction occupies the closing nine chapters in the collection of his prophecies. They differ entirely from the Deuteronomic system of legislation. There, it is true, we have a theocracy, but the nation and national institutions maintain their due place in the scheme. But in Ezekiel's constructive effort the ecclesiastical dominates throughout. In his earlier oracles Ezekiel (xxxiv. 33 foll.) speaks of one shepherd, Yahwēh's

series, pp. 17-19, and especially the suggestive remarks of Peake in his *Problem of Suffering in the O. T.*, pp. 30-2.

servant David, who is to rule over united Israel. But in chaps. xl-xlviii (572 B.C.) the rôle of the prince is a very shadowy one and recedes into a secondary position. The foreground is filled by the temple and its precincts and the functions of the officiating Zadokite priesthood. The prince, it is true, has a central domain, but his function is largely ecclesiastical. The theocracy is not a national kingdom in the old sense. God is to rule over a church-state. His universal power and glory are not to be manifested in a Jewish monarch's kingdom and throne, but in His own august restored temple which is to be the centre of the restored commonwealth. On this the gaze of the exiles was fixed by the eloquent idealist. In chap. xliii we have a description of the solemn entry of the God of Israel through the eastern gate of the temple, which is filled with His glory. In chap. xlvii there is a beautiful portrayal of the fertilizing and healing stream which issues out of the sanctuary and flows through the land, deepening as it flows. This concluding section of Ezekiel's prophecies, descriptive of the temple and its ritual, the centre of the restored Jewish people, concludes with an inspiring phrase which is the new name bestowed upon the Holy City Jerusalem—*Yahweh is there*.¹

This is not the place to refer in detail to Ezek. xxxvii, which prophesies in the symbolic vision of the dry bones revived (verses 1-14) respecting Israel's moral renewal and restoration; and also, in the symbol of the two sticks united, respecting the unification of Judah and Ephraim. We have, lastly, in chaps. xxxviii and xxxix a portrayal of the final victory of Yahweh achieved on behalf of Israel over Gog and all the forces of heathendom.² Such were the ideals and hopes with which Ezekiel strengthened and

¹ Perhaps suggested to this literary prophet by Isaiah's watchword *Immanuel*.

² Some recent critics have doubted the genuineness of these chapters, but on what do not appear to the present writer valid grounds.

inspired his exiled fellow countrymen in the early days of their foreign life, and strove to arrest the disintegrating forces to which they were exposed amid the imposing civilization and cultus of Babylonia.

Ezekiel, with his powerful and attractive personality and the singular fascination of his prophetic style, passed away probably before the close of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. No sign of deliverance from captivity, which became more galling as the successive years elapsed¹, greeted the eager expectations of the exiled community, who fed their declining hopes on the oracles of departed prophets. It is not in the least surprising that as time went on faith began to wane. Hopes drooped and languished, and the exiled Jews in larger numbers yielded themselves to the seductions of Babylonian cults. The logic of facts seemed to demonstrate that Marduk and Nebo were more powerful than Yahweh. How serious this menace to the Jew's allegiance to Yahweh became in the latter part of the exile period is clearly revealed in numerous passages of the Deutero-Isaiah, who is constantly at the pains of emphasizing the undisputed and sole pre-eminence of Yahweh and the utter impotence of foreign deities, on whose images (with their image-makers) he pours the bitterest scorn. Let the reader take note of the passages xl. 12-17, 21-31; xli. 4, 5; xliii. 9-13; also xl. 19, 20; xli. 6, 7, 28, 29; xlv. 8-22, 24-6; xlvi. 1-10.

Now the writings of the Deutero-Isaiah were composed near the close of the exile-period, when the ascendant star of the Persian conqueror Cyrus attracted the attention of this prophet whose oracles are our subject of study. There can be no doubt that the advent of Cyrus came at the crucial point of the struggle between the Yahweh religion of the Hebrew prophets and the polytheism of

¹ We can clearly infer this from the contrasted attitude of the prophets Jeremiah (xxix. 5-7, xxviii. 14, xxxviii. 3, 17) and Ezekiel (xxvi. 7-11, xxix. 18-20) towards Babylonia and its ruler and that of the Deutero-Isaiah (xlvii. 6 foll.).

Babylonia and Canaan. In the centuries subsequent to the reign of Cyrus Persia was destined to wield a great, mysterious, and by us hitherto inadequately explored influence over Hebrew religion, especially in the ultimate realms of evil and evil powers, of angels and eschatology. But these subjects lie beyond our province. It is sufficient to say that the prophecies of restoration, which had been first uttered by Jeremiah and afterwards developed by Ezekiel, were now definitely linked by the Deutero-Isaiah with the personality of the Persian conqueror whom he designates as the anointed servant of Yahweh. Yahweh, the supreme Lord of the World, had destined Cyrus to work out His own divine purpose of restoration for His cherished and beloved people Israel.

We cast our gaze back over the critical period of a quarter of a century that intervened between the close of Ezekiel's ministry and the prophecies of the Deutero-Isaiah. What happened in this interval? Nothing happened to better Israel's external lot and bring hope to the exile. In the earlier days the glowing pictures of a revived and reunited people, ruled over by a prince of David's line (Ezek. xxxvii), had directed the earnest faith and expectation of the Jews to the dawn of a happier day of freedom which they believed would soon approach. But, as the years passed by, there was no sign of approaching light. Even the growing power of Media afforded no consolation to the captive. The years 565 to 550 B. C. must have been a period of midnight darkness to the Jew. The power of Babylonia still remained unbroken, and the pious Jewish exile would often ask

'Hath God forgotten to be gracious?
Will Yahweh cast off for ever,
And be favourable no more?'

At this crisis of Israel's despair there arose a seer who spoke in the midnight darkness words, some of which have been preserved to us by an ardent disciple, the

Deutero-Isaiah, who incorporated his utterances among his own. We only possess these utterances in the four so-called 'Servant-poems,' viz. Isa. xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13-liii. 12.

The last of these, which is the longest, is also the most notable and impressive, and it has exercised the profoundest influence over Jewish as well as Christian thought.

All critics are agreed as to the distinctive character of these poems, but respecting (*a*) the meaning which is to be attached to the term 'Servant of Yahweh,' which is the subject with which these poems deal, and (*b*) the authorship and date of the poems, the widest difference of opinion prevails. The literature on the subject is so extensive that it is impossible to deal with all the varieties of opinion and all the debated points. Some of these will be found discussed in the commentary. We confine ourselves to the main issues and to the results which the present writer regards as most probable.

(*a*) We begin with the question: What is meant by the term 'Servant of Yahweh'? Let it be clearly understood that the traditional Christian opinion that the servant here is simply the prophetic portrayal of Jesus Christ, who died for the world's sins, is an untenable view, as untenable as the identification of the 'young woman' (called 'virgin' on the basis of LXX) in Isa. vii. 14 with the mother of Jesus. The special mode of interpretation of the O. T. out of which such interpretations arose will be found by the reader explained in the introductory remarks to chap. liii. Modern scholars are agreed in holding that the mediaeval Jewish interpreters were on the right path in maintaining that the suffering servant in these passages is a personification of the suffering Jewish community. What is this suffering community? Was it the entire Jewish race, or was it the pious exiles only, still faithful to Yahweh, who maintained themselves in seclusion from the idolatrous worship, magical practices and social institutions of the Babylonians as well as from the society

of the degenerate fellow exiles around them, and thereby incurred the persecution and hatred which has been the bitter lot of Jewish populations in Europe even now? In the following pages and in the commentary we shall endeavour to show that this latter is the true interpretation of the expression 'Servant of Yahweh.'

When we turn to the oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah we find in them the same expression 'Servant of Yahweh' (or, when Yahweh is the speaker, 'My servant') constantly recurring. According to the view upheld in these pages, this expression was borrowed by the author from his revered predecessor, the author of the four Servant-poems. On the other hand, critics, like Budde, Giesebrecht, Marti, Cornill and others, hold in opposition to Duhm that both in Deutero-Isaiah and in the Servant-poems this personification has the same meaning. It merely designates the race Israel, and on this ground, as well as on that of the close parallels in language, it is argued that the author of the Servant-poems was the Deutero-Isaiah himself.

Duhm, on the other hand, holds the opposite view in an extreme and, in our opinion, untenable form. He is right, however, in maintaining that a contrast is clearly marked between the conception of the 'Servant' in these four poems and that which meets us in the Deutero-Isaianic passages. In the Deutero-Isaiah the 'Servant' represents the entire Jewish race called 'Israel.' He is represented as a prisoner plundered, despised and a worm (xlii. 18-24), and also by no means as an ideal personage, for he is blind, deaf, and full of sin, though chosen by God's gracious purpose, protected by His might, and destined for a glorious future. But in the Servant-poems the Servant is a more exalted personality, though a victim of dire persecution. He is pure and innocent, is Yahweh's disciple, chosen by Him to minister to the heathen world and to carry the light of divine truth to all nations. His sufferings and death are an atonement

for the guilt of Gentile nations as well as for that of his own race (xlix. 6, liii).

(b) We now come to consider the question of the *authorship* and *date* of the Servant-poems. Duhm correctly observes that the Servant-poems may, at any rate in most cases, be detached from the contiguous matter without serious detriment to the continuity of thought. This clearly indicates that they were insertions. On the other hand, it can be shown that the context in some cases is affected by their presence. Take the case of the first Servant-poem (xlii. 1-4): verses 6 foll. are obviously connected in thought with the majestic passage that precedes. And the same may be said of the verses that immediately follow another Servant-poem, viz. xlix. 1-6. Likewise lii. 10, which precedes the final Servant-poem, certainly seems to prepare the mind of the reader for the final Servant-poem, lii. 13—liii. 12, which should probably be regarded as a final judgment-scene in which the Gentiles are summoned to bear witness to the moral purity and exaltation of the Suffering Servant. On these points the reader will consult the following commentary. Now all these links of connexion are important, as they are fatal to Duhm's theory (which we hold to be untenable on other grounds), that the Servant-passages were composed in post-exilian times, written, in fact, after the Book of Job, since the leprosy with which the martyred servant is afflicted may be regarded as a borrowed trait. On the other hand, the ideal of the priestly tribe of Levi contained in Mal. ii. 5-7 is held by Duhm to have been moulded by the reminiscence of the character of the Suffering Servant in Isa. liii. There is no cogency whatever in these arguments. The traits of the Book of Job may with quite as good, if not better, reason be regarded as the reflexion of Isa. liii rather than vice versa. Both deal with the problem of suffering, but the point of view is different. As for Mal. ii. 5-7, the connexion is far too slight to base any argument upon it. Moreover, if we

transfer the growth of the conception of the Suffering Martyr-servant into the post-exilian period 536-450 B.C. we are coming within the time out of which arose the writings of Haggai, Zech. i-viii, Malachi and lastly the Trito-Isaiah, a period when ecclesiastical ideas begin to assume importance and the spirit of legalism and of Jewish particularism were growing. Of all these tendencies the Servant-poems exhibit not the faintest trace. In fact their spirit is the exact negation of them. The post-exilian period was uncongenial soil for the growth of the Servant-poems.

Accordingly we are led back to an earlier time to which the internal relations subsisting between the Servant-poems and the Deutero-Isaiah decisively point. The writer lived and wrote between 565 and 550 B.C., i.e. before the ascendant star of Cyrus aroused the dying hopes of Israel. It was the midnight darkness of the Jewish race. The minds of the still faithful and pious community were harassed by the problems of the national misfortunes in the past and their own present sufferings. Where was the fulfilment of the Divine promise that in Abraham and his seed all families of the earth would regard themselves as blessed¹, his name being taken as the type and symbol of one whom God has greatly prospered? Why was Israel, God's chosen people, so severely chastised? Surely the sins of the people had received adequate retribution. Was Israel exceptionally

¹ Gen. xii. 3 can only be interpreted in the light of the parallels xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, where the Hithpael or reflexive form is used. The expression 'shall bless themselves in thee (or thy posterity)' means any one of any race shall call himself happy 'as Abraham,' whom God hath so greatly blessed; cf. Gen. xlvi. 20, where Jacob says to his grandsons: 'In thee shall Israel bless, saying, "God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh."' For the obverse example of 'cursing' cf. Jer. xxix. 22 (so Dillmann, Holzinger, and Gunkel). The traditional interpretation based on LXX, Vulg., &c., must be rejected. See Bennett's *Genesis* (in this series) on this passage.

guilty above all other races of mankind that the strokes of adversity and humiliation should fall upon him so heavily? Why should Yahweh allow His own devoted and faithful followers to languish in ignominy and persecution without hope of better days? Would the better days ever come? Or had Israel no place or function in the future of the world? It was the task of the writer to attempt an answer to the troubled heart of Israel.

It was the problem of suffering once more definitely presented for solution. Israel's calamities had already been interpreted by the earlier prophets from Amos to Jeremiah as Yahweh's chastisements inflicted for Israel's past disloyalty. But a new solution was needed. It was this ever-recurring mystery of pain that the prophet seeks once more to solve to the harassed faith and the perplexed conscience of the still faithful exiled community, torn with doubts and fears as to the future of themselves and their religion. The solution is attempted from a wholly different standpoint, and to our modern thought, unfamiliar as it is with the ritual and underlying conceptions of sacrifice, it seems that the writer pursues a strange path—the mysterious path of *atonement*. For the first time perhaps in the world's history an altruistic ideal of life is set forth of the highest and purest type as a solution of the great enigma of pain. We are well accustomed to the solution of suffering as discipline. But discipline may be destitute of any high moral value. It may be for my own personal advancement rather than for my neighbour's good. The thought of this Hebrew poet took a loftier flight. It was the sublime conception that Israel was exiled in Babylonia that he might, as God's servant, carry the light of God's saving truth to all the nations of the world that was destined to serve as the anodyne to the pious exiles' sorrow and perplexity. The main theme of the poet's message is to be found in xlix. 6. Here we see that the restoration of exiled Israel, first prophesied by Jeremiah and set forth with characteristic elaboration and

artistic detail by Ezekiel (xl-xlviii), still remained the cherished hope of this poet. But its fulfilment seemed a long way off, how long no man could conjecture, for no sign of dawn was visible. But Israel's restoration was not the main function of Yahweh's Servant. It was in truth secondary. A higher task awaited him :

'To establish Jacob's tribes,
To restore the scattered¹ of Israel,
Is task too slight for My Servant.
Yea, I will make thee a light to the Gentiles,
That My salvation may extend to earth's bound.'

The writer had evidently drunk deep from the wells of Jeremiah rather than from those of Ezekiel. Such chapters as Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix were wholly alien to his modes of thought. He had pondered deeply over the great oracle of the New Covenant (Jer. xxxi. 31), and it was the spiritually purified and inwardly renovated community—now probably represented by a small remnant of the exiles—who endeavoured to keep faith and hope alive, and suffered scorn and persecution, that was destined to execute this, the highest mandate that any people can perform, the service of mankind.

The passage just quoted clearly shows that the poet drew a distinction between Israel in the widest sense (including all the Jews of Palestine as well as the *Diaspora*) and the pious and faithful band of the followers of true prophecy living in Babylonia. This distinction meets us again in the last poem of the series, viz. in liii. 8, where the Servant stands opposed to his own generation, i. e. the contemporary Jews, the 'people' to whom the latter part of the verse refers as failing to realize that the sufferings of the Servant were an atonement for their own sins.²

¹ So we should read on the basis of the LXX.

² It is not possible to deal at length with the controversy respecting both these passages and Giesebrecht's expedients

The poet regards this society of Yahweh's true believers as the nucleus of a redeemed people. These are the true, genuine Israel, though they be now but a remnant and a minority. Probably the early oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem, delivered nearly two centuries before, were recalled by him, together with the significant and prophetic name, Sheār-yāshûbh, bestowed upon Isaiah's son. The writer quite naturally passes from the nucleus of the future redeemed Israel to the larger Israel which it was to restore and rally round itself and which it in a true sense represented. The ancient Orient was not bound by the severe logical restrictions of consistency which are the recognized necessity of our modern Western thought. Hence it is not in the least surprising that an Oriental poet should in the exuberance of his faith call the Servant of Yahweh 'Israel, in whom God is to receive glory.'

The character and work of the Servant are gradually unfolded in each successive poem. His gentle modesty, his tender regard for others, and his unfaltering pursuit of righteousness are recorded (xlii. 3) in the *first* poem. In the *second* we learn something of his world-wide prophetic mission. In the *third* we hear for the first time of the bitter scorn and contumely through which God's Servant is compelled to pass and the steadfast faith wherewith he patiently endures it all, confident that God is near him and will vindicate him in His own good time against his adversaries (l. 6-9).¹

in support of his theory which identifies the Servant of these passages with empiric Israel. The reader is referred to the commentary on xlix. 6, where Giesebrecht succeeds by elimination of a clause in verse 5 and the excision (suggested in this instance by Duhm) of another clause in verse 6, in securing a text more favourable to his theory.

¹ From the expression 'my vindicator (justifier) is near' (verse 8) we have no right to infer, as Giesebrecht does (K. J., p. 47), that the deliverance was to be immediate. The passage is the vivid expression of confidence that Yahweh is near to His Servant in these times of distress, and will one day triumphantly vindicate His Servant's claims and worth.

The vindication of the Suffering Servant is described in the *fourth* or *final* poem, which is considerably longer and unsurpassed in its pathos and power. Unfortunately it has been marred in its transmission by evident signs of textual corruption in the closing verses. Its character is best described by calling it a final judgment-scene. The Gentiles for whose salvation the Servant has been destined, and for whom he has laboured and suffered, are now summoned by Yahweh to bear their testimony before His august tribunal. Yahweh is the first speaker. The triumph of the Servant is consummated at last, and Yahweh Himself declares that the final exaltation is commensurate with the depth of the previous anguish and humiliation. And yet the final glory is spiritual only. It would be an error to press the concluding words of this poem as a prophecy of material greatness. The language is that of Oriental metaphor. We move in a great spiritual world, and the earthly dimensions shrink and vanish. The poet who sings in the midnight darkness gazes into the infinite realms of the midnight sky. And thus we see no longer Jerusalem and its walls, so prominent in the thoughts and utterances of the Deutero-Isaiah. Even the temple has vanished. For all that is local and national has passed away, purged out by the fires of sorrow. The writer belongs to the spiritual lineage of Jeremiah and not of Ezekiel. We dwell no more within the confines of Israel's world, but in the larger realm of humanity and God. This is made clear by the verses that follow (chap. liii).

After the address of Yahweh, Gentiles are summoned to bear their testimony. They declare that what they have heard is almost beyond credence. We now learn for the first time that the Servant has suffered a martyr's death which was an atonement for the sins of the Gentiles as well as of Israel. In the concluding verses, which exhibit too evident signs of textual defect, Yahweh once more speaks (verses 11, 12) and confirms what has been

uttered by the Gentile spokesman. The martyr-people shall be perpetuated in their posterity. They shall attain to high dignity and privilege among the great and strong.

We here reach the furthest development as well as highest point of Hebrew prophecy as it extends from Amos through Isaiah to Jeremiah and the poet of these four remarkable fragments. It is probable that the last died in the land of exile. He may indeed have been conscious of his own approaching death when he wrote the lines (liii. 8, 9):—

‘By oppression and judgment he was carried off,
And among his generation who would reflect
That he was cut off from the land of the living,
On account of the transgression of his people was he smitten
to death.

And one appointed with the wicked his grave
And with evildoers¹ his sepulchre.’

We may reasonably suppose (with Duhm) that the pathetic figure of Jeremiah persecuted and imprisoned (Jer. xxxviii) was also present to the mind of the poet².

The relation of those Servant-poems to their context clearly reveal the profound impression produced by their author upon at least one younger contemporary, the

¹ So we should probably read the amended text: see commentary.

² The writer has not sought to make this Introduction a fully-stocked museum of hypotheses both possible and impossible. No reference is made to Sellin's view (concurrent in by Winckler) that the Suffering Servant is to be identified with Zerubbabel, a theory which he subsequently abandoned in favour of another which identified him with the exiled king Jehoiachin; both equally improbable. The reader is referred to Cheyne's article on the *Book of Isaiah* in *Enc. Bibl.*, who emphatically (col. 2205) denies that the Deutero-Isaiah was the author of the Servant Songs. On the other hand, the present writer altogether disagrees with his opinion that the inserter and editor cannot be identified with the Deutero-Isaiah, and that to this later editor xlii. 5-7, xlix. 7-9^a are to be ascribed. See the notes on these passages.

Deutero-Isaiah. That this latter was one of the elder poet's reverent disciples is fairly evident. The phrases and ideas which the elder poet employed recur in the oracles of the younger—notably the phrase 'Servant of Yahweh' (or in the utterances of Yahweh 'My servant'). This expression, however, as we have already observed, is consistently used in a wider and less ethical sense by the Deutero-Isaiah so as to include the whole of Israel with all their vices as well as their virtues. It would obviously be contrary to all correct ritual traditions for one so defective as a blind and deaf servant to be offered up as an atonement (Deut. xv. 21; Lev. xxii. 22-4; cf. xxi. 16-21; Mal. i. 7, 8). Respecting the defects of the Servant in the Deutero-Isaiah, cf. Isa. xlii. 18, 19; xliii. 25; xliv. 22. Here we observe the wide interval that separates the earlier from the later prophet. That a reverent disciple, who often pondered over the words of his great master, should repeat his phraseology with certain variations, such as 'my justification (vindication) is nigh,' li. 5 (cf. l. 8), is the natural if not inevitable consequence of the close personal relation of master and disciple.¹

On the other hand, when we live and move in the atmosphere of the younger prophet's thought, it will be found that we have descended to a lower level, though we are still in the high uplands. The restoration of the exiles and the rebuilding of the Jerusalem walls and temple, to which no reference is made by the earlier poet,

¹ With xlix. 6 comp. xlii. 6, 7. A list of the phrases may be found in Giesebrecht's *K. J.*, pp. 128-31; xlix. 7 as a parallel to xlv. 14 should, however, be excluded, since xlix. 7 is Deutero-Isaianic and is foreign to the ideas of the earlier poet; liii. 12 *a* should certainly not be pressed into any comparison with xlv. 11. There is not the faintest suggestion that the strong are to *serve* or be *subject* to the Suffering Servant. Duhm rightly observes:—'The meaning is that God's Servant will stand on an equal footing with the mighty ones of the earth, although himself no mighty one nor king of royal blood.' This is manifest in the closing lines of verse 12.

became a vivid and dominating conception in the later, when the advance of Cyrus was threatening Babylon and the deliverance of the exiles came nearer to realization (xl. 2-4, 9; xlvi. 13; li. 3, 17; lii. 1, 2, 7-9, and in reference to rebuilding, xliv. 26, 28; xlv. 13; xlix. 16; liv. 11, 12). It is quite true that the universal ideal of Israel as God's Servant, destined to bring the light of His saving truth to the Gentiles, was a cherished conviction which the disciple had learned from his master (cf. xlii. 6 with xlii. 4 and xlix. 6), but with the earlier poet it was the dominating conception in all his poems, while in the later it has become secondary. The thought of the later poet chiefly revolves round the ideas of Yahweh's universal and invincible sovereignty and power and His unabated love for His people Israel—qualities which will find their triumphant manifestation in the return of the exiles and in the restoration of Jerusalem and its temple. On these themes all the resources of his majestic diction are expended. We note, however, the decline of the high ethical spirit of altruism so characteristic of the earlier poet. We hear of Israel's sufferings, but no longer of Israel or an elect portion thereof as bearing the burden of the world's guilt. Mankind falls into the background. The Gentiles are accessories in the drama, whose duty is to minister to Israel's glory. They also render homage to Yahweh, but it is rather the Yahweh of Israel than of mankind. Cyrus is to conquer Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sabaea and make their captive inhabitants slaves to the Jews. The wealth of Egypt and the gain of Ethiopia are to swell the triumph of Israel's restored power and dignity (xlv. 14). Gentiles are to perform the menial task of carrying the Hebrew exiles back to their own land. Foreign kings and queens are to bow down to Israel and lick the dust. The previous relation of Israel to Gentile races, viz. of vassal to superior lords, is now to be reversed (xlix. 22, 23; cf. li. 22, 23).

Another point of contrast between the earlier and the

later poet is the evident influence of Ezekiel over the latter¹. In Ezek. xlv. 6-10 the introduction of an uncircumcised foreigner into the sanctuary of the future commonwealth of Israel is strictly prohibited. The influence of these ideas respecting holiness and uncleanness is evident in Isa. lii. 1, when it is said respecting Jerusalem the holy city, 'There shall no more come unto thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.' Cf. lii. 11. Even the faint trace of Messianic expectation connected with the line of David (probably Zerubbabel) visible in lv. 3, 4 seems to have been derived from Ezek. xxxiv. 23-31, rather than from Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. Cf. also Isa. liv. 11 f. and note.

Thus the contents of the Deutero-Isaiah exhibit a remarkable blending of the highest spiritual and ethical ideas, which had been derived from the teaching of Jeremiah as well as from the elder contemporary, the poet of the four Servant-passages, combined with other conceptions belonging to the lower plane of nationalism. The latter were evidently stimulated by the advent of Cyrus. That event awakened in the later poet those glowing anticipations whereby he sought to rouse the declining religious life and hopes of his fellow countrymen.

§ 3. CHAPS. XL-XLVIII AND XLIX-LV. PLACE OF WRITING AND STYLE OF THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

It will not be necessary to restate here the grounds for the almost universally accepted belief of Old Testament scholars that chaps. xl-lxvi originated from quite another source or rather sources than Isaiah of Jerusalem. The authors of those chapters evidently lived in wholly different historic environments from that which surrounded the prophet who uttered his oracles in the days of Aḥaz and Hezekiah. Ever since the time of Rosenmüller², the

¹ Duhm's assertion (Commentary, 2nd ed., p. 380) that the Deutero-Isaiah was wholly unacquainted with Ezekiel is therefore unwarranted.

² The criticism which separated the last twenty-seven

author of the *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*, nearly a century ago, an ever-increasing band of scholars have perceived that no satisfactory interpretation of chaps. xl-lv is possible unless we assume that Jerusalem was in ruins, its temple destroyed, and a considerable portion of the Judæan population had been deported into exile in Babylonia. On the foundation of these presuppositions all the allusions of these chapters become clear and intelligible. Seventy years ago Gesenius placed the accumulated evidence of style and contents in masterly and convincing array in his commentary on Isaiah. Further investigations have not in any degree diminished the cogency of his arguments, though the analysis of the last twenty-seven chapters has been carried much further and with varying results. Since the death of Gesenius all the wonderful results of cuneiform discovery hitherto attained have shed a wonderful light on the history and civilization as well as the religion of the new Babylonian empire. We are now in possession of the records of Nabonidus and Cyrus, who reigned at the very time when Isa. xl-lv were composed. But these important results of archaeology have only served to illumine and confirm what the more advanced critics of the earlier half of the nineteenth century had already put forth as the result of their investigations. During the last twenty years, it is true, we have attained still further results, mainly through the researches of Cheyne in England and of Duhm in Germany. It is now generally recognized that chaps. lvi-lxvi form a group which stands quite separate and belongs to a later, post-exilian period (Trito-Isaiah). This last group of chapters is therefore treated separately.

But respecting chaps. xl-lv there have been considerable

chapters and assigned them to a later authorship of course goes back to a still earlier date, viz. the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Koppe added his own contribution to the German translation of Lowth's commentary. Koppe was soon after followed by Eichhorn, the teacher of Ewald.

differences of opinion. The main point of divergence has been the question of the unity of authorship of both the groups of chaps. xl-xlviii and xlix-lv. With reference to xl-xlviii, which herald the advent of Cyrus, critical opinion has been fairly uniform in assigning them to a writer¹ who lived in Babylonia and indited these prophecies at some date between 555 and 538 B. C. (i. e. from the time when Cyrus began his conquering career to his capture of Babylon), most probably between 545 (capture of Sardis) and 538. On the other hand, some critics have hesitated to assign chaps. xlix to lv to the same author as that of the preceding section. Among these Kusters, who held that there was virtually no return of the exiles to Jerusalem in 536 B. C., referred xlix. 12-26, li. 1-16, and lii. 17-lii. 12, liv folk., to a distinct writer from the author of chaps. xl-xlviii. The former lived not in Babylonia but in Palestine. Kusters based his view on grounds of style, such as the use of the expression 'holy city' in lii. 1. But the apparent specialities of phraseology on which Kusters relies are certainly outweighed by the resemblances to the Deutero-Isaianic diction of xl-xlviii. Moreover, as Cheyne points out (*Encycl. Bibl.*, 'Isaiah' (Book) col. 2204), the tone of optimistic idealism displayed in these passages would hardly be possible for a resident in Jerusalem in the days of Haggai and Zechariah.

Accordingly we have well-assured grounds for holding that xl-lv were almost entirely composed by one hand. In what place were they written? Duhm appears to suggest Phoenicia, but the grounds seem exceedingly weak. Nor has Ewald's view, that they were composed in Egypt, much to commend it.² On the other hand, the evidences

¹ When we speak here of unity of authorship, it must be understood that we except the 'Servant passages' as well as occasional interpolations.

² Ewald (*Propheten*², III, pp. 12, 30) holds that Isa. xiii. 2-xiv. 23 as well as xxi. 1-10 were composed in Babylonia, but that xl-lxvi (excepting lvi. 9-lvii, which Ewald assigns to

which point to Babylonia as the place of authorship for chaps. xl-lv are exceedingly strong and may be enumerated as follows:—

1. The victorious progress of Cyrus would be noted in Babylonia owing to its geographical position and waterways far more quickly than in Canaan, and still more would this argument apply if Egypt comes into comparison.

2. The scenery in xli. 18 (where we should probably translate 'water-channels' rather than 'water-springs' in accordance with the Babylonian use of the same expression¹) and xlv. 4 is characteristic of Babylonia and its irrigation, while the specific reference to trees in xli. 19 reminds us of the parks consisting of varied trees in which Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs delighted, and which were in many cases brought from the lands which they had conquered.² Cf. li. 3.

3. Kittel in 1898 called attention³ to the remarkable parallels in phraseology between the language of Isa. xlv. 27—xlv. 1—3 and that of the Cyrus-cylinder (see Commentary, ad loc.), which appears to indicate that the Hebrew writer was familiar with the court-style current in Babylonia. This only a residence in the country would have enabled him to know.

4. The references to ritual in xliii. 23, 24, where 'frankincense' and 'sweet cane' are mentioned, are derived from the elaborate worship of Babylonia. See Commentary on the passage.

5. The references to magic and astrology in xlvii. 9,

the time of Manasseh), were composed in Egypt, on the ground of xli. 9, xliii. 3, xlv. 13 foll., xlvii. 11. It is enough to say that these passages furnish a very insufficient support for his theory.

¹ See the note by the present writer in Schrader, *COT.*, ii, pp. 311—13.

² See art. 'Garden' in *Encycl. Bibl.*

³ *ZATW.*, 1898, Heft 1, p. 189 foll.

12, 13 are as vivid and definite as those of Ezek. xiii. 17-23. Both evidently indicate that the writers were in close contact as eyewitnesses with the practice of Babylonian magic. The researches of King, Tallquist, and Zimmern into the cuneiform documents have given us a clearer insight into the incantation rituals of Babylonian sorcery.

6. We have no mention of Canaanite deities, not even of Baal and Ashtoreth, but only of the two chief deities of Babylonia, viz. *Bêl* (an epithet of *Marduk* or Merodach¹, the god of light and tutelary deity of Babylon) and *Nebo* (xlvi. 1). Both names are significant. For there are certain parallels between the Hebrew Yahweh and the Babylonian Marduk, while Nebo (Babylonian *Nabû*) was a god who was widely worshipped in Babylonia. His name enters into the names of the first two and last (viz. Nabonidus = Nabûnaïd) Babylonian monarchs of the New Empire. The god Nabû was the bearer of the tablets of destiny, yet he did not know, as Yahweh did, of the advent of the victorious Cyrus (xli. 22, 23, 25, 26, xliii. 9, xliv. 25 foll., xlvi. 9-11).

7. Contact with Babylonian mythological ideas is strongly suggested by the lyric passage Isa. li. 9, 10. Rahab, the monster whom Yahweh is said to have 'hewn in pieces,' bears a close analogy to the dragon-goddess of the deep, *Tiâmat* of the Babylonian Creation Epic. The conflict waged against her and the god Kingu (with other allies) by the god of light, Marduk, is described at length in the fourth tablet of the Creation-Series, lines 85-145. After the slaughter of *Tiâmat* by Marduk, we read in lines 137 foll. that

'He hewed her to pieces like a fish, a flat one (?), in two halves
Out of her one half he made and covered the heaven.'

¹ Zimmern, in *KAT.*³, pp. 356, 374, 395 foll.

² The reader is referred to the article 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. i, pp. 504-6. On p. 505 a concise summary of the Babylonian Creation Story will be found, and

It is of course true that we have possible traces of the existence of this myth among the Hebrews in pre-exilian days. It may well have existed in Canaan in very early times, i. e. before 1400 B. C., when the Babylonian language and civilization were widespread along the Palestinian littoral, and thus came to influence the early Hebrew inhabitants. All this is suggested by the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (about 1400 B. C.), as well as by the close parallels between the opening chapters in Gen. i-ix and the legends contained in the cuneiform records. At the same time there is no passage where the reference to the conflict of Marduk and Tiâmat is so clear and vivid as in Isa. li. 9, 10 (Pss. lxxxvii. 4 and lxxxix. 10, 11 are evident echoes from this passage in the Deutero-Isaiah). This fact is significant, and can hardly be explained except by the close contact of the writer with Babylonia, the source whence the legend sprang.

8. The influence of the Babylonian language on that of the Deutero-Isaiah is indicated by the expression 'take hold of the hand' (xli. 13, xlv. 1) and the rare Hebrew word for 'bowl' in li. 17, 22 which is apparently a borrowed Babylonian word (*kabûtu*). In later days this loan-word appeared to Hebrew readers so strange that copyists inserted the ordinary Hebrew word for drinking-bowl or cup (*kôs*) as an explanatory gloss.

These eight grounds for concluding that the Deutero-Isaiah composed his oracles in Babylonia might be supplemented by others of a negative character, viz. the absence of any allusion to Canaanite cults, towns, or populations (e. g. Philistines, Ammon, Moab). Some of these grounds, taken individually, might be considered not to carry much weight, but taken together they have great cumulative force.

We now come to the consideration of the *characteristic*

passages in the pre-exilian O. T. which contain references to the dragon of the Chaos-depth are cited.

style of the Deutero-Isaiah. This we can only indicate so far as it appears in the English version. The many specialities of *Hebrew* terms and phraseology cannot be exhibited in a work such as this. They are fully set forth in Cheyne's *magnum opus*, the 'Introduction to Isaiah,' pp. 250-70, and in briefer and more condensed form in Dillmann-Kittel's Commentary, p. 349 foll. It is, however, easily possible to set forth before the English reader many features of style characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah which appear in an English rendering. Among these may be cited—(1) The tendency to *reduplicate* the phrase, e. g. 'Comfort ye, Comfort ye' (xl. 1); 'I, even I' (xliii. 11, 25, xlviii. 15, li. 12); 'Awake, Awake' (li. 9, 17, lii. 1); 'Depart ye' (lii. 11). (2) The introduction of divine utterances by a series of descriptive clauses setting forth God's attributes commencing with 'Thus saith Yahweh' (xlii. 5, xliii. 1, 14, 16-19, xlv. 6, 24, xlv. 18). (3) Certain recurring formulae, e. g. 'Fear not, for' (xli. 10, 13 foll., xlii. 1, 5, xlv. 2, liv. 4); 'I, the first and last' (xli. 4, xlv. 6, xlviii. 2); 'I, Yahweh and none else' (xlv. 5 foll., 18, 22, xlvi. 9). (4) The combination of the divine name with the following epithets:—'Creator' (xliii. 1); 'Stretcher out of the heavens' (xl. 22); 'Fashioner of Israel' (xliii. 1); 'Redeemer' (xliii. 14, xlv. 24a, xlviii. 17a, xlix. 7, liv. 8). (5) Other expressions such as 'Lift up thy eyes above' (xl. 26, xlix. 18, li. 6—also in lx. 4). 'Things to come' = the future (*ôthiyyôth*), xli. 23, xlv. 7, xlv. 11. (6) Lastly, we note the tendency to accumulate descriptive clauses, xl. 22-3, xlv. 24-6, xlvi. 3; in reference to Israel, xli. 8, 9, xlvi. 3, xlviii. 1, xlix. 7; in reference to Cyrus, xlv. 1¹.

¹ For a fuller list of contrasts between the special diction of Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah the reader is also referred to Prof. Driver's useful handbook *Isaiah, His Life and Times*, 2nd ed. (1904), pub. Francis Griffiths. This writer, however, does not draw the distinction between Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah established by recent criticism (Duhm; Cheyne, Marti), and fully recognized in this volume. *Some* of the

In general it may be said that the diction of the Deutero-Isaiah is rich and full, and though the style may be considered as distinctly rhetorical in form, it possesses great dignity and impressiveness.

§ 4. THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

(a) *On God.* Respecting the character and sovereignty of God the Deutero-Isaiah's conceptions were framed on those of the eighth-century prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, but are expressed in language of fuller compass. Like Amos he portrays Yahweh as the creator of the material universe (cf. Amos v. 8; ix. 6¹) in numerous passages of great sublimity (xl. 22, 26; xlv. 12, 18). All other objects in the universe, even individuals and nations, shrink into utter insignificance compared to Him (xl. 15-17, 22). Both His power and His mind are infinite (xl. 28), and this power He will bestow on the weak (verse 29). All else is transitory while He abides eternal and His word is as eternal as Himself (verses 7, 8) and is ever potent (lv. 10, 11). His power over nature is constantly emphasized so that He can effect whatever transformations He will (xl. 4, xli. 18, 19, xlii. 15, xlv. 27, 28, li. 10). He is also Lord of all time as well as of space, the First and the Last (xli. 4, xlv. 6, xlviii. 2).

characteristic phraseology of the Deutero-Isaiah is also found in the Trito-Isaiah. It should be noted, however, that *not one of these special characteristics of Deutero-Isaianic style which are noted above is to be found in the four Servant-poems.*

¹ These verses, resembling others which assert Yahweh's cosmic supremacy and also His lordship over human destiny (of foreign nations as well as Israel, ix. 7), are rejected by Wellhausen, Nowack, and recently Harper, chiefly because they appear to break the sequence of thought. The grounds hardly appear adequate for the excision of this passage from the genuine utterances of Amos, though the style may partially resemble that of the Deutero-Isaiah, and some features remind us of the Book of Job.

Hence all events as they occur, such as the victorious career of Cyrus, are known to Yahweh, the omniscient Lord of Time, before any other knew it (xli. 26, xlii. 9). Cyrus was predestined for his victorious career by Yahweh long before Cyrus knew what was to await him (xlv. 6, 7). Thus while Yahweh communicates the knowledge of future events to His own messengers, He makes the soothsayers mad and frustrates their tokens (xliv. 25, 26).

Both *righteousness* and *holiness* are predicated by the Deutero-Isaiah of Yahweh. With regard to *holiness* the conception is essentially ethical and does not differ from the use of the term in the eighth century prophet (see especially chap. vi, and note on the word) from whom the Deutero-Isaiah borrowed the term, 'Holy One of Israel'. But as G. A. Smith (art. Isaiah in Hastings' *BD.*, i, p. 496) clearly shows, the conception of righteousness and righteous (*šēdāqah, šedek, šaddīk*) as applied to Yahweh had undergone a change in the Deutero-Isaiah corresponding to the change of conditions. In the eighth century righteousness implied the purity and justice of God's nature which demanded corresponding qualities in the conduct of His people in an age of terrible moral and religious declension. The Deutero-Isaiah, living among his exiled fellow countrymen in Babylonia, was confronted by different conditions. Prof. Smith truly says that the moral problem of the sixth century (550-38 B. C.) was concerning 'God's power and will to fulfil His word and redeem Israel.' Righteousness includes, therefore, the idea involved in the Hebrew *ēmeth*, viz. faithfulness, consistency with His promises. Cf. xli. 2, 26, xlv. 13 and note. That this was the prevailing conception in the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah does not exclude the fact that the word is also used in other senses (see xlv. 8, and note). On this large subject of the use of the term Righteousness (i. e. the Heb. *š-d-k* and its derivations) in the Deutero-Isaiah, see Skinner's full note in his commentary on

Isaiah (xl-lxvi) in the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges' (Appendix, Note ii, p. 238 foll.).

With reference to the *monotheistic conceptions of Yahweh*, it may be said that the Deutero-Isaiah closely approximates an absolute monotheism, but does not actually reach it. Absolute monotheism was obtained more slowly than most readers of the O. T. imagine. It is true that an unrivalled and indeed utterly incomparable pre-eminence is assigned to Yahweh in His sovereignty and omnipotence both in time and space. It is also true that the gods of polytheism are spoken of as utter nothingness and vanity and utterly impotent (xlvi. 7, cf. xlv. 9 foll.). But this does not prove that the deities of foreign nations were regarded as non-existent. Chap. xli. 21-3 show that this can hardly have been the case (see the notes on these verses). In the subsequent evolution of Jewish religion we find the gods of heathendom transformed into demons.

(b) *Israel*. The relation of Yahweh to Israel, called by the Deutero-Isaiah *His Servant*, brings out in strongest relief the ethical character of God. Though the stern discipline of suffering and exile, through which the nation has passed, might seem to suggest that Israel, the bride of Yahweh,—a conception familiar to a Semite and employed with remarkable power by Hosea—had been abandoned by Yahweh, yet this is the absolute reverse of the truth. Yahweh is Israel's Redeemer (xliii 1, 14, xlv. 22, 24, xlviii. 17, xlix. 7, liv. 8). Israel is Yahweh's own (xliii. 1). In the midst of the nation's deepest tribulation Yahweh will ever be near His people to save them from destruction (xliii. 1, 2). Jerusalem, Israel's depopulated city, can no more be forgotten by Yahweh than a child by his own mother (xlix. 14, 15). Israel shall be gently led as a flock by its shepherd, the weak and faint gathered in Yahweh's arm and carried in His bosom (xl. 11). *Forgiveness* is the natural expression of such love, and it is granted freely, though in the past

Yahweh has been 'wearied' with Israel's iniquity: 'I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions for my own sake,' i. e. the ground of forgiveness is to be found in Yahweh's love to Israel.

Respecting Israel's great function as Servant of Yahweh to bring the knowledge of His truth to other races we have already spoken. In the writer of the 'Servant-poems' this conception is fundamental, but in the Deutero-Isaiah it is not so prominent. Cf. above § 2, pp. 18-26.

(c) *Eschatology*. It cannot be said that the horizons of the Deutero-Isaiah's anticipation lie far removed from the present. The consummation of all his yearnings and hopes lay in the immediate future. All Israel's sorrows were soon to cease. The hardships of the past were at an end, and all the sins of the older time were more than atoned for (xl. 2). The bow was in the cloud, and the 'waters of Noah' should flood the world no more (liv. 9). Messianic ideas revive which since the days of Ezekiel had slumbered. The ideal of Yahweh's Suffering Servant had for a time taken their place, but in what we might perhaps regard as the Deutero-Isaiah's closing utterance (chap. lv) he recurs to the old Isaianic conception of the ideal Davidic ruler of Jesse's almost worn-out stock (xi. 1-9). Zerubbabel of the ancient Davidic line was evidently in his mind as the 'prince and commander of peoples,' the leader of the restored commonwealth. Thus the future anticipations of the Deutero-Isaiah naturally lead us to the Messianic utterance of Haggai (ii. 22).

§ 5. EPILOGUE. DEUTERO-ISAIANIC ECHOES IN LATER HEBREW LITERATURE—THE LEAVEN OF THE 'SERVANT-POEMS.' CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY THEIR ULTIMATE FULFILMENT.

The universalism of the Deutero-Isaiah reverberates in subsequent literature. We shall frequently have occasion to refer, in commenting upon the Trito-Isaiah, to the

manifest influence of the Deutero-Isaiah upon its diction and ideas, especially in chapters ix-lxii. The great conceptions respecting Yahweh which find expression in Isa. xl frequently recur in the Psalms. The note of universalism so powerfully struck by the Deutero-Isaiah re-echoes in the religious songs of Judaism. Cf. Ps. ii. 11 (10 Heb.); xxi. 27, 28 (28-29 Heb.); xlvii. 1, 7-9 (2, 8-10 Heb.); lxvi. 1-8; lxvii. 7 (8 Heb.), lxxxii. 1, 8; lxxxvi. 9, 10; cii. 15-28 (16-29 Heb.). The last is a conspicuous example of Deutero-Isaianic universalism. Similarly with reference to 'phrase as well as idea, Ps. cvii. 35 (cf. Isa. xli. 18).

But our interest is chiefly directed to the high ethical ideals expressed in the Servant-poems. How far did the Jewish nation in the future respond to the high calling of the race expressed in Isa. xlix. 6, 'I will appoint thee as a light to the Gentiles'? The verdict of history has been that the influence of this great conception of Israel as God's missionary race was only partial and fluctuating. It had to contend with that spirit of particularism which seems to be inherent in nationality. Certainly no modern European race dare cast a stone. The great ideas expressed in the Servant-poems had to wage a constant warfare against that spirit of national exclusiveness which sought to keep God's mercies within its own narrow race-walls (cf. Luke iv. 25-9; Acts xxii. 21, 22), and imposed the severe restraints of legalism upon the foreigner who might seek admission to the privileges of the Covenant Race.

Nevertheless the power of these great ideas first definitely expressed in the Servant-poems¹ could not be suppressed. We frequently meet with them in the Psalms in which the conception of God's universal goodness is frequently expressed. Ps. cxlv. 9: 'Yahweh is good

¹ Only very superficial exegesis could make a claim of priority for Gen. xii. 3 (J); see footnote above on p. 21.

to all and His tender mercies are over all His works.' Ps. xxxvi. 7 (Heb. 8): 'How precious is Thy loving-kindness O God: and as for mankind, under the shadow of Thy wings they take refuge.' Moreover, the heathen are constantly called upon to praise God—Ps. ix. 12, xviii. 50, xlviii. 11, lvii. 10, xcvi. cv. 1, cviii. 4. The universal conceptions also find expression in the Book of Job—a work which is evidently influenced by the Servant-passages, and deals with the problem of suffering from another standpoint. Neither Job himself nor his friends are Jews. Another remarkable example of the influence of the Servant-poems and their central thought (Isa. xlix. 6) is the *Book of Jonah*, a work which belongs to the close of the Persian or beginning of the Greek period. It is a protest against Jewish exclusiveness both eloquent and significant because it seems to stand solitary. God's care for all His creatures extends beyond even the confines of humanity; it includes also the animals within its scope¹ (Jonah iv. 10-11).

When we come to the Maccabaeian period (after 168 B.C.) the struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes gave immense impetus to the national spirit and the reaction against Hellenism. The *Hasidim* or pious devotees, out of whom Pharisaism emerged, were the living embodiment of this tendency to safeguard the observance of the Torah and resist foreign encroachment. All these influences militated against the liberal tendencies fostered by Hebrew prophecy and the missionary function of the Jewish race as God's messenger to mankind inculcated in the 'Servant poems.' Nevertheless these nobler ideals did not perish. In the 'vision of animals' contained in the *Book of Enoch* we have very definite allusion to the conversion of the heathen in the end of the world². Similarly in Enoch

¹ The author owes the reference to this significant and beautiful trait to Prof. Peake.

² Note especially chap. xc. 33-6: 'And all that had been

x. 21 foll., 'And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer me adoration and praise, and all will worship me. And all the earth will be cleansed from every corruption and sin and from all punishment and torment, and I will never again send them upon it from generation to generation for ever.' So also cv. 1, 'And in those days, saith the Lord, they shall call and testify to the children of the earth concerning their wisdom: show it unto them, for ye are their guides.' In the 'Similitudes' of the *Book of Enoch* the universalist conception is expressed even more strongly. The 'Son of Man' becomes the light and hope of the nations, especially of those who are in affliction. All who dwell in the world are to fall down before Him (xlvi. 4, 5¹).

When we ask ourselves the question how far Judaism undertook an active propaganda of its faith among the Gentiles, we shall find but few traces of such propaganda in the early post-exilic period. No doubt active efforts

destroyed and dispersed and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of heaven assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house. And I saw till they laid down that sword which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into His house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord; and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not . . . And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.' Cf. also Tobit xiii. 11, xiv. 6, 7.

¹ 'He will be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall; and he will be the *light of the Gentiles* and the hope of those who are troubled of heart. All who dwell on earth will fall down and bow the knee before him and will bless, laud, and celebrate in song the Lord of Spirits' (comp. lxii. 6, 7, 9, lxiii). Bousset in his *Religion des Judentums*, 2nd ed., p. 96, furnishes other illustrative citations from the Slavonic Book of Enoch and Book of Jubilees. The present writer desires to express here his considerable obligations to this important work of Prof. Bousset as well as to Schürer's instructive chapter on the 'Proselytes' in his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3rd ed., vol. iii, pp. 102-35.

were made immediately after the return from exile to win over to the true Judaism of the pious exiles those Palestinian Jews, considerable in number, who had lapsed into heathenism. During the early post-exilian centuries we find that the word *gēr* (or *tōshāb*), which originally signified the foreign resident in the land of the Jew, came to be employed in the narrower sense of proselyte or converted Gentile. In fact the Priestly legislation devotes special attention to this *gēr*, and repeatedly emphasizes the fact that the *gēr* has the same ceremonial duties as the Jew. Here we have certainly an indication that the bond that constituted the religious community was *religion* and not mere nationality. But it is easily possible to attach undue importance to this fact. For it cannot be denied that the underlying motive was not any strong desire to win over the aliens, but a tendency which was, after all, exclusive. The Jews after the exile found a large number of strangers dwelling in Palestine, and they were anxious to convert them and so keep the land and community in which they dwelt pure from all foreign contamination in cultus.

It is rather to the *Diaspora* we must look, as Moriz Friedländer in his recent stimulating work has shown¹, for the liberalizing and quickening influences of the Jewish race, and for the real response to the message of the exile poet. Bousset thinks that the enormous increase of the Jewish *Diaspora* in the second century B. C. can only be accounted for by the assumption that those Jewish communities received considerable accretions from without. There can be no doubt that the Hellenic-Roman world was specially accessible to Jewish influence, and especially to Jewish monotheism. Owing to the decay of polytheism and to the teachings of Greek philosophy, the age was ripe for the advent of Judaism. In the presence of the shifting and contradictory speculations of Greek

¹ *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums*, p. 239 foll.

philosophy and its fluctuating societies, the Jews had their steadfast, firmly-welded communities—their fixed religious system and their abiding faith. And there are many testimonies to show that the Hellenic Jew ardently sought to extend his faith among the Gentile population that surrounded him, until he awakened the misgiving and even hatred of those whom he sought to convert¹. The *Jewish Sibylline poet*, writing in the second century B. C., not long after the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, makes that event the occasion to call the Hellenic world to repentance by reason of the great overthrow and Divine judgment that has come upon it through the Romans. The Jewish poet hopes for a time in which there will reign a universal peace and there will be a common law for mankind upon earth (iii. 744-61; cf. 616 foll., 806 foll.). But it is *Philo* who is the most eminent example of liberal Judaism throwing its doors open wide to the Gentile seeker after God. Greek philosophy moulded his symbolic interpretations of the Hebrew Scriptures. To him the Jewish Torah was a book for the world and not simply for the Jew: 'For it attracts and converts all men, barbarians and Hellenes, the inhabitants of the mainland and of the islands, nations in the East and in the West; Europe, Asia, the whole inhabited world from one end to the other' (*Vit. Mosis*, ii, § 20 (chap. iv): cf. the entire section § 17 foll.).

In the time of Christ the success of the Jewish propaganda is attested by the conversion of King Izates of Adiabene (in Assyria), his mother Helena and his entire household (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx, chap. 2). It is attested by St. Paul's missionary journeys, in which he found side by side with the Jews Gentile co-religionists.² Indeed it

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96 foll.; Seneca quoted in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei.*, vi. 11.

² Called *σεβόμενοι* or *φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν* or *προσήλυτοι*, Acts xiii. 16, 26, 43, 50, xvi. 14, xxii. 4, xviii. 7; cf. Rev. xi. 18. Bousset also quotes the interesting technical expression

seems fairly clear that the first successes of Christianity were won in these very circles of Gentile proselytes to Judaism. It is even attested by Christ's own denunciations, which show that the Palestinian Pharisees were also ardent in their endeavours to convert the Gentile: 'Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, dissemblers, for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte . . .' (Matt. xxiii. 15). Judaism, as we know, spoke with two contrasted voices during the first century of the Christian era. *Hillel* was the genial propagandist of his faith among the Gentiles. One of his chief utterances is cited in *Pirkê Abhôth*, i. 12, 'Love all creatures and lead them to the law.' And there are many traditions of his gentleness and charity to foreigners and of the like disposition on the part of his followers. A beautiful saying is reported of Simon son of Paul's teacher Gamaliel: 'If a Gentile comes to enter into the covenant, extend to him the hand that he may come under the pinions of the Shechina.' But the other voice, hard and bitter, was that of *Shammai* and his school, characterized by severity and exclusiveness towards the Greeks and checking all tendencies towards a liberal propaganda. The terrible conflict with Rome in 70 A. D., and still later in the uprising of Bar Cochbâ in 135 A. D., stifled the missionary zeal of Judaism. The school of *Shammai* prevailed. Christianity, which, mainly owing to the efforts of St. Paul, had cast off the restrictions of Jewish nationalism, viz. circumcision, the laws respecting unclean meats and even the Sabbath, had by this time become not a mere sect of Judaism but a universal religion. It now occupied to the Gentiles the place of Judaism, and carried with it the knowledge of the O. T. Scriptures and their ideas, divested of ceremonialism, to all the races of the world. The fulfilment of the great

metuens on a number of Latin inscriptions. This writer holds that hitherto the importance of this mission of Judaism to the Gentile world has not been estimated highly enough.

ideal of the Suffering Servant expressed in Isa. xlix. 6 and liii finally passed from Judaism to Christ and Christianity.¹

¹ The reader of German is directed to the interesting and suggestive characterization of Jesus, and especially of St. Paul, from a liberal Jewish standpoint, in the concluding chapters iv and v in the above-mentioned work *Die religiösen Bewegungen, &c.*, by M. Friedländer. Also on the Jewish Sibylline oracles see pp. 289-95.

THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH

ISAIAH XL—LV

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

ISAIAH

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. 40

I. THE DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

CHAPS. XL-LV, OR DEUTERO-ISAIAH, is a collection of oracles, intended to be a message of comfort and awakening hope to the Jewish exiles in Babylonia, composed 542-538 B.C. (see Introduction).

(1) CHAPTERS XL-XLVIII: THE ADVENT OF CYRUS.

A. Chaps. xl-xli describe the advent of the new and happier time. Yahweh is portrayed in majestic language as standing alone and incomparable, far above and beyond human estimate and conception, supreme in wisdom and might, the hope and strength of all the weak who trust in Him. He will display His might by raising up Israel's deliverer (Cyrus) through whom the people's foes shall be destroyed, and Israel's restoration shall be effected.

(a) Chap. xl. 1-11. God commands that a message of comfort and pardon shall be given to His people (verses 1, 2). Heraldic voices are raised to prepare the path for God's advent through the desert (3-6). Another voice declares that while everything human perishes, God's word is eternal (7, 8). An exhortation is addressed to inhabitants of Zion to bring this good news to the towns of Judah, bidding them not to fear, since God is at hand armed with might to render a true recompense and to lead His flock like a faithful shepherd.

1. comfort ye: repetition of phrase, as we have already pointed out (Intro. p. 35), is a characteristic of this writer. Who are addressed? The LXX (or the Hebrew copy which they employed) suppose that it is the priests¹, a conjecture which may be safely rejected. The Targum holds that the prophets are here addressed. This view is more probable. The interesting parallel Isa. lii. 7-9 leads to the conclusion that the words are addressed

¹ Marked in Q (cod. Marchalianus, sixth century) with the hexaplaric obelus.

- 2 Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; that she hath received of the LORD's hand double for all her sins.

to all who are capable of receiving the Divine message (Dillm.-Kittel).

The word 'saith,' corresponding to the Heb. imperf., emphasizes the present time as that in which the utterance is made. Cf. the use of the partic. 'crying,' verse 3.

2. Instead of 'my people' we have **Jerusalem**. From this it is not to be inferred that Jerusalem was already built. Jerusalem merely stands here, as in xlvi. 2, xlix. 14 f., li. 16, lii. 1 foll., 7 foll., to represent the Jewish community. The hope of the glorious future is concentrated in Jerusalem, the old home of the race. Words of comfort are to be addressed to Jerusalem, now in ruins. Both the city and the people it represents can have no conception of the bright dawn which is coming. R. V. (marg.) 'to the heart' indicates the actual Hebrew words here rendered by 'comfortably'. We have the same use of words in the original in Gen. xxxiv. 3, l. 21; Judg. xix. 3. The message of comfort is that the time of hardship or period of forced bond-service is completed. The word in Hebrew, *šābā*, properly means military service, but in later Hebrew, as in Job vii. 1, it means hard bond-service or the work of a hired servant (cf. x. 17, xiv. 14.—In Num. iv. 3, 23, &c. (P) it means the service of the Levites in the sanctuary). It is quite evident that we must take the word here in its later meaning of 'bond-service,' since 'warfare' or military service has no historical relevance to the condition of the Jewish people in the days of the exile.¹

Translate 'that her iniquity is paid for,' i. e. atoned for or made good. The Heb. verb is difficult to translate, and expresses the graciousness of the Divine act of cancelling or atoning for the guilt. In Lev. i. 4, vii. 18, xix. 7, &c., it is used of God's gracious acceptance of sacrificial offerings. Indeed, God's tender compassions are such that He considers the chastisements which the Jewish race has already endured to be twice as great as those which were due. We gain nothing by supposing that the last clause of this verse is based on Jer. xvi. 18, 'and I recompense unto them [first of all] double of their guilt,' for this only tends to obscure

¹ Owing to the feminine gender of the word *šābā* here, which is most unusual, Marti alters the text and would render, 'she has completed her time of service'; but the modification is unnecessary. The word is also feminine in Dan. viii. 12.

The voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness: the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a high way for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and

the force of the present passage. Moreover, critics deny that Jeremiah was the author of the verse cited (so Giesebrecht and Cornill). Duhm and Marti formerly affirmed the dependence of this Isaiah passage on that of Jeremiah; but now the former critic, both in his later edition of the Isaiah commentary and in that which he has written on Jeremiah, has withdrawn his earlier view.

3-4. The opening words are most idiomatically rendered 'Hark! there is a cry: "Prepare ye Yahweh's way in the wilderness."' This is the real signification of the word for 'voice' in the original (*kôl*).¹ The words 'in the wilderness,' it will be noted, are connected with the words 'prepare ye Yahweh's way.' This is clearly indicated by the Hebrew accentuation which is followed by Dillm., Kittel, and Duhm. On the other hand, LXX, Matt. iii. 3 (and parall.) as well as Vulg., connect the words in the way that has become familiar to us, 'The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord..' This is the rendering of A. V. On the other hand, R. V. have followed what is undoubtedly the correct tradition of our Hebrew Massoretic text, which the following parallel clause, 'make level in the desert a highway for our God,' demonstrates with clearness. In this clause the word 'desert' in the Hebrew original is *'Arābah*. This, however, does not mean the well-known Palestinian *'Arabah*, which included the southern part of the great depression of the Jordan valley including Jericho. This would imply that the great Divine procession is to come by the way of Se'ir, which is geographically most improbable. *'Arabah* is here used in its purely generic sense, and denotes the desert between Babylonia and Palestine, through which God is to lead His people, as He did formerly from Egypt (so Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, and nearly all recent exegetes): cf. xlix. 11, lii. 8, 12 and also lxii. 10 foll.

Who is the personage who utters the cry? Evidently not Yahweh, or we should not have the expression 'a highway for our God.' On the other hand, it can hardly have been a human being, since the whole character of the highway here described implies a task beyond human powers. There appears to be a suggestion that celestial powers are to construct this colossal roadway for Yahweh's triumphal progress whereby mountains and hills are to sink, and the bases of the valleys to rise to form a level path. Is

¹ The same word occurs in Gen. iv. 10, which accordingly ought to be translated, 'Hark! thy brother's blood cries...' see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 146. 1, rem. 1.

every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: [and the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and

the voice that summons them to this task one of themselves, similar to the Seraphs who cry to one another in Isaiah's consecration-vision (vi. 3)? The entire conception is based on this image of a monarch's royal progress for which fitting preparations are made (cf. Mark xi. 8). Cf. the language in reference to Cyrus (xlv. 2).¹

4. The physical features involved in the levelling process are here described in their large outlines. Probably we should render the latter part of the verse 'the steep² shall become a plain and the mountain-ridges an open valley.' Both this and the preceding verse might perhaps have been conceived by the enthusiastic poet as awaiting a literal fulfilment, like the vast physical changes portrayed in Isa. ii. 2. It is by no means easy in dealing with O. T. prophecy to be quite certain where the purely figurative employment of terms enters. In this particular case the purely metaphorical use of the language seems to be required by the geographical conditions, since no considerable hills—certainly no mountain-chains—intervene along the desert journey between Babylonia and the borders of Palestine. Accordingly we have here vivid imagery employed to describe the vast difficulties which are to be overcome by supernatural agencies, whereby the way is to be prepared for Yahweh's glorious advent and Israel's deliverance.

xl. 5-8. Metric considerations combined with those of internal connexion in thought have led Duhm to a complete reconstruction of the order of verses 5-11. The opening lines of the original Hebrew, verses 1-4, are long lines in the familiar *Qinah* or elegiac measure, each consisting of a longer and shorter portion like the metre already described in our commentary on Isaiah chap. xiii (vol. i, p. 183). The following verses in our text, 5-8,

¹ Gunkel, *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. T. u. N. T.*, Heft 1, p. 49, note 5, as well as Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der Israel.-Jüd. Eschatologie*, p. 223, thinks this conception borrowed from the solemn street-procession of the god Marduk from Babylon to Borsippa, in which the images of the deities were borne by the priests. We have similar parallels in Egypt; Erman, *Die ägypt. Religion*, p. 43. But these analogies, though suggestive, are hardly convincing.

² This seems to be the actual meaning of the Hebrew ('*ākōbh*), comp. the Arabic '*akabat*, meaning a *mountain-path*).

all flesh shall see it together : for the mouth of the LORD

are not in the same measure. The *Kinah* measure of the opening four verses is not resumed till we come to verses 9-11. These considerations have led Duhm (who is followed by Cheyne and Marti) to the conclusion that the original order of the verses 1-4, immediately followed by verses 9-11, has been disturbed by the insertion of the foreign element, verses 6-8, placed immediately after verse 4, because it opens with the same word 'voice' (= 'Hark!') as the four-lined stanza, verses 3-4. After this insertion had been made, verse 5, consisting of three shorter lines (with the expression strange to the Deutero-Isaiah in the concluding line: 'For the mouth of Yahweh hath uttered it'), was added by a later editor in order to furnish a suitable transition from verse 4 to verse 6 with its announcement that all flesh is grass. Hence the allusion to 'all flesh' in the second line of verse 5.

A careful examination of the contents will probably convince the attentive as well as unprejudiced student that these views of Duhm, based in the first instance on considerations of metre, rest on a strong basis. Let him read consecutively verses 1-4 and 9-11 and he finds himself in one continuous and harmonious current of confident expectation of God's great achievements on behalf of the people who are the objects of His tender care. But how strangely and discordantly does the minor key of verses 6-8 break into this harmony! But what is the actual place and connexion of verses 6-8? There is no sufficient reason to deny their Deutero-Isaianic origin, though their sombre colouring is out of harmony with verses 1-4 and 9-11. Duhm (whom Cheyne in *SBOT* follows) inserts verses 6-8 between verses 11 and 12, and this arrangement might be accepted in default of a better. Yet even here the minor key hardly accords with the calm exaltation of the lines that follow. We should prefer to insert them between verses 17 and 18.

5. The passive **shall be revealed** is not so probable a rendering as the reflexive 'shall reveal itself.' **Flesh** here, as in so many other passages, means the mortal race: Gen. vi. 12; Jer. xxv. 31; Zech. ii. 17. **All flesh** refers to all humanity and not Israel exclusively. The object after **see** is not expressed in Hebrew, but in our version is rendered by 'it,' i. e. the glory of Yahweh. The *LXX* seem to have had either another text before them or to have taken objection to the omission of any object to the verb 'see.' They supply as the object 'the salvation of God,' and the Hebrew equivalent of these words is actually added by Lowth, Ewald and Oort in the Hebrew text (cf. also Luke iii. 6). But there are objections to the insertion as it overloads the verse, which consists of three short lines. Not improbably, as

6 hath spoken it]. The voice of one saying, Cry. And one said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the
7 goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field: [the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the breath of the

Rosenmüller suggests, the similar passage, lii. 10, may have influenced the translation of the LXX.

6-8. *Human transience and decay contrasted with the Divine permanence.* These verses are in the ordinary distich form quite distinct from the *Kinah* measure of the first four verses and of verses 9-11:—

“Hark!” one cries, “proclaim!”—and I said: What shall I proclaim?

“All flesh is grass—and all its charm¹ like the wild flower: Dried up is the grass, withered the flower—for Yahweh’s blast blows on it;

Yea, the people is grass.

Dried up is the grass, withered the flower—but the word of our God abideth for ever.”

6. It will be observed that in place of ‘one said,’ which is the reading of the Hebrew Massoretic text (which involves obscurity as to the subject referred to), we have followed the translation indicated in R. V. (marg.) based on a different pronunciation of the same Hebrew words and adopted by the ancient versions LXX and Vulg.

7. The ‘blast of Yahweh’ probably alludes to the hot east wind that scorches up vegetation. The grass and flower do not refer to the might and glory of Assyria and Babylonia only. **All flesh** evidently, as in verse 5, includes Israel as well as foreign peoples. Here the former is intended quite as much as the latter. There is no sufficient reason for rejecting the clause ‘Yea, the people is grass’ as a gloss, as Gesenius, Hitzig, Oort, and other writers have done. The Hebrew word rendered ‘Yea’ occurs in xlv. 15, and the expression ‘people’ as a general designation of the earth’s human inhabitants meets us in chap. xlii. 5. It is, however, quite possible that the expression ‘the people’ here refers more particularly to Israel, since it is the ordinary designation for God’s covenant-race (Isa. i. 3; Hos. i. 9, ii. 1, iv. 6 and *passim*).

¹ We should probably so render the Heb. *hasdô* of our text. The LXX render by *δόξα*, ‘splendour,’ which presupposes either *hōdhō* or *h^odārō* (rather than *k^ebhōdō*).

LORD bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass]. The 8 grass withereth; the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion, get thee up into 9 the high mountain; O thou that tellest good tidings to Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold, your God! Behold, the Lord GOD will come as a mighty one, 10

On the other hand, we have stronger grounds for rejecting verse 7 entire, since it is omitted in the LXX, and the repetition of phrase in verse 8 suggests strongly the supposition that we have here a duplication due to the carelessness of a scribe.

9. The Elegiac measure of verses 1-4 once more recurs, and the same spirit is breathed of joyful confidence. The rendering given above (R. V.) differs from that of A. V., which is 'O Zion that bringest good tidings' (placed in the margin of R. V.). The literal rendering of the Hebrew is 'Glad messenger of Zion,' and this is interpreted as an instance of what is called appositional genitive¹, i. e. it means 'Glad messenger, Zion,' or, in other words, 'O Zion that bringest good tidings' (A. V.). This view has very large support. Not only from the Greek translators LXX, Aq., Theod., Sym., but also from Vitranga, Clericus, Ewald, Delitzsch, and others. On the other hand, it is also possible to treat the feminine construct form in the original as a collective sing. So that the rendering should be, 'O messengers of good tidings in Zion.'² This explanation is adopted by Duhm and Marti, and is supported by the parallel passages, lii. 7 foll. and also xli. 27.

10. **come as a mighty one** is the idiomatic³ rendering of our Hebrew text. But the ancient versions LXX, Pesh., Targ., and Vulg. pronounced the Hebrew characters with different vowels, and probably we ought to follow them and render 'come with strength' (so Gesen. and Ewald, followed by Duhm and Marti).

¹ Of course the word stands in the original Hebrew as a feminine construction; we have a similar use in Isa. i. 8, daughter of Zion (see our note ad loc.). It is called sometimes an *explicative* or *epexegetic* genitive, Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁶, § 128, 2, k.

² The idiom of this use of the feminine singular is explained and illustrated in Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Hebrew Gram.* ²⁶, § 122 s.

³ On this idiom, called *Beth essentialis*, see Gesen.-Kautzsch²⁶, *Heb. Gr.* § 119, 3 i.

- and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with
 11 him, and his recompence before him. He shall feed his
 flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs in his arm,
 and carry them in his bosom, *and* shall gently lead those
 that give suck.
- 12 Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his
 hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and compre-
 hended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed
 13 the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? Who
 hath directed the spirit of the LORD, or being his counsellor

His arm shall rule for him means that Yahweh shall conquer His foes by His overwhelming power. As a successful warrior He obtains the reward of His efforts.

11 touches on the more gentle traits of Yahweh's character. He is not only the victorious warrior who breaks down all opposition, but, like a good shepherd, shows tender care for His sheep. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 10; Ezek. xxxiv. 11-16. The Heb. verb translated 'gently lead' is specially used of leading a flock to the watering. Cf. Exod. xv. 13; Ps. xxiii. 2.

(b) Verses 12-31 describe in language of great sublimity the incomparable greatness of Yahweh.

Verses 12-16 portray the unsurpassed power and wisdom of Yahweh, and the utter inadequacy of all offerings, in three short strophes of five lines each. The subject, however, is not the same as that of verses 6-8. These latter, as we have said, are conceived in the minor key. But the note of sadness is entirely absent here. Accordingly it is impossible to see here a continuation of the theme of the interposed fragment verses 6-8.

12. The interrog. **who** in this and the following verses means: What human being! and anticipates a negative answer. This rhetorical and negative use of the interrogative is frequent in Hebrew. Cf. Num. xxiii. 10: 'Who has counted the dust of Jacob?' also Isa. li. 19; Job ix. 12, &c.

For **and comprehended**, &c., we might render with more accuracy, 'and hath measured out in the tierce-measure the dust of the earth.' The tierce-measure (Cheyne) means probably a *third* of an *Ephah*, which would amount to about 2½ gallons.

13. The Hebrew word here, *rūah*, rendered **spirit**, means the *mind* of God, correctly rendered in the LXX version by *nous*. On the other hand, the mind of a man is represented in Hebrew by the word *lēbh* (which is usually translated 'heart'). The last

hath taught him? With whom took he counsel, and who¹⁴ instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgement, [and taught him knowledge], and shewed to him the way of understanding? Behold, the nations are as a drop of a¹⁵ bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance: behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing. And¹⁶ Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering. All the nations are as¹⁷ nothing before him; they are counted to him less than

clause of the verse is best rendered 'and hath been his counsellor that informs him,' or 'as his counsellor informs him.'

14. It is a distinguishing characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah that he works out his ideas in rich variety of phrase. At the same time this verse is overloaded by the colourless clause 'and taught him knowledge,' which adds a line in excess of the five which constitute the stanza. It is omitted in the version of the LXX, and should be cancelled out of the text as a gloss.

15. 'Behold, the coast-lands he lifts up like fine notes.' Probably we have here a reference to the earthquakes to which the shores and islands of Asia Minor are specially liable (Ps. xxix. 6, cxiv. 4, 6).

16. Yahweh is so great that not all the wood or all the beasts on Lebanon are sufficient to furnish a sacrificial offering that is worthy of Him.

xl. 17-20 continue the same line of thought, viz. of Yahweh's greatness. He is so exalted that no image can be formed of Him. Some critics (Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti) consider that chap. xli. 6, 7 find their proper place in this section—probably between verses 19 and 20. There is much to recommend this view, since in chap. xli they are unrelated to the context in which they stand.

17. 'Less than nothing' is supported by Vittinga, Clericus, Umbreit, and other scholars, but this rendering is too strong an oxymoron to be probable, though in point of language this comparative sense of the Hebrew preposition which precedes the substantive 'nothing' is quite admissible. It is better to follow the ordinary signification of the Heb. preposition and render 'of nothing,' i. e. formed of nothing, having no basis or substance. We might follow Cheyne here and translate the clause:—'They are reckoned by Him as *vacancy* and chaos.' The word *Tôhû* or 'chaos' recalls the cosmogony of Genesis, chap. i. This same

18 nothing, and vanity. To whom then will ye liken God?
19 or what likeness will ye compare unto him? The graven

word occurs there in verse 2, rendered 'waste' in R. V. (in A. V. 'without form'). In the LXX version of the present passage the word is untranslated.¹ But metre requires its presence.

This verse is not intended to describe God's entire indifference to the nations of the world owing to their utter insignificance, since this would be altogether opposed to the general conception of Yahweh's moral relationship to the races of the world to whom He has destined Israel to be servant and messenger (xlix. 6); but it is intended to portray by a strong image the utter nothingness of men and of nations in comparison with the immeasurable greatness of Yahweh. A certain contrast with xlix. 6 nevertheless exists.

18. The Heb. copula here is rightly rendered in A. V. and R. V. by 'then.' The word 'compare' corresponds to a word in the original which means to 'set over against' as counterpart or resemblance. The same verb is used in Ps. xl. 6 (A. V. 5) and lxxxix. 7 (A. V. 6). It is here that Hebrew monotheism finds in the O. T. its culminating expression. It is significant that in this verse the word for God is neither *Yahweh*, the special national designation of the God of the Hebrews, nor the current plural form *Elôhim* (which may also be employed to denote foreign deities), but the universal Semitic form (used in Assyrian-Babylonian) as well as Canaanite-Hebrew *El*. This form occurs here without any addendum², and is found twelve times in chaps. xl-xlviii expressing the universal God of humanity who stands alone and supreme, inexpressible in the concrete limited forms of the sense-world (so Dillmann).

19. In order to exhibit the absurd futility of representing God by images, the prophet enters into the trivial details of image manufacture.

¹ There can, however, be hardly any question of the genuineness of the Hebrew word *tôhû* in this passage, as it seems to have been a favourite expression of the Deutero-Isaiah, cf. in this chapter verse 23, also xli. 29, xlv. 9, xlv. 18, 19, xlix. 9.

² It is frequently found with the defin. art. prefixed or compounded with another form as *El 'elyôn* ('God Most High,' Gen. xiv. 18-20) or *El Shaddai*. We also find this general Semitic name for God in the Senjirli inscriptions as an appellative name alongside of the god Hadad, Reshef, Shamash (the Sun) and others. The Aramaic proper name Sassariel = Sarsarfel = 'El is King of Kings,' points to the fact that El designates a *supreme* deity. See Baerensch, *Altorientalischer u. Israelitischer Monotheismus*, p. 39 foll., and also Jeremias in *Chantepie de la Saussaye*³, i, p. 360.

image, a workman melted *it*, and the goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold, and casteth *for it* silver chains. He ²⁰ that is too impoverished for *such* an oblation chooseth a tree that will not rot; he seeketh unto him a cunning workman to set up a graven image, that shall not be

A workman casts the image and a smith plates it with gold and chains of silver he forges (?).

The last clause is difficult in point of construction. In the LXX we find in place of it the rendering of what must have been a totally different text: 'He hath fashioned it as a likeness.' It is quite possible that the text at this point became obliterated through the loss of the two verses, which may be recovered in xli. 6, 7 and obviously fit into this connexion.¹

'One aids the other, and to his comrade says: "Set-to" [*lit.* "be strong"], and the workman encourages the forger—he who beats smooth with the hammer him who strikes the anvil, saying of the soldering "'tis good"—and fixes it with nails that it shift not.'

20. But there are many who are too poor to afford the expense of a metal-plated image. These have recourse to wood, and a workman to set up the image. Translate:—

'He that is too poor' (to erect) a dedication-offering chooses un-

¹ The first to suggest the transposition of these verses into this their true place appears to have been Lagarde, who perceived the true relevance of xli. 7; Oort places them after verse 20, but in this verse the writer proceeds to speak of a *wooden* image, whereas xli. 7 obviously deals with a metal-plated image. Its due place is evidently before verse 20, and follows naturally on verse 19.

² It must be confessed that the word so rendered in the original is extremely doubtful. The LXX in their text appear to have had nothing to correspond either to it or to the word 'dedication-offering' (*ἱερωμα*) which follows. They translate: 'A workman chooses undecaying timber, and will cleverly seek how he shall place his image and that it shall not totter.' On the other hand, it is possible that Duhm is right in supposing that the omitted words in the LXX correspond to the words 'he hath fashioned it as a likeness' [*ὁμοίωμα* (= *הַמִּצֵּבָה*) *κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν*], which stand in the LXX at the close of the immediately preceding verse 19 and occupy the place of the clause 'chains of silver he forges,' for which there is nothing equivalent in their version. Duhm endeavours to reconstruct the Hebrew text, which is rendered 'He that is too poor to erect a dedi-

21 moved. Have ye not known? have ye not heard? hath
 it not been told you from the beginning? have ye not
 22 understood from the foundations of the earth? *It is* he
 that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants
 thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens
 as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in:

decaying timber, seeks out for himself a skilled workman—to
 erect a carved image that does not totter.'

The same theme is handled in greater detail in chap. xlv. 9-20.

Verses 21-26 resume the thread of the same topic as verses
 12-16 above, and portray God's supreme place and power over
 the world and its inhabitants.

21. For **Have ye not known**, &c., substitute the present tenses
 which correspond to the Hebrew imperf. 'know ye not—hear
 ye not . . . No further emendation in the translation of the R. V.
 is necessary. It is quite true that our Hebrew text, which is
 here sustained by the ancient versions LXX, Pesh., and Vulg.,
 requires us to render with R. V. marg. 'Have ye not understood
 the foundation of the earth' (i. e. its creation by Yahweh), but
 this rendering, though modern scholars (Gesenius, Hitzig, and
 Delitzsch) have supported it, is hardly probable, since (a) it spoils
 the parallelism of the verse: 'from the beginning . . . from the
 foundation of the earth'; (b) the omission of the Hebrew pre-
 position (= 'from') is shown to be exceedingly likely when we
 observe the close collocation of the same consonants in the
 original text.

22. The character of the supreme God is described in a series
 of participles, a mode of expression to which the Deutero-Isaiah
 is partial (also in Job).

'Tis He who sits enthroned (partic.) above the circle of the
 earth—while its inhabitants are as locusts (or grasshoppers)
 who stretches out like fine gauze the heavens—and has
 extended them as a tent to dwell in.'

This conception of the world as a circle or disc appears to be
 late (cf. Job xxii. 14; Prov. viii. 27, in which we have the
 conceptions of the two discs corresponding to one another as
 counterparts, the circle of the earth and that of the vaulted sky).

cation offering,' and translates his emended text, '*He who carves an
 image chooses undecaying timber*'; but it is useless to weary the
 reader with the unending discussions about this doubtful passage,
 which have gone on ever since the days of Michaelis and even reach
 back to the time of Jerome.

that bringeth princes to nothing; he maketh the judges 23
of the earth as vanity. Yea, they have not been planted; 24
yea, they have not been sown; yea, their stock hath not
taken root in the earth: moreover he bloweth upon them,
and they wither, and the whirlwind taketh them away as
stubble. To whom then will ye liken me, that I should 25
be equal to him? saith the Holy One. Lift up your eyes 26
on high, and see who hath created these, that bringeth out
their host by number: he calleth them all by name; by

See art. 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *D.B.*, p. 503, right-hand col., where it will be seen from the appended diagram how naturally to the ancient Semite such a conception arose. To God, enthroned far above the earth, the crowds of human inhabitants seemed to move on the earth's surface like swarms of locusts (or grasshoppers). The simile was no unfamiliar one to the Hebrew; cf. Num. xiii. 33. The locust or grasshopper was used to express the conception of insignificance and feebleness.

23. 'Who makes potentates into nought.' The downfall of such rulers as Astyages king of Media and Croesus king of Lydia before the irresistible power of God's chosen instrument, the Persian Cyrus king of the province of Anshan (or Anzan), were events that were vividly present to the mind of the writer of these words. They were catastrophes of his recent experience. They furnish a subtle and subsidiary confirmation of the theory that assigns the composition of these chapters to some date between 550 and 538 B. C.

24. The R. V. (marg.) brings out more clearly the idiomatic significance:—'Scarce are they planted, scarce are they sown . . . when He bloweth on them, and they dry up, and a whirlwind carrieth them off like stubble.'

25. The word for Holy One here in Hebrew is the adjective *kādōsh* without a definite article. As an adjective it occurs in Isa. vi in the cry of the Seraphim, and also in the favourite expression 'Holy one of Israel.' But here it seems to have hardened into a kind of proper name somewhat like Hebrew *El* or Greek *θεός* without the article. We have a similar use of *kādōsh* in Job vi. 10; Hab. iii. 3.

26. Look to the stars on high and ask who made them. Then the utter futility of images and image-worship becomes evident.

The Hebrew word *bārā* for God's creative activity, which is employed here ('hath created') and elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, begins about this time to be employed as a current term in

the greatness of his might, and for that he is strong in power, not one is lacking.

27 Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My

Hebrew literature.¹ It is used in the post-exilian creation-story of Gen. chap. i (Priestercodex), and also in the late non-Isaianic conclusion of Isa. chap. iv. 5, 6. In the pre-exilian or Yahwistic creation-account in Gen. ii. 4b foll. God's formative activity in the creation of the world is expressed by other words.

The conception of the stars as a heavenly martial retinue—an army which in some mysterious way fought in Yahweh's (i. e. Israel's) wars—was familiar to the Hebrews in the old pre-exilian days. Hence Yahweh was called God of Hosts (*Šebā'ōth*). Cf. Judges v. 4, 20 and see note in vol. i on Isa. i. 10 (p. 92). These stars are marshalled and led forth at their rising 'according to number.' As though each member stood upon a muster-roll, each one is summoned by name.

The construction of the closing part of this verse is obscure. If we follow the versions (including LXX) we shall render: 'Owing to great power and strong might (*lit.* might of strength) not one falls behind.' This involves a slightly different punctuation from that of our Hebrew text (*ōmes*, 'might,' being read in place of *ammis*, 'mighty,' in our text). Yahweh's mighty power controls each member of the host so that none fails to be in his place and perform his part. We prefer this to the rendering of Duhm, which is based on an insignificant change in the Hebrew text: 'To² (*lit.* "from") Him who is great in power and mighty in strength none is missing,' as though they were revolting from His authority.

27-31 are the poet's reassuring answer to a possible objection.

¹ We find it also in Deut. iv. 32. It should be noted that it occurs also in Amos iv. 13, which Nowack, as might be expected, regards as a later addition to the oracles of the prophet. It is, however, very doubtful whether we are justified in refusing to ascribe to the prophet these and other passages expressing cosmic conceptions, e. g. viii. 8 and ix. 5, 6. These universal cosmic conceptions respecting Yahweh certainly prevailed in the time of Amos: cf. the earlier Yahwistic creation account in Gen. ii. 4b foll. We have also parallels in the monotheistic tendencies of Babylonian and Egyptian religion: cf. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der Babyl. Religion*, and Baentsch, *Monotheismus*.

² Or we might render 'owing to him who is great, &c.,' i. e. owing to the influence He exerts or the awe felt for Him, which is a more satisfactory translation of Duhm's slightly amended text (*rabh*, adj. 'great,' in place of *rōbh*, 'greatness').

way is hid from the LORD, and my judgement is passed away from my God? Hast thou not known? hast thou not 28 heard? the everlasting God, the LORD, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary; there is no searching of his understanding. He giveth power to 29 the faint; and to him that hath no might he increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and 30 the young men shall utterly fall: but they that wait upon the 31

If God be so vast, the Maker of the great vault of stars, and I am one of the crowd of human grasshoppers beneath Him, how can my individual existence be observed or cared for by Him? The thought is analogous to that of Ps. viii. 3, 4, but the answer here breathes a deeper note of Divine tenderness.

27. *My way is hid*, i. e. My course of life and all its interests pass unnoticed by Yahweh. The latter clause should be translated, 'My right passes by unheeded by my God.' Yahweh is conceived as an august potentate who judges causes. Israel comes as a poverty-stricken suitor, but is too insignificant for notice. Israel's sorrows, his blighted national hopes, his exile and oppression, render such a mood of doubt and despair only too natural.

28. The prophet expostulates with these doubts. This entire series of oracles in the Deutero-Isaiah is intended to rouse the Jews from their mood of despair to one of faith in Yahweh and confidence in His sustaining love and saving might. The expostulation assumes the interrogative form as in verse 21 above.

Translate, with R. V. marg., 'Yahweh is an everlasting God—Creator of the ends of the earth.' The last clause is idiomatically translated, 'His understanding is unsearchable.' He is not too weary to attend to your need. His all-penetrating intelligence takes cognizance of your case. The following verses show that this is the real drift of the prophet's words in this verse.

29. This verse begins with a participial form to which the writer is evidently partial. This changes at the end of the verse to the finite verb. 'Giving to the weary strength and to the powerless increases might' would be a literal rendering. See Davidson's *Syntax*, § 100 (e) and rem. 4. The subject is Yahweh, who not only possesses boundless strength Himself, but endows the weak with it. This theme is unfolded in the following verses.

30. The Hebrew imperfects in this verse should be treated as *concessive*. Render:—

'Though (even) youths are weary and faint, and (even) young men actually stumble,

LORD shall renew their strength ; they shall mount up with wings as eagles ; they shall run, and not be weary ; they shall walk, and not faint.

41 Keep silence before me, O islands ; and let the peoples

31. Yet those who hope in Yahweh shall acquire fresh strength—they shall put forth fresh pinions like eagles.’

The rendering of A. V. and R. V. **mount up with wings** (properly ‘wing-feathers,’ ‘pinions,’) involves the construction of the instrumental accusative in the Hebrew (viz. ‘wings,’ which has no preposition before it in the original) after the verb ‘mount.’ This is not so probable as the interpretation which regards the verb as a *causative* in Hebrew (i. e. *Hif'il*) and ‘wings’ as the accusative governed by it. We may then either render (a) ‘They will lift up the pinions as eagles,’ i. e. in flight, the interpretation of the Targ., Gesenius, Hitzig, and Delitzsch ; or (b) ‘cause new pinions to grow (or put forth new pinions) like the eagle.’ This is the translation of the LXX (*πτεροφυήσουσι*) and Vulg., and has been followed by Lowth, Eichhorn, Ewald, Duhm, and most recent commentators. The simple or *kal* form of the Hebrew verb frequently bears the meaning ‘grow,’ chap. iv. 13 ; Gen. xl. 10, xli. 22 ; Deut. xxix. 22, &c. Consequently the causative would have the meaning here assigned to it.

CHAPTER XLI

is a continuation of the theme of the preceding chapter. It is an argument to show Yahweh’s supremacy and the vanity of other gods. His providential care for His people is signaled by his summons to the conqueror Cyrus, who is to be Israel’s deliverer.

Verses 1-5 describe the summons of the nations to a controversy between them and Yahweh whether it is they or He who has called Cyrus forth on his career of conquest.

1. **Keep silence before me** is scarcely correct. The original is properly ‘Be silent unto me,’ which is a pregnant form of expression, and means ‘Turn yourselves in silence to me,’ or ‘Be silent and listen to me’ (Duhm). For ‘islands’ we should substitute the more generic term ‘coastlands’ (in which islands are included). The LXX had a slightly different text before them, and in place of ‘keep silence’ rendered their variant ‘be ye renewed’ [?]. Lowth and Oort follow them, but it is hard to extract a satisfactory meaning. Apparently the thought is that the coastlands are to renew their strength for another meeting with

renew their strength : let them come near ; then let them speak : let us come near together to judgement. Who bath raised up one from the east, whom he calleth in righteousness to his foot? he giveth nations before him, and maketh him rule over kings ; he giveth them as the

Yahweh after that to which xl. 15 refers. But this is a far-fetched conception, though it seems to harmonize with the following parallel clause, 'let the peoples renew their strength.' But this expression 'renew their strength' looks as though taken over by a copyist into this verse from the preceding (the closing verse of the previous chapter). *There* the expression is appropriate as applied to the pious Jews of the exile, who were weary and depressed and needed a word of comfort ; here the same expression when applied to foreign peoples is not so easily intelligible. Various emendations have been proposed. Duhm suggests another reading in the second edition of his commentary, 'And ye peoples wait before me,' which is in accord with the parallelism of the following line : 'Let them approach, then speak ; let us come near together to judgment.' The word **judgment** here is used in the same sense that it bears in other passages, viz. a suit or process at law before a tribunal : Judges iv. 5 ; Mal. iii. 5.

2. Though Cyrus is not mentioned here by name as in xlv. 28 and chap. xlv, it is obvious that he is the man whom God 'has awakened (or roused up) from the east.' The translation of the following clause should be amended as in R. V. (marg.) : 'whom right encounters in his steps.' The word 'right' here, when used in connexion with war, means in reality *victory*, whereby a man secures his right ; cf. the remarks in the Introduction, p. 37. The verse refers to the victory which attended the onward career of Cyrus. His conquests may indeed have already begun. For we know that between the years 553 and 550 he conquered Astyages (Ishtuvegu or Ishtumegu), king of Media, and in the years that followed extended his conquests to Lydia. It is, therefore, almost certain that some time subsequent to the year 550 marks the date when this prophecy of comfort (chaps. xl, xli) was composed in which it is announced in general terms that God had stirred up in the east (in Media) a victorious warrior. The Targum fails in historic insight when it identifies this personage with Abraham. This view of the passage, however, was adopted by the mediaeval Jewish expositors Rashi, Kimhi, and others. Cyril and Jerome fail even worse in identifying him with Jesus Christ. The subject is discussed at length and with sound results by Rosenmüller in his *Scholia*.

3 dust to his sword, as the driven stubble to his bow. He
pursueth them, and passeth on safely; even by a way that
4 he had not gone with his feet. Who hath wrought and

The question should be continued in the lines that follow :—

'surrenders nations to him [*lit.* before him]—brings
monarchs low¹ ;
whose sword makes them² as dust—his bow like driven chaff ?'

The 'driven chaff' means the chaff driven by the wind in the process of winnowing the corn, a metaphor derived from agricultural operations frequently occurring in the O. T. Cf. Jer. xiii. 24 ; Ps. lxxxiii. 13 (14 Heb.), and *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 92 foll. There is no reason whatever for making the interrogative cease with the clause 'brings monarchs low.' It is continued in the following line, which is a relative sentence descriptive of Cyrus.

3. The description still continues. 'He pursues them, passes on in security.' The words 'in security' are the rendering of the Hebrew word *shālôm*, 'well-being,' 'security,' 'peace,' which stands here as an adverbial accusat. (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*⁵⁶, § 118. 5 ; Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 204 b). The clause that follows may be rendered *either* 'by a track which he doth not enter (usually) with his feet' (i. e. the conqueror in his march ignores the usual beaten tracks), *or* 'a path with his feet he doth not tread,' i. e. so rapidly does he pass on his way that he scarcely seems to touch the ground with his feet, but seems to fly over it. Cf. Dan. viii. 5. Either rendering is possible. Assyrian conquerors took a pride in describing their marches through mountains or difficult country. In Sennacherib's prism-inscription, col. i, 66 foll., he describes how he rode on horseback through lofty mountain regions and 'climbed on foot a steep place like a wild ox'; and in col. iv. 70 foll. he describes an expedition against a city Kana which is compared to the 'nest of an eagle, the king of birds,' on the summit of a steep mountain; in line 77 foll. he states that he 'descended from his palanquin in spots which were too steep and mounted the lofty peaks on foot like a gazelle.'

4. The preceding interrogation is resumed in the final question: 'Who hath wrought it and done it' ? i. e. has summoned forth this

¹ Reading the Hebrew text as *yôrd* with Hitzig instead of the Massoretic punctuation.

² Reading *tittnēm* in place of *yitten* in our text which hardly gives a satisfactory sense. The same verbal form (*tittnēm*) 'makes them' must be understood in the second clause of the line with *kashtô*, 'his bow.'

done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I the LORD, the first, and with the last, I am he. The isles saw, 5 and feared; the ends of the earth trembled: they drew

conqueror to his great world-subduing career. The answer immediately follows:—‘He who summons the generations from the beginning, I, Yahweh, the first and with the last, I am the same.’¹ The rendering supplied above by the R. V. should be abandoned for that which is here given, since it fails to distinguish aright between question and answer. We have here the reiteration of the eternity of Yahweh contained in xl. 28. Much the same conception in somewhat similar form occurs in xliii. 10. The idea of Divine permanence which underlies the momentous interpretation of the name contained in the significant passage Exod. iii. 14 (E) was probably known to the writer of these chapters.

5. This verse is regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a later insertion. Duhm considers that it was intended to link verses 6 and 7 to verses 1-4. But as a matter of fact this verse forms no such link. The following verses come in most unnatural sequence. On the other hand, Marti’s assertion that there is no connexion between verse 5 and the preceding verses is untrue. The ‘coastlands’ or islands of verse 1 reappear in this closing verse after the address of Yahweh. They have witnessed with awe the wonderful career of the conqueror whom Yahweh has summoned from the east. They are told in verse 1 to come to the judgment-seat. In verse 5 the command is executed. Lastly, the metric form is the same, viz. two long lines each consisting of two members. In the second line the second member has probably been lost and is conjecturally restored by Duhm:—

‘The coast-lands have seen (it) and feared—the ends of the earth trembled.

They drew near and came—[together to contend in judgment].’

The latter portion of the second line seems to have been partially if not wholly preserved in the Hebrew copies used by the LXX.²

¹ So the Heb. pronoun (= ‘he’) should be idiomatically rendered; see Ewald, *Syntax of the Heb. Lang.* (T. & T. Clark), § 314 b. The pronoun ‘expresses the Divine consciousness of Himself’ (Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 106 d, rem. 2); as the permanent underlying personality. Comp. xliii. 10, 13; xlv. 4, xlviii. 12; Ps. cii. 27 (28 Heb.).

² ἀμα κτίτων, the latter word standing at the beginning of verse 6. The LXX evidently read the Hebrew word for foreign nations instead of the word for ‘coastlands’ (or ‘isles’) in our text. This was not improbably the original reading, and is an echo of the ‘peoples’ of verse 1. A significant parallel occurs in Isa. lx. 9 (comp. Jer. iii. 17).

- 6 near, and came. They helped every one his neighbour ;
 and *every one* said to his brother, Be of good courage.
 7 So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, *and* he that
 smootheth with the hammer him that smiteth the anvil,
 saying of the soldering, It is good : and he fastened it
 with nails, that it should not be moved.
 8 But thou, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen,

When the text is thus completely restored as Duhm ingeniously proposes, verse 5 becomes an exact counterpart to verse 1 and comes appropriately after the address of Yahweh respecting Cyrus. The defective text at the close seems to indicate a serious gap in the manuscript.

6-7. This gap is evidently filled up by two misplaced verses which have been restored to their true position after xl. 19, where they have been already treated in the commentary. How they came to be separated from their actual context we need not pause to inquire. Hebrew documents were written on very rough and rude materials, whether skins or papyrus, detached portions of which might easily go astray. We have already had occasion to notice (see vol. i) how the conclusion of the beautiful poem, Isa. ix. 8 (7 Heb.) foll., is to be found at the end of chap. v. Similarly, Ps. xix consists of two quite distinct poems pieced together, and Ps. x has a great gap in its alphabetic arrangement of verses which is filled up from another source by a later hand. These are but a few examples out of many which warn the reader not to expect modern literary conditions or continuity in ancient Hebrew documents that have passed through many historic vicissitudes and repeated redactional treatment. Very arbitrary reasons—such as the occurrence of a chance phrase—sometimes determined the succession of the various fragments which the Hebrew editor arranged together. Here the determining cause appears to have been the ‘dread’ of which verse 5 speaks, and the help which one extends to the other, and the exhortation ‘Be of good courage’ (‘set-to’). But these are very superficial and arbitrary points of contact. Cf. remarks on xlii. 10-13 below.

Verses 8-20, which certainly fall into distinct parts, viz. (a) verses 8-10, (b) verses 11-16, and (c) verses 17-20, may be regarded as forming collectively a message of comfort and encouragement to Israel. Verses 11-16 form a special group which will be separately considered.

8. **But thou** stands in opposition to the foreign peoples to whom reference is made in verses 1 and 5. Accordingly there seems to be a link of connexion with 1-5, though, as already indicated,

the seed of Abraham my friend ; thou whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the corners thereof, and said unto thee, 'Thou art my

there appears to be a gap in the original filled up by the intruded verses 6 and 7. Israel is here for the first time in the Deutero-Isaianic section called *Yahweh's servant*. The term is also applied to Israel, in the sense in which it is employed here, in Jer. xxx. 10 (om. by LXX. Both it and xlvi. 27 are recognized by critics as written by a later hand). Probably its distinctive application to Israel (Jacob) was due to Ezekiel (xxviii. 25, xxxvii. 25). The mention of Abraham here (cf. li. 2) is characteristic of the exile and subsequent periods of Jewish history which became reminiscent of the national past and treasured the names of the patriarchs (see note on Isa. xxix. 22 in vol. i). This epithet bestowed on Abraham as Yahweh's 'lover' or 'friend' is re-echoed in later literature (2 Chron. xx. 7 ; James ii. 23), and in the Korân, iv. 124, where Muhammad exalts the faith of Abraham, the Hanif, whom 'God took as friend' (*Halil*). From this passage in the Korân, as well as the general tradition, Abraham obtains in Islâm at the present day the title 'friend of God' (*Halil' Ullahi*) or 'the friend' (*al Halilu*). The references in the Deutero-Isaiah to the patriarchs (cf. li. 2), as well as those contained in Ezekiel (xiv. 14, &c.), render it probable that the earlier pre-exilian narratives contained in the Yahwistic and Elohist documents (JE) were read and pondered by the more thoughtful minds in Israel.

The balance of clauses would require a parallel clause to follow 'Seed of Abraham my friend' corresponding to the parallel clauses respecting 'Israel . . . Jacob.' In all probability the parallel clause respecting Abraham has been lost.

9. The call of Abraham from Haran (cf. Gen. xii. 1-5) is evidently the reference of the words **ends of the earth**. We might compare the same poetic expression in Isa. v. 26, 'end of the earth¹.' Even in the days of the exile the geographical horizon of an inhabitant of Babylonia or Palestine would be a very limited one, and relative distances were not nicely discriminated. Gesenius and Hitzig, and recently Orelli, supposed that the reference of the phrase was to Egypt, but nearly all the best recent authorities (Cheyne, Duhm, Marti, &c.) sustain the opinion of Rosenmüller, Ewald, and Delitzsch that the call of Abraham from Haran is the event to which allusion is here made. We have a similar reference to ancient Hebrew origins in Deut. xxvi. 5.

¹ Similarly 'distant parts of the earth,' in Isa. viii. 9.

10 servant, I have chosen thee and not cast thee away; fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness.

The word rendered **corners** here is certainly obscure. In Hebrew it is the plural of *āsīl*, and must not be confused with a word of exactly the same form meaning 'nobles' used in Exod. xxiv. 11. Here the word seems to mean 'extremities', i. e. distant portions.

10. Owing to God's definite choice of Israel there is no room for fear. The old *Immanuel* message delivered nearly two centuries ago (Isa. vii, viii) is now re-echoed—**I am with thee**. The rendering 'be not dismayed' is based on the usually accepted explanation of the reflexive (Hithpael) form in the original 'look on one another' (in amazed wonder or dread)². The same form occurs again in verse 23 (in the 1st pers. plur.) in the sense which it bears here, 'be amazed' or dumbfounded (LXX sustain this rendering).

The Perfects in the original express the absolute certainty of what Yahweh declares, 'I strengthen thee, yea, help thee.' The R. V. expresses the declaration in future tenses. On this use of the Perfect in Hebrew the student of the original text is referred to Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Grammar*²⁶, § 106, 3. Delitzsch renders by 'I have fixed my choice on thee,' and appeals to xlv. 14, and Ps. lxxx. 16, 18 (*E. V.* 15, 17), but in all these passages the meaning of the Hebrew verb is 'to cause to grow up strong' (in ref. to a tree). Cheyne, who followed Delitzsch formerly, now gives the rendering 'I strengthen thee' (*SBOT*). Instead of **with the right hand of my righteousness** the original is more idiomatically rendered: 'with my victorious right hand.' On the use of *sedek* (properly 'right') in the sense of 'victory,' see note on verse 2 above.

¹ The root means to bind or connect [in Arab. *wsl*]. Parallel to the Hebrew word we have in Syriac (Aramaic) *yaslīd*, meaning 'joint' or 'arm.' We have a similar word *asīl* in Heb., Ezek. xiii. 18, Jer. xxxviii. 12. Thus Symmachus renders it by ἀγκῶνες. On the other hand, the LXX ἐκ τῶν σκοπιῶν αὐτῆς, 'from its outposts' or 'watch-towers,' suggests the existence of another and perhaps better reading: מִמְצָדֵי; comp. Isa. xxi. 8; 2 Chr. xx. 24. Though the form be rare, the sense is more appropriate and intelligible.

² LXX 'do not stray' suggests an altogether different reading, אַל תִּשְׁתָּרֵץ.

Behold, all they that are incensed against thee shall be 11
 ashamed and confounded : they that strive with thee shall
 be as nothing, and shall perish. Thou shalt seek them, 12
 and shalt not find them, even them that contend with
 thee : they that war against thee shall be as nothing, and
 as a thing of nought. For I the LORD thy God will hold 13
 thy right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not ; I will help
 thee. Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel ; 14

11-16. We now come to a poem in three stanzas of four long lines each, each line being in the well-known *Kinah* or elegiac measure explained in the introductory notes to Isaiah, chap. xiii, in vol. i, pp. 182-3. Marti is disposed to separate these three stanzas (comprised in verses 11-16) from the rest of the chapter as a later poem. The concluding stanza (verses 25, 26) certainly forms a close parallel to Mic. iv. 13. But this resemblance ought not to mislead us. Mic. iv. 11-14, which Marti cites as a parallel, presupposes the siege of Zion by many nations who are her bitter and unrelenting foes. But here there is no specific reference to Zion, and those who are enraged against Yahweh's servant Israel, to which verse 11 refers, may well be identified with those who are described in xlvi. 6 as showing Israel no mercy and laying upon God's people a heavy yoke, viz. the Babylonians. Accordingly, though the metric form of this section separates it from the passages which precede and follow, it may be regarded as belonging to the close of the exile period.

11, 12. Israel's foes shall disappear and perish. This conception is expressed in a variety of phrasology which is a literary characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah.

13. The destruction of Israel's foes is due to the fact that behind Israel stands Yahweh. This verse expresses the same thought as verse 10 expressed in other words : 'I, Yahweh, take hold of thy right hand who say unto thee, "fear not."' This phrase 'take hold of the hand,' equivalent to 'sustain,' 'help,' meets us repeatedly in the Deutero-Isaiah (xlii. 6, xlv. 1, li. 18), and may have been due to the Babylonian environment. For the Assyrians and Babylonians used precisely the same expression 'take hold of the hand' (*kāta šabātu*) in the sense of 'sustain,' 'help'.¹

14. The worm that crawls upon the ground, exposed to the

¹ See Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 25, where numerous citations are given, as well as in Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* sub voce *šabātu*.

I will help thee, saith the LORD, and thy redeemer is the
 15 Holy One of Israel. Behold, I will make thee a new

crushing foot of every traveller, is the symbol in the Hebrew speech of abject humiliation. Cf. Ps. xxii. 7.

ye men of Israel forms a very ineffective parallelism to **worm Jacob**. Ewald made a very brilliant emendation, which probably restores to us the true text, 'worm (or grub) of Israel.' This is followed by Oort, Grätz, and Duhm¹. This reading is supported by the fact that these two words, almost synonymous in Hebrew for 'worm' and 'grub,' are employed in conjunction in Isa. xiv. 11 and Job xxv. 6.

I will help thee is expressed in the original with the emphasis of assured certainty by means of a *prophetic perfect*. See Davidson's *Heb. Syntax*, § 41 a and rem. 1.

The word **redeemer** here is in Hebrew *gô'el*, a word of very special signification. It means in the first place, one who purchases back or redeems a person or thing. This term is specially applied to an avenger of blood, because upon him devolved the duty of slaying the murderer of his nearest kinsman, i. e. of vindicating the blood of the clan which has been unjustly shed at the price of the blood of the murderer who shed it. See *Enc. Bibl.*, art. 'Goel,' and Robertson Smith, *RS²*, pp. 272, 420. As this duty of redemption or purchasing back (or in the case of murder, vindicating the right of the clan) belongs to the nearest kinsman (cf. Ruth iii. 13; 2 Sam. xiv. 11; 1 Kings xvi. 11), the nearest kinsman was called by this name *Gô'el*. This word *Gô'el* is a favourite designation of Yahweh in His capacity of Redeemer of His people Israel in the literature of the Deutero-Isaiah (xliii. 14, xliv. 6, 24, xlvii. 4, xlviii. 17, xlix. 7, 26, liv. 5, 8), and it occurs several times in the Trito-Isaiah as well.

15. God's help to weak insignificant Israel effects a marvellous

¹ The Vulg. rendering *mortui* is based on the same text as our Hebrew version, but with a different punctuation (*mêthê* in place of *mêthê*). The LXX certainly seem to indicate an attempt to avoid the use of terms considered to be derogatory to the national dignity (another clear indication of divergence of mental standpoint of post-exilic Judaism from that of the exilic Deutero-Isaiah: cf. the Targ. of Jon. on Isa. liii). They render Μη φοβού, Ιακώβ, ὀλιγοστος Ἰσραήλ, 'fear not, Jacob, puny Israel.' ὀλιγοστος seems to indicate the reading וַיִּנָּח (Ps. cv. 12; Isa. xvi. 14), or it may be an attempt to reduce the severity of the original Hebrew epithet. The Hebrew *rimmah*, 'worm' (grub), properly means a rotting mass breeding worms or maggots.

sharp threshing instrument having teeth: thou shalt thresh the mountains, and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff. Thou shalt fan them, and the wind shall carry them away, and the whirlwind shall scatter them: and thou shalt rejoice in the LORD, thou shalt glory in the

result. The nation is now compared to a sharp threshing-sledge or *mórag*. This was an agricultural instrument, like the Italian *tribulum*¹, consisting of a plank filled with sharp pointed stones, fixed into holes in the bottom. It was drawn by the oxen over the corn (cf. Isa. xxviii. 27 and note), the driver sitting on the sledge to increase the weight. In modern Egypt we have the *noreg* (which is apparently a variation of the same word), which fulfils the same function. See the figure in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 408 (cf. vol. ii, p. 420 foll.).

The Hebrew word rendered **sharp** (*hārûs*) is sometimes employed as a substantive in the sense of 'threshing-sledge' (cf. xxviii. 27). This has led Duhm and Marti to regard it as a gloss inserted by a scribe, since it lengthens the line unduly. Considerations of text and a comparison with the LXX make it probable that this word *hārûs* originated from dittography² and ought to be eliminated from the text. Render, therefore: 'See, I make thee into a new threshing-sledge—full of points.' The metaphor is a bold one. The threshing-sledge with its sharp points is not simply for the humble service of threshing corn, but it is to thresh the mountains. Mountains and hills are to be ground down and dispersed like flying chaff.

16. The metaphor is continued: 'Thou shalt winnow (*lit.* scatter) them, and a wind shall carry them away.' This was the next stage in the agricultural operations. After the threshing of the corn, by the threshing-sledge driven over it, came the winnowing process. 'The bruised corn-ears were thrown up on wooden shovels when a moderate wind was blowing. The wind carried

¹ *Hebrew Antiquities* (Rel. Tract Soc.), p. 92. See also *ibid.* figures of modern threshing-sledges. Probably the *plostellum Poenicum* presented a closer resemblance to the Hebrew *mórag* than the Roman *tribulum*. See art. 'Agriculture' in *Enc. Bibl.*

² The LXX probably read in their corrupted copy (perhaps a conflate reading)—לְאוֹתַי עֲנָה רֶשֶׁת חָרֹשׁ, which indicates that their text had already become confused by dittography. The חָרֹשׁ of our Hebrew text obviously arose from the first חָרֹשׁ. In the earlier form of Hebrew characters ך and ם are by no means dissimilar.

- 17 Holy One of Israel. The poor and needy seek water and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst; I the LORD will answer them, I the God of Israel will not
 18 forsake them. I will open rivers on the bare heights, and fountains in the midst of the valleys: I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of
 19 water. I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree; I will set in the

away the chaff from the threshing-floor while the heavier grains remained behind' (*Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 92). This metaphor of the bruising and the scattering describes Yahweh's treatment of the enemies of Israel. We have a similar use of this agricultural metaphor in Jer. xv. 7.

In verses 17-20 we return once more to the long-lined distichs in verses 8-10. They are a message of comfort to the afflicted Israel in exile. It takes the form of a Divine promise expressed under the metaphor of a transformed desert. It is not necessary to suppose that the writer is thinking of the returning exiles as they cross the desert, as Kimhi (followed by Ewald, Hitzig, and recently Marti) supposed, though such a view is certainly possible (cf. xl. 3 foll.).

17. For **seek** the more exact and picturesque rendering would be 'are seeking'; also for **faileth for thirst** substitute the rendering 'is parched with thirst.'

18. The words **springs of water** in the last clause of this verse are a doubtful rendering of the Hebrew. We should translate more accurately 'water-courses,' *rivi aquarum*, which is obviously the meaning of the LXX, *ὕδραγωγοί*, which here places us on the right track. The Hebrew word is *mōšā*, which means 'water-channel' or 'water-course' (the Assyrian *mūšū*). It is the same word that occurs in the description of the water-channel or tunnel in the Siloam inscription, and also in 2 Chron. xxxii. 20 (where the correct rendering is 'the upper water-channel of the Gihōn'). The facts were stated by the present writer in 1888 in Schrader's *COT.*, ii. pp. 311-313 (cf. *Expositor*, Dec. 1886, p. 479, foll. and Stanley Cook's art. 'Conduits,' in *Enc. Bibl.* col. 883). Echoes of this passage occur in Ps. cvii. 33 foll. and in Isa. xxxv. 7 (with variations). In Babylonia, where a vast system of irrigation was carried out, canals and water-courses abounded.

19. The names of the trees here mentioned, some of which meet us again in lx. 13, are by no means definitely identified. Several of the names are to be found in other Semitic languages,

desert the fir tree, the pine, and the box tree together: that they may see, and know, and consider, and understand ²⁰ together, that the hand of the LORD hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it.

Produce your cause, saith the LORD; bring forth your ²¹ strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring ²² them forth, and declare unto us what shall happen: declare

notably in the ancient Assyrian. The word *berôsh*, which is rendered 'fir-tree,' occurs in Assyrian in the form *burâšu*, which is interpreted by Fried. Delitzsch to mean the 'sweet-pine.' Others regard it as the 'cypress'; cf. xiv. 8 (note) and Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 78. On the other hand, the tree that follows, which the R.V. calls 'pine,' should be more probably named 'plane-tree,' with the marg. (R.V.) and Cheyne. [We may note that Jerome renders by 'elm,' which is less suitable, since it does not belong to the trees special to Mount Lebanon; see lx.13.] It is by no means clear whether the last-mentioned tree in this verse was the 'box-tree' or 'cypress' (with R.V. marg.).

20. The end of these gracious transformations worked by Divine power in Israel's desolate surroundings is that His people may realize that He is the source of all good.

Verses 21-29. We now turn from Israel, whom God in their distress consoles with words of comfort and hope, to the deities of foreign nations. The passage portrays Yahweh as uttering a challenge to the powerless deities of foreign races (in the main those of Babylonia). They are wholly unable to foretell the events that are to come. It is Yahweh who has summoned from the north-east the invincible conqueror who is to trample the world's rulers in the dust.

21. Yahweh challenges the foreign deities to come to the bar of judgment. 'Bring forward your suit, advance your proofs.' By an inconsiderable change of the word for 'proofs' (*'aşûmoth*) into the word for 'gods,' 'idols' (*'aşabbim*) Grätz, Cheyne, and Marti appear to consider that something is gained in sense. But this is quite an unnecessary alteration, and spoils both parallelism and sense. The challenge to the bar of judgment would then not be addressed to the deities (who could hardly be requested to bring their own images!), but to the foreign peoples. Moreover the LXX lend no support to the proposed change. Cf. also verse 23.

22. The 'proofs' in this case consist not in the manifestation of power in foreign conquest, but in the capacity of understanding past events and foretelling the future. This was, in reality, the

ye the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them ; or shew us things
 23 for to come. Declare the things that are to come hereafter,

prophet's function, which was essentially one of interpretation and prediction. The prophet's utterance was the 'word of Yahweh that came to him' ; thus prediction in Israel was a manifestation of Yahweh's power. Now the god of prophecy among the Babylonians was *Nabû* (or *Nebo*), the tutelary deity of Borsippa, whose name signifies 'utterance' and is connected with the verbal root of the Hebrew word *nābhî*^a, 'prophet.' One of his epithets was 'bearer of the tablet of destiny' of the gods. The influence of this deity in Babylonia is shown by the fact that several of the kings of the New Babylonian empire contain the name of *Nebo*, viz. *Nabopolassar*, *Nebuchadrezzar*, *Nabunâid* (*Nabonidus*). The reign of the last king of Babylonia, *Nabunâid* (*Nabonidus*), seems to show how little that king or his subjects had any clear prevision of the menace to their security which the onward career of *Cyrus* portended. *Nabonidus* appears to have been too much absorbed in the work of restoring the old temples of the gods in *Ur*, *Larsa* and *Sippar*¹ to pay due heed to the progress in arms of *Cyrus*, his Persian contemporary, or to take the precautions of a thorough system of national defence. While this attitude of *insouciance* characterized the mind of Babylonia during the reign of *Nabonidus* (555-539 B.C.), the prophets of Yahweh, represented by the *Deutero-Isaiah*, clearly discerned the signs of the times and the advent of the future conqueror not only of *Media* but also of *Babylonia*, *Cyrus*.

Probably, with *Duhm*, we should invert the order of the last two clauses : 'Or let us hear the events that are to come, that we may perceive their issue.' This makes the entire verse harmonize in order and parallelism.

23. The more literal rendering is 'Declare (announce) the things that are coming in the future.' The latter part of the verse should be rendered 'Yea, do things fair or ill that we may look at one another in amaze and fear.' We here adopt the punctuation of the *Kethib* in the original Hebrew suggested by *Oort*, viz. *nirâ* in place of that of the *Kerê*, *nir'êh*. *Oort's* proposal is deemed incompatible with the high dignity and position of Yahweh in the *Deutero-Isaiah*. But this argument ignores the subtle irony of the passage.

¹ See the large and small inscriptions of *Ur* and the great cylinder-inscription from *Abu Habba*, as well as the cylinder-inscription (v. *Rawl.* 63) transcribed and translated in *Schrader, KIB.*, vol. iii, second half, pp. 80-119. *Comp. Hommel, Gesch. Babylonien u. Assyriens*, p. 778.

that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed, and behold it together.

The interesting question, moreover, arises whether the monotheism of the Deutero-Isaiah had proceeded so far as to involve a belief in the absolute non-existence of foreign deities. In other words, are we to regard this passage as purely rhetorical. Here the clear evidence afforded by a study of ancient Hebrew demonology leads us to a negative reply. The progress of the ancient Hebrews from *Henotheism* to pure *Monotheism* was in reality far slower than some theologians and critics appear to imagine. *Henotheism* expresses the condition of the ordinary Hebrew mind represented by David in pre-exilian Israel¹. It consisted in the recognition, as well as worship, of one God by the Hebrew, viz. Yahweh, as the national God of Israel and Israel's land, but it was accompanied by a belief that the gods of other nations and their lands existed (e.g. Chemosh, of Moab, and in Moab). Monotheism, on the other hand, consists in the recognition, as well as worship, of one universal and all-powerful God of the entire universe accompanied by a *disbelief* in the existence of any other deity. Now Amos, as we have already seen (vol. i, Introduction, p. 51), had expounded the great truth of the universality of Yahweh's rule which was implicit in Israel's old religion, and this belief the Deutero-Isaiah sets forth in the sublime language of the preceding chapter (xl. 15-26) two centuries after the prophetic career of Amos. Yet though a great step had been taken in the direction of Monotheism, the stage hitherto reached was in reality an *incomplete* Monotheism. Yahweh was the absolute ruler of all the world, and the gods of other nations were mere 'nothings' or 'vanity,' but they were *not regarded as non-existent*². They now assumed the degraded rank of *demons*. Even the Assyrians had conceptions somewhat

¹ e.g. in 1 Sam. xxvi. 19; cf. also Judges xi. 23, 24; Ruth i. 16. Henotheism is unfortunately not uniformly defined as above; see Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 16 foll.

² On this subject cf. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der Israel.-jüd. Eschatologie*, p. 309. On p. 310, however, the writer yields to an exaggerated tendency to see Babylonian mythic survivals in the O. T. The first person plur. both in xli. 22 foll. and xliii. 8 foll. is not to be regarded as a 'stylistic survival' of Babylonian polytheistic phraseology such as Marduk and his party of great gods might address to their opponents (see creation-epic). Gen. i. 26 ('let us make') should rather be compared with Isa. vi. 8 ('for us') and Job xxxviii. 6, 7. Cf. also Gen. xi. 7.

- 24 Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he that chooseth you.
- 25 I have raised up one from the north, and he is come; from the rising of the sun one that calleth upon my name:

analogous. Thus Sargon in his Triumphant Insc. (line 122) describes Merodach-Baladan, the foe whom he defeated, as being under the influence of an evil demon (*gallu limnu*) who was no other than the tutelary deity whom Merodach-Baladan invoked. By the same process of reasoning the Hebrews, while recognizing the absolute supremacy of Yahweh, called the deities of foreign peoples 'demons' (*shēdim*) in the exilic period and later, as Deut. xxxii. 17 and Ps. cvi. 37 clearly testify. This condition of a not quite complete *Monotheism* survived for centuries. For in much later Judaism we find the old Philistine deity of Ekron, Baalzebūb, has become the chief among demons, in fact identified with Satan (Matt. xii. 26, 27; cf. x. 25); and Resheph, the flame-deity of the ancient Canaanites, has been transformed into the demon Reshpā. Many other examples might be given¹. We are, therefore, justified in concluding that the language here used is *not* mere rhetoric.

24. The R.V. correctly regards the Hebrew word *epha'* in the second clause as a scribal error for *ephes*, 'nought.' But the LXX apparently read the same word *ain* in both first and second clauses, which they mistranslated as an interrogative.

Verses 25-29. The argument clinched. It is made to converge on Yahweh's definite mandate to Cyrus.

25. The fact that Persia, the land from which Cyrus came, lay to the north-east of Babylonia is expressed in two clauses, one of which gives the direction as north and the other as east.

calleth upon my name is the ordinary Hebrew phrase for 'invoke'; cf. Gen. iv. 26. There is no necessary contradiction between the Hebrew text 'he shall call upon my name' and the statement in xlv. 4, 'I have called thee by thy name . . . though thou hast not known me,' applied to Cyrus. For it is certainly probable that Cyrus subsequently became favourably disposed to the Jewish

¹ See Hastings' *DB.*, art. 'Demon,' p. 591 right-hand column and footnote. Though St. Paul declared 'that no idol is anything in the world' (1 Cor. viii. 4), he nevertheless warned his Gentile converts against the table of demons: 'The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God, and I would not that ye should have communion with demons. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons' (1 Cor. x. 20).

and he shall come upon rulers as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay. Who hath declared it from the beginning, that we may know? and beforetime, that we may say, *He is righteous?* yea, there is none that declareth, yea, there is none that sheweth, yea, there is none that heareth your words. *I first will say unto Zion, Behold,*

exiles (Ezra i), and would also sympathize with their worship. Apart from the question of the historicity of Ezra, chap. i, which critics like Koster (see *Enc. Bibl.* art. 'Cyrus') deny, we know from the testimony of the cylinder-inscription of Cyrus that he was sympathetic and tolerant towards the cults of the Babylonians, restored the gods to their sanctuaries, rebuilt the latter, and regarded himself as called by the Babylonian god of light, Marduk, to be the deliverer of oppressed nationalities. Now, as Duhm points out, there is far more affinity between Yahweh and the Persian Ahura-mazda than between the latter and Marduk (Merodach) or Nebo; and it might, therefore, be reasonably argued that the Persian Cyrus would come to know Yahweh as a deity to be invoked.

On the other hand, the difficulty presented by our Hebrew text would be avoided if with Oort we were to read 'I will call him by his name.' The change is not very great in the Hebrew text, and it (1) restores the parallelism with the preceding clause, and (2) exactly accords with the phrase 'and I called thee by thy name' in xlv. 4. In the following part of the verse it is generally agreed that parallelism and construction require the change of the text from *yābō* to *yābūs*. The whole line then will read 'that he may trample down rulers like clay, and, as a potter, tread down the mire.' The LXX sustain our Heb. text, but with different punctuation, and hardly intelligible meaning. The word for rulers is a Babylonian loan-word (*sāgān*, 'ruler,' is in reality the Babylonian *šaknu*). The same word is employed in Ezek. xxiii and Jer. li. In all probability it is the *Babylonian* rulers whom the writer intends here as the objects of the conquest¹.

26. For *he is righteous* render 'it is right.' The word *saddik* here preserves the meaning which belongs to this root *š d k* in Arabic, viz. that of rightness or truth in the sense of faithfulness to the pledged word and power to effect it. See Introduction on *Theology of Isaiah*, p. 37. If the gods of the Babylonian had any truth to proclaim, there was no seer or prophet in Babylonia to proclaim it, and they were powerless to give it effect.

27. The text is evidently in disorder. Following the sugges-

¹ In chap. xxii. 15 the form is *sōkēn*; see note on the passage.

behold them ; and I will give to Jerusalem one that
 28 bringeth good tidings. And when I look, there is no
 man ; even among them there is no counsellor, that, when
 29 I ask of them, can answer a word. Behold, all of them,
 their works are vanity *and* nought : their molten images
 are wind and confusion.

42 [S.—Behold my servant, whom I uphold ; my chosen, in

tions of Cheyne, Kittel, and Marti, we had better reconstruct the opening of the verse and render thus : ‘ I have proclaimed it first unto Zion, and give to Jerusalem a messenger-of-good-tidings.’ The proclamation is of course that of deliverance by Cyrus.

28. Again a difficult verse. The LXX indicate a different text. Though our own Hebrew text is certainly doubtful, our only resource is to abide by it and render : ‘ And, if I look, there is no one ; and among these there is none to give counsel, that, if I ask them, they may return answer.’ The pronoun ‘ these ’ here refers to the gods who give their replies through diviners or prophets.

29. The result of the challenge is to show the utter impotence and hollowness of the deities of Babylonia. ‘ Lo, all of them are nought—nothingness their deeds, wind and emptiness their molten images.’

B. Chap. xlii. 1—xliv. 23 constitute a separate section of the prophecies of the Deutero-Isaiah which specially describe the high destiny and noble future of the Servant of Yahweh, viz. Israel or (in xlii. 1-4) an elect portion thereof.

CHAPTER XLII.

Verses 1-4 constitute the first of the four special Servant-Songs. On this subject the reader is referred to the Introduction.

We are here introduced to the person and office of Yahweh’s servant, which are portrayed in general terms. His exalted mission as God’s messenger to foreign peoples is announced. The poem is brief, consisting of three stanzas of four lines each.

1. **uphold**, i. e. sustain, hold firm. This servant, in whom Yahweh’s ‘ soul takes pleasure,’ is described in the character of a prophet. ‘ I have put my spirit upon him.’ The same word is used here for ‘ hold firm ’ or fast as in xli. 10 (‘ uphold thee ’) but in the latter passage it is intended to express the idea of Divine support amid weakness and surrounding peril ; here, on the other hand, the parallelism shows that it is meant to express Divine affection.

We now for the first time become acquainted with the noble

whom my soul delighteth : I have put my spirit upon him ;
 he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles. He shall
 not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the
 street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smok-
 ing flax shall he not quench : he shall bring forth judge-
 ment in truth. He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till
 he have set judgement in the earth ; and the isles shall
 wait for his law.] Thus saith God the LORD, he that

destiny of Israel's elect as God's personified servant. The suffering servant is to make known God's true religion to foreign peoples (cf. xlix. 6). The word 'judgment' here in the singular (*mishpāt*) is employed to express the entirety of 'judgments' or customs (usages) of Yahweh's religion. Similarly the singular 'law' (Heb. *tōrah*) means the sum total of laws (*tōrōth*). Marti compares the Arabic *dīn* used in the Korān to mean 'custom,' 'religion,' hence 'true faith.' Now for the first time the high ideal is set forth for the Jewish race to be God's missionaries to make known His true religion to the peoples of the world. Subsequent history shows how far the Jews fulfilled the ideal in all its breadth as it is announced here and in xlix. 6. On this subject see above, the Introduction, § 5, and the remarks of the present writer in the art. 'Hebrew Religion,' in the new edition of the *Encycl. Britt.* and also 'Messiah' in Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels* (which should be supplemented by *Introd.*, p. 40 f. above).

The LXX insert 'Jacob' and 'Israel' at the beginning of the opening parallel clauses of this verse (cf. Matt. xii. 18 foll.), but these names are evidently added by a gloss-writer.

2-3. The chastened, gentle, undemonstrative character of the messenger is here graphically portrayed under the metaphors : 'A cracked reed he doth not break to pieces, the flax with its dying flame (lit. becoming extinguished) he doth not quench.' It is the function of Yahweh's servant to sustain and restore the weak and broken, whether foreigner or Jew.

3-4. The same phrase occurs at the close of verse 3 as at the close of verse 1. We might accordingly render, 'He shall faithfully proclaim the true religion.' Here the word *tōrah*, rendered 'law,' means properly instruction in the true religion given by Yahweh's servant.

4. Translate the first clause : 'He shall not be exhausted (burn dimly) nor broken,' i. e. He shall unweariedly and with unbroken fortitude proclaim Yahweh's true religion to foreign nations until his task is accomplished.

Verses 5-9 appear to belong to a different metrical scheme from

created the heavens, and stretched them forth; he that spread abroad the earth and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit 6 to them that walk therein: I the LORD have called thee

that of verses 8, 9, and 14 foll., as Cheyne and more recently Duhm (in the second edition of his commentary) have recognized. This saves the latter from the assumption of lost lines or gaps (see his first edition). The theme is very similar to that of verses 1-4.

5. It is characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah to superimpose upon one another descriptive clauses of Yahweh when He speaks (cf. xlii. 1, 14, 15, 16 foll., xliv. 2, 6, 24, 26, xlv. 7, xlix. 7). On the word for god (*ēl*), employed here for the one true universal God of the Hebrews, see note on xl. 18. According to the LXX it occurs also in verses 6 and 8 in connexion with Yahweh; but it is quite possible that in both these latter cases they have been inserted by a scribe in order to make them harmonize with verse 5.

The word for 'create' here is the same as that in the post-exilic document (Creation-story) Gen. i. 1. It was during the exile and afterwards that this Hebrew verb *bārā* came to be specially used of the Divine creative activity. The word used for 'spread abroad' is from the root *r-k-*, meaning to extend by beating or hammering (e. g. a plate of metal). The word for 'firmament' in Hebrew in Gen. i is derived from this same root. One can readily conceive of the broad solid plains of the earth being regarded as a beaten-out or extended surface; but we cannot say the same thing of 'that which cometh out of it' (its productions). Duhm and Marti are probably right in supposing that some verb has dropped out which governed this latter object.

6. It is quite uncertain whether we should regard the original as signifying 'keep (or preserve) thee' or 'form (fashion) thee.' This will depend on the verb from which the original word is derived (viz. *nāšar*, 'keep,' 'preserve,' or *yāšar*, 'form,' 'fashion'). Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti follow the latter view: 'I form thee.' On the other hand, Rosenmüller, Delitzsch, and Dillmann-Kittel the former: 'I keep thee,' which is apparently sustained by the LXX. The latter interpretation (form or fashion thee) is supported by a comparison with xliv. 21, xlix. 5.

By the expression 'in righteousness' we should understand 'in my righteous purpose.' There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the Hebrew phrase *b'rit̄h 'ām*, rendered 'a covenant of the people.' Ewald in his great work on Hebrew Grammar (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*⁸, § 287 g, translated in the latter or syntactical part in *Hebrew Syntax*, T. & T. Clark)

in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a

regards this combination of construct substantive with following substantive as parallel to the similar combination 'wondrous counsellor' in ix. 6 (see the translation given in the notes). We should therefore amend the rendering of R. V. given above and translate: 'and will appoint thee a covenant-people.' To this view of Ewald the objection has been brought that it does not harmonize with the phrase in the following parallel clause, 'light of the Gentiles.' Accordingly it is supposed that 'covenant of a people' is the true rendering. The word for 'people' here ('*am*') is held to mean the whole human race; in other words, it exactly corresponds to the word 'gentiles' (*gōyīm*) in the parallel clause. Duhm¹ cites good analogies for this application of the

¹ Duhm's explanation of the composite expression *b'ērith, 'ām* in the *first* edition of his commentary was not clear. He appeared to hesitate between Ewald's explanation, which makes the word for 'people' an appositional genitive (cf. 'daughter of Jerusalem,' chap. i. 8 and note), and the view which makes it a subjective genit. While he rightly prefers the former view, he refused to adjust the relation of this passage to the 'Servant-passages' which precedes on any other footing than that of contrast. So also in xlix. 7 foll., in reference to verses 1-6. Both in xlix. 7 foll. and in the present passage it is not God's servant but Israel, now a scattered race, that is addressed, according to Duhm's view. In the opinion of the present writer this presses the contrast between the 'Servant-passages' and the rest of the Deutero-Isaiah too far. The conceptions in both, though far from identical, are analogous.

The modifications in Duhm's *second* edition (1902) can hardly be regarded as an improvement. (a) He follows Schian and Cheyne in regarding verses 5-7 as belonging to a distinct author whom he conjectures to have been the same person as the editor who inserted the 'Servant-passages' and added those lines of his own as well as l. 10, 11. His style is, however, different from that of the Servant-passages that he inserts, and imitates that of the Deutero-Isaiah [certainly a very remarkable imitation]. (b) The metrical arrangement of these verses is altered, and it no longer has gaps. (c) After the same laboured explanation of the phrase *b'ērith 'ām*, with the fortunate omission of the gratuitous attack on Dillmann, Duhm ends by getting rid of the phrase altogether by the sovereign remedy of emendation. He would be disposed to read 'blessing of peoples' (*birkath 'ammīm*), but ends by preferring 'redemption of the people' (*pe'dūth 'ām*), 'people' being 'God's people,' used here, as verse 5 indicates, in the sense of 'humanity.' Cf. Jer. i. 4-9. Chap.

7 light of the Gentiles ; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in
8 darkness out of the prison house. I am the LORD ; that

term 'covenant' to the people Israel. It is as easy to make a man or a race 'a covenant' as to make him a 'blessing,' 'a peace,' 'a salvation' (cf. Gen. xii. 2). The individual or race may be considered to incorporate the conception named. This is certainly a fair argument. On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether the word 'am in the singular could ever be employed in O. T. language for the entire human race. The proper word to express this would be *ādām*. The word 'am is the proper term to use for the *Hebrew* race. Moreover, the argument from parallelism may be pressed too far. Accordingly we see no sufficient reason for abandoning the natural explanation of the combination *b^rith 'ām* proposed by Ewald, which is rendered above 'covenant-people.'

The question arises what the term *covenant* in this composite phrase means. The answer to this question is found in the *locus classicus* Jer. xxxi. 30-3. The covenant which is in the mind of the writer, both here and in the similar passage, Isa. xlix. 8, is the new covenant of a renewed spirit which Divine grace is to put into the heart of God's people Israel. This spiritually-renewed race is therefore aptly called a 'covenant-people' destined to become a light to the Gentiles. The use of the term in xlix. 8 stands in close connexion with the Servant-passage xlix. 1-6 (cf. verse 6 with xlii. 1, 3).

7. The great function of this covenant-race in the world is now more clearly defined: 'opening blind eyes, bringing forth from the prison the captive.' We have a similar construction here to that in xlix. 9, in which we have like metaphors¹. Cf. lxi. 1, 3 foll.

8. The ultimate guarantee for the validity of Yahweh's call to

xlix. 8 b is held to be a gloss derived from the present passages. It may here be noted that in this last passage LXX render *ἐπιδοθήκην ἔθνῶν* ('*ammīm* or perhaps *gōylm*), while in xlii. 6 we have *εἰς δ. γένους*.

Respecting the numerous indications of Deutero-Isaianic style as well as underlying ideas of verses 5-7, see Giesebrecht's careful investigation, *Der Knecht Jahwes des Deuterjesaja*, pp. 171-3, and, regarding the dependence of these verses on the preceding (1-4), see *ibid.* p. 142 foll.

¹ The reference here is to the same construction of the original Hebrew, in both cases, of a constructive infinitive with the preposition 'to' prefixed. This we have rendered by present participles. Cf. Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 93.

is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise unto graven images. Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them.

Sing unto the LORD a new song, and his praise from to the end of the earth; ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein, the isles, and the inhabitants thereof. Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up *their voice*, the

His covenant-people to proclaim the true religion to the world consists in the supreme and inalienable majesty of Yahweh Himself. That majesty cannot be possessed by mere carved images.

9. This supreme majesty of Yahweh reveals itself in the certain knowledge of coming events which He communicates to His prophets. Former things have taken place as His prophets foretold. Now he once more announces a fresh event before even the germs of that event reveal their existence. What this future event is to be may be gathered from the preceding verses. It is to be the redemption of Israel and the other races of the world from affliction and misery by God's own servant.

Verses 10-13 is a 'new song' which the editor attaches at the close of verse 9, owing to the mention there of the 'new things'. This poetic passage consisted originally of four stanzas of four lines each, one of which is apparently defective. It is an ascription of glory to Yahweh, whose march as a warrior-hero through the desert is here celebrated.

10. Echoes of this opening verse are to be found in later Psalm-literature, e. g. Pss. xxxiii. 3, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1, cxlix. 1. The proposed emendation of Lowth in the Hebrew text *yir'am* instead of *yördé* has much to commend it, since it (1) strengthens the parallelism and gives added power to the passage, (2) is supported by the closely parallel passages (probably echoes of this), viz. Ps. xcvi. 11, xcvi. 7. This probable emendation is supported by Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, and other recent critics. Therefore render: 'Let the sea roar and its fulness, the coast-lands and their inhabitants.'

11. 'Let the wilderness and its towns give utterance' (lift up their voice) is the rendering of our Hebrew text. But the LXX had another text (*yāsūsū* instead of *yiss'ū*), 'Let the wilderness, &c. . . rejoice' (so Cheyne, Grätz, and Klostermann).

¹ On this principle of arrangement through key-words, see vol. i, p. 18 (on chap. i). Cf. the remarks on xli. 6-7 above, p. 68.

villages that Kedar doth inhabit; let the inhabitants of Sela sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains.
 12 Let them give glory unto the LORD, and declare his praise
 13 in the islands. The LORD shall go forth as a mighty man; he shall stir up jealousy like a man of war: he shall cry, yea, he shall shout aloud; he shall do mightily
 14 against his enemies. I have long time holden my peace;

The **villages** here are properly the fixed settlements of nomadic tribes as opposed to the movable encampments. The former were surrounded with stones in order to obtain security from attack. Kedar was an Arabian tribe of the Syrian desert not easy to locate, see vol. i, p. 248 foll., note on xxi. 16 foll.

For **sing** a more accurate rendering would be 'utter a ringing cry,' which is not only more descriptive but accords better with the parallel 'shout.' The Heb. word *Sela*' may either be taken as the proper name of the chief town of Nabataean Edom or as merely generic 'rock,' 'cliff,' 'crag.' The latter is the interpretation of the Peshitto, Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, and, among recent expositors, Marti. The former is the interpretation of R. V.¹ If we are to be guided by parallelism our choice would incline to the latter signification. Cliff-like rocks are to be found in the Hauran as well as in Edom.

13. Yahweh prepares Himself like a warrior for martial deeds. 'Like a combatant He shall awaken zeal—he shall shout, yea, raise a battle-cry; against his enemies shall show Himself a doughty warrior².' The under-current of thought seems to be that Yahweh will assume the character of war-god against Israel's foes, the Babylonians, with Cyrus as His earthly instrument.

Verses 14-17 continue the strain of thought suggested at the close of the preceding 'new song.' Yahweh speaks. His attitude of

¹ Also supported by Vulg. and by Vitranga, Lowth, Hitzig, Delitzsch, Cheyne, and Duham.

² The LXX render the last clause, 'shall shout against His enemies *with strength*.' The last two words of this rendering are obtained by dividing the last word of the Hebrew text so as to make it *eth g^hbh^hrah*, i.e. גְּבוּרָהּ. The final ה may be due to dittography through the presence of this character in the opening of the following verse; or it is possible that the first word of that verse was read as a *Kal*. Such a modal use of the preposition *eth* in Hebrew is not in accordance with usage.

I have been still, and refrained myself: *now* will I cry out like a travailing woman; I will gasp and pant together. I will make waste mountains and hills, and dry up all ¹⁵ their herbs; and I will make the rivers islands, and will dry up the pools. And I will bring the blind by a way ¹⁶ [that they know not]; in paths that they know not will I lead them: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked places straight. These things will I do, and I will not forsake them. They shall be turned back, they ¹⁷

self-imposed passivity shall no longer be maintained. The metrical form is that which the Deutero-Isaiah so commonly adopts, the long-lined distichs, which we have already seen in verses 8 and 9.

14. 'I have kept silence from old time, keeping still, restraining myself. Like one that gives birth will I moan, pant, and gasp together.' How long is the retrospect in the poet's mind when he speaks of 'old time'? The term *'ôlam*, which here expresses in Hebrew 'old time,' may indeed denote an unlimited vista. In the present case we can extend the retrospect to the beginning of the seventh century, but not earlier. This interval of 150 years, since Isaiah's faith was rewarded by the preservation of Jerusalem from capture by Sennacherib, might well come under this category of 'old time.'

15. **I will make the rivers islands** (or coast-lands) is hardly intelligible, since the Heb. *îyyîm* (islands, coast-lands), like its English equivalents, presupposes the existence of an open sea; but this is obviously quite out of place. Accordingly Oort's suggestion to read *šîyyah* or *šîyyôth*, 'dry land,' has much to commend it, though the LXX have translated from the same Hebrew text as our own ('islands').

16. The phrase **they know not**, occurring in both the opening clauses, is an obstacle to the proper metric length of the first. Accordingly Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne omit it in the first place where it occurs:—'And I will guide the blind in the way, in paths they have not known will I direct them.'

For **crooked places straight** substitute 'uneven places a level plain.' The word *mîshôr* means not 'straight' but a level surface. Translate: 'These are the things which I shall do.' The sentence really contains a relative clause.

17. We suddenly pass to a scornful reference to the idolaters. The connexion with the preceding verses is not clear. Duhm places in our hands the right key to the explanation. It is the expression of the angry impatience at the prolonged subjection of

shall be greatly ashamed, that trust in graven images, that say unto molten images, Ye are our gods.

- 18 Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see.
 19 Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I send? who is blind as he that is at peace *with me*,
 20 and blind as the LORD'S servant? Thou seest many things, but thou observest not; his ears are open, but he

the Hebrew race to the idolatrous Babylonians which is the under-current of the preceding verses 14 foll. Now that deliverance is to come at last from Yahweh, the idol-worshipping rulers of the Jews shall be brought to feel bitter shame at the impotence of their tutelary gods¹.

Verses 18-25 contain an exhortation and lament combined over deaf and blind Israel, forsaken and oppressed, whom God has punished for his sin, and who have been blind to the fact. It is easy to see here the link which connects this passage addressed to blind and deaf Israel with the preceding. It is the reference to the 'blind' in verse 16.

19. 'He that is at peace with me' (R. V.), 'made perfect' (R. V. marg.), are unsatisfactory renderings, the former being unwarranted and the latter scarcely intelligible. The only feasible interpretation of the Heb. original *m^oshullām* is 'rewarded,' 'paid' (as a servant). But even this introduces a very forced conception. The only reasonable course appears to be to read the Hebrew characters as *moshlām*, 'devoted one,' i. e. devoted to God's service. Compare the kindred Arabic word *muslim*² or devoted (follower of Muhammad: cf. Islām, which literally means 'devotion'). This appears to the present writer a better solution of the difficulty than any attempted reconstruction of the text on the basis of what certainly appears to have been the very corrupted version of the Hebrew on which the LXX based their rendering. It will not, therefore, be necessary to follow the proposals of Duhm in this direction (in the second edition of his commentary).

20. Instead of **his ears are open** translate: 'hast the ears

¹ Reifmann's ingenious emendation (*yilb^oshū* for *yēbōshu*), 'shall be clothed with shame' is in reality quite unnecessary. The LXX presuppose here our Hebrew text.

² In reality the *active* partic. of the iv form corresponding to the Heb. *Hif'āl* or causative. On the other hand the Heb. *moshlām* is the passive or *Hof'al*. The root of the verb is *sh-l-m* (*s-l-m*), 'to be whole' or complete. Thus the *Hif'āl* means to give oneself wholly, devote oneself, obey.

heareth not. It pleased the LORD, for his righteousness' 21
 sake, to magnify the law, and make it honourable. But 22
 this is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them
 snared in holes, and they are hid in prison houses: they
 are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none
 saith, Restore. Who is there among you that will give 23
 ear to this? that will hearken and hear for the time to

open, yet hearest not,' reading in this last clause the 2nd pers. sing. (instead of the 3rd of our Hebrew text), in accordance with the indications of the LXX. We seem here to have a reflexion of Isa. vi. 9 foll. Israel has heard the instructions and warnings of the prophets, but has failed to apprehend them.

21. The idiom of the loosely-appended imperfects¹ is correctly rendered above as a clause expressive of purpose dependent on the principal sentence: 'Yahweh resolved' ('it pleased the Lord'). The 'law' here is not to be identified with the legislation of the Book of Deuteronomy promulgated in the reign of Josiah (621 B. C.), since this restricted use of the original Hebrew word *tôrâh* belongs to post-exilic times. While *tôrâh* may include the instruction or replies given by the priests, its prevailing significance is the instruction or 'word of Yahweh' delivered by the prophets. We might here identify it with the true religion embodied in the term *mishpât* in verses 1, 3 and 4 of the 'Servant-passage' with which this chapter opens. See note on chap. i. 10.

22 portrays the tragic contrast between the message of the Servant of Yahweh to His people and the abject condition and want of receptivity which the people displays.

We prefer to adopt the slight emendation of the verbal form proposed by Lowth², which seems to underlie the rendering of the R. V. For *are for* it is more idiomatic to translate 'have become.'

23. It is better to translate throughout by present instead of future tenses: 'gives ear to this, . . . hearkens.' The question here is the usual rhetorical form of the O. T. which anticipates a negative answer. Cf. Job xl. 8, 9, 24, xli. 1-7 (xl. 24-31, Heb.). The writer portrays the *present* dull unintelligent condition of his countrymen, who are incapable of understanding the significance of recent history and of God's dealings with His people.

¹ Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁶, § 120. 1 b; Ewald, § 285 c.

² viz. *hupahû* (Hof'al, perf. plur.), 'they are (or have been), snared.'

24 come? Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? [did not the LORD? he against whom we have sinned, and in whose ways they would not walk, neither
25 were they obedient unto his law]. Therefore he poured upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle; and it set him on fire round about, yet he knew not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart.

24. The question here obviously requires the answer: 'Yahweh, who had inflicted on the Jews the chastisement of the Babylonian conquest and spoliation on account of their past sins.' Babylonia had been to the Jew of the sixth century what Assyria had been to Israel as well as Judah in the eighth, 'the rod of Divine wrath' (x. 5).

The sentence that follows in the form of a question gives the answer to the preceding query: 'Was it not Yahweh against whom we have sinned, and in whose ways they did not choose to go, and to whose law they refused to hearken?' Now there are several reasons for regarding this as a later gloss which a scribe added with the object of making the meaning quite clear—(1) one of the forms employed (*sh* rendered as a relative in the first clause) as well as two of the constructions are foreign to the Deutero-Isaiah; (2) it interrupts the sequence between the opening of verse 24 and verse 25. 'Therefore' is quite unnecessary in the following verse.

25. Render simply as an immediate sequence to the question which opens verse 24. The whole passage thus becomes quite natural.

24. 'Who gave Jacob to the plunderer—and Israel to the robbers . . .

25. And poured upon him his indignant wrath—and the might of war,

And it wrapped him in flames around without his perceiving it—and it burned him without his laying it to heart?'

The reading and rendering 'plunderer' (Poel partic. *m^eshō-seh*²) is that of our Hebrew text (*Kethib*) as opposed to the

¹ Reading here the *construct* in Heb. instead of the absol. form (so also LXX and some MSS.). If we adhere to the text as it stands we should have to render: 'poured out indignation as His wrath' (very awkward).

² As a Poel participial form it is quite anomalous, and looks like a blending of forms belonging to two distinct verbal forms, *m^eshasseh*

But now thus saith the LORD that created thee, O **43**
Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel: Fear not, for
I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by thy name,

traditional reading in the Synagogue (*K^erē*) 'plunder,' R. V. 'spoil' (*m^eshissah*). The latter or *K^erē* reading is sustained by the LXX, while the former gives a harmonious parallelism and has the support of recent critics, Cheyne, Duhm, and Marti.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Verses 1-7 are a continuation of the poem of the preceding chapter, but a wondrous change in Israel's condition is disclosed. In the final verses of the preceding chapter a vivid description is given of the sharp discipline of humiliation and suffering to which Israel, Yahweh's blind and deaf servant, has been subjected. Now the poet sings of deliverance. Let not Israel fear. Amid the waters that threaten to overwhelm, and the fire that burns, Yahweh is close at hand to deliver. And Israel's scattered race shall not be lost, but gathered together.

1. But now correctly expresses the contrast. This phrase in the original is often employed at the beginning of a new strophe. The verbs 'create' and 'form' (fashion) are those which are employed in the first (Gen. i, Priestercodex and post-exilian) and second (Gen. ii. 4b foll., Yahwistic and pre-exilian) cosmogony respectively. 'Create' (*bārā*), however, which is employed in the first creation-story, is simply used to express *God's* work in constructing the universe. The assumption that it signifies to create *out of nothing* is wholly gratuitous, and has been the unfortunate cause of many difficulties, and is obviously an impossible meaning here. The word for 'create' no more expresses this than the word for 'form.' The latter verb is really the term used to describe the work of a *potter* in Hebrew¹. Both these characteristic verbs of Gen. i and ii recur frequently throughout this and the following chapter, viz. xlii. 7, 15, 21, xlii. 2, 21, 24, &c.

I have redeemed . . . called. The perfect tenses are employed here in the original to express the certainty of the future event, which is for the moment treated as though already realized.

and *m^eshōsēs*. We have, however, a parallel anomaly with the same verbal form in Isa. x. 13. Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁶, § 75, rem. 9 (z).

¹ The word for 'form' in Hebrew is *yāsar*, which means to fashion, to mould. A 'potter' is *yōšēr* (*lit.* moulder—partic. of the verb), the very term that occurs in this verse.

2 thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I
 will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not
 overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou
 shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon
 3 thee. For I am the LORD thy God, the Holy One of
 Israel, thy saviour; I have given Egypt as thy ransom,
 4 Ethiopia and Seba for thee. Since thou hast been

Cf. xli. 10, 14. The LXX had in their text, 'I have called *thee* by thy name,' whereas in our own the personal object of the verb is omitted. The expression here denotes the confidential and intimate relation between Yahweh and Israel, and also the fact that Israel as His servant is set apart for a special service; cf. Exod. xxxi. 2 foll.; Isa. xlv. 3, 4. 'Thou art mine' clearly sets forth this very unique relationship, 'God has many servants, but the foreign nations are for Him unnamed' (Duhm).

2. **Fire** and **waters** are material metaphors intended to convey the idea of human calamity and suffering, as in Ps. lxxvi. 12 (Rosenmüller). Translate: 'when thou passest through fire thou shalt not be branded.' The verb in Hebrew rendered 'burn' is more correctly interpreted 'brand' (Prov. vi. 28, R. V. 'scorched,' where the same Hebrew form is used). A derivative of the same verb occurs in Exod. xxi. 25 (properly 'brand for brand'). On the other hand, the last clause should be translated 'and flame shall not burn thee.'

3. The ground of Israel's safety is here stated. 'I, Yahweh, am thy God.'

Seba here is not to be confused with *Sheba* (or the Sabacans in Southern Arabia). Both are mentioned together as distinct in Ps. lxxii. 10¹ and Gen. x. 7. Seba, as distinguished from Sheba, is connected in Gen. x. 7 with Cush or Ethiopia. According to Dillmann's careful note on that passage Seba was a branch of the Ethiopian race which was probably situated on the African side of the Red Sea. But the subject is certainly obscure. The LXX read here in their Hebrew text, instead of Saba (as in Ps. lxxii. 10), Soëne, i. e. Syene or Assuan², unless we are to regard Soëne as their identification of the Hebrew Seba. Cf. Driver's *Genesis*, *ad loc.*

¹ *Sheba* was evidently well known to the Greek translator, as it was to the ancient Assyrians in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (see Schrader, *COT.*, i, p. 131 foll.), and Sargon. Hence he renders in LXX by 'Arabians.' But it seems to have been otherwise with *Seba*, which is reproduced as Saba.

² In Heb. סוּנַי, cf. Ezek. xxix. 10.

precious in my sight, *and* honourable, and I have loved thee; therefore will I give men for thee, and peoples for thy life. Fear not; for I am with thee: I will bring thy 5 seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will 6 say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the end of the earth; every one that is called by my 7 name, and whom I have created for my glory; I have formed him; yea, I have made him. Bring forth the 8

What is meant by the expression 'I give Egypt as thy ransom'? Obviously Yahweh's universal sovereignty is presupposed. Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba are at His disposal as payment for Israel's emancipation. To whom is such payment to be made? At this time Israel was subject to Babylonia. But now Babylonia was no longer as powerful as it was in the days of Nebuchadrezzar. The conquest of Egypt in the degenerate age of the last king of Babylonia, Nabonidus, would not have been conceivable by the Deutero-Isaiah. The prophet is evidently thinking of Cyrus, Yahweh's anointed, who was to emancipate the exiled Jews and was to receive the territories on the Nile as an equivalent. The actual conquest of Egypt was accomplished by his successor, Cambyses, in 525 B. C., after the battle of Pelusium.

4. men (or mankind) forms a natural analogue to **peoples** in the parallel clause that follows. There is no need to alter the Hebrew text for 'men' into the similar word for 'land' or 'soil' with Duhm, Cheyne, and Oort. The LXX version supports the Hebrew text before us¹. The outcome of God's special love for Israel is exhibited in the verses that follow.

Verses 5-7 describe the reassembling of the scattered Hebrews (the Dispersion), cf. xlix. 12.

7. The clauses at the end of the verse 'I have formed him; yea, I have made him,' should be connected with the relative clause that precedes, thus: 'whom I have created for my glory, have formed, yea, have made.'

Verses 8-13. Here we have another judgment-scene before Yahweh. The heathen nations are assembled, and Yahweh demands that His people Israel, which is blind and deaf, yet has seen and heard, should be brought forward as a witness. For Israel at least knows, blind and deaf though he be, that there is no

¹ In the LXX ἀρχοντας, stands as the rendering of the Hebrew word for 'peoples,' just as in xxxiv. 1, xli. 1.

blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears.
 9 Let all the nations be gathered together, and let the peoples be assembled: who among them can declare this, and shew us former things? let them bring their witnesses, that they may be justified: or let them hear,

other God but Yahweh, and that beside Him there is none that can save.

8. Perhaps the more idiomatic rendering (following the true reading, which is here an absol. infin. and not an imperative¹) should be 'Let them bring forth the blind people that has eyes . . . Though the people be blind and deaf, it has eyes to see and ears to hear the plain fact and testify to it among the assembled nations, viz. that Yahweh is God alone.'

9. R. V. here is not in accordance with our Hebrew text, which can hardly be taken as an imperative, but as an indicative (as the LXX interpret). By a slight change in the vowel-points of the second verb² (translated 'assembled') we obtain a consistent meaning. Translate: 'All the nations have been gathered together and the peoples have been assembled.' These assembled nations through their representatives (the divinely inspired soothsayers, as we may assume) are to be put to the test. What have they to declare?

This is a favourite conception of the prophet. Cf. above xli. 1 foll., 21 foll. Translate: 'Who among them will announce this or make known to us former³ things.' The word 'this' refers to the reassuring message of the preceding verses that God in His unceasing love will gather the scattered Israel together and restore His people, and that there is no other power that can save. The nations are challenged to produce their witnesses. In the closing lines of this verse it would be best to adopt Duhm's suggested punctuation of the text (*yasdikû*) and render: 'Let them produce their witnesses so as to justify them, and say: it is truth.' The foreign nations are to support the statements which their witnesses make on their behalf.

¹ *Hôšé* instead of *hôsî*.

² Proposed by Oort, and supported by Duhm and Marti.

³ 'Declare (or make known) former things' is a favourite expression of the Deutero-Isaiah: cf. xli. 22, xlii. 9. The meaning is fairly clear. Prophecy from the days of Ezekiel onwards had begun to be more retrospective. The 'former things' refer to the manifestation of Divine power in Israel's past history. There is no reason to modify the text as Cheyne and Marti suggest, and render: 'and as the first one declare it unto us.'

and say, It is truth. Ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, and my servant whom I have chosen: that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I am he; before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me. I, even I, am the LORD; and beside me there is no saviour. I have declared, and I have saved, and I have shewed, and there was no strange god among you: therefore ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, and I am God. Yea, since the day was I am he; and there is none that can deliver out of my hand: I will work, and who shall let it?

Thus saith the LORD, your redeemer, the Holy One of 14

10. The nations meet the challenge with silence. Yahweh therefore turns to His own people, blind and deaf though they be, and addresses them with the words 'ye are my witnesses.' Yahweh is declared to be, both in the past, present, and future, exclusive Divine potentate, solitary in His sway.

It is possible that we may see here with Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 137) a polemic against Babylonian mythology, which represented that Marduk (whose unique position in the Babylonian pantheon was a later development) obtained rule by command of 'the gods, his fathers' and created the world by the help of others. The considerations already adduced in the notes on xli. 21-23 would lead us to regard this view of Gunkel as by no means improbable. Cf. Creation-epic (Delitzsch), i. lines 9 foll., ii. lines 129 foll.

12. 'There was no strange (or foreign) god among you,' i. e. potent and effective. In the original there is no word 'god,' but only 'strange (one).'

13. Instead of **since the day was**¹ translate: 'from henceforth' (similarly R. V. margin).

who shall let it: i. e. arrest it, is a correct interpretation of the Hebrew original, which strictly means 'turn it back'; see note in vol. i on Isa. ix. 12. The LXX give the strict and literal rendering.

Verses 14-21. God's mighty works in the past, when Israel was

¹ The LXX render: 'ever since the beginning' (similarly other verses), literally, 'ever since a day was,' a rendering approved by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Hitzig, but more than doubtful, as a translation of the Hebrew.

Israel: For your sake I have sent to Babylon, and I will bring down all of them as fugitives, even the Chaldeans,

led forth from Egypt, are not to be compared with the impending overthrow of Babylon and Israel's return, verses 14 foll. For Israel's sake God will overthrow the Babylonian empire (Chaldees) and set up a way through the wilderness.

In verse 14 the perfect form of the Hebrew verb rendered 'I have sent' should be taken as Ewald, Orelli, and others have correctly understood it, viz. as a prophetic perfect. Accordingly translate: 'I will send to Babylon and bring down . . .' We are not to suppose with Hitzig that a battle had already been lost by the Chaldeans. In our opinion the difficulties of this verse have been somewhat exaggerated, and there is no necessity, as Duhm imagines, for rejecting almost the whole of our traditional Hebrew text which the LXX support nearly in its integrity. The R. V. adheres to the Massoretic punctuation and rightly renders the Hebrew *bārihim* by 'fugitives' (so also LXX), whereas the A. V. have 'nobles' (lit. 'bars'), which involves the reading of the text as *b'rihim* (from *b'riah*)¹. There is no other example of this special metaphorical use of the word, though parallels can easily be found (e. g. 'tent-peg' for leader of the state, Zech. x. 4; 'shield,' Ps. xlvii. 10 (A. V. 9), usually a designation of God, Gen. xv. 1; Ps. iii. 4 (A. V. 3), xviii. 3, 31 (A. V. 2, 30), cxliv. 2, 7, 11; 'foundation,' Ps. xi. 3). Accordingly there is no sufficient reason for departing from the text and interpretation upon which the LXX mainly based their rendering. Dillmann's translation, 'and I will drive them all as fugitives down the stream,' though ridiculed in Duhm's characteristic manner, is open to no serious objection. The conception of the passage is that Babylon will be overwhelmed with panic on hearing of the advancing foe, and will take to flight on their vessels that plied on the Euphrates stream, much in the same way as Merodach-Baladan after his defeat by Sennacherib. Cf. cylind. insc., col. iii, lines 55-7, quoted in Schrader, *COT.*, vol. ii, p. 36. Respecting the navy possessed by the Babylonians see Herod. i. 194; Strabo, xvi. 1, 9 foll.; and xxxiii. 21, 23 (see vol. i).

As might be expected, the emendators are busy with their proposed remedies. Of these the most ingenious is that of Ewald, who would amend the text of the whole passage, which he translates: 'I send to Babylon and plunge in moans their lyres and

¹ Vulg. Ibn Ezra; Clericus and Lowth would render: 'I break down all the bars (i. e. of the gates). The barriers are broken down before the advancing enemy.' But this does not harmonize with the next clause.

in the ships of their rejoicing. I am the LORD, your ¹⁵
 Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your King. Thus saith ¹⁶
 the LORD, which maketh a way in the sea, and a path in
 the mighty waters; which bringeth forth the chariot and ¹⁷
 horse, the army and the power; they lie down together,
 they shall not rise; they are extinct, they are quenched
 as flax: Remember ye not the former things, neither ¹⁸

the exultation of the Chaldaeans in sighs.' This certainly makes good parallelism, but the word which is rendered 'moans' is a clever invention by Ewald himself based on the verbal form found in Zech. i. 14.

It is undoubtedly the last clause which constitutes the difficulty. While our A. V. takes it as relative, 'and the Chaldaeans whose cry is in the ships,' the R. V. given above (so also the late Franz Delitzsch) presents a more natural interpretation. **The ships of their rejoicing** is a Hebraism for 'the ships in which they exult.'

15 characterizes the Divine author of this mighty overthrow. It is indeed possible that this verse should be united closely with the preceding so as to form one sentence. Verse 15 then forms an effective appositional clause to the subject of the verbs, 'I will send to Babylon and bring down . . .' (in verse 14). We should then omit the word 'am,' which does not stand in the Hebrew text¹, and render, 'I, Yahweh, your Holy One . . .' Duhm, while admitting the reasonableness of this construction, considers that the distance from the verb in the preceding verse is a serious objection. On the other hand, prolonged sentences, with appositional clauses characterizing the greatness of Yahweh, are not infrequent in the Deutero-Isaiah (xl. 22 foll., xlii. 5 foll., &c.).

16 is based on the reminiscence of the great deliverance from Egypt that constituted Israel a nation. The link between this verse and verse 14 (which refers to the future) is the phrase in verse 15, 'the Creator of Israel.'

17. The language of this verse suggests the possibility that the author was familiar with the J and E portions of Exod. xiv, xv. R. V. marg. correctly interprets 'flax' by 'a wick.'

18. But these mighty acts of deliverance whereby Yahweh created Israel as a nation are not to be compared with the

¹ In a Hebrew clause which is predicative the copula is omitted. Accordingly an alternative rendering is possible, either 'I am the Lord, your Holy One, &c.,' as given above, or 'I, the Lord, your Holy One, &c.,' as suggested above in the note.

19 consider the things of old. Behold, I will do a new thing; now shall it spring forth; shall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers in the
 20 desert. The beasts of the field shall honour me, the jackals and the ostriches: because I give waters in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my
 21 people, my chosen: the people which I formed for my-

wonders that are to be accomplished not only in the overthrow of Babylon but in Israel's restoration.

19. The creation of waters in the desert, where dry land was, is regarded as more marvellous than the creation of dry land where waters were. Translate: 'Behold! I am doing (or 'am about to do') a new thing. Now it is sprouting (i. e. coming to be realized), do ye not perceive it? Indeed, I will make a way in the wilderness': cf. xlii. 16, also xl. 4, xli. 18.

20. Even wild animals, jackals and ostriches, are to pay their homage to Yahweh. This conception, so strange to modern man, reflects the spirit of a primitive age when man stood nearer to the animal world, and sympathy between man and animals was a real feeling and not an artificial sentiment. On this feeling in primitive tribes, see Robertson Smith, *RS.*² pp. 296-300. It is also reflected in Isa. xi. 6-9. Cf. Num. xxii. 22, 33 (J); Isa. xxxiv. 13-17, and the Arabic story of Queen Bilkis (in Brünnow's *Chrestomathy*).

The latter part of this verse, 'For I give waters in the wilderness, &c.,' as well as verse 21, are regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a later addendum on what appear to the present writer insufficient reasons. Duhm refers to the repetitions of the ideas and phraseology of verse 19 in the latter part of verse 20, but himself acknowledges that such repetitions in Deutero-Isaiah are not infrequent, and appears to hesitate on the subject of the genuineness, but concludes by saying: 'Nevertheless the opinion that Deutero-Isaiah did not write beyond the earlier part of verse 20 appears to me more probable.' The only ground for rejecting the genuineness of the passage and referring it to a later date is the use of the relative *sû* (employed in 'the people which I formed'), which occurs in the interpolated passage xlii. 24 (see note). Marti calls attention to the 3rd person used here, whereas in verses 18 and 19 God's people is directly addressed in the 2nd person. But in prophetic address uniformity in style is not to be expected or desiderated. Is the solitary trait of language, the relative *sû*, a sufficient reason for rejecting the genuineness of the passage? The R. V. rightly regards the last clause as relative. Translate: 'The people which I fashioned for

self, that they might set forth my praise. Yet thou hast ²²
not called upon me, O Jacob; but thou hast been weary
of me, O Israel. Thou hast not brought me the small ²³
cattle of thy burnt offerings; neither hast thou honoured
me with thy sacrifices. I have not made thee to serve

myself, which is to recount my praise,' the verse being appositional to the clause which precedes in verse 20 (cf. verse 15).

Verses 22—xliv. 5 are an impassioned pleading by Yahweh with Israel over his indifference and neglect. The appeal ends with a promise of spiritual quickening.

22. The R. V. fails to express the emphasis of the personal pronoun which is made prominent in the original. Render: 'Yet not upon me hast thou called, O Jacob, nor about me hast thou wearied thyself, O Israel.' So Cheyne (with Duhm and Marti). In the latter clause the Hebrew text has become hopelessly confused owing to the mistake of a single character¹ and the omission of the negative which both the LXX and considerations of metre require us to replace at the beginning of the second clause. The Hebrew word for 'wearied (or troubled) thyself' is characteristic of the exilian and post-exilian period: cf. Job ix. 29; Prov. xxiii. 4.

23 develops the idea still further in terms of ceremonial worship. For **small cattle** substitute the more specific rendering 'lamb.' In the parallel clauses we have the contrast between the 'burnt-offerings' and the 'slaughtered-offerings' or bloody sacrifices. The translation of A. V. and R. V., 'sacrifices,' is too vague, and does not express this contrast in the two forms of animal sacrifices. Instead of **sacrifices** read 'slaughtered offerings.'

Since Babylonia, the land of exile, being a foreign land, was regarded in the religious conceptions that prevailed at that time as *unclean*, because God's presence and power were not manifested there, but in Palestine, the old seat of Divine worship², no offerings were possible to the exiled Jews (cf. Hos. ix. 4 foll.; Ps. li. 18 foll.; Deut. xii. 13 foll.). Consequently the older critics, as Hengstenberg, employed this verse as an argument for the pre-exilian, i. e. Isaianic, authorship of these later chapters of the Book of Isaiah. But the conclusion of this as well as the following verse shows

¹ *bl* misread as *kl*. The difference in the square Hebrew character is very slight. The result is an unnecessary repetition of *bl* after the verb.

² In the later times of the Jewish monarchy, i. e. since the promulgation of the Deuteronomic code 621 B. C., Jerusalem only was the recognized seat of God's worship.

24 with offerings, nor wearied thee with frankincense. Thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money, neither hast

that such literalism is out of place here. It is the attitude of mind which outer ceremonial ought to express that the prophet desiderates, and it is the absence of it which he rebukes: 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit' (Ps. li. 17). But this 'sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart' Israel at this time did not offer. It was wholly impossible for Isaiah himself, who declared that God had no pleasure in burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts, or in the blood of bullocks or lambs, and that incense was an abomination to Him (i. 11-14), to lay stress upon the punctilious fulfilment of these and similar ritual obligations. Still more was this impossible for a true disciple of the school of Jeremiah, the prophet of the New Covenant (Jer. xxxi. 31-4, cf. vii. 21-23), such as we have already seen the Deutero-Isaiah, together with the author of the 'Servant-songs,' to have been (xlii. 6; see also notes).

The concluding words of this verse clearly show that during the exile no burdens of ritual fulfilment were expected. 'I have not made thee to serve (me) with meal offerings, nor put thee to trouble with frankincense.' The very ritual terms here employed belong to a later period than that of pre-exilian cultus. It is true that the word (*minhah*), which our R. V. renders 'offerings,' was employed in pre-exilian times, but its use in earlier days was general and not specific. Gen. iv. 4, 5 (J) applies the term equally to the slaughtered offering of Abel and the vegetable offering of Cain. The word properly means gift or tribute, and is occasionally used in the latter sense (Judges iii. 15; 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6; 1 Kings v. 1; 2 Kings xvii. 4; Ps. lxxii. 10). But as a ritual term in pre-exilian times its application fluctuates [?]. Thus in Judges xiii. 19 (according to Budde from the J source), Amos v. 25, and Isa. xix. 21 (see note in vol. i) it means a vegetable (i. e. meal) offering as opposed to a bloody offering. On the other hand, in post-exilian times, and especially in P (Lev. ii. 1, 4-6, vi. 7 foll., &c.), it *exclusively* refers as a ritual term to the meal-offering, as it unquestionably does here. The word for **frankincense** (*ḥōnāh*)¹ belongs (with the exception of Jer. vi. 20) to the exilian and post-exilian period (e. g. Exod. xxx. 34).

24. There is an alliterative play of expression in the Hebrew

¹ Arabic *lubān*, Greek *λίβανός*. From Ezek. xxvii. 22; Isa. lx. 6 (cf. Jer. vi. 20) we learn that this frankincense was exported from Arabia. This is confirmed by Pliny, who tells us that it was exported from Sabota, capital of Hadramaut, to Gaza; cf. *Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 107 foll., and Sachau, *Three Aramaic Papyri* (German), i, line 25.

thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices: but thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities. I, even I, am he that blotteth 25

word for **bought** and for **sweet-cane** (or calamus), which can hardly be reproduced in English unless we were to adopt such a rendering as 'In my honour hast thou not for money *catered* for sweet-cane' in order to express the assonance. Here again the ritual expression points to a later period. In the pre-exilian prophets, e. g. Isaiah, 'incense' (*šē-tōreth*) means simply the smoke of the burnt fat in sacrifices (Isa. i. 13, on which compare note in vol. i), whereas contact with Babylonia, where elaborate rituals were practised and the incense offered to the gods was compounded of the varied ingredients of cedar-wood, cypress-wood, meal, and sweet cane¹ (*kanû*: cf. the Heb. *kāneh*), furnished the exiled Jews with new models for their worship. Hence the elaborate prescriptions for the compounding of incense in Exod. xxx. 34 foll. (P); cf. 2 Chron. ii. 4 (3 Heb.), xiii. 11. There can be little doubt that post-exilian Judaism ultimately derived these more highly-developed traditions of worship from Babylonia, just as they borrowed their ecclesiastical calendar, beginning with Nisan, as well as the names of its months², from the same source. An excellent instance of the Babylonian use of fragrant spices as ingredients of their sacrifices is furnished by the Flood-legend, forming the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic, lines 158 foll.:

'Twice seven sacrificial vessels I erected;
Under them scattered calamus (sweet cane), cedar-wood,
and myrrh.
The gods smelt the scent.
The gods smelt the fragrance.
The gods gathered like flies over the sacrifices.'

(See Jensen in *KIB.* vi, erste Hälfte, p. 240.)

For **filled** read with R. V. marg. 'satiated.'

Owing to the very conditions of their exile in a foreign land Yahweh has imposed on His people no burden of sacrificial homage. On the contrary, the burden (as though of bondage) and trouble have been imposed on Yahweh by the sins of His faithless and erring children.

25. The personal pronoun is by a characteristic trait of the Deutero-Isaiah twice repeated, and thus rendered specially emphatic. Despite Israel's sins, it is I, Yahweh, against whom he

¹ See Zimmern in *KAT.*³, p. 600.

² See A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (2nd ed.), p. 531; Schrader, *COT.* ii, p. 68 foll.

out thy transgressions for mine own sake ; and I will not
 26 remember thy sins. Put me in remembrance ; let us
 plead together : set thou forth *thy cause*, that thou mayest
 27 be justified. Thy first father sinned, and thine interpre-

has transgressed, who, unsolicited, spontaneously forgive. In this expression of God's free forgiveness the Deutero-Isaiah, as Duhm points out, goes beyond Isaiah, Jeremiah, and even the tender-hearted Hosea. With reference to *Isaiah*, chap. i. 18 should probably be construed as indicated in the note on that passage and in accordance with the verses that follow as well as the general drift of the chapter. In *Jeremiah* forgiveness is conditioned by the renewal and quickening of the soul which is the subject of it, though even this is the gift of Divine grace, Jer. xxxi. 32-34 (esp. verse 34) ; xxxii. 39-41. In xxxi. 17-20 Yahweh relents when He hears Ephraim 'bemoaning himself,' and with this we may compare Hos. xi. 7-11 and xiv, where God's compassions are kindled at the spectacle of Ephraim's backsliding and impending doom, and a final earnest appeal is made to Israel to return to Yahweh (xiv. 1 ; Heb. verse 2). But here in the *Deutero-Isaiah* the subjective ground of repentance in the individual or in the nation is passed over. God's ground of forgiveness lies in Himself ('for my own sake'). But on this expression 'for my own sake' too much stress should not be laid, as the original Hebrew word seems to overload the metre, and Duhm therefore rejects it¹, holding that it has been introduced here through the influence of xlvi. 9, 11. It must be acknowledged, however, that it harmonizes with verse 26 foll.

26 enforces the conception that God's forgiveness is based on his own initiative and on no claim of merit that Israel can bring forward. A challenge is addressed to Israel in terms resembling i. 18 : 'Call to my remembrance, let us urge together our pleas against one another ; reckon up (your pleas) to show that you are in the right.'

27. 'My first ancestor' (*lit.* 'father') does not mean Adam ; xli. 8 might lead us to identify him with Abraham, the 'friend' of God, and this seems to be confirmed by li. 2. This view is supported by the Jewish commentator Rashi as well as by Delitzsch, Nägelsbach, and Diestel. But throughout these oracles it is predominantly Jacob or Israel who is regarded as the *national* ancestor ; see xlvi. 1-4 and cf. Hos. xii. 4. It is Jacob who

¹ LXX (NAQF) omit the word, B (Vatican) retains it. There are therefore adequate grounds, critical as well as metric, for dropping the word from our text.

ters have transgressed against me. Therefore I will ²⁸ profane the princes of the sanctuary, and I will make

appears in patriarchal story as the crafty supplanter. The LXX, influenced probably by the plural form in the parallel clause 'thine interpreters,' render here 'your first fathers,' and are followed by Gesenius and Hengstenberg. But this plural meaning is never expressed by a singular noun in this case of the Hebrew word for 'father.' The plural form would certainly have been employed (as so frequently in Deuteronomy).

The **interpreters** or 'intermediaries' are here the prophets, who are the interpreters of God's will to men. The reference is to the false prophets such as Isaiah denounced (xxix. 9, 10) and whom Micaiah confronted (1 Kings xxii. 11 foll., 22 foll.) in the ninth century (853 B. C.), and in more recent times Jeremiah (xxiii. 11-18, xxvi. 8-15, xxvii. 9-18, xxviii. 10-17, &c.). No doubt priests are also included.

28. We might with good reason follow Oort and other critics, and, by changing the punctuation of the Hebrew copula with both verbs¹, translate them as past tenses (so R.V. marg.). We should then render: 'So I desecrated the holy princes and gave up Jacob to a curse (or ban) and Israel to scorning.' Here the first clause might be explained by reference to the closing tragic scenes of the Hebrew monarchy in 587-6 B. C., when the priests and other officials were carried off into captivity to Babylon by Nebuzaradan and doubtless subjected to terrible humiliations and killed (2 Kings xxv. 18-22). This may perhaps be the true text and explanation, but two considerations make us suspicious. Duhm is undoubtedly right in regarding the first distich as mutilated. We miss the parallel clause. Moreover, when we turn to the LXX we can clearly see that they had a somewhat different text. This Houbigant, Klostermann, and Cheyne would reconstruct mainly in accordance with the Greek rendering. We should then read (with a gap for the lost parallel clause):

'And thy princes desecrated my sanctuary . . .

So I delivered Jacob to the ban—and Israel to scorning.'

The first line, which is imperfect through the loss of the parallel clause, continues the recital of Israel's sins against Yahweh (begun in the preceding verse) which have brought about Divine chastisement. The desecration of the sanctuary by the princes will refer to the idolatrous practices described in 2 Kings xxi. 3-5, 7; Ezek. viii. 3-17. When summoned to the bar of Divine judgment God's people have no merits to plead in their justification.

¹ i. e. so as to make them both 'Waw consecutive.'

- 44 Jacob a curse, and Israel a reviling. Yet now hear, O Jacob my servant; and Israel, whom I have chosen: thus saith the LORD that made thee, and formed thee from the womb, who will help thee: Fear not, O Jacob my servant; and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen. For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and streams upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon

God's forgiveness and mercy are based on His own gracious initiative.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Verses 1-5. After the recital of Israel's sins and the Divine chastisement that followed comes the gracious Divine promise of revival. We hardly see Yahweh any longer in the forbidding rôle of legal adversary urging his pleas (cf. xliii. 26). In place of the dark past there unfolds the bright future in which God's spirit descends in showers upon the parched tendrils in the thirsty soil. The contrast reminds us of the transition between the close of chap. xlii and the opening of chap. xliii. Hebrew prophecy is full of these striking contrasts.

1. **Yet now.** The Hebrew word rendered 'now' possesses in combination with the imperative a hortatory force. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 13; Isa. xxx. 8; Mic. v. 1 [iv. 14 Heb.]. The opening of this chapter (verses 1, 2) is very analogous to that of xliii.

2. The name *Jeshurun* for Israel is apparently borrowed from here in Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 26, parallel in formation to the tribal word Zebulun. It is not found in any other passage. It is evidently based in its form upon the Hebrew adjective *jāshār* (pronounced *yāshār*), meaning 'brave,' 'upright.' In all probability we must combine this designation of Israel with the immediately preceding depreciatory reference to this patriarch as the crafty supplanter (Jacob) in xliii. 27 (cf. Hos. xii. 4). See Bacher in *ZATW.*, 1885, p. 161, whose view is supported by Duhm. Formerly the 'supplanter,' he is now the noble and upright (Jeshurun).

3. The parallelism indicates that we should render with R. V. (marg.), 'I will pour water on the thirsty land.' Here again we note contrast. In xliii. 28 we read that Yahweh had delivered Jacob up to a curse (*ban*). Now a land that is cursed is devoid of rain (2 Sam. i. 21). The rivulets of water, that God's forgiving mercy pours forth, betokens here the removal of the ban.

The word which is here rendered **offspring**, like the word 'seed' in the preceding parallel clause, is primarily applied to vegetation. Thus in Isa. xxxiv. 1, xlii. 5; Job xxxi. 8 it is used

thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring: and they 4 shall spring up among the grass, as willows by the water-courses. One shall say, I am the LORD'S; and another shall 5 call *himself* by the name of Jacob; and another shall sub-

generally of the products of the earth. It is doubtful whether the word belongs to pre-exilian literature (Isa. xxii. 24 is the only possible exception).

4. The **watercourses** are the artificially constructed canals for irrigation (*rivi aquarum*) characteristic of Babylonia. The **willow** is the species known as *Populus Euphratica*. Translate: 'They shall sprout (R.V. spring up) as between waters grass¹'; a vivid picture of the grass meads intersected by watercourses (so Lowth, Ewald, Cheyne, Houbigant, Duhm, and Marti).

5. Here comes the full fruition of the Divine blessing. Israel is to realize his Divine vocation as 'Yahweh's servant,' the 'Covenant race' (xlii. 6). He is to be a light to the Gentiles (cf. xlix. 6). We are to understand by **one** and **another** (*lit.* 'this' in Hebrew²) foreigners who are attracted by the revived and quickened Israel and become proselytes to Israel's faith. A slight change in the punctuation of the Hebrew text is necessary, whereby two of the verbs are pronounced as reflexive and passive rather than active. Accordingly render: 'One says I am Yahweh's—and another names himself with the name of Jacob and another inscribes his hand (with) "Yahweh's own"—and is honoured by the title "Israel."' Marti sees here an allusion to the custom whereby the slave inscribed his skin with the name of his master. More probably we have here an old rite of self-dedication. See W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 213 foll. In Lev. xix. 28 such 'cuttings in the flesh' are forbidden, which shows how widely the custom prevailed. This, moreover, indicates that in the post-exilian period of legislative reconstruction this custom was regarded with disfavour, but during the exile period the Deutero-Isaiah had no such feeling.

The Hebrew verb, which we have rendered above in its passive form 'is honoured by the title,' means 'to bestow an honourable surname or title' upon a person³. The Arabic substantive

¹ LXX ὡσεὶ χόρτος ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος points the way to the right text. Evidently the word for 'water' has dropped out of the Hebrew and should be restored. For יַבְיָב read יַבְיָב.

² A similar idiomatic use of 'this' is found in chap. vi. 3 (where 'this' . . . 'this' stands in the original for 'one' . . . 'another').

³ i. e. the Piel, *kinnah* (the active form).

scribe with his hand unto the LORD, and surname *himself* by the name of Israel.

- 6 Thus saith the LORD, the King of Israel, and his redeemer the LORD of hosts: I am the first, and I am
7 the last; and beside me there is no God. And who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for

derived from the same Semitic root is *kunya*¹, which usually signifies the honourable surname which a man assumes when he calls himself father of some specially named son, e. g. Abu Omar. Here the verb is used of honouring by surname of any kind.

Verses 6-23. The greatness of Yahweh, Israel's Redeemer, is beyond challenge or comparison. Future events are known to Him alone. So Israel may rest secure. In connexion with this assertion of God's supremacy beside whom no gods exist, there follows in an entirely different measure a satire on idols and idol-makers (verses 9-20). It is not necessary, however, to assume that this is a later insertion with Duhm and Marti. The former compares the attack on image-worship in the Book of Daniel (e. g. iv. 34 LXX) and Baruch vi. (Ep. of Jeremy) 3-73, and similar productions of a later time, cold and laboured. On the other hand, the mode in which this digression is introduced presents a certain analogy to the similar passage on the manufacture of idols, xl. 18, 19, xli. 6, 7, xl. 20, which is introduced in like manner after a sublime ascription of praise to Yahweh and the assertion of His incomparable greatness. But in that case the metrical form remains the same; in the passage before us there is clearly marked difference. Certainly its style is more prosaic and laboured than that of the genuine writings of the Deutero-Isaiah².

6. Some of the epithets that describe the supreme exaltation of Yahweh in chap. xli recur here. He is king of Israel as in xli. 21, as well as Israel's Redeemer (xli. 14). The old epithet 'Yahweh (God) of Hosts,' applied to Him in pre-exilian prophecy, (i. 9) recurs here. Above all He stands alone in His cosmic pre-eminence. In fact His pre-eminence in time is even more impressive, as Duhm remarks, than His pre-eminence in space. The significant expression 'the first and the last' passed into apocalyptic, and, in the final utterance of the Book of Revelation, is assumed by Jesus as one of His own Divine titles (Rev. xxii. 13).

7. The traditional Hebrew text has evidently fallen into con-

¹ On this see also Skinner's useful note, who cites from Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. p. 327.

² See the further discussion of this critical problem in the notes on xlvi. 3 and 6 below.

me, since I appointed the ancient people? and the things that are coming, and that shall come to pass, let them declare. Fear ye not, neither be afraid: have I not 8 declared unto thee of old, and shewed it? and ye are my witnesses. Is there a God beside me? yea, there is no Rock; I know not any. They that fashion a graven 9

fusion, and reconstruction is necessary. The LXX again point us to the right path. Oort, Duhm, Cheyne, Kittel, and Marti conduct us to the following restoration of the original: 'And who is like me? Let him take his stand so as to cry aloud, proclaim it and set it in order for me. Who hath made known from old time future things? And those things that shall come to pass let them announce to us¹.'

8. In the Hebrew word of our text rendered **be afraid** it is best to desert the strange and doubtful form presented to us in our copies of the original (whatever justification the Arabic may seem to afford us), and to read the normal Hebrew form suggested by Ewald (*tir'û* instead of *tirhû*). For **unto thee** read 'unto you' (plural) with LXX. Probably the interrogative clause 'Is there a God beside me?' ought to be linked to the preceding sentence. It would be better therefore to translate: 'Ye are my witnesses whether there is a God beside me.' The poet anticipates the answer by saying, 'Yea, there is no rock, I know of none.' On the word 'rock' as epithet of Yahweh see xvii. 10 and note.

Verses 9-20. The last clause of the preceding verse suggests a comparison with heathen deities, for it is probably more than a mere coincidence that the Assyrians and Babylonians called their deities by the epithet 'mountain' (*sadû*), as proper names testify, e.g. Bêl-sadua, Marduk-sadua (= 'Bêl is my mountain,' 'Merodach is my mountain'), analogous to the Hebrew proper names Šûriël,

¹ The LXX only help us at the beginning of the verse: *tis ὡσπερ ἐγώ; στήτω καλεσάτω καὶ ἐτοιμασάτω μοι*. After this their Hebrew copy is evidently based upon a partially similar textual tradition to our own, *ἀφ' οὗ ἐποίησα ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἀναγγειλάτωσαν ὑμῖν*. Apparently they read in their Heb. text: **כִּי מֵעַד יְיָדוֹ עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים אֲתָתָהּ וְעַד עַתָּה יִשְׁרָעָה לִּי מִי**—'since I made man even for evermore, and future things, before they come to pass, let them proclaim to you.' For the benefit of the Hebrew student, we subjoin the reconstructed Hebrew text corresponding to the translation given above: **יְמֵי כְמוֹנֵי יַעֲקֹב וְיִקְרָא וְיַנְדִּיעַ וְיִשְׁרָעָה לִּי מִי יְהוָה מֵעַד יְיָדוֹ עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים אֲתָתָהּ וְעַד עַתָּה יִשְׁרָעָה לִּי מִי**.

image are all of them vanity ; and their delectable things shall not profit : and their own witnesses see not, nor
 10 know ; that they may be ashamed. Who hath fashioned a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for
 11 nothing ? Behold, all his fellows shall be ashamed ; and

Šūri Shaddai (= 'God is my rock'). The presence of these satires against idolatry in chaps. xl, xli, as well as in the present chapter (cf. xlvi. 1), points to the conclusion that to the exiled Jews, amid the destruction of their national kingdom and prestige and the adverse conditions of foreign life, the august worship of the Babylonian deities, Marduk (Merodach) or Bēl, god of light, and Nebo, god of prophecy, was dangerously seductive. To many among them the prestige of Yahweh seemed to have sunk beyond recovery after the destruction of His temple and the deportation of His people, and they would be only too prone to worship the victorious gods of their conquerors. After the significant and necessary reminder to his exiled countrymen that Yahweh was the only 'rock'—not Nebo nor Merodach—the prophet lashes idolatry with satire in which there is a subtle mixture of ridicule and argument. Probably this was the psychological moment when such satire would be most effective, for the ascendant star of Cyrus, 'Yahweh's anointed,' was at that time a definite prognostic that Babylonia's day was soon to set and that the prestige and power of her gods would vanish (xlvi. 1 foll.).

9. For **their delectable things** read 'their favourites,' viz. the gods whom the idol-makers love to fashion. These shall 'avail not,' i.e. have no power. The following sentence, 'Their witnesses see not nor perceive so that they come to shame,' is very obscure. The **witnesses** might be understood to mean the worshippers of the gods, but a comparison with the shorter version in the LXX strongly suggests a corrupted text and its extension by dittography. We suspect that the Hebrew word for 'worshippers' ('*ōbhdīm*) stood in place of the word for 'witnesses' ('*ēdīm*).

10. R. V. in the translation given above regards this question as a rhetorical expression of surprise that any one should be so senseless as to fashion a useless and impotent image. But the Hebrew interrogative *mī*, 'who,' means also 'whoever.' We might therefore render (with Duhm and Marti): 'Whoever fashions a god, hath cast a profitless image.' (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 143 d). The LXX apparently support this interpretation.

11. The **fellows** or companions of which this verse speaks are understood by Kittel to mean the adherents of the deity, and

the workmen, they are of men: let them all be gathered together, let them stand up; they shall fear, they shall be ashamed together. The smith *maketh* an axe, and ¹² worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with his strong arm: yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth; he drinketh no water, and is

Hos. iv. 17 is cited in support of this conception. But this reference hardly amounts to a real parallel. Lowth and Gesenius followed the Jewish commentator Rashi in assuming that the comrades of the idol-maker are meant to whom the previous verse directly refers. This conception harmonizes with the earlier reference to idol-makers in xli. 6, 7, where the 'companion'¹ means the fellow in the craft. In the following clause we learn that these workmen are mere men.

Duhm most ingeniously extracts quite another and plausible interpretation by altering the vowel-points of two substantives. Accordingly he renders, 'see all his spells turn to shame and the enchantments are of man.' This refers to the all-prevalent magic practices for which Babylonia was famous and to which we have a graphic reference in xlvii. 9, 12, 13 as well as in Ezek. xiii. 18, 19 (in reference to sorceresses). Cheyne somewhat modifies Duhm's interpretation by making a slight change in the punctuation, and renders in *SBOT*, 'all his charmers will be put to shame and his enchanters will be confounded'—the last three words being based on an alteration of the text which restores the parallelism. The LXX, however, at this point support the traditional Hebrew text.

It is hardly safe to accept Duhm's reading or that of Cheyne, since this allusion to sorcery interrupts the course of the denunciation which is throughout verses 9, 10, 12-17 directed against the idol-manufacturer and idol-worship, not against the practice of magic. It is intrinsically far more probable that verse 11 maintains this sequence of thought.

12. The earlier portion of this verse is in textual confusion, and the LXX rendering clearly shows this, which runs thus: 'For the smith has sharpened the iron, with an axe hath wrought it and with a boring instrument bored it.' It is evident that this translation arises from a duplication of the last word (rendered 'together') of the previous verse of the original Hebrew, which is rendered in *this* verse by the LXX 'has sharpened.' Two courses are open to us: either to follow the clue afforded to us by the LXX

¹ In R. V. (and A. V.), 'neighbour' . . . 'brother.'

13 faint. The carpenter stretcheth out a line; he marketh it out with a pencil; he shapeth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compasses, and shapeth it after

and remove the word rendered 'together' in the previous verse 11 and punctuate it as an imperfect form and translate as a present ('sharpen'). The verse will then run as follows: 'The iron-worker ["smith"] sharpens a cutting-tool¹ and works in the (glowing) coals and with hammers fashions it.' Or, we might with Duhm omit the word for 'cutting-tool' ['axe,' R. V.] as a gloss to the word 'iron,' and, by a slight change in the following word, rendered in R. V. by 'and worketh' (so as to make it a Hebrew imperfect), translate the opening part of the verse thus: 'The smith worketh in the (glowing) coals.' On the whole the former interpretation, based on the LXX, is to be preferred. The pers. pron. 'it' refers to the graven image (*pesel*) of verse 9.

13. The idol-image consists of two portions: metal and wood. In the previous verse (cf. xl. 19, xli. 6, 7) we have read how the *metal* part was forged in the furnace and cut by the sharpened cutting-tool and beaten with hammers. The present verse describes the preparation of the *wooden* portion of the idol. It was this woodwork, fashioned, as xl. 20 informs us, of undecaying timber, that formed the inner portion or core of the idol-image. See G. F. Moore, art. 'Idol' in *Enc. Bibl.*, vol. ii, col. 2151 foll., who infers from Exod. xxxii. 20 (which describes the procedure of Moses in the destruction of the golden calf) that the bull-images of the Northern Kingdom had a wooden core. Plates of gold were then hammered and soldered on it by the goldsmith (xli. 7). That the *Ephod* was a plated image of analogous nature (though much rougher, probably, in workmanship) is fairly clear from Judges viii. 24-27. That its core was of wood, and therefore the weight of the Ephod-image was not excessive, may be readily inferred from the fact that it was constantly carried about by the priest-soothsayer who accompanied the king or his general to the field of battle (1 and 2 Sam. passim).

The 'worker in wood' (R. V. 'carpenter') here stands contrasted with the 'worker in iron' (R. V. 'smith') in the preceding verse. The successive steps in his work are precisely set forth: he first 'stretches the line' (or cord), then he 'marks its outline with red ochre' (R. V. marg.). Here, again, the person. pron. 'it' refers of course to the 'graven image.' Its final destination is a 'house,' but whether this means a spacious temple, a private

¹ The Hebrew *ma'sād* here means a cutting-tool for metals, but in Jer. x. 3 it is a cutting-tool for wood, and hence rendered 'axe.'

the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man, to dwell in the house. He heweth him down cedars, and 14
 taketh the holm tree and the oak, and strengtheneth for
 himself one among the trees of the forest: he planteth a
 fir tree, and the rain doth nourish it. Then shall it be 15
 for a man to burn; and he taketh thereof, and warmeth
 himself; yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread: yea, he
 maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh it a graven
 image, and falleth down thereto. He burneth part thereof 16

dwelling, or a chapel sanctuary, we do not know. Duhm suggests that the writer may have been thinking of one of the small tent-sanctuaries woven by the women (2 Kings xxiii. 7).

14. We suddenly pass from the work of the idol-maker to the very beginning of things—the tree growing in the forest which supplies the wood for the image. The curious and abrupt commencement of this verse in the Hebrew text suggests that several words, or perhaps even whole lines, have dropped out. The sentence may have actually begun: ‘[The woodman has gone forth] to cut down for himself cedars.’ The Hebrew text actually begins with a preposition prefixed to an infinitive, and critics are usually content with changing this into a 3rd sing., masc. form. Hence the R. V. ‘He heweth him down cedars.’

For **and strengtheneth for himself . . .** substitute the rendering ‘and caused it to grow strong for himself among the forest trees.’ The verse describes the particular care that is bestowed on the culture of the tree, whether cedar or pine, from the wood of which the image is to be made.

We have here a genuine Babylonian trait. Both the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs were lovers of tree-cultivation, and stocked their parks with the finest trees, which they did not scruple to bring from the lands which they had conquered. See art. ‘Garden’ in *Enc. Bibl.* The word *ōven* of the Massoretic text, rendered ‘fir,’ is the Assyrian *erinnu*, meaning ‘pine’ or ‘larch-fir.’ The LXX here have a much shorter text.

Verses 15 foll. The writer with remorseless satire unveils the absurdity. Part of the tree becomes domestic fuel and another part becomes the material of the image.

15. In the words for ‘kindle’ and ‘fall down’ we have in the original forms that are Aramaic rather than Hebrew.

16. The LXX are once more a warning to us that the traditional Massoretic text before us is not the original one. Their

in the fire ; with part thereof he eateth flesh ; he roasteth
 roast, and is satisfied : yea, he warmeth himself, and saith,
 17 **Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire : and the residue**
 thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth
 down unto it and worshippeth, and prayeth unto it, and
 18 saith, Deliver me ; for thou art my god. They know not,
 neither do they consider : for he hath shut their eyes, that
 they cannot see ; and their hearts, that they cannot under-

version runs : 'The half of it he has consumed in fire, and, having consumed it, they have baked loaves on them, and, having roasted flesh upon it, one has eaten and been filled.' There are two features in our traditional Hebrew text which are evidently suspicious. (1) After reading of the two halves of the wood in this verse we read of a still remaining portion in the following verse ! (2) The order of roasting flesh, and eating it, which is correctly preserved in the LXX, is strangely inverted in the Hebrew text before us. Duhm's attempted restoration (similarly Oort, Klostermann, Kittel), based on verse 19, is only partial and speculative, and all that one can plead in its justification is that it removes these difficulties with which our Hebrew text is encumbered, and is somewhat nearer to the original. This is his rendering :

'The half of it he has burnt in fire.

Over its coals he roasts flesh, eats roast, and is satiated.'

17. The remaining half is here called the **residue** (as the original text evidently intended). The Hebrew tenses should be strictly followed. Accordingly for **maketh** substitute 'hath made.' The following present tenses are correct, as they correspond to the Hebrew imperfects of the original. It would, however, be more idiomatic to continue the rendering : [He falleth down unto it] 'to worship and pray unto it and say . . .'¹

18. Instead of **shut** R. V. marg. correctly renders 'daubed' ; for 'smear' 'daub' is the actual meaning of the original. There may be a reminiscence here of the words of Isaiah two centuries before, contained in his consecration vision (vi. 10). There, however, a different word is used for smearing the eyes (see note ad loc. in vol. i).

¹ The act of prostration involves a mental state of desire, or expectancy, and so this example comes under Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 65 (b). Note his example Job xvi. 20, 21.

stand. And none calleth to mind, neither is there 19
 knowledge nor understanding to say, I have burned part
 of it in the fire; yea, also I have baked bread upon the
 coals thereof; I have roasted flesh and eaten it: and
 shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? shall
 I fall down to the stock of a tree? He feedeth on ashes: 20
 a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot
 deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right
 hand?

19. **calleth to mind**: more literally, 'recalleth.' The same expression in the original Hebrew occurs in 1 Kings viii. 47; Deut. iv. 39, and also in Isa. xlvi. 8. It is probably more emphatic and purposive than the ordinary Hebrew expression 'lay to heart' ('pay heed to,' 'think of'), which occurs in slightly varying forms in 1 Sam. ix. 20, xxi. 13; 2 Sam. xiii. 33, and Isa. lvii. 1, 11.

For **part** read 'half,' as before in verse 16. This verse, however, is free from the confusions that there encumber the traditional Hebrew text. Here again the Hebrew tenses are more accurately represented by rendering: 'I have baked bread upon its coals, am roasting flesh to eat it.' The present tenses here correspond (as in verse 17 above) to the imperfect in Hebrew. The word **abomination** (cf. Gen. xliii. 32, and xlvi. 34—J) is used in pre-exilian Hebrew for anything unclean the use of which involves violation of religious taboos or restrictions (so also of food in Deut. xiv. 3). After the Deuteronomic legislation (621 B.C.) it is a term constantly applied to idol-images or idol-worship (Ezek. xvi. 2; 1 Kings xiv. 24; 2 Kings xvi. 3, xxi. 2, xxiii. 13; Ezra ix. 1).

20 begins with a *casus pendens*, a not infrequent construction in Hebrew to secure emphasis (Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax*, § 106). We should therefore render: 'As for one who feeds on ashes, a heart that is perverted has turned him aside so that he fails to deliver himself, nor thinks "Is there not a lie in my right hand?"' This concluding utterance has the character of a *māshāl* or proverbial saying. The word **ashes** is employed to describe anything that is vain or worthless. Thus Job, in response to Zophar and his other friends, says: 'Your memorable words are ash-sayings,' i. e. worthless (Job xiii. 12). The religion of an idolater is an empty support for a soul's life. It fails to save. The idol which he handles is a delusion and fraud. It is to be noted that the word **soul** (*nēfesh*) means frequently 'life,' and is often employed

- 21 Remember these things, O Jacob; and Israel, for thou art my servant: I have formed thee; thou art my
 22 servant: O Israel, thou shalt not be forgotten of me. I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me; for I have
 23 redeemed thee. Sing, O ye heavens, for the LORD hath done it; shout, ye lower parts of the earth; break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree

to express the English 'self' in Hebrew, and yet more frequently in Arabic. Cf. Hos. ix. 4; Isa. xlvi. 2, and Job ix. 21. Another idiom to be observed is the use of the verb *say* in Hebrew (*amar*) in the sense of 'think.' The full form of expression is 'say in one's heart.' Of this use we have examples in Gen. xlv. 28; 1 Sam. xx. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 16; Exod. ii. 14, and of the fuller form of expression Gen. xvii. 17; Ps. x. 6, 11, xiv. 1, &c.

Verses 21 and 22 resume the thread of thought contained in verses 6-8; Jacob is exhorted not to forget Yahweh, Israel's deliverer.

21. The construction of the last clause of this verse has been a matter of dispute. The punctuation of our Hebrew text involves the rendering given above, but though such a grammatical laxity as a personal object to a passive seems to be supported by sporadic examples in later Hebrew (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 117, 4, rem. 3), it is safer to follow the LXX and other ancient versions and take the form as *active* and render 'thou wilt not forget me' (cf. R. V. marg., and so Rashi, Lowth, and Hitzig).

The expression **these things** means God's unrivalled supremacy and perfect knowledge of the future to which verses 6-8 refer.

22. The appeal is continued. There is no obstacle to Israel's conversion. Israel's sins are completely forgiven. The conception of Divine pardon presented above in xliii. 25 here recurs.

23 is a jubilant close to this passage in the style of a psalm of a metrical form distinct from the preceding, and consisting of a single strophe of six short lines.

The **lower parts** or depths of the earth here stand contrasted with the **heavens** of the previous line. Both together make up the universe as known to the Jew in the days of the exile. The 'lower parts' will naturally include Sheol or Hades (comp. Ps. lxiii. 9 [10 Heb.], cxxxix. 15). Duhm hesitates to assert that Sheol is included, apparently influenced by such a passage as Ps. lxxxviii. 11, 12 (12, 13 Heb.). But it is obvious that the Deutero-Isaiah in this lyrical passage is making no exception. Even Hades unites in the jubilant strain.

therein: for the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and will glorify himself in Israel.

Thus saith the LORD, thy redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb: I am the LORD, that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth; who is with me? that

CHAPS. XLIV. 24—XLVIII. 22. Cyrus, the anointed ruler and agent of Yahweh in effecting the overthrow of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel.

CHAPTERS XLIV. 24—XLV. 25.

We have here a fresh poem, whose connexion, however, with the passage which precedes is fairly clear. We there read that it was God's great purpose to redeem Israel, and here it is announced that He has designated Cyrus as His anointed ruler to carry out this Divine purpose (xliv. 24—xlv. 7). On the ground of God's absolute sovereignty over man this procedure is justified against all gainsayers (xlv. 8-13). We have now an ideal sketch of the vast results which shall accrue to Israel both economic and spiritual. Heathendom shall bring its wealth to Israel and idolatry shall be renounced. Confession shall be made that God dwells in Israel and there is none other (verses 14-17). Finally, the lesson of Yahweh's universal and absolute sovereignty is once more enforced as well as the folly of idolatry. Only in Yahweh dwell righteousness and strength. To him every knee shall bow (verses 18-25).

Verses xlv. 24—xlv. 7 is a poem in itself, arranged in five strophes each of five long verses, while each long verse is made up of two short lines, thus:—

24, 25. 'Thus saith Yahweh thy redeemer—and thy fashioner from the womb:

I am Yahweh who made all—stretched out the heavens.

I alone that founded the earth—who was with me?

Bringing the omens of liars to nought—make the soothsayers fools.

Make wise men turn backward—turn their knowledge to folly.'

Here we have once more the familiar elegiac (or *kinah*) measure (cf. xli. 11-16). The reading of the R. V., 'who is (or was) with me,' is sustained by LXX and Vulg., as well as by numerous Heb. MSS., and is undoubtedly to be preferred to the Massoretic reading and punctuation translated in A. V. 'by myself.'

frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh diviners
 mad; that turneth wise men backward, and maketh their
 26 knowledge foolish: that confirmeth the word of his
 servant, and performeth the counsel of his messengers;
 that saith of Jerusalem, She shall be inhabited; and of
 the cities of Judah, They shall be built, and I will raise
 27 up the waste places thereof: that saith to the deep, Be
 28 dry, and I will dry up thy rivers: that saith of Cyrus,
He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure:

The soothsaying of the Babylonians, whether by omen or dream, was of a most elaborate character. Examples may be found in art. 'Soothsaying' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iv, p. 597, and in Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chaps. xix, xx. Those omens ('signs' or 'portents'), on which the Babylonian diviners relied, are to be frustrated by the non-occurrence of the event in the way that the diviners prognosticated.

26. The second strophe of five lines begins with this verse. It is probable that we ought to follow the LXX and recent critics in reading 'servants' (plur.) instead of 'servant.' The plural corresponds to the 'messengers' in the following parallel clause, by whom Yahweh's prophets are meant.

27. The older commentators (Vitringa, Lowth, and Delitzsch) considered that this drying up of the *deep* or of the 'streams' was a prophecy of the diversion of the Euphrates by Cyrus prior to the capture of Babylon, whereby his army was enabled to enter the city. But this story, recorded in Herod. i. 191, is now regarded with considerable suspicion, since we have no intimation of this in the clay cylinder of Cyrus nor in the Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle (Schrader, *KIB.*, vol. iii, second part, pp. 122 foll., 130). The reference in this passage is evidently to the wonders wrought by God in the deliverance of Israel on the banks of the Red Sea; cf. xliii. 16; li. 10.

28. The actual name of God's anointed, Cyrus, is wholly unprecedented in a prophecy of coming events belonging to a future age beyond the environment of the present. The only resource open to those who advocate the traditional view of the integrity of the Book of Isaiah would be to regard the words 'to Cyrus' both in this and the following verse (xlv. 1) as a marginal gloss: cf. vii. 17. But even this would not be admissible to those critics, now increasing in number, who adhere to an accentual-metric theory of prophetic composition. That the passage here is metric can admit of no reasonable doubt, and

even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.

Thus saith the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose 45

the elimination of the words 'to Cyrus' will seriously disturb the metrical arrangement. We can only conclude that we have here the language of a contemporary of Cyrus who watched his career with absorbing interest. The occurrence of this name in an oracle more than 150 years before he lived would be wholly unintelligible and purposeless¹.

Omit the words **He is** and render 'My shepherd'! The term 'shepherd' is constantly employed in the O.T. as a descriptive designation of a king. Comp. 2 Sam. v. 2, vii. 7; Jer. iii. 15; Mic. v. 3 foll.; Nah. iii. 18, and is frequent in Assyrian (*rī'û*, also *r'ût*, 'rule,' Sennach. *Tayl. Cyl.* vi. 65). See Schrader, *COT.*, ii, p. 153. But another attractive suggestion, first proposed by Kuenen, that we should slightly alter the pronunciation of the Hebrew characters so that we have another word, 'my friend,' is worthy of consideration and not improbable. The expression 'friend of the king' was a special title of dignity in the Hebrew court of the regal period, 2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16 (2 Sam. xiii. 3, xvi. 17; 1 Chron. xxvii. 33); 1 Kings iv. 5².

The concluding portion of this verse, 'even saying of Jerusalem,' &c., is in reality a repetition of the latter part of verse 26, and is therefore regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, and Kittel as a later addendum unskillfully appended.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The prophetic oracle now gives Yahweh's direct address to Cyrus His anointed. For **subdue** or 'tread down' other readings are substituted by some critics: Marti 'to terrify,' Wellhausen (*Sadduc. u. Pharisäer*, p. 133), 'to overthrow' (lit. to

¹ The form of the name in Hebrew (punctuated *Koresh*, but probably to be pronounced *Kārush*) approximates with fair closeness to the original nominative *Kurush* in the Persian. The form Cyrus is the Greek form of the name as reproduced in Latin.

² It is argued in Gesenius, *Lex.*¹², *sub voce*, קָרַן, that the expression even existed in the Canaanite towns in 1400 B. C. on the basis of the expression *ruhi šarri*, in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (Schrader, *KIB.*, v, letter 181, line 11), which is rendered 'friend of the king.' But here we should expect the form *rihi*, rather than *ruhi*. According to Winckler the latter form represents Heb. *rō'eh*, 'shepherd.' But it is not clear how this meaning is to be adapted to the context unless we give it the general signification 'officer.'

right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors² before him, and the gates shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain: I will break in pieces the doors of brass, and cut in sunder the

bring down). The rendering of the LXX throws doubt on the accuracy of our text, though the general sense is preserved.

And I will loose (or ungird) the loins of kings continues, by a change of construction, the expression of purpose by the infinitive in the previous clause. This change of construction is not infrequent in Hebrew. The ungirt loins express inactivity and hence powerlessness. The 'girding of the loins' was the natural preliminary to activity (1 Kings xviii. 46). This seems to give us an extra short line, and because it fits in badly with the following line through its final word for 'unloose,' Duhm removes it. But the LXX appear to have read it in the form in which it stands in their text, though it is freely translated.

After the word for Lord (i. e. Yahweh) at the beginning of this verse the LXX read in their text 'the God,' and this should probably be retained. Its presence in order to express the contrast with the false deities of Babylonia has a special significance. According to the cylinder of Cyrus these Babylonian deities also claimed to be the patrons and helpers of Cyrus¹.

2. The actual words of Yahweh's address to Cyrus are now given. For rugged places (lit. places swollen high), an unusual expression, the LXX apparently read the closely resembling word in the original for 'mountains.' Grätz, Cheyne, and Duhm adopt this reading, which is certainly more probable. The conception of levelling mountains to a plain for a monarch's triumphal progress has already met us in xl. 4.

The 'gates of bronze' (doors of brass), which Yahweh's might is to shatter to pieces before the triumphal progress of His anointed servant Cyrus, are usually compared by commentators with the hundred 'gates of bronze' in Babylon to which

¹ e. g. clay-cylinder of Cyrus, lines 11 foll., (Marduk) 'looked upon him, and was concerned about the righteous king whom he bore in his heart, whose hand he grasped, about Cyrus King of Anšan, whose name he proclaimed.' Line 15: 'His march to his (i. e. Marduk's) city Babylon he commanded, caused him to take the way to Tintir (= Babylon); like a friend and helper, he marched by his side.' Bel and Nebo (*Nabû*) are also patrons of Cyrus, 'whose rule Bel and Nebo love' (line 22).

bars of iron: and I will give thee the treasures of dark- 3
ness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest
know that I am the LORD, which call thee by thy name,
even the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, 4
and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by thy name:
I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.

Herodotus (i. 179) refers. A more satisfactory and concrete comparison is to the bronze gates of Balawat, of which some plates have been preserved in the British Museum, upon which are figured representations of besieged cities, bowmen, and battering-rams. See the illustration in Jeremias, *Das Alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients*, 2nd ed. (1906), p. 574.

Verses 3-5 form the fourth strophe of five lines or verses of the character described above at the beginning of the poem (xliv. 24). The concealed treasures, or 'treasures kept in darkness,' which Cyrus acquired in his victorious campaigns must have been enormous. It is probable that the Deutero-Isaiah had heard something of the conquest by the Persian king of Croesus king of Lydia (Herod. i. 84), and of the vast wealth which he possessed. But Lydia stood at some distance from the Jewish prophet's normal range of vision. He was thinking of the immediate future in Babylonia ('and I will give thee'). The reference is evidently to the treasures of Babylon¹. The concluding line of this third verse appears to have outrun its true metric length. Accordingly Duhm (followed by Marti) omits the words in Hebrew 'that thou mayest know' and renders what follows: 'For I, Yahweh, am He that called thee by thy name...' The LXX sustain our Hebrew text, i. e. include the words that Duhm omits. As a matter of fact the Cyrus-cylinder shows that Cyrus, from motives of policy, accommodated himself to the polytheism of Babylonia and regarded himself as the favourite of the Babylonian deities.

4. Cyrus is not chosen for his own sake, but for the sake of Israel, since Yahweh is the God of Israel and Cyrus is the human instrument selected for the accomplishment of Yahweh's gracious purposes which have Israel as their object. On the Hebrew verb translated '**surnamed thee**' (i. e. with a title of honour) see note on xliv. 5 above.

The remarkable parallels which subsist between the phraseology of xliv. 28—xliv. 4 and the language of the clay-cylinder of Cyrus (Schrader, *KIB.* iii. 2^{te} Hälfte, p. 120 foll.) have formed the

¹ Cf. Jer. i. 37, li. 13, and Xenoph. *Cyrop.* v. 2, 8.

5 I am the LORD, and there is none else ; beside me there is no God : I will gird thee, though thou hast not known

subject of an interesting essay by Kittel in *ZATW.*, 1898 (Heft 1), p. 149 foll. In the clay-cylinder Marduk (Merodach, god of light) assumes the same relation to Cyrus that Yahweh adopts in xlv. 28—xlv. 4. In this document we read (line 12) that Marduk 'has concerned himself with the righteous king whom he bore in his heart, *whose hand he held*, viz. Cyrus king of Ansan, *whose name he proclaimed*; for kingship over the whole world was his name declared.' This striking resemblance in style between the language of the cuneiform document and that of the Deutero-Isaiah has led Kittel to the conclusion that the Deutero-Isaiah was acquainted with the court-style which prevailed in Babylon and adopted it, since it was the form of expression with which Cyrus would be familiar, and would therefore be likely to predispose him in favour of the Jews. For the attitude of Cyrus to the Jews and their religion corresponded with his general state-policy of clemency and tolerance towards subjugated races. He endeavoured to win the favour of the Babylonians by restoring their temples, just as he gave facilities to the Jews for the restoration of their own shrine in Jerusalem¹. The gods and priests of Babylonia received large offerings. Cyrus and his son Cambyses took part in religious processions, and styled themselves the servants of Marduk and Nebo.

5. There is no corresponding parallel to the clause 'I gird thee, though thou knowest me not.' It evidently forms one half of a line of which the other half is lost². According to Duhm's

¹ See Cyrus-cylinder, line 33 foll. (Schrader, *KTB.*, iii. 2^{te} Hälfte, p. 126): 'The gods of Šumer and Akkad, which Nabûnaid (*Nabonidus*), to the indignation of the lord of gods (Marduk), had carried off to Šuanna (i. e. Babylon), I, at the command of Marduk, the great god, caused to take their abode again in peace, in their place as they desired' (*uššib šubat tu-nû libbi*).

² Duhm makes the last half-line, the first of the entire verse, run thus:

['The loins of kings I ungird]—thee I gird, who knewest me not.'

This is hardly a satisfactory translation of the latter clause. For Duhm's reconstruction makes *thee* emphatic. But in the original there is no special emphasis on '*thee*.' Nor do the preceding and following lines lead us to expect an antithetic parallelism. We would therefore suggest: 'I gird thee though thou knowest me not—[take hold of thy hand].' Repetition of phrase (cf. verse 1)

me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and 6
from the west, that there is none beside me: I am the
LORD, and there is none else. I form the light, and 7

arrangement, which is exceedingly probable, it is the first line of the fifth strophe which ends with verse 7.

6. **they** here includes Israelites and foreign nations. The phrase is really impersonal, and is equivalent to saying—'that one may know.' See Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* 2^a, § 144, 3b.

from the West, lit. 'from its (i.e. the sun's) setting.' So the Hebrew should be punctuated.

7. Older commentators supposed that this verse, which declares that Yahweh is the universal Creator who formed darkness as well as light, is specially directed against *Persian dualism*, which made the opposition between Ormuzd, the god of light (in the cuneiform Aurmazd = Ahura Mazda), and Ahriman (Angromainyu), the god of darkness and evil, a fundamental factor in the religious conception of the universe. This was the opinion held by Vitringa, Lowth, Umbreit, Delitzsch, and Orelli. But very strong reasons weigh against such a view. (1) It is *a priori* most improbable that the writer of this chapter, whose attitude towards the Persian Cyrus was evidently, on political and national grounds, that of a devoted and enthusiastic supporter, would have made a provocative attack on the conqueror's religion. His polemic is directed against *Babylonian polytheism* (cf. xlvi. 1), which was also strongly tinged with dualism, since Babylonian cosmogony is based on the myth of a conflict between Marduk, god of light and leader of the celestial deities, with Tiamât, the dragon-goddess of the dark ocean chaotic depth and leader of the powers of evil. (2) It is extremely doubtful whether the Deutero-Isaiah had any knowledge of the religious attitude of Cyrus as a *Persian*. Nor are we at the present day better informed. It is quite otherwise with Darius son of Hystaspes, who was a pronounced adherent of Ormuzd, to whose influence he expressly ascribes his conquests¹.

is quite in the Deutero-Isaianic manner, and would account for the omission of the clause. In his second edition Duhm is apparently conscious that, as forming the *latter* part of the defective line, the portion which has survived in the Hebrew is metrically too long. Accordingly he omits the words 'who knewest me not,' though they appear to be the only part of the line which the LXX (Al.) read in their evidently mutilated copy. The words prefixed in B, ἐνίσχυσά σ€, are apparently a paraphrase.

¹ See Lehmann, in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* 2 (1897), vol. ii, p. 156.

create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I am the LORD, that doeth all these things.

- 8 Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, that they may bring forth salvation, and let her cause righteousness to spring up together; I the LORD have created it.

The contrasts **peace** and **evil** are more accurately expressed by the contrasted terms 'happiness' (well-being) and 'misfortune.' The progress of the Jewish mind towards a complete Monotheism is nowhere in the O. T. more eloquently or fully set forth than in the Deutero-Isaiah. Though in post-exilic Judaism Satan (under the influence of the Persian correlate Angromainyu or Ahriman) became elevated into the prince of the hostile evil world ('prince of this world') which was in antagonism to Yahweh, yet the full supremacy of the latter was never impaired, and the Jewish conception of the Universe remained, as it is portrayed in this chapter, essentially monotheistic.

8 is a lyric insertion or intermezzo of a similar character to xlii. 10, 11 and xlv. 23, and of just the same metrical form as the latter [cf. Ps. lxxxv. 11 (12 Heb.)]:

'Drip, ye heavens, from above;
Let clouds with good order flow.
May earth open . . . [? her bosom]
That there may spring forth well-being . . . [? and peace],
And she (i. e. the earth) may cause righteousness to blossom
forth together.

I, Yahweh, have created it' ['thee' LXX].

Here the term 'good order' corresponds to the word *sedek* in the original, which R. V. renders by righteousness. But the word *sedek* is not quite the same thing as *sedakah* translated 'righteousness' below. The former means the wholesome rules and customs of life which Yahweh's Spirit and word, according to xi. 1 foll., xxxii. 15 foll., create among His faithful servants¹ (so Duhm). We may express it by the general term 'good order.' On the other hand, the word *sedakah* or 'righteousness' is more specific, and connotes the justice (or righteousness) which prevails as a quality in human personality. The word *yeshu'a*, which R. V. renders by **salvation**, more properly connotes here security or well-being. Cf. Job v. 4, 11; Ps. cxxxii. 16.

¹ This is evidently the meaning of the word in this connexion, though its occurrence in this passage, which sets forth the high destiny and calling of Cyrus, might tempt us to regard it as signifying the victory of Cyrus's just cause (as in xli. 2).

Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! a potsherd 9
among the potsherds of the earth! Shall the clay say to
him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? or thy work,
He hath no hands? Woe unto him that saith unto a 10
father, What begetteth thou? or to a woman, With what
travailest thou? Thus saith the LORD, the Holy One of 11
Israel, and his Maker: Ask me of the things that are to
come; concerning my sons, and concerning the work of
my hands, command ye me. I have made the earth, and 12

The third and fourth lines of this brief song are metrically defective. It would not be difficult to conjecture the missing words (as Duhm and Cheyne) to be in the third line 'her bosom' (object) and in the fourth 'and peace' (subject).

Verses 9-13 are a section evidently intended to meet the Jewish objector who perhaps even now clung to the flickering hope of the Messianic descendant (sprout) from David's stock. Chap. lv. 3 shows that the exiles still spoke, though in uncertain tones, of the 'sure mercies of David,' and we know that these hopes revived, though only for a brief respite, in the days of Haggai, and became fixed on the person of Zerubbabel (ii. 4, 20-3). To such exiles and others who strongly objected to a *foreign* Messiah as the chosen instrument of Yahweh for the restoration of His people the prophet addresses the needed admonition of the sovereign power of Yahweh, the Creator with whom man, the created object, argues in vain: 'Woe to him that wrangles with his fashioner, a potsherd among earthen potsherds! Saith the clay to his fashioner (or potter), "What art thou doing?"'

10. There is no sufficient ground for rejecting this verse with Duhm and Marti. It sustains the same line of argument, though the metaphor is changed. It continues the rebuke of man's arrogant presumption in disputing the obvious facts of Divine providence and destiny. This involves the same grotesque inversion of man's relation to the Universe and its Sovereign that Isaiah of Jerusalem characterized in x. 15 under the metaphor of an axe boasting against the man who wields it.

11. The metaphor of verse 9 is here implied in the expression **Maker** (R.V.) or 'Fashioner,' applied to Yahweh in His relation to Israel.

The expression 'Ask me the future' ('of the things that are to come,' R.V.) implies that the future is entirely in the hands of Yahweh, man's Creator.

Verses 12-13. This universal Lord and Creator of man and his

created man upon it: I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.

13 I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will make straight all his ways: he shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free, not for price nor reward, saith the LORD of hosts.

destinies has raised up Cyrus and prepared the way for his triumphal progress. He is appointed by Yahweh to build His city Jerusalem and set the exiled captive free. Render, 'Tis my own hands have stretched out, &c.'

13. raised him up (properly, 'roused him up') in righteousness is not a clear expression in its English form. The original word is once more the difficult Hebrew term *sedek*, which in its proper sense means the right or due privilege which belongs to a man. Here, as in xlii. 6, it is Yahweh's due right or privilege which He exercises in summoning Cyrus to his high task. Kautzsch, in an instructive note in his art. 'Religion of Israel' (Hastings' *DB.*, extra vol., p. 633, footnote), remarks that these terms *sedek* and *sedāqah* are often employed in reference to Yahweh to describe 'that aspect of Yahweh's activity which has for its object the *salvation of His people*' (note e.g. the combination of righteousness and salvation in the epithets of Yahweh in verse 21 below). See also above, Introduction, § 4, p. 37.

Cyrus is in distinct terms commissioned to rebuild Yahweh's city Jerusalem. Was this commission ever carried out during the reign of Cyrus? This is extremely doubtful. It is, as we know, expressly asserted in Ezra i that Cyrus in the first year of his reign issued an edict for the rebuilding of the temple and restored the vessels of the Jerusalem temple which Nebuchadrezzar had carried off to Babylon, and we also know that according to Isa. xlv. 28 (genuineness doubtful) this was a part of the divinely-appointed task of Cyrus. Nothing, however, is said in Ezra i respecting the rebuilding of the city. Its walls remained in a ruinous condition and its gateways burnt with fire for nearly a century after this time (Neh. i. 3). Nearly all scholars are agreed (including Meyer¹) that the historical credibility of Ezra i (especially of verses 7 foll.), composed by the Chronicler in the third century B. C., is extremely precarious. That a restoration, however, of the Babylonian exiles to Jerusalem in the early days of the reign of Cyrus *did* take place is certain, and that Cyrus gave directions for the rebuilding of the temple must, in the light of his general

¹ *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 72 foll.: cf. Wellhausen, *Israel. u. Jüd. Gesch.*², p. 155 footnote.

Thus saith the LORD, The labour of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine; they shall go after thee; in chains they shall come over: and they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplica-

religious policy (see note on verse 4 above and footnote), be regarded as inherently probable. But the actual building of the temple, as we learn from the oracles of Haggai and Zechariah, was only begun in their day. In the second year of Darius, the sixth month and the first day of the month, i. e. somewhere in September 519 B. C. (nearly twenty years after the accession of Cyrus to the Babylonian kingdom), as we are told in the oracles of Haggai, 'God's house was lying waste' (i. 9); and it was not till the twenty-fourth day of the same month (i. 14, 15) that Zerubbabel and Joshua began the work of rebuilding.

The Dutch scholar Kusters propounded a theory that there was in reality no restoration of the exiles at all until the time of Nehemiah in 445 B. C., but this extreme view has been refuted by Wellhausen, and still more completely by Edward Meyer in his work published in 1896, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*. On this subject see below, the Introduction to the *Trito-Isaiah* (chaps. lvi-lxvi). Comp. also G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. p. 203 f.

Verses 14-17. The promises concerning the future of restored Israel now take an even higher flight. It is Israel who is addressed (verse 14). The captives deported by Cyrus from Egypt, Ethiopia, and Saba shall become Israel's possession and acknowledge the presence and power of Yahweh.

14. Duhm labours to prove that it is necessary to change the personal pronoun from **thee** (i. e. if feminine, Zion; if masculine, Israel) to '*him*' (i. e. Cyrus, the conqueror of Egypt), and from **thine** to '*his*' in the opening clauses. Cyrus is to conquer these African regions and make their captive inhabitants slaves to the Jews. But this presupposition clearly underlies the passage and does not need to be made explicit. We may therefore leave the Hebrew text unchanged. But for the sake of metre we should follow the LXX (as Duhm proposes) and read 'Lord of Hosts' in the opening clause of the verse. The word 'labour' is the literal rendering of the Hebrew original, but does not express its actual meaning here. The Hebrew word means here the *product* of labour, viz. 'produce' or 'wealth'.¹ Render therefore: 'The

¹ Comp. the same use of the Heb. word in chap. lv. 2; Jer. iii. 24,

tion unto thee, *saying*, Surely God is in thee; and there
 15 is none else, there is no God. Verily thou art a God
 16 that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour. They
 shall be ashamed, yea, confounded, all of them: they

wealth of Egypt and the gains of Ethiopia . . . shall pass before thee.' On the Sabaeans or inhabitants of Saba, cf. xl.iii. 3 and the explanatory note.

15. Is the supplicatory appeal of the African captives continued in this verse? According to Dillmann and Kittel it is not. The present verse is the wondering exclamation of the prophet at this consummation so great and unforeseen. Yahweh is a God who shrouds Himself in mystery (Prov. xxv. 2; Deut. xxix. 29 [28 Heb.]). But Ewald, Hitzig, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti regard this verse as a continuation of the utterance of the heathen. For it is rather the foreigner, who was unfamiliar with the past history of the Hebrew race and its relation to Yahweh, who would be overawed by the mystery of Yahweh's nature and working. A cult which had no graven image or even a stone symbol of deity, which had survived the disasters of foreign invasion and exile, while other national cults had perished as well as the communities who practised them, could not fail to impress a foreign observer, especially if he had suffered the calamities of conquest and deportation.

We may therefore regard verses 15-17 as a continuation of the address to Israel, as well as to Israel's God, by the captives from Egypt and Ethiopia.

'O God of Israel, the Saviour' in the original makes the latter part of the long verse metrically overweighted by an extra word. Accordingly Duhm would omit the Hebrew words 'of Israel.' So that we should read the concluding part of the line 'a saving God¹.'

16. In this immediately following verse, on the other hand, the shorter conclusion of the line is evidently mutilated and the only word that survives is the word for 'all.' Accordingly Duhm and Cheyne would read: 'all [his foes].' This reconstruction of the full line is strongly supported by the consideration that in our

xx. 5; Ezek. xxiii. 29; Ps. cix. 11; Job xxxix. 11. On the use of the Heb. verb rendered 'pass before' (with the preposition 'al'), cf. 1 Kings ix. 8; 2 Kings iv. 9.

¹ In the first edition of his commentary Duhm points out what appears to be a possible dittography between the Hebrew word for 'saving' and the immediately following word in the Hebrew, which begins the next verse, 'are ashamed.' Nevertheless, he is guided by a right instinct in preferring to cancel the word 'Israel' out of the text. In losing the word 'saving' we lose the point.

shall go into confusion together that are makers of idols. *But* Israel shall be saved by the LORD with an everlasting 17 salvation: ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end.

For thus saith the LORD that created the heavens; he 18 is God; that formed the earth and made it; he established it, he created it not a waste, he formed it to be

present text **they** and **them** are altogether vague. Accordingly the first long line in verse 16 will read thus:

'There have come to shame, yea suffered disgrace—all His foes.' and this accords with the line that follows:

'Together have they come to disgrace—the makers of idols.'

The 'foes' here are the deities who are the patrons of other nations. The makers of their images are brought to confusion. The Jewish race has survived all disasters through Yahweh's mysterious power, which the prophet here portrays as an impressive spectacle to the captive foreigner.

17 develops this conception. While the foreign races and their cults have gone to destruction, Israel under the protection of Yahweh stands triumphant for ever.

Verses 18-25. We now come to three strophes of seven long lines each. They stand in natural sequence of thought to the immediately preceding confession of the foreign captives. Yahweh, the universal Ruler of the World which He has created for order and not for confusion, now summons the races of the world and declares to them that He is not a God who dwells in darkness, but reveals Himself in truth and uprightness. To all peoples who have escaped the catastrophes of the past Yahweh declares all idolatry to be folly. Yahweh is the only God to whom man can appeal. All shall find salvation who turn to Him and bow the knee. The chapter concludes with this characteristic and noble expression of the universalism of the Deutero-Isaiah.

18. For links the following verses to what immediately precedes. The fourth line in this verse, beginning 'I am Yahweh (the Lord) and there is none else,' is defective, the short conclusion of the long line having dropped out.

The word rendered **waste** (*iôhû*), but more appropriately translated *chaos*, reminds us of Gen. i. 1, 2 (cf. note on Isa. xl. 17). There is no contrast between the conception of chaos in the cosmogony of Gen. i and the conception of the present. Both there and here chaos is the dark and formless condition which preceded the summoning forth of light at God's command which

19 inhabited: I am the LORD; and there is none else. I have not spoken in secret, in a place of the land of darkness; I said not unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye me in vain: I the LORD speak righteousness, I declare things

heralded the creative activities described in order in the subsequent verses of Gen. i¹. God dwells in light and order, and not in darkness and chaos.

19. The word *place* should probably be omitted, as it obstructs both metre and sense². Read simply, 'in the land of darkness.' There seems here to be a reference to the dark mysteries of heathendom, to the caves where oracles were delivered and the necromancer spoke with the voices of the dead (1 Sam. xxviii. 6 foll.). These rites of the soothsayer and necromancer had been definitely forbidden in the Deuteronomic legislation, but every votary of a foreign religion sought their aid

'horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
Antrum immane, petit.'

But the prophetic word of Yahweh, the word of eternal universal truth and righteousness, was uttered in the broad, clear daylight, and scorned the mysterious double meanings and subterfuges (*ambages*) of the Delphic and other oracles. Egyptian religion, like the Babylonian, was steeped in magic (see Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iii, art. 'Magic,' p. 207 foll.; vol. iv, art. 'Soothsayer,' p. 600). Respecting Babylonian magic, cf. xlvi. 10-13.

It is significant that the word in the original that expresses 'in vain' is the same word that is used above for 'chaos' ('waste,' R. V.), to which the light and order of God's reign of truth and righteousness stand opposed. In Babylonian religion the gods of

¹ The harmony which subsists between this verse and Gen. i. 1, 2 becomes much more clear when we follow the rendering of Gen. i. 1-3, adopted first by Rashi and Ibn-'Ezra, and recognized by an almost unanimous consensus of scholars (including Ewald, Dillmann, Schrader, and Gunkel) as the most probable. This regards the Hebrew word for 'beginning' as standing in the construct relation to the noun sentence which follows. Verse 2 consists of circumstantial clauses (i. e. is parenthetic), and the apodosis begins with verse 3 (see Bennett's *Genesis*, ad loc.), i. e. 'In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth—now the earth was chaos and emptiness, and darkness was over the ocean-depth . . . then God said: 'Let there be light.'

² Not improbably we have here a conflate reading of the two variants, 'in the place of darkness' and 'in the land of darkness.'

that are right. Assemble yourselves and come; draw ²⁰
 near together, ye that are escaped of the nations: they
 have no knowledge that carry the wood of their graven
 image, and pray unto a god that cannot save. Declare ²¹
 ye, and bring *it* forth; yea, let them take counsel to-
 gether: who hath shewed this from ancient time? who
 hath declared it of old? have not I the LORD? and there
 is no God else beside me; a just God and a saviour;
 there is none beside me. Look unto me, and be ye ²²
 saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there

light, Šamaš, the sun-god, and Marduk, the god of light¹, are the deities of justice and truth, as the Babylonian psalms clearly show. In Egyptian religion we find the same ethical ideas similarly connected (i. e. with Osiris and Ra).

20. Here again, as in xli. 1 and xliii. 9, foreign nations are summoned before Yahweh. But this time it is not for judgment. The catastrophes are over, and it is only those who have escaped them who are invited to God's presence. It is presumed, moreover, that the disciplinary chastisements of the past have opened their eyes to the truth. The folly of idolatry is once more asserted. The wooden idols carried to the field of battle (cf. 2 Sam. v. 21) or in processions have been powerless to save.

21. Nor have the catastrophes been predicted by their gods, who have been powerless to avert them. Both in the first long line of this verse and in the closing one of the preceding the opening portion of the line seems to have been unduly shortened in the original. The argument here is the same as in xli. 21-23, 26, an appeal, namely, to Yahweh's prescience and predetermination of future events. The phraseology at the opening of this verse closely resembles that of xli. 21, and it is probable that we should supply the Hebrew word rendered there 'proofs' (lit. strong grounds) in the metrically defective opening line here:—

'Proclaim and advance [your proofs]—take counsel together.'

22. Respecting the conception of righteousness here ascribed to Yahweh in connexion with salvation, see note on verse 13 above and Introduction, p. 37.

¹ See, for example, the citation of the hymn to Merodach (Marduk), in Jeremias, *Das A. T. im Lichte des alten Orients*,³ p. 124 (cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 437 foll.):

'Place truth in my mouth
 Let good thoughts be in my heart.'

23 is none else. By myself have I sworn, the word is gone forth from my mouth *in* righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue
 24 shall swear. Only in the LORD, shall one say unto me, is righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come, and all they that were incensed against him shall
 25 be ashamed. In the LORD shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.

23. Yahweh's word goes forth and does not return (i. e. cease to operate, become ineffective). On this conception of God's word, as though it were a physical force, and on this idiomatic use of the word 'return' in Hebrew, see note on Isa. ix. 12; cf. also lv. 11. Similarly the salutation of peace of Christ's emissary shall return, i. e. cease to operate if there be no 'son of peace' in the household to receive it, Matt. x. 13 (Luke x. 6).

Compare Paul's employment of the language of this verse in Rom. xiv. 11; Phil. ii. 10, 11. The rendering of R. V. marg. should be substituted for that in the text, 'Righteousness has gone forth from my mouth, a word that shall not return.' **word** here stands in apposition to **righteousness**. God's righteous word shall never cease to have power.

24. There is evident need for textual change in this difficult verse. The rendering then will be: 'Only in Yahweh have I— one will say—justice and might,' i. e. only through Yahweh's power can a man survive all crises and be assured of his right.— The remainder of the verse is somewhat precarious as to text and meaning. Duhm's reconstruction is ingenious, and in translation runs thus:—'Together shall they perish and come to shame—who are incensed with Him¹.' But the LXX in the main support our Hebrew text, and we have no need for such drastic change as Duhm proposes. The only modification needed is the addition of a plural ending to the Hebrew verb 'shall come.' We may then translate (nearly as R. V.) 'unto Him shall come and shall feel shame—all that were incensed against Him.' Even the foreign foe who cherished hostility to the God of Israel shall come to Him in penitent shame; a beautiful conception in full accord with the general teaching of the Deutero-Isaiah.

25 continues the utterance of the preceding verse ('one will say'). In and through Yahweh alone Israel attains his rights

¹ xli. 11 furnishes a close parallel and a strong support to Duhm's proposed emendations.

Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth ; their idols are upon 46
the beasts, and upon the cattle : the things that ye carried

and unique privilege. It is not needful to add to the thought of the writer, for it does not here belong to his message, that Israel's glory is enhanced by the destruction of his foes, as Duhm's emendation of the text in the previous verse would imply.

CHAPS. XLVI-XLVIII.

BABYLON'S FATE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR ISRAEL.

CHAPTER XLVI.

From Cyrus and the great part he played as Yahweh's anointed servant in the fulfilment of the Divine purpose to restore Israel the prophet now turns to Babylon and its deities. It is easy to see the natural sequence of the ideas in this chapter upon those of the preceding one. There are several allusions in this chapter to utterances in chap. xlv, e.g. we shall see in verses 1, 3 foll. and 7 that the conception of xlv. 20 is resumed.

1, 2 are a short poem of exultation over the downfall of Babylon's deities. It appears to be constituted of two strophes of three short lines each.

Bēl (in the Babylonian or Assyrian language *Bēlu*) is another name for Marduk or Merodach, god of light, who was worshipped under the name Bel in the capital of which he was the chief god or patron-deity. It is to be noted that Bel is the Babylonian form of the well-known Canaanite *Ba'al* which, like *El* ('god'), is *appellative*, i. e. is not in reality a proper-name, but is a covering epithet which describes any deity as the *lord* or *owner* of a particular spot. In this case the O. T. writer shows his close connexion and acquaintance with Babylonia by giving the deity the Babylonian form of the name *Bel*.

Nebo, in the Babylonian form *Nabû*, was the patron-deity of Borsippa. As the city of Babylon, of which Merodach (Marduk) was the patron-deity, was superior in importance to Borsippa, Nebo, the patron of the latter, is made subordinate or son to the former. Nebo is represented as the patron of the art of writing. It is he who inscribes the tablets of destiny, and one of his titles is that of 'bearer of the tablets of destiny of the gods'.¹ In the

¹ See Zimmern in *KAT.*³, pp. 399 foll. In place of Nebo the LXX have Dagon. Though Dagon (in cuneiform Dagan) was not infrequently worshipped in Assyria, and was known in early Babylonian history (see Jastrow, *Rel. of Babyl. and Assyria*, pp. 208 foll., cf. p. 51), he is hardly known in the new Babylonian empire. Probably the name in the LXX arose out of the corruption of the name Nebo into Nego (as in the name Abed-nego in Daniel).

- about are made a load, a burden to the weary *beast*.
 2 They stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity.
 3 Harken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the

New Babylonian empire his name and influence become specially prominent as the names of the monarchs Nabo-polassar, Nebuchadrezzar, and Nabonidus (Nabu-naïd) clearly testify.

The sentence which immediately follows the mention of these Babylonian deities is uncertain as to text and rendering. We should probably translate :—‘ Their images have fallen to the lot of the animal and the beast. Your carried things are borne-as-a-load, a burden to the weary one.’ The ‘ carried things ’ here mean the images of the national deities carried off on beasts. We might possibly regard them as deported by the conqueror (Cyrus) in order to place them as a trophy in the shrine of his own patron-god (?), as we read in the Stone of Mesha, line 12. Similarly the Philistines carried off the ark of Yahweh and placed it in the shrine of Dagon (1 Sam. v. 1, 2). This was the consummation of a nation’s humiliation. They were thus deprived of the protection of their deities. Or we may with far more probability, since Cyrus was known to be tolerant and even friendly to the religious cultus of the conquered populations, assume that the images were carried off by the Babylonians themselves. Similarly in Sennacherib’s *Prism-inscription*, col. iii, 55, we read that Merodach-Baladan on the approach of Sennacherib carried off the patron-deities of his land in flight and placed them with their shrines on a ship. But it was the fate of these images to be overtaken and captured. ‘ They were unable to rescue the load; they themselves have gone into captivity.’ The weary overladen beasts were an easy prey to the captor. The *numen* of the god (*néfesh* in the original) was unable to save the image-load from capture and *itself* went into captivity.

Verses 3-11 must, says Duhm, be regarded as a unity. On the other hand, he would separate verses 6-8 (which recur to the familiar theme, the irrationality of idol-worship) as a foreign insertion belonging to another writer, probably the same as the author of xlv. 9-20. The grounds for this view are by no means cogent. We have already indicated in the notes introductory to xlv. 6-23 that verses 9-20 stand contrasted with what precedes and follows. They do not possess the same metric form, and also bear a somewhat distinct character from the compositions recognized as genuine belonging to the Deutero-Isaiah. They may, however, have come from a contemporary source, since the standpoint of the Deutero-Isaiah towards idolatry was identical in

remnant of the house of Israel, which have been borne
by me from the belly, which have been carried from the
 womb: and even to old age I am he, and even to hoar 4
 hairs will I carry *you*: I have made, and I will bear;
 yea, I will carry, and will deliver. To whom will ye liken 5
 me, and make me equal, and compare me, that we may
 be like? Such as lavish gold out of the bag, and weigh 6

character. On the other hand, it should be noted that the transition in xl. 18 to verse 19 is very similar to that of xli. 5 to verses 6 foll. But no one denies that xl. 19, xli. 6, 7, xl. 20 are genuine.

3. To whom do the parallel expressions **house of Jacob** and **remnant of the house of Israel** refer? It is quite reasonable to suppose that the Northern Israelites of the Ephraimite kingdom, both those who were deported by Sargon as well as those who still resided in Palestine, are referred to. That they were not forgotten by Hebrew prophets in the sixth century is clearly shown by the beautiful poem of Jer. xxxi. 15-20 (recognized as genuine by Giesebrecht, Duhm, and Cornill) and Ezek. xxxvii. 15-28 (the two sticks united). It is, however, certain that Judah is also included, since 'Israel' (as well as 'Jacob') is constantly used in the Deutero-Isaiah as a designation of the Jewish race (xl. 27, xli. 8, 14, xliii. 1, xlv. 1, &c.). Similarly Yahweh is called 'Holy One of Israel' as the national deity of the entire Hebrew race.

The words **by me** added to the R. V. are undoubtedly implied in the meaning of the text, which does not express them. **From the belly** (or womb) = from birth. From the earliest days Israel has been carried by Yahweh as a child is carried by a parent. We find this conception of tender parental relationship in Exod. xix. 4; Deut. i. 31; Hos. xi. 3; Jer. xxxi. 20, as well as in the Deutero-Isa. xl. 11. Here a subtle contrast seems to be intended. The word **borne** in this verse applied to Israel is the same verb in the original as the expression 'made a load' applied in verse 1 to the images. The impotent idols of foreign nations are carried on beasts by their devotees whom they are powerless to save. Israel's mighty saving God carries His sons in His arms.

4. The **old age** and the 'grey hairs' of Israel do not refer to the present but to the distant future. Cf. Ps. lxxi. 18.

I am he might be more idiomatically rendered 'I am the same' (so Duhm), in accordance with Ewald, *Syntax of the Heb. Lang.* (T. & T. Clark), § 314 b. Cf. xli. 4, xliii. 10, 13.

5. The language is parallel to xl. 18, 25.

6. We are reminded of the transition in xl. 18 to the verses

silver in the balance, they hire a goldsmith, and he maketh it a god; they fall down, yea, they worship.
 7 They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place, and he standeth; from his place shall he not remove: yea, one shall cry unto him, yet can he not answer, nor save him out of his trouble.

that follow, which also constitute a digression to a satire on the work of an idol-maker. The Deutero-Isaianic authorship of this digression, which is closely parallel to the present one, is not contested. This should give us pause in asserting that the sections xlv. 9-20, and especially verses 6-8 in the present chapter, are foreign insertions. The present writer is constrained to admit that a fairly strong argument for such an assertion may be built upon xlv. 9-20. Yet even in this case it is easy to be led astray by theories of interpolation based upon modern and artificial arguments as to (a) uniformity of style, (b) logical connexion¹.

6. The *ye* of the preceding verse is here defined: 'Those that pour forth gold out of the purse . . .' The latter portion of the verse should be rendered: 'they hire a metal-caster that he may make it [i. e. the precious metal, whether silver or gold] into a god. They worship, yea, bow down.'

7. 'They lift him on the shoulder, carrying him—and set him down on his seat.

So that he stands without moving from his place— . . .

Yea, one shrieks to him yet he answers not—rescues one not from one's trouble.'

¹ On this subject we would recall the attention of the student to the seasonable warning of Dr. Driver, *LOT*,⁶ pp. 306 foll.: 'It may be questioned whether recent criticism has not shown a tendency to limit unduly the spiritual capabilities and imaginative power of the pre-exilic prophets; and whether, the prophets being *poets*, guided often, as is clear, by impulse and feeling, rather than by strict logic, imperfect connexion with the context (except in extreme cases, or when supported by linguistic, or other independent indications) forms a sufficient ground for judging a passage to be a later insertion. It is also not improbable that the discourses of the prophets have been transmitted to us in a condensed form, in which mediating links may have been omitted.' It may be added that these remarks may be applied also to exilic and post-exilic literature, and they receive strong confirmation from a recent able critic, Gressmann, in his stimulating work, *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*. See § 22, *Die Echtheit der Zukunftshoffnungen*, pp. 239 foll.

Remember this, and shew yourselves men: bring it 8
 again to mind, O ye transgressors. Remember the 9
 former things of old: for I am God, and there is none
 else; *I am* God, and there is none like me; declaring 10
 the end from the beginning, and from ancient times
 things that are not *yet* done; saying, My counsel shall
 stand, and I will do all my pleasure: calling a ravenous 11
 bird from the east, the man of my counsel from a far

Here Duhm is right in surmising that the latter portion of the second long line in this verse with its recurring parallelism has been lost. When we compare the metric form of verses 6-8 with that of verses 3-5 and verses 9 foll. it will be seen that there is hardly a break in rhythmic continuity. Accordingly we have a complete parallel to xl. 19, xli. 6, 7, xl. 20, and the theory that verses 6-8 are a foreign interpolation breaks down, especially when due note is taken of the fact that in the last line of verse 7 there is implied the contrast of the motionless and impotent idol-image that cannot save with Yahweh as the God of saving might. See xlv. 21 (cf. verse 20), xlvi. 4 (cf. verse 2), where this contrast is made explicit.

8. The rendering by the LXX is a warning that the text is by no means certain. The Hebrew reflexive (*Hithpael*) form rendered by the R. V. **shew yourselves men** (or in R. V. marg. 'stand fast'), evidently did not stand in the Hebrew text used by the Greek translators, but some other reflexive form such as 'be ashamed' or 'afflict yourselves' (fast). The latter appears to come nearest to the Greek verb, which literally means 'groan' or 'lament.' Accordingly it would be best to modify the text at the opening of the verse and render: 'Remember this and afflict yourselves . . .' This verse forms quite a natural link of transition to the verse that follows.

9. The 'former things of olden time' are the great events of Israel's early history such as the deliverance from Egypt, cf. xliii. 16. The prophecies of Ezekiel clearly prove that during the exile period the Jews became more attentive students of their past (Ezek. xiv. 14, xvi. 3, xx. 4-13: cf. also Isa. li. 2).

10. **things that are not yet done**, i. e. things that have not yet taken place.

my counsel, or purpose, stands in parallelism to **my pleasure**, and are different terms to express the same thing.

11. The **ravenous bird** (bird of prey), or, in the parallel clause, the **man of my counsel** (i. e. the man whom God has

- country; yea, I have spoken, I will also bring it to pass;
 12 I have purposed, I will also do it. Harken unto me, ye
 13 stouthearted, that are far from righteousness: I bring
 near my righteousness, it shall not be far off, and my
 salvation shall not tarry; and I will place salvation in
 Zion for Israel my glory.
 47 Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of

chosen to carry out His great purpose), is Cyrus. He is compared to the bird of prey that swoops down irresistibly on its object (cf. the description in xli. 3).

12. *stouthearted* (cf. Ps. lxxvi. 5 [6 Heb.]) is the rendering of our Hebrew text, but that text is not well adapted to the general sense of the passage. The LXX evidently point us to the true text and rendering: 'ye who have lost heart,' i. e. are despondent. These are far from 'righteousness,' i. e. in the present context *Yahweh's vindication of Israel's right*. The Hebrew word is *sedāḡah*. See regarding the use of this term the note on xlv. 13. In the following verse it is employed in the Deutero-Isaiah's characteristic manner in connexion with the *salvation* which *Yahweh* is to secure for Israel.

It is probable that those who were 'far' from this 'righteousness' were the Jews in Babylonia who were lapsing into Babylonian idolatry since they had lost belief in *Yahweh's* might.

CHAPTER XLVII

is a taunt-song in the familiar *ḡinah* measure on Babylon's downfall¹. It consists of five strophes of seven long lines each. Babylon is reduced to the lowest depth of humiliation, and is compared to the captive slave-girl brought down to the lowest drudgery, though once she lived in proud luxury. This tragic figure of the arrogant, tyrannical sorceress-queen is maintained throughout the entire poem. There is a certain analogy between this poem and Ezek. xxvi and xxxii, as well as Isa. xiv. 4 foll.

1. 'Descend and sit in the dust—virgin daughter of Babel.

Sit on the earth, throneless—daughter of the Chaldaeans.'

'Daughter of Babel,' 'daughter of the Chaldaeans' remind us of the phraseology of Isaiah of Jerusalem. The genitive is what is called an appositional genitive, the city or nation being personified (cf. Isa. i. 8 and note). Conquered and desolated Babylon occupies the same forlorn position as conquered and desolated

¹ On the elegiac (*ḡinah*) measure in Isaiah, see Budde in *ZATW.*, 1891, pp. 224 foll., and on the present chapter, p. 237.

Babylon ; sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans : for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take the millstones, and grind ² meal : remove thy veil, strip off the train, uncover the leg, pass through the rivers. Thy nakedness shall be ³ uncovered, yea, thy shame shall be seen : I will take

Jerusalem in the oracle of the earlier pre-exilian prophet at the close of the eighth century (Isa. iii. 26). It is possible that this image of the earlier seer was present to the mind of the later. As in the model furnished by the earlier poet of the well-dressed lady of fashion that tripped along the Jerusalem streets now degraded to a captive taken in war, so here the contrasts are deeply marked between the delicate and voluptuous imperial lady seated on her throne and the captive seated on the ground.

2-3. Like a common menial slave of all work (*shifhah*) she is peremptorily ordered to take mill-stones and grind the meal. Respecting the position of the menial slave-girl see *Hebrew Antiquities* (Rel. Tract Soc.), p. 40, and cf. Exod. xi. 5, 1 Sam. xxv. 41. A figure of the handmill will be found on p. 70. In these abject conditions she is commanded to strip off the veil (worn by any lady of distinction, cf. iii. 19, Song of Songs iv. 1) as well as her train. We have already had occasion to note the paraphernalia of a luxurious woman's attire (Isa. iii. 18-23 ; cf. *Hebrew Antiquities*, pp. 49 foll.). These would be obviously impossible in the stern world of a captive. A long dusty journey in the melancholy train of war-captives lay before her. Rivers had to be crossed. Her outer garment must be drawn up, her bare legs exposed to the sun and the vulgar gaze of the soldiery.

3-4. The close of this verse and the opening of the following is doubtful as to the text. The preceding words **I will take vengeance** may be regarded as textually sound, since they evidently stood in the copies used by the LXX. The R. V. **will accept no man** is obscure, and hardly bears the sense imposed upon it, viz. 'None shall oppose me.' The LXX appear to have combined two readings, the word for 'man' and the word for 'saith.' The former should probably be rejected in favour of the latter. By making the slight change in the vowel-points of the Hebrew verb rendered 'accept' in R. V. (suggested by the Jewish commentators Saadiah, Ibn 'Ezra, and our own Lowth) the following translation of verses 3-4 may be adopted (with Duhm) :—

- (3) 'I will take vengeance, will not suffer intercession—(4) saith our Redeemer,
Yahweh of Hosts is His name—Holy one of Israel.'

4 vengeance, and will accept no man. Our redeemer, the
 5 LORD of hosts is his name, the Holy One of Israel. Sit
 thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the
 Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called The lady
 6 of kingdoms. I was wroth with my people, I profaned
 mine inheritance, and gave them into thine hand: thou
 didst shew them no mercy; upon the aged hast thou

Yahweh is inexorable in inflicting the full measure of just penalty on Babylon. Every expression here is full of significance. The Babylonians worshipped star-gods. Istar represented the planet Venus, Nebo (Nabû) the planet Mercury, Nergal Saturn, Ninib Mars, Samaš the Sun (Marduk also the early Sun), Sin the Moon. But Yahweh is here specially designated as lord of the starry hosts. Moreover, as the Holy One of Israel He was the guardian of Israel's interests and would not suffer His people to be destroyed.

5 foll. states the grounds on which the severe penalty on Babylon was exacted. Yahweh has been wrath with Israel, His inheritance, and in disciplinary chastisement has delivered him over to Babylon. But Babylon has used her opportunity not in mercy but in harshness. Proud Babylon, mistress of nations, shall therefore suffer humiliation. We have here a close analogy to the language of Isaiah of Jerusalem (x. 5-14) against Assyria, 'the rod of Yahweh's indignation.'

6. The expression **I profaned mine inheritance** seems to be an echo of Jer. xii. 7. The term 'inheritance' here simply means 'landed possession,' viz. the land in Palestine occupied by Yahweh's people Israel and owned as well as ruled by Him as its Lord. This land has been defiled because it has been captured by the Babylonian foreigner and its sanctuary destroyed (Ezek. ix. 7; Ps. lxxiv. 7: cf. Isa. lii. 1).

The reproach against Babylon for the harsh treatment meted out to the Jewish captives ('Thou didst make thy yoke weigh heavily') is not reflected in the tone of the earlier prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah anticipated a time of prosperity in the exile home, and in his letter to the captives exhorts them to 'build houses and dwell therein, plant gardens and eat their fruit': 'Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to go into exile, and pray unto Yahweh for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace' (xxix. 5-7). This appears to have been also the attitude of the prophet Ezekiel, whose tendency is decisively pro-Babylonian (Ezek. xxvi. 7 foll., xxix. 18, 19). The political sympathies of both prophets, which were at the same time

very heavily laid thy yoke. And thou saidst, I shall be 7
a lady for ever: so that thou didst not lay these things
to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end
thereof.

Now therefore hear this, thou that art given to pleasures, 8
that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, I am,
and there is none else beside me; I shall not sit as a

anti-Egyptian and directed against the court-party and the false prophets, would lead them to acquiesce in Babylonian rule and even in the deportation of the inhabitants into exile. But more than forty years had now elapsed. Evidently a change in the attitude of the Babylonian conquerors to the Jews had supervened, and exile among foreigners was felt to be a galling yoke.

7. R. V. correctly follows LXX in connecting the word **for ever** with 'mistress' ('lady') which immediately precedes it: 'I shall be mistress for ever.' On the other hand, the Jewish punctuators carry the Hebrew word '*ad* ('for ever') into the next clause.

8. 'Now hear this, thou luxurious—that sittest at ease,
Who thinketh to herself—'Tis I, and nought else!
I shall not sit as a widow—nor know childlessness.'

The earlier part of this verse, 'that sittest at ease . . . and nought else,' recurs in Zeph. ii. 15. Zephaniah composed his oracles nearly 100 years earlier than the Deutero-Isaiah, near the beginning of Josiah's reign; and at that time Assyria was tottering to its fall. In ii. 13, 14 the downfall of Nineveh is evidently predicted. Verse 15, however, is rightly regarded by Nowack and Marti as an interpolation, and the phraseology of our verse has evidently been inserted there. The expression **There is none else**, or 'There is none except me,' is one that can only be employed by Yahweh the supreme God (Isa. xlv. 6, xlv. 9). The phrase recurs below (verse 10). Here the proud Babylon arrogates it to herself as the eternal mistress of kingdoms. This trait in language shows that the passage is integral to the Deutero-Isaiah. This was perceived long ago by Jahn and Eichhorn. Schwally in *ZATW.* (1890), vol. x, pp. 195 foll., is quite wrong in maintaining the contrary position that it originated with Zephaniah. Schwally, as well as many recent critics, is well aware that the collection of Zephaniah's oracles is full of later insertions.

The 'childlessness' refers to the depopulation caused by the sword, flight of inhabitants, or their captivity. The 'widowhood' is a metaphor descriptive of the forlorn position of the city forsaken by her allies, peoples, and their kings.

9 widow, neither shall I know the loss of children: but these two things shall come to thee in a moment in one day, the loss of children, and widowhood: in their full measure shall they come upon thee, despite of the multitude of thy sorceries, and the great abundance of
 10 thine enchantments. For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness; thou hast said, None seeth me; thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee: and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and there is none else beside
 11 me. Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know the dawning thereof: and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be able to put it away: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou
 12 knowest not. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to

9 declares the hollowness of the boast. Both these evils, widowhood and childlessness, shall overtake the doomed city. Babylonia was the land of magic—of spell that brought disaster on an enemy—of counterspell that averted ill (see Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iii, art. 'Magic,' pp. 208-10). None of these shall avail Babylon in this hour of her calamity, 'though thy magic arts be many, though thy spells be very potent.'

10. 'Yet thou didst trust in thine evil—didst think: none sees me,' i. e. thought that there was no God who took thought of her evil deeds; cf. Ps. x. 11. These evil deeds, in the view of the writer, mainly consisted in the oppression of the Jewish exiles; but we are not informed in what that oppression consisted (verse 6). The **wisdom** and the **knowledge** refer to the system of magical incantations, which were of an elaborate character, as well as to the 'soothsaying.'

11. The rendering **the dawning thereof** has no definite meaning. R. V. marg. is almost certainly right: 'how to charm it away.' The whole line may be translated thus:

'Yet evil shall come upon thee that thou knowest not how to avert by incantation.'

12. This verse is severely ironical, like Elijah's scoffing injunction in 1 Kings xviii. 27: 'Abide by thy spells and thy many incantations whereby thou weariest thyself from thy youth up. Perhaps

profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied ¹³ in the multitude of thy counsels : let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from the things that shall come upon thee.

thou art able to win advantage, perhaps thou wilt scare away (thy foes).²

13. Irony mingles with a tone of pathetic remonstrance : ' Thou art weary with thy many counsellors¹. May they stand (by you) and save you, who divide the heavens, the gazers at the stars, making known month by month whence they come upon you.' By 'they' in the last clause is meant the events which are prognosticated.

The allusion in this verse is to the elaborate system of astrology practised by the Babylonian soothsayers. On this subject consult the art, 'Soothsaying' in Hastings' *DB*. The omen-tablets mark the distinctions in the celestial conjunctions with a wearisome excess of detail. We take the following example, cited from Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (see chaps. xix and xx) :—

'Sun and moon are seen apart (i. e. at different times) ;
The king of the country will manifest wisdom.'

'On the 14th day sun and moon are seen together ;
There will be loyalty in the land,

The gods of Babylonia are favourably inclined,
The soldiery will be in accord with the king's desire,
The cattle of Babylonia will pasture in safety.'

'On the 15th day the sun and moon are seen together ;
A powerful enemy raises his weapons against the land,
The enemy will shatter the great gate of the city.'

The expression 'whence they come upon you' marks the antithesis between Babylonian belief reflected in its practice of soothsaying, which ascribed the course of events to conjunctions of sun, moon, and planets, and the monotheistic belief of the Jews, which ascribed all events, good or bad, to Yahweh : ' 'Tis I, Yahweh, and none else, that fashion light and create darkness, making happiness and creating ill' (xlv. 6, 7).

¹ Adopting here a slight change of text, instead of the non-form of our Hebrew Massoretic version. We have thereby a natural subject for the following verbs, 'stand' and 'save,' as well as a parallel to the dividers of heaven and the star-gazers. These were the counsellors of the Babylonian in the hour of his uncertainty, like the necromancer in the days of Isaiah of Jerusalem (Isa. viii. 19).

- 14 Behold, they shall be as stubble; the fire shall burn them; they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame: it shall not be a coal to warm at, nor a fire
 15 to sit before. Thus shall the things be unto thee wherein thou hast laboured: they that have trafficked with thee from thy youth shall wander every one to his quarter; there shall be none to save thee.
- 48 Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, [which are called by

14. All these 'counsellors' shall show their falsity. In the hour of Babylon's captivity they shall not save her or themselves. Render: 'They shall be as stubble whom the fire hath burnt.'

15. Duhm would here make the slight textual alteration from the Hebrew word for 'thy merchants' or 'traffickers' (R. V. 'they that have trafficked, &c.') into the word for 'thy magicians,' based on the same original Semitic root as the word assumed in the Hebrew text in verse 11, in the rendering 'avert by incantation' (R. V. 'charm away'). This will bring the verse into exact harmony with verses 11 and 13 above. This view is supported in the main by Houbigant and Ewald. If we adhere, on the other hand, to the reading of our Hebrew text, 'merchants,' we should understand the term as referring to the magicians and soothsayers who trafficked in their arts with the deluded Babylonians.

CHAPTER XLVIII

presents problems of some complexity which have occasioned much discussion among recent critics. Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti regard it as the combination of a genuine Deutero-Isaianic element with another of a far different character. The former is an exhortation to Israel to believe the new tidings respecting Cyrus and Babylon's overthrow, expressed in the language of the Deutero-Isaiah already familiar to us. In earlier times prophecies have been delivered, and they have been fulfilled. Now a new prophecy hitherto unheard is proclaimed in vindication of God's name and honour. Israel is summoned to hear it, and is once more reminded by Yahweh that He is the World's Creator who stands at the beginning and at the end of Time, and that Cyrus is the beloved organ of His will respecting Babylon. This is followed by a brief lyrical poem (verses 20 and 21), which is an appeal to Israel to quit Babylon and to proclaim to the world Yahweh's redemption of His servant Jacob and the wonderful providence which has attended Israel's desert-wandering.

Such is the Deutero-Isaianic element in this chapter presented

the name of Israel, and are come forth out of the waters of Judah; which swear by the name of the LORD, and make mention of the God of Israel, but not in truth, nor in righteousness. For they call themselves of the holy city, and stay themselves upon the God of Israel; the

in summary. The reader can either see it in the translation of Duhm's commentary (German) expressed in italics, or in Cheyne's *SBOT.* in pink colouring. In the R. V. rendering above it is unbracketed. But to this there is attached in a series of parentheses (which are bracketed above) passages of bitter remonstrance severely contrasted in tone with the former. The latter, as Marti says, assumes the form of an interlinear commentary. The style reminds us in its tone of censure rather of Ezekiel or Trito-Isaiah than of Deutero-Isaiah. It would be well for the reader to study the text of this chapter through with the appended comments before a final judgment is passed on this ingenious analysis with which the conservative critic Kittel concurs. It is held by Duhm and other critics that the appended passages of severe censure were added by the editor of the Deutero-Isaianic oracles—the same who inserted the Servant-passages, and also appended the collection of oracles chaps. lvi-lxvi called the Trito-Isaiah. On this subject see below, p. 238.

1. **waters of Judah** is very strange and hardly intelligible. Nearly all MSS. of the LXX simply have 'from Judah,' and it is quite possible that this is the right rendering of the corresponding Hebrew (*mihūdah*). Secker would read 'from the bowels of Judah,' which involves a very slight addition to our text. The same word occurs in verse 19, and is found in Gen. xv. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 12, xvi. 11, &c. But the expression is not characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah 'Make mention of the God of Israel', i.e. 'commemorate'¹ (in the sense of 'praise'). This expression occurs again in lxiii. 7 (Trito-Isaiah), and seems to acquire a liturgical meaning.

2. The **holy city** is an expression which occurs in the Deutero-Isaiah lii. 1. But there it is the ideal city of the future, where the uncircumcised and unclean no longer dwell. The term became a favourite one in post-exilic times; Neh. xi. 1; Dan. ix. 24; Matt. iv. 5, and in Islām it is still *el kuds*. Here the phrase seems retrospective, and presupposes an organized religious community dwelling within Jerusalem, and individuals who are

¹ In Heb. *hizkr* (the Hif'il of the root *s-k-r*, 'remember'). Similarly the substantive, *zeker*, means 'praise,' in Ps. vi. 6, cii. 13 (cf. Hos. xii. 6; Exod. iii. 15, where it = 'name').

3 LORD of hosts is his name]. I have declared the former things from of old ; yea, they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them : suddenly I did them, and they
 4 came to pass. [Because I knew that thou art obstinate,
 5 and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass] ; therefore I have declared it to thee from of old ; before it came to pass I shewed it thee : lest thou shouldest say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and
 6 my molten image, hath commanded them. Thou hast heard it ; behold all this ; and ye, will ye not declare it ?

proud of calling themselves its members. **LORD** (God) of **Hosts** is **His name** is an expression reminiscent of Amos iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 5 foll.

The word **for** prefixed to this verse links it not to the preceding clause but to the opening phrase (verse 1), 'hear ye this.'

3. We once more note the familiar language of the Deutero-Isaiah—xlii. 9, xlv. 8, xlv. 23, xlvii. 11. Old prophecies have received their fulfilment ; cf. xlii. 14.

4. The language of censure is attached as a reason for the above : 'because I knew that thou art hard' (obstinate). For **sinew** substitute 'clasp' or 'band.' The language is once more unusually reminiscent of other portions of the O. T., e. g. Ezek. iii. 7 foll. ; cf. Deut. ix. 27 ; Exod. xxxii. 9 ; cf. Deut. ix. 6, 13. The ground which is here alleged for God's past prophecies and their fulfilment must strike the ordinary reader as forced and abrupt. The tone of rebuke is different from the admonitory style of xlii. 18—xliii. 2, where the transition is natural ; cf. also xl. 27-31.

5. The earlier part of this verse is evidently Deutero-Isaianic, and repeats the conception of verse 3. For **therefore** substitute 'and.'

The latter part of this verse Duhm, Cheyne, and other critics regard as a later insertion. But this is by no means certain, nor is it really at all obvious, as Duhm asserts, that the gloss-writer recurs to the old Deuteronomistic conception of Israel's past history that it **was** nothing but a continuous lapse into idolatry. On the contrary, we are here reminded of the vivid consciousness in the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah of an ever-present and recurring danger among the exiled Jews, whose lapse into idolatry—viz. Babylonian idol-worship—evidently underlies such passages as xl. 19, 20, xli. 6, 7, which Duhm recognizes as genuine.

I have shewed thee new things from this time, even hidden things, which thou hast not known. They are 7
 created now, and not from of old; and before this day thou
 heardest them not; lest thou shouldest say, Behold, I
 knew them. Yea, thou heardest not; yea, thou knewest 8
 not; yea, from of old thine ear was not opened: [for I
 knew that thou didst deal very treacherously, and wast

6. behold all this, i. e. the fulfilment of past predictions. **will ye not declare it.** The pronoun is emphatic; i. e. Will ye not openly confess with your own lips, that God's word has been fulfilled? There is no reason for altering the text, as Duhm and Cheyne propose, and rendering, 'And thou, wilt thou not bear witness to it?' though the emendation maintains a consistency of number as well as person. At the same time, it should be noted that the LXX render, 'Ye have heard all things, yet ye have not discerned,' evidently based on a different text which may well be the true one.

7 continues the theme of the preceding verse. The advent of the deliverer Cyrus is an announcement hitherto unheard¹. The whole of this verse, as well as verse 5, may with good reason be ascribed to the Deutero-Isaiah. There is just as little reason for ascribing the clause 'lest they should say, &c.' to another later writer, as the latter part of verse 5, to which it bears resemblance in form. But it is evident in this case that only the first part of the long line has been preserved. Its genuineness is sustained by its close harmony with the line that follows in verse 8.

8 harps on the same string as verses 6 and 7. The R. V. **thine ear was not opened** is hardly possible in accordance with Hebrew usage. It is safest to follow the LXX here and slightly emend the text. Accordingly read, 'Neither hast thou heard [it] nor known—nor have I formerly opened thine ear.'

The remainder of the verse is evidently the language of the later gloss-writer. Its language, as Duhm shows, reminds us of the Trito-Isaiah. For the expression **wast called** cf. Isa. lviii. 12, lxi. 3, lxii. 2, and Ezek. x. 13 in the original. The conception of ancient Israel, wicked from the birth ('from the womb'), is familiar to the student of Ezekiel (xvi. 22 foll.). This latter clause puts

¹ Klostermann and Cheyne suspect the curious form *liḥnê yôm*, and plausibly suggest in its place *l'phānīm*, 'formerly.' But LXX evidently read in their text the form which stands in our Bible, and translate, 'in former days.' Though the form be curious, parallels are not wanting.

9 called a transgressor from the womb. For my name's sake will I defer mine anger, and for my praise will I
 10 refrain for thee, that I cut thee not off. Behold, I have refined thee, but not as silver; I have chosen thee in the

a completely new colour of more sombre hue on the beginning of the verse. Duhm remarks that if the first half of the verse is read in connexion with what follows in actual sequence in the Deutero-Isaiah (viz. verse 11) there is a ring of happy pathos about it: 'Never have I hitherto announced to you tidings, in order to enhance my own glory ('for my name's sake').' The new tidings is evidently an inspiring fact to the prophet who proclaims it. But the clauses which follow cast a deep shadow. The announcement has been withheld because Israel has been a faithless rebel.

9. The same strain by the gloss-writer is continued. The general sense only can be gathered from this textually corrupt verse. The LXX render: 'For my name's sake I will display to you my wrath, and my glory will I bring upon (?) you that I may not destroy you utterly.' This shows that there is some uncertainty as to the reading of the opening clauses. If we adhere to our Hebrew text, adopting only Oort's emendation of the verb rendered **refrain**, we might translate thus: 'For my name's sake will I postpone my anger—seal up [i. e. confirm, attest¹] my praise unto thee, so that I cut thee not off.'

10 evidently belongs to the same writer. A comparison with the LXX leaves us in some uncertainty as to text, but it is safer here, as in the preceding verse, to adhere to our Hebrew text. Israel has been smelted and tested, yet not as² silver, but some base metal or unworthy substance. Again we have the same language of bitter reproach. Render: 'I have tested thee in the furnace of affliction.'

From the latter part of verse 8 to the close of verse 10 the reader cannot fail to note the pessimistic and almost harsh note. It is only God's sense of what is due to His 'name' or honour as the God of Israel that saves His rebellious people from utter destruction. Duhm hardly exaggerates when he says that this exhibits a conception of Yahweh's character 'that flies in the

¹ On this use of the Heb. verb to 'seal,' cf. viii. 16; Job xxxiii. 16; Dan. ix. 24 b [of sealing (i. e. establishing, ratifying) a prophecy].

² Taking the preposition in Hebrew as what is called *Bêth essentialis*, and not as *Bêth pretii* (with Duhm). The rendering 'chosen' is incorrect here. The verb in the original is used in its Aramaic sense. 'Tested,' or 'tried' (R.V. marg.) is the right translation.

furnace of affliction]. For mine own sake, for mine own ¹¹ sake, will I do it; [for how should *my name* be profaned?] and my glory will I not give to another.

Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called: I ¹² am he; I am the first, I also am the last. Yea, mine ¹³ hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spread out the heavens: when I call unto

face of the entire Deutero-Isaianic theology¹. Cf. with it xl. 1, 2, 11, 28-31, xli. 8-10, xliii. 1-6, 25-xliv. 5, xlix. 14-16, li. 2-4, 12-14, liv, lv (*passim*). Though the sternness of Divine discipline and Israel's sin that occasioned it are not ignored by the Deutero-Isaiah (xlii. 18-25, xliii. 26-28), it is but a contrast which serves to heighten the brightness of the silver lining to the cloud (cf. xliii. 1-3, xliv. 1-5 standing in immediate succession). Here, on the other hand, the sharply-contrasted, interpolated passages strike no harmonious chord, but a too palpable discord. Of this discord we have immediately another example.

11. Here the interjected exclamation 'for how should it be profaned!' breaks harshly into both rhythm and sense. The subject to the verb 'profaned' is left vague. The rendering of R.V. above is certainly right in supplying 'my name.' This dissonant clause is added by the gloss-writer to words that are evidently Deutero-Isaianic (cf. xlii. 8). 'Another' obviously means another deity (cf. the parallel xlii. 8).

Verses 12-16 are Deutero-Isaianic in conception and language. Cyrus and his fulfilment of the Divine purpose in the overthrow of Babylon are the evident theme.

12. We note the friendly tone towards Israel **my called**; cf. xli. 9, xlii. 6. Yahweh summons Israel to hear Him, as in xlv. 3, 12. Emphasis is laid on God's unchanging personality throughout all time (cf. xli. 4, xliii. 10, xlv. 6).

13. Also prominence is once more given to His creative power (cf. xl. 22, 26, 28, xlii. 5, xlv. 24, xlv. 12, 18). The word for **spread** (or stretch) **out** is an Aramaic rather than Hebrew word, and is one among many indications of the wide and ever-increasing prevalence of that language at this time.

'I call to them (i. e. the heavens), and they stood together,' i. e. ready-created at the word of command. The word 'stand' in Hebrew is used similarly in Ps. xxxiii. 9.

¹ ... der ganzen Theologie Deutero-Jesaias ins Gesicht schlägt.

- 14 them, they stand up together. Assemble yourselves, all ye, and hear; which among them hath declared these things? The LORD hath loved him: he shall perform his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm *shall be on* the
 15 Chaldeans. I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called him: I have brought him, and he shall make his way
 16 prosperous. Come ye near unto me, hear ye this; from the beginning I have not spoken in secret; from the time

14. assemble yourselves is obviously an address to the Israelites. An underlying motive of this entire passage, as well as of others in this section xl-xlviii relating to Cyrus, is not improbably a desire to overcome a certain reluctance among many exiles to accept the belief that Cyrus, a Persian foreigner, was Yahweh's anointed servant to carry out His behest in giving deliverance and restoration to Israel. Chap. lv. 3 ('sure mercies of David') indicate that the belief in a Messiah of Davidic lineage was not extinct. Stress is laid on God's creative power in vindication of His Sovereign right to choose any human instrument He wills for the accomplishment of His purpose. Another co-operating motive is to convince those who had lapsed, or were lapsing, into idolatry that it was Yahweh's messenger who announced this, no soothsayer of Merodach or Nebo; 'who among them [i. e. foreign deities (cf. "another" in verse 11)] hath announced these things [i. e. the mission of Cyrus]? He whom Yahweh loves shall perform His pleasure on Babylon.' It must be confessed that the text of the latter part of this verse is by no means certain, though the general purport is quite clear. The LXX had before them another, but by no means more correct or intelligible text. It omits the word Yahweh ('Lord'), which disturbs the rhythm and is unnecessary. Duhm partly follows the guidance of the LXX and restores the first person:—'He whom I love accomplishes my design (pleasure)—on Babylon and on the seed¹ of the Chaldees.'

15. Here, again, the LXX indicate that we ought to restore the first person in the last clause (so Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti).

'Tis I, I who have spoken, yea called him—brought him and made his way to prosper.'

16. the beginning does not here refer to the creation of the

¹ The word for 'seed' (so LXX) and the word 'arm' closely resemble each other in Hebrew, especially when we remember that it was written with consonantal signs, and the vowels were supplied by the reader.

that it was, there am I: [and now the Lord GOD hath sent me, and his spirit.] Thus saith the LORD, thy redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: [I am the LORD thy God, which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldest go. Oh that thou hadst 18

world, to which verse 13 alludes, but to the career of Cyrus in its commencement. Also the pronoun 'it' must be similarly understood.

The last clause, **and now the Lord GOD hath sent me**, &c., commences a fresh insertion by the same gloss-writer and in the same characteristic tone of pessimism (verses 17-19).

17. The opening line is probably taken from the Deutero-Isaiah and woven by the gloss-writer into his own discourse. 'Thus saith Yahweh, thy God—the Holy One of Israel'—finds close parallels in phraseology in xli. 14 and xliii. 14. What follows, however, differs widely both in thought and expression from the Deutero-Isaiah. While it is not necessary to construe the expression **which teacheth thee to profit** as inculcating mere eudaemonism or 'religion conceived from the eudaemonistic side' (Duhm)¹, it is quite evident that we have descended from the pure and spontaneous life of high ideals and enthusiastic confidence in God's love and power in the future guidance of His people, which breathes through the Deutero-Isaianic oracles, into the atmosphere of doctrinal religion and a despairing retrospect over a degenerate past and lost opportunity ending in irretrievable ruin (verse 19).

18. The language is the agonized expression of a yearning no longer possible of realization, the might-have-beens swept away in the stream of time. This sadness of retrospect has scarcely a parallel in O. T. literature except in Jer. viii. 20: 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.' Yet there, perhaps, the door of opportunity is not quite closed. Here it is otherwise. The metaphor of Israel's welfare as a river reminds us of the language of the Trito-Isaiah, which quite possibly is echoed here (cf. lxvi. 12). But there we have the language of a serene optimism. The writer beholds a sunrise. Here the writer contemplates a sun already set and a world of shattered ideals:—

'Behind the fiery wastes of time,
Before eternity!'

¹ Surely the reference to Israel's 'righteousness as sea-billows,' in verse 18, clearly points to ethical ideals in the mind of the writer.

hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the
 19 sea: thy seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels like the grains thereof: his name should not be cut off nor destroyed from before me].

20 Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans; with a voice of singing declare ye, tell this, utter it even to the end of the earth: say ye, The LORD hath
 21 redeemed his servant Jacob. And they thirsted not when he led them through the deserts: he caused the

19. The writer has evidently before his mind the metaphor of the Yahwistic passage in the Abraham-narrative, Gen. xiii. 16 (cf. xxii. 17, a closer parallel), when he wrote, 'The offspring of thy bowels like the grains thereof' (i. e. the sand).

'And his name would not be cut off or destroyed before me' closes the door to all hope, and the utter pessimism of the writer receives its final touch of gloom.

20-21. We pass into the sunlight, and hear strains of melody. The language of this short lyrical poem is once more that of the Deutero-Isaiah:—

'Go forth from Babylon,
 Flee from the Chaldees;
 With loud song proclaim it,
 These tidings make known,
 Send it forth
 To the end of the earth:
 Say, "Yahweh hath ransomed
 Jacob His slave."

'Yet they have not thirsted,
 'Mid wastes though He led them;
 Waters from rocks
 He made to drip for them,
 And cleft the rock open
 And waters gushed forth.'

We are reminded of the lilt of the short song in Isa. xxiii. 16 with its unmistakable dance-rhythm. Here, where the pilgrim-throng passes forth on its desert-journey to Jerusalem, the reminiscence of the earlier time of Israel's exodus from Egypt inevitably comes to the mind of the writer, viz. Exod. xvii. 6 (E); cf. Num. xx. 11.

waters to flow out of the rock for them: he clave the rock also, and the waters gushed out. [There is no peace, 22 saith the LORD, unto the wicked.]

22. Once more a pessimistic gloss; though a perfectly true maxim, yet wholly out of harmony with verses 20-21. It is borrowed from lvii. 21, where it is integral to both metre and context.

Our survey of this chapter has tended to confirm in the main the ingenious hypothesis of Duhm that this chapter is interwoven out of two distinct elements. Without the guidance of this analysis the sharp contrasts become extremely difficult if not impossible to explain, and on the assumption of single authorship we are reduced to the exceedingly forced conclusion that the writer interrupts the current of his high theme by severe rebukes of the obstinate and unbelieving portion of the community. But we have no parallel for such a literary phenomenon. Nor does this strained hypothesis account for the diversities in language and mental standpoint.

We stand on safer ground when we follow recent critics in accepting Duhm's solution. But another difficult problem lies behind it. What is the motive for this strange literary patchwork of bright and dark colours? We have no modern literary analogies to guide us here. We have to remember the conditions of antiquity and the modes in which literary remains were reproduced and preserved and provided with modern glosses and even revised to suit the present mood and need. The careful critical study of O. T. literature has revealed these features. The complex phenomena of the Deutero-Zechariah (chaps. ix-xiv) can best be explained (especially in chaps. ix-xi) by the assumption of old pre-exilian oracles worked over and adapted by a post-exilian writer. Not improbably Ps. lx is an old Davidic war-song similarly utilized by a late psalmist. And, coming down to still later times, it has been long recognized that the 'Ascension of Isaiah' is a composite work of apocalyptic character in which a Jewish document has been incorporated into a Christian book, and utilized for the purposes of Christian edification and warning. Similarly chap. xlviii contains genuine Deutero-Isaianic material which may be fortunately separated without difficulty through its strongly-marked tone and style. This has fallen into the hands of an editor who lived in later post-exilian times, when the ideals and hopes of the close of the exile, and even those of a century later, awakened by the advent of Nehemiah, had long passed by and had given place to the bitter disillusionments and the depressing retrospect of moral backslidings. As the redactor reads the inspiring oracle of an earlier time he inserts his own sorrowful reflections as warnings to his countrymen; and in this form the

49 [S. Listen, O isles, unto me ; and hearken, ye peoples,

combined thoughts of the two minds and the two ages have come down to us. Marti thinks that the editor belonged to the same age that produced that strange complex apocalyptic work Isa. xxiv-xxvii, which may perhaps be placed in the early Greek period about 300 B. C.

(a) CHAPTERS XLIX-LV: ISRAEL'S RESTORATION
AND IDEAL.

This collection of chapters was probably composed soon after the actual downfall of Babylon. We no longer hear echoes of the march of political events—of the career of the great conqueror of Western Asia and of the impending downfall of Babylon and its deities, and of Cyrus as the anointed servant destined by Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel, the World's Creator and supreme Lord, to be Israel's deliverer from exile. These subjects no longer engage our attention. The theme of the successive poems is Israel's future—the restoration of Zion with new glory as the centre of a great Divine righteous state.

A golden thread unites the previous collection (chaps. xl-xlvi) to this and traverses them both. It is the great spiritual conception—the ideal which is to be the guiding-star of the Jewish race, viz. Israel as God's suffering servant. This ideal is unfolded in the present collection, and attains its consummation in the last of the Servant-songs, lii. 13—liii. 12.

Several indications appear to hint that some of the chapters in this collection were composed after the return to Palestine. The frequent references to Zion, lii. 1 foll., 7 foll. ; cf. li. 3, 16, 17, liv. 11, 12, and its restoration, would seem to imply that the writer had just arrived in Palestine with the first band of exiles. On the other hand, passages such as li. 14, lii. 11, 12, lv. 12 speak of the deliverance and departure from Babylon as something in the future. While, therefore, we have advanced in time to a point beyond that of the preceding collection, we cannot be said to have advanced far. The present series of Deutero-Isaianic poems may be said to belong to the transition stage between the residence of the exiles in Babylon immediately prior to their departure and the return of the first company of exiles to Palestine.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Verses 1-6. Metric form and style remind us of xlii. 1-4. It is composed in six quatrains, each forming a verse. We have here the second among the 'Servant-songs.' It bears no relation to chap. xlviii, which forms the conclusion of the preceding and distinct collection of the Deutero-Isaianic oracles. On the other

from far: the LORD hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name: and he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me; and he hath made me a polished shaft, in his quiver hath he

hand, it is linked in one characteristic particular to the passage that immediately follows, namely, in the subject which forms the dominating theme of this entire collection (chaps. xlix-lv), Israel's restoration and ideal.

In xlii. 1-4, the first of the series of 'Servant-songs,' it is Yahweh who speaks, here it is the servant.

1. The servant addresses himself to the coast-lands as well as distant peoples, since his mission has a world-wide import (cf. xlii. 6 and note, and also xlix. 6). The expression **from the womb** (or '... mother's womb') and its concrete parallels are used in Hebrew to express 'from earliest origin.' This conception of the high spiritual calling of an individual preordained by God even before birth first meets us in the account given by Jeremiah of the inauguration of his prophetic ministry. In Isaiah the dignity and significance of his initiation is expressed by a consecration vision (vi. 1 foll.). In the case of Moses by vision and miracle combined (Exod. iii. 1 foll.). In the case of Jeremiah we see the beginning of an intellectual process whereby dignity and permanence are ascribed to an event by carrying it *as far back as possible in earthly existence*. In later post-exilian times a further advance was made, and we enter the metaphysical stage when institutions and persons of great religious significance were endowed with *premundane existence*¹.

The expression **made mention of my name** is here used in a pregnant sense, i. e. it means more than simply 'called me by my name' (cf. xliii. 2). It rather signifies 'he has declared who I am, what importance I possess, when he bestows upon me the name "Yahweh's servant"' (Marti).

2. The Divine equipment of the Servant. Are we to regard this equipment, like the 'calling,' as natal or pre-natal, and is the expression **in his quiver hath He kept me close** (more correctly 'concealed me') to be referred to the pre-natal condition? We might then compare Ps. cxxxix. 13. This seems a possible though

¹ See Hastings' *DCG.*, ii. p. 174 (art. 'Messiah'); Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*—vol. i, p. 175. Cf. also Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, pp. 105 foll., 245 foll., where the citations are carefully examined and sifted.

3 kept me close: and he said unto me, Thou art my
4 servant; Israel, in whom I will be glorified. But I said,
I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for

over-strained interpretation. The meaning is rather that the servant's equipment for his great mission has been hitherto withheld from public observation, though his appointment has been long decided in the Divine counsels.

We have here military metaphors, though the character of the servant as depicted in chap. liii (a lamb dumb before its shearers; forsaken, wounded, despised) is the very reverse of military. The **mouth**, as organ of the utterance of the servant, is compared to a sharp sword. St. Paul, in his enumeration of the spiritual armoury, calls the Word of God 'the Spirit's sword' (Eph. vi. 17), and the same metaphor is strengthened in Heb. iv. 12, where the Word of God is declared to be 'sharper than any two-edged sword.' On the other hand, in Jer. xxiii. 29 it is compared both to a fire and to a hammer that batters to pieces the crag. At the close of the verse the servant compares himself to Yahweh's polished shaft which He keeps concealed in His quiver to be used with potent effect against the enemy when the proper occasion comes.

3. Israel, standing here in the latter portion of the long line (as the R. V. above renders), is not to be regarded as a vocative but as a second predicate, parallel to 'my servant' in the preceding clause. Duhm follows Gesenius in wishing to remove it from the text. It stands, however, in the LXX, and there are no metric reasons which demand its removal. Marti would therefore retain it.¹

Its presence stands in the way of the theory that the writer of these 'Servant-songs' regarded his ideal servant as a personality pure and simple. The presence of the word Israel is fatal to this theory, and such evidence must not be manipulated out of existence.

For the passive form **will be glorified** we ought strictly to substitute the reflexive form 'will glorify myself,' since the form in the original is reflexive (*Hithpa'el*).

4-5. We have here a 'circumstantial clause' in which the personal pron. 'I' stands in contrast with Yahweh, who is the speaker in the preceding verse and again in verse 5 that follows. Accordingly translate:—

'Now I had said: "In vain have I laboured,
Fruitlessly have I exhausted my strength";

¹ It is, however, omitted in Codex xii, Parsons, and in one Heb. MS. But these are, as Giesebrecht points out, insufficient reasons for removal (*Knecht Jahves des Deuterjesaja*, p. 31).

nought and vanity: yet surely my judgement is with the LORD, and my recompence with my God. And now saith ⁵ the LORD that formed me from the womb to be his

Nevertheless my cause¹ is with Yahweh
And my recompence is with my God.'

said here, as in many other passages, signifies 'thought,' the full form of expression in the original being 'said in my heart.' The servant reflects over his past history. It seems to have been full of suffering and vain endeavour. What has been achieved? Yet he faces the future in humble reliance on Yahweh, who will reveal in the future the meaning of all the sufferings of the past and bestow its due recompence. The language resembles that of xl. 10 (cf. Jer. xxxi. 16; Isa. lxii. 11) in its particular use of the word rendered 'recompence' as well as in the general sense of the passage. The tone of the verse reminds us of Jeremiah (e. g. xxxi. 16 and xlv), and is re-echoed often in Psalm literature, xxxvii. 5, 6, 23, 24, lxii. 1 [2 Heb.], &c.

In response to this attitude of resigned and trustful waiting Yahweh is maturing His purpose: 'who formed me from the womb to be His servant to restore Jacob unto Him, so that Israel might be gathered to Him and might² be honoured in the eyes of Yahweh, and my God shall have become my strength.'

This is a possible rendering of the text slightly modified from the form as it is read according to the Massoretic tradition (*Kerê*) rather than in accordance with the *written* text (*Kethîb*) which stands before us. The latter reads 'not' in place of 'to him.' In the original both readings are pronounced exactly alike, and in the Heb. text there are not infrequent confusions between them. Of this we have a notable example in ix. 3 (2 Heb.); cf. lxiii. 9³.

¹ i. e. as Giesebrecht interprets it, the servant's claim (*Rechtsanspruch*), of which Yahweh his patron is the defender and champion (*ibid.* p. 30). The further question arises: Against whom is the claim maintained? The language implies a suit at law or contest. The contest is evidently, as Giesebrecht shows, between the *foreign peoples* and Yahweh's servant, the true and faithful Israel, *K. J.*, p. 32.

² According to the Hebrew text, we ought here to read the first person. Instead, therefore, of 'and might, &c.,' read 'so that I might be honoured,' whereby this clause stands in complete parallelism with the following. The thought passes by a transition easy to a Semitic Hebrew, from Israel to the personification, who in this entire passage is speaking (cf. verse 1).

³ In ix. 3 A.V. adopts the one reading, 'not increased the joy,'

servant, to bring Jacob again to him, and that Israel be gathered unto him : (for I am honourable in the eyes of the LORD, and my God is become my strength :) yea, he saith, It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel : I will also give thee for a light to the

Hitzig and Duhm adhere to the *Kethib* or written text, but assign to the verb rendered 'gathered' another meaning, which in some passages certainly belongs to it, of 'carry away,' 'carry off'; Hos. iv. 3; Isa. lvii. 1 (cf. Gen. xxx. 23), or 'be destroyed'—'so that Israel be not swept away.' Duhm goes further than this and detaches the last clause of the verse from its connexion, and places it at the end of verse 3, thus:—

(verse 3) 'And He said to me: "My servant art thou
 In whom I shall glorify myself."
 And I was glorified¹ in the eyes of Yahweh,
 And my God became my strength.'

This is very ingenious and attractive. But it is a violent treatment of the text. Moreover, there lurks behind it (cf. above note on verse 3) what we have already characterized as manipulation of evidence. For it is obvious that in its old and probably original context the displaced passage furnishes a clear indication that in the mind of the writer of the Servant-songs the 'Servant of Yahweh' is not a separate and single personality but a vividly-expressed personification of a community. This swift transition from the individual to the people personified and vice versa is quite natural to a Hebrew mind (Num. xx. 14, cf. verses 15 foll. and 19 and also verses 20 and 21, where the alternations between sing. and plur. of this E section are significant).

In all probability Marti is on the right track in his restoration of the text. He follows the LXX in getting rid of the negative (or the preposition and its pronominal accompaniment 'to him' read in its place), which is due to dittography. With a slight change in punctuation and the alteration of a single character we obtain what is probably the true original version of verse 5:—

R.V. adopts the other, 'hast increased their joy,' lit. 'joy to him' (i. e. the nation). No reference is made to this in the notes, since the passage has obviously become mutilated, and Krochmal's brilliant restoration is accepted by nearly all recent critics.

¹ Reading the Hebrew text as a Waw consec., and thus bringing it into harmony with the perfect tense which follows. So also Oort and Klostermann.

Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end

‘And now saith Yahweh,
Who formed me from the womb as His servant,
To bring back Jacob to Himself,
“And Israel will I gather”;
And I have received honour in the eyes of Yahweh,
And my God has become my strength.’

6. This verse continues to unfold Yahweh’s purpose and thought (expressed by the word ‘said’), and constitutes the climax in the writer’s conception of Israel’s great destiny as a suffering servant, which becomes subsequently (lii. 13—liii. 12) more fully developed. We follow Dillmann’s interpretation of the Hebrew text :—

‘And He said :—

“Lighter task is it than being my servant
To establish the tribes of Jacob,
And restore the preserved of Israel;
Yea, I will set you as a light to the Gentiles,
To be my salvation as far as earth’s end.”’

The verse is certainly complex and unwieldy in form. Duhm would relieve it of the clause ‘than being my servant’ (literally, ‘than thy being a servant to me’). And the whole verse certainly flows thereby more smoothly :—

‘Tis task too slight to establish Jacob’s tribes,
And to bring back the preserved of Israel;
Yea, rather I make thee a light of the Gentiles,
That my salvation may be as far as earth’s end.’

The general sense, whether the clause be removed or not, remains the same¹. The restoration of Israel to Palestine from Babylonian exile had already been foreshadowed by Jeremiah (xxxii. 2-5, 20-22, xxxii. 14-15), and the future scheme of the restored community and its cultus had been sketched in idealized details by Ezekiel (xl-xlviii). The author of these Servant-songs was not content with a mission for God’s suffering servant Israel circumscribed by these national limitations; Israel was being formed by past chastisement for a higher task. To be Yahweh’s servant meant nothing less than to be the bearer of the Divine

¹ It can hardly be said that the LXX help us much to a correct sense, or text, unless it be that the word *διασποράν* should lead us to substitute in the Hebrew text נִצְּוִי (‘the scattered’), or, perhaps, as Ottley suggests, נִצְּוִי for נִצְּוִי (‘the preserved’). LXX render ‘Tis a great thing for thee to be called my servant’ (גִּדְלִי הַקְּרָאָה), which looks like a purposed emendation).

7 of the earth.] Thus saith the LORD, the redeemer of Israel, *and* his Holy One, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers : Kings shall see and arise ; princes, and they shall worship ; because of the LORD that is faithful, *even* the
8 Holy One of Israel, who hath chosen thee. Thus saith

light to all the nations of the world¹. The writer had drunk deep from the wells of Amos and Jeremiah.

Verses 7-12. The oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah are resumed, but we no longer remain on the high level of the preceding poem. Dillmann remarks with truth that in the Deutero-Isaiah we do not hear again of the illumination of the Gentile. At all events the thought is not made explicit. The theme of the following verses is that humiliated Israel is to be raised to great glory and restored from the land of exile to his own country. The metre of the Deutero-Isaiah is resumed. We have two long-line quatrains, each long line falling into two parts :—

7. ' Thus saith Yahweh—Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One,
To one despised of souls, to one loathed of nations—to a slave of
rulers,
Kings shall see (thee) and rise up—princes, and shall bow them-
selves down,

¹ It is Giesebrecht who here manipulates the evidence in order to suit the exigencies of a theory. For the text as it stands in verses 5, 6 (including ' than being my servant ') is fatal to the identification of the servant in the Servant-passages with empirical Israel. Even Giesebrecht's elimination of the clause in verse 5, ' to restore Jacob to Himself,' &c., for which LXX give him no warrant, does not get rid of all difficulties. In verse 6 it is quite evident to the unbiassed student that the establishment of Jacob's tribes, and the restoration of Israel's preserved (or probably we should read ' dispersed ') race, is actually regarded as an ultimate but quite subsidiary purpose of the servant's commission. That commission is directed to the *Gentiles*. Here we see the divergence between the Deutero-Isaiah, who thought of little else but the restoration to Zion, and his great teacher and predecessor. The ' Servant ' *here* is the purified and ennobled Jewish remnant, whose mission is to the Gentile world first, and to his Jewish and Israelite (Ephraimite) countrymen last. See Giesebrecht's *Der Knecht Jahves*, pp. 41-6, and the clear and able but inconclusive note by Dr. Peake, *Problem of Suffering*, pp. 46 following.

the LORD, In an acceptable time have I answered thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee : and I will preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, to raise up the land, to make them inherit the desolate heritages ; saying to them that are bound, Go forth ; to 9 them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves. They shall feed in the ways, and on all bare heights shall be their pasture. They shall not hunger nor thirst ; neither 10 shall the heat nor sun smite them : for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of

Because of Yahweh who is faithful—the Holy One of Israel that¹ hath chosen thee.’

Here the rendering ‘despised’ corresponds to a slight alteration of the hardly intelligible form of our Hebrew text. The despised and loathed people is to be honoured by kings.

8. ‘Thus saith Yahweh . . .

“In a time of favour do I answer thee and in the day of victory do I help thee.”

The first line of this second quatrain is defective. Doubtless the latter part of the long line, which has been lost, contained epithets of Yahweh analogous to those of the first line of the preceding quatrain (verse 7), which likewise opens with the formula : ‘Thus saith Yahweh.’

The ‘time of favour’ means the time when God’s compassion and deliverance of His people begins to dawn.

‘And will form and make you—a covenant-people—

To establish the land—to cause desolated heritages to be inherited.’

Respecting the covenant-people, see xlii. 6 and notes.

9. The expression **saying** continues the address of Yahweh to the exiles. Probably we ought to follow the LXX and restore the preposition ‘all’ before ‘the ways,’ and also the rhythmic balance of the parallel clauses :

‘Upon all ways let them feed—on all bare hills be their pasture.’

10. The word rendered here **heat** we should translate ‘glowing sand,’ as in xxxv. 7. The heat which overpowers the traveller in

¹ Literally, ‘and he hath chosen thee,’ which is equivalent to a relative or attributive clause. Students of Hebrew will consult Gesenius-Kautzsch’s, *Hebrew Grammar*, 26th ed. § 111. 4 q.

- 11 water shall he guide them. And I will make all my mountains a way, and my high ways shall be exalted.
 12 Lo, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of

the desert not only comes from the sun but is reflected from the sands. The rendering 'mirage' (based on the Arabic) does not fit either passage. See note on xxxv. 7.

11. The language reminds us of xl. 4¹.

12. The land of *Sinim* has been a fruitful source of speculation. Interpreters who seek to locate this region appear to have looked towards the east because the north has already been mentioned, and also the west (expressed in the original by 'sea,' i. e. the Mediterranean Sea, which lay west to a Jew). In contrast to the west, the east naturally suggested itself, and the LXX identified the land with Persia. Moreover, Chinese scholars such as Victor von Strauss-Torney (in his *Excursus* contributed to Delitzsch's commentary on Isaiah, 3rd German ed., pp. 688 foll.) have laboured to identify the land with China. But there are phonetic difficulties in identifying *Sinim* with China on account of the initial sibilant, which ought rather to be *š* (ts) than simply *S*. There is also an antecedent improbability that China was within the horizon of a Jew's (or indeed any Semite's) geographical knowledge at this time. There is no hint of it in the tables of races (Gen. x, xi), or in the long and minute catalogue in Ezek. xxvii, which probably represents the extent of the geographical world with which the Deutero-Isaiah's immediate predecessor was conversant. Nor have cuneiform data led us to the conclusion that China came within the Babylonian field of vision.

Accordingly we are led to regard favourably the identification of this name with *Syene*² (the modern Assouân). The emendation

¹ In verse 11, the latter part of the long line, 'and my high ways shall be exalted,' forms a natural complement to the former, but seems to be metrically too short. The LXX render this latter portion: 'and [I will make] every high way a pasture for them.'

² This is rendered all the more probable because it is twice mentioned by Ezekiel (xxix. 10, xxx. 6, סִינִי), in his prophecies on Egypt. In both these passages the LXX correctly reproduce the name. Accordingly the slight mutilation of our text in Isa. xlix. 12 must have taken place in early times (i. e. סִינִי into סִינִים). Both the Targum and Vulgate were on the right track in placing the land of *Sinim* in the *south*.

Sinim. Sing, O heavens; and be joyful, O earth; and break forth into singing, O mountains: for the LORD hath comforted his people, and will have compassion upon his afflicted.

But Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the

of a single character in our text which this involves is extremely slight. This identification was originally made by Michaelis and adopted by Döderlein, and it has recently been revived by Klostermann and Cheyne. Recent discoveries near Assouân have greatly enhanced its probability. Even as early as the eighth century we learn from Hos. ix. 3, 6 that refugees from the Northern Kingdom found an asylum in Egypt. The number must have been considerable in the time of Isaiah (xix. 19-22), and still greater a century later (Jer. xlii. 14, xlv). Quite recently in Assouân, where a considerable Jewish settlement must have existed, a large number of papyri have been discovered, which are nothing else than Jewish documents composed in Aramaic. They chiefly consist of deeds relating to property and marriage settlements written in what somewhat resembles the, square Hebrew character. As the documents are carefully dated, and contain well-known Hebrew names, like those of the exile and post-exilian period, we have here a most valuable collateral testimony to the truth of the proposed identification¹. Syene was one of the centres of the Jewish diaspora in Egypt (cf. another exilian prophecy parallel to this in xi. 11 foll.) from which the exiles were to be gathered to the homeland.

13. A short lyrical passage is appended as in xlii. 10, 11, xlv. 8, xlviii. 20, 21. In character it most resembles xlv. 23—several of whose expressions recur here, such as 'sing' (properly 'utter a ringing cry'), 'be joyful' ('exult'), and 'break forth into singing.'

Verses 14-21 foreshadow the restoration of the Zion-community and the increase of its population. A poem breathing a warm spirit of intense sympathy with Zion and its sorrows. It is made up of long-lined stanzas—each line consisting of two portions. Apparently there were, if we follow Duhm's arrangement, originally six stanzas, one of which (beginning of verse 19) has lost two lines. It is really a dialogue between Zion and her Divine husband, Yahweh.

14. Zion's plaint that she is forsaken. The underlying idea is thoroughly Semitic. 'Zion is here, as in xl. 1 foll., 9 foll., the

¹ The documents date from 471 to 411 B.C. The characters approximate those of the middle column (Aramaic-Egyptian) in the table p. 503 in Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.*²⁶

- 15 Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, these may forget, yet will not
 16 I forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me.
 17 Thy children make haste; thy destroyers and they that
 18 made thee waste shall go forth of thee. Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather them-

actual city of Jerusalem which is conceived of as a woman that should have or bring forth children, but is childless and barren. It is a characteristically Semitic conception that it is not the individuals who constitute the nation, but that the nation or town brings forth individuals. It is likewise an ancient idea that the exiles when withdrawn from the tribe are no longer regarded, properly speaking, as children of their original native country, but as the offspring of a foreign woman. Zion mourns that she is abandoned by Yahweh (cf. xl. 27), forgotten by her Lord' (Duhm). Cf. l. 1, liv. 6, where the idea is more fully expressed.

15. The reassuring answer of Yahweh: 'More faithful and steadfast is my love than even that of a mother to her child.' The meaning is quite clear, but not so the text. 'Even these forget' (or, *potential*, 'may forget') is a change from the singular (woman) in the preceding clause to the plural. LXX render 'even a woman (some MSS. "mother") forgets these.' The word 'these' in our text is emphatic. Duhm, following the hint of the LXX, would read the word 'mothers' in place of 'these,' and render 'Even mothers may forget.' It is doubtful; however, whether any change in the Hebrew is needed.

16. A powerful metaphor. Yahweh has inscribed upon His palms the image of the ruined Zion soon to be rebuilt; but, as the future proved, not until about a century had passed by (lxii. 4-7; cf. Neh. i. 3, ii. 3) was this expectation fulfilled.

17. The reading of the Hebrew text as 'thy builders' (rather than 'thy sons') is demanded by a considerable consensus of ancient testimony, viz. the versions LXX, Vulg., Targ. It is also supported by Cod. Babyl. and by the Jewish interpreter Saadiah. 'Thy builders' will then stand in suitable contrast to 'thy destroyers and desolators' in the clause that immediately follows. It is not till verse 20 that any mention is made of Zion's new offspring. Cf. lxii. 5 and note.

18. Already the future inhabitants of Zion come streaming into the city from all sides. The poet uses a vivid metaphor, and

selves together, and come to thee. As I live, saith the LORD, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all as with an ornament, and gird thyself with them, like a bride. For, as for thy waste and thy desolate places and thy land that hath been destroyed, surely now shalt thou be too strait for the inhabitants, and they that swallowed thee up shall be far away. The children of thy bereavement shall yet say in thine ears, The place is too strait for me: give place to me that I may dwell. Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these, seeing I have been bereaved of my children, and am solitary, [an

describes these new inhabitants as a bride's ornament wherewith the bridal city is to be adorned.

19. Probably Duhm is right in holding that the first part of this verse is the first line of a triplet stanza of which two lines which immediately follow are lost:—

‘For thy devastations and desolations—and the land of thy demolition

.

The closing portion of the verse is the beginning of the next stanza of three lines, which are complete:—

‘For now thou art too narrow for thy inhabitants—and thy destroyers are far removed.’

The first portion of the verse seems to form part of an incomplete sentence, and the latter portion does not naturally follow the first. This can best be explained by assuming that one or more lines between both have been lost.

20. The children (properly ‘sons’) of thy bereavement mean the sons who were born to thee (i. e. to Zion) in the days when thou wast childless, i. e. the returning exiles.

21. Zion is astonished in these latter days at the great accession to the number of her inhabitants, and exclaims, ‘Who hath brought forth¹ for me these? seeing that I am childless and

¹ The verb in Hebrew is masc., though the subject is obviously fem. But such irregularities of concord are not very infrequent in Hebrew. There is, therefore, no strong need to render ‘who hath begotten me . . .’ with R. V.

exile, and wandering to and fro]? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone; these, where were they?

22 Thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the nations, and set up my ensign to the peoples: and they shall bring thy sons in their bosom, and thy

barren [exiled and cast away]. And these, who hath reared them?' R. V. **wandering** (A. V. 'removing') to **and fro** is an incorrect rendering.

These verses 20, 21 are best understood by reverting to the custom whereby slave-girls—e. g. Hagar, Bilhah, and Zilpah—are employed by their mistresses when barren to raise up offspring. Compare with this passage Sarah's strange remark in reference to Hagar, 'Perhaps I shall be *built up* from her' (Gen. xvi. 2; cf. xxx. 3). Zion is the unfruitful wife. The strange woman who has borne the children is the land of exile in which the Jewish exiles have grown up. The words enclosed in brackets in the rendering given above are absent from the LXX, and are due either to the gloss of some scribe, or more probably to a dittography of the word translated 'barren.' They are altogether misleading and inappropriate. For Zion could not in any sense be called *exiled* and cast away, since the term Zion can only denote the *place* and the inhabitants who are *in* the place.

'**Where were they?**' (or A. V. 'where have they been?') is the rendering of LXX and of most interpreters ever since, including the late Dr. Franz Delitzsch. Recent expositors, however, prefer to render the Hebrew, 'How is it with them?' i. e. of what character are they, are they actually my children? So Duhm, Dillmann, Kittel, and others. But it is extremely doubtful whether the Hebrew interrog. particle here bears this meaning, and the reference to Judges viii. 18 (see Moore, *ad loc.*) is fallacious. Accordingly we adhere to the rendering of the R. V. 'where were they?' i. e. what was their place of residence? Probably nearly all the returning exiles had been born and bred in or near Babylonia. Zion, the old and now bereaved and childless mother-city, does not know these foreign-born Jews that are crowding within her borders.

xlix. 22—l. 3 contain three short oracle-poems of comfort and reassurance for Israel. The metre differs from the preceding, and no longer consists of the long lines of verses 14–21, but of lines of more uniform measure, like verses 1–13, which can be regarded as single lines or as pairs, i. e. distichs. (Mart.)

(a) Verses 22, 23. At the signal of Yahweh the nations will

daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And ²³ kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy

carry Zion's children back to her and do abject homage to her greatness. Zion shall then realize the might of Yahweh, and His faithful followers shall no longer be despondent :—

See! I lift up to nations my hand,
 And to peoples I hoist up my banner,
 And they shall bring in thy sons in (their) bosom,
 And thy daughters shall be borne on the shoulder.'

The spectacle of foreign nations at Yahweh's command carrying the exiles back to their old land and city affords a strange contrast to the conception of the Suffering Servant portrayed elsewhere, more especially in the 'Servant-songs'; but the following verse enhances the contrast. This powerful figure of the banner, which is Isaianic (v. 26), is a favourite one among writers exilian and post-exilian (xi. 10, 12, xiii. 2, lxii. 10), and the conception of foreign nations carrying Israel back from exile at Yahweh's bidding is borrowed by the Trito-Isaiah (lx. 4 foll., lxvi. 12, 19, 20).

23. The office of *ōmēn*, rendered **nursing father**¹, which we might translate by 'warder,' and somewhat resembled the Greek *παιδαγωγός*, appears to have been a recognized position in princely families. We know that they had definite duties in rearing and training the royal sons in Ahab's court (2 Kings x. 1, 5). The Hebrew word is really a participle, and means one who supports or props up. Perhaps the original function of the *ōmēn* was to support or carry the very young children.

The Hebrew word rendered here **queens** properly means 'princesses,' just as the corresponding masculine word (not employed here) means in Hebrew 'captain' or 'prince.' But here the parallelism clearly shows that the rendering 'queens' is correct. Moreover, the corresponding word in the Babylonian language means 'queens' (just as the corresponding masculine sing. means 'king'). We have here another subtle indication of the Babylonian influence over the writer.

The sentiment of the passage, describing the abject homage paid by foreign rulers to Zion, stands in strange and dissonant contrast to the high ideals of the 'Suffering Servant.' Duhm is so painfully impressed with it that he would be glad if it were possible to regard the first two lines of this verse as an interpolation. These foreign rulers prostrate themselves in reverent homage to Zion, as though Babylon, the former mistress of nations, and Zion, the conquered and demolished city, had exchanged

¹ This rendering appears to be due to the LXX, *τιθηνοί*.

nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their faces to the earth, and lick the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD, and they that wait for me shall not be ashamed. Shall the prey be taken from

mutually their respective roles. Cf. Mic. vii. 17 and Ps. lxxii. 9. 'Licking the dust of thy feet' (like 'kissing the feet'¹) was the Oriental expression of a vassal's homage. We constantly meet with it in the Tell-el-Amarna inscriptions, in the series of letters from Abimelech governor of Tyre to the Egyptian king. (about 1400 B. C.): 'To the King, my Lord, my God, my Sun. Thus doth Abimelech, thy servant, prostrate himself seven times and yet seven times under the feet of the King my Lord. I am dust beneath the shoe of the King, my Lord.'²

(b) Verses 24-26. Israel may rest assured that Yahweh will not fail in accomplishing the deliverance of His people.

24. The ordinary formula, 'thus saith Yahweh,' followed by the ascription to Him of titles such as 'Redeemer of Israel,' 'thy Creator,' &c., is omitted at the beginning of this brief oracle. Duhm would supply it. Not infrequently only the first part of the opening line, 'Thus saith Yahweh,' appears in the text, the rest of the line being omitted by the copyist. A considerable amount of uncertainty, both as to text, meaning, and even genuineness, attaches to this verse. (1) LXX evidently pronounced the word rendered 'is taken' as an active and not a passive form: 'Shall one take from the mighty man (lit. giant) spoil.' This is quite possible, but not so probable as the vocalization of the Hebrew text, which fits the parallel clause better. (2) The next clause in the original runs thus: 'or shall the captive of the just one escape?' This seems to be the only possible rendering of the text as it stands. Both A. V. and R. V., 'lawful captive' (plur. in R. V.), though supported by Hitzig, is hardly possible. The R. V. (marg.) is on the right track, 'the captives of the just.' But the word 'just'

¹ 'Kissing the feet' is a phrase that constantly recurs ('kissed my feet') in the annals of the Assyrian kings to describe the homage of foreign conquered potentates. Cf. Ps. ii. 12, and Schrader, *COT.*, ii. p. 155.

² See Winckler in Schrader, *KIB.*, vol. v, Letters 149, 150, 151, 152, where each letter opens with this abject formula. As a pictorial illustration, the visitor to the British Museum should examine the relief on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser II, that portrays the Israelite deputation bringing tokens of homage and gifts to the Assyrian king. The foremost figure bows himself prostrate to the dust.

the mighty, or the lawful captives be delivered? But thus ²⁵ saith the LORD, Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered: for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, ²⁶ and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be

seems to mar the parallelism. It hardly corresponds to 'the mighty men' of the preceding clause. Now if we turn to the following verse we are supplied with the adjective that probably stood in the original text in the place of the word for 'just,' viz. the word rendered 'terrible one' in the R. V. (better, 'violent one' or 'tyrant'). Accordingly it would be better, to substitute this word in the original. It might easily be corrupted into the word for 'just.' This emendation is supported by the Peshitto (i. e. Syriac version) and Vulg., and perhaps by the LXX. Therefore render: 'or shall the captive of the tyrant escape?' (3) Marti, on the other hand, adheres to the text. The 'just one' is God, and the term 'mighty one' might also be applied to Him (cf. ix. 6 [Héb. 5], 'Hero-God'). This verse he holds to be a gloss to the following, which is Deutero-Isaianic and begins with the Deutero-Isaianic formula, 'Thus saith Yahweh' (which Duhm would place at the beginning of verse 24). But this view is highly unsatisfactory. Verse 24 is a necessary predecessor to verse 25. We have here an argument parallel to verses 14, 15 above. Even the will of the strongest human despot can be frustrated; his captive may escape or his spoil be filched by another, but *my* will is never frustrated (cf. xlvi. 10, 11):—

25. 'Even the captive of the mighty is taken,
And the spoil of the tyrant escapes;
But with thy foe 'tis I am contending,
And thy sons 'tis I that shall save.'

26 brings this sequence of thought to its natural conclusion. But the shrill impassioned note of a vengeful nationalism that meets us here and so frequently in the Psalms is distressful to the Christian consciousness, and marks the beginning of the decline from the pure and serene heights of the 'Servant-songs.'

them that oppress thee here refer to the Babylonians: cf. xlvii. 6 (latter part). The epithet 'mighty one of Jacob'¹

¹ This epithet, like 'excellency (or "glory") of Jacob' in Amos vi. 8 (probably Ephraimite in origin), may have been very ancient. Barton, in his *Semitic Origins*, p. 129, compares the epithet,

drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and all flesh shall know that I the LORD am thy saviour, and thy redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.

50 Thus saith the LORD, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, wherewith I have put her away?

meets us in lx. 16. The 'sweet wine' (Heb. 'āsīs) means here new wine or must.

CHAPTER L.

(c) 1-3. The *third* oracle of comfort. Zion has not been finally and irrevocably abandoned by Yahweh as though she had been dismissed with a bill of divorce, and the children sold into slavery. Yahweh is still the God of might who will redeem Israel.

1. The first line of the strophe is once more defective. 'Thus saith Yahweh' is all that stands in our text. Cf. similar defective lines in xlii. 5, xlix. 8 and 22. Duhm thinks that the last portion has been misplaced to the close of verse 26 owing to the influence of the passage in Trito-Isaiah lx. 16, where the phraseology of xlix. 26 recurs. Accordingly he completes the line thus:

'Thus saith Yahweh . . . —[thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob]'—

the portion supplied (in brackets) forming a metrical superfluity at the close of xlix. 26, but a metrical aid in completing the line at the opening of chap. 1.

The customary law respecting divorce which prevailed in Israel was settled in the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. xxiv. 1 foll.). It was based on the old Oriental conception of wife-purchase (a price called *môhar* being paid by the husband's parents, or by himself to the wife's family¹). This involved the absolute supremacy of the husband. Thus it was only the husband who gave the writ of divorce to the wife, not vice versa. On the other hand, this writ gave the woman entire freedom to marry another.

The interrogative form of the sentence is often employed in Hebrew as a rhetorical mode of expressing a negative. This is the actual force of the interrogative here, 'Where is . . . ?' [Nowhere]. The idea underlying the passage is that Zion, though not finally separated from Yahweh by a writ of divorce, is nevertheless temporarily abandoned by Yahweh during the exile period when her children have departed and her temple has been

¹ 'Strong one of Riyâm' in Mordtmann's *Himjarische Inschriften*, nos. 825, 826, 830, &c.

¹ See *Hebrew Antiquities* (Rel. Tract Soc.), p. 14, and on the 'Writ of Divorce,' p. 19; cf. Ewald, *Altertümer*, p. 272.

or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities were ye sold, and for your

destroyed. The conception therefore bears a close analogy to Hos. iii. 4. So long as Israel existed as a state, it was wedded. During the exile Yahweh no longer dwells as Israel's husband in Zion. According to lii. 8, He will not return there until the people have been redeemed and restored, and the temple in Jerusalem rebuilt. Meanwhile He does not forget His people (xlix. 14-16), but He does not dwell among the Palestinian Jews, nor among the Babylonian exiles or other portions of the *diaspora*, but in Heaven (cf. xl. 22). This was also the view of Ezekiel, who held that after the capture of Jerusalem Yahweh withdrew. The place to which He withdrew was the sky, which in the first vision (Ezek. i. 1) Ezekiel sees 'opened.' This would be in accordance with Israel's most primitive conception of Yahweh as a deity of the sky and of storm¹. Thus in Ezekiel's vision He is portrayed as throned on Cherubim and surrounded with heavenly glory.

which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? again anticipates, like the preceding interrogative, a negative answer: 'To none.' The form of the question is based on ancient Oriental custom. In times of great necessity, which frequently befel the peasant during the ninth and eighth centuries owing to the power of the rich landowning class and the exigencies of war, even the children might be sold into slavery to meet the exactions of the harsh and rapacious creditor (2 Kings iv. 1; cf. Amos ii. 6, viii. 6, and also Isa. v. 8; Mic. ii. 2)². The writer here intends to convey the meaning that this condition has no actual existence. Yahweh has no creditor to whom anything is owing, or whom He cannot pay. Neither has He formally and finally divorced His wife (Zion), nor has He sold through dire need His and her children. Accordingly there is no obstacle to prevent His taking wife and children back to Himself. It is true that they have been sold, i. e. delivered up into the hands of the enemy (lii. 3; cf. Judges ii. 14, iii. 8, &c.), and the mother has been abandoned to desolation and ruin by foes (xlix. 21), but the reason for this consists in the sins and rebellions of Israel³ (cf. Dillmann-Kittel).

¹ Cf. vol. i of this commentary, Introduction, p. 51 footnote.

² Cf. art. 'Servant, Slave,' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iv, p. 463 *b*, and vol. i of this commentary, Introduction, p. 43.

³ The distinction between mother and children consists in the association of motherhood with the place of abode (Zion).

- 2 transgressions was your mother put away. Wherefore, when I came, was there no man? when I called, was there none to answer? Is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver? Behold, at my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a wilderness: their fish stinketh, because there is no
 3 water, and dieth for thirst. I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering.
- 4 [S: The Lord God hath given me the tongue of them that

2. Assurance and comfort are mingled with reproach for lack of faith and courage. There is no lack of power and readiness to save on God's part. Through His prophet (the Deutero-Isaiah) He has come and called, but there is no response. Can it be that His people doubts His power to save! In this verse the writer becomes reminiscent of Israel's past deliverances—more especially does he single out the scenes and events accompanying the Exodus. For **stinketh** read another Hebrew word which closely resembles that which is rendered 'stinketh' (*tib'ash*), viz. *tibash*, which means 'is dried up' (LXX). Cf. Ex. xiv. 16, 21, 22.

3. Another manifestation of Divine power, this time directed against Israel's enemies. The skies are clothed with a gloom that is funereal. Sackcloth as the outer expression of grief or humiliation (often with dust on the head) is frequent in O. T. (Dan. ix. 3; 2 Sam. iii. 31; 1 Kings xx. 32; Isa. iii. 24, xv. 3, xxii. 12; Jer. iv. 8, vi. 26, xlix. 3, &c.). Here again we have an allusion to the scenes of the Exodus, Ex. xiv. 20.

Verses 4-9 form the *third* of the series of 'Servant-songs.' It consists of three stanzas of four long elegiac lines each, and obviously bears no relation to the verses that precede, while it is no less clear that the verse which immediately follows is intended to be a pendant to it and calls attention to its contents. Here again, as in xlix. 1-6, the preceding 'Servant-song,' the servant speaks, and we should probably be right in assuming that here, as there, he speaks of the 'foreign nations afar' (xlix. 1).

4. The tongue of them that are taught: lit. 'a tongue of disciples' (so R. V. marg.)—disciples who themselves aspire to be teachers (Dillmann-Kittel). The second line of this stanza is very uncertain. The word rendered **sustain** (on the authority of Aq. and Vulg.) has no parallel bearing this meaning in the O. T. The same form in other passages bears a very different sense. It has therefore been naturally suspected as a corruption, and this view is confirmed by the LXX, which had another, not dissimilar, form in

are taught, that I should know how to sustain with words him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as they that are taught. The Lord GOD hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away backward. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair:

their text, 'in its own (proper) time.' The rendering of this version is: 'The Lord gives me a tongue of wisdom to know at the right time when to speak a word.' The emendations of the text which have been proposed are endless, and we will not confuse the reader by setting them forth in detail.

The latter part of the verse, as it appears in the LXX, is unintelligible. Our Hebrew text has evidently been obscured by dittography¹. Duhm endeavours to restore the rhythm of the elegiac metre (*hīnah*) and renders:—

'At early morn he awakens mine ear—to hear as disciples.'

5. We here see a higher conception of the ideal servant of Yahweh. He is portrayed as sinless, obedient to the Divine will. Far different is the conception of the Servant Israel in the Deutero-isaiah in xlii. 18-25, the portrait of no mere idealist.

6. Another characteristic trait of the Servant-passages which distinguishes this portraiture from that of the Deutero-Isaiah—the *submissive patience* of the sufferer. This feature will attain its climax in the final poem of the series.

Plucked off the hair here means plucking the hair of the beard—a mode of insult practised in the ancient Orient and not unknown in Europe. Compare the severe treatment by Nehemiah of the Jews who married wives from Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab (Neh. xiii. 25). Even ancient Italy gives examples. Horace may be held to have understood and portrayed the prevalent habits of the young *gamins* of Italy when he writes (*Sat.* i. 3. 133):—

'vellunt tibi barbam
lascivi pueri, quos tu nisi fuste coerces,
urgueris turba circum te stante miserque
rumperis et latras.'

¹ The repetition of phrase seems even to extend to verse 5. Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne are agreed in cancelling the first clause; so apparently Budde (*ZATW.* xi (1891), p. 238). Verse 5 accordingly reads:—

'And I have not been rebellious—have not backslided.'

7 I hid not my face from shame and spitting. For the Lord GOD will help me; therefore have I not been confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, 8 and I know that I shall not be ashamed. He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us stand up together: who is mine adversary? let him come 9 near to me. Behold, the Lord GOD will help me; who

7. The consciousness that Yahweh is his support enables the suffering servant to endure these humiliations. It is better to regard the copula in the original as adversative. Translate: 'Nevertheless (or 'yet,' not 'for' as R. V.) the Lord, Yahweh, helps me—therefore I did not feel put to shame.' Instead of feeling keenly sensitive to insult and reproach 'I set my face like a flint¹.' The expression is closely analogous to that of Ezek. iii. 8, 9, where the prophet is strengthened by Yahweh to maintain a stern front like adamant towards his countrymen.

8. The servant's sufferings are regarded as a trial in a court of justice in which God supports him. So sure does Yahweh's servant feel of victory that he is emboldened to challenge his opponents to a contest. Israel, Yahweh's servant, can safely leave his cause in God's hands, who will vindicate his right.

'He who vindicates my right is near, who contends with me? let us take our stand together.

Who is opponent in my suit?—let him draw nigh unto me.'

9 continues the note of assurance in Yahweh's moral support in the struggle. Here, as in verse 7, it is better to render the Hebrew imperfect by present rather than future tenses. Accordingly translate:—

'Behold the Lord Yahweh helps me, who is he that shall condemn me?'

¹ The word here rendered 'flint,' *ḥallāmtsh*, appears to be the same as the Assyrian *elmēšu*, a precious brilliant stone, probably a diamond; one among the seven which adorn the person of a king or god (see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*).

² The reader will not fail to compare the employment of this passage by St. Paul in Rom. viii. 31-39. The citation in verse 33 is strengthened by the apostle's appeal in the preceding verse to the fact that Yahweh 'spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all' (see Sanday-Headlam's Comm. *ad loc.*).

Here again we note, as in verse 1 (in this Isaiah chapter), that the interrogative is a rhetorical form of expressing a negative, viz. 'none shall condemn.'

is he that shall condemn me? behold, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up.]

Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth 10
the voice of his servant? he that walketh in darkness, and
hath no light, let him trust in the name of the LORD,

For *wax old* substitute 'perish' or 'decay' ('fall to pieces'). The Deutero-Isaiah repeats this phraseology of the decaying garment and the moth-eaten fabric in li. 6, 8. Cf. Hos. v. 12; Job xiii. 28; Ps. xxxix. 11 [12 Heb.], cii. 26 [27 Heb.].

10 is a natural transition from the poem cited by the Deutero-Isaiah to that writer's own application of the words to his contemporaries. The first clause might be regarded as an appeal to pious Jews, the latter as referring, though not directly addressed, to heathen (or lapsed Jews) who have walked in the darkness of polytheism. This would certainly be in accordance with the high ideal and prevailing spirit of the writer of the Servant-passages (cf. Introduction to this vol., p. 22 foll.).

On the other hand, Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne regard both this and the following verse as a later addition. Duhm holds that they both come from the editor's hand, as we have already seen to have been the case in the insertions of chap. xlviii. In our opinion this view has no cogency whatever when applied to verse 10, but only to verse 11. In verse 10 there is an evident transition. The servant no longer speaks in the first person, but is spoken of in the third; yet the reference to the preceding Servant-poem is obvious. We have already an analogous case in xlii. 5, 6, which stand related to the preceding 'Servant-passage' and deal with a similar theme. Like xlii. 5, 6, this verse comes from the Deutero-Isaiah. Dillmann-Kittel rightly assert that neither language nor contents furnish any argument against this view. Moreover li. 1 follows l. 10 in more natural sequence.

The opening of the verse should be rendered thus: 'Whosoever¹ among you feareth Yahweh—let him hearken to His servant's voice.' This involves a very slight emendation of the Hebrew text, which thus reads, 'let him hearken' (as the LXX evidently read in their original). This stands in parallelism with the following clause, which also begins with a relative:—

'Whoso hath walked in darkness—and hath not a gleam of light,
Let him trust in Yahweh's name—and lean upon his God.'

¹ The Hebrew student in reference to this use of the Hebrew interrogative will consult Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 8, and refer to Judges vii. 3; Exod. xxxii. 26.

11 and stay upon his God. [Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that gird yourselves about with firebrands: walk ye in the flame of your fire, and among the brands that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow.]

51 Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye

11. A verse of very different spirit and alien to the thought of the chapter. We are reminded of the bitter tone of the editorial comments to chap. xlviii. This verse evidently comes from the same hand. It is a final redactional addition like xlviii. 22, and is addressed by Yahweh to the apostates of a later time.

The Hebrew verbal form translated 'gird yourselves about with' is obviously inappropriate, and has been rightly suspected as a corruption. The slight emendation proposed by Secker is based on the rendering of the Peshitto (Syriac) version, and has been adopted by Oort, Duhm, and other critics. Accordingly render:—

• See all of you that kindle a fire—set brands alight,
Enter the flame of your fire—and the brands ye have set
a-burning!

The word here translated **kindle** is characteristic of later Hebrew. It occurs in Trito-Isaiah (lxiv. 1), and in Jer. xvii. 4 (which is held by recent critics to be late—see Cornill). The concluding sentence reminds us of the stern spirit of xlviii. 22:—

‘From my hand hath this come upon you—in the place of torment shall ye lie!’ (Cf. lxvi. 24.)

CHAPTER LI.

Verses 1–8 are a highly poetical and inspiring poem announcing the near approach of Yahweh's deliverance, and the extension of His rule over the world. Once more we have the elegiac measure, and the poem is distributed into five stanzas of four long lines each, all of which, except the defective second stanza, begin with an imperative.

1, 2. We have in the opening verses a characteristic trait of exilic and later Hebrew poetry—reminiscences of early patriarchal history¹. The example of the aged Abraham and the barren

¹ ‘Whence ye were hewn . . . whence ye were digged.’ On the elliptical construction of these relative clauses in the original the student of Hebrew will consult Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 155 k. The word for ‘pit’ in the original (*bôr*) seems metrically redundant in the second or shorter portion of the line. Duhm and Marti would reject it.

that seek the LORD: look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye were digged. Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you: for when he was but one I called him, and I blessed him, and made him many. For the LORD hath comforted Zion: he hath comforted all her waste places, and hath made her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the LORD; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody.

Sarah, who became the parents of a great nation, is here adduced as an encouragement to faith and hope. Cf. in N. T. Matt. iii. 9; Heb. xi. 12. Render, 'ye that pursue after the cause of right,' i. e. make the victory of the right cause (which is that of Yahweh's own people) your quest. Respecting this difficult Heb. word *sedek*, here to be rendered 'right cause' and not 'righteousness,' see above note on xiv. 13.

There is no need to assume here with Duhm mysterious references to ancient myths connected with hollows at Hebron. The metaphor is that of a quarry from which the building-material for a house is derived. It naturally arose in the mind of a race that called a family, clan, or people a 'house' (the Arabs call it a 'tent,' *ahl*). Cf. the language of Sarah in Gen. xvi. 2 (R. V. marg.).

Verse 2 may perhaps be based on a literary reminiscence of Gen. xii. 2 (J)¹.

3. Evidently, as Duhm correctly surmises, the first line of this second stanza has been lost with the imperative at its head. To the exhortation of this lost line the word **for** must bear reference.

The Perfects **hath comforted**, &c., correspond to the same tense in the original. Probably they should be regarded as perfects expressing in reference to the future *certainty* or *assurance* (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* 26, § 106. 3 b; Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 41 (a) and (b)). We should then render by a future or a present tense: 'Yahweh will comfort (or comforteth) Zion.'

Once more we have a reminiscence of early legend. The references to Eden and Yahweh's garden suggest an acquaintance with Gen. ii. 8 (J). That Babylonia was the original home of the

¹ LXX hover between 'loved him' and 'multiplied him,' i. e. as Ottley points out, between the two texts אהבתי and ארבותי, of which the latter is undoubtedly right, B reads the first and NAQ have a conflation of both readings.

- 4 Attend unto me, O my people; and give ear unto me,
 O my nation: for a law shall go forth from me, and I will
 make my judgement to rest for a light of the peoples.
 5 My righteousness is near, my salvation is gone forth, and
 mine arms shall judge the peoples; the isles shall wait for

legend may be shown from numerous indications, and this fact may have stimulated the allusion here¹. Cf. also Ezek. xxviii. 13.

Verses 4, 5 announce the spread of the religion of Yahweh to the end of the world. This, according to the writer of the Servant-songs (xlix. 6), was to be Israel's main function as Yahweh's servant. The Deutero-Isaiah here reproduces the lesson. The address is now specially made to the *people*, not merely to Yahweh's faithful followers (verse 1).

4. The text of the close of this verse probably needs amending. Two indications point in this direction. (1) The Hebrew verb 'I will make . . . to rest,' which stands at the close of verse 4 in our Hebrew text, is differently read in the LXX, and is placed at the beginning of the following verse. (2) The latter portion of this elegiac line in verse 4 is metrically too long in our Hebrew text. It would therefore be safer to follow the guidance of the LXX and render the closing line:—

'For instruction shall go forth from me—and my judgment as a light for nations.'

5. The opening of this verse will then read:—

'In a moment² my vindication is nigh—my victory has gone forth.'

The word here rendered 'vindication' is the Heb. *sedek* = 'right,' but used frequently in the pregnant sense of *victory of the right cause*, as the parallelism clearly shows, where the word rendered above 'salvation' may be appropriately expressed by 'victory'; see above note on verses 1, 2 and xlv. 13. The verb translated 'gone forth' is often employed to express the rising of the sun (Gen. xix. 23; Ps. xix. 6). For 'isles' read as before (xi. 11,

¹ Schrader, *COT.*, i, p. 26 foll.; A. Jeremias, *Das A.T. im Lichte des alten Orients*,² pp. 188 foll. Babylonia was the land of pleasure-gardens. See art. 'Garden,' in *Enc. Bibl.* Instead of the passive form, "shall be found," LXX evidently pronounced the form as active (*Kal*), 'one shall find.' This obviates the grammatical difficulty of gender.

² Reading *עֲרַבְיָא* (cf. liv. 7). So Oort and Ryssel.

me, and on mine arm shall they trust. Lift up your eyes 6
to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath: for the
heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall
wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall
die in like manner: but my salvation shall be for ever,
and my righteousness shall not be abolished.

Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the 7
people in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach
of men, neither be ye dismayed at their revilings. For 8
the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm

xx. 6, xxiv. 15, xl. 15, xli. 1, 5, xlii. 4, 10, 12, xlix. 1), 'coast-lands¹.'

6. A sublime conception, reminding us of xl. 6-8, but here the comparison is not between God's word and the perishable flowers and grass, but between the Divine achievement of salvation and the more permanent cosmic elements of sky and earth. Even the latter shall perish, while God's work for humanity endures².

7. The word here rendered *men* is a term (Heb. *enôsh*) that expresses man in his weakness and limitation. It is the word translated 'man' in the first clause of Ps. viii. 4 (5 Heb.). It is best represented by the word 'mortals' (or 'mortal').

8. We have in the opening parallel clauses a pair of Hebrew synonyms for 'moth,' for which our language does not provide equivalents. Both, however, are found in the Semitic languages, including Assyrian, 'There are many species of the *Tineidae* or "clothes-moths" in the Holy Land. They are small lepidopterous

¹ Instead of '**Mine arms shall judge the peoples**' LXX have 'For my arms shall nations hope.'—Obviously the latter is a blunder involving a weak repetition of phrase.

² Something in the way of reconstruction of text in this stanza seems needful, if metre is to be preserved. The words 'from beneath' at the close of the first line overweight the latter part of the line, and might be rejected as a gloss (though sustained by the LXX). Following Duhm's bold reconstruction verse 6 will run thus:—

'Lift up your eyes to the heavens—and look on the earth,
For the heavens fly in tatters like smoke—and the earth like a robe,
The world shall decay, and its dwellers—shall die as the gnats,
Yet my salvation shall abide for ever—and my justice unbroken.'

There is no need to alter the last word in the verse in deference to the loose rendering of the LXX, 'shall not fail.'

shall eat them like wool: but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation unto all generations.

9 Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the LORD;

insects which commit immense havoc in clothes, carpets, tapestry, &c.' (Post in Hastings' *DB.*) Instead of 'moth' LXX renders in first clause 'time' (reading 'ēth for 'āsh in the original). This breaks the parallelism. The parallel in the second clause of our R. V. 'worm' is inadequate.

Verses 9-11 are an appeal to Yahweh to display His power as in olden times. Verse 11, though it fits fairly into the context, is distinct in metrical form and is evidently an addition by a later writer borrowed from xxxv. 10, where it is not only metrically consistent with the verses that precede but also harmonious in sense. Chap. xxxv (like its predecessor) is evidently late and abounds in reminiscences (cf. vol. i, p. 347). As we may probably regard that poem as composed not much earlier than 400 B. C., we have in this verse an indication possessing a certain evidential value for determining approximately the date of an early redaction of the Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (xl-lxvi); see below, p. 238.

9. The metre is the same as that of the preceding poem, i. e. elegiac. The invocation is addressed to Yahweh's arm as the embodiment of His strength. As the arm in Hebrew is feminine, the personal pronouns in the original are feminine also (viz. 'thou,' 'it'). **Put on** is in the original literally 'clothe thee with.' This is a frequently recurring metaphor in the O. T., qualities being materialized as apparel or armour. Cf. lix. 17; Ephes. vi. 14 foll., Col. iii. 12, 14; Isa. lii. 1, lxi. 3, &c.

We have here a deeply interesting survival of the old mythology of the Semitic-Hebrew race. These reminiscences (as Cheyne has pointed out) may well have been revived by contact with Babylonian traditions in Babylonia, since Babylonia, preserved these mythologies in their fullest and most elaborated form. Rahab corresponds to the Babylonian *Tiāmat*, the dragon-goddess of the dark chaotic water-depth who was smitten by *Marduk*, god of light. Cf. vol. i, p. 316 in this commentary (note on xxx. 7). The conflict is described in the fourth Creation-tablet, lines 91 foll., cited at the close of this chapter.

It is noteworthy that the LXX entirely omit the clause with its mythological reference to Rahab. This is not improbably due to the scruples which influenced the Greek translators, and led them to suppress or modify anthropomorphisms¹. A comparison with

¹ Riehm, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, vol. ii, p. 486. A comparison with Job xxvi. 12 suggests that the omission may have been due to the inability of the translator to understand the original.

awake, as in the days of old, the generations of ancient times. Art thou not it that cut Rahab in pieces, that pierced the dragon? Art thou not it which dried up the ¹⁰ sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths

Job xxvi. 12 indicates that the slight modification of the Hebrew text, proposed here by Houbigant and favourably regarded by later critics, might be accepted. We should then substitute for 'cut Rahab in pieces' the rendering 'shattered Rahab in pieces'.¹ The supposition that Rahab *merely* signifies Egypt and expresses either its might or its monarch (as in xxx. 7, but not necessarily in Ps. lxxiv. 13, lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10 [Heb. 11]) only confuses the passage, though the following verse evidently suggests that in this passage, as well as in the later Psalm literature, Pharaoh and the power of Egypt were represented to the imagination of the Hebrew under the form of the monster of Semitic legend. For *Rahab Sit-still* (Isa. xxx. 7) read *Rahab the Vanquished* (*hammosh-bâth*), based on the most probable reading of the Hebrew.

10. The **great deep** is an expression used in Gen. vii. 11, Amos vii. 4 to describe this vast chaotic water-depth which the Babylonians personified as the she-dragon *Tiâmat*. This dark water-depth beneath the earth was connected with the sea or ocean on which the earth was conceived to rest. See the diagram in Hastings' *DB.*, article 'Cosmogony,' vol. i, p. 503, or Bennett's *Genesis* (Century Bible) p. 66.

Old mythology here is blended with Israel's early beginnings in history. The drying-up of the waters of the great ocean ('the great deep') must be connected with the ancient Semitic myth of the struggle between the God of light (Heb. *Yahweh*, Babyl. *Marduk*) and the dragon of the dark chaotic water-depth (Heb. *Rahab*, Babyl. *Tiâmat*), here represented by the 'great deep.' Amos vii. 4 (eighth century B.C.) takes us somewhat nearer to the primitive legend where *Yahweh's* fire is conceived as burning up the great deep. The *Rahab* of the previous verse must be connected with the 'serpent' who inhabits the depth of the sea

¹ On the other hand, when we turn to the Babylonian Creation-poem, tablet iv, lines 135 foll. :—

'The Lord [Marduk] rested . . . regarding her (i. e. *Tiâmat's*) corpse,
Parting the carcase . . . forming cunning plans,
He hewed her to pieces like a fish . . . a flat (?) one, in two halves;
From one half of it made and covered the heaven'—

this description of the conflict between *Marduk* and *Tiâmat* and the formation of the sky out of her body leads us to consider that our Hebrew text has after all preserved the true tradition.

- 11 of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over? [And the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads: they shall obtain gladness and joy, *and* sorrow and sighing shall flee away.]
- 12 I, even I, am he that comforteth you: who art thou, that thou art afraid of man that shall die, and of the son
- 13 of man which shall be made as grass; and hast forgotten the LORD thy Maker, that stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and fearest

to which Amos ix. 3 refers. The sea-monster, with which Yahweh comes in conflict, became connected to the early imagination of the Hebrews with the hostile power of Egypt in the dim past of their national history, and the struggle with Rahab with the struggle with Pharaoh, the great dark water-depth with the Red Sea, and the destruction of the dark water-depth and its chaotic power with the cleaving of a passage through the Red Sea 'for the redeemed to pass over.'

Verses 12-16. The answer to Israel's appeal in the preceding verses to the mighty Yahweh of the olden time is that the God of love is mighty still. Why does the exile forget Him and fear the oppressor? He shall be set free.

12. The duplication of the personal pron. here is characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah in lyrical passages (cf. 'awake,' 'awake' in verses 9, 17, lii. 1; 'depart ye,' lii. 11). The man whom Israel is not to fear is man in his weakness ('mortal'), expressed in the original by the same word (*énósh*) that is employed above in verse 7. In the original 'Who art thou that thou shouldst fear . . .?' is expressed in the feminine, and this is supported by the LXX, who, however, seem to have followed a different text. It is obviously an error, as masc. forms immediately succeed in this verse. Probably the scribe was misled by the mention of Zion in the preceding verse (as well as in lii. 1) into supposing that it is Zion who is here addressed.

These verses evidently belong to an earlier time than the downfall of Babylon, when the Jewish exiles were still in a state of trembling uncertainty and were in dread of harsh treatment by the Babylonians.

13. The exiles are reminded of the permanent truths of Yahweh's universal rule and creative function, which they have forgotten. The language has now become to us familiar (xl. 22, xlii. 5, xlii. 24, xlii. 12).

continually all the day because of the fury of the oppressor, when he maketh ready to destroy? and where is the fury of the oppressor? The captive exile shall speedily be loosed; and he shall not die *and go down* into the pit, neither shall his bread fail. For I am the LORD thy God, which stirreth up the sea, that the waves thereof roar: the LORD of hosts is his name. And I have put my words in thy mouth, and have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the

For when he maketh ready to destroy, render, 'as though he had aimed [his arrow¹] to destroy.' The object of the verb 'aimed' is not infrequently omitted in the Hebrew, as in Ps. xxi. 12 (13 Heb.). In Ps. vii. 12 (13 Heb.), and more especially in Ps. xi. 2 (3 Heb.), we have the fuller form of expression.

where is the fury, &c.? Again a rhetorical interrogative, to which the negative answer 'nowhere' is expected.

14. A difficult and obscure verse. For the captive exile substitute the rendering 'he that is bent (or bowed),' i. e. either in his confined dungeon or in the constraint of his chains. The verse seems to promise only speedy release and freedom from starvation. The LXX appear to base their interpretation on a much briefer text, quite different from our own.

Verses 15, 16 have been regarded by recent critics, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as an insertion. Verse 15 appears almost entire in Jer. xxxi. 35 *b*, but that cannot be regarded as a proof that it is not Deutero-Isaianic, as it is notorious that there are several Deutero-Isaianic insertions in the prophecies of Jeremiah² and we are disposed to regard this as one of them (so also Giesebrecht *ad loc.*).

15. The phrase **The LORD of hosts is his name** is a somewhat favourite formula with the Deutero-Isaiah: cf. xlvi. 4 [xlvi. 2], liv. 5. In the latter part of this verse the rendering of the R. V. **stirreth up** is correct (and not that of R. V. marg.). The LXX similarly render in their translation of the Hebrew participle.

16. Here again Deutero-Isaianic phraseology meets us. 'Conceal (cover) in the shadow of Yahweh's hand' is an obvious echo from the Servant-passage xlix. 2. **Plant the heavens** is a

¹ Or perhaps 'his bow,' as in Ps. vii. 13.

² e. g. Jer. xxx. 10, 11 (omitted in LXX), and its duplicate xlv. 27, 28.

foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my people.

17 Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk

literal rendering of the Hebrew original, but the reading can hardly be defended by the arguments which Dillmann employs. Job xiv. 9 is a slender ground for giving the Hebrew verb the signification here 'cause to grow anew.' The only safe course is to follow the Peshitto (Syriac) version and a series of expositors, including Lowth, who read in place of the Hebrew verb 'plant' a closely similar form 'extend,' 'stretch out,' often used by the Deutero-Isaiah in describing Yahweh's creative activity, i. e. 'stretching out the heavens' (xl. 22, xlii. 5, xlv. 24, xlv. 12). Similarly 'laying the foundation of the earth' is another characteristic expression of the Deutero-Isaiah (xlviii. 13), from which it has passed into Psalm literature (Ps. xxiv. 2, lxxviii. 69, cii. 25 [26 Heb.], civ. 5).

A survey of these three verses 14-16 convinces us that they are of Deutero-Isaianic authorship, but they have become mutilated. In verses 15, 16 the elegiac metre cannot in the present state of the text be recovered, while only the first half of a long line is preserved in the latter part of verse 14. The connexion of the clause 'that I may stretch out the heavens,' &c. with the words which precede, and are evidently an address to the servant Israel, is extremely forced. The expression 'stretch out the heavens,' &c. (preceded by 'I Yahweh . . .'), probably commenced a new sentence. Subsequently a scribe endeavoured to restore the defective text, and in doing this gave the language of the Deutero-Isaiah a different turn whereby it expressed the conception of an impending restoration accompanied by a new heavens and earth somewhat in the sense of the Trito-Isaianic passages lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22.

li. 17—lii. 12 is a poem which Duhm arranges in five strophes, each strophe consisting of seven long lines, though there are gaps in our text as well as insertions. It is addressed to Jerusalem lying prostrate in humiliation and sorrow. Her sufferings are described in pathetic language, but she is told by Yahweh that He has taken up her cause, that her sorrows have an end, and that the cup of humiliation is to pass from her to her foes. She shall arise from the dust and be clad in the splendid attire that befits her coming glory. The last two strophes announce the jubilant tidings that Yahweh has taken compassion on the ruined Jerusalem and will return in power to reign there. The poem closes with a portrayal of a solemn priestly procession in which the vessels of the temple [carried off by Nebuchadrezzar in

at the hand of the LORD the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the bowl of the cup of staggering, and drained it. There is none to guide her among all the sons whom 18

597 B.C.] are borne in state from Babylon to Jerusalem. The presence of Yahweh precedes the procession as well as guards the rear. Again in this poem we have the *Kinah* or Elegiac metre. See Budde in *ZATW.*, vol. xi (1891), pp. 238 foll.

First Strophe (verses 17-20). *The forlorn plight of Jerusalem.*

17. The rendering of the reflexive form by 'Bestir thyself' or 'arouse thee' is preferable to that of the R. V. *awake*. The translation given by Duhamel, 'Be of good cheer' (*ermuntere dich*), is too weak and colourless.

The last clause of this verse should be connected with the preceding as part of the relative. Moreover, the word *cup* (Heb. *Kôs*), which is not found in the LXX version, should be deleted. It is not metrically needed, and was evidently attached as a gloss by some scribe to the unusual word rendered 'bowl.' **Bowl of the cup** is an intolerably harsh combination. The word rendered 'bowl' is a Babylonian or Assyrian word¹, which is found in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II (in the British Museum) recording the objects brought by the envoys of Jehu king of Israel as tokens of homage to the Assyrian king. The Hebrew word is only found in this chapter, and is an interesting loan-word borrowed by the Jews during their stay in the land of exile. We may accordingly render:—

'Who hast drunk from Yahweh's hand—the cup of His wrath,
Yea the bowl of reeling—hast drunken, hast drained.'

Human lot or destiny, whether of weal or woe, is constantly expressed under the metaphor of a cup (e. g. Ps. xvi. 5, and the words of Jesus, Mark xiv. 36). Probably this vivid conception of a 'cup of reeling' bestowed on Jerusalem was borrowed by the Deutero-Isaiah from Jeremiah, who, like Isaiah of Jerusalem, possessed a more original and vivid imagination than the Deutero-Isaiah. With this passage the reader should compare Jer. xxv. 15 and especially 17, 18, also xlix. 12. This vivid conception of Jeremiah is reflected in the prophecy of his younger contemporary Ezekiel against Oholibah (Jerusalem), xxiii. 32-34.

18. Instead of being addressed in the second person, Jerusalem

¹ Schrader, *COT.*, vol. i, p. 199. The word was evidently strange to the Jews of later days. For not only have we the explanatory gloss of our Hebrew text—but in the LXX we have another, τὸ κόνδυ.

she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all the sons that she hath brought up.
 19 These two things are befallen thee; who shall bemoan thee; desolation and destruction, and the famine and the
 20 sword; how shall I comfort thee? Thy sons have fainted, they lie at the top of all the streets, as an antelope in a net; they are full of the fury of the LORD, the rebuke

is spoken of in the third. In this respect the verse is entirely isolated, as Jerusalem is once more addressed in the second person in the verses that immediately follow. But it is isolated also in metre, which is no longer elegiac, since the two long lines of which this verse is composed consist of two *equal* parts (instead of the longer and shorter of the elegiac measure). Accordingly there are definite grounds for regarding this verse as an insertion from another source (with Duhm), though perhaps they are inadequate.

19 stands in close sequence to verse 17. The disasters that befall Israel are declared to be two. But in the immediate sequel we have four. These, however, may readily fall into two pairs, viz. desolation and destruction on the one side, famine and sword on the other. The interrog. *who* is the rhetorical mode of expressing a negative. The answer expected is 'no one.' Jerusalem in the midst of her disasters (the invasions of the Babylonians in 597 and 587 B. C.) is left without a comforter.

A comparison with the ancient versions (LXX, Pesh., Vulg., as well as Targ.) clearly shows that our Hebrew text needs slight amendment. 'Who am I that I should comfort thee' (i. e. 'how should I comfort thee'; R. V. '... shall I comfort,' &c.) is the rendering of our traditional Hebrew text, whereas the old versions restore the parallelism as well as the original text by changing the verb from the 1st pers. to the 3rd: 'who shall (or is to) comfort thee.' So Lowth and most recent commentators.

20. 'As an antelope of a net' is the literal rendering of the original, which is equivalent to 'as an antelope caught in a net.' The expression *full of the fury* is a recurrence to the conception of verse 17, where Jerusalem has drunk of Yahweh's 'cup of reeling,' or 'cup of His fury.' Of this the sons of Jerusalem have drunk their fill. The phrase *at the top* (lit. 'head,' i. e. corner) of all the streets overweights the metre, and Duhm would therefore excise it as an addition (borrowed from Lam. ii. 19, iv. 1; so also Budde). The verse would then read as follows:—

'Thy sons faint and lie—like an antelope in a net,
 Such as are full of Yahweh's fury—the rebuke of thy God.'

of thy God. Therefore hear now this, thou afflicted, and ²¹ drunken, but not with wine: thus saith thy Lord the ²² LORD, and thy God that pleadeth the cause of his people, Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of staggering, even the bowl of the cup of my fury; thou shalt no more drink it again: and I will put it into the ²³ hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, Bow down, that we may go over: and thou hast laid thy back as the ground, and as the street, to them that go over.

Second Strophe (verses 21-23). Yahweh's announcement that affliction shall pass away from Jerusalem to her foes.

21. The word **therefore**, which introduces a fresh paragraph or section in Hebrew, is a rhetorical mode of indicating a transition rather than a logical sequence.

but not with wine implies that the veil of metaphor is for the moment torn aside, and we are confronted with the actuality of God's wrath against the city which the wine symbolizes. The poet, however, is constrained immediately to resume the veil of metaphor in the ensuing verse.

22. The metre of the original Hebrew, which is supported in this case by the LXX, requires the elimination of the words **thy Lord** and the copula **and**.

23. The cup is taken from Jerusalem's hand and placed in that of her foes. The original of the words **that afflict thee** means properly 'that trouble (or harass) thee.' The Hebrew verb is not used elsewhere in the Deutero-Isaiah, and appears too weak to express the meaning of the LXX (=oppress). Accordingly scholars (Lowth, Secker, Ewald, Oort, and others) are in favour of a very slight textual emendation (one character only changed into one closely similar) whereby we substitute in our text the verb used in Isa. xlix. 6 = 'oppress.' Moreover, the LXX show that a short additional clause has been omitted from our Hebrew text. This gives us the complete metrical elegiac line. The line thus restored will read as follows:—

'And I give it into the hand of thine oppressors—the hand of those that humiliate thee¹.'

¹ I follow here Cheyne and Marti, rather than Duhm, as the LXX support their view. The Hebrew correlate to the LXX *ταπεινώω* is Piél of *נָצַח*, cf. lx. 14 (Heb. and LXX). The additional clause

52 Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion ; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised

The concluding part of this verse describes the humiliations to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem were subjected whether in Palestine or in the land of exile.

CHAPTER LII.

lii. 1, 2. *Third Strophe.* The last two of the seven lines appear to have been lost. The desolate city is told to arise from the dust and bonds of her captivity and array herself in the glorious apparel of a holy city into which the unclean shall not enter. We have here the obverse to the portrayal of the dethroned queen, the captured and enslaved Babylon in xlvii. 1 foll.

1. The opening phrase is a favourite formula: cf. li. 9. Here we are to regard it as a Divine call to the senses dulled by drinking deep from the cup of wrath that had made those senses reel (li. 17, 20, 21).

A comparison with the LXX here is instructive. This version reads: 'Awake, awake Zion, put on thy strength, Sion, and put on thy glory (= beauty), Jerusalem, holy city.' Here we note the insertion of **Zion** at the end of the first clause of the Hebrew text employed by the LXX. On the other hand, the word for **garments** appears to have been omitted in their text. This example clearly shows the student that variations crept into the different Hebrew copies of these oracles. And our own Hebrew (Massoretic text) is no exception. Here the elegiac metre in which the original was composed furnishes a clue, and the word **Jerusalem** should probably be removed as a gloss. We should then render:—

'Awake, awake and clothe thee—in thy strength, O Zion ;
Clothe thee in thy beauteous apparel—O sacred city.'

The stress here placed on cleanness, and on the uncleanness of the uncircumcised foreigner, whose presence defiled the city, are characteristics which do not meet us in the pre-exilian prophets, but belong to the days of the exile when the Jews were brought into contact with the uncircumcised Babylonians. Let the reader compare with this passage Ezek. xlv. 6–10, in which the introduction of an uncircumcised foreigner into the sanctuary of the future ideal theocratic commonwealth of Israel is strictly prohibited. The influence of that earlier prophet of the exile over

should therefore not be regarded as a mere duplicate in the LXX as Otley suggests.

and the unclean. Shake thyself from the dust; arise, sit thee down, O Jerusalem: loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.

[For thus saith the LORD, Ye were sold for nought; and 3

the Deutero-Isaiah can scarcely be doubted amid the powerful contrasts which distinguish the one from the other.

2. The verbal form rendered **sit thee down** may also be construed as a substantive and rendered 'captivity,' i. e. the captive people of Jerusalem, and it is so taken by Koppe and Hitzig, but in the original the masculine gender of the subst. renders this an improbable construction. The only probable interpretation is that which is given above. The word is evidently imperative. 'Unloose thyself from the bands' is the translation which harmonizes best with the context in which we have a series of imperatives addressed to Jerusalem. This is based on the reading of the *Keré* (or what was read in the synagogue). On the other hand, the *Kethib* (or what is written in the Hebrew text) should be translated 'the bonds of thy neck have unloosed themselves' (similarly R. V. marg.). This is much less probable (cf. LXX).

Verses 3-6: a *prosaic insertion*. Reflections on Israel's past. We have already noted that two lines seemed to have been lost at the close of the preceding strophe. The next few verses (3-6) are without metre. We have two successive sentences beginning with the formula 'For thus saith Yahweh.' Moreover Zion is no longer addressed by Yahweh, but in place of this Israel is spoken of in the third person as 'my people.' The thought is not directed to the immediate future of blessedness and glory, but towards the past, upon which certain reflections are made which by no means coincide with the conceptions expressed elsewhere, e. g. in xliii. 27, 28, l. 1 (latter part), in which the past chastisements of Israel are regarded as due to Israel's transgressions. Here the oppression by Assyria is held to be purposeless (if the reading be correct). Here, moreover, Israel's ransom is obtained without compensation. According to xliii. 3 the Deutero-Isaiah regarded the conquest of Egypt as the compensation to be accorded to Cyrus for the freedom accorded by him to the Jewish exiles. These considerations point to the conclusion that a gap in the defective copy of this poem has been filled up by the reflections of a later writer.

3. **For** is a link with the genuine words of the poet (Deutero-Isaiah) which immediately precede. Zion is to cast off her bonds because her humiliation is 'in vain' (R. V. 'for nought'). Neither Yahweh nor Israel derives any compensation for the captivity into which the latter, Yahweh's people, has been sold.

4 ye shall be redeemed without money. For thus saith the Lord GOD, My people went down at the first into Egypt to sojourn there: and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause. Now therefore, what do I here, saith the LORD, seeing that my people is taken away for nought? they that

The idea of xlii. 24 and other passages, that Israel's humiliation was punishment inflicted for the nation's sin, is not here set forth.

4. For is a further link with the preceding verse 3, and is merely an explication of the same idea. In the earliest period of Israel's history (at the first) he went down, a free people, to sojourn in Egypt as a *gēr* or foreign guest. Now a sojourning guest has rights of hospitality and protection. These, however, Egypt violated and Israel was oppressed. This is not explicitly stated, but it is evidently implied, as the following parallel clause which refers to Assyria clearly shows. Assyria oppressed Israel 'for nothing,' i. e. without any compensation rendered to Yahweh (or possibly 'for no reason,' as Duhm interprets¹). The expression seems forced, and in all probability the reading of the original, on which the LXX rendering 'violently' (or 'with violence') is based, is to be preferred. Accordingly render: 'and Assyria oppressed him with violence².'

5. 'And now,' i. e. turning from the past to the present state of Israel's sufferings. To what place does here refer? Various answers have been given. Hitzig decides that it means 'heaven,' to which, according to Ezekiel, Yahweh had withdrawn Himself after the destruction of the temple. Nägelsbach and others refer it to 'Jerusalem,' but this would involve a violent contrast with the conception of the Deutero-Isaiah that Zion had been abandoned by Yahweh (cf. l. 1 and note). More probably 'here' refers to Babylonia, where Israel still remains.

The last clause of this verse is difficult both as to text and meaning. In our Hebrew text 'his rulers' (R. V. 'they that rule over them') can only refer to the Babylonians; howl will thus mean a howl of malicious triumph. The blasphemy may either be uttered by the foreign oppressors who, like Rabshakeh (xxxvi. 7, 18, xxxvii. 4, 10 foll.), uttered scorn over Yahweh's power to deliver, or (less probably) by the Jews themselves, who in their captivity derided Yahweh, who seemed impotent to save (cf. viii. 21). When we

¹ The interpretation of the original by Saadiah, 'in the end' (as opposed to 'in the beginning,' in the first clause), is followed by Lowth, but has no real warrant in linguistic usage.

² סָפְּרָה instead of דָּפְּרָה .

rule over them do howl, saith the LORD, and my name continually all the day is blasphemed. Therefore my people shall know my name: therefore *they shall know* in that day that I am he that doth speak; behold, it is I.]

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation;

turn to the LXX we see clear evidence of a variant text: 'Because my people hath been taken for nought ye marvel and howl¹.' The recurring expression of this verse, **saith the LORD** (properly 'utterance of Yahweh'), frequently occurs in Jeremiah, but is not characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah.

6. The repetition of the word **therefore** is evidently due to a scribal blunder. The verse should read in the form in which it stands in the LXX: 'Therefore my people shall know my name in that day that it is I who speak. Here am I.'

Fourth Strophe (verses 7-9). Messengers announce the glad tidings of *Yahweh's return to Jerusalem*.

7. The lyric strains of the Deutero-Isaiah are resumed. The phraseology of the opening part of this verse recurs in Nah. i. 15 (ii. 1 Heb.). But there is a general concurrence of opinion among critics that this verse in Nahum is not genuine (with not a few others in the first two chapters). On the other hand, it is easy to see that this verse in Isaiah is integral to the poem. It is evidently borrowed from this chapter in the form in which it is cited by the compiler of the oracles of Nahum². Over the mountains that lie, as we may here assume, on the eastern side of Jerusalem messengers are seen to be hurrying with the glad tidings of Israel's deliverance and the near approach of Yahweh's reign, the kingdom of God³. It is impossible not to see here, as in verse 1, the influence of the earlier exilian prophet Ezekiel, who saw in vision 'the glory of Israel's God coming by way of the

¹ Based apparently on the original *חזמוהו והיללו*. Or we might render the last clause in the LXX with Duhm as imperatives: 'marvel and howl.' He would restore the original *הִשְׁתַּמּוּ וְהִלְלוּ*.

² Consult Nowack's Commentary on the 'Minor Prophets,' *ad loc.*, as well as Driver's *Minor Prophets*, vol. ii (Century Bible). See Cornill's Introduction (Nahum).

³ The third line of this verse is metrically too short, the first half needs a supplement. Budde proposes to restore thus: who saith unto Zion: ['Thy Redeemer hath come]—Thy God reigneth.' --

8 that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth! The voice of thy watchmen! they lift up the voice, together do they sing; for they shall see, eye to eye, when the LORD returneth to

east, and its roar was like the roar of mighty waters.' This glory of Yahweh enters the house by the eastern gate¹ (Ezek. xliii. 1-5).

8. 'Hark (lit. the voice of) thy watchmen! They have shouted aloud' (lit. lifted up the voice). The word *voice* occurs twice in the successive two clauses, and recent critics would eliminate one of them. But such a course is not to be commended. This idiomatic use of 'voice' in the first clause (= 'Hark thy watchmen!') finds a parallel in xl. 3, 6. The watchmen are posted on the walls of the city gates (on the 'roof of the gateway': 2 Sam. xviii. 24) in ordinary cases. In this case, however, we know that Jerusalem's walls were in a state of ruin ever since the capture of the city in 587-6, B. C. (verse 9: cf. Neh. i. 3, ii. 3). The watchmen would occupy the best available coigns of vantage on the ruins. As they call out the glad tidings of the approach of the exile band with Yahweh at its head, for which the swift messengers over the mountains had already prepared them (verse 7), the inhabitants within the city press forward and join in one universal shout of acclamation. And now they can clearly see the faces of the exiles with Yahweh leading the procession.

'They see eye to eye,' i. e. the inhabitants now see the exiled band, with Yahweh at its head, *close at hand*. The meaning of this phrase 'see eye to eye' in the original is greatly obscured by our own popular use of the phrase. 'Seeing eye to eye' means, in the O. T., the same thing as beholding face to face, i. e. clearly and close at hand (cf. Exod. xxxiii. 11; Num. xii. 8, xiv. 14, and especially Jer. xxxii. 4). The imperfect tenses in the Hebrew should here rather be translated by the present tense than by the future, as the entire context shows that we have examples of the 'dramatic imperfect,' though the events vividly described actually belong to the future. Verses 11 foll. clearly prove that the band of exiles had not yet started from Babylon.

¹ According to Ezekiel's vision, the city and temple are new built and ready to receive the Divine Visitant and Ruler, while in Deutero-Isaiah these completed externalities are not presupposed. The genius of the one and of the other seer here exhibit their respective contrasts. That of Ezekiel revels in externalities and detail; that of the Deutero-Isaiah is more true to the tradition of Hebrew prophecy represented in the great succession, Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. It lays stress on the internal and spiritual.

Zion. Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places 9
of Jerusalem: for the LORD hath comforted his people,
he hath redeemed Jerusalem. The LORD hath made 10
bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all
the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.
Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no 11

9. 'Break forth, utter a ringing cry together—ruins of Jerusalem.' Even the very ruins are to join the exultant acclaim. Perhaps the reply of Jesus, on the occasion of His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, in response to the protests of the Pharisees: 'If these shall be silent, the stones will cry out' (Luke xix. 40) was based on a reminiscence of this passage where the triumphal entry of Yahweh into His own ruined and desolated city is the theme. The coincidence of our Lord's phrase with the proverbial language of Hab. ii. 11 hardly indicates the actual source. The thought of a ruined Jerusalem was not far from His mind (Mark xiii. 2, 14 foll.; Luke xiii. 35).

With the words **hath comforted his people** cf. xl. 1.

Fifth Strophe (verses 10-12). Deliverance by Yahweh before all the world is at hand. The exiles are to begin the solemn march from Babylon to Jerusalem.

10. We have here a reminiscence of the image of Yahweh's arm in li. 5, 9. The metaphor is martial. Yahweh shall perform His doughty deed of deliverance in the presence of all the nations of the world. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 23, xxxix. 21.

11. **go out from thence.** From what place? This we are left to infer. Evidently not from Jerusalem, though this is the last place mentioned (verse 9). This lends considerable cogency to Duhm's assumption that a long line of this poem, immediately preceding this verse and coming after the couple of long lines of verse 10, has dropped out of our text. Probably the name Babel (Babylon) occurred in this omitted line. It is to be noted that instead of the usual seven lines in this strophe we have only six.

No unclean thing (dead body or other impurity) is to be touched. For Yahweh is the leader of the procession. The procession is therefore holy. We might compare as an illustration Deut. xxiii. 10-14: cf. Exod. xix. 10-15; 1 Sam. xxi. 5 foll. The centre of the advancing column consisted of the priests who bore the sacred vessels. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the poet had in mind the restoration of the sacred vessels which had been carried off by Nebuchadrezzar (597 B. C. and in 586 B. C.) to which reference is made in 2 Kings xxiv. 13, xxv. 14 foll.: cf.

unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean,
 12 ye that bear the vessels of the LORD. For ye shall not
 go out in haste, neither shall ye go by flight: for the
 LORD will go before you; and the God of Israel will be
 your rearward.

13 [S. Behold, my servant shall deal wisely, he shall be

Jer. xxvii. 18-22, xxviii. 3, 6. Duhm, however, regards this as possible only and not probable.

The midst of her will of course mean from the midst of Babylon. For be ye clean read 'keep yourselves pure,' or 'cleanse yourselves.'

12. All these precautions are to be carefully taken. There is to be no haste in departure as on the night of the exodus, as though in flight. The word for haste seems here to be expressly chosen in the original in reference to and contrast with Deut. xvi. 3, which refers to the haste in which the passover was eaten on the night of the exodus which the annual celebration of the festival ever recalls. Cf. Exod. xii. 39.

CHAPTERS LII. 13—LIII. 12.

Fourth and last of the Servant-passages and the climax of Hebrew Prophecy. The Servant's Martyrdom and future Exaltation.

The student will have been already prepared in the Introduction to this volume for the adequate appreciation of this greatest passage in the Old Testament, which has exercised a deeper influence over New Testament writers and their interpretation of the life and work of Jesus than any other section of the Hebrew scriptures. It is probably the New Testament interpretation of this last 'Servant-poem' which is chiefly answerable for the conception of the Servant as an individual (Acts viii. 31-35; Rom. iv. 25; cf. 1 Pet. ii. 22-25) who vicariously suffered for his race, though it is more than probable that this conception of the passage by the New Testament writers conformed to that which prevailed among certain Jewish circles in the time of Christ. But further than this we certainly cannot go. Probably other interpretations were then current, as in the days of Origen about 150 years later. For this writer, in his controversy with Celsus, mentions the interesting fact that when he was discussing the claims of Jesus with Jewish Rabbis and cited this very passage in proof, the reply was made 'that this prophecy referred to the entire Jewish people, represented as an individual, which had been involved in the dispersion and afflicted¹.' How far Judeo-

¹ ταῦτα πεπροφήτευσθαι ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς τοῦ ὄλου λαοῦ, καὶ γενομένου ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ καὶ πληγέντος.

Christian controversy tended to accentuate this interpretation we need not pause to investigate. In the Middle Ages it was held by the great Jewish scholars Ibn 'Ezra, and Kimḥi. According to Kimḥi the Gentile nations once hostile to Israel, stirred with wonder at the marvellous change of fortune whereby the Hebrew race has been restored to honour and glory, now confess that they at length realize that this has been the all-wise counsel of Yahweh, that the Hebrew race has been afflicted with terrible chastisements almost to extinction in order that a single people may atone for the sins of all humanity, and teach them righteousness. See *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to Jewish Interpreters* (Driver and Neubauer), ii. p. 49 foll. Whatever causes may have tended to stimulate the advocacy of this form of interpretation, it is important for Christian exegetes to recognize that this path of Jewish exposition is in the main right, and that the path of Christian interpreters down to the time of Rosenmüller has been in the main wrong¹. Even our N.T. writers are not free from the minute and artificial exegesis of O.T. passages, which might be called textual rather than contextual, and referred individual phrases in Hebrew prophecy or psalm to individual events in the life of our Lord (e. g. Matt. ii. 17, 18, iv. 14-16, xxvii. 9, 10; John xix. 24; Acts i. 20, iv. 25 foll.). These artificial citations of O.T. passages accorded with the prevailing modes of adapting Scripture phrases, of which examples may be found in the Mishna² and in St. Paul's Epistles.

On the other hand, a careful and continuous study of the O. T. reveals the fact to which attention has been already called (cf. note on xlix. 3), that races are constantly and readily personified and vividly presented as individuals. The opening chapters of Genesis become intelligible and useful (esp. chap. x, xi) from the point of view of history and ethnography when this fact is realized.

But who is the martyr of the Servant-passages? Here it is

¹ In 1850 we find the evangelical exegete Stier, in his work *Jesaias nicht Pseudofesaias*, protesting against the tendency of Christian interpreters, since 1820, to follow the 'blind Jews.' He alludes more especially to Rosenmüller, whose *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* appeared in its second edition in 1820, where he advocated the view, also supported by Hofmann (*Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, i. pp. 265 foll., ii. p. 109), that the Gentiles are the speakers in Isa. liii. 1 foll. See Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, p. 146.

² Many instructive parallels to Pauline modes of citing O.T. passages may be found by the Hebrew student in the treatise, *Pirkê Abhōth*; e. g. note the use made of Ps. i. 1, Mal. iii. 16, and Lam. iii. 28, by Rabbi Ḥanānā in chap. iii. 26 (Herm. Strack's ed.).

necessary to draw once more the distinction already enforced in the Introduction. The Servant of the Deutero-Isaiah was the exiled Hebrew race as he knew it with all its defects, which God nevertheless destines for high honour, and whose restoration to Jerusalem and the homeland is soon to be effected. On the other hand, to the writer of the Servant-passages the Servant is the purified but afflicted remnant of exiles in Babylonia. To him the restoration is a distant dream for the realization of which he confidently and patiently waits. Meanwhile the sufferings of the exiled race are to continue until the purified remnant of God's chastised and martyred people shall be forged as the Divine instrument to bring the saving knowledge of Yahweh, the only and true God, to all the races of humanity. To the Deutero-Isaiah the all-engrossing topic is Israel's restoration through Yahweh's omnipotent power and unflinching love to His people operating by means of His chosen instrument Cyrus. To the author of the Servant-passages Cyrus was unknown, and the restoration, though assured, was indefinitely postponed. It was the sublime task and destiny of the martyr-race that filled his enraptured vision—the consecration of Israel's sufferings and blighted life upon the great altar of the world. For the healing of mankind Israel bled and died. The chastisement which was to bring peace to our race was upon him.

In the *first* Servant-passage (xlii. 1-4) it is Yahweh who speaks; in the *second* (xlix. 1-6) it is the Servant himself who proclaims his great function to the foreign nations. In the *third* (l. 4-9) the Servant again speaks and describes his patience under persecution and his confidence that God will vindicate him. In the *fourth* and last Yahweh speaks, lii. 13 foll., and the Gentiles are the speakers in liii. 1-10 and bear their wondering and reverential testimony to the heroic patience and gentleness of the sufferer. Yahweh is again the speaker in liii. 11 foll.

It will thus be clearly seen that the four poems form a natural sequence, and that harmonious conceptions regarding the personality of Yahweh's servant, the afflicted and chastened Israel, pervade them all. And this becomes additionally clear when it is recognized that it is the Gentiles who are here speaking when they declare that the marvel of their message is almost beyond credence, liii. 1 (cf. lii. 14, 15), and that it is the maladies and ills of the great Gentile world that the Suffering Servant bore (liii. 4). For we have already learned that it is to distant foreign nations that the martyr-servant addresses himself (xlix. 1, cf. xlii. 1, 4), and it is for their special behoof and enlightenment the Servant has been marked out and designated by God (xlix. 6). For all the humiliation and suffering to which the Servant is exposed, portrayed in liii. 3-5, 7 (cf. lii. 14), we have been already prepared in the short preceding poem (l. 6, 7), and the quiet

submissiveness with which the Servant meets his cruel oppressors, so pathetically portrayed under the figure of a lamb in the presence of the slaughterer, has been already definitely foreshadowed in the same short poem (l. 5, 6), and exactly coincides with the character of gentleness and loving sympathy with which we find him endowed in the first poem (xlii. 2, 3). Lastly, the final vindication of Yahweh's servant, for which he confidently waits, and which he definitely proclaims even in the depth of his desolation and seeming fruitless endeavour (xlix. 3, 4, 5), and of his humiliation at the hands of oppressors (l. 7, 8), forms the natural conclusion of the last and longer poem in which the revival and glory of the martyred Servant is portrayed (liii. 10-12). All four passages constitute an inseparable unity.

It is therefore a grievous sin against all canons of true interpretation if judgments are passed on the concluding poem¹ and its portraiture which do not include the previous shorter poems in their scope. The individualizing features of the description are in reality not more strongly marked here than in the other Servant-passages. They impress more strongly for the superficial reason that we are studying a longer and more detailed poem and a full-length portrait. Duhm, who is at great pains to establish the antithesis between the Deutero-Isaianic Servant of Yahweh and the loftier, purer, and individual portraiture of these four poems, is here betrayed into drawing the contrasts too sharply. He finds the individual features more strongly impressed on this final poem than on the preceding ones. The interpretation of the Servant here as a collective personality that represents either the actual or the ideal Israel Duhm sets aside as utterly impossible. We may follow Duhm so far as to say that in this personal portraiture of the purified and chastened Israel we may trace the lineaments of the prophet Jeremiah, whose life and words doubtless deeply impressed the writer of these Servant-poems. See Duhm's *Commentary*, second edition, p. 367. In dealing with the problem of these Servant-passages we see this great interpreter at his weakest, and his endeavours to solve the problem betray the hesitancy

¹ It is impossible within the limits at our disposal to deal with the views of Schian and Kusters, who ascribe lii. 13—liii. 12 to an authorship distinct from that of the other Servant-passages. The arguments against such a view are stated in these introductory remarks. The same observation applies to Bertholet's theory of liii. 1-11 a, which he separates from the context and ascribes to the Maccabean period, and sees in it a definite reference to a martyred individual, viz. the aged Eleazar, 2 Macc. vi. 18-31. It is difficult to see how the traits of leprosy, wounding, contempt, and revival are reconcilable with this view.

of the critic who has tenaciously grasped a wrong clue. He candidly confesses: 'We stand here before an historic problem which we cannot solve, especially as we are utterly unable to determine with any certainty the time when the Servant-songs were composed. Though, roughly speaking, we might regard the time between the Exile and Ezra as the most probable, yet there is nothing to prevent us from holding that the poet was dependent on Malachi rather than the reverse, or even to descend later in the stream of time.' Duhm appears to regard the last verse (verse 12) as implying a personal revival after death. 'After he has died for God we are not to think that he was replaced by one of kindred spirit, but that he was personally made alive again. It is only in this way that the universal judgment can be refuted that he was smitten of God.' And yet this does not carry with it a belief in a universal immortality and resurrection. Duhm points by way of parallel to the appearance of Elijah on the last day according to Mal. iii. 23 foll. (E.V. iv. 5 foll.).

But this is an obviously forced interpretation. The path of the exegete becomes far clearer, as Marti justly perceived (see *Commentary*, first ed., p. 345), when the Servant is regarded not as an individual but as a collective expression. We can say of a people or community that it has been ill, smitten, carried to the slaughter, laid among the dead, delivered from death, and that a glorious future among nations awaits it. The resurrection of a people is quite possible, as Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14 clearly shows.

Unfortunately the poem itself is not textually well preserved, and it must be admitted that corruptions have entered, especially in the latter portion of the passage. The metre of this poem is the same as that of the first and second of the series. It falls into tetrastichs or stanzas of four lines each; but the number of the stanzas is far from certain. The transition from lii. 13-15, in which we may assume that Yahweh is the speaker, to liii. 1 foll., in which the Gentiles speak, is unnaturally sudden, and one readily suspects the loss of an intervening stanza. Likewise there is a transition, but less marked, in verse 11.

lii. 13-15 depict the glorious future of the Servant as compared with his present abject condition. Yahweh speaks concerning His Servant. To whom and in what character? It must be remembered that all that we possess of these Servant-poems are fragments taken from a larger whole (how large can never be determined), and have been incorporated by the Deutero-Isaiah into his own work. From internal indications as well as external we gather that this final poem of the series forms part of a sublime judgment-scene, in which Yahweh in His capacity of judge summons all the nations of the world to hear His authoritative vindication of the Suffering Servant and the exaltation of the

exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high. Like as ¹⁴ many were astonished at thee, (his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of

afflicted and righteous exiled community who are destined to high honour in the future¹. This entire passage the Deutero-Isaiah has deprived of its introduction and has inserted it into the body of his poems at this point, since his own words in verse 10 above—

‘Yahweh hath stripped His holy arm—before the eyes of the nations ;
And all the ends of the earth shall see—the deliverance of our God’—

formed a substitute for the omitted preface and heralded the address of Yahweh with which this Servant-poem begins. We have observed that the metrical form is quite distinct in this poem from the *Ḳinah* measure of the preceding lines.

13. In place of **shall deal wisely** the margin reads ‘shall prosper.’ Both meanings for the Hebrew verb *yaskél* are possible. The first, meaning ‘have insight’ or ‘deal wisely,’ is supported by such passages as xlv. 18; Jer. xx. 11; Ps. ii. 10, xiv. 2, liii. 3, &c.; while the second is sustained by Joshua i. 7, 8; 1 Sam. xviii. 14, 15; Jer. x. 21; Prov. xvii. 8. The latter fits better into the context. We thereby have an ascending climax ‘shall prosper,’ ‘be high,’ ‘be very exalted.’ We agree with Giesebrecht² in regarding Budde’s alteration of the verbal form into ‘*Israel*’ as needless. The LXX and Vulg. sustain our text.

14. The sudden change from the designation of the servant as **my servant** to addressing him in the second person is most abrupt and unusual. Most scholars have therefore followed Targ. and Pesh. in reading ‘at *him*’ instead of ‘at thee.’ Moreover, the occurrence of the same Hebrew adverb **so** in successive clauses is very awkward, and the alteration of the first into the Hebrew word for ‘for’ (*kēn* altered to *kī*) is to be commended (so Giesebrecht)³. Also the isolated expression *mishḥath*, ‘something

¹ Note the utter contrast between the attitude of the writer to the Gentile world as compared with the spirit exhibited by the eschatological passage of Divine judgment against Gog in Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix, anticipating the spirit of later Judaism. (The genuineness of these chapters is doubted by Gressmann and Bousset.) Gressmann rightly emphasizes the eschatological character of Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12 (*Ursprung der Israel.-Jüd. Eschatologie*, p. 327).

² *Der Knecht Jahwes*, p. 109.

³ On the other hand, Duhm suggests another remedy, which

15 men,) so shall he sprinkle many nations; kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they understand.

corrupted or deformed,' is suspicious. The pronunciation of the Hebrew characters as a passive partic, Hof'al *moshhâth*, originally proposed by Geiger, is now generally accepted.

15. The opening word *so* (Hebrew *kên*) marks the apodosis to the clause 'Like as . . .' at the beginning of verse 14. The rendering *sprinkle* is very doubtful, not because the verbal form does not frequently bear this signification in Hebrew (cf. Num. viii. 7, xix. 18, 19, 21; Lev. iv. 6, v. 9, viii. 11, &c.), but because the following construction seems to forbid it¹. Furthermore, it is difficult to see the logical connexion between the two ideas of bodily disfigurement and the sprinkling of the nations. On account of these objections recourse is had to an Arabic verbal root *nasâ* 'to spring.' The causative form in our text will then mean 'cause to spring,' i.e. *startle*: see R. V. marg. Instead of this, O.T. scholars are ready with textual emendations, of which the most probable is that of Moore² (*Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1890, pp. 216 foll.). Verses 14 and 15 may then be rendered:—

'Just as many were dumbfounded at him,
For deformed was his appearance so as not to be a man,
And his figure so as not to be human,³—

removes the parenthesis at the close of verse 14 and places it at the close of lii. 2. There would then be no need to alter the word for 'so' (*kên*) to the word for 'for' (*kî*). Accordingly we read:

'No form had he, nor stateliness
[That we should behold him], as appearance that we should
delight in him.

So deformed was his appearance, so as not to be a man,
And his figure so as not to be human.'

This is extremely ingenious, and rids verse 14 of a somewhat cumbersome parenthesis. It also restores the strophic arrangement. But in the presence of evident gaps this last argument is doubtful.

¹ The proper Hebrew construction is 'sprinkle (water, &c.) upon.'

² He reads: מְרַעֵי, 'so shall many nations be stirred,' this yields a good parallelism, and fairly accords with the LXX θανάσσονται. Other readings need not be quoted.

³ For this use of the Hebrew preposition *min* to express a negative the student of Hebrew is referred to Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gram.*²⁶, § 119 y: cf. Isa. vii. 8 (last clause); xxiii. 1.

Who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the 53

So shall he startle many nations,
 Before him kings shall shut their mouths;
 For what hath not been recounted to them they see,
 And what they have not heard they perceive.¹

shut their mouths, i. e. in awe-struck wonder (Job xxix. 9 foll., xl. 4) at the exalted dignity of the martyred sufferer.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. It is quite evident that we here enter suddenly upon a new scene in the solemn drama of Divine judgment. For this chapter commences with the utterance of a new speaker. The theme is obviously still the martyred servant with his sufferings and his coming vindication and glory. But Yahweh is spoken of in the third person, while the speaker regards himself as the representative of a society whose iniquities have been borne by the suffering servant. Duhm, who summarily rejects the view that it is either the prophets or the Gentiles who are here speaking, propounds the theory that it is the poet himself who is the speaker. But this involves us in difficulties. (1) In no other case does the poet himself speak in these Servant-passages. (2) The transgressions for which the Servant was smitten are then exclusively those of the Israelite race, for 'our' cannot be referred to others than the race or community to which the speaker belongs. Consequently the Gentiles have no part or lot in chap. liii. The servant suffered and died for Israel only. But this stands in violent contrast with the whole scope and tendency of the Servant-poems: xlix. 1, xlii. 1, 4, and especially xlix. 6, show that the mission of the Servant of Yahweh was specially directed to the Gentile world. The significance of these opening verses (at least 1-7, probably 1-10) only becomes clear and consistent with the whole series of Servant-passages when we assume with Budde, Giesebrecht, Marti, and other recent critics that a representative of the Gentile races is spokesman. Probably if we possessed the poem in its complete form some omitted lines between lii. 15 (in which the startled nations and their kings are spoken of) and liii. 1 would be found to relate the summons of Yahweh to the Gentiles to bear witness to the righteousness and faithfulness of the Servant.

Translate: 'Who could have believed what we have heard?' So Peake, who cites Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, p. 159. Giesebrecht gives references to grammatical authorities¹

¹ As Giesebrecht gives citations from works hardly accessible to most of our readers, we would direct them to Davidson's *Hebrew*

2 arm of the LORD been revealed? For he grew up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we see him,

for this idiomatic use of the Perfect tense, unsatisfactorily rendered in R.V. 'hath believed.' **Report** is also inadequate as a rendering. R.V. (marg.) correctly interprets the Hebrew substantive by 'that which we have heard.' We have already noted in previous passages the negative significance of this rhetorical interrogative. The answer is: 'no one.' For **been revealed** we might substitute the reflexive form 'hath revealed itself.' This expression of feeling on the part of the Gentiles, who give their testimony, exactly accords with the dumbfounded awe and wonderment of the foreign nations and kings described in the preceding verses. By 'Yahweh's arm' is meant here and in other cases the manifestation of His power in the exalted destiny which is now to be conferred upon His Servant, which seems incredible.

2. The original reads 'and he grew up before Him (i.e. Yahweh) as a tender sapling.' As immediately following upon the interrogative clause, this sentence is certainly very abrupt. The subject we may infer to be the servant spoken of in lii. 13-15. Accordingly we are led to suspect that there is an omitted line that precedes verse 2. There is no need to follow Ewald, Cheyne, Oort, and Giesebrecht in reading 'before us' instead of **before Him**, the rendering of our Hebrew text supported by LXX. The word rendered 'tender sapling' (R. V. 'tender plant') properly means 'suckling,' but is often applied as a substantive to the vegetable world, especially in Job (viii. 16, xiv. 7, xv. 30; cf. Hos. xiv. 7; Ezek. xvii. 22; Ps. lxxx. 12 [A. V. 11]). The meaning is that the Servant grew up in quiet obscurity like a young unobtrusive, unobserved sapling; a small exiled, undemonstrative, God-fearing community watched and tended by Yahweh¹ grew up in the land of exile as a root (or root-sprout, cf. xi. 10) springing out of the parched soil. In the desert of the exile it reached no imposing height or proportions. 'It had no graceful form (*tôar*)² or stateliness (*hādār*)³, that we should behold it, nor (fair)

Syntax, § 41 (c), Rem. 2, pp. 62 foll.; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 106, 4 *ad fin.*

¹ This seems to us the more natural meaning of 'before him,' as adapted to a sapling. Duhm understands it apparently as = with eye fixed on God, conscious of holy calling.

² Cf. (in Heb.) 1 Sam. xvi. 18.

³ Cf. (in Heb.) Lev. xxiii. 40 (in reference to trees).

there is no beauty that we should desire him. He was 3
despised, and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and
acquainted with grief: and as one from whom men hide
their face he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our 4

appearance that we should delight in it,' quite unlike the trees in Paradise, which were 'delightful in appearance' (Gen. ii. 9)¹.

3. For *rejected of men* it would be better to read '*neglected* (or R. V. marg. "forsaken") of men.' The meaning of the Hebrew adjct. (*hādāl*) is, however, doubtful. The signification of the Hebrew verbal root is 'cease' or 'leave.' It is not improbable that we ought to take the adjct. in the active rather than the passive sense (just as in Ezek. iii. 27): one who *abandons* (or *dispenses with*) the society of men. The despised and martyred community of exiles is despised by the foreigner and regarded as a leper and outcast; accordingly it withdraws from intercourse with men and is constrained to live its life in seclusion both shunned and shunning their fellow men—vivid prefiguration of Israel's later days!

The Servant is further portrayed as 'a suffering man, familiar with disease.' *Grief* in R. V. (and A. V.) is not an accurate rendering; R. V. marg. is to be preferred—'sickness.'

In the latter part of this verse we can only treat Heb. *masṭēr* as a substantive parallel to many other like formations in Hebrew: 'and, like an object from which one hides the face, was he despised, &c.' So Ewald, Hitzig, Delitzsch, and most commentators. But the construction is complex and open to much doubt.

Verses 4-8. The pathos deepens as we learn from the Gentile's lips the vicarious suffering and death of the martyred Servant. Special care must be taken to mark the emphasis of the personal pronoun insufficiently expressed in the version of R. V. above.

4. Render:

'Yet our diseases 'twas *he* who bore,
And our sufferings, he bore their load;
While *we*, we thought him plague-struck,
Smitten of God and humiliated.'

¹ The construction of the latter part of this verse with jussive and copulative Waw follows the precedent of Hebrew grammatical usage; see Gesen.-Kautzsch²⁶, § 166. 1 (a). On the other hand, the LXX clearly read the first verbal form with Waw consecutive. Their text evidently differed: 'And we beheld him, and he had no form nor beauty [reading $\eta\eta\eta\eta$, verse 3]. But his form was dishonoured.'

- sorrows : yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God,
 5 and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions,
 he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our
 peace was upon him ; and with his stripes we are healed.
 6 All we like sheep have gone astray ; we have turned every
 one to his own way ; and the LORD hath laid on him the
 iniquity of us all.
 7 He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened

Here the Heb. particle *achēn* means 'yet,' 'nevertheless,' marking contrast, just as the writer of these Servant-passages employs it in xlix. 4. On the other hand, the Deutero-Isaiah employs it in the sense of 'Yea,' 'in truth' (xl. 7, xlv. 15). The name for deity is not Yahweh but the general name for 'God,' viz. *Elohim*, which a polytheist Gentile might employ. A Babylonian might hold that the physical sufferings of the Servant were inflicted on him by Namtar, to whom evil demons were subject and who sent them forth as his emissaries¹.

5 takes the form of what in Hebrew syntax is called a circumstantial clause (see Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, §§ 137 foll., and especially § 138 b). The personal pronoun **he** is again emphatic, and stands in contrast with *we* of the preceding clause: 'For it was he who was pierced because of our transgressions, maimed because of our iniquities.'

The **chastisement of our peace** is obviously a condensed expression, as the following parallel clause clearly shows. It means the chastisement destined to bring about our well-being. The Hebrew word rendered **stripes** is the same as that which occurs in i. 6, and is there translated by R. V. as 'bruises.' This latter rendering is really closer to the true meaning, which is actually 'scar' or 'weal' left by a wound or blow. Translate, 'and through his scars healing has come to us.'

6. For **laid on him** substitute the more accurate rendering of R. V. margin, 'made to light upon him.'

Verses 7-9 describe the persecution, even to death, of the martyred Servant, and the gentle uncomplaining spirit with which he bore it all.

7. Translate: 'He was persecuted, yet it was he who suffered himself to be humiliated².' He **opened not his mouth** to complain

¹ See Zimmern, in *KAT.*³, pp. 460 and 562 (cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 570 foll.).

² The LXX is here obscure, but may perhaps have been based as

not his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, he opened not his mouth. By oppression and judgement he was ⁸ taken away; and as for his generation, who *among them*

or protest against such harsh treatment; **slaughter** or 'slaughtering' is more probably the right interpretation than Duhm's 'slaughter-bench' (so also Marti)¹. At the close of the verse the repetition of the phrase 'he opened not his mouth' is probably a gloss added by a scribe who thought that the previous comparison 'as a lamb . . . , as a sheep . . .' required an apodosis. Duhm (who is here followed by Giesebrecht) is justified in deleting the clause, as it is redundant to the quatrain which properly ends with the line 'like a sheep before its shearers is dumb.'

8. From this point onwards there are evident corruptions of the text, and there are many proposed emendations. The LXX had a somewhat different text in the first line, which may be rendered 'Through oppression his right was taken away'²; i. e. by high-handed oppression the martyred Servant was deprived of his rights—a perfectly intelligible sentence, and in harmony with the context. All the commentators, however, adhere to our Hebrew text, but their interpretations differ. Thus the Hebrew preposition at the head of the word for **oppression** and **judgement** may bear the ordinary meaning 'from' or 'on account of.' Accordingly the Peshitto or Syriac version, which Delitzsch and Orelli follow, give the first line the rendering: 'He was taken away from prison and from judgment,' i. e. by death, the words being directly applied to our Lord's crucifixion (so our A. V.). But 'prison' or 'imprisonment' is a questionable rendering for the Hebrew word (*ōšer*). The use of the word in Ps. cvii. 39 supports the rendering 'oppression' in this passage. Moreover, as Rosenmüller pointed out nearly a century ago, we obtain a better meaning by taking the Hebrew preposition in the *second* sense, 'on account of.' We thus obtain a translation which accords better with the context.

a free rendering on our text. Syriac and Vulgate read the verb as *niggash* (not *niggas*), which yields another and unsuitable sense. The translation we have adopted, 'suffered himself to be humiliated,' regards the verbal form as a *Nif'al tolerativum*. So Delitzsch; cf. Exod. x. 3, and Gesenius-Kautzsch (*Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 51. 2 a).

¹ In Hebrew *lebah*, rendered in LXX σφαγή. 'Slaughter-bench,' would probably be expressed in Hebrew by a form with prefixed *m*, i. e. *miṭbah* or *miṭbēah* (cf. *mizbēah*).

² Apparently מנצח קטלם לך.

considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living? for the transgression of my people was he stricken.

'On account of (or by) oppression and judgment he was carried off' (i. e. by a violent end). So Giesebrecht in the translation furnished in his treatise *KJ.*, p. 107.

The remainder of the verse is most obscure. When we turn to the LXX we find variations of text which are worthy of careful consideration. This version is as follows: 'His generation who will describe? For his life is taken from the earth¹; owing to the transgressions of my people he was led (?) to death.' The Hebrew word *dôr*, here rendered **generation**, has been a subject of much controversy, both as regards meaning and construction. The following are some of the meanings proposed for the word:— 'Destiny' (Hitzig), 'dwelling' (i. e. the 'grave'—so Knobel; or 'place of residence'—so Duhm), 'length (or course) of life' (Luther, Vittinga). We need not mention others. The only satisfactory and well-warranted sense is that already given in the LXX, viz. 'generation.' 'His generation' would therefore mean his countrymen who were living at the time, his fellow Jews. But what is the construction of this word? It is preceded by a Hebrew particle which may be either the sign for the accusative or the preposition 'with.' Again opinions differ widely. Some would give the special meaning to the particle **as for** (as in lvii. 12; Ezek. vi. 9, xvii. 21, &c.). Others, including Ewald and Orelli, would regard it as a preposition meaning 'with,' 'among.' This is certainly more probable. Accordingly we may render this difficult sentence: 'And among his generation who would reflect that he was cut off from the land of the living.' The expression **land of the living** was a current Hebrew phrase, cf. Jer. xi. 19, Ps. xxvii. 13, and other passages. The last clause requires considerable emendation. **My people** is strange on the lips of a Gentile. A very slight emendation (the prolongation of a single final character) would make it 'his people' (i. e. the Jewish race, viz. the generation who were contemporaries of the Servant of Yahweh). A further emendation (based on the LXX), which has been accepted by most critics, gives us the following sense in the last clause of the verse: 'On account of the transgression of his people was he smitten to death².' The purport of this passage is

¹ In the original נגזר כמארץ וְיִדְבַּר. The Hebrew verb translated 'describe' (but more correctly 'reflect,' 'meditate') is not construed with the simple accusative but with the Hebrew preposition אָזְנֵי = 'reflect on.' The construction of the LXX is therefore hardly admissible in point of usage.

² נָגַע לְמִתָּה (or נָגַע).

And they made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

to show that the Martyr-servant died for the sins of the Jews¹, a large number of whom had become the devotees of the gods of the land in which they lived and conformed to the customs of the Babylonians. Thus the death had a world-wide atoning value. The Servant died for both Jew and Gentile. The Jewish contemporaries of the suffering and faithful community of their fellow countrymen who strenuously and patiently upheld their faith as witnesses for truth amid dire persecution, as little realized as the Gentiles that this martyrdom was an atonement for their own sins.

9. Dishonour even pursued the Martyr-servant to the grave. He is buried among the wicked and the wealthy. This verse is also involved in textual difficulties, but not in so aggravated a form as in the preceding verse. Our only path of safety is to follow as far as possible the Massoretic text so far as it is sustained by the LXX. Though the latter obviously misunderstood the Hebrew text, their mistranslations help to establish the accuracy of our text in the main.

And they made (lit. 'gave'). The verb is impersonal third sing. in the original (properly 'and one gave'²). Fate ordained that the pious and faithful community of exiles, who had maintained their faith in Yahweh amid all the darkness and persecution of their exile home, should die in Babylonia among the rich and powerful. The latter may have been Babylonians, who made the life of this martyr-community bitter, or fellow Jews who lived prosperously and had abandoned the religion of their forefathers. The form translated **in his death** is very questionable, though it apparently has the support of the LXX even in their mistranslation. Probably we ought to render 'his mound,' i. e. the tumulus which marked the site of the martyr's grave. This makes the parallelism with the previous clause (viz. 'grave') more clear³.

¹ There is therefore no need whatever for Budde's drastic emendation בְּחַטֹּאתֵינוּ , 'on account of our transgressions,' instead of בְּחַטֹּאתֵיהֶם . Budde, however, admits the reasonableness of the slight emendation בְּחַטֹּאתֵינוּ , which we have adopted. See his *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahme-Lieder*, p. 12.

² The LXX read in their Heb. text the first person sing.—obviously a textual error.

³ This use of the word *bāmāh*, meaning properly 'height' (cf.

10 Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see *his* seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand.

The preposition which in the original begins the following clause is rendered by the LXX and Vulg. 'because' and is followed by our Authorized Version. The R. V., whose translation is given above, rightly substituted **although**. Cf. Job xvi. 17, where the same Hebrew preposition has the same force: 'Though no wickedness is in my hands and my prayer is pure.' The last two lines of the quatrain dwell on the fact that such burial among the wicked was utterly unmerited.

10. It is not quite clear whether this verse continues the utterance of the Gentile spokesman. If so, it appears to exhibit him in the light of a true follower of Yahweh to whom the purposes of the God of the Hebrews were familiar and intelligible. But the construction of the Massoretic text, and the wide divergence of the text on which the LXX based their rendering, render this one of the most problematic verses of the chapter. The opening clause in the Hebrew can only be translated somewhat as the R. V. render above, though the R. V. marg. 'made him sick' (better 'subjected him to disease') is certainly to be preferred. On the other hand, when we turn to the LXX we have clear evidence of a slightly different text with a quite different rendering. 'And the Lord (i. e. Yahweh) was pleased to purify him from the plague!'. Here the word translated 'purify' is the same as the Hebrew word in our text which is rendered **bruise**. The LXX read that word with the sense which it bears in Aramaic². Giesebrecht, it is true, would deal much more drastically

Ps. xviii. 34; Deut. xxxii. 13), is, it must be confessed, quite unique and so questionable. It is possible that we ought to read *bēth mōthō* = his sepulchre (on *bēth* used in this connexion cf. Neh. ii. 3). Also the Hebrew sing. form '*āshār*, 'wealthy,' is strange, and Böttcher's emendation, '*ōsē ra'*', is an ingenious escape from the difficulty, and sustains the parallelism. Peake in his translation adopts it (*Problems of Suffering*, p. 57). The verse in its first two lines would thus run:

'And one made (or appointed) with the wicked his grave,
And with the evildoers his sepulchre.'

¹ Evidently reading חָרַף for the very questionable Hif'āl form חָרַף of our text.

² The Piel חָרַף , in Aramaic, corresponds to the Hebrew חָרַף , meaning 'cleansed,' purify. The question arises whether we may not assume,

He shall see of the travail of his soul, *and* shall be ¹¹ satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant

with the text, and would substitute for the above word another, viz. 'justify': 'Yahweh was pleased to justify him,' thus bringing the passage into harmony with the earlier Servant-passage, l. 8¹. But there is absolutely no warrant for this.

Now when we glance over the contents of this verse it will be seen that it is the LXX rendering which places us at the right point of view. In the former days of the Martyr-servant's affliction 'we thought him plague-struck and smitten of God,' and so an object to be shunned. But now the true view of God's purpose as discipline, which is both purifying to His servant and atoning for others, is clearly set forth, as well as the ultimate restoration of the servant and his posterity.

'Yet Yahweh was pleased to cleanse him from disease.
Though thou² make his life a sin-offering,
He shall behold posterity—shall prolong life.
And the pleasure of Yahweh shall prosper in his hand.'

In the latter portion of this verse we have followed the traditional Hebrew text and arrangement, which yield an excellent sense. The LXX render as follows: 'And Yahweh is pleased to rescue from the trouble of his soul³.' Here we have a different text as well as punctuation, which connects the last line with the opening words of the following verse (verse 11).

11. The speech of the representative or representatives of the Gentile nations ends with the preceding verse. The solemn

as Duhm does, that the Hebrew word was understood in the Aramaic sense (since the influence of Aramaic we know to have prevailed very widely among the Jewish diaspora in Babylonia and in Egypt), or emend the text to יָבִי, its proper Hebrew form.

¹ *KZ.*, p. 109.

² LXX make this second pers. plur. The second pers. sing. here can only be understood as the momentary address to Yahweh by the Gentile spokesman who elsewhere speaks of Yahweh in the third person. Hebrew style is much more flexible than our own, which conforms to a rigid artificial uniformity. Lowth would punctuate the verb as a passive: 'Though his life be made a sin-offering.' Others would render: 'Though his soul (i. e. he himself) should make a sin-offering.' Both are possible solutions. Giesebrecht's suggested emendation, יָבִי for יָבִי, 'Though his soul take on itself the guilt,' is very ingenious and attractive (*KZ.*, p. 110).

³ Obviously an error for 'rescue his soul from trouble.'

12 justify many : and he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he

judgment-scene closes, as it opened, with the words of Yahweh. This is evident from the first person which occurs in verses 11 and 12. Perhaps an introductory line may have preceded verse 11, beginning 'Thus saith Yahweh . . .' Here again we are beset with difficulties as to text. The question which the scholar has to decide is, how far he is to defer to the LXX and abandon the Massoretic tradition. If we follow this course we have to assume that the speech of the Gentile spokesman continues in this verse. On the other hand, if we follow our traditional Hebrew text, which we consider the safer course, making such modifications as the LXX, sense, metre, or grammatical construction may require, we may adopt the following as the translation based on a fairly probable text (amid manifest and numerous signs of textual corruption). It is not possible to attempt more :—

'Through the travail of his soul shall he see light¹ in fullness ;
By his knowledge shall my servant bring justification to many,
And of their guilt shall *he* bear the burden.'

Here in the first line the word 'light,' which occurs in the LXX version, has evidently dropped out of our Hebrew text and should be restored. 'Light' is here used in the sense of 'prosperity,' 'happiness.' In the second line of the above rendering we have omitted the adjective 'righteous,' as (1) it involves a clumsy appositional construction in the original; (2) evidently arises through dittography; (3) overweights the metric length of the line².

12. **Therefore** (i. e. on the ground of the sufferings through which he has passed and their atoning efficacy) 'I will divide him a portion among many.' In the Hebrew text, as it is punctuated by the Massorettes, we read '*the* many' (with definite article). But the following clause has no definite article before 'strong.'

¹ Literally, 'shall see light, shall be satiated.'

² We append the LXX version in its entirety from the latter part of verse 10 (already quoted): 'And the Lord (i. e. Yahweh) is pleased to rescue from the travail of his soul (verse 11), to show unto him light and to fill (adopting Schleusner's conjecture *πλησαι* which Ottley accepts) with understanding to justify a righteous one who serves many well [?].' The writer is unable to follow Giesebrecht or Marti in their attempted reconstructions, partly based on the above data. Little is to be gained for O. T. textual reconstruction by such free methods as these scholars, as well as Duhm, have brought into play in the closing verses of this chapter.

shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out his soul unto death, and was numbered with the

We have therefore (with Duhm) omitted it here in the first clause before 'many.' 'And with strong ones he shall divide booty.' The metaphor is that of warfare. The victorious warrior returns with the scars of battle upon him, and his king awards him due share in the spoils. The word in the original rendered 'many' (*rabbim*) may also be translated 'mighty,' and this agrees better with the word 'strong' in the next clause. The same word, however, occurs later in the verse in the sense of 'many,' and it is hardly probable that it can have been employed in two distinct senses in the same verse.

The grounds for the high honour bestowed on the martyred servant are once more emphasized at the close of the poem, since the dominant idea in the mind of the poet is the glory of vicarious suffering. This is the earliest expression of a conception (viz. the atoning value of the sufferings of pious men) which attained wide development in later times, and constantly meets us in the teachings of the Jewish Synagogue. We have a clear and vivid example of it during the struggles of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when sufferings were endured by pious martyrs for the Jewish faith. One of the seven brothers prays that 'in me and my brothers the wrath of the Almighty may be appeased which has justly passed upon all our race' (2 Macc. vii. 38). 'Be gracious unto thy people, and let the punishment which we endure for them suffice thee. Let my blood serve for purification, and as equivalent for their life (*ἀντίψυχον*) take my own' (4 Macc. vi. 29; cf. i. 11, ix. 24, xvii. 20-22, xviii. 4). Lastly, Jesus regards His own death as a 'ransom equivalent for many' (Mark x. 45)¹. In still later Judaism the doctrine was carried to what appear to us extravagant lengths, and was connected with the widely prevailing doctrine of merit which played so great a part in Jewish soteriology. In order to understand it, it must be recollected that the integral solidarity of the race was a fundamental axiom of thought, and our modern individualism, with its severe and impenetrable walls of personality, was entirely foreign to the Jewish (which was also the Pauline) mind. The race is of one blood. Hence what individual righteousness could not obtain, it could supplement by the righteousness of pious forefathers and even contemporaries. In the words of the tract Sanhedrin (27 b): 'One Israelite is guarantee for another.' The student will find this subject treated with copious illustrations in Weber's *System der*

¹ See Bousset, *Religion des Judentums* (2nd ed.), p. 228 foll.

- 12 transgressors: yet he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.]
- 54 Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth

altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie (now called *Jüdische Theologie*), pp. 280 foll.

We are passing into a more debatable region when we press our inquiry into the *historic roots* of this conception of the atoning death. Gressmann, in his recent stimulating work (in German) on *The Origin of Israelite-Jewish Eschatology*, pp. 328 foll., follows up the clues suggested twenty years ago in Robertson Smith's great treatise *Religion of the Semites*. We have to go back to the days of hoary antiquity, when gods and men were kin, out of which the primitive notions of sacrifice arose. We may find the clue in the conception expressed in *cultus* and its accompanying myth of the picular death of the god which passed over into the ritual of the atoning death of the animals; cf. especially the mysterious rite of the goat for Azazel (Lev. xvi. 21 foll.); see *Religion of the Semites*², pp. 410 foll. That the *ultimate* antecedents of the ideas expressed in Isa. liii undoubtedly belong to primitive antiquity cannot be denied by any one who believes that the Hebrews formed an integral part of the Semitic branch of the great human life-tree. We gravely question, however, whether Gressmann, in accentuating the elements of mystery which unquestionably belong to Isa. liii and its portraiture of the Martyr-servant, has not exaggerated the *direct* influence of mythology in this chapter. Certainly we cannot place it on the same level with the obvious mythological traits in li. 9. We maintain that that influence was *indirect*, yet potent in the present case.

CHAPTER LIV.

JERUSALEM'S FUTURE PROSPERITY AND GLORY.

There is obviously no actual connexion between this chapter and the preceding section lii. 13—liii. 12. What influenced the Deutero-Isaiah or the redactor in adopting this succession of passages is probably to be found in the concluding verses of the preceding chapter (liii. 11, 12), which portray God's final vindication of His Servant. This concluding note in the last of the Servant-passages furnishes a *superficial link* of connexion analogous to many others in the sequence of the varied passages of O. T. prophecy as we find them in our text. But the actual link of connexion is with li. 17—lii. 12. Zion is compared to a barren woman during exile, cf. xlix. 20 foll. See notes on xlix. 14 foll., l. 1. Yet she now finds herself endowed with more children than

into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the LORD. Enlarge ² the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; spare not: lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes. For thou shalt spread abroad ³ on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall possess the nations, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited. Fear not; for thou shalt not be ashamed: ⁴

a married woman has in normal circumstances (cf. verse 1), i. e. than Zion possessed in the days that preceded the exile. Verses 1-6 appear to form a metrical unity—each verse containing a couplet. Zion is to sing, for she is to receive a great accession of population, and this will necessitate the extension of her borders and the restoration of Judah's desolated towns, which shall once more be inhabited. Old griefs and the days when Yahweh the husband of Zion withdrew shall be now forgotten (verse 4). Yahweh returns to the forsaken wife.

1. The language re-echoes xlv. 23. The word rendered **sing** means the utterance of a clear ringing cry. Similarly the verb rendered **cry aloud** is descriptive of a high-pitched voice (cf. Isa. x. 30), employed in Jer. v. 8 in reference to the neighing of horses. It is the natural expression of strong emotion, whether of joy or fear.

2. The conceptions here are those of xlix. 18-21 (cf. especially verse 19). The LXX does not contain the word here rendered **habitations**, and it probably did not belong to the original text. Duhm is justified in omitting it as a gloss, as it overweights the metre. Translate: 'Let them stretch out the curtains' (or 'tent-hangings'; cf. Exod. xxvi. 1). 'Withhold not. Extend thy cords, make fast thy tent-pegs.' Cf. Jer. x. 20, and Isa. xxxiii. 20.

3 contains only one and a half instead of two full lines. Duhm and Marti seem justified in assuming that a half-line is omitted before the opening of this verse. **Spread abroad** in the original is more emphatic, 'break forth.' There seems here to be a reminiscence of Gen. xxviii. 14 (J). **Right and left**, according to Semitic usage (cf. the Arabic) mean south and north respectively. 'And desolated cities they shall populate,' i. e. the cities left deserted and in ruins by the Babylonian invasions of 597 and 587 B. C. under Nebuchadrezzar.

4. It is probable that the ideas of Ezek. xvi. 4-8, the beautiful long-wrought parable of Israel's earlier relations to Yahweh,

neither be thou confounded; for thou shalt not be put to shame: for thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth, and the reproach of thy widowhood shalt thou remember
 5 no more. For thy Maker is thine husband; the LORD of hosts is his name: and the Holy one of Israel is thy redeemer; the God of the whole earth shall he be called.
 6 For the LORD hath called thee as a wife forsaken and grieved in spirit, even a wife of youth, when she is cast
 7 off, saith thy God. For a small moment have I forsaken
 8 thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. In

influenced the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah when he wrote the words **the shame of thy youth**. They refer to the early period of the affliction of Israel in Egypt, and subsequently the time of her humiliation by the Assyrians. The widowhood, on the other hand, refers to the period of the exile when Yahweh withdrew from His people (though He did not forget them), His own abode and temple in Jerusalem having been destroyed. Now that Jerusalem and its temple are restored, He returns (cf. the notes on xlix. 14-21 and li. 1 foll.).

6. Our R. V. misses the significance and power of the last clause first clearly perceived by Ewald. Render: 'And a wife of youth—to think that she should be rejected! saith thy God¹.'

7-8. *Another utterance of comfort.* The exile is here spoken of as but a brief interval in the great sweep of past and future history. This is characteristic of the optimism of the prophet, who stands in this respect contrasted with his pre-exilian predecessors of the eighth and seventh centuries, who proclaimed the wrath of Yahweh, who visited Israel with successive judgments (Isa. ii. 12-21, v. vi. 11-13, ix. 8 foll.) as chastisements for unfaithfulness and wrong. The chastisements are now past, and are regarded as mere incidents (xl. 1). This tone of feeling is reflected in Psalm literature. God's anger is but momentary; Ps. xxx. 5 (6 Heb.). The first half of verse 8 certainly appears too overweighted with words to be metrically correct. At the same time it is hardly possible to delete from the Hebrew text the word *rega* ('for a moment'), as Duhm and Marti propose, since its presence is required by the word for **everlasting** in the

¹ The particle *ki* followed by the imperf. should be understood here somewhat in the same way as in Gen. iii. 1. See the idiom explained in Ewald's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache* (*Hebrew Syntax*, T. & T. Clark), 330 b and 354 c.

overflowing wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment ; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the LORD thy redeemer. For this is *as* the waters 9 of Noah unto me : for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed ; 10 but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall

corresponding antithetic parallel clause. On the other hand, the Hebrew word which corresponds to **overflowing** (*shesef*) does not occur elsewhere, and looks like a corruption of the word that follows meaning 'wrath' (*kesef*), and was probably only retained by a copyist owing to the use of the proper word for the same idea in a similar connexion in Prov. xxvii. 4¹. Accordingly the line in its original form read thus :—

'In wrath I hid my face for a moment, but with everlasting loving-kindness I have compassion on thee.'

Verses 9–10. *A third utterance of comfort.* A new and eternal covenant of peace and mercy. We have here a reminiscence derived from Gen. viii. 21 foll. (J₂), the covenant with Noah.

9. Several minor corrections of the Hebrew text are shown by the ancient versions to be necessary. Accordingly translate as follows with R. V. marg. :—

'As in the *days*² of Noah has this come to pass unto me :
As I swore—that the waters of Noah should no more come
over the earth—
So have I sworn—that I would not be wrathful against thee
nor chide thee.'

10. The opening clause should be taken in a concessive sense :—

'Though the mountains withdraw—and the hills shake,
My loving-kindness shall not withdraw from thee, nor my
covenant of friendship shake.'

¹ The LXX have no word for 'overflowing' in their text, but it evidently suffered also from the dittography of the word for 'wrath.' Their Hebrew text corrupted the second word into the word for 'little,' which occurs in verse 7. They render: 'In a little wrath I turned away my face from thee.'

² So Symm., Vulg., Targ., Peš., and some old Hebrew MSS., and most modern critics, including Lowth and Delitzsch.

my covenant of peace be removed, saith the LORD that hath mercy on thee.

- 11 O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold, I will set thy stones in fair colours, and
 12 lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy pinnacles of rubies, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all

Verses 11-17. *The New Jerusalem.* Jerusalem shall arise rebuilt with splendour. Corresponding to the external glory of its foundations and buildings shall be the inner ethical nobility of its people who shall dwell in righteousness, security, and peace.

11. The word here rendered by **fair colours** (*púkh*) properly means the *stibium*, 'antimony,' or, more accurately stated, sulphuret of antimony (called in Greek *στίμμι* or *στίμμυς*), corresponding to the *kohl* used by the Orientals at the present day. This substance was used in painting the eyes and eyebrows of fashionable women (such as Jezebel in 2 Kings ix. 30) in order to give them a more distinctive appearance. The *stibium* consisted of black metallic powder, which was applied partly in a dry state and partly as ointment to the eyelids and brows. It was supposed that the dark rim enhanced the brilliant appearance of the eyes. See *Hebrew Antiquities* (pub. R. T. S.), pp. 54 foll., with figures of ornamented face and *kohl* vessels. Ewald and Dillmann held that the meaning of the passage is that instead of the stones being laid in ordinary mortar they were to be laid in this black *stibium*, so that they would gleam forth like a woman's brilliant eyes. This pretty conceit certainly harmonizes with the consistent representation of Zion as feminine. On the other hand, it does not harmonize with the context, and especially with the parallel clause, which would lead us to expect that the word *púkh* designates some precious stone. Accordingly it has been suggested by Wellhausen that another word for precious stone, viz. *nôphekh*, should be read here in place of *púkh*¹, meaning probably 'carbuncle,' Exod. xxviii. 18, xxxix. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 16, xxviii. 13 (so LXX, Vulg., Josephus). Others, as Kittel, prefer to render by *onyx*.

12. Similarly the 'battlements' (or **pinnacles**, R. V.) are to be set in **rubies** (?). The word here rendered by 'rubies' is very obscure. LXX and Vulg. interpret it as meaning *jasper*, Symm. renders by *chalcidony*. It must be confessed that the rendering 'rubies' is tentative. Similarly we are in doubt as to the word

¹ On the other hand, Klostermann would understand *púkh* here in the sense of *nôphekh*.

thy border of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall
 be taught of the LORD; and great shall be the peace of
 thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established:
 thou shalt be far from oppression, for thou shalt not fear;
 and from terror, for it shall not come near thee. Behold,
 they may gather together, but not by me: whosoever shall

for **carbuncles**, which the LXX interpret as 'crystal,' whereas Aq., Symm., and Vulg., in their uncertainty, simply render by 'engraved (or carved) stones.'

The reader will not fail to note that in Rev. xxi. 18-21 we have a more highly elaborated portrayal of the buildings of the 'holy city, the new Jerusalem' suggested by the verses 11, 12. There can be little doubt that the Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by the ideals of the restored Jerusalem contained in Ezek. xl-xlviii.

Verses 13-14. As is the outward so is the inward. The inhabitants are to be a righteous people taught of God.

13. It has been suggested that by a slight change in the vowel pronunciation (as in xlix. 17) we should render: 'All thy *builders* shall be taught of God,' instead of 'all thy *sons, &c.*' This is supported by most recent critics, Grätz, Duhm, Kittel, and Cheyne. On the other hand, it is not proposed to make the same change in the word for 'my sons' in the original at the close of the verse. No support is given in the versions (LXX, &c.) to the proposed emendation at the beginning of the verse, and it is difficult to see what is gained by the alteration. The Hebrews had no such antipathy to repetitions or tautology of expression that we have. Nor does the following clause, which opens verse 14, require the proposed change.

14. Instead of **shalt thou be established** the punctuation of the Hebrew text would require the translation of the reflexive (*Hithpa'el*) form by 'thou shalt found thyself,' the city of Jerusalem being apostrophized (cf. the same formation in Num. xxi. 27; Prov. xxiv. 3). On the other hand, by a different vocalization of the Hebrew text we obtain a passive form, which would be rendered as the R.V. above gives it.

15 is certainly not free from difficulty, and some have doubted whether it was written by the Deutero-Isaiah. It would be best to follow Hitzig, Ewald, Duhm, and Kittel in taking the verb in the opening clause not in the sense of **gather together** (as R. V. understands it), but in that of 'stir up strife' (with R. V. marg.). Accordingly the verse should be rendered:

'Should one stir up strife, it is not from me;—whosoever contends with thee shall fall against thee.'

The meaning is fairly clear. In the olden time Yahweh stirred

gather together against thee shall fall because of thee.
 16 Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the fire of
 coals, and bringeth forth a weapon for his work; and I
 17 have created the waster to destroy. No weapon that is
 formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that
 shall rise against thee in judgement thou shalt condemn.
 This is the heritage of the servants of the LORD, and their
 righteousness which is of me, saith the LORD.

55 Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters,

up the foes who attacked Israel, such as the Assyrians and Babylonians, who inflicted the chastisements of Divine wrath (Amos ii, 4-16, v, vi, viii; Isa. ii, iii, v, vi-viii¹; Mic. i-iii, and Jeremiah *passim*) for disobedience; but now Yahweh takes the side of Zion against her foes and brings about the downfall of the latter. 'Shall fall against thee,' i. e. in his attack against thee.

16 appears to follow in natural sequence on verse 15 rather than on verse 14. Therefore we should be disposed to regard verse 15 as genuine, as well as this whose genuineness can hardly be disputed. No one who contends against Zion can succeed, since God has omnipotent control and creates the workman who forges the weapons of war. For **his work** some would read with R. V. (marg.) 'its work,' i. e. the work or function of the *weapon*. On the other hand, others would refer the masculine possessive suffix to the *workman*, and render (as Ewald does) 'brings forth a weapon as² his work,' which certainly is a preferable as well as more natural construction.

17. The word **righteousness** here and in verse 14 includes the conception of victory and well-being which Yahweh has assured to the restored Zion-community as their inheritance. Cf. the remarks in the Introduction, § 4.

CHAPTER LV.

INVITATION TO ACCEPT GOD'S PROFFERED SALVATION.

Verses 1-5 are a call to Israel to come and enjoy in the restored Jerusalem the blessings of Yahweh's eternal covenant with His people. 'Him' in verse 4 refers to David (Zerubbabel).

¹ The passages in Isaiah which definitely refer to Assyria as God's instrument for chastising Israel are: vii. 18, 20, x. 5, 6.

² The Hebrew preposition would then denote the product or result of activity. Others would assign it the meaning, which it sometimes bears, 'according to,' i. e. according to his (i. e. the workman's) function' (as a forger of iron implements). See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* ²⁶, § 119. 3 c, 3 and 4.

and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live:

1. The thirsty ones are bidden to come and obtain for themselves free of all cost the blessings which God will bestow on this new theocracy at Jerusalem. These blessings, both material and spiritual, are expressed in the terms of the usual forms of beverage in the Orient, water, wine, and milk, all of which, as Kennedy remarks in reference to milk (*Enc. Bibl.*, s.v.), 'could hardly fail to suggest a variety of figures to the biblical writers.' Probably we have an echo of the present passage in John iv. 10-15, vii. 37; Rev. xxi. 6, xxii. 17.

2 is evidently an appeal to the Jewish settler in foreign lands, more especially in Babylonia, which for many generations had been the land of commerce, as the enormous number of business transactions, recorded on the contract-tablets¹ dug out in vast multitudes from the *tells* or mounds, have proved. In this land, following the wise advice of Jeremiah (xxix. 4-7), the Jewish exiles after the disasters to Jerusalem of 597 and 587 B. C. had settled, and traded. G. Adam Smith pertinently observes that 'it was in Babylon that the Jews first formed those mercantile habits which have become . . . their national character. . . . They laboured and prospered exceedingly, gathering property and settling in comfort,' and in too many instances, as we have seen (see Introduction), abandoned the religion of their forefathers for that of their new land and home. From this eager pursuit of material and perishable prosperity the prophet seeks by his appeal to win them to the blessings of God's eternal covenant with the citizens of the new Jerusalem. The wealth of Babylonia will not satisfy the soul's cravings. It cannot be called 'food' (R. V. 'bread'). 'Eat ye what is wholesome that your soul may luxuriate in rich food.' For *labour* read 'wealth'; cf. xlv. 14 note.

3-4. Though Jerusalem was not to be without material blessings,

¹ We use here the current term. But the word 'contract' is somewhat misleading. 'Deeds,' or 'Records of sale' would be more appropriate. An interesting description will be found in Rev. C. H. W. Johns's *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, pp. 10-13.

and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even
 4 the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have given him for
 a witness to the peoples, a leader and commander to the
 5 peoples. Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou

it is evident that the prophet's thought is directed to the ethical and spiritual: 'Hear that your soul may live, and that I may conclude with you an eternal covenant.' There can be no doubt that his mind recurred to the great conception of Jeremiah's 'New Covenant' (Jer. xxxi. 27-34), to which he had already referred in xlii. 6 foll., xlix. 8. Like Jeremiah, too, he thought of the old Messianic expectations which associated themselves with David's lineage (Jer. xxiii. 5, 6). These anticipations had revived in the subsequent utterances of Ezekiel (xxxiv. 23 foll.). But during the intervening years of sorrow and blighted hopes they had declined and had given place to other ideals. They were now destined to revive as the political expectations of Israel were rekindled by the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus and his edict of Restoration to Israel. About this time the eyes of the Babylonian Jewish community were fixed upon a descendant of the ancient Davidic line, Zerubbabel, and it is quite possible—indeed, probable—that the words 'I have appointed him a prince and commander over peoples' refer to Zerubbabel. In him the Jewish community beheld the **sure mercies** connected with David and his seed. About seventeen years [?] later, in the infancy and slight beginnings of the restored community in Jerusalem, Haggai gave definite utterance to the high hopes which were entertained of him in a solemn prophecy (Haggai ii. 20-23). As we know from subsequent history and the curious phenomena of the text of Zechariah¹, these Messianic anticipations were destined to speedy extinction; whether by the ever-increasing priestly ascendancy or by the opposition of the old home population, the enemies of all true progress, we have no means of deciding. The Davidic dynasty, represented by Zerubbabel, is to be a witness among peoples to Yahweh's power, faithfulness, and love to Israel. It is quite possible that the Deutero-Isaiah was cognizant in some way of the prophecy in 2 Sam. vii (E, composed in the seventh century, according to Budde).

5. A reminiscence of the old 'Servant-songs' in the Deutero-Isaiah (xlix. 6, the conception of which is reinforced in the following verses by the Deutero-Isaiah). The Jewish people, who were addressed in the plural in verses 1-3, are now addressed as

¹ Cf. Zech. iv. 6-10, and on the passage vi. 9-14, with its textual defects, see Driver's notes in *Century Bible*, 'Minor Prophets,' vol. ii.

knowest not, and a nation that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the LORD thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee.

Seek ye the LORD while he may be found, call ye upon 6 him while he is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and 7 the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the LORD, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. For my 8 thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways

an individual. Yahweh's power and love, manifested in the restored people and Davidic dynasty, form a powerful and attractive influence. Foreign peoples of whom Israel never heard shall respond to Israel's invitation and shall flock eagerly into Jerusalem.

Verses 6-13. The prophet now addresses words of earnest pleading to his countrymen, some of whom had abandoned the religion of their forefathers. The present is a great opportunity. Even the wicked who had forsaken Yahweh will obtain forgiveness, for God's thoughts and ways are greater than theirs, and His word is as sure of fulfilment as the rain or snow of their beneficent influence on earth's tillage. A new world shall greet the returning captives as they exultantly pursue their journey from the land of exile. The transformation shall remain as an eternal testimony of Yahweh's power and love.

6. The thought in the mind of the writer is that Yahweh is to be sought in His old place of abode—Jerusalem (not in Babylonia; cf. verse 12).

For **while he may be found**, read: 'when He suffers Himself to be found¹.'

7-8. The grounds for the omission of verse 7 as an interpolation, because there is a better sequence of thought between verse 8 and verse 6, are questionable. The worldly Jewish settler in Babylonia is exhorted to leave the vain objects of his interest and turn to Yahweh, whose ways and purposes are utterly different.

'Let the wicked man abandon his way, and the vain man his thoughts, that he may return to Yahweh, so that He may have mercy on him, and to our God, for He grants abounding forgiveness.' The following verse is based on the terms of verse 7. A

¹ The idiom is that which is called by Hebrew Grammarians *Niph'al tolerativum*, of which we have had an example in liii. 7: cf. lxx. 1. See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 51. 2 a.

9 my ways, saith the LORD. For as the heavens are higher
 than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways,
 10 and my thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain
 cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth
 not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring
 forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to
 11 the eater; so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my
 mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall
 accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in
 12 the thing whereto I sent it. For ye shall go out with joy,
 and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills

contrast is drawn between God's ways and thoughts and those of the wicked. God's greater heavenly way is revealed in His free forgiveness.

10-11. Evil men's purposes and ways wither and perish, but not so the Divine thoughts. These abide eternal. God's word never suffers frustration.

returneth not thither . . . shall not return means 'does not become impotent and ineffectual.' We have already had occasion to notice this special use of the Hebrew word 'return' in the note on Isa. ix. 12, where the Hebrew word for 'return,' or 'turn back,' was explained as meaning 'cease to operate.' Similarly in the words of our Lord the blessing (corresponding to its opposite, the curse which is the expression of wrath) has a beneficent potency. The salutation of peace or *salâm* of Christ's messenger comes upon the worthy household, but upon the unworthy it ceases to operate, or, in the words of our Lord, 'returns to yourselves' (Matt. x. 13; cf. Luke x. 6. Cf. also 2 Sam. i. 22).

It would be preferable to render throughout the imperfect tenses in Hebrew as expressing an abiding and recurrent fact, i. e. by the present rather than the future. The tenses in both verses, containing the natural simile and its spiritual analogue respectively, correspond. The word for **void** (properly 'in vain') in the Hebrew text of verse 11 is obviously an awkward gloss added by some scribe¹. It is not to be found in the LXX version and impedes the sense. Render: 'For just as the rain and snow

¹ For it is quite clear that the Divine word cannot be 'void' or 'in vain,' any more than the rain or snow, when it has accomplished its task. It merely 'returns,' i. e. ceases to operate, its work having been done.

shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn ¹³ shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree : and it shall be to the LORD for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

descend from heaven and do not return thither except they have drenched the earth, and made it bring forth and bud and have furnished seed to the sower and food to the eater ; so is my word that proceeds from my mouth. It does not return to me, except it has done what I please and has succeeded in the mission on which I sent it.' Here the 'word' is, as it were, materialized and is 'sent' from heaven like the snow. Similarly in ix. 8 (7 Heb.), the contrasted word of Divine wrath falls on Israel to blast and destroy.

12-13. Having asserted the general principle of Yahweh's omnipotent will and the inevitable accomplishment of His gracious purpose, the prophet concludes his prophecy of persuasion and encouragement. We are carried back to the oracles of the return with which this entire collection opened, xl. 3-5. The desert itself is transformed by the appearance of the myrtle and the fir (or more properly 'cypress,' cf. xli. 19), in place of the brier (Chéyne 'nettle') and the thorn, in accompaniment to the gladness which pervades the returning caravan of exiles. These transformations in nature shall be the **everlasting sign** of Yahweh's new covenant with His Redeemed People. Cf. the 'new heaven and new earth' of chap. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22, which convey the same idea of an 'everlasting sign.'

VOL. II, PART II

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET

ISAIAH (CHAPTERS LVI—LXVI)

OR TRITO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

(CHAPTERS LVI-LXVI)

CALLED THE TRITO-ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ I. THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS UNDER CYRUS AND THE ADVENT OF NEHEMIAH (538-445 B. C.).

BETWEEN the last utterances of the Deutero-Isaiah and the time to which the eleven closing chapters of the Isaianic collection belong there probably intervenes a period of more than eighty years. About this interval we are in reality very imperfectly informed. The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah (chaps. i-viii) give us some insight into the conditions which prevailed in Jerusalem about twenty years after the capture by Cyrus of Babylon and the edict of restoration. Also the prophecies of Malachi afford us much needed light respecting the conditions that prevailed more than fifty years later.

It is of course true that we have also the historic retrospect contained in the opening chapters of the Book of Ezra. But when we deal with this book, as well as that of Nehemiah, it must be remembered that they were redacted in their present form nearly two centuries later than the events which transpired in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, and that the accounts were compiled by the same hand that composed the Books of Chronicles. When we compare the opening verses of Ezra (i. 1-3) with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 foll. it would appear that Ezra was compiled in order to serve as an immediate sequel to the Books of Chronicles. In 1893 a Dutch critic, Kusters, the successor of Kuenen at Leiden, endeavoured to

show¹ that the first four chapters of Ezra are to be regarded as quite unhistorical. All that is there narrated about the edict of Cyrus and the return of the exiles, the foundation of the temple and the suspension of the work in the reign of Cyrus, Kusters dismisses as fiction. Haggai and Zechariah knew of no other foundation of the temple than that which took place in their time (Hag. ii. 19). Nor, according to this critic, do these prophets assume that there was any return of a community of exiles from Babylonia. These prophets regard the time of Israel's chastisement as still enduring, and his redemption is all in the future (Zech. i. 2 foll., 12, ii. 6 foll., vi. 9-15, viii. 7 foll.). The foundation of the temple to which Haggai refers is the only temple-building which took place, viz. in 520-516 B.C. When the question is asked, to whom this rebuilding of the temple was due, Kusters replies that it was not carried out by the *gōlah* or returned Babylonian exiles, since they are never once mentioned in such a connexion in the oracles of Haggai and Zechariah, but only 'this people' (Hag. i. 2, 12, ii. 14) or 'remnant of the people' (Hag. i. 12, 14, ii. 2; Zech. viii. 6, 11, 12), or 'people of the land' (Hag. ii. 4; Zech. vii. 5), or in Zech. ii. 16, viii. 13, 15, 'Judah' or 'the house of Judah,' by which terms the inhabitants of Judah who had not been deported by Nebuchadrezzar between 597 and 586 B.C. are obviously meant.

These views are certainly not without some weight, and have exercised considerable influence in England² as well as on the continent. They have, however, been

¹ In his work with the Dutch title *Herstel van Israël*. Kusters was followed in 1895 by Eerdmanns, and in part by Wildeboer and Cheyne (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. xxxviii).

² Soon after their publication Prof. Cheyne (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. xxxviii), in his account of Kusters' views, so far agrees that he describes the assertion in Ezra v. 11-17 and vi. 1, 3-5 that Cyrus ordered the temple to be rebuilt and sent back the sacred vessels as a pious invention.

subjected to searching criticism by Wellhausen¹ and also by Edward Meyer in his detailed investigation of the Aramaic documents in Ezra iv-vii in his *Entstehung des Judentums* (pp. 8-71), in which he seeks to prove their genuineness. In England the chief credit for an independent and thorough examination of Koster's theory belongs to Prof. G. Adam Smith. To his lucid presentation of the arguments against Koster's views in his 'Book of the Twelve Prophets' (*Expositor's Bible*), vol. ii, pp. 194-219, we would refer the inquiring reader. Within our much narrower limitations we can only deal in brief summary with Koster's positions. It will be found that if these be admitted in their entirety we shall be confronted by far greater difficulties than any which Koster's reconstruction is designed to remove.

I. If we dismiss the record in Ezra chap. i, cf. vi. 3 foll., as wholly untrue, and therefore assume that no edict was ever issued by Cyrus for the return of the Jewish exiles and the restoration of this temple, we have to account (1) for the invention of the story itself, (2) for the preservation of the oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah xl-xlvi, which are taken up with the prophecy respecting Cyrus as the anointed servant of Yahweh, commissioned to restore Israel and rebuild the ruined city (xliv. 26, xlv. 13). We have also to account for the survival of chapters xlix-lv which contemplate the immediate fulfilment of their anticipations.

As to (1) the underlying motive of the invention, this is assumed to be the desire to give historic vindication to these oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah. Accordingly we have to suppose that for about ninety years the definite and confident predictions of the Deutero-Isaiah remained unfulfilled, and the pious exiles were doomed still to wait for the vindication of Yahweh's power. Whether the higher prophetic Yahweh-religion either in Babylonia or

¹ Cf. *Israel. und Jüdische Geschichte*², pp. 155, 160.

Palestine could have survived so terrible a shock as this total falsification of its hopes, of which the news would spread far and wide, remains exceedingly doubtful. Still more doubtful is it whether the Deutero-Isaianic oracles would have survived¹. (2) That they *did* survive, even though the hopes kindled by their immediate fulfilment were destined to suffer disillusionment in the following decades, we know to have been a fact. And this points irresistibly to the conclusion that Cyrus did actively co-operate in the restoration of a considerable, though perhaps not very large, body of Jewish exiles. That the oracles enjoyed in consequence of their fulfilment considerable prestige, like the earlier oracles of Isaiah in Hezekiah's reign, is fully proved by the profound influence which they exerted in a later generation—an influence which the style of the oracles of the Trito-Isaiah—especially of the lyrical passages lx-lxii—will clearly reveal.

Moreover, archaeology furnishes us with an indirect confirmation of the truth that Cyrus fulfilled the expectations of Hebrew prophecy. (a) This tolerance of and sympathy with native Babylonian cults is clearly shown in his clay cylinder². Throughout Cyrus, though a Persian, regards himself as the reverent servant of Marduk (Merodach), the tutelary deity of Babylon. At this deity's command Cyrus restores to their shrines the gods whom Nabunâid had displaced (lines 33 foll.). That Cyrus exhibited the same tolerance and sympathy to the cults of other races, and especially to the Jews who had hailed his advent to power with rejoicing, is surely exceedingly probable. (b) The recent discovery of three Aramaic papyri at Elephantine, near Assouân, published by

¹ We know that the falsification of the Messianic expectations which for a short time centred round the person of Zerubabel in all probability caused the elimination of his name, and the consequent textual difficulties in Zech. vi. 11 foll. See Driver's note in the *Century Bible* Commentary.

² See p. 342 f., and Schrader's *KIB.*, ii, 2^{te} Hälfte, p. 127 foll.

Prof. Ed. Sachau, supplies an indirect confirmation of the traditional view respecting Cyrus which is here advocated. The first papyrus contains a complete letter addressed by Jedoniah and his fellow priests of the temple of Yahweh at Yeb in the seventeenth year of Darius II (Nothus), i. e. in 407 B. C., to Bagohi, viceroy of Judaea. In recapitulating the past history of this temple of Yahweh, recently destroyed by the fanatical hatred of the Egyptian priesthood, it states that when Cambyses invaded Egypt (i. e. about 526 B. C.) he found the temple-building already existing. The shrine may indeed have originated at a much earlier period¹. The lines 13, 14 in Sachau's rendering may here be cited:—

[13] . . . 'And after the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers built that temple in the stronghold Yeb. And when Cambyses [Kambūzi] entered Egypt [14] he found the temple built; but all the temples of the gods of Egypt they destroyed, but to that temple no one did any injury.'

The exceptional favour shown by Cambyses to the temple of Yahweh is most readily explained by the assumption that the new Persian king was loyal to the policy of his predecessor Cyrus², which the Deutero-Isaiah in poetry and Ezra in prose have in the main faithfully depicted.

II. But how are we to account for the strange silence of Haggai and Zechariah respecting the foundation of the temple in the days of Cyrus (circa 536 B. C.)? Both represent the foundation and building of the sanctuary as having taken place during the years 520-516 B. C. No

¹ That the origin of the building was ancient seems to be indicated by the vague language of the writer. The existence of a diaspora even in the eighth century is suggested by a variety of passages in pre-exilian prophets. Cf. the notes in vol. i on Isa. xix. 19 foll., on which a useful light may perhaps be thrown.

² Since these words were written the writer has found that this inference has already been drawn by J. W. Rothstein in his monograph *Juden und Samaritaner* (1908), p. 13 foll.

previous foundation is referred to. Cornill¹ is willing to concede this point, and holds that the Ezra records, compiled in a much later age, transferred from the reign of Darius this event, to which the contemporary prophets Haggai and Zechariah alluded, back to the reign of Cyrus. This might seem to be a not unnatural solution of the problem of the silence of these two prophets respecting any earlier foundation of the temple. Prof. G. Adam Smith, on the other hand, contends that such silence was quite explicable from the standpoint assumed by the two prophets, who emphasized that it was not by human might or power but by the Divine spirit (Zech. iv. 4) that the temple was to be rebuilt and the restoration completed. 'Their one ambition is to put courage from God into the poor hearts before them.' This we hold to be a sound argument. In this respect Haggai and Zechariah stand in line with the Deutero-Isaiah. Though the latter hailed the advent of Cyrus in the earlier days when exiled Israel was despondent and even faithless, Yahweh's blind and deaf servant (chaps. xl-xlviii), we hear no more about Cyrus in chaps. xlix-lv, when the anticipations already uttered were on the point of realization and the consummation was at hand. The mention of Cyrus and the strong supporting arm of Persia by either of the later prophets would have struck a discordant note. It would have belittled the majesty of Yahweh. Accordingly Haggai and Zechariah make no reference to the earlier attempt to rebuild the temple, which Samaritan opposition rendered abortive.

It is now held by the majority of scholars that a considerable return of Jewish exiles from Babylonia did take place in the reign of Cyrus, and it probably continued in that of his immediate successors². Both Zerubbabel and Joshua

¹ *Introd. to the O. T.*, § 21. 7 c.

² e. g. in that of Darius Hystaspis, as Zech. vi. 10 clearly indicates.

did not arrive unaccompanied. No temple restoration can be regarded as possible to the meagre, poverty-stricken population, tainted with the old semi-Canaanite traditions of the high places as well as the open polytheism which characterized the latter days of the old Judæan kingdom after the death of Josiah, and which his reformation was quite unable to extinguish. The high hopes which inspired both Haggai (ii. 4, 23) and Zechariah¹, and the enthusiasm with which both prophets hail Zerubbabel as the coming Messiah, were doubtless short-lived; yet they were only possible when we assume that new blood—that of the returned exiles who breathed the spirit of the Deutero-Isaiah—had entered into the decaying Jewish community and had vitalized it. Yet the task which confronted the restored exiles in the realization of their ideals was by no means an easy one. They had to reckon with men of a far different spirit, viz. the Jews who had not departed to Babylonia during the crises of 597 and the following deportation in 586. From Ezek. xxxiii. 24-29 we learn that they were prone to idolatry, murder, and dissolute practices, while viii. 5-18, in the form of a trance-vision, presents us with a strange spectacle of image-worship and animal portrayals in the temple of Jerusalem. To the student of the oracles of Jeremiah this is not in the least surprising, and when we come to examine the chapters in the Trito-Isaiah, lvii. 3-10, lxx. 2-5, lxxvi. 3, 4, the impression will be confirmed that the reformation of Josiah's reign, of which we possess the reflex in the Book of Deuteronomy (see 2 Kings xxii, xxiii), was but transient and superficial in its effects. And we shall be still less surprised when we take up the interesting work of the late Prof. Sam. Ives Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*. The author there describes to

¹ Note especially the language of Zechariah, 'I have returned to Jerusalem in mercy. My house shall be built in it' (i. 16; cf. viii. 3, 7-9).

us what he as well as previous explorers, such as Clermont Ganneau and others, have observed in their travels among the remoter regions of Syria and Palestine. Sacred stones and trees still remain objects of reverence. The local *nebi* or saint and the local demon play a far larger part in the daily life of the Bedawí of even this twentieth century in the country districts than the monotheism of Christian or Mohammedan. Mohammedanism and Christianity are but a thin veneer over beliefs and practices of hoary antiquity which cling to the soil and its people and stretch far back into an older past than the Old Testament itself. Comp. Kittel, *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie* (1908), p. 101 and footnote 2.

That the old and primitive traditions of Semitic life and cultus persisted with extraordinary vigour in the days when the chapters comprised in 'Trito-Isaiah' were composed (circ. 460-445 B.C.) is obvious to the attentive reader, and furnish clear indications that they were written on Palestinian soil.

§ 2. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS PREVALENT IN JUDAEA IN THE DAYS OF THE TRITO-ISAIAH.

The opening verses of the Trito-Isaiah, lvi. 1-8, clearly reveal that they belong to an entirely new stadium of Jewish history as compared with the environment of the chapters in the Deutero-Isaiah which precede. In the latter we are in the midst of an exiled community, and are confronted by a turning-point in their history. Fresh vistas disclose themselves. The Babylonian land of exile is soon to be left behind, and the caravans are wending their way to the homeland. But here all is changed. For the present the exultant note of anticipation is not so often heard. The community has long been settled in its Palestinian home, and they are organized into a community. Sacrifices are offered at the Temple altar as well as the service of prayer (lvi. 7). Sabbaths are strictly kept (verse 6), and the prophet bids the foreigner and the

eunuch welcome to the religious privileges of the sanctuary.

A new spirit breathes through these oracles. The music is frequently in the minor key. We have passed from the brighter world of noble ideals and happy anticipation to the darker region of disillusionment. The language of bitter and stern rebuke is often heard. We are dwelling amid the hard realities of an evil world. Sabbaths and fasts are celebrated, but the evils of a hollow formalism and social oppression are as manifest as they were in the days of Amos and Isaiah. Of this we have a remarkable example in chap. lviii, which breathes the same spirit of high social ideals of duty and of stern denunciation of Judah's social sins that characterized the pre-exilian prophets (Amos v; Isa. i, v). Men who conformed to the orthodox traditions of fasting or 'afflicting the soul,' and thought that they were meriting Divine blessing and favour thereby, were guilty of violent strife and the oppression of the poor. The language of chap. lix, like that of chap. lviii, discloses to us an entirely new set of circumstances which had intervened since the prophecies of the Return in chaps. xl-lv had been delivered. We are now in the presence of a settled religious community in the Judæan homeland possessed of a sanctuary with organized worship and definite traditions—but a community which had become degenerate. These new conditions could only have developed after a considerable lapse of time.

This conclusion is fortified by a comparison with the internal conditions disclosed by (a) Ezra and Nehemiah and (b) the prophecies of Malachi. As these facts have been already set forth by Prof. Driver in his introduction to Malachi, § 2¹, where the intervening history from the days of Zechariah to those of Nehemiah is succinctly narrated, it will not be necessary to go over the

¹ *Century Bible*, 'Minor Prophets,' vol. ii, p. 287 foll.

same ground here. As in the case of Malachi, the internal conditions of the Jewish community aroused a feeling of 'depression and discontent.' 'The return from Babylon had not been followed by the ideal glories promised by the second Isaiah; the completion of the Temple had not, as Haggai and Zechariah had promised, brought in the Messianic age; Jerusalem, instead of the population overflowing on all sides (Zech. ii. 4), was thinly inhabited (Neh. vii. 4; xi. 1) and, till 445, largely a ruin (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3, 17); bad harvests (Mal. iii. 11), troubles from neighbours (Ezra iv. 7-23; cf. Neh. iv. 2 f.), and general poverty (Neh. v) increased the disheartenment. A spirit of carelessness and indifference prevailed widely among the people¹' (cf. in reference to priests and sacrifices Mal. i. 6-8, 13, 14, ii. 6, 7-9).

This close approximation of conditions, and more especially of the general tone of feeling, in Malachi and in the Trito-Isaiah, points to a close approximation of date. We are well within the era of degeneracy, 460-445 B. C. A day of crisis and terrible chastisement from Yahweh is apprehended: 'A day is coming, burning as an oven,' Mal. iv. 1 (iii. 19 Heb.). Similarly the Trito-Isaiah, lxvi. 15:

'For behold, Yahweh will come in fire—and like the whirlwind his chariots,

Causing as retribution His wrath to fall in hot anger—and his rebuke in fiery flames.'

Another interesting point of contact between the Trito-Isaiah and the oracles of Malachi is the *denunciation of Edom* which finds a place in both. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the historical basis upon which the denunciation rests is meagre and obscure (Mal. i. 2-5, on which see Driver's notes, and Isa. lxiii. 1-6, with the introductory notes to this section below).

Moreover, the figure of a personal Messiah, which passes

¹ Driver, *ibid.*, p. 293.

like a transient gleam across the last lyric utterance of the Deutero-Isaiah (iv. 3, 4) and became definitely associated by Haggai (ii. 21-23) and Zechariah (iv. 6-10, vi. 12) with the person of Zerubbabel, had long vanished. The conception of a personal Messiah has no place in the prophecies of better things in Malachi (iii. 16-18, iv. 2, 3 [iii. 20, 21 Heb.]) or in the lyric strains that herald the restoration of Israel (Nehemiah's advent) in the Trito-Isaiah (lx-lxii).

Lastly, Isa. lvii. 3-10, lxv. 2-5, and lxvi. 3, 4 clearly show that Judaeen life in Palestine in the days of the Trito-Isaiah was tainted by the prevalence of modes of religious practice and cultus which were alien to the purer ideals of Yahweh worship established in the Deuteronomic code. Moreover, we are, in these later chapters of the collection, confronted by definite allusions to the Samaritan schism—references which become clear when we study the earlier chapters of Nehemiah, and place them by the side of the last two chapters (lxv and lxvi) of the Trito-Isaiah.

§ 3. THE STYLE OF THE TRITO-ISAIAH

is chiefly marked by its evident signs of dependence on the Deutero-Isaiah. This, however, applies rather to the phraseology than the structural form of the sentences to which attention has already been drawn on p. 35. The style of the Deutero-Isaiah is distinctively marked, individual and original. This cannot by any means be said of the Trito-Isaiah, whose indebtedness to earlier writers is conspicuous in every chapter. The influence of the Deutero-Isaiah is most evident, especially in the lyrical passages lx-lxii and other sections of similar character, as in lxvi. 10 foll. These will be found noted in the commentary. There are, however, other literary influences as well, which have moulded the diction of the Trito-Isaiah. One of these is the *Deuteronomic*. The expression 'keep' (or 'observe'), which is so characteristic of Deuteronomy (Heb.

shāmar), occurs five times in lvi. 1-8. 'Do that which is evil in the eyes of Yahweh' is a phrase which occurs in varied form in lxxv. 12, lxxvi. 4 (cf. lxxix. 15), and is specially Deuteronomic (see Deut. iv. 25, ix. 18, xvii. 2, xxxi. 29), and frequently recurs in those sections of the historical books (especially the Book of Kings) which are subject to Deuteronomic redaction¹. Also the expression 'provoked to anger' by idolatrous practices, lxxv. 3, is, as Cheyne remarks, specially Deuteronomic² (Deut. xxxi. 29, xxxii. 16 : cf. Jer. vii. 18 ; 1 Kings xiv. 9, 15, xvi. 2, 7, 13 foll.). Other examples of Deuteronomic influence which are specialities of Hebrew diction may be found by the student of Hebrew in Cheyne's Introduction. Enno Littmann³ calls attention to the infinitive with fem. ending (-āh) which occurs in lvi. 6 ('to love the name of Yahweh'; lviii. 2 'to draw near unto God'). Such forms are very common in Deuteronomy (x. 15, xi. 33, 22, xix. 9, xxx. 6, 16, 20).

Equally manifest is the influence of *Ezekiel* both in diction and idea. Here we note a certain contrast between the Deutero-Isaiah and the Trito-Isaiah, though by no means so marked as Duhm would have us believe (compare the statement above in the Introduction to Deutero-Isaiah, p. 29 and footnote). The influence of Ezekiel is much more definite in the Trito-Isaiah. Compare, both as to diction and idea, Isa. lviii. 7 with Ezek. xviii. 7—'plead' (or 'urge one's cause'), *niph'al* of *shāphat*, in lxxvi. 16 ; cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22 ; 'abomination,' lxxvi. 17, and 'abominable beast' (the same word *shekeṣ*) in Ezek. viii. 10 ; unclean flesh (*piggūl*), Isa. lxxv. 4 and Ezek. iv. 14. The use of 'Son of Man' in Isa. lvi. 2 is quite in the special sense of man as a member of the human race in his relation to God so common in the oracles of Ezekiel. Also in reference to keeping the Sabbath in

¹ See the full list of particulars as to style in Driver's *Deuteronomy*, Introd., p. lxxxii (49). On *shāmar* see *ibid.* (68).

² *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 372.

³ *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia*, p. 6.

lvi. 2, 4, 6, we are reminded of the special importance attached to its due celebration in Ezek. xx. 13. The motive underlying lxvi. 19 foll. seems to be taken from Ezek. xxxviii foll. (see notes), and some of the race-names appear to be borrowed from the same source and Ezek. xxvii. Other instances might be cited; cf. Isa. lvii. 8 foll. and notes.

There were likewise borrowings from other sources, as from *Jeremiah* (cf. lxx. 18, 19). These will be found by the student of the Commentary. It should also be noted that there are many words and phrases employed by the Trito-Isaiah which are altogether foreign to the diction of his great predecessor, the Deutero-Isaiah. These are to be mainly found in chaps. lvi–lix and in chaps. lxx–lxxvi, and consist in special Hebrew words, for which the student is referred to the full information contained in the separate sections on those chapters in Cheyne's valuable Introduction (the reader of German should also consult Enno Littmann's monograph above cited, pp. 6, 7).

§ 4. REDACTION OF DEUTERO- AND TRITO-ISAIAH.

The chapters called the Trito-Isaiah, which do not include lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12 (11, Heb.)¹, belong to some date between 460 and 445 B. C. (advent of Nehemiah). Chaps. lx–lxii and lxx, lxxvi may probably be assigned to a date very near the close of this period, while the remaining chapters of this collection probably belong to some earlier date. At what time, if ever, was any separate collection of the writings of the Trito-Isaiah formed? It is hardly possible to give a definite answer, and any conclusions that can be formed on the subject must, under our present conditions of knowledge, be very general and to a large extent hypothetical.

¹ See the introduction to that section in the commentary, in which it is shown that this passage must be assigned to some date between 536 and 520 B. C., i. e. before the temple of Zerubbabel was built.

Two collections of Deutero-Isaianic prophecies were made either by the prophet who uttered them or by his disciples. The *first* collection (chaps. xl-xlviii) was formed shortly after the conquest by Cyrus of Babylon, and includes only the first of the Servant-poems. The *second* was formed not long after the first caravan of exiles had arrived in Palestine (viz. chaps. xlix-lv). It includes three of the Servant-poems, and among them the longest and last. It may well have been made after a certain reaction from the first high hopes had set in and the prophet reflected deeply on the great lessons to his race conveyed in the 'Servant-poems'; lv. 3, 4 appears to contain a distinct reference to Zerubbabel. During the rebuilding of the temple in the days of Haggai and Zechariah these collections must have enjoyed considerable popularity among a certain section of the population who had returned from exile.

We have seen how deeply they influenced the Trito-Isaiah. Probably when the oracles of the latter were gathered into a collection in the days of Nehemiah (or subsequently) the Deutero-Isaianic oracles were incorporated as well as the detached oracle lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12, though it is impossible to say why it is placed in the position where it stands. That this early collection of chaps. xl-lxvi was edited about 400 B.C. seems to be indicated by the insertion of li. 11, which is evidently borrowed from xxxv. 10. See note on the former passage [the note on the latter in vol. i needs correction]. As we have already shown, chaps. xl-lxvi existed as a separate collection about 300 B.C. This may be inferred from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 foll. (see vol. i of this Commentary, Introduction, p. 70). It is possible that by that time this collection was redacted in the form in which we now have it. Or it may even be that there was a subsequent final redaction in which the strange pessimistic glosses to chap. xlviii were incorporated as well as others (cf. l. 11), including the terrible closing two verses of chap. lxvi.

THE TRITO-ISAIAH

ISAIAH LVI—LXVI

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

ISAIAH

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

Thus saith the LORD, Keep ye judgement, and do 56
righteousness: for my salvation is near to come, and my

II. THE TRITO-ISAIAH.

CHAPS. LVI-LXVI, or TRITO-ISAIAH, composed between 460 and
445 B. C.

CHAPTER LVI. 1-8.

An assurance to Proselytes and Eunuchs.

It was prophesied in the Deutero-Isaiah that foreigners would unite themselves with Israel (xliv. 5; cf. the earlier utterance, xlix. 6). In the passage before us we clearly see the fulfilment of the anticipation. Foreigners had already entered into the covenant blessings of Yahweh's people (see Introd. to Deutero-Isaiah, § 5, p. 43; cf. Zech. ii. 11 [15 Heb.]). It is evident that those proselytes who had accompanied the Jews in their return to Palestine, or who had joined the Jerusalem community as foreign residents on Palestinian soil, were apprehensive that the enforcement of a more rigid and exclusive system would debar them from the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. It is manifest that an exclusive tendency had already revealed itself. Ezek. xlv. 6-9 certainly exercised a considerable determining influence over the future, as certain indications in the Deutero-Isaiah clearly suggest, lii. 1, 11 (as well as the remarkable parallels in the Code of Holiness incorporated in the Priestercodex). Moreover, the eunuchs who were of Israelite descent were also apprehensive. These had served as courtiers in the palace of the Persian Great King, and since they were rendered incapable of bearing children, they were regarded as subject to a Divine curse, according to the prevalent conceptions of the Semitic world which held childlessness to be an unspeakable calamity. They were as profitless as barren trees to the new community, to whom increase of population was vital. To both, the foreign residents and the eunuchs, the Divine word of comfort comes: let them be faithful to the Covenant and keep the Sabbath. The reference to the Sabbath both here and in lviii. 13 is instructive. We note the significant fact that ritual holds a larger place here than in the Deutero-Isaiah, in which the Sabbath is never mentioned. Ezek. xx. 13 (cf. Neh. xiii. 15) indicates that during the exile a new tradition had arisen in which severer restrictions were practised on

2 righteousness to be revealed. Blessed is the man that doeth this, and the son of man that holdeth fast by it; that keepeth the sabbath from profaning it, and keepeth

the Sabbath than in the earlier pre-exilian days, when Sabbath meant merely the weekly cessation of daily toil. At the same time, as Cheyne remarks, the writer of this passage appears to be more liberal than Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra ix. 1-4; Neh. xiii. 1-3), and in this respect approximates rather 1 Kings viii. 41-43.

1. This chapter begins abruptly, and has obviously no connexion with the preceding one (Deutero-Isaiah), which is filled with the happy anticipations of a new era which was to break upon the Babylonian exiles.

The word **judgement** here, or 'right,' is employed with reference to the ceremonial custom which was embodied in the Deuteronomic code. These legal requirements are called in the Book of Deuteronomy 'judgments' (*mishpātim*), Deut. iv. 45, xii. 1'. Similarly, 'righteousness' begins to have rather the legal than the ethical sense which belonged to the term in the older prophets. It means here conformity to law in the first part of the verse, in which human conduct is referred to, while in the latter part of the verse, where Divine dealing is the subject considered, 'righteousness' as a characteristic of God's action possesses the signification of conformity to the Divine redemptive purpose, and therefore naturally stands in parallelism with 'Salvation.' This conception of the word 'righteousness' is, as we have already seen, characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah (see Introduction, p. 37).

2. We note here the characteristic use of the expression **man** and **son of man**. The word 'man' (*ēnōsh*) is man in his frailty and limitation—'mortal.' 'Son of man' also designates man as a member of the human race in his relation to God. It is the constantly recurring term of address by God to Ezekiel. Both expressions meet us in later literature. Notice especially Ps. viii. 4 (5 Heb.). The pronouns **this** and **it** in the opening clause are *proleptic*, i. e. anticipate the reference to the Sabbath and the abstinence from all evil which immediately follows. By the **evil** the writer expresses in one comprehensive and collective term all the vices which disgraced the Jewish Palestinian community in the later degenerate days of the Trito-Isaiah, quarrelling, violence, lying, deceit, injustice, to which the writer makes ample reference in the later chapters (lviii. 4-6, lix. 2-15).

¹ Duhm also calls attention to the influence of Deuteronomy over the Trito-Isaianic writer in the characteristic use of the word 'keep' both in this and the following verses.

his hand from doing any evil. Neither let the stranger, 3
 that hath joined himself to the LORD, speak, saying, The
 LORD will surely separate me from his people: neither let
 the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree. For thus saith 4
 the LORD of the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and
 choose the things that please me, and hold fast by my
 covenant: Unto them will I give in mine house and 5

3. The clause that hath joined himself to the LORD (Yahweh) is considered by Duhm and Marti to be a later gloss imported from verse 6, where a similar expression occurs. This clause appears to involve a disturbance of the verse-structure of long lines of two short lines each resembling that which occurs in the Deutero-Isaiah. But it is very difficult to trace this verse-form after the close of verse 2. Moreover the suspected clause stands in the LXX version. We see, therefore, no sufficient reason for removing these words from the text.

The exile discipline had introduced the Jew to a wider world, and his attitude towards foreigners became thereby more tolerant and his interests more cosmopolitan. Even Ezekiel recognized the necessity of giving due place and privilege to the resident alien (Ezek. xlvii. 22). Cf. Isa. xlv. 5, xlv. 14, 23, lv. 5.

4. The Covenant here is hardly the New Covenant of Jer. xxxi. 31 foll. present to the mind of the Deutero-Isaiah xlii. 6 foll., xlix. 8, but rather the Covenant of the Deuteronomic type, which was ceremonial as well as ethical, Deut. xxix. 1, 9 [xxviii. 69 and xxix. 8 Heb.]. The R.V. rightly renders the Hebrew not by 'unto the eunuchs' but 'of (i.e. with respect to) the eunuchs,' which the context shows to be the only possible interpretation.

5. A word of comfort to the eunuchs (contrasted with Deut. xxiii. 1 [2 Heb.]). Childlessness to the eunuch meant that he would leave no memorial in the form of posterity to perpetuate his name. In the case of Absalom a pillar was erected by him because he was destined to die childless, 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Yahweh here declares to the eunuchs that a memorial pillar of this kind shall be erected for them within the temple precincts. The R.V. here correctly renders the Hebrew original *yad* by 'memorial.' It literally means 'hand.' The ancient versions LXX, Targ., Pesh., Vulg., followed by Delitzsch, render this word vaguely by 'place,' a meaning for which lvii. 8 and Deut. xxiii. 13 afford no warrant. Gesenius and De Wette render by 'portion.' It is archaeology which finally settles the meaning. Marti notes the significant fact that on Phoenician and Punic monumental stones this figure of a hand is often found. See the

within my walls a memorial and a name better than of
 sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting
 6 name, that shall not be cut off. Also the strangers, that
 join themselves to the LORD, to minister unto him, and
 to love the name of the LORD, to be his servants, every
 one that keepeth the sabbath from profaning it, and
 7 holdeth fast by my covenant; even them will I bring to
 my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of
 prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be
 accepted upon mine altar: for mine house shall be called
 8 an house of prayer for all peoples. The Lord God

Carthaginian votive stones figured in Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*,
 Taf. xii (at the end of the work). This memorial in God's own
 House is to be a surer guarantee of an abiding name than
 posterity. For posterity after all may be cut off by the adverse
 chances of war or pestilence, but God's House abides.

Verses 6-8. A word of comfort to the foreign proselytes. These
 are described in a series of clauses as 'those who attach themselves
 to Yahweh in serving Him and loving His name.' Name here
 has its special Semitic connotation of personal presence and
 power; cf. Mal. iv. 2 (iii. 20 Heb.); Matt. vi. 9, xviii. 20;
 Acts iii. 16; Eph. i. 21, &c., since the utterance of the name
 was held to summon forth the potency of the Divine personality
 named. Stress is also laid on the careful maintenance by the
 proselyte of the Sabbath.

Verse 7 gives hint of a special importance in worship attached
 to prayer which emerges as the direct result of the exile. The
 exiled community were precluded by the local conditions of
 worship, which Deuteronomy still further restricted, from offering
 sacrifices to Yahweh (cf. xliii. 24 and note). This form of
 worship, however, prophetic teaching deprecated unless accom-
 panied by an inward renewal and righteous conduct (Amos v.
 9-12, 21-24; Isa. i. 11-17). Stress was laid on the ethical
 as distinguished from the ceremonial. Accordingly prophetic
 influence combined with the suspension of sacrificial offerings
 in Babylonia caused the exiles to devote themselves to
 the only form of worship open to them, viz. *prayer*¹. The
 effect of this persisted, as we see in the present passage, after
 the return of the exiles to Judaea. *Prayer* in this verse takes

¹ Cf. Dan. vi. 10.

which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather *others* to him, beside his own that are gathered.

All ye beasts of the field, come to devour, *yea*, all ye 9

precedence of the material offerings of sacrifice. And the effect became still more far-reaching and affected the synagogal worship, which in the future was destined to exercise so deep an influence in the Jewish Diaspora, among whom sacrifices could have no place. Yahweh's sanctuary henceforth became to an increasing degree a 'house of prayer.' Moreover, it was to become—and here we see a manifest indication of the leaven of the Servant-poems (cf. xlix. 6)—a 'prayer-house for all peoples.' This last conception is unfolded in verse 8. In verse 7 for **accepted** read either 'acceptable' or 'favourably accepted.' In verse 8 it would be better, in place of **outcasts**, to read *dispersed* (i. e. those driven forth into exile). The verb is used in the same sense in Jer. xl. 12, and the expression seems to have been derived from Isa. xi. 12. In addition to *him*, i. e. Israel already dwelling in Palestine, and also in addition to *his gathered Israelite exiles*¹ (R. V. 'his gathered ones'), others are to be included. The reference is evidently to the Gentile proselytes.

CHAPTERS LVI. 9—LVII. 13.

A scathing denunciation of neglectful rulers and idolatrous people.

We pass into an entirely new section. From words of reassurance and comfort to the eunuch and the proselyte we are suddenly transported into a stern denunciation which evidently stands in no relation to what immediately precedes. We have a severe rebuke of the sluggishness and selfishness of the rulers of the Jewish community in Canaan. These reckon not that they bring righteous men to misery, but pursue the even tenour of their greed and drunkenness (lvi. 9—lviii. 2). Then follows a description of idolatrous practices. In many cases the text is corrupt and the meaning enigmatic (lvii. 3—13).

In the earlier days of criticism (preceding 1890) this entire passage was a baffling problem to the critics, who regarded xl—lxvi as almost entirely the product of the exile. It was not until a closer analysis of these chapters had definitely assigned lvi—lxvi to the post-exilic period that any clear light was shed on the problem. It was not surprising that Eichhorn, Bleek, Ewald, and even Kuenen² and Dillmann, thought that we had

¹ 'His gathered ones' is not a parallel phrase (or added gloss, as König takes it) to 'him.' Perhaps a copula has dropped out.

² Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung: Die prophetischen*

10 beasts in the forest. His watchmen are blind, they are

suddenly stepped back into pre-exilian times. It would seem as though we were standing in the midst of the darkest times of idolatry and syncretism in the eighth or the seventh century. The large number of points of contact in language between this section and Jeremiah are noted in Cheyne's careful survey in his *Introduction*, pp. 318-320. It is not surprising that Ewald's keen eye noticed this. In his *Propheten des Alten Bundes*², iii, p. 103, he institutes a comparison between this section and Jer. v. 7-9, 29, ix. 8. He draws the conclusion that the prophet of the exile (to whom Ewald, like most critics of his time, assigned chap. lxxv) perceived that there were manifest tendencies towards idolatry in the days in which he lived, and judged that he could not do better than quote the words of warning of an older prophecy of the pre-exilian period. The parallels with Jeremiah led Ewald and others to fix on the reign of Manasseh with its deep religious declension as the period to which this old prophecy belonged. More recent criticism has shown that it is to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah rather than to Jeremiah we must look for the historic parallels as well as to the situation disclosed by such passages as Mal. ii. 11, iii. 5; cf. Neh. v. 2-11, xiii. 23 foll.; cf. Ezra ix. 11-x. 11. That the phraseology of Jeremiah and Ezekiel sometimes recurs in the Trito-Isaiah we shall find to be characteristic of this post-exilian document, which is filled with literary reminiscences both from the Deutero-Isaiah and from earlier writers. We may assign to the present section some date subsequent to 460 B. C. It reflects the conditions that prevailed immediately before the advent of Ezra and Nehemiah.

9 is an ironical invitation (apparently from Yahweh) addressed to the wild beasts of the field and forest to come and devour the cultivated land. They have an excellent opportunity, for the watchmen are slumbering. The metrical structure of this poem consists of stanzas containing each four long lines, each line consisting of the two portions in the form of the well-known *Ḳinah* or elegiac measure, with three accentual beats in the first portion and two in the second:

'All beasts of the field, come to devour—all beasts in the wood.'

Forms with archaic terminations are employed to express 'beasts' and 'field,' which remind us of the same characteristic

Bücher, p. 133, holds that lvi. 9-lvii. 11a are a pre-exilian passage which the author of verses 11b-20 quotes and delivers as an address of warning to his contemporaries—a view not essentially different from that of previous critics.

all without knowledge; they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber. Yea, the dogs are greedy, they can never have enough; 11

forms in other post-exilic literature, viz. P (Gen. i. 24), and seem to have been an affectation of style at that period. It is hardly possible to identify the 'wild beasts' with any special community (e.g. the Samaritans) or race. It may have been a general designation of Israel's foes.

10. Probably we ought with Duhm to substitute the Hebrew for 'my watchmen' for the obscure form which stands in the original, which the LXX interpreted as an imperative ('watch ye,' or 'behold'). The latter part of this line in our Hebrew text is obviously defective. The expression 'know not' (R. V. **without knowledge**) requires an infinitive verb in Hebrew to supplement it. The metre is certainly improved by it, and the LXX shows that a verb 'to show understanding' (*φρονήσαι*) should be added. We may therefore follow Duhm and Cheyne in completing the line thus:

'My watchmen are all of them blind—know not how to give heed' (*hābīn*, cf. verse 11).

The term 'watchmen' is so frequently employed in prophecy to designate the prophets (cf. Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17; xxxiii. 7, &c.) that there is no need to include under this term the rulers of the people as some commentators prefer to do. These degenerate watchmen are compared to dogs that are too lazy and sleepy to bark at the intruder. Whether the dogs here are thought of as house-dogs or the hounds that guard the flock (Job xxx. 1) is not directly stated. But the latter may be definitely concluded from the mention of 'shepherds' in the following verse. The 'watchmen,' i. e. the prophets, are not alert to make their warning voice heard at the approach of danger to the state, as God's true prophets should do (Ezek. xxxiii. 6), but are 'maundering¹, lying still—loving to slumber.'

11. These degenerate watch-dogs are still further described. The verse should be rendered thus:

'Yea, the dogs are strong in appetite—know not how to become satiated.

Even they the shepherds—know not how to give heed.

All of them have turned to their own course—each and all to his own gain.'

¹ The verbal form in the original appears to be unique, LXX render 'dreaming,' Symm. 'visionaries.' The Arabic parallel form means 'talk drivell,' 'rave.'

and these are shepherds that cannot understand: they have all turned to their own way, each one to his gain, 12 from every quarter. Come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to-morrow shall be as this day, a day great beyond measure.

57 The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to

The text in the last two long lines is by no means certain, as a reference to the LXX will show. We have followed in the second line the slight emendation proposed by Dillmann. The reconstruction adopted by Duhm and followed by Cheyne is purely hypothetical. The LXX read the word rendered shepherds (*rō'im*) as the Hebrew for 'evil ones' (*rā'im*). Our Massoretic Hebrew text was obviously right in reading the original as they did, for the expression 'shepherds' is thoroughly appropriate to the context, and here signifies the elders or rulers of the people, as contrasted with the watch-dogs of the flock, which represent the watchmen or prophets. This word for 'shepherd' (*rō'eh*) is frequently employed in the O. T. to designate ruler or king (2 Sam. v. 2, vii. 7; Jer. ii. 8, iii. 15, xxiii. 1, 4; Ezek. xxxiv. 2 foll., xxxvii. 24; Mic. v. 3; Nah. iii. 18; Ps. lxxviii. 71; Zech. xi. 5). The same word in Assyrian, *rō'ū*, is constantly used in this sense of ruler (and the abstract *re'ūtu* in the sense of 'rule'). The first part of this long line seems to be metrically too short. The third long line appears uncertain at its close when we compare the LXX. The last word rendered above in R. V. from every quarter, and in R. V. marg., quite correctly, 'one and all¹,' is somewhat strange, and there is no equivalent for it in the LXX rendering.

12 is entirely omitted in the LXX (except in inferior MSS.). This is not, however, a sufficient reason for regarding it as a later addition. The freshness and force of its phraseology and its adaptation to the context are strong reasons for accepting it as original. It is a vivid representation of the speech of one of the careless rulers who glories in a good carouse:

'Come, let me fetch wine—that we may drink our fill of strong drink!'

CHAPTER LVII.

Verses 1-2 are a continuation of the same theme viewed from another aspect. It describes the ruin of the victims of misrule

¹ The same idiom occurs in Gen. xix. 4; Ezek. xxv. 9, xxxiii. 2; Jer. li. 31; cf. Gen. xlvii. 2. The Hebrew original means literally 'from his end,' a condensed expression for 'from one end to the other' (cf. Exod. xxvi. 28), hence it means 'all without exception.'

heart ; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. He entereth into peace ; they rest in their beds, ² each one that walketh in his uprightness.

and gross negligence. Righteous men, the devoted followers of God, perish while none pay any heed.

1-2. Emphasis belongs to the word **righteous**, which stands first in the sentence in the original in order to bring out the contrast with the careless intoxicated ruler.

The 'righteous' here corresponds to the 'men of devoted piety' in the following parallel clause, who in the later days of the Maccabees (168 B. C. and after) meet us under the name of the *Hasidim*, the forerunners of the Pharisees. The rendering 'merciful' is misleading, and the alteration supplied in R. V. marg. 'godly' is certainly an improvement. The original properly means 'men of piety' (*hesed*). *Hesed* is frequently used in the O. T. in the sense of loving-kindness. When used in reference to God it expresses somewhat the same thing as the Latin *pietas*, viz. man's attitude of loving devotion to his God.

The last long line includes the first clause of verse 2, as the shorter portion of the elegiac line thus :

'For because ¹ of the evil the righteous one has been carried off—enters into peace.'

The word *Kî* in Hebrew, rendered here **for**, can also bear the meaning 'that' (*šti*). The latter is the meaning assigned to it by R. V., who connect the sentence with the previous line, 'while none take heed (or 'observe,' R. V. 'consider') that the righteous is taken away.' Either construction may be adopted. The **peace** of course means the peace of the grave, as the following words clearly imply :

'They rest upon their beds—going on their straight course.'

The number changes from the singular of the previous line to the plural in this, lapsing back into the singular in the closing portion (lit. 'going on *his* straight course'). The **beds** are synonyms for the graves in which the righteous rest (cf. Ezek. xxxii. 25 ; Job iii. 13 foll.). 'The straight course' means the life of *uprightness*, as the R. V. understands it. But it must be confessed that the

¹ We have rendered the Heb. *mippênê* 'because of' rather than 'from the presence of.' Cf. the usage in Gen. vi. 13 ; Exod. viii. 20 ; Judges vi. 6 ; Ezek. xiv. 15. The R. V. renders 'from the evil (to come).' We prefer the interpretation of R. V. marg.

3 But draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress, the

phraseology is strange and suggestive of corruption in the text, and this suspicion is certainly confirmed by the LXX, who render verse 2, 'His grave shall be in peace; he has been carried off from the midst,' from a much briefer text, the last clause ('going on his straight course') being altogether omitted, either because it was absent from the earlier Hebrew copies which they used and was inserted in later ones as a gloss, or because it was not understood. From the metrical point of view the latter seems not improbable, and it appears to be suggested by the tameness of expression in the Greek rendering.

Verses 3-13 refer to the idolatrous practices which prevailed among the Jewish population in Palestine. The denunciation is now directed to another class of the people than the leaders in Jerusalem, without any definite indication of who they are. This, however, we can easily gather from what follows as well as from the references in other portions of the O. T. (2 Kings xxiii. foll., Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Nehemiah). They consisted of those who had resided in the land of Canaan during the period of the exile, and were by no means in sympathy with the rules of conduct observed by the returning exiles, and constituted a serious hindrance to Reform. They were in friendly alliance with the Samaritans, and desired to perpetuate the lax usages in cultus and intermarriage with Canaanite populations which the Deuteronomic legislation was designed to prevent (Deut. vii. 1-4).

3-5. The new strophe is addressed in scathing terms of rebuke to those who practice the heathen rites which prevailed in Canaan from of old. Magic went hand in hand with idolatrous ritual, and, since these practices of magic and necromancy were largely carried on by women (Hastings' *DB.*, art. 'Magic,' p. 208, left-hand column *ad fin.*); the devotees of magical or, more properly, *soothsaying* practice are called in accordance with Semitic idiom **sons of the sorceress**¹. The Hebrew word rendered here 'sorceress' properly means the female 'Soothsayer' (see art. 'Soothsayer' in Hastings' *DB.*, p. 601). These practices had been definitely forbidden by the Deuteronomic legislation (621 B. C.) more than 150 years previous to the date when these words were in all probability written (Deut. xviii. 9-15). The source of these Canaanite practices was probably in the main Babylonia, but that they came from Arabia as well seems to be indicated by Jer. xlix. 7; cf. Obad. 8.

¹ LXX *viol' áνομοι* = 'wicked (lawless) ones' suggests the Heb. text בְּנֵי שֹׁדֵדִים as Otley indicates; but the reading of our Heb. text is preferable.

seed of the adulterer and the whore. Against whom do ye sport yourselves? against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue? are ye not children of transgression, a seed of falsehood, ye that inflame yourselves among the oaks, under every green tree; that slay

3. The writer follows the conceptions of Hosea in regarding the Israelites who pursued such idolatrous practices as guilty of faithlessness to Yahweh, who is portrayed in Hosea i-iii (cf. Ezek. xvi. 3 foll.) as Israel's husband, whom Israel deserts. Hence the alternative epithets with which verse 3 closes. These, however, are based on the reading of the LXX¹, which the R.V. rightly prefers to that of the Massoretic Hebrew text.

4. The opening words form the shorter part of the long elegiac line whose first and longer portion closed the previous verse. The question 'against whom do ye disport yourselves?' in your wild abandonment to the dissipations of a licentious heathenism, is an indignant exclamation followed by others descriptive of the scornful attitude—'opening wide the mouth,' 'extending the tongue' (cf. Ps. xxii. 7 [8 Heb.], xxxv. 21)—directed against the faithful follower of Yahweh that is evidently alluded to under the interrog. **Whom?** We have here depicted just that spirit of antagonism on the part of the old Jewish inhabitants towards the home-coming exiles (who were pious followers of the pure prophetic religion of Yahweh) that is reflected in the Book of Nehemiah iv. 1 foll. (iii. 33 foll. Heb.), in which are described the scorn and resistance of the Samaritans and their adherents towards Nehemiah and his measures of reform.

5 is a reference to the unbridled sexual licence that characterized the worship of the High Places in the dark days that intervened between the time of Haggai as well as Zechariah and the advent of Ezra and Nehemiah, when the state of degeneracy in the reign of Manasseh appeared to revive. Duhm, followed by Cheyne and Marti, rejects this verse as an insertion on insufficient grounds, whether metric or otherwise. That it forms an extra couplet to the usual four long-lined stanza is rather an indication that we have here an additional and defective stanza, i. e. with two lines lost (perhaps omitted on account of their ceremonial allusions). Though the metric length seems irregular in two instances, the irregularity may be paralleled in other verses of this extract, e. g. lvi. 10 b, lvii. 1 b in the original.

The word here rendered in R. V. oaks should be translated

¹ i. e. חֲזָקָה instead of חֲזָקָה.

the children in the valleys; under the clefts of the rocks?
 6 Among the smooth *stones* of the valley is thy portion;
 they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured
 a drink offering, thou hast offered an oblation. Shall I

'terebinth.' The LXX confused it with the like word meaning 'gods,' and therefore mistranslated it by 'idols.' On the sacrifice of children to the varying deities called Ba'al (a general designation for any deity residing in and owning a sacred spot), cf. Jer. xix. 5; Ezek. xxiii. 39. This terrible rite was specially characteristic of Moloch worship (Jer. vii. 31, xxxii. 35, &c.). The chief place for such sacrifices was the valley of Hinnom (*Gê-Hinnôm*, later *Gê-henna*, a designation in later Judaism of Hell), south of Jerusalem.

6. The translation of the R. V. above is correct. The rendering 'smooth places' (Gesenius, De Wette, Hitzig) is pointless. Ibn 'Ezra, Kimhi, Lowth, Ewald, Delitzsch, and recently Cheyne and Marti, concur in the rendering given above. In the original there is a fine alliterative play of words between that which stands for 'smooth stones' and for 'portion' which cannot be well reproduced in our language. The 'smooth stones' are the water-worn boulders of the rocky defile which in the hoary antiquity of mankind, and especially of Semitic heathendom, served as stone-symbols which also embodied a divine *numen* or deity. See art. 'Pillar' in Hastings' *DB*. Upon these primitive upright stones the blood, or in some cases the oil, of the sacrificial offering was poured or smeared (cf. Gen. xxviii. 18). The religious significance of the smooth stones is made clear by the line which follows in this verse:

'Also to them hast thou poured forth a drink-offering—
 brought up offering of meal.'

Here the **drink-offering** of which the deity was supposed to partake consisted of the blood of the slaughtered victim. Such drink-offerings presented to foreign deities, represented by rough upright blocks of stone, this writer, like the Psalmist who wrote Ps. xvi. 4¹, utterly reprobates. The 'offering of meal' in the latter part of the line is expressed in Hebrew by a term (*minḥah*)² which is used in post-exilian literature (e. g. the Priestercodex)

¹ Both the language and ideas of this Psalm render it highly probable that the writer belonged to the same age and religious community as the Trito-Isaiah; see Bâthgen's introductory remarks.

² See Driver's full note on this term in Mal. i. 10 (*Century Bible*, Minor Prophets, vol. ii).

be appeased for these things? Upon a high and lofty 7
 mountain hast thou set thy bed: thither also wentest
 thou up to offer sacrifice. And behind the doors and 8
 the posts hast thou set up thy memorial: for thou hast
 discovered *thyself* to another than me, and art gone up;

to designate the vegetable as opposed to the flesh or bloody offerings (*sebhah*). This distinctive use of the term; however, is not maintained in pre-exilian Hebrew, where *minhah* simply means a sacrificial gift whether of flesh or meal (cf. Gen. iv. 3-5—J, where both the offering of Abel and that of Cain are called *minhah*.) Here we see an indication of the post-exilian origin of this chapter. These idolatrous rites, exclaims the writer, are the portion and lot of you, the faithless Israelites of Palestine, who are opposed to the true religion of Yahweh. Contrast the attitude of the faithful follower of Yahweh in Ps. xvi. 5.

The last clause of the verse should be rendered 'on account of these am I to find my satisfaction?' But Duhm, followed by Cheyne and other critics, suspect this as a later gloss.

7. We pass from the valley to the mountain height. We know that mountains were often sanctuaries, as the proper names Hermon, Baal Zephon, &c., clearly show. In the days of Ahab and his Syrian campaigns, Yahweh, in the opinion of Israel's Northern foes, was regarded as a God of the mountains. Here of course the reference is either to the idolatrous or to the syncretic worship on the mountains, regarded by this writer, as by Hosea, in the light of unfaithfulness to Yahweh, or harlotry. In accordance with this conception we may interpret the 'bed' in the first long line of this verse.

8. We have here references to ritual which are very obscure. What is meant by the Hebrew word here rendered **memorial**? The context, which is full of ritual terms and allusions, leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that we have in this word a similar expression. Some hold that it designates a magic symbol, the figure of a protective demon or deity. We are led to this conclusion by the mention of the **doors** and **door-posts**. The threshold of a sanctuary was held to be a place of peril to the worshipper, and needed safeguarding against demons (see illustrations in the latter part of the note on Isa. vi. 2). We might therefore understand the word for 'memorial' to mean some symbolic figure or device which was placed behind the door-post, whether of house or sanctuary, as a deterrent to the demon. Duhm, on the other hand, considers that some phallus-image was intended, and supports this view by a reference to Ezek. xvi. 17 (note especially the last clause). That both here

thou hast enlarged thy bed, and made thee a covenant with them; thou lovedst their bed where thou sawest it.
9 And thou wentest to the king with ointment, and didst

and in the passage from the symbolic chapter of Ezekiel we have an allusion to the custom prevailing among the agricultural population of Palestine corresponding to the Priapean *hermae* in Europe is not improbable, and the coincidence of phraseology with Ezekiel both here and elsewhere lends colour to this view. But the indications of serious corruption in the text render the path of interpretation far from easy. For the LXX must have made their rendering of the clause which immediately follows 'thy memorial' from a completely different Hebrew text, whether it be mistranslated or not: 'Thou didst suppose that if thou withdrewest from me, thou wouldst win some advantage.' We can therefore only regard Duhm's attempt to emend and translate our Massoretic text as purely hypothetical:

'For owing to it [i. e. the phallus-image] thou didst uncover and go up—madest broad thy bed.'

In the following line 'and thou didst make for thyself [a covenant] with them' does not give any satisfactory sense. Duhm's emendation harmonizes with Ezek. xvi. 32 foll., which describes the strangely inverted relation between Israel and her paramours. The elaborate and highly wrought parable of Ezek. xvi was evidently in the mind of the writer, as a striking example will presently show. Duhm therefore emends the text, and translates thus:

'And thou didst buy for thyself of those—whose intercourse thou didst love.'

The last line of this difficult verse is mutilated, and only the shorter half of the elegiac line has been preserved in our Hebrew text. But the LXX rendering points us the way to the missing first portion of the line which it preserves. It is an obvious echo from Ezek. xvi. 25 (last clause):

['And thou didst multiply thy harlotry with them]—didst behold the *phallus*!'

8. The word rendered **king** is really the Ammonite deity here pronounced Melech, properly Milk or Milcom. The pronunciation

¹ The word 'phallus' or *membrum virile* is here represented by the euphemism 'hand' in the original, the significance of which was first pointed out by Döderlein. See Enno Littmann's note in his *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaja*, p. 17. The same euphemism 'hand' meets us in the Avesta.

increase thy perfumes, and didst send thine ambassadors far off, and didst debase thyself even unto hell. Thou wast wearied with the length of thy way ; yet saidst thou

Molech (Moloch) is really artificial, being due to the substitution of the word *bōsheth*, 'shame,' whose vowels came to be applied to the consonants M-l-ch(k). The word *bōsheth* was not infrequently employed in substitution for heathen deities, as Ba'al (e.g. in the names Ishbosheth, &c.). From Ezra ix. 1 we learn that even the priests and Levites of Palestine followed Ammonite cults.

Here, again, Ezek. xvi comes to our aid in the restoration of the text. Ezek. xvi. 4 gives us, as Cheyne suggests, a far more probable reading than the tame Hebrew word for 'wentest.' Accordingly we should follow Cheyne in rendering :

'Thou didst also anoint thyself for Melech with oil—and didst use many perfumes.'

for **Melech** means 'in honour of the god Melech.' The LXX strangely blunder in their rendering of the word for 'perfumes,' which they confuse with a similar word meaning 'distant.' The reference of these lines is to the homage in cultus paid to the god. The conception here is the same as that which runs through the preceding verses as well as Ezek. xvi, based on Hos. ii. 13 (15 Heb.), the foreign deities worshipped by faithless Israel being treated as paramours. The last line should be rendered :

'And thou séntest thine envoys afar—yea, déep down to Hádes.'

—i. e. distant pilgrimages were made to the shrines of Melech and other foreign deities. Not content with this, the Palestinian Jews were guilty of practising the dark acts of necromancy and of making offerings to the spirits of the underworld (cf. Isa. viii. 19 and note thereon). Marti, in his comment on this last clause, thinks that there may be a reference here to the cult of the Egyptian deity of the Lower World, Osiris, which was carried in Phœnicia.

10. The first line should be rendered as concessive :

'Though thou wast wearied with thy much journeying—thou saidst not "despaired of"' (i. e. 'tis vain).

The line that follows is once more enigmatic, and it is doubtful whether 'thy hand' (see R. V. marg.), which is the literal rendering of the original, should be translated 'thy strength' as in the R. V. rendering given above, or whether it bears the obscene sense which attaches to the term in the closing line of

not, There is no hope: thou didst find a quickening of
 11 thy strength; therefore thou wast not faint. And of
 whom hast thou been afraid and in fear, that thou liest,
 and hast not remembered me, nor laid it to thy heart?
 have not I held my peace even of long time, and thou
 12 fearest me not? I will declare thy righteousness; and as

verse 8 above (so Enno Littmann in his monograph *Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaja*, p. 16 footnote).

11. The questions are intended to reveal the utter worthlessness of these objects of idolatrous worship which had seduced the Israelites from allegiance to their true object of reverence, Yahweh.

'And at whom didst thou feel distress and fear—that thou shouldst play false?'

In the last line of this verse the LXX suggest a better vocalization of our Hebrew text than that which is favoured by our Massoretic version¹ (rendered in R. V. 'of long (or olden) time'). Accordingly read with Duhm and Cheyne:

'Surely I remained dumb—and hid [mine eyes]
 yet me thou fearest not.'

The pathos of the passage is restored to us through the emendation suggested by the LXX. While Israel pursues the utterly vain and debasing objects of her worship, Yahweh, her true Lord and Husband, remains silent and veils His eyes at her misdeeds. The spirit of the passage is that of Hosea (cf. chaps. i-iii).

12-13. But at length Yahweh breaks silence. A judgment is coming stern and sure. It is by no means certain whether we should read with our traditional Hebrew text **thy righteousness**, or follow important LXX authorities N (according to the hands of two correctors), A, and Q² in reading 'my righteousness.' If we read the former, 'I will make known thy righteousness' can only be understood ironically, as Jerome and Kimhi, followed by Rosenmüller and other commentators (including Duhm), under-

¹ $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\hat{\omega}$ = [עֵינַי] קָטַלְתִּי 'hiding my eyes.' The object is omitted in Ps. x. 1. It is quite possible, as Duhm's metrical arrangement suggests, that the object 'my eyes' has been dropped out of the text.

² For explanation of these terms (due to Tischendorf) see Swete's *Septuagint*, vol. i, p. xxi, as well as xvi (*ad fin.*) in explanation of the asterisk.

for thy works, they shall not profit thee. When thou criest, let them which thou hast gathered deliver thee; but the wind shall take them, a breath shall carry them all away: but he that putteth his trust in me shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain. And he

stood it. On the other hand, 'my righteousness' yields a perfectly good sense, and this reading is adopted by Peshitto, Lowth, and formerly by Cheyne. The 'righteousness' which Yahweh is about to display then stands contrasted with Israel's evil works (i. e. idol-images, cf. xli. 26-29), and will be manifested in the judgment which will hereafter overtake them, to which verse 13 refers.

The text of this verse is, however, far from certain. The Hebrew word, which is rendered somewhat clumsily by **them which thou hast gathered**, and more conveniently by 'thy collections' (i. e. of idols), is extremely doubtful. Oort suggests the more ordinary term 'thy abominations' as an emendation, which Cheyne adopts. But the LXX read quite a different word in their Hebrew original, viz. 'in thy affliction', and on the whole this improves the parallelism. Accordingly, connecting the close of verse 12 with verse 13, we should read:

'And they shall not profit thee when thou criest in distress—nor deliver thee in thine affliction.

All of them shall a blast carry aloft—a breath take them;

But he that seeks refuge in me shall inherit the land—shall gain possession of my holy hill.'

Here **they** and **them** in the first two lines refer to the idols or **works** of Israel's hands. In the last two lines the contrast is sharply drawn between the corrupt dwellers in Palestine, the 'false brethren,' and the true followers of Yahweh whom the former oppressed (Neh. i. 3), and almost compelled to flee from the country (cf. Isa. lxxvi. 5). These latter are assured of the final possession of God's holy hill Zion. This last line forms a natural transition to what follows, but it is also an integral portion of, and an appropriate close to, the preceding elegiac poem

¹ Duhm understands this to mean the collections or gatherings of the harlot's (i. e. Israel's) hire. Either view may be supported by a reference to Mic. i. 7.

² ἐν τῇ θλίψει σου, Heb. תַּחַת אֲפַיִם.

³ The force of the negative in the preceding clause continues in this.

shall say, Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumblingblock out of the way of my people.

- 15 For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy : I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart

of denunciation. Considerations of metre clearly point to this conclusion.

Verses 14-21. *The promise of Divine help to the faithful followers of Yahweh who are oppressed and afflicted.*

This poem is evidently in the style of the Deutero-Isaiah. Its opening is an obvious echo of xl. 3; cf. xlix. 11.

14. **And he shall say.** The speaker is evidently Yahweh, as the immediately following expression 'my people' clearly indicates. The Vulgate (followed by Lowth) would punctuate the verb differently, and render 'And I will say.' But neither this change nor an altered punctuation of the copula (which makes it a Waw consecutive) meaning 'And I said' is any aid to sense. Metrical considerations, as well as the connexion of this poem with the preceding, render it probable that we have here a redactional link, perhaps based on xl. 6 (Duhm), which might well be removed from the text.

On the phraseology cf. xl. 3 and note. The **stumblingblock** consisted in the moral and other impediments to a return of the pious exiles who still remained in Babylonia and the restoration of a spiritual theocracy in Zion. The poem which precedes this clearly illustrates that the hindrances in the main consisted in an impure life and cultus arising from admixture, chiefly through marriage, with foreign Canaanite populations. A large part of the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah was devoted to the removal of these obstructions (Ezra ix, x; Neh. xiii. 1-3, 23-31). To this of course must be added the opposition of the Samaritan community and their allies (cf. Neh. ii. 19-vi. 14).

15. The LXX after the word for 'eternity' had an extended text: 'holy among holy ones is His name, dwelling highest among holy ones.' It is hardly probable that this represents the original text, even if it were metrically conformable. It is obviously an extension, reflecting the angelology of a later day, and based on the shorter original text which we have before us.

For **I dwell in the high and holy place** substitute the rendering 'I dwell in the height and as holy one.' The height here is heaven, Yahweh's real and proper abode. Compare the same

of the contrite ones. For I will not contend for ever, 16
neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail

use of the word for 'height' in chap. xl. 26; cf. xxiv. 18, 21; Ps. vii. 8, xviii. 17. The same word (*mâron*) is employed in Jerem. xxxi. 12, Hab. ii. 9, of the mountain height of Zion. But that is obviously not the meaning here (comp. lxvi. 1). The other attribute 'holy' is used in the sense which it bears in Isa. vi. 3; in fact it was Isaiah who was the first to lay stress on this term (*Kādôsh*) as the expression of Yahweh's ethical greatness, purity, and inaccessibility (see note on Isa. vi. 3). The expression 'Holy one of Israel' passed from the Proto-Isaiah to the Deutero-Isaiah, and the same word 'holy' reappears here.

The next clause introduces a contrast, and the copula which commences it should be rendered accordingly: 'Yet with the crushed and humbled in spirit, to revive the spirit of the humbled, and to revive the heart of the crushed.' Once more we note the strains of the Deutero-Isaiah, especially the recurrence of the ideas of chap. xl. The contrasted ideas of xl. 15-18, 22-23, 26, on the one hand and of xl. 11, 29-31 on the other are brought within the compass of this single verse—God's infinite greatness meeting man's limitations, poverty, and need. The 'crushed' and 'humbled' spirit was the prevailing attitude of mind in the days of Nehemiah (cf. Neh. i. 3) among the returned Jewish exiles and their sons who had come back to Zion inspired with the splendid ideals and hopes to which the Deutero-Isaiah had given utterance, but had suffered bitter disillusionment during the weary decades that had passed by marked by reaction, the dominance of old idolatrous practices, and the continued obstacles placed by the old inhabitants, sustained by Samaritan intrigues, in the path of spiritual progress and reform in worship. Of the spiritual declension we have clear indications in Mal. i. 6-8, 13 foll., ii. 2 foll., 8 foll., 11 foll. In fact the attitude of contrition which this verse commends (in the Trito-Isaiah) finds its exact obverse in Mal. iii. 15 foll., where the opposite spirit, which congratulates the presumptuous and worldly, is condemned. It is not with them that God's spirit dwells, but rather with those whom the rich and powerful oppress, 'the hireling, the widow—and the fatherless' (Mal. iii. 5), as well as with the pious follower of Yahweh who walked before Him in mourning garb (Mal. iii. 14; see Driver's note in *Century Bible*).

16 states the grounds of Divine sympathy with the afflicted and humble to which the preceding verse gave expression. It is God's purpose to *revive*, not to destroy by continued judgments of wrath, as the exiles might well have imagined from the sad history of the past, and especially of the last sixty years, which had ex-

17 before me, and the souls which I have made. For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth and smote him, I hid *my face* and was wroth : and he went on frowardly
 18 in the way of his heart. I have seen his ways, and will heal him : I will lead him also, and restore comforts

cited a feeling of utter despair. For **should fail** read 'faints away' or preferably (with Cheyne) 'would faint.'

17. The grounds for the past discipline of Divine wrath are here given. The social oppression which prevailed in the Hebrew population of the eighth century (Isa. v. 7-9, see Introduction in vol. i, pp. 42 foll.) continued in the fifth, as Zech. vii. 8 foll. indicates and Mal. iii. 5 and Neh. v clearly prove. If we read the text as it stands before us in the traditional Hebrew version and render it as above, which is the interpretation of most commentators, including Kittel and Duhm, we have here an evident reference to the rapacity of the rich and their oppression of the poor, to which chap. lviii bears abundant testimony (verses 3, 4, 6, 9). Unfortunately it is by no means certain that we have the original text. The LXX render: 'Owing to sin I have afflicted him *a short time*.' Accordingly Cheyne adopts the Hebrew for 'a short time' in the place of the word for 'his covetousness', and renders: 'For his guilt I was wrath for a moment.' The following clause is more idiomatically translated: 'and smote him, concealing (my face) in wrath.' The word rendered 'froward' in the next clause is a favourite one in Jeremiah, and means 'unfaithful,' 'rebellious' (Jer. iii. 14, 22; cf. xxxi. 22, xlix. 4).

Here 'hiding the face' from a person is the reverse of 'lifting up the countenance upon' him (= showing him favour, Num. vi. 26; cf. Prov. xvi. 15).

18. Though God has seen Israel's rebellious ways in the past, yet there is to be healing rather than chastisement. The words of comfort in these verses are evidently addressed to the faithful and repentant portion of the Zion community, who are sharply distinguished from the wicked and unfaithful (cf. verses 20, 21) who persist in their evil ways.

Duhm would place the opening words of this verse in connexion with the last clause of the previous one, and withdraw the expression 'saith the Lord (Yahweh)' from the latter part of verse 19, where there is a like ending through an error of the scribe. We should then render thus:

'And he went on rebellious in the way of his heart—18. his ways have I seen, saith Yahweh.'

¹ נָקַד (properly 'a moment') in place of נָקַד.

unto him and to his mourners. I create the fruit of the lips: Peace, peace, to him that is far off and to him that is near, saith the LORD; and I will heal him. But the wicked are like the troubled sea; for it cannot rest, and its waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.

Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto my people their transgression, and to

This is an ingenious and not improbable rearrangement. 'His ways have I seen' will then mean I have marked his evil courses. The next line will then begin: 'Yet I will heal him.' The rest of the verse unfolds the idea of God's healing and restorative comfort to those who are faithful and penitent.

19. The personal pronoun 'I' in the original might easily have been dropped out of the text, as Marti has shown. **I create the fruit of the lips**—the fruit of the lips in this case being joyful gratitude in place of the silent sorrow of the mourners (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 11; Prov. xi. 31, xii. 14—we have also parallel conceptions in the following chapters of the Trito-Isaiah, lx. 20^b, lxi. 3). In the following clause the word 'peace' is to be construed as the object governed by 'create' in the clause that precedes. 'Near' and 'far off' designate the Jews of Palestine and those of the diaspora respectively. Probably Duhm is right in regarding the last clause of this verse as added by scribal error (cf. previous verse).

20-21. A far different destiny than God's peace awaits the unrepentant wicked. Their state is compared to a 'storm-driven sea,' in never-ceasing motion, and impure in its products. The well-being ('peace') of God's true and faithful servant can never be the lot of the unrighteous.

CHAPTER LVIII.

A denunciation of social wrong-doing. Righteous conduct more necessary than fasting and ceremonial.

This chapter shows the evident influence of the eighth-century teaching (cf. especially Amos v and Isa. i) as to the vital demands of God. The form of the opening verse shows that the writer was deeply impressed by Ezek. xxxiii. 1-9, that it was the duty of the prophet like a faithful watchman to warn his people of danger, i. e. in this case to announce clearly to the nation its besetting sins (cf. Mic. iii. 8).

1. The prophet is commanded to 'call out with the throat,' i. e. with loud clear voice so that the utterance sounds abroad with

2 the house of Jacob their sins. Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways: as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God, they ask of me righteous ordinances, they delight
3 to draw near unto God. Wherefore have we fasted, *say they*, and thou seest not? *wherefore* have we afflicted our

trumpet-tones. With the metaphor of the trumpet that sounds the war-alarm cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 3, 5, 6.

2. R. V. rightly interprets the opening copula of the original as adversative 'yet.' The opposition which is thereby implied is that though the nation is sinful yet it is not irreligious so far as external forms are concerned. The Jewish community, though morally debased, takes an interest in ceremonial. The pronoun 'me' is emphatic:

'Yet 'tis me day by day they are seeking—and in knowing my ways they take pleasure.'

way here, like the Arabic *tarik*, has a ritual significance, cf. Amos viii. 14. The Hebrew verb for 'know' bears here, as frequently, the meaning 'take interest in' or 'concern oneself about' some object, Gen. xxxix. 6¹, Prov. xxvii. 23, Job ix. 21; and in reference to God's providential care for man, Ps. i. 6, xxxi. 7 (8 Heb.), xxxvii. 18, cxliv. 3; Jer. i. 7; Neh. i. 7; Amos iii. 2.

The past tenses *did* and *forsook* should be replaced by presents 'does' and 'forsakes.' They correspond to what might be regarded as *gnomic* perfects in the Hebrew (Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*²⁶, § 106. 2 c). Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 40 (c), calls this 'perfect of experience.' Respecting the use of the terms 'righteousness' and 'ordinance' (R. V. marg. 'judgment') in reference to ritual see note on chap. lvi. 1.

3 introduces the complaining query of the people: 'We fast, but for what purpose? God seems not to pay any heed to our religious observance.' 'Thou seest it not!—this was evidently the inference which the Jewish community drew from the depressing conditions under which they laboured. What these conditions were the reader may discover for himself from Prof. Driver's Introduction

¹ Potiphar 'knew' not anything in his household, i. e. took no active interest or concern in anything, since he left the supervision in the hands of Joseph. Similarly we must interpret Paul's use of 'know' in 2 Cor. v. 21. Christ had obviously an *intellectual* apprehension of sin. St. Paul meant that sin stood outside Christ's moral sympathies.

soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find *your own* pleasure, and exact all your

to Malachi (*Century Bible*, Minor Prophets, ii, p. 293). They included bad harvests (Mal. iii. 11) as well as the general poverty indicated in Neh. v. It seems to have been expected that as the result of this fasting some alleviation or deliverance from troubles would be granted. It is not improbable that there is implied in this complaint a reference to the oracle delivered more than seventy years previously by Zechariah (viii. 19-23), that the sorrowful fasting would be changed into days of joy. And yet, after so many years, the fasting still continued and there was no deliverance from evil.

The institution of fasts of sorrowful remembrance in commemoration of the various tragic events in the reign of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was besieged and captured, dated from the early days of the exile, as we gather from Zech. vii. 3-5, viii. 19. Zechariah refers to four distinct fasts of this kind in the last-mentioned passage (on which see Driver's note). From this time forth fasting as well as prayer at grave crises becomes a distinguishing note of Hebrew worship (Ezra viii. 21 f., ix. 5 foll., x. 6; Neh. i. 4; Joel i. 14). This stress which was laid upon fasting and prayer probably arose among the Babylonian exiles and diaspora. We find it also among the Aramaic-speaking Jews near Syene (Assouan). The recently-discovered Aramaic papyri (published by Sachau, 1907) describe the destruction by the Egyptian priests of the God Hnûb of the temple to Yâhû (Yahweh) erected by the Jewish community at Yeb. Whereupon, as the document says, line 15, 'we with our wives and children wore mourning apparel, fasted, and prayed to Yâhû the Lord of Heaven.' This document with the events it describes was probably nearly coeval with the prophecies of Joel just half a century after the date when the present chapters in the Trito-Isaiah were written¹.

The answer of Yahweh to the complaining appeal of the people

¹ The papyrus fixed its own date as the seventeenth year of Darius Nothus (Ochus), i. e. 408-407 B. C., while the destruction of the temple at Yeb took place in the fourteenth year, i. e. 411-410 B. C. Now the prophet Joel iii. 19 (iv. 19 Heb.) prophesies desolation against Egypt for the outrages committed against the Jews. These outrages are evidently connected with the very events detailed in the papyrus, and thus this recently-discovered document serves to confirm the conclusion to which internal evidence leads Cornill (*Einleitung*⁵, p. 203), Nowack, and others that Joel was composed at some date subsequent to Nehemiah.

- 4 labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and contention, and
to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye fast not this day
5 so as to make your voice to be heard on high. Is such
the fast that I have chosen? the day for a man to afflict

is that the fasting is after all mere hollow form resting on no basis of moral life:

‘On your fast-day you are finding occupation—and all your workmen you are pressing on¹.’

your own pleasure is an inadequate rendering. The Hebrew word for ‘pleasure’ used in the original came in later Hebrew to mean ‘engagement,’ ‘occupation,’ ‘business,’ somewhat as the Latin *studium*, originally ‘desire,’ comes to mean ‘pursuit.’ The passage implies that the fasting had become a mere formality. The thoughts and energies of the worshippers were engaged in their daily pursuits of gain instead of devotion and prayer.

4. All your fastings involve no moral renewal, but are accompanied by quarrelling. Probably we should connect the **fist of wickedness** with the forcible compulsion to labour by which the wealthier members of the Jewish community sought to coerce the poorer to toil on the holy fast-day. The picture presented in this as well as the previous verse seems to anticipate in some degree the scenes in the temple depicted in Mark xi. 15 foll.

The words **on high** (properly ‘in the height’) contain in the original the same term as in lvii. 15, ‘high (place)’ or height, viz. God’s celestial abode².

5. ‘Shall such be the fast that I choose—a day on which man afflicts himself?

Is it to bow one’s head like a rush—while one spreads out sackcloth and ashes as a bed?

Is it that you would call a fast—a day well-pleasing to Yahweh?’

¹ Hardly strong enough rendering of the Heb. verb (*nāgas*) which is employed of driving slaves to their task-work. The participle is used of the taskmaster (with the lash), Exod. iii. 7, v. 10, 13 foll. In Job xxix. 7 it is used of an animal driver (cf. following verse).

² The LXX evidently had a different text before them, for they render: ‘and smite with fists the humble; wherefore do ye fast unto me as to-day, that in distress your voice may be heard?’ We may conjecture that they had the text before them *וְהִיָּתָם בְּאַתְרָהּ הָרִשׁ לְפָנַי* וְהִיָּתָם בְּאַתְרָהּ הָרִשׁ לְפָנַי, which is both intelligible and rhythmic. Yahweh answers the people’s impatient query in verse 3 by another in somewhat similar form, which is continued in verse 5 quite harmoniously.

his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the LORD? Is not ⁶ this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is ⁷

The verb in the original, which is rendered 'spread out as a bed,' is the same as that which is employed in Ps. cxxxix. 8, 'though I make my bed in Hades.' The general meaning of the interrogatives (which are rhetorical in character and anticipate a negative answer) is that these mere externalities¹ of worship accompanied by the exhibition of selfish rapacity are *not* well-pleasing to Yahweh nor a fast of which He approves. This is a remarkable forecast of one of the essential elements of Christ's teaching and closely approximates His denunciations of dissembling ('hypocrisy').

6. After the negative statements involved in the preceding interrogations, which show what the fast of which Yahweh approves is *not*, there follows a *positive* declaration of what that fast actually should be. The latter is expressed here in the negative interrogative form: 'Is not this the fast that I choose . . .?' In the Hebrew text we have an incomplete line. Fortunately the text employed by the LXX helps us to complete it: 'saith Yahweh of Hosts.'

'Is not this the fast that I choose—[saith Yahweh of Hosts],

To unloose the wicked bonds—to set free the bands of the yoke.'

In the second portion of the last long line of this verse it would be best to follow (with Duhm) the LXX in reading the second pers. sing. instead of plur. 'that *thou* break.' This brings the verse into harmony with the following, which has the second pers. *sing.*

The word rendered **oppressed** properly means 'broken.' We

¹ The forms of lament here portrayed are funereal in character. The sackcloth and ashes were the ordinary features of funeral obsequies; see *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities* (R. T. S.), p. 146. It is probable that the small collection of 'Lamentations of Jeremiah' arose in connexion with these 'fasts of sorrowful remembrance' (see note on verse 3 above), and were recited on these occasions. The characteristics of language and contents (see Cornill's *Einleitung*⁵, pp. 258 foll., in the German edition now translated) harmonize with this hypothesis.

it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou
8 hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy healing shall

note how the spirit of Christ's Gospel breathes through this and the following verse, Matt. v. 7, Luke xiv. 13, &c.

7. The same conception further developed. God's acceptable fast involves the accompaniment of a high ethical life such as shares its advantages with others, e. g. that of 'dealing (properly 'breaking') one's bread to the hungry.' The Hebrew verbal form translated **that are cast out** has been a source of difficulty. The LXX renders it by 'roofless,' i. e. unsheltered, homeless. Hitzig translates it by 'banished as rebels,' on the assumption that it is derived from a verb which means 'to rebel' (*mārad*), but this interpretation is hardly possible. It is more probable that we should punctuate the verb differently and regard it (with Buhl) as an active (Hif'il) participle (cf. Gen. xxvii. 40) of a Hebrew verb (*rūd*) which means 'to roam about in distress'.¹ The line may accordingly be rendered:

'Is it not breaking thy bread to the hungry—and that thou bringest the wandering unfortunates home.'

flesh here means 'kindred,' as in many O. T. passages (Gen. xxix. 17, xxxvii. 27; Judg. ix. 2; 2 Sam. v. 1, &c.).

8. If your fasting is accompanied by a life characterized by such acts of love and sympathy, the bright future foretold by the prophets (Isa. xi, lv; cf. chaps. lx, lxi) will dawn. The phrases **go before thee, be thy rearward** (close up thy procession in the rear) are obvious echoes of the earlier inspiring oracles of the Deutero-Isaiah. They evidently fit the connexion of the original passage lii. 12 (where the situation presupposed is that of a pilgrim-caravan issuing forth from Babylon for the old home-land) rather than that of the present one composed in Palestine amid depressing conditions about eighty years afterwards. Not improbably such

¹ Duhm is disposed to regard the Hebrew form in our text as an abstract plural meaning 'homelessness,' i. e. the position of a roving wanderer. The other Hebrew word which we have rendered 'unfortunates' (R. V. 'the poor') he would remove as a later gloss. No warrant for this is to be found in the LXX, who translate the suspected word by 'poor.' Nor can Duhm safely cite Lam. iii. 19 and i. 7 (where the plural is by no means certain) as a valid basis for his abstract plural form meaning 'homelessness.'

spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the LORD shall be thy rearward. Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; 9 thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking wickedly; and if thou 10 draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in darkness, and thine

phrases as well as many others from the Deutero-Isaiah passed current among the Jews of a later time and became proverbial.

The word here rendered **healing** (*arūchak*) has a very special meaning, and denotes the new layer of flesh which forms over a wound, in Arabic *arīcat* (properly something which extends over). It is a term not found in the Old Testament earlier than Jeremiah (viii. 22, xxx. 17, xxxiii. 6). See Delitzsch's commentary on this passage and Driver's explanatory note on Jer. viii. 22 at the end of his *Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, p. 352; also Rosenmüller's *Scholia ad loc.* (viz. Isa. lviii. 8).

9. The opening line should express protasis and apodosis thus:

'Then, when thou callest, Yahweh will answer—when thou criest, He will say, "Here am I."'

For the stretching out of the finger as an expression of contempt cf. Prov. vi. 13. Gesenius has pointed out that in Arabic there is a denominative verb *saba'a*, derived from this same word that stands in the original for 'finger,' meaning to point the finger in reproach against some one (see Freytag's *Lexicon*). Latin literature gives us parallels, Pers. ii. 33, Juven. x. 53, Martial ii. 28. 2, &c. Probably we are to understand that this expression of scorn was directed by the rich and arrogant against the poor and lowly (cf. verse 4).

10. The reading **thy soul** is by no means certain. Some Hebrew MSS. read 'thy bread.' The translation in the LXX combines both readings in the curious manner of a 'conflate reading' of both Hebrew texts: 'and givest the bread from thy soul to the hungry.' It seems fairly clear that the word 'soul' in the following clause has been imported by the error of a scribe into this. The true reading in all probability was 'thy bread.' To render with A. V. and R. V. **draw out thy soul** or with R. V. marg. 'bestow . . . that which thy soul desireth' are violent expedients. Accordingly render:

'And (if) thou hand out thy bread to the hungry—and satisfy the afflicted soul,

- 11 obscurity be as the noonday: and the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in dry places, and make strong thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.
- 12 And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called The repairer of

Then thy light shall break forth in the darkness—and thy gloom as the midday.'

11. The happy results that ensue are described still further. It is impossible to be quite certain that we have the original text before us. The plur. form rendered **dry places** (A. V. 'drought') is only found in this passage, though a kindred word is translated in Ps. lxxviii. 6 [7 Heb.] by R. V. 'parched land.' But the LXX depart so far in their rendering that it is difficult to reconstruct a text which shall take account of both our Massoretic text and the rendering of the Greek translators. Commentators are content to follow the former. The Hebrew text rendered above **make strong thy bones** is extremely doubtful. The LXX render 'thy bones shall be made fat.' Secker has made the ingenious suggestion, which Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne have adopted, to reconstruct the text on the basis of xl. 29, 31 and render, 'Thy strength will He renew.' The changes involved are comparatively slight, and when we consider the frequent reminiscences of the Deutero-Isaiah in this series of chapters, they cannot be deemed improbable. The verse closes with the picturesque comparison of a garden intersected with water-channels that never run dry ('deceive,' R. V. 'fail'). Here, as in xli. 18, **spring of water** should be 'water-channel' (Cheyne 'conduit'). See the writer's note with Assyrian parallels in Schrader, *COT.*, vol. ii, pp. 311-13.

12. 'And one [lit. they] shall build of thee the ruins of old time.' This would mean that from the sons of the Jewish community, here collectively addressed in the singular, the shattered remnants of the past shall be reconstituted. But the expression is certainly strange. The LXX rendered the verbal form as a passive, 'age-long desolations shall be built'; and Ewald favours this interpretation. It would probably be safer to emend and read with Duhm, 'and *thy people* shall build the ancient ruins,' or to follow Weir and Cheyne in reading 'and thy sons shall build . . .' The language in this verse is again remarkably reminiscent of the Deutero-Isaiah (cf. especially xlv. 26).

repairer, literally 'waller-up,' the original being a participial

the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in. [If thou ¹³ turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight,

form of the Hebrew denominative verb from the subst. 'wall.' The metaphor was suggested to the mind of the poet by the dismantled state of the walls of Jerusalem—the ruined condition in which they were left by the Babylonian armies in 586 B.C. about 130 years previously. It was this ruined condition of the city which so deeply oppressed the mind of Nehemiah (Neh. i. 3, ii. 2, 3).

Verses 13-14 are a later addendum. The metrical form (a long line of two equal parts with three accental beats in each part) is here the same as in the previous twelve verses, but the rhythm is not so well preserved and the spirit is wholly different. In the former the stress is laid on merciful conduct; in these two verses it is placed on Sabbath maintenance. Marti thinks it even exceeds that of Neh. ix. 14; Exod. xvi. 23. It is true that Sabbath maintenance had begun to acquire a special importance during the exile period since the time of Ezekiel (xx. 12, 20, xxii. 8, xxiii. 38). Yet it is to be noted that no mention of it is made in the Deutero-Isaiah nor in the early post-exilian times of Haggai and Zechariah (i-viii), neither of whom refer to the Sabbath, nor even later the prophet Malachi. Though Isa. lvi. 2 shows that, as we approach the days of Nehemiah, its due observance began to assume greater importance, it was not till the time of that reformer that the hallowing of the seventh day became the fixed and cardinal feature of Jewish ceremonial observance. Henceforth is sharply distinguished the strict and minute observance of the Sabbath in post-exilian Judaism from the more genial practice of pre-exilian Hebrew religion which made it festal, recreative, and a relief from toil ¹.

13. Here the conception of a holy space is applied to time. The Sabbath is regarded as a sanctuary which the human foot, pursuing its ordinary avocations, must not profane. The foot is to turn back so as not to desecrate it. For the R. V. **from doing**

¹ It should be observed that it is not possible to accept Jer. xvii. 19-27 as genuine. That it is a later insertion has been recognized by critics since Kuenen. See Cornill's discussion of the passage. Probably it was composed in the days of Nehemiah. As to pre-exilian practice note Amos viii. 4, 5, where we observe that it was a rest day from trade and other forms of work. Hos. ii. 11 (13 Heb.) indicates its genial festive character (in both passages in connexion with the New Moon). Also note 2 Kings iv. 23.

and the holy of the LORD honourable ; and shalt honour it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own
 14 pleasure, nor speaking *thine own* words : then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD ; and I will make thee to ride upon the high places of the earth ; and I will feed

thy pleasure substitute the rendering 'so as *not*¹ to do thy business.' The Hebrew word *hephes*, properly 'pleasure,' here has the meaning (in later Hebrew) 'occupation,' 'business'; cf. above verse 3 and note.

The text that follows is far from clear, and this is almost certainly due to its want of soundness, as a comparison with the LXX reveals. LXX render 'and shalt call the Sabbath a delight, holy unto thy God, shalt not set (literally 'lift') thy foot to work nor speak a word in anger from thy mouth². This is quite intelligible, and the idiom 'lift (or set) thy foot to,' &c. is found in Gen. xxix. 1.

Taking our traditional Hebrew text as a basis, the strange expression **holy of the LORD** can hardly be explained otherwise than as an epithet of the Sabbath. If we follow the guidance of the LXX we should have to amend it into 'holy unto thy God,' and regard the following word 'honourable' in the Hebrew text (which the LXX omit) as simply due to dittography. Duhm suggests an ingenious alternative by comparatively slight emendations of our Hebrew text which make the parallelism complete :

'And callest the Sabbath a delight—and the new moon of Yahweh an object of desire.'

doing thine own ways means 'carrying on thy daily pursuits.' It must be confessed that the concluding phrase 'speaking [thine own] words' is somewhat obscure. It might be either taken to mean, as Duhm interprets it, 'gossip,' 'talk idle words,' 'deceive' (as in Hos. x. 4), or, more probably and in consonance with the preceding clause ('finding thy business'), we should interpret the expression as meaning 'make proposals' or 'state thy bargain'; cf. Gen. xxiv. 33.

14. Earthly power and affluence are to be the reward of scru-

¹ Probably the Hebrew preposition meaning 'from' (*min*) has dropped out before the infinitive form (= 'to do'). So LXX.

² Evidently founded on a very different text in the original. We might reconstruct it on the basis of closest approximation to the Massoretic in the last two clauses : **וְלֹא תִשָּׂא לְמַסְחָה רַגְלֶךָ וְלֹא תִשָּׂא בְקֶדֶף** :

וְלֹא תִשָּׂא בְקֶדֶף.

thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.]

Behold, the LORD's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear: but your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he

pulous maintenance of the Sabbath. The spiritual level of verses 1-12 is not reached in this concluding verse. In fact we descend to a lower plain. The rewards set forth in verses 11 and 12 are very different. Here again (verse 14) comparison with the LXX suggests a different Hebrew original in the earlier part of the verse. Notice the echo of Deut. xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 29.

CHAPTER LIX.

There are several points of contact between this chapter and lviii. 1-12. The strain of rebuke contained in the latter is continued here. Moreover, it deals with the same mental attitude of discontent with Yahweh's dealings with His people which is presupposed in the preceding chapter. 'God is indifferent to your depressed condition,' you say; 'though your fasts are still maintained and you are diligent in ceremonies of worship' (lviii. 2, 3); God is as mighty as ever and as accessible to prayer; but it is your own unrighteous life that stands between you and the fulfilment of your prayers and the dawn of better times.

1. Probably we ought to regard the opening clauses as expressing a comparative according to the well-known Hebrew idiom:

'Behold, Yahweh's hand is not too short to help—nor His ear too dull-of-hearing [lit. heavy] to hear.'

With the latter clause cf. vi. 10.

2. The real cause of God's lack of succour is not Divine impotence, but your own moral depravity that has alienated God from you and has been a barrier to the blessings He would confer. 'Your sins have hid His face¹,' i. e. have caused Him

¹ In the original not 'His face' but simply 'face,' as though it were a personal designation of Yahweh, just as in lxiii. 9, where it stands in parallelism with 'angel' (or messenger) (see note on the passage). We seem here to have a movement—though a nascent tendency only—towards the hypostases of later Judaism (*mêmrâ*, *shekfnah*, &c.). For it must be remembered that the conception of the 'face of God,' viz. of Ba'al, meets us in the Phœnician proper

3 will not hear. For your hands are defiled with blood,
and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken
4 lies, your tongue muttereth wickedness. None sueth in
righteousness, and none pleadeth in truth: they trust in
vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring
5 forth iniquity. They hatch basilisks' eggs, and weave the

to withdraw His favour from you. This is generally expressed by a personal subject. In other words, *God* is said to hide His face; cf. viii. 17.

3. We are reminded of Isa. i. 15. For *wickedness* it would be more accurate to read 'dishonesty.'

4. The oppression of the poor by the rich in courts of law was an old vice of the pre-exilian days (cf. *Introd. to vol. i, p. 43*). As the R.V. (marg.) indicates, the ordinary Hebrew word for 'call' here means sue at law, i. e. summon to trial as plaintiff (cf. the Latin *vocare in ius*); cf. Job v. 1, xiii. 22. This verse should be rendered:

'There is no one who sues with uprightness—none who goes to law with honesty,

Relying on falsity and uttering deceit—conceiving bale and bringing forth evil.'

Verses 5-8 are a highly-wrought elaboration in varied picturesque similes of the same theme, viz. the social conditions of treachery, oppression, and violence, which afflicted the Jewish community at this time. Duhm and Cheyne regard them as a later addition. Marti holds that it was borrowed from some moralizing treatise.

names. 'Face of Baal' is the equivalent of the deity Tanit in the Carthaginian votive inscriptions (see Schröder, *Phönis. Sprache*, pp. 260 foll., and the remarks on p. 181). It is also found in the old Canaanite place-name Penuël (Peniel), meaning 'Face of God.'

On the other hand, the LXX (cod. Alex.) evidently had a somewhat different text in their original—'on account of your sins He has withdrawn His face from you so as not to have compassion' (מִחֲשׂוֹתֵיכֶם וּמִחֲשׂוֹתֵיכֶם, where apparently the מ of the opening word has dropped out through the same character that preceded it, viz. (in the LXX copy) of אלהים). Duhm regards 'between you and your God' and 'from you that He will not hear' as added glosses that disturb both metric rhythm and parallelism of clauses. The variant readings in the LXX lend some colour to this view, and suggest that the glosses assumed different forms.

spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper. Their webs 6 shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works: their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their 7 feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; desolation and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace 8 they know not; and there is no judgement in their goings: they have made them crooked paths; whosoever goeth therein doth not know peace. Therefore is 9 judgement far from us, neither doth righteousness over-

5. **web** in the original means properly 'gossamer-threads.' This verse merely gives forcible illustrations derived from the animal world of the last clause of the preceding verse, 'conceiving bale and bringing forth evil.' The illustrations remind us of those derived from animal life in the Book of Proverbs (cf. especially xxx. 18-31) or of Job (chap. xxxix).

6. The products of their activity serve no useful purpose, but are mischievous in their result.

7. The same idea is still further developed. Unprincipled avarice works out its ends in violence and even bloodshed. This verse is quoted with various other O. T. citations by St. Paul in Rom. iii. 13-18. The preceding verses are a free citation by the Apostle from Ps. xiv. 1-3. In the Cod. Alex. and margin of Vatican Codex of LXX the entire Pauline body of quotations is incorporated into the text of Ps. xiv. 1-3.

8. For **there is no judgement in their goings** it would be more accurate to translate with Cheyne, 'there is no justice in their tracks.' The Hebrew word **peace** properly means well-being, security of life; but is used here in the ethical sense of the well-being that ensues from righteousness and a well-ordered life of obedience to God. The word **know** has here the connotation which belongs to the term in lviii. 2, on which see the note.

The gnomic character of these verses 5-8 is evident to the reader. Verse 9, which immediately follows, succeeds verse 4 quite as naturally as verse 8.

9. The prophet here confesses in the name of the Jewish community (thus using the 1st pers. plur.) their sense of evil. For the vague word **judgement** substitute 'justice' or 'right,' to which 'righteousness' stands in synonymous parallelism in the

take us: we look for light, but behold darkness; for
 10 brightness, but we walk in obscurity. We grope for the
 wall like the blind, yea, we grope as they that have no
 eyes: we stumble at noonday as in the twilight; among
 11 them that are lusty we are as dead men. We roar all
 like bears, and mourn sore like doves: we look for
 judgement, but there is none; for salvation, but it is far

next clause. As in verse 4, so here the reference is to the gross injustice perpetrated in Jewish tribunals, where the oppressed suitor 'looks for the light' of equity and redress for his wrongs and for the 'bright rays' of plain and truthful dealings, but finds that he is walking in the gloomy and uncertain paths of false dealing, intrigue, and chicanery.

10 develops this conception of the gloomy and uncertain ways to which the preceding verse alludes. The metaphor is that of a blind man who feels his way. The Hebrew verb rendered **grobe** is only used in this passage, but its existence is fairly certain as well as its meaning by comparison with the same corresponding form in classical Arabic. According to our text we have the same verb in the following parallel clause (so also LXX). This is not usual in Hebrew poetic style. Consequently, the suggestion of a slight emendation whereby in the latter clause another verb, used in Deut. xxviii. 29, is employed, has much to commend it. Cf. the use of the verb (or its collateral) in the vivid description of the blind Isaac in his interview with his wily son Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 12, 21, 22. Accordingly with Koppe, Oort, Duhm, and Marti render:—

'We grope like the blind by the wall—and like eyeless men feel our way.'

The text in the latter part of the next line is very doubtful. The Hebrew word translated above **them that are lusty** (lit. 'stout' or 'fat') has exercised the speculative ingenuity of many learned commentators whose interpretations it would be a waste of time to record. The word is obviously corrupt, for (1) it is found nowhere else, (2) there is not a trace of it in the LXX. Our only safe course here is to follow Cheyne, and render:—

'We stumble at midday as in the twilight. . . . like the dead.'

11. The lamentations of the oppressed are compared to the moaning of bears or the cooing plaint of doves. Substitute, as before, 'right' or 'justice' for **judgement** with the expression

off from us. For our transgressions are multiplied be- 12
 fore thee, and our sins testify against us: for our trans-
 gressions are with us, and as for our iniquities, we know
 them: in transgressing and denying the LORD, and 13
 turning away from following our God, speaking oppres-
 sion and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart
 words of falsehood. And judgement is turned away 14
 backward, and righteousness standeth afar off: for truth
 is fallen in the street, and uprightness cannot enter.

'mourn sore (better 'moan') like doves'; cf. Isa. xxxviii. 14; Ezek. vii. 16.

12. The lament of the people voiced by the prophet (verses 9 foll.) now takes the definite form of a confession to God of the people's sin. The expression **our transgressions are with us** means 'they are fully present to our minds,' are consciously realized by us,' as the following parallel clause renders clear: 'we know them' (i. e. are conscious of them).

13. The forms of sin against God are more specially described as 'rebelling against and dealing falsely with Yahweh, withdrawing from following after our God, giving utterance to oppression and revolt.'

For **uttering** it would be more accurate to render 'meditating.' The two words in the original¹ are alliterative: 'conceiving and concocting' would fairly reproduce the assonance.

14. The qualities '*Right*' (R.V. **Judgement**), *Justice* (Righteousness), *Truth* and *Uprightness* are here personified. The word for **truth** might also be rendered 'faithfulness,' 'honour.'

'Right is forced back—and Justice stands afar,

For truth stumbles in the market-place—and uprightness is unable to enter.'

The scene of this tragedy is the tribunal of an oriental town, which was usually the large open space (here called 'market-place' for lack of a better term) called in Hebrew *rehôb* which was close to the gates (Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 6). Here the people assembled (Job xxix. 7), public orators delivered their harangues, (Prov. i. 20), and in ordinary times children disported themselves (Zech. viii. 4), and travellers spent the night (Gen. xix. 2; Judges xix. 15).

¹ The punctuation of the Massoretic text confuses the sense. The LXX version as well as verse 4 shows that the forms should be punctuated as *Kal* absol. infin.

15 Yea, truth is lacking; and he that departeth from evil
maketh himself a prey: and the LORD saw it, and it
16 displeased him that there was no judgement. And he
saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was
no intercessor: therefore his own arm brought salvation

15. *is lacking*, properly 'is left behind.' We might render 'is missing,' 'is not to be found':—

'And honour is not to be found—and one who avoids evil
exposes himself to plunder.'

Verses 16-20 are closely linked to the preceding. Yahweh views with grief and astonishment the forlorn condition of the oppressed in the Jewish community of Jerusalem. Accordingly He advances in His own person to punish His foes and bring deliverance to His faithful followers that cry for Justice¹.

16. The language in the opening of the verse echoes in a remarkable manner that of the Deutero-Isaiah (i. 2), whose phrases were evidently current and familiar in the generations that followed him. But the situation of the Trito-Isaiah was strongly contrasted. The thoughts of the Deutero-Isaiah were fixed on a foreign deliverer, Cyrus, who is to be God's servant in effecting a deliverance from Israel's *external* troubles. Here the evils are *internal*, and the deliverer who is to remedy the *internal* disorders of the Jewish state fails to arise. Therefore Yahweh Himself advances to the rescue. On the other hand, there is a striking parallel between this as well as the following verses and lxiii. 1-6, where Yahweh again appears as a warrior and there is none to aid (lxiii. 3):—

'And when He saw that there was no one—and was amazed
that there was none to interpose,
Then did His arm help Him—and His righteousness sustained
Him.'

Here, again, we have the conception of Divine righteousness combined with the idea of Divine might that renders it victorious with which we were made familiar in the study of the Deutero-Isaiah (see Introduction, § 4, p. 37).

¹ The present writer cannot concur with Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* ii, p. 81) in separating 15 *b* ('and when Yahweh saw it, He was displeased,' &c.)-20 from the preceding, though several good authorities (Kosters, Cheyne, Gressmann, and Enno Littmann) follow him. As Marti clearly shows, the arbitrary process recommended severs in twain what is a well-knit whole in its sequence of ideas, though unfortunately in verses 18 foll. seriously defective in text.

unto him; and his righteousness, it upheld him. And ¹⁷ he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head; and he put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloke. According to their deeds, accordingly he will repay, fury ¹⁸ to his adversaries, recompence to his enemies; to the

17. Following out this conception of Yahweh as a warrior-hero, familiar to ancient Israel (Exod. xv. 1, 3, 6, 7, &c.; Deut. xxxii. 41 f.; Judges v. 4, vii. 20), and not infrequently set forth in the Deutero-Isaiah (xlii. 13, xlix. 24 foll., lii. 10), God is represented as girding Himself for the battle, but the 'weapons are not carnal but spiritual,' and directed against hostile moral influences. Qualities regarded as clothing to the personality is a familiar mode of expression among O. T. writers (cf. lxi. 3, 10), and the metaphor of this verse is borrowed by St. Paul in Eph. vi. 14, 17 as well as in 1 Thess. v. 8 (with variation). The word **clothing** (Heb. *tilbōsheth*) is very questionable. (1) It is only found in this passage; (2) it spoils the metre of the verse by overweighting the line; (3) it was obviously absent from the Hebrew copies of the LXX, and is omitted also in the Vulgate; (4) it is a wholly unnecessary *addendum*. Accordingly, we have good reason for following Lowth, Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti in rejecting it as a gloss. Therefore render:—

'And He clad himself with righteousness as a breastplate—
and a helmet of victory¹ (salvation) was on His head.

And he clad Himself with retribution's apparel—and wrapped
himself in jealousy as a tunic.'

18. **according . . . accordingly**, both in the rendering and in the original, is very awkward. The Hebrew word is found in lxiii. 7, but its repetition is very suspicious, and the same remark applies to the repetition of the word 'recompence.' A glance at the LXX reveals that our text has been confused, and unduly extended perhaps by conflate readings. It is very difficult to reconstruct the text. Cheyne's might be accepted as the best provisional attempt. He translates:—

'In proportion to [their] deserts will He render a recompense—wrath to His adversaries, disgrace to His enemies.'

¹ The R. V. here has the right construction (which is also that of LXX) rather than R. V. marg.

19 islands he will repay recompence. So shall they fear the name of the LORD from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun: for he shall come as a rushing stream, which the breath of the LORD driveth. And a redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn

19 is a continuation of the sentence that precedes, recording the effects of Yahweh's action:—

'So that they shall fear Yahweh's name from the West (evening)—and from the sunrise His glory.

For it shall come like a dashing stream—which the blast of Yahweh impels¹.'

rushing, or 'dashing,' is probably correct (so LXX). The alternative rendering given in R. V. marg., 'a stream *pent-in*,' is due to the derivation of the adjectival form from another verb. Some critics prefer by a slight emendation to render 'they shall see Yahweh's name'² instead of 'they shall fear, &c.,' which stands in our text and is supported by the LXX. The alteration is quite needless, and is no improvement to the sense. The reading of our Hebrew text is moreover sustained by Ps. cii. 15 (16 Hebrew), which seems to be an echo of this passage.

20. The text of this verse has come down to us in two distinct traditions. The LXX render:—

'And there shall come owing to Zion the redeemer and shall turn away (back) rebellion from Jacob³.'

In St. Paul's quotation of the passage (Rom. xi. 26) 'from Zion' appears to indicate that the redeemer would come from Zion itself. The LXX seem to render by 'owing to' or 'on account of' from a desire to reconcile the two different traditions embodied in two different texts. Follow the LXX in deleting 'saith the Lord' (Yahweh), which overweights the metre.

¹ Lit. 'drives into flight.' A. V. rendering (placed in R. V. marg.), 'When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him,' is based on Targ., Pesh., and Jewish commentaries. It disturbs the sequence of ideas, and recent commentators do not support it.

² Duhm supports this view by lxvi. 18, 19, lx. 3, but none of these passages contain the expression 'see the name.' To 'see the glory' or outward manifestation of Yahweh's person is a quite natural and ordinary expression. On the other hand, 'fear' may be quite naturally linked with both objects.

³ In Hebrew *וְיָשׁוּב מִצִּיּוֹן מִלְּבָב יַעֲקֹב*. St. Paul's quotation 'from Zion' (Rom. xi. 26) clearly shows us how the original should be restored in the copy used by the LXX.

from transgression in Jacob, saith the LORD. [And as ²¹ for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the LORD: my spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the LORD, from henceforth and for ever.]

Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of **60**

The other tradition is that of our Hebrew Massoretic text translated in the R. V. above. In that translation substitute 'return' for 'turn,' i. e. are converted. This latter tradition appears to us intrinsically more probable than that on which the LXX is based (followed by Duhm), which seems to be a later version originating from later internal conditions of the Jewish community.

It is impossible to dissociate the person of Nehemiah from this *gōel* or 'redeemer,' just as Zerubbabel is naturally suggested by the 'prince and commander' of iv. 4. He was in all probability the inaugurator of the light of which the following chapter speaks.

21. This verse is prosaic and not metric. Moreover, its reference to the covenant, as Duhm points out, seems based on the language of the Priestercodex (Gen. ix. 9, xvii. 4). It has all the appearance of being a later addition incorporated in an earlier collection. See p. 238.

CHAPTERS LX—LXII.

A lyric collection, probably composed on the occasion of Nehemiah's advent to Jerusalem in 445 B. C., when a new and happier era of progress and religious reform dawned on Israel. Both style and contents clearly show that Deutero-Isaianic material has been employed.

CHAPTER LX

is a poetic exaltation of the New Jerusalem and its heritage of glory and blessing, which strongly reminds us of the Deutero-Isaiah (liv, lii. 1 foll., xlix. 14 foll.). It is to be irradiated by the light of the Divine Presence, and is to be enriched with the treasures of foreign peoples. Its inhabitants shall be righteous citizens, who shall form a strong and victorious theocracy. Not a word is said about a Messianic King.

The poem in Duhm's arrangement falls into ten strophes of four long lines (each a distich) in every strophe. Verse 12 has all the appearance of being a later prosaic addition.

1-3. *First strophe* (verses 1-3) portrays Jerusalem in the hour

2 the LORD is risen upon thee. For, behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples: but the LORD shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall
3 be seen upon thee. And nations shall come to thy

of early sunrise. Its mountains catch the first rays, while the surrounding earth and its inhabitants are enveloped in the gloom of night.

1. The city is here addressed as a woman (cf. xlix. 18, li. 17, lii. 1 foll., liv. 1), apparently lying prostrate on the earth (suggested by the ruined walls and buildings) in the humiliation and sorrow of the preceding night of gloom (cf. li. 17)¹. She is bidden to rise at the visitation of the coming light of her emancipation and glory. According to Duhm the perfects here 'transport us into the future,' and apparently are to be regarded as prophetic perfects. This we hold to be a wrong explanation. Marti rightly takes them as ordinary perfects, describing what has just been consummated. This is indicated by the preceding imperatives 'rise,' 'shine.' 'Shine' here means, as Rosenmüller interprets it, *sereno sis animo* (following Kimhi, Koppe, and Eichhorn):—'Greet the morn which has arisen with a glad heart.' That the light of this new day is associated in the mind of the writer with the advent of Nehemiah, 445 B. C., is exceedingly probable.

2. The future tenses **shall arise . . . shall be seen** should be replaced by *present*. Moreover, **upon thee** in the original is emphatic, and stands contrasted with the Gentile **peoples** who are involved in deep darkness. Accordingly render:—

'For see! darkness covers the land—and gloom the peoples,
But on *thee* gleams Yahweh, and His glory appears upon thee.'

The contrast reminds us of the episodes that preceded and accompanied the exodus (Exod. x. 22, 23 E). We have already had occasion to note that the Deutero-Isaiah recalled the events of that early time of Israel's deliverance from Egypt (Isa. xlvi. 21, li. 10, 11, lii. 12).

3. The light which shone on Zion attracts the Gentile nations and their monarchs from their world of gloom. For **rising** substitute 'ray.' We have again a Deutero-Isaianic echo in this reference to Gentile potentates; cf. xlix. 7, 23 [lii. 15].

Strophes 2-4 (verses 4-9) portray the advancing crowd of Jews of the Diaspora and of Gentiles that bring their wealth to Jerusalem.

¹ LXX φωτίζου, φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλήμ is based on a different text in which the second imperat. (*δρτ*) is repeated. This is a Deutero-Isaianic trait (see p. 35). The addition of the name Jerusalem is probably a gloss.

light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: they all gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be carried in the arms. Then thou shalt see and be lightened, and thine heart shall tremble and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, the wealth

4. The beginning of this verse is obviously borrowed from xlix. 18, while the latter part of the verse is varied from xlix. 22. Both here and in lxvi. 12 the 'side' or 'hip' is the part of the body on which the young (in this case the daughters) are carried, as is usual in the Orient. The LXX render 'thy daughters shall be carried on *shoulders*,' as in xlix. 22 (to which it is possible that their Hebrew text conformed). For the R. V. rendering *arms* substitute that of the R. V. marg. 'side.'

The word rendered here *carried* is not the same as that which is employed in the parallel xlix. 22, but another of finer significance, which is especially used in reference to those who tend children; 'nursed,' R. V. marg., fairly expresses it.

5. R. V., rightly, *then thou shalt see*, with LXX and other ancient versions, as well as Saadiah, Kimhi, Rosenmüller, and many subsequent commentators; and this is evidently what is intended by the Massoretic Hebrew punctuation. On the other hand, there are numerous Hebrew MSS. which have a slightly different punctuation whereby the verbal form comes from a different stem, 'Thou shalt fear,' and it has been supposed that the following clause supports this meaning (so Ibn 'Ezra, Lowth, Gesenius, Oort, and others). But the verbal form which immediately follows renders this improbable. Accordingly we should translate:—

'Then shalt thou see and beam¹ (with joy)—and thy heart shall tremble and expand.'

The expression beam or shine with joy will be found in Ps. xxxiv.

¹ A. V. follows another meaning of the Hebrew root (in reality a distinct root) which occurs in Isa. ii. 2, meaning 'flow' (cf. *nāhār*, 'river'). 'Flow together' will then mean the same as the Hebrew word for 'dissolve' or 'melt' (Deut. xx. 8; Isa. xiii. 7, xix. 1; Nah. ii. 11, &c.), only it does not mean 'flow in fear,' but as Döderlein interprets it, *tum tremes prae laetitia*, 'then wilt thou tremble for joy,' in harmony with a subsequent clause. This, however, simply involves a tame repetition of the same conception.

6 of the nations shall come unto thee. The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; they all shall come from Sheba: they shall bring gold and frankincense, and shall proclaim the 7 praises of the LORD. All the flocks of Kedar shall be

5 (6 Heb.), while the conception of trembling with exultation will be found in Jer. xxxiii. 9, and that of expanding with joy in Ps. xxv. 17, cxix. 32. The opposite idea is that of shrinking with dismay. 'The wealth of the sea,' as the following clause indicates, means not merely the products of islands or lands bordering on the sea, but also the merchandise carried in ships.

6. A vast stream of trading Arab caravans, laden with gold and fragrant incense-resins, makes its way to the holy city from the Midianite region Epha (cf. Gen. xxv. 2, 4 and Bennett's note in 'Genesis' of the *Century Bible*). On Sheba see above note on chap. xliii. 3. Cf. Gen. x. 7. This land in South Arabia, now called *Yemen* (which properly, like the Hebrew *yāmīn*, means 'South'), was celebrated in very early times as the region from which the fragrant resin called *lebhōnah* (frankincense) was obtained. Cf. Jer. vi. 20. Its chief use was in sacrificial worship (Lev. ii. 1, 16; Isa. xliii. 23) even as late as the days of Virgil ('centumque Sabaeo ture calent arae'). According to Pliny the chief rendezvous for the trade was Sabota in Hadramaut, from which the caravans started for Gaza. LXX (Codex A and Sinaitic) add the words 'and precious stones,' in accordance with Ezek. xxvii. 22. This is an obvious gloss to our Hebrew text. Metrical considerations dispose Duhm, Marti, and Cheyne to omit the words 'they shall bring gold and frankincense.' The further extension in LXX gives some colour to this view. Some later scribe wished to specify the products of Sheba or Sabaea, which were well known¹. Cf. 1 Kings x. 2; Ps. lxxii. 15; Ezek. xxvii. 22.

The word **multitude** in the original properly means *abundance* or *overflow* (applied to water in Job xxii. 11, xxxviii. 34, to animals, i. e. horses, in Ezek. xxvi. 10, and to human beings in 2 Kings ix. 17).

Even these foreign traders that flock to Jerusalem proclaim Yahweh's praises, i. e. his glorious deeds; cf. chap. lxiii. 7.

7. Respecting **Kedar** and **Nebaioth** see note on Isa. xxi. 16

¹ Whether the frankincense, gold (and precious stones, LXX) formed an integral part of the text or not, they must be mentally supplied. They seem necessary to give adequate meaning to the last clause of the following verse, 'adorn my beauteous house.'

gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee: they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory. Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to

(vol. i). Both belonged to North Arabia, and in Gen. xxv. 13 are called sons of Ishmael. Kedar is a wealthy pastoral tribe (Jer. xlix. 29) famous for its archers (Isa. xxi. 16 f.). In Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3 we read of Nebaioth as giving Esau one of his wives. We might infer from this its near neighbourhood (prob. E.) to Edom. Kedar lay still farther to the East. (Driver on Gen. xxv. 13.)

This verse continues the thought of the preceding, and discloses the motive for these foreign arrivals. The products brought by the trading caravans from Sheba, which the Hebrew text supplies, as well as the flocks which come from Northern Arabia for sacrifice, were to enhance the dignity and splendour of Yahweh's worship. Following the LXX we should render in the last clause from a purer text: 'And my beauteous¹ house shall be adorned.' This involves the change of only a single character.

Fourth Strophe. Verses 8-9 now portray the return of the Jewish diaspora like clouds of birds seeking their home-land as doves back to the old dovecote². They even come from distant shores transported on vessels of large tonnage to convey their stores and valuables.

8. fly as a cloud is expressed by an alliterative phrase in the original, which we might represent by '*cleave* their way as a *cloud*.' The metaphor is held by the Targum to express 'swiftness.' It paraphrases 'who come like swift clouds and pause not.' Similarly Dillmann, Kittel, and Marti consider that the simile is intended to express speed. Rosenmüller, however, is probably right in holding that the 'cloud' here is rather intended to express the conception of *vast numbers*. He cites as a parallel Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 60 in reference to bees—

'obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem';

¹ Perhaps we should follow the LXX still further and read 'my house of *prayer*' (תפלה) as in lvi. 7; on the other hand, the reading of our existing Hebrew text 'I will adorn' has a close parallel in verse 13 (last clause).

² In place of 'to their lattice-windows' LXX had a different text, 'with their young ones.' Houbigant suggested על יצירותיהם (a reading of which Lowth approved) as the LXX original. The idea expressed is that of the return of the scattered Jews from their foreign abodes accompanied by their children.

9 their windows? Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, for the name of the LORD thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because

The poet seeks to express the conception of *multitudes* of home-coming Jews bringing with them their little ones like a mighty swarm of birds that darken the sky. Cf. verse 6 above.

9. The rendering **wait for me** is based on the punctuation of the Massoretic text, which here accords with the LXX rendering. The verb is regarded as a *Piel* form, and this finds support in such Deutero-Isaianic passages as xlii. 4, li. 5.

But there is probability in the conjecture originally put forth by Luzatto that we should read the verbal form not as a *Piel* but as a *Nifal*. This involves no change in the characters of the text but only in the pronunciation. This seems to be suggested by the interesting parallel, Jer. iii. 17. We should then render 'Yea, unto me the coast-lands (i. e. their inhabitants) *gather themselves.*' Delitzsch argues that if we adopt this modification we should go further and read *goyim* ('foreign nations') in place of *ÿyyim* in our text (meaning 'coast-lands')¹. But this does not improve the sense. Verses 8-9 (forming the fourth strophe) refer to the home-coming Jews, while it is the preceding strophe (verses 6-7) which refers to the *foreign* caravans from Arabia. On the other hand, the ingenious conjecture *ÿyyim*, 'ships,' proposed by Duhm and adopted by Cheyne, restores to us the parallelism, and prepares us for the otherwise abrupt introduction of Tarshish vessels:—

'Yea, unto me ships assemble themselves—and the Tarshish vessels first.'

Both Duhm and Marti assume that **their silver and gold** means the wealth possessed by the Gentiles, which is wholly contrary to the plain sense of the passage, in which the possessive 'their' evidently refers to Zion's sons², whom the Tarshish ships have

¹ Cf. above xli. 5 and LXX, which read *goyim* for *ÿyyim*. See p. 67 and footnote.

² Duhm's assumption that the Jews in exile were not wealthy is by no means borne out by the evidence. They probably carried out the instructions of Jeremiah's epistle (Jer. xxix), and, after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, were in many cases very loth to leave the land where they had settled and prospered. In the deportations of 597 and 587-6 it was the most energetic portion of the race that

he hath glorified thee. And strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee: for in my wrath I smote thee, but in my favour have I had mercy on thee. Thy gates also shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations, and their

brought in great numbers to the coast of Palestine. On ships of **Tarshish** see note in vol. i, p. 103 (on Isa. ii. 16); cf. also p. 262. The silver and the gold are destined for the adornment of the temple to do honour 'to the name of Yahweh.' Here 'name,' as elsewhere, means *personal presence*.

Fifth Strophe (verses 10, 11). We here pass from the Jewish returning exiles to the Gentiles once more (as in the third strophe). The foreigner is to serve the Jew in performing the manual labour of building up the ruined walls (cf. lxi. 4; Neh. i. 3), a trait which once more reminds us of the Deutero-Isaiah (cf. xlv. 14). Even kings of foreign peoples are to bring the wealth of their lands to enrich Jerusalem.

10. The change from God's former attitude of stern disciplinary wrath to one of loving compassion is another echo from the Deutero-Isaiah (liv. 7, 8). Cf. also lvii. 17, 18.

11. The gates to which this verse refers were at this time in a state of ruin (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3), and had probably remained in the condition in which the armies of Nebuchadrezzar had left them in 586 B. C. (cf. 2 Kings xxv. 9). The verbal form employed here continues the future tenses of the preceding verses (5-10). The restoration of the walls to which verse 10 refers may be assumed to have reached completion. The gates, which have now been erected¹, are thrown open wide day and night to receive the unceasing stream of foreign wealth.

Instead of the *passive* partic. which closes this verse, rendered **led** (so LXX and other versions including Targ.), recent commentators (Duhm, Grätz, Cheyne, Kittel, and Marti) prefer to read the *active* partic. 'their kings leading [them].' It is argued that this is more in accordance with verses 3 and 10, which do not represent the kings of foreign races as occupying this servile position. But

were carried off into exile (2 Kings xxiv. 14, xxv. 12). The poverty of Israel was to be found in Palestine and not in the diaspora. Cf. also note on lv. 2, and Kent, *Hist. of the Jewish People*¹, p. 38 f.

¹ The decorative details of 'carbuncles' (LXX crystals), contained in liv. 12, are not here given, though the LXX addition of 'precious stones' in verse 6 above would lead us to anticipate it.

12 kings led *with them*. [For that nation and kingdom
that will not serve thee shall perish ; yea, those nations
13 shall be utterly wasted.] The glory of Lebanon shall
come unto thee, the fir tree, the pine, and the box tree
together ; to beautify the place of my sanctuary, and
14 I will make the place of my feet glorious. And the sons
of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee ;

against this it might be argued (*a*) that the verses just mentioned are not inconsistent with the reading of the partic. as a passive. In verse 3 they may be regarded as the kings of subject races brought by compulsion to swell the triumph of Israel. (*b*) We might regard it as another Deutero-Isaianic trait in accord with xlv. 14¹. (*c*) Verse 12, which most critics rightly regard as a prosaic addition (contained in the LXX), may have been added with express reference to the *passive* participial form. (*d*) The traditional reading is in accord with verses 14 foll.

12. The spirit of this prosaic addition is that of Zech. xiv. 14-19.

13. Israel shall be able to command the supply of the finest varieties of timber like the Assyrian conquerors of old ; cf. xli. 19, and see note on Isa. x. 19 *ad fin.*, vol. i, p. 166. As a matter of actual history we may infer from Neh. ii. 8 that timber was supplied by the Persian keeper of the Royal Parks for Nehemiah's use.

place of my feet is an expression borrowed from Ezek. xliii. 7, where 'place of the soles of my feet' stands in parallelism with 'the place of my throne,' just as here it stands synonymous with 'place of my sanctuary.' For **make . . . glorious** substitute 'do honour to.'

14. The LXX here omit an entire clause, 'and shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet,' and it is certainly quite possible that it was added as a later extension of the text. It mars the strophic arrangement ; accordingly, Duhm omits it :—

'And there shall come to thee bending low—the sons of those
that oppressed and despised thee,
And shall call thee Yahweh's city—Zion of the Holy One of
Israel.'

¹ We might then suppose that the compulsion to serve Israel was applied (in the thought of the writer) by Persia, just as Cyrus is assumed to apply it in the case of Egypt and Ethiopia ; cf. xliii. 3, xlv. 14. Certainly without the strong arm of Persia the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra would not have been consummated under the existing collocation of conditions.

and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee The city of the LORD, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel. Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so ¹⁵ that no man passed through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. Thou ¹⁶ shalt also suck the milk of the nations, and shalt suck the breast of kings: and thou shalt know that I the LORD am thy saviour, and thy redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob. For brass I will bring gold, and for iron ¹⁷ I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron: I will also make thy officers peace, and thine

Strophes 7-10 (verses 15-22) portray the future transformation of Zion from its previous physical and moral desolation and abandonment into external exaltation and splendour, and into internal purity and moral order in which God shall be its everlasting light.

15. so that no man passed through thee (in the original 'without one that passes by') is not the expression used in the text employed by the LXX, who read *ōsēr* for *ōbhēr*, 'without helper' (or 'with none to help'), a more usual phrase (cf. Ps. lxxii. 12, &c.). It is, moreover, sustained by the following verse, which then points back to this: 'I, Yahweh, am thy Saviour.' 'Without one that passes by' would mean that in former times Jerusalem was comparatively deserted, and there was no traffic—no caravans or travellers—that passed through the city. The town and its neighbourhood were in decay. This was the condition of Jerusalem with its ruined walls prior to Nehemiah's advent.

16. This verse possesses little originality. The first part is a modification of xlix. 23, while the latter part, 'and thou shalt know, &c.,' is an almost exact copy of the latter part of xlix. 26. This verse merely expresses in graphic metaphor the idea already presented in verse 11, that the wealth of foreign nations shall be brought in to adorn Jerusalem.

17. The more precious metals shall take the place of the cheaper. Gold takes the place of the baser metal, bronze, and silver of iron. We have here the current rhetorical phraseology descriptive of an age of prosperity. Cf. 1 Kings x. 21, 27; Duhm would excise the line 'and in place of timber bronze, and instead

18 exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, desolation nor destruction within thy borders ; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy
19 gates Praise. The sun shall be no more thy light by

of stones iron' as a later addition which gives the strophe a line in excess. It is contained, however, in the LXX.

The word **officers** is expressed in the original by an abstract feminine collective 'officialdom.' 'Peace' might be taken as a pregnant phrase signifying—devoted to the well-being of the Jewish community and living in friendship with them. **Exactors** (R. V. marg. 'taskmasters') are to behave justly to those with whom they have to deal. This is the interpretation underlying the LXX version, and it is quite possibly the correct one. The writer may in fact have been thinking of Persian officers or Jewish rulers appointed by the Persian court as the officials who are to be on friendly terms with the Jewish population, though this is not expressly stated, since it would be somewhat out of harmony with the tone of national self-exaltation expressed in verses 10-14 and 16 above. On the whole it is more probable that Duhm, Kittel, and Marti are right in making 'peace' and 'righteousness' as the direct objects of the verb :—

'I will make peace as thy magistracy and righteousness as thy taskmasters.'

The new era of peace and righteousness, which was now about to dawn, stands contrasted with the black shadows of violence and injustice which darkened the immediate past portrayed in lvi. 10, 11, lviii. 1, lviii. 4 foll., lix. 3-9.

18. These shadows of the past—violence and destruction—shall pass away from the land in which the city is situated. In token and attestation thereof significant names are to be given to the newly-built walls of the city, *Victory* and *Praise*. Probably this last trait of names bestowed on walls and gates is borrowed from Babylonia, for we know that 'in Babylon one of the great encircling walls bore the name *Imgur-Bél*, "Bel is propitious," while the other was called *Nimitti-Bél*, "Foundation of Bel" (Schrader, in *COT.*, i, p. 174, on 1 Kings vii. 21, which refers to the names of the two pillars of Solomon's temple, *Yāchîn* and *Bō'az*).

Verses 19-22. These closing verses depict the moral excellence of this new City of God where God shines as the everlasting light. There is an immense growth in population.

19. Yahweh's eternal presence illuminates and glorifies the city, and His light takes the place of sun and moon. Cf. Rev. xxi. 23, xxii. 5.

day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the LORD shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the LORD shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended. Thy people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified. The little one shall become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation: I the LORD will hasten it in its time.

The spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me; because the

20. The same conception is repeated in varied language. As Yahweh's presence is the city's constant and unchanging light that is to the inhabitants both sun and moon, it may be said that their sun never sets and their moon is always full and never wanes. Cf. the thought of Jas. i. 17.

21. The moral consequence of Yahweh's abiding and illuminating presence is the universal spread of righteousness: 'All thy people are righteous,' and the further consequence flows: the soil becomes the possession of the people for ever (cf. Ps. xxxvii. 29). For 'His planting' in the *Kethibh* (Hebrew written consonantal text) we have in the *Kré* (or what was read in the Synagogue) and some MSS. as well as in Targ., Pesh., and Vulg. the better reading 'My planting' [LXX 'guarding (*nōsēr*) the plantation'].

22. For **thousand** Duhm and Marti substitute 'a tribe.' The original Hebrew *eleph* is interpreted as a quite distinct word from the same form used as a numeral. This view, however, does not commend itself to us as so probable, nor has it the support of the LXX. *Eleph*, meaning 'clan,' or perhaps 'tribe,' seems an inadequate equivalent to 'a powerful nation' in the parallel clause. On the other hand, 'thousand,' like 'myriad,' is used as a general expression for a large number.

CHAPTERS LXI and LXII

may be regarded as a connected whole, following naturally upon chap. lx, and dealing with the same theme, the advent of a glorious future for the Jewish state. While the previous chapter (lx) presents innumerable points of contact with and resemblance to the Deutero-Isaiah, these two following chapters are in several points reminiscent of the Servant-poems as well as of other

LORD hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-

analogous passages in the Deutero-Isaiah. Thus we might compare lxi. 1 with xlii. 1, 3 (also l. 4, xlix. 9), lxi. 7, 8 with Deutero-Isaianic xl. 2 (also lv. 3), lxii. 10 foll. with the Deutero-Isaianic passages xl. 3, 10, xlix. 22, xlviii. 20. On the other hand, the announcement of a day of vengeance from our God, lxi. 2, 5 stands in contrast with the spirit of the 'Servant-songs.'

The speaker expressly declares himself to be a prophet charged with the high mission of preaching a message of good news to the afflicted and heart-broken and of deliverance to the captives, the advent of a year of Divine favour and comfort for the sorrowing. The century-old desolations are to be repaired (lxi. 4). These happy days of Jerusalem's glory have not yet arrived. Meanwhile God's messenger will not cease his exhortations until their advent (lxii. 1). A strain of exultant anticipation follows, resounding with Deutero-Isaianic echoes (verses 6 foll., 10 foll.).

Chap. lxi 1. From the introductory remarks above it will be clearly seen that the view of the older expositors (Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Nägelsbach, Orelli) that it is the servant of Yahweh who is here speaking (as in xlix. 1 foll., l. 4 foll.) is quite untenable. Some of the traits, it is true, remind us of that earlier portraiture of the preceding century. The spirit of God is upon him to bring comfort to the broken-hearted and lead the prisoners out of the dungeon (cf. xlii. 1, 3, 7, xlix. 9, l. 4); yet it is quite obvious that the present passage regards the speaker who is anointed by God as an individual. There are no indications which identify him with an Israelite community; still less that the blessing which he is about to bring upon the world is to be wrought out by his own sufferings and death, and that it is to bring God's light to the Gentile as well as the Jew (xlix. 6, l. 6 foll., liii). Moreover, 'the day of vengeance of our God' (verse 2) is not an expression that the Servant of Yahweh would use. Here it is an individual who speaks, viz. the writer himself, and he simply *proclaims* the advent of happier days, and does not indicate by a word that he is himself bringing about the nobler era which is to dawn.

anointed here is of course purely metaphorical, and symbolizes the endowment of the prophet with the special powers of the Divine spirit to which the preceding clause refers. Respecting the origin of this conception of the word *anoint*, see 'Messiah' in Hastings' *DCG.* vol. ii, p. 171.

The word here rendered **meek** (Heb. *'ānāw*) is often used in later Hebrew literature (chiefly in the Psalms) in the sense of 'humble,' submissive to Divine authority; but where it occurs in

hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the LORD, and the day of ven-

earlier literature (as in Amos ii. 7, viii. 4; Isa. xi. 4) both context and parallelism show that it means not 'meek,' 'submissive,' but 'suffering,' 'distressed,' 'miserable.' In other words, it has the same signification as the closely similar Hebrew adjective 'āni.' It may indeed have been confused with this word, and some textual critics would make the slight change into this adjectival form. It is quite possible that this change should be made here (as the LXX 'poor' appears to indicate).

bind up the brokenhearted, as the surgeon binds up the gaping wound, a metaphor occasionally used by the pre-exilian Isaiah, i. 6, iii. 7.

The word **liberty**, in the original *dēvôr*, employed by the prophets of the sixth century (Jeremiah, Ezekiel) as well as by later writers, is probably a loan-word from the Babylonian *durâru*.

The compound form in the original rendered **opening**¹ has been variously interpreted, as the R. V. and R. V. marg. indicate. The Hebrew verb is properly used of the opening of the eyes (Gen. xxi. 19; 2 Kings vi. 20; Isa. xlii. 7, &c.), in one case opening of the ears (xlii. 20). Accordingly Dillmann is thoroughly justified in rendering, 'and to the captives clear vision' (or with R. V. marg. 'opening of the eyes'), the underlying conception being that confinement in the dark dungeon places the captives in the position of blind men².

2. The day of vengeance introduces a jarring note into the serene harmony of this passage, and it may be noted that in the synagogue at Nazareth Jesus, in the opening of His ministry, read those verses which portray the character of His own message, but omits this jarring note (Luke iv. 18 f.). The 'day of vengeance' is evidently directed against the children of the mixed marriages, the heathen schismatics and Samaritans, towards whom the invective of the Trito-Isaiah is so constantly uttered; cf. lvi. 9, foll., lix. 18 foll., lxxv. 11-15, &c.

¹ What is called a lengthened or *Pe'al'al* formation, Ewald, § 157 c; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, 84 b, rem. 36.

² Duhm, who severely criticizes this view, has no justification for his rendering 'and casting off chains to those who are bound,' unless the text be altered to נִחַם (cf. Nif. in li. 14) or נִחַם in place of the doubtful *Pe'al'al* form which stands there. The LXX render 'recovery of sight to the blind,' which partly supports our traditional text. Probably the Greek translators read in their text $\text{קָם עֵינַי לְבָרִים}$.

3 geance of our God; to comfort all that mourn; to appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting
4 of the LORD, that he might be glorified. And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former

3. The opening clause halts, and lacks an object to the verb. It seems, moreover, to be metrically too short. There appears, therefore, to be some ground for accepting the proposed addition of the word for 'joy' (*sâsôn*) after the verb 'appoint' (so Houbigant and Lowth). Duhm, followed by Cheyne, would cancel out the entire opening clause as an added gloss. Thus we should read: [verse 2] 'To comfort all who mourn—to give them a festal turban instead of dust (ashes).' The word rendered here 'festal turban' (*peér*) is used in Hebrew to designate the ornamented headgear of a priest (Exod. xxxix. 28; Ezek. xlv. 18), of a bridegroom (as below in verse 10), or of a distinguished lady of fashion (Isa. iii. 20). Verse 10 in this chapter points to the fact that the writer was thinking of a bridegroom's festal turban. There is an alliterative play of words in the original between this word for 'turban' and that for 'dust,' which cannot easily be reproduced in English. Duhm reproduces it appropriately in German by 'Putz statt Schmutz.' Dust was cast upon the head or men wallowed in it as a token of mourning (2 Sam. xiii. 19; Jer. vi. 26):—

'The oil of joy in place of mourning—a vestment of praise instead of an exhausted spirit.

And they shall be called oaks of righteousness—Yahweh's plantation that He may glorify Himself'—

is the more exact rendering of the concluding part of this verse. The 'oil of joy,' or the oil which is expressive of gladness, is a reference to the Oriental custom of anointing the person with oil on festival days or weddings or other special times of rejoicing, Amos vi. 6; Ps. xxiii. 5, xlv. 8; Luke vii. 46. The oaks or terebinths of righteousness are expressive not so much of luxuriance as of endurance and strength symbolized by the vivid metaphor of mountains in Ps. xxxvi. 6 (7 Heb.). The conception of the restored and revived community as God's plantation seems to have reference to the ideas of lx. 21, which have just preceded.

4. These ideas appear to underlie this verse. The righteous people who inherit the land shall build up the now century-old ruins. The verse which follows this would lead us to conclude

desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations. And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers. But ye shall be named the priests of the LORD: men shall call you the ministers of our God: ye shall eat the wealth of the nations, and in their glory shall ye boast yourselves. For your shame

that the actual work of building would be executed by foreigners pressed into the service in accordance with lx. 10.

5. The word rendered **plowmen** is properly a more general term, and signifies 'tillers' of the soil. Stade, in his *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii, p. 86, regards verses 5 foll. as a later insertion 'calculated to lower the expectations of the prophet down to the level of the later carnal ambitions for Israel's supremacy in the Messianic kingdom.' Apart from the development of Isaiah criticism and the definite assignment of chaps. lvi-lxvi (Trito-Isaiah) to a later epoch, Stade's criticism loses all point when it is recognized that this 'lower level of carnal ambitions' may be found in the Deutero-Isaiah (chaps. xl-lv) itself in xliii. 3 f., xlv. 14 f., xlix. 22 f.

6. As contrasted with the foreigners, who discharge the menial duties of manual labour, the Jews shall have priestly offices assigned to them. In place of **in their glory shall ye boast yourselves**, R. V. marg. renders 'to their glory shall ye succeed,' and this latter interpretation is adopted by Duhm ('into their glory shall ye pass'), who here follows the Jewish commentators Saadia, Rashi, and the modern expositors Hitzig and Ewald, as well as others¹. But this sense appears very hazardous, and the reading adopted by the R. V., which is rendered 'shall ye boast yourselves,' is preferable.

7. The LXX appear to have had a very different text before

¹ This is based on the assumption that the Hithpa'el הִתְחַפְּזוּ is derived from חָפַז = כָּפַר as the form הִסִּיר = הִפִּיר in Jer. ii. 11, meaning 'exchange' (with חָפַז of the object for which the exchange is made); hence to 'change' in general sense, 'pass' as Ps. xlv. 3.

² הִתְחַפְּזוּ. On the other hand, the ingenious suggestion of Cheyne, הִתְחַפְּזוּ, based on Prov. xxv. 6 (cf. Isa. lxiii. 1), is worthy of consideration. We might then render, 'Ye shall adorn yourselves with their glory.' LXX θαυμασθήσεσθε might be held to confirm this since חִפְּזוּ in Lev. xix. 15 is rendered by θαυμάσεις.

- ye shall have* double; and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion: therefore in their land they shall possess double: everlasting joy shall be unto them.
- 8 For I the LORD love judgement, I hate robbery with iniquity; and I will give them their recompence in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them.
- 9 And their seed shall be known among the nations, and their offspring among the peoples: all that see them

them, and there are besides many variants. These, as well as internal indications, show that our Hebrew text has been seriously corrupted. The general sense of the passage is fairly clear. It is that inasmuch as the Jews during exile and subsequently have suffered at the hands of strangers double that which was their due (cf. Jer. xvi. 18), they shall now receive a double compensation in their own land. On the whole, Marti, who adopts one of Klostermann's emendations, gives us the most probable reconstruction of the text¹, which may be rendered 'Because their shame was in double measure—and contumely and despite (lit. spitting) were their portion.'

8 expresses the moral ground of Israel's vindication and his double recompense for former ills. In order to give increased weight to this utterance Yahweh is suddenly introduced as the speaker. This alternation between Yahweh and the prophetic speaker is not infrequent in the Trito-Isaiah. Cf. below, lxii. 6.

The word *'olah*, 'burnt offering' (R. V. marg. following A. V.), is an evident misreading of the text adopted by the Vulg. as well as the Jewish expositors Kimhi, Rashi, and Ibn Ezra. The LXX show that the Hebrew characters should be read *'awlah*, 'iniquity,' as the R. V. correctly render the word. Cf. lix. 3.

Verses 9, 11 describe the high place and moral worth of the future Israelite community among the nations of the world, described under the metaphor of a seed which buds forth into luxuriant life. The two verses form an evident sequence interrupted by the intrusion of verse 10, which forms a natural conclusion, not so much of this chapter as of the following. See below.

9. For **acknowledge** substitute 'recognize.' The word for **offspring**, which again meets us in lxxv. 23, is a favourite expression

¹ תַּחַח פִּי בְּיִשְׁרָאֵל מִשְׁנֵה וְכִלְמָה וְזָק וְזָקָם. Here זָק is merely an echo of l. 6. With 'everlasting joy' cf. xxxv. 10 (li. 11).

shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the LORD hath blessed.

I will greatly rejoice in the LORD, my soul shall be ¹⁰ joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe

of the Deutero-Isaiah, xlii. 5, xliv. 3. It is doubtful whether it was employed before the exile period.

10. This verse, with its distinct metaphor of the bride and bridegroom, evidently has a place apart from verses 9 and 11. Its figurative allusion brings it into close relation with verses 4 and 5 in chap. lxii. On the other hand, its rhythmic form is not adapted to that of the short poem, verses 4-9, in the following chapter (*kinah* metre). Accordingly we should prefer to place it after lxii. 3, or at the close of chapter lxii, instead of the present one, since the metaphor appears to be reminiscent of verses 4, 5, and is closely connected with verse 3 in that chapter (see notes below).

Render our Hebrew text: 'As the bridegroom sets (on his head)¹ the tiara.' Moreover, the Hebrew word for robe should properly be rendered *tunic*. On the *me'il* or tunic see *Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 47. Both text and rendering are far from certain. The LXX evidently read the verbal form as a masc. in the second clause as well as the first (viz. *ya'deh*), making Yahweh the subject of the verb in both, and the object (unexpressed) the first pers. sing. pron. clearly indicated in the beginning of the verse:—

'As a bridegroom He sets a tiara (on my head)—and as a bride He arrays me with jewels².'

To this text we give the preference. The speaker is obviously the restored Israel or the glorified Zion of the following chapter, and not the prophetic speaker of lxi. 1. The structure of the whole verse is thereby made homogeneous. Duhm correctly observes that in the Massoretic text the two parts of the verse 'do not fit specially well together.'

¹ The R. V. (marg.) 'decketh as a priest' is based on the traditional Hebrew text, which can hardly be accepted, as the use of the verb is unprecedented. LXX justify the reading of Bredenkamp and Klostermann, *yāchîn*, which we have adopted. The LXX also render 'tunic of joy' (*sāsôn*, cf. verse 3, or *simḥah*, in place of *sedāḥāh*). Read also יַעֲטֵנִי with Bredenkamp and Dillmann, and render by the present 'he covers me' (not 'covered').

² Reading קָרַי in place of the inappropriate כִּלִּיה.

- of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with a garland, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels.
- 11 For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord GOD will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations.
- 62 For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her righteousness go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that
2 burneth. And the nations shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory: and thou shalt be called by

11. The growth of this fair and luxuriant seed of Israel, to which verse 9 refers, is not one of external splendour only, but of internal and moral growth in righteousness. We seem to hear in this verse the welcome echo of Jer. xxxi. 31 foll.

Chap. lxii is obviously connected by its first three verses closely with the preceding. The prophet will not keep silence till the day of Jerusalem's glory arrives.

1. It has been assumed from early times (Targ., Ibn 'Ezra, and Kimhi), and by many modern expositors, such as Delitzsch and Orelli, that Yahweh is here the speaker, since we read of God's silence and rest in xlii. 14, lvii. 11, lxiv. 11, lxv. 6. But this testimony is far from decisive; and the assumption that Yahweh is the speaker introduces great confusion into the passage, since he is spoken of repeatedly in the third person (verses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9). The passage only becomes intelligible when we assume that here, as in lxi. 1, the speaker is some prophet and he declares that he will not cease his exhortations to his fellow countrymen and his intercessions with Yahweh (cf. verses 6, 7 below and Luke xi. 5-10) till Zion's righteousness, i. e. the victorious vindication of his right (cf. xli. 2, 26, xlv. 13 and notes), is made manifest. For lamp substitute 'torch.' Here the conception of 'right' (rendered 'righteousness' in R. V.) involves the idea of the triumphant vindication of 'right' (see Introduction to Deutero-Isaiah, p. 37). This is clearly shown in the parallel clause, where the word for 'salvation' may be more appropriately rendered 'victory.'

2. Zion is here addressed. Her coming glory is to be made visible to all the foreign nations and kings, and in consequence she is to be greeted with a new name which Yahweh will bestow.

a new name, which the mouth of the LORD shall name. Thou shalt also be a crown of beauty in the hand of 3 the LORD, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God. Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall 4 thy land any more be termed Desolate: but thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah, and thy land Beulah: for the LORD

We have been already made familiar with this conception of special names bestowed on cities, walls, or gates, lx. 14, 18 (with note). Cf. also Jer. iii. 17, xxxiii. 16; Ezek. xlvi. 35, and also Rev. ii. 17. What this new name is to be is not definitely said. From verse 3 we might infer that this brief poem (verses 1-3), if continued, would have contained the name 'Yahweh's crown.'

3. The idea of this verse may have been borrowed from the beautiful utterance of Isaiah respecting Samaria (xxviii. 1). Jerusalem, like Samaria, was a natural fortress, and the walls which crowned the hill suggested the figure of a crown. The tutelary deities of foreign towns were frequently represented as wearing the crown upon the head consisting of city walls. Here the crown is placed in Yahweh's hand. If we connect this with lxi. 10, in the form in which it is preserved in the LXX, the motive appears fairly evident. The 'bridegroom' is to be crowned by Yahweh with the 'tiara of proud towers,' a prophecy of the coming achievement of Yahweh's servant Nehemiah. The entire conception was probably suggested in part by the Deutero-Isaianic passages liv. 6, 11, 12.

Verses 4-9. The preceding short poem is broken off and succeeded by another which is in the familiar long lines of the *kīnah* or elegiac measure consisting of three strophes or stanzas of five lines each (or two verses each of our Hebrew text). The theme is a variation on the preceding verses, but unlike them it draws a contrast between the past and the present of Jerusalem. Deutero-Isaianic motives appear here, as in the rest of this chapter. In this poem we clearly discern the influence of liv. 4-8; cf. xlix. 14-16.

4. Duhm is fully justified in removing the useless repetition of the phrase **any more be termed** added by a gloss-writer to the second portion of the opening line. By this removal the elegiac metre is restored:—

'Thou shalt no more be called "forsaken"—nor thy land
"desolate."'

The R. V. appropriately substitutes the meanings of the proper names. *Hephzibah*, 'my delight is in her,' and *Beulah*, 'married.'

- 5 delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married. For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee: and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee.
- 6 I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem; they shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that
- 7 are the LORD'S remembrancers, take ye no rest, and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem

The relation of Yahweh as husband to the land and its people, familiar to students of the O. T. (cf. especially Hosea i-iii and Ezek. xvi), underlies this passage.

5. It is quite evident that the Hebrew text and its equivalent in our rendering is due to a corrupted text which destroys both sense and parallelism. Accordingly we follow Lowth and Koppe in reading:—

'For as a young man weds a virgin—so thy Builder¹ weds thee;
And as bridegroom's joy over bride—so thy God rejoices over thee.'

The original text may have influenced Ps. cxlvii. 2. The conception of Yahweh as builder of Jerusalem refers to the community as well as the city walls; cf. Gen. xvi. 2 (Heb. and R. V. marg.). The ideas of the verse are Deutero-Isaianic; cf. I. 1, lii. 8, and liv. 4 and notes.

6-7. The second strophe (verses 6-7) begins with an utterance of Yahweh which ends with the words 'day nor night.' This introduction of Yahweh as spokesman without any preliminary words is characteristic of the Trito-Isaiah; cf. above lxi. 8. Here the watchmen whom Yahweh appoints are not prophets but celestial ministers who make it their duty to be 'remembrancers' of the Heavenly Monarch. This office of 'remembrancer' existed in the Hebrew court (cf. 2 Kings xviii. 18, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8) and also in the court of Persian kings. These watchmen or remembrancers are to be persistent in reminding Yahweh of His own promises, an evident allusion to the earlier utterances of the Deutero-Isaiah (xliv. 26, 28, xlix. 16, cf. Zech. i. 16). For 'upon thy walls' a more

¹ Reading $\text{בְּנֵי יְרוּשָׁלַיִם}$, which is in reality a restoration of punctuation rather than text. The corruption must have entered into the Hebrew text fairly early, for it underlies the text of the LXX. Cf. xlix. 17.

a praise in the earth. The LORD hath sworn by his right hand, and by the arm of his strength, Surely I will no more give thy corn to be meat for thine enemies; and strangers shall not drink thy wine, for the which thou hast laboured: but they that have garnered it shall 9

correct rendering would be 'over thy walls.' The preposition is connected with the verbal form (participle) rendered 'watchmen'; cf. in original Hebrew 1 Sam. xxvi. 16; Prov. vi. 22; Job xiv. 16 ('watch' over). The walls were then, as we know, in a ruinous condition (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3).

It will be observed that the address is here made, in the concluding line of verse 6, to the angelic ministers of the heavenly court by the prophetic speaker (cf. lxi. 1). On these angelic members of the celestial retinue see xl. 3 and note. This is of course no more than the conception of Yahweh's martial retinue implied in the old Hebrew designation *Sebāōth* (cf. Isa. i. 9 and note); see 1 Kings xxii. 19 foll. Probably in the exile, and certainly in the post-exilian period under Persian influence, angelology assumed a highly developed form in Jewish belief.

Duhm remarks with truth that whereas in the Deutero-Isaiah Yahweh is the eager and enthusiastic agent of Israel's deliverance, and Israel is backward or at least indifferent, in the Trito-Isaiah the converse is the case, for Yahweh's attitude towards Israel is one of reserve.

8. But it cannot be described as one of indifference, for He has sworn by His mighty arm to assist Israel against his foes. The latter are no longer to live on the produce of the country, the corn and wine, but the Jewish cultivators of the land shall enjoy the produce of their toil. This verse clearly presupposes the residence of the Jew not in the Babylonian land of exile, but in his Palestinian home, which becomes the prey of the invader (cf. i. 7). Who are the foes? Hardly the Persians, for the attitude neither of the prophets of Yahweh (Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah) nor of Nehemiah was ever hostile to the Persian power, nor have we any evidence that Persia oppressed Israel at this period. There is more probability in the supposition that the **enemies** and **strangers** (foreigners) refer to the hostile and largely foreign Samaritan population (cf. lxvi. 5 and note; compare the closely analogous passage to this lxxv. 22). More probable still is the hypothesis that the Edomites are here referred to whose invasion of Judaea since 597 B. C. was a bitter memory to the Jew (see notes on Isa. xxxiv. vol. i, p. 344). Mal. i. 2-5 affords a strong presumption in favour of this view.

9. The same conception developed. The produce of the field

eat it, and praise the LORD ; and they that have gathered it shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary.

- 10 Go through, go through the gates ; prepare ye the way of the people ; cast up, cast up the high way ; gather
 11 out the stones ; lift up an ensign for the peoples. Behold, the LORD hath proclaimed unto the end of the earth, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh ; behold, his reward is with him, and his recom-

is offered in the sanctuary and eaten in its precincts, and not in the home of the worshipper, in accordance with Deut. xii. 17, 18. This clearly shows that residence in the Palestinian homeland, where the temple was erected, is presupposed in this chapter.

10. Go through the gates. According to Dillmann the gates of Babylon are meant, and the prophetic words are addressed to the exiles who were still living in Babylonia. The subsequent clauses then follow in natural order. A highway is cast up for the caravan of exiles who have passed out of Babylon to cross over to the homeland.

On the other hand, this involves a sudden change of the *mise en scène* from Jerusalem to Babylonia, which would be more probable in the Deutero-Isaiah than under the presuppositions of this chapter, where the scene is definitely laid in Jerusalem and the homeland. In the preceding verse reference is definitely made to the temple in Jerusalem. Accordingly most recent critics assume that the gates are those of the Jerusalem temple into which the returning exiles are to enter. This, however, involves us in a very awkward inversion of the actual order of ideas. For the casting up of the highway for the exiles should naturally *precede* and not follow the entrance within the temple-gates. On these grounds we regard the opinion of Dillmann as the more probable, and this view is confirmed by the following considerations. (a) Though verses 10 foll. are also of the same *Ḳinah* or elegiac metre as verses 4-9, they are no longer arranged in five-lined strophes. (b) From the singular fem. of the address to Zion we pass to the masc. plur. of the address to the Jewish people. (c) The writer is evidently thinking of the further bands of exiles who were to reinforce their predecessors of earlier post-exilian times, and who, as we learn from Ezra viii, entered Jerusalem in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. This verse is most obviously based on Deutero-Isaianic phrases ; cf. xl. 3, xlix. 22. No reference, however, is made to the desert. This trait is omitted as in lvii. 14.

pence before him. And they shall call them The holy ¹² people, The redeemed of the LORD : and thou shalt be called Sought out, A city not forsaken.

Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed gar- **63**

12. We have once more new names bestowed on Zion, evidently suggested by the closely analogous names of Hos. ii. 1 (3 Heb.); cf. i. 6, 9. Note that they are distinct from the new ones of verse 4 above, being the reverse of the old (cf. Hos. i. 6-9, ii. 19-22).

CHAPTER LXIII.

Verses 1-6 may be regarded as a dramatic poem denouncing a Divine judgment of vengeance on Edom. The writer, in a highly pictorial description, represents Yahweh as a warrior dripping with blood as He arrives from the battle-fields of Edom, and declaring that He alone, without any other to aid Him, has been engaged in a day of vengeance, and has trodden down and mangled his foes in slaughter, since it is the year of deliverance for His people.

There are interesting points of contact between this section and other portions of the Trito-Isaiah to which Cheyne in his *Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 348, calls attention. Of these the most remarkable is verse 5 with its close verbal parallel in lix. 16. Moreover, 'the day of vengeance' in verse 4 is repeated in xxxiv. 8. In chapter xxxiv, which is a denunciation of doom against Edom, we have a striking analogy to the present chapter (see vol. i, p. 341 f.). Lastly, the same expression occurs in lxi. 2 (cf. lxii. 8 and note).

We are so imperfectly informed respecting the external relations of Judah during this period to the nations that surrounded Palestine, and our knowledge respecting Edom in particular is so scanty, that it is impossible to make any definite assertion respecting the date of this oracle. The following considerations, however, may guide us to a conclusion :—(a) Isa. xxxiv is more elaborate in character and style than the present brief dramatic poem, and its apocalyptic features (note especially xxxiv. 3-10 and the reference to the 'book of Yahweh' in verse 16) point to some later date; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that we have in verse 8, and also in verse 2 (where God's wrath is directed against all nations, cf. lxiii. 6), traits that are borrowed from this dramatic poem. (b) It is impossible to dissociate this poem from Mal. i. 2-5. In the latter Edom is described as recovering from his past humiliations and re-erecting his kingdom, which God threatens with destruction. This recovery of Edomite power we might connect, as Enno Littmann suggests in his

ments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel,

useful monograph¹, with an aggressive movement into the Negebh, which would be sure to call forth the wrath of the Jew and his thirst for vengeance so powerfully reflected in this poem. Duhm, it is true, holds that at this time only the Samaritan community can be regarded as the real enemies of Yahweh, and that the Edomites in their humiliated and chastised condition can hardly be taken into account. But this is an extreme and very one-sided conclusion to derive from Mal. i. 2-5, due in large measure to the views which Duhm has adopted from Lagarde and which will be detailed below. Littmann ingeniously suggests that the ally whom Yahweh seeks against Edom (see verse 5) is a covert allusion to Artaxerxes. 'Formerly Yahweh had found a helper in Cyrus, but no such help was to be found in the present king of Persia.' Whether the overthrow of the Edomites, to which this short poem refers, is to be connected with the war of the Nabataeans with Edom about 460 B. C., cannot be confidently asserted. Consequently we cannot assign to this poem the date 458 with the same confidence as Littmann in his monograph. It seems, however, to be fairly probable that the writer of lix. 15 foll., i. e. the Trito-Isaiah, was also the writer of this oracle.

Lagarde has raised an entirely new issue by his proposed emendations which Duhm and Marti have adopted. These textual alterations have the effect of eliminating all reference to Edom from the passage. It becomes after this literary manipulation a denunciation of Divine vengeance against the enemies of Israel in general. But against this view there are two, if not more, very serious objections:—(a) The parallel passage, Isa. xxxiv, dealing with Edom clearly suggests by its close analogy an intimate connexion with the present poem. Cheyne's argument, therefore, in his *Introduction* has some weight that if Duhm admits the manipulation of the text in this passage whereby Edom is eliminated, a corresponding manipulation should be effected in chap. xxxiv. This, however, Duhm does not venture to attempt. (b) Both Gressmann and Littmann have pointed out that we have the characteristic punning of prophecy in the play of *āḏōm*, 'red,' and Edōm, which also meets us in the patriarchal story (Gen. xxv. 30). We should also have it in Bozrah, one of the towns of Edom, and *bōsēr*, 'grape-gatherer,' if the latter were read in place of the former. Consequently, if we banish Edom from the text, these characteristic alliterations vanish likewise. All who are acquainted with Hebrew literature will hold that this consideration does not tend to heighten the probability of the view held by Duhm and Marti respecting this

¹ *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia*, p. 35.

marching in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that

passage. (c) The historic groundwork of such a vengeance on Edom is patent to any student of O.T. literature from the Book of Genesis onwards; see the introductory notes to chap. xxxiv.

1. Here, as Cheyne remarks, we have a dramatic scene, as in Ps. xxiv. 7-10. The chorus sees a mighty heroic warrior-form marching from Bozrah (cf. xxxiv. 6 foll.). There is a dialogue between the chorus-leader and Yahweh¹. Duhm and Marti follow Lagarde's emendation and render the opening line of the verse:—

'Who is this that cometh stained red—glowing deeper red in garments than a grape-gatherer?'

The parallelism of the opening line is not certainly improved by this process. Nor is the emended line true to fact or to the images suggested by the rest of the poem. For it is not so much the grape-gatherer who becomes stained with the grape-juice as the treader of grapes. Moreover, the rest of the poem speaks of the treader of grapes (*dōrēch*) and not the grape-gatherer (*bōsēr*). Cf. verses 3 and 6.

The word **marching** (or more precisely 'stepping') is the rendering of the Hebrew word *šō'ed* substituted for the word *sō'eh* of our Hebrew traditional text, i. e. 'bending' or 'bent' (in Isa. li. 14, employed of an exile bent under the weight of chains), obviously unsuitable for a victorious warrior. The Vulgate *gradiens* sustains the proposed emendation².

2. Our Massoretic text evidently implies *ādōm* as a subst. = 'redness.' But it is extremely doubtful whether the word is ever used in Hebrew as anything else than an adjective. Accordingly, we prefer to render (with LXX):—

¹ This is exhibited in the rendering appended below.

² Instead of מֵעֵדוֹם 'from Edom,' Lagarde, Duhm, and Marti read מֵאֵדוֹם, used in Nah. ii. 4, meaning 'stained red.' As Edom is thus eliminated in one clause, it is necessary to operate on Bozrah in the other. Hence the proposed change to מִצִּיר, 'than a grape-gatherer.' Bozrah (Bozrah) was the ancient capital of Edom, the modern Bušairē (see Bäderer, *Palästina*³, p. 153). Wetzstein in Delitzsch's *Isaiah*³, p. 704, identifies it with Petra.

³ It is to be noted that the LXX omit the word in question in their rendering.

3 treadeth in the winefat? I have trodden the winepress
 alone; and of the peoples there was no man with me:
 yea, I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in
 my fury; and their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my gar-
 4 ments, and I have stained all my raiment. For the day
 of vengeance was in mine heart, and the year of my
 5 redeemed is come. And I looked, and there was none

'Wherefore is thine apparel¹ red—and thy garments as of
 one that treads the wine-press?'

Respecting the wine-press, see note on Isa. v. 2. **Winefat** in
 R. V. should be 'wine-press.'

3. The last line should be rendered:—

'And their juice besprinkled my garments—and all my
 raiment I sullied.'

The word for 'juice,' *nēsah*, occurs here only. The translation
 'life-blood' is hardly warranted, though that is the thing symbol-
 ized. The LXX in their rendering here diverge considerably
 from our traditional Hebrew text, probably with the design of
 avoiding the strong anthropomorphisms.

Verses 4-6. The overthrow of Edom is regarded as only the
 beginning of Yahweh's day of vengeance on the nations—none
 of whom have come to aid in Edom's overthrow. Persia is
 included, though the name is not mentioned. Cf. xxxiv. 2.

4. The rendering 'redemption' (so LXX) should be substituted
 for **redeemed**. While the latter is possible and is adopted by
 Duhm, the former, being an abstract, stands in closer parallelism
 with the corresponding abstract 'vengeance' of the preceding
 clause². Here we note that the conception of redemption has
 hardened in the interval since the days of the Deutero-Isaiah,
 when it signified the deliverance from exile. Here the reference
 is to the victory whereby the Palestinian Jews were to achieve
 their conquest as well as compensation for former injuries over
 their neighbouring foes. For **was** (in my heart) substitute 'is'
 with R. V. margin. The prophet means that Yahweh had in His
 mind foreordained this special time of retribution on Edom and
 other races. Cf. the close parallel in xxxiv. 8.

5. The emphatic words in this verse are best exhibited by the

¹ The preposition in וְעַל־ should be deleted as due to dittography.

² Abstracts in Hebrew (as 'life,' 'darkness,' &c.) are frequently
 expressed by plural forms. See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶,
 § 124. 1.

to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me; and my fury, it upheld me. And I trod down the peoples 6 in mine anger, and made them drunk in my fury, and I poured out their lifeblood on the earth.

[I will make mention of the lovingkindnesses of the 7

rendering: 'But 'twas my arm that helped me and my wrath that sustained me.'

6. This repetition of idea as well as phraseology in verse 3 is somewhat characteristic of the Trito-Isaiah; cf. lx. 19, 20, lxii.

4. For **made them drunk** substitute R. V. marg., 'brake them in pieces¹.'

The dramatic character of this brief poem is best shown by its reproduction in the following dialogue form:—

Chorus. 'Who is this that cometh from Edom—stained glowing red from Bozrah,
This one stately in his apparel—stepping in the fulness of his might?'

Yahweh. 'Tis I who pronounce in the cause of right—mighty to help.'

Chorus. 'Wherefore is thine apparel red—and thy garments as of one that treads the wine-press?'

Yahweh. 'The wine-press have I trodden alone—and of the nations no one was with me.
So I trod them in my wrath, and trampled them in my hot anger. . .'

(The utterance of Yahweh continues to the end of verse 6, which closes with the incomplete line:

'And I spilled their juice on the ground . . .')

CHAPTER LXIII. 7—LXIV 12 (11 Heb.).

This passage is of a very different character from the preceding. It is a sustained appeal to Yahweh on the people's behalf to fulfil His earlier promises of love to Israel. Cheyne (*Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 349) calls it 'a liturgical thanksgiving, confession of sin and supplication.' It commences by commemorating God's deeds of mercy and love to His people shown in His personal sympathy and preserving care (verses 7-9). They rebelled, however, against

¹ The slight variant of Targ. and some MSS. וַיִּשְׁבְּרֵם, 'and I broke them in pieces,' instead of 'I made them drunk' (see R. V. marg.), sustains the parallelism and is advocated by nearly all commentators.

LORD, *and* the praises of the LORD, according to all that the LORD hath bestowed on us; and the great goodness

Him, and this conduct provoked a change in God's demeanour to His people, which now became one of hostility. This change, however, in God's attitude brought back to the recollection of His people the great events of Israel's deliverance from Egypt under Moses and the crossing of the Red Sea (10-14). Commemoration of God's dealings in the past passes into entreaty that He would look down in compassion on Israel's present state, when the sanctuary has been trodden down by their adversaries (15-19). There succeeds an agonized cry that God would intervene with His mighty power as He did in the past (lxiv. 1-5). A confession of sin, uncleanness, and weakness follows as well as an acknowledgment of God's supremacy and an appeal to stay His wrath in view of the abject condition of His people. Jerusalem and its temple are in a state of desolation (cf. lxiii. 18 with lxiv. 10, 11 (9, 10 Heb.)).

This section is characterized by considerable vividness and power, but it is encumbered with serious problems textual and critical as well as metric. With reference to *metre* Budde in *ZATW.*, vol. xi (1891), p. 241 foll., had pointed out that lxiii. 7-12 (first part) revealed the familiar elegiac (Kīnah) measure, though omissions such as 'toward the house of Israel' in verse 7 are necessary in order to maintain the due metrical length. Some of these modifications are supported by the LXX. But when Duhm, who adopts Budde's view, extends this metre to the close of verse 16 such drastic modifications (including the addition of two half-lines) are adopted that Kittel is fully justified in regarding the attempt as very questionable. Marti confesses that it is impossible to make lxiii. 15 foll. conform to the same verse-measure as the preceding verses lxiii. 7-14. Duhm, on the basis of metre, divides the entire section into two parts, viz. lxiii. 7-16 of five strophes in the elegiac measure of five long lines each and lxiii. 17-lxiv. 12. But lxiii. 17-lxiv. 12 (11 Heb.) are in a quite different measure, consisting of the ordinary double lines, yet closely connected with the preceding part and evidently contemplating the same set of untoward circumstances. This is clearly seen when we compare the retrospective glance in lxiii. 11-14 with lxiv. 3, 4 (2, 3 Heb.), and lxiii. 8 with lxiv. 8 (7 Heb.) as well as lxiii. 10 with lxiv. 6 (5 Heb.). In both parts the tone of feeling towards the past and the present is the same.

It is the historic situation revealed in lxiii. 18 and lxiv. 10, 11 (9, 10 Heb.), which depict the temple of Jerusalem as in ruins and burned with fire, that has occasioned the widest diversity of opinion among critics. We have, fortunately, owing to the brilliant restoration of text by Marti in the beginning of lxiii. 18, no longer

toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed on

any need to occupy ourselves with the utterly baffling phrase in the original rendered, 'My holy people possessed it but a little while' (R. V.), of which various other interpretations have been given. See note on the passage below.

Duhm, who contends that the entire collection of oracles lvi-lxvi belongs to the years that immediately precede the advent of Nehemiah, finds no difficulty in assigning the present section to the same period. The foes are the Samaritans who have wrought this destruction of the sanctuary. But neither in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, nor in the oracles of Malachi, nor in the other sections of the Trito-Isaiah, have we the slightest warrant for assuming that such an event occurred between the years 460 and 445 B. C.

The destruction of the temple, to which reference is made, must have taken place after or before this interval. Cheyne would place it in the reign of the tyrannical Artaxerxes Ochus, 359-338 B. C., but Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 7, § 1, to which we are referred, gives no support to this view. If we are to find such an event in post-exilic times, it might rather be identified with the destruction of the city by Ptolemy Soter, 320 B. C.¹, but our knowledge of this period of Jewish History is far too precarious, and the link which connects it with Pss. lxxiv or lxxix is as hypothetical as that which connects it with the present passage. On the other hand, Sellin would assign this devastation of Jerusalem and its temple to the period 515-500 B. C., i. e. after the erection of the temple by Zerubbabel. But for this we have absolutely no warrant. Indeed the motive for this assumption is that it affords a foundation for Sellin's identification of Zerubbabel with the 'Servant' of Deutero-Isaiah, whose disappearance from the scene of history after the time of the prophet Zechariah is supposed to be due to this very catastrophe, which completed the ruin of the Messianic hopes connected with this descendant of David.

On the whole, the theory of Gressmann and Littmann² has most in its favour. It assigns the composition of this passage to the period 538-520 which immediately followed the return of the exiles, when, in the words of Haggai, God's 'house was lying waste' (i. 4, 9), and the returned exiles were suffering from

¹ Appian Syr. 50, cited by G. A. Smith, art. 'Jerusalem' in *Enc. Bibl.*, col. 2,426.

² See Gressmann, *Ueber die in Jesaja, c. lvi-lxvi, vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse* (1898), pp. 21-23; Enno Littmann, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Trito-Jesaja* (1899), pp. 36-39.

them according to his mercies, and according to the

drought and the bitter disappointment of their ardent hopes. lxiii. 18, as restored by Marti's reconstruction, and lxiv. 10, 11 (9, 10 Heb.) will then naturally refer to the condition of the city and temple as it had remained since the destruction wrought by Nebuchadrezzar in 586 B.C. Accordingly this section must be separated from the rest of the Trito-Isaiah, which belongs to a much later date. And this view as to the date of this section is strongly confirmed by the close similarity in the tone of the retrospect in lxiii. 10, lxiv. 4, 6 with that of Zech. vii. 11-13, viii. 10, 13, 14. With the 'holy and beautiful house,' lxiv. 11 (10 Heb.), cf. 'the holy mountain,' Zech. viii. 3; and with the 'great zeal of Yahweh for Zion' in Zech. viii. 2 cf. 'Thy zeal and deeds of prowess,' for which the writer yearns in lxiii. 15. It is evident that the Zechariah passage (see especially Zech. viii. 3-17) was composed a few years later when the clouds had rolled away and the temple rebuilt by Zerubbabel seemed to be the harbinger of a new era.

Despite the adverse criticism of Marti in his commentary (p. 400) the facts of language collected by Littmann in his monograph (p. 39) sustain the view which is here advocated. Moreover this conclusion gives some support to the contention that the foundation of the temple in the days of Cyrus, to which Ezra iii refers, did not take place in reality till the time of Darius Hystaspis, to which the oracles of Haggai and Zechariah assign this event, a view which has been recently advocated by Rothstein in his monograph *Juden und Samaritaner*, pp. 15 f., 20.

Marti's own solution of the problem is to regard lxiv. 10-12 (9-11 Heb.) as well as lxiii. 15 foll. as a later addition added to the poem in the early days of the Maccabees, when the Temple was at least partially burnt and the land devastated (1 Macc. iv. 38), while the rest of the poem he would assign to the same period as the Trito-Isaiah generally, i. e. the middle of the fifth century before Nehemiah's advent. Such a proceeding appears to us artificial and arbitrary; lxiv. 10-12 (9-11 Heb.) form a natural climax to verses 6-9 (5-8 Heb.). It would even be better to follow the extreme course of Grotius and Houbigant, who assigned the entire section to the early days of the Maccabean persecution.

7-14. *Retrospect over Yahweh's past dealings with His people.*

7. The speaker is the poet as one of the people seeking relief from the depression of the present outlook by recalling God's deeds of mercy in the olden time¹.

¹ Duhm omits the clause (with Budde) 'toward the house of

multitude of his lovingkindnesses. For he said, Surely, 8 they are my people, children that will not deal falsely: so he was their saviour. In all their affliction he was 9 afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare

8. Instead of **for he said** render 'and said.' The clause is simply a continuation of the preceding 'hath bestowed, &c.'

9. A striking reminiscence of Exod. xxiii. 20-23 (E), cf. xxxiii. 14 (J) especially when the text is divested of what appears to be corruption by dittography. As the text stands before us with its Massoretic punctuation and appended note we are confronted by two traditions. The written text (*Kethib*) may be rendered (see R. V. marg.): 'In all their adversity he was no adversary.' The passage was not, however, so understood in the Jewish synagogue (*Krê*), and it is to this tradition the rendering in A. V. and R. V. given above is due. The Hebrew negative *lô* is here, as elsewhere (cf. ix. 2 Heb. and xlix. 5, &c.), taken as a preposition with its pronominal affix (= 'to him'). This, followed by the impersonal verb, means 'he was afflicted.' Commentators are divided between these two interpretations. Ibn 'Ezra, Luther, Ewald, Hitzig, and Delitzsch adhered to the former. Targum and Jerome, followed by Rashi and mainly by Gesenius, adhered to the latter¹. What we hold to have been the original text with its rendering is given below (footnote). It is hardly surprising that the

Israel' on metric grounds. He also follows the LXX in omitting the copula before *rab*, which he regards as an adjective, an epithet of Yahweh, 'Yahweh great in goodness.' The LXX ('good judge') punctuate רַב טוֹב instead of our טוֹב רַב. LXX read and render 'bestowed on us' in both places in this verse (so Duhm); 'bestowed on them' presupposes the clause 'toward the house of Israel' contained also in the LXX.

¹ Duhm and Cheyne follow the hint of the LXX and read פָּרַע (= פָּרַע) in place of פָּרַע, and render 'Not a messenger or angel—'twas His Presence that saved them.' Now the LXX connected the beginning of this verse with the end of the preceding 8 . . . 'he became to them a deliverer, 9, from all affliction. Not messenger nor angel, but the Lord Himself saved them.' But close inspection of the Hebrew text reveals the presence of dittography and corruption. Parallelism is simplified by restoring the text מִכָּל צָרֹת מִלֹּאן מִנּוּ הוֹשִׁיעָם. 'From all afflictions the angel of His Presence saved them; in loving and sparing them He redeemed them.'

10 them, and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled, and grieved his holy spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, *and* himself fought against
 11 them. Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, *and* his people, *saying*, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds of his flock? where is he

leaders of the Jewish synagogue, guided by a spiritual instinct; were led to deviate from their text into the expression of a beautiful evangelical truth near to the heart of Christianity.

10. yet **they** (of all people in the world), whom Yahweh in his love and compassion had saved, rebelled against Him. The pronoun is here emphatic, as in chap. i. 2. God's holy spirit became thereby embittered and transformed into an attitude of hostility. On this passage the apostolic admonition is based (Eph. iv. 30). Cheyne calls attention (*Introd.* p. 352) to the beginnings of a tendency revealed in this verse to hypostatize God's Holy Spirit, parallel to that of His Presence in the preceding verse.

11. The words **Moses** and **his people**, which are found in our Hebrew text, have no place in that of the LXX. This would seem to imply that there was a gap in the line which our Hebrew text has filled up. Cheyne notes the parallel to Deut. xxxii. 7, and would regard this as a reminiscence of that passage. We might therefore restore thus:—

'Then [Israel] remembered the days of old—[the years of past ages, saying:]'

This is, however, only ingenious conjecture. But it probably comes nearer to the original than the traditional Hebrew text. It is safer to continue the rendering of our Hebrew text (with a slight modification which the LXX suggest):—

'Where is he that brought up from the sea the shepherd of His flock;

Where is He who put within him His holy spirit¹?'

That the shepherd of Yahweh's flock was Moses is quite obvious, and there was no need for the gloss-writer to anticipate the name

¹ The Massoretic note which reads 'shepherds' of His flock, in order to give, presumably, some due place to Aaron, is a curious refinement. Nor is it easy to see why the singular masc. pron. suffix of the original of 'within him' (lit. 'in his midst,' cf. Ps. li. 10 [Heb. 12]) should be referred by the LXX and all who follow them to the 'flock' or people, on the basis of Num. xi. 17, which is quite as good evidence for the interpretation here adopted.

that put his holy spirit in the midst of them? that caused¹²
 his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses? that
 divided the water before them, to make himself an ever-
 lasting name? that led them through the depths, as an¹³
 horse in the wilderness, that they stumbled not? As the¹⁴
 cattle that go down into the valley, the spirit of the LORD
 caused them to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to
 make thyself a glorious name. Look down from heaven,¹⁵

in the clause with which he filled up the lacuna in the first line of this verse. The sea here obviously refers to the Red Sea. The events portrayed in Exod. xiv (J, E) were evidently before the writer's mind. This interpretation appears fairly clear. Yahweh's power is here described as bringing Moses, the leader of Israel's host (shepherd of Yahweh's flock), out of the perils of the Red Sea on the eventful night of the Exodus. There is no need to resort to the story of the ark of bulrushes, and to interpret the 'sea' as referring to the Nile (as in xviii. 2, xix. 5; cf. Nah. iii. 8) with Duhm and Marti.

12-13 continue in the form of interrogation the reference to the wonderful deliverance on the night of the Exodus. The Israelite host were as secure amid the water-depths of the Red Sea as a horse that makes its way over the wilderness. Instead of **that they stumbled not** render more idiomatically 'without stumbling.' A comparison with Exod. xiv. 22 makes it exceedingly probable, when other points of coincidence with Exod. xiv are taken into consideration, that the writer of this section was well acquainted with the J, E narratives of the Pentateuch.

14. By **valley** here is meant in the original a broad open valley. For **caused them to rest** the LXX and other ancient versions render 'guided them'.¹ This is based on a slightly different text (or rather pronunciation), which most recent scholars (Ewald, Oort, Klostermann and Duhm) accept. Kittel and Marti hesitate.

Verses 15-lxiv. 12 (11 Heb.) *Agonized appeal to Yahweh for mercy and help in the present distress, together with confession of sin.*

According to Duhm verses 15, 16 form the last strophe of the elegiac series. But the new note of appeal to God, as contrasted with the preceding note of praise and the retrospect of Yahweh's mighty deeds of deliverance (cf. verse 7), clearly begins with verse 15 and continues to the close of chap. lxiv. The opening phrase

¹ Reading תִּקְוֶה instead of תִּקְוָה of our text.

and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory: where is thy zeal and thy mighty acts? the yearning of thy bowels and thy compassions are restrained
 16 toward me. For thou art our father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us: thou, O LORD, art our father; our redeemer from ever-
 17 lasting is thy name. O LORD, why dost thou make us to err from thy ways, and hardenest our heart from thy fear?

of lxiii. 15 finds its echo in lxiv. 9 (8 Heb.). The appeal, however, is evidently grounded on the retrospect of the preceding verses.

15 accordingly appeals to old memories of the past dealings of Yahweh, when the poet asks:—

‘Where is thy zeal and thy prowess—the tumult of thy compassions?’ (lit. thy bowels).

The interrogative form of the appeal is the same as in verse 14 above, and it meets us again in another form in verses 17 and 18. In the last line the LXX indicate that we ought to read ‘thy pity that withheld itself toward us,’ which is certainly more probable in view of the 1st person plur. in the verse which immediately follows¹.

16. This reference to Abraham is characteristic of exilian and post-exilian prophecy; comp. li. 2.

17. A somewhat strange note is here sounded. Moral causation is carried back a step farther than usual. Affliction is explained as God’s disciplinary chastisement for sin. But sin is here itself ascribed to God’s agency, as in the case of Pharaoh’s obstinate refusal to comply with God’s command (Exod. vii. 3). Elsewhere it is occasionally ascribed to a supernatural personal agency opposed to God (Gen. iii), but this is more especially true of later post-exilian literature (see art. ‘Satan’ in Hastings’ *DB.*). Comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 with 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

from thy fear should give place to the more idiomatic rendering ‘so as not to fear thee.’ For this idiomatic use of the Hebrew preposition ‘from’ (*min*) the student of Hebrew is referred

¹ Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti would go further and read the Heb. characters לֹא as a negative instead of a preposition. Duhm would read לֹא , i. e. ‘let not thy pity be restrained’ (lit. restrain itself).

Return for thy servants' sake, the tribes of thine inheritance. Thy holy people possessed *it* but a little while: 18 our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary. We 19 are become as they over whom thou never barest rule; as they that were not called by thy name. Oh that thou 64 wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down, that the mountains might flow down at thy presence; as 2

to Gesen.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶ § 119. 3 *y*, cf. Isa. v. 6, xxiii. 19, xlix. 15, liv. 9.

18. The first clause of this verse has been an insoluble enigma to the critics, and various explanations have been attempted. The chief difficulty has arisen through the opening word in the original rendered above in R. V. 'a little while.' Obviously the phrase is inadequate to designate the entire period that elapsed from the foundation of Solomon's temple to its destruction in 586. On the other hand, any historic evidence for the destruction of the temple of Zerubbabel within a short time of its erection is, as we have shown, altogether lacking. A very ingenious restoration of the original text, which bears all the marks of an actual recovery of the real words, has relieved the passage of all difficulty. Render, 'Why have wicked ones done despite to thy holy place¹.' This not only restores the parallelism of the verse, but gives an opening to this verse similar to that which precedes in verse 17.

19. So great have been the humiliations from which Israel has suffered, that one might argue that Yahweh no longer ruled over them and Israel had lost the rights and privileges of being His subjects.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. From the heart-breaking utterance of the preceding verse, that Yahweh appeared to have long severed all connexion with Israel, the transition is easy to the agonized cry that this severance of long standing between Yahweh and His people might have ended, and that God might have broken through the silent adamant vault of heaven within which He had so long withdrawn Himself.

flow down or 'melt' is the interpretation of the LXX, followed by the Vulgate, but the punctuators of our Hebrew text coincide

¹ לָמָּה זָעַרְוּ רַשָׁעִים קִרְיָתְךָ. The use of the *Piel* form of the verb, which is not found in pre-exilic Hebrew, is to be regarded as an Aramaism. Aramaisms of this kind increase in number as we enter the post-exilic period.

when fire kindleth the brushwood, *and* the fire causeth the waters to boil : to make thy name known to thine adversaries, that the nations may tremble at thy presence! When thou didst terrible things which we looked not for, thou camest down, the mountains flowed down at thy presence.

with the Targ. and Peshitto in deriving the verb from another root meaning to 'quake' (see R. V. marg.). Accordingly render: 'Oh, that thou mightest have rent the heavens, descended; that mountains might quake before thee¹.' We have here the expression of a hopeless wish in reference to the immediate past and present that the poet knows to be incapable of realization. The tense of the original clearly shows this. It expresses more than mere *impotency*; see xlvi. 18; Num. xiv. 2, xx. 3; Jos. vii. 7. Comp. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 134.

2-3. The poet sighs for the old days (cf. lxiii. 11). Oh, that a miracle might have been wrought on Israel's return to Palestine as in the days of the exodus. Perhaps the glowing language of the exile-prophet, Deutero-Isaiah, may have aroused such an expectation, cf. xl. 3-5, xliii. 2, 11, 16-20, xlv. 8, xlvi. 20, 21, xlix. 8-11, ii. 5, 6. For **flowed down** in verse 3 read 'quaked' as in verse 1 (with R. V. marg.). The reference in this verse appears to be an allusion to the scenes before Mount Sinai; cf. Exod. xix (J, E).

4. We are here confronted by serious problems as to the original text. We have to place in comparison with the traditional Hebrew text before us not only the version of the LXX, but also the citation by St. Paul in 1 Cor. ii. 9 as well as by Clement in Ep. Cor. xxxiv. 8, which is nearly the same². It is

¹ The path of the textual critic in this and the following verses is exceedingly uncertain and difficult. A comparison of the LXX reveals a very different, and in some respects inferior, text. For 'come down' ('descend') ירדה the LXX read 'trembling,' תרדה (more correctly רעו or רעו, as Scholz suggests; see Ottley). The problem of reconstruction is far too intricate and precarious to be attempted here. We subjoin the LXX rendering: 'If thou shouldst open the heaven, trembling at Thee will take the mountains, and they shall melt as wax melts at the presence of fire, and fire shall burn up the adversaries, and the name of the Lord shall be revealed among the adversaries.' The LXX evidently read יתבער, 'shall burn' or 'consume,' for the very problematic תבערה of our Hebrew text ('causeth the waters to boil').

² LXX render as follows: 'From olden time we have not heard,

For from of old men have not heard, nor perceived by the 4
 ear, neither hath the eye seen a God beside thee, which
 worketh for him that waiteth for him. Thou meetest him 5
 that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, those that re-
 member thee in thy ways: behold, thou wast wroth, and
 we sinned: in them *have we been* of long time, and shall
 we be saved? For we are all become as one that is unclean, 6

quite possible that we ought to follow the guidance of the Pauline
 (and Clementine) citation as Duhm does:—

‘Ear hath not heard nor eye seen
 A God beside Thee, &c.’

But beyond this no modification is called for.

5. It is safest to cancel from the text the Hebrew word *sās*, which is rendered **him that rejoiceth**, together with the copula that follows, as a corruption or superadded gloss that does not add to the sense. For this we have full justification, as the LXX altogether omit them. Accordingly read (following the LXX):—

‘Thou meetest those that do right—and call to mind Thy ways.’

The expression **meetest** obviously signifies ‘meetest with Thy Divine favour.’

The last two clauses of this verse, ‘in them have we been . . . saved’? are an attempted rendering of a hopelessly corrupt text. Any suggested restoration is mere conjecture¹, as R. V. marg. clearly indicates.

6. The confession of sin continues. So low has the people fallen that sin is universally prevalent. Sin is here described as

nor have our eyes seen a God except Thee, and the deeds which Thou doest [LXX actually render ‘wilt do’ through misapprehension of the force of Heb. imperf.] to those who wait for mercy.’ The text cited by St. Paul in the original may perhaps have been *לֹא הָאֵינָנוּ רְאוּךָ* לֹא עֵינֵינוּ רְאוּךָ עַל לֵב לֹא עֵלְמָה יֵשְׁבָה לְמַחְבֵּב לֹא. Here the apostle had in his text an Aramaic expression in place of the Hebrew of our text, *לֹא רְאוּךָ עַל לֵב לֹא עֵלְמָה יֵשְׁבָה לְמַחְבֵּב לֹא*. The latter is not only sustained by the LXX, but also by the citation of the Ep. of Clement.

¹ The LXX seem to have had a shorter text, and render ‘Therefore have we gone astray.’ The verb here may have been, as Ewald suggests, *וַתִּטְּ*, but the clause which precedes it appears to be beyond even approximate recovery.

and all our righteousnesses are as a polluted garment :
 and we all do fade as a leaf ; and our iniquities, like the
 7 wind, take us away. And there is none that calleth upon
 thy name, that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee: for
 thou hast hid thy face from us, and hast consumed us by
 8 means of our iniquities. But now, O LORD, thou art our
 father ; we are the clay, and thou our potter ; and we all are
 9 the work of thy hand. Be not wroth very sore, O LORD,
 neither remember iniquity for ever : behold, look, we
 10 beseech thee, we are all thy people. Thy holy cities are
 become a wilderness, Zion is become a wilderness,
 11 Jerusalem a desolation. Our holy and our beautiful

uncleanness. **one that is unclean** does not mean here a foreigner as in lii. 1, but is a vivid descriptive term for the prevalent religious and social condition of the Palestinian Jewish inhabitants about 525 B. C., which probably persisted with little abatement or check till the advent of Nehemiah, though some amelioration may have temporarily supervened on the erection of the temple by Zerubbabel, 518-515 B. C.

7. The LXX by their rendering show us the right text. Accordingly translate with the R. V. marg. (So also Cheyne and Marti: 'hast delivered us into the power of our iniquities'—not **hast consumed us**, &c.)¹.

8. The confession of sin passes over into an expression, under the similitude of the potter, of complete submission to Divine rule and resignation to the Divine will as in Jer. xviii. 6 ; Job x. 9 (cf. Isa. xlv. 9). On the use of this metaphor by Isaiah, see xxix. 16 and note in vol. i. There is, however, a gleam of hope in the use of the term **father** in the appeal addressed to Yahweh, which is therefore grounded on high moral relations subsisting between Yahweh and Israel greater than those of a potter to the clay or even of a sovereign to his subjects.

9. These considerations are evidently present to the mind of the writer in the words 'Be not exceeding angry, nor for ever be mindful of guilt.'

10. The LXX render from a text which would lead us to translate 'a curse' in place of a **desolation** ².

¹ Reading **וְהַמְחַנְנֵנוּ**, not **וְהַמְחַנְנֵנוּ**.

² **קִלְקָלָה** in place of **שְׁמָדָה** (Jer. xlii. 18 ; xlv. 8). Perhaps the latter term was substituted in later texts as less harsh and ill-omened.

house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned with fire; and all our pleasant things are laid waste. Wilt thou **12** refrain thyself for these things, O LORD? wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?]

I am inquired of by them that asked not *for me*; I am **65**

11. The **pleasant things** or 'beauteous treasures' of the ancient temple of Solomon had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B. C. (2 Kings xxv. 8, 9, 13-17).

CHAPTERS LXV AND LXVI.

In these two chapters we evidently return to the years that immediately preceded the advent of Nehemiah, and meet with all the characteristic traits that mark the writings of the Trito-Isaiah—the notes of warning and reproof and the references to degeneracy in religious cultus and social life. The main theme of these chapters is *the punishment of the schismatics and the happiness of the faithful*. Verses 1-7 in chap. lxxv are a denunciation of the unfaithful, whose religious practices showed them to be disloyal to the pure standards of Yahweh worship inculcated by the Prophets and the Deuteronomic legislation. Verses 8-12 exhibit the contrasted destiny of the faithful worshippers of Yahweh and of the unfaithful. Verses 13-20 continue this theme in a distinct poem of different metric form. Verses 21-25 in the ordinary metric form portray the happy state of Yahweh's faithful servants, in natural sequence to what immediately precedes; lxxvi. 1-4 in the same metre is directed once more against the schismatics who were planning the erection of a temple of their own. Verses 5-11 fall into strophes of a distinct metre, like lxxv. 13-20. They are a message of comfort to the faithful Jews in their conflict with the schismatics. Vengeance shall be taken on the latter, while increase in numbers and a future of great prosperity await Zion. In verses 12-17 we return to the same metric form as verses 1-4, and continue the theme of Divine blessing for the faithful and of destructive doom for the heretics and devotees of an impure worship. Verses 18-22, on the other hand, make no reference to the Samaritan schism, but dwell on the manifestation of Yahweh's glory to the assembled nations and to distant peoples who have not yet known it. These shall bring the Israel of the Diaspora with them to God's holy shrine, and priestly privileges shall be accorded to these Israelites also. A new era shall then dawn. The concluding verses (23, 24), ending with a curse, are from another and much later hand.

lxxv. 1-7. It is quite obvious that this section contemplates an entirely different historic situation from that which underlies

found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name.

2 I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious

lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12. In the latter we have a temple in ruins and the sense of dejection and disappointment which attends a reaction from high hopes of a Divine intervention. Here we have a sanctuary established in Zion and a society of at least some faithful worshippers, but also the existence of a body of schismatics and of irregular cultus, which had long subsisted. Accordingly it is impossible to follow the older exegetes, Franz Delitzsch and Dillmann, who link this to the preceding chapter by regarding the former as God's answer to the entreaties contained in the latter. This section is composed in double lines.

1. For **I am inquired of**, &c., read 'I suffered myself¹ to be inquired of to those who asked me not.' Similarly in the following line: 'I suffered myself to be found to those who, &c.' The reference is to the internal conditions of the Israelitish communities in Palestine. The Jews who were in Palestine, consisting mainly of the restored exiles or their descendants, who were faithful to the pure worship of Yahweh, endeavoured to incorporate the old Jewish inhabitants, and especially the Samaritans, who were a mixed community consisting partially of Babylonian settlers (2 Kings xvii. 24). These, as we shall see, (see verses 3 and 4 below) were corrupted by the heathenish customs which had long prevailed in the land. In the days of Jeremiah (xli. 5) inhabitants of Samaria, Shiloh, and Shechem came to offer sacrifices in Jerusalem. But now their attitude was one of hostility, and they endeavoured to establish a rival sanctuary in Samaria (cf. Ezra iv; Neh. ii. 10, 19, iv, vi). These are the people who 'call not on My name².'

2. Yahweh has even stretched out His hands in entreaty to this 'rebellious and obstinate³' people. The 'unwholesome way' in which they went refers to heathen cultus. The word **way**

¹ An example of *Nif'al tolerativum*, Gesen.-Kautzsch's *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 51 c. Read with LXX and Lowth יִסְתָּחֵף, which completes the parallelism with the following line.

² So read, and not **called by my name**, i. e. קָרָא or קָרָא rather than קָרָא (passive). So LXX and other versions, followed by Lowth, Ewald, Delitzsch, &c.; cf. lxiv. 7 (6 Heb); Gen. iv. 26, &c.

³ The LXX indicate that a word, יָרָה, has dropped out of our text which the due rhythm of the verse requires us to insert. Cf. Rom. x. 21.

people, which walketh in a way that is not good, after their own thoughts; a people that provoketh me to my face continually, sacrificing in gardens, and burning incense upon bricks; which sit among the graves, and lodge in the secret places; which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels; which

(*derech*) has this special meaning of cultus. Cf. Amos viii. 14 and the use of 'way' in Acts xix. 9, 23, and the Arabic *tariq*.

3. This 'unwholesome way' is now particularized. The sacrifices in gardens were an old feature of Semitic worship. Cf. Isa. i. 29, xvii. 10; Hos. iv. 13, and likewise lxvi. 17 below. The reference of the **incense upon bricks** (or tiles) is far from certain. In Zeph. i. 5, Jer. xix. 13, 2 Kings xxiii. 12 we read of the custom which prevailed in the latter portion of the seventh century of burning incense to the star-deities on the roofs of houses and sanctuaries, a custom which may have extended back to the time of Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 3, 5), and was evidently an importation from Babylonia or Assyria. Whether the expression 'tiles' here should be taken as synonymous with 'roof' in the passages cited, or whether we are to think of small altars constructed of tiles, is far from clear. We still await archaeological evidence.

4. 'Those who sit on graves and spend the night in places of concealment' is an evident allusion to the prevailing customs of sorcery and necromancy whereby information was solicited by conjuring the spirits of the dead. This was nothing more than the old Canaanite and Israelite traditions (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii), against which Hebrew prophecy protested (Isa. viii. 19 foll.) and the Deuteronomic law prescribed stern prohibition and penalty (Deut. xviii. 11; cf. Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 7), and of which the ancient world generally was full (cf. Horace, *Satires* i. 8, and see art 'Sorcery' in Hastings' *DB.*, vol. iv, p. 603, and 'Necromancy,' *ibid.* p. 606).

broth of abominable things is the right reading. Our Hebrew text reads another word (*perak*), which means 'morsels.' But the Jewish schools preserved the variant (*merak*), which was adopted in the Synagogue (*kerê*) and has the support of ancient versions (LXX, Vulg., Targ.). This is the reading here adopted, 'broth.' This broth or brew was doubtless supposed to possess magical properties, like the curious decoction of a kid in its mother's milk, which seems to have been an old and popular remedy of Hebrew superstition forbidden in the ancient compend of laws, the 'Book of the Covenant' (Exod. xxiii. 19, E). This passage should be connected with others that follow, viz. lxvi. 3,

say, Stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou: these are a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day. Behold, it is written before me:

17. 'All these passages refer to the same circle of rites in which the victims chosen were such animals as were strictly taboo in ordinary life [in familiar biblical parlance "unclean"]—the swine, the dog, the mouse, and vermin generally. To such sacrifices, as we learn from lxvi. 17, a peculiar consecrating and purifying efficacy was attached, which must be ascribed to the sacramental participation in the sacrosanct flesh.' See Robertson Smith, *RS.*², p. 343 footnote; and on mystic sacrifices generally in ancient heathen rituals see p. 290 foll. (on the sacrifice of swine, see p. 290). In Egypt the flesh of the pig was regarded as an abomination, but it was sacrificed at the festival of Selene and Dionysos (Herod. ii. 47 foll.). Jensen in *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* i, p. 306 foll. shows that in Assyria and Babylonia the flesh of the wild boar (*šahū*) was often eaten (but on the 30th Ab. and 27th Marḥeshwān, it was forbidden). Whether Babylonian influence operated in the case we are considering, where we are dealing with Palestinian usages, is doubtful.

For **is in their vessels** read 'are their dishes,' i. e. their dishes consist in broth of abominable things. The language resembles that of chap. v. 12.

5. Stand by thyself, properly 'draw near to thyself,' i. e. 'remain far from me, refrain from coming in contact with me,' the same conception being virtually expressed in the following clause.

The rendering **I am holier than thou** is not possible. Render, 'I make thee holy¹,' strictly 'shall have made thee holy,' i. e. if thou touch me. Those who had passed through these mystic rites of consecration warn their comrades not to touch them, because contact with their own consecrated persons will infect their comrades with holiness and thereby surround them with a circle of taboos or restrictions which will disqualify them from discharging the ordinary duties of life. The **smoke** here is the expression of Divine wrath (cf. Ps. xviii. 8 (9 Heb.)). So likewise the 'fire that burns away.'

6. written before me, i. e. by some recording angel in the heavenly annals (Duhm, who compares Ezek. xxix. 16). An analogous conception is found in chap. xxxiv. 16, Ps. cxxxix. 16. It is Israel's sins that are here recorded, not their destined penalty.

¹ Reading here the *Pi'el* (instead of the *Kal* of our Hebrew text, which involves an unprecedented construction of the verb) as suggested by Geiger and followed by recent critics. The LXX render 'I am pure (or holy).'

I will not keep silence, but will recompense, yea, I will recompense into their bosom, your own iniquities, and 7 the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the LORD, which have burned incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills: therefore will I first measure their work into their bosom.

Thus saith the LORD, As the new wine is found in the 8 cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it: so will I do for my servants' sakes, that I may not

Render, 'till I shall have recompensed,' the construction in the original being the same as in lv. 10, 11; 'shall not keep silence' is an expression we have already met in lxii. 1, lxiv. 11. Here it means that the expression of God's displeasure at these degraded practices shall not cease till the Divine retribution has been wreaked on those who are guilty of them. The LXX in this verse is evidently based on a shorter text in which there was no duplication of the phrase 'shall have recompensed.'

7. The guilt consists in the corrupt and debased worship. This worship had been denounced by the prophets of Israel from the days of Hosea (iv. 13) to those of Ezekiel (Ezek. xviii. 6).

Verses 8-12. We turn aside for a moment from the debased and heathenish practices of unfaithful Israel to the more pleasing sight of Yahweh's devoted followers. These are the true seed of Jacob—God's elect who shall possess the land. A contrast is drawn between the happy lot of these and the destruction which is in store for the unfaithful 'who forget my holy hill.' Doubtless the reference here in the main lies to schismatics who maintained a separate religious community in Samaria, to whom special allusion is frequently made in the Book of Nehemiah; but the allusion also lies here, as in verse 7, to the old practices which continued to prevail in the high places.

8. Israel is compared to a bad grape-cluster, but it is not wholly bad. There is still some good grape-juice remaining, and for this reason Yahweh pronounces against its rejection. There is good reason to believe that the expression 'Destroy it not' (*al tašhithū*) was a phrase borrowed from a popular vintage-song of Canaan. This is confirmed by the occurrence of this phrase in the singular form *al tašheth* in the superscription to a series of Psalms in our Psalter—viz. lvii, lviii, lix, and lxxv, which were to be sung to the air of this popular ditty; see the remarks in Robertson Smith's *OTJC.*, p. 209.

9 destroy them all. And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains : and my chosen shall inherit it, and my servants shall
 10 dwell there. And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for herds to lie down in, for
 11 my people that have sought me. But ye that forsake the

9. The elect portion of Jacob is to possess the mountains or central plateau where Jerusalem was situated. The pronoun *it* (feminine in the original) refers to the land of this central mountainous region.

10. But they are to possess not the mountain region only, which is often bare as well as rugged, but also the famous Plain of Sharon, which extends along the coast region (bounded on the north by the Nahr ez-Zerkâ near Caesarea) to the Nahr Rûbin in the south somewhat below Joppa. The latter river (Nahr Rûbin) separates it from the Philistine territory proper. The Sharon plain was famed for its luxuriant fertility and pastures (1 Chron. xxvii. 29 ; Song of Songs ii. 1, and Isa. xxxv. 2, where it is associated with Carmel lying to the north of it). 'Excellent soil is found at a depth of 1½ or 2 feet beneath the surface of the sand, and water is found everywhere without having to dig deep for it. Vines thrive admirably ; sesame and wheat are cultivated in the fields' (Bâdeker, *Palestine and Syria*). 'Spring works a miracle in the aspect of this region. The richest grass and the brightest flowers adorn the landscape. Even in the marshlands the tall and graceful papyrus is, in its autumn flowering time, pleasant to behold' (Cheyne in *Enc. Bibl.*).

On the other hand, the identification of the Valley of 'Achôr is extremely doubtful. Conder identifies it with the Wady el-Kelt (Hastings' *DB.*), which 'winds down to the Jordan through deep ravines and contains water during the greater part of the year' (Bâdeker, *ibid.*). We agree with the writer in *Enc. Bibl.* that this hardly seems to be a suitable place for 'oxen to lie down.'

Verses 11, 12 present a contrast to the idyllic life of those who seek Yahweh, and for whom are reserved the Sharon-pastures and the spots where cattle may lie down in the Valley of 'Achôr (verse 10). On the other hand, those who abandon Yahweh are destined for slaughter. Fortunately the text of these two verses has been well preserved.

11. We have here interesting references to the heathenish rites of old Canaanite origin, to which the disloyal Jews of Samaria and other places resorted. 'Those who set forth the table to Gad'

LORD, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for Fortune, and that fill up mingled wine unto Destiny; I will destine you to the sword, and ye shall all bow down ¹² to the slaughter: because when I called, ye did not answer; when I spake, ye did not hear; but ye did that which was evil in mine eyes, and chose that wherein I delighted not.

evidently worshipped an old Canaanite god of fortune¹ who gave his name to one of the Israelite tribes and also to the Canaanite towns Ba'al Gad (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7, xiii. 5) and Migdal Gad, (Josh. xv. 37). The name appears to have been really Aramaic in origin according to the evidence collected in Bâthgen's work². The table was probably set forth with 'cakes' similar to those which were baked for the 'queen of heaven,' Jer. vii. 18, xix. 13, xliv. 17. To this table we have an analogy in the 'table of the Presence' (Exod. xxv. 30; cf. Num. iv. 7). We have less knowledge respecting the deity called 'Destiny' in whose honour mixed wine was offered. Baudissin connects this deity, called in Hebrew *Meni*, with the Arabic *Manât*, to which the Korân refers (Sur. liii. 20), a goddess who was worshipped by the Pre-Islamic Arabs. Nöldeke is certain that the two were closely connected³.

12. The rendering **I will destine you** is intended to reproduce the play of words in the original between the name of the deity (*Meni*) and the verb which is here employed. Oort endeavours to carry the play on the names further, and would by a slight emendation of the original introduce a punning reference to the deity Gad: 'ye shall be hewn in pieces⁴ for the slaughter'; but the LXX do not support this conjecture.

¹ The LXX render לַמֵּנִי by τῆ τύχῃ, while גַּד is translated by δαιμόνιον.

² *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 77 foll., but there are several examples also to be found in Punic proper names; see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 249.

³ See the careful and complete article by Baudissin on *Meni* in *PRE³*. Baudissin thinks that this cult was of Arabian origin and was carried northward with the movement of the Arabs in a northerly direction during the Persian period. For full information respecting the Arabian deity *Manât*, see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums²*, pp. 25-9.

⁴ Reading תִּקְרַע in place of תִּכְרַע of our text.

13 Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry: behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty: behold, my servants shall
 14 rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed: behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of
 15 heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen, and the Lord God shall slay thee; and he shall call his servants by

Verses 13-20 are distributed by Duhm (followed by Marti) into five strophes, each strophe being composed of four long lines each. The theme of this poem is the same as that of the verses which precede. Here the contrast is even more sharply drawn between the lot of the pious and devoted followers of Yahweh and that of the faithless and the schismatics.

13. shall be ashamed: a characteristic expression of Hebrew prophecy and poetry, and used with a stronger ethical significance than in our own language, since it often conveys not only the ordinary meaning, the disappointment of one's hopes, but also that of humiliation and disgrace; Ps. lxxi. 13; Jer. ii. 36, vi. 15, x. 14, &c.

14 continues the series of contrasts of weal and woe dealt out respectively to Yahweh's faithful followers and to recreant schismatics:—

'Behold, my servants shall utter a ringing cry—for happiness of heart.

But ye shall utter a distressful cry for grief of heart—from a broken spirit shall moan aloud.'

15. my chosen here are the same as 'my chosen' in verse 9 above, who are to possess Yahweh's mountains. Probably we should follow the LXX in reading 'you' for **thee** in the next clause (i. e. shall slay *you*). While God destines this schismatic community to be a curse¹ on the lips of His chosen followers, the name of His chosen followers is to be one of fairer omen. The spirit which breathes through portions of these concluding oracles exhibits a tone of bitterness which is in striking contrast with the serene beauty and radiant optimism of the Deutero-Isaiah. Cf. below, lxvi. 15, 16.

¹ The LXX read *ἡ ἀφάνεια*, 'abundance,' 'satiety,' in place of *ἡ ὀνειδισμὸς*. One could wish that this more genial reading of the text could yield a tolerable sense.

another name: so that he who blesseth himself in the 16
 earth shall bless himself in the God of truth; and he that
 sweareth in the earth shall swear by the God of truth;
 because the former troubles are forgotten, and because
 they are hid from mine eyes. For, behold, I create new 17
 heavens and a new earth: and the former things shall not
 be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad 18
 and rejoice for ever in that which I create: for, behold, I
 create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. And 19
 I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and
 the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor
 the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an 20

Verses 16-25. The writer in this and the following verses turns his thoughts to a happier theme—the great future that awaits Jerusalem and the faithful community of Yahweh's followers. A new era is to dawn, and the old troubles are to be forgotten. Deutero-Isaianic lines close this chapter (verse 25). The spirit is the same as that of the lyric passages in chapters lx-lxii.

16. God of truth (*ómen*) is undoubtedly the right reading of the original, adopted in A.V. and R.V. (as against R.V. marg.).

17. This conception of a recreated universe (heaven and earth) is a borrowed trait from the Deutero-Isaiah, though not expressed in the same form (cf. lv. 13). For the universe in ancient days was held to be from the earth's surface heavenwards an indivisible whole. Human society was therefore linked to all the objects that surrounded it. The sharp distinction between man and animals (xi. 6 foll.), man and Nature, was not drawn. Consequently the moral changes in man had their counterpart in the external world whether for evil (cf. Joel i, ii passim) or for good (Joel iii. 17, 18 [iv. 17, 18 Heb.]). This conception of a new heaven and a new earth became a favourite one in the apocalyptic of a later age. Note that the heavens take regulative precedence. Cf. Book of Enoch xlv. 5, lxxii. 1, xci. 16, and especially 2 Pet. iii. 13, Rev. xxi. 1. The expression **come into mind** seems to be an echo of Jeremiah, with whom it was a favourite phrase (Jer. iii. 16, vii. 31, &c.).

19. Here, as well as in the following verse, we have obvious echoes of passages in Jeremiah, viz. Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxv. 10, xxxiii. 11.

20. We are also reminded of the genial picture in Zech. viii. 4.

infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old, and the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.

21 And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they
 22 shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people, and my chosen shall long enjoy the

For **infant of days** substitute the more accurate as well as intelligible 'suckling living but a few days.' As the burdens and sorrows of life pass away, men attain to considerable longevity, which recalls the traditions of patriarchal longevity in P. This passage was vividly present to the writer of the 'Book of Jubilees' in his description of the Messianic Kingdom, when children shall devote themselves to the study of the law, chap. xxiii. 25-28.

The last clause of this verse, **the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed**, hardly gives an intelligible sense in its context, and certainly affords no parallelism. The difficulty has arisen through the mistake of an early copyist (reflected in LXX) who inserted the word *ben* before the word for 'hundred' through the influence of the preceding clause, so that the phrase, as it stands, means 'a hundred years old' according to the familiar Hebrew idiom (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.* § 128. 2 v). By the omission of *ben* the meaning becomes clear and the parallelism is restored: 'One who falls short¹ of an hundred years shall be accursed' (shall be regarded as one who is subject to a Divine curse). The age of an hundred years shall be quite normal, and one who falls short of that age at death shall be regarded as one cut short by a Divine curse. Length of days is associated in the O. T. with righteousness and Divine favour (Ps. xci. 16; Prov. iii. 2, 16; cf. Ps. xxi. 4 [5 Heb.]).

21. The underlying idea of this verse is that there shall be war no more. The foreign invader shall not eat the crops and the fruit. Palestine had suffered terribly through this evil in the eighth century from the Assyrian invaders or others nearer home (Isa. i. 7), Assyria being compared to a razor that leaves the surface bare (vii. 20). This was the common practice of warfare (2 Kings iii. 19).

In the seventh century the land was ravaged by the Egyptians (608 B. C.), and in the early part of the sixth by the Babylonians twice (597 and 587 B. C.) and by the Edomites also.

22 continues the same idea as the preceding verse. For **long**

¹ For this use of *hāṭṭ* in Heb., cf. Job v. 24.

work of their hands. They shall not labour in vain, nor ²³ bring forth for calamity; for they are the seed of the blessed of the LORD, and their offspring with them. And ²⁴ it shall come to pass that, before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf ²⁵ and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox: and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD.

enjoy substitute 'consume' 'or make full use of' (R. V. margin, 'wear out'). We have a similar use of the same verb in Job xxi. 13.

23. The same theme pursued. Toil shall no longer end in the ruin of one's hopes, nor shall children be born into the world to meet some terrible catastrophe. For **calamity** substitute 'terror.'

24. God's answer shall anticipate the prayer of His faithful community. From the exile onwards prayer takes a relatively more important place in relation to the ritual of sacrifice. This new feature received great stimulus by the conditions of exile. See 'Prayer' in Hastings' *DB.*, iv, p. 40.

25. Once more we have a borrowing. It is not easy to perceive any cogency in Duhm's laboured argument to show that while the earlier part of this verse is borrowed from Isa. xi. 6-8, on the other hand xi. 9 is borrowed from the present passage. It is quite clear that verses 6-9 form an integral unity.

Equally arbitrary is the exclusion of the clause 'Yet as for the serpent dust is its food,' though Duhm alleges grounds of metre. For the condition of our O. T. text shows that even at an early time confusion entered, and whole lines were lost; accordingly a fragment of an entire line need not surprise us. The phrase seems to be a reminiscence of Gen. iii. 14 introduced by the writer in reference to the schismatics, who are here personified by the serpent². It breaks into the calm repose of the Isaianic citation as rudely as lxvi. 14 *b* foll.

¹ The LXX preserve the clause in question.

² 'Eating dust' was an ordinary expression of humiliation and contempt. Winckler in *Altoriental. Forschungen*, iii. p. 271, compares the expression in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, *KIB.*, vol. v, 122, lines 35, 36, *aiabunu tikalū ipra*, 'our enemies shall eat dust,' which is parallel to the O. T. phrase 'lick the dust' (Ps. lxxii. 9; Isa. xlix. 23; Mic. vii. 17, which affords an interesting analogy to the present passage).

66 Thus saith the LORD, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye

CHAP. LXVI, verses 1-4, are directed against the project of the schismatics to erect a temple of their own as a rival to the temple of Zerubbabel in Jerusalem. Marti warns us in his useful introductory remarks against drawing larger inferences from this passage than it warrants. If we take the first two verses only, we might be disposed to regard them as directed against the erection of any temple on earth to One whose throne is heaven, and earth but the footstool of His feet. They might appear to be an anticipation of the words of Jesus, who said, 'The hour cometh when neither in this temple nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father . . . God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth' (John iv. 21-24); cf. Acts vii. 48-50, xvii. 24. Indeed, Gressmann has supposed that this passage (like lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12) should be placed in the days that *preceded* the erection of the temple by Zerubbabel. It is argued that we have here a protest against the proposal to erect a temple of which Haggai and Zechariah were the enthusiastic advocates. But, as Enno Littmann shows¹, we altogether misunderstand the passage when we infer from the opening verse that the opposition is between Yahweh's true heavenly abode and any local earthly habitation. This is clearly proved by noting verses 2 and 3. The demonstratives in verse 2 obviously refer not to heaven, but to Zion, where God's contrite and spirit-smitten followers dwell, as contrasted with the Samaritan sanctuary, where revolting forms of worship prevail. The mighty voice of God's retribution is to come from his Zion temple (called *hêchal* in verse 6) upon His adversaries. The mention of the Levitical priests in verse 21 can only have meaning when we assume that they are ministers in Yahweh's true sanctuary in Zion (cf. the preceding verse 20).

1. It is not by any means certain whether we should render with A. V. 'where is the house, &c.,' as the interrog. form in the original should be understood in chap. l. 1; 1 Sam. ix. 18; Job xxviii. 12, 20, xxxviii. 19, 24, or whether we should follow R. V. and translate 'What manner of house, &c.' (as in the LXX). Similarly 2 Kings iii. 8; cf. Jonah i. 8; 2 Sam. xv. 2. Note the close similarity of the ideas here and in the following verse as compared with lvii. 15.

The Hebrew word for *rest* (*menûhah*) is here used in the sense of 'residence'; cf. Isa. xi. 10; Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14; 1 Chron. xxviii. 2; and also Num. x. 33; Zech. ix. 1; Isa. xxxii. 18. The schismatic Samaritan leaders are addressed in this verse, and the

¹ *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia* (1899), p. 47 foll.

build unto me? and what place shall be my rest? For all ² these things hath mine hand made, and *so* all these things came to be; saith the LORD: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word. He that killeth an ox is as he ³ that slayeth a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as he that breaketh a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, *as he that offereth* swine's blood; he that burneth frankincense, as he that blesseth an idol: yea, they have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations;

house which they are seeking to build as God's residence is a rival temple in Samaria.

2. These things do not refer to the heavens and the earth, as the latter part of the verse clearly proves, but to God's true sanctuary, the temple of Zerubbabel where the contrite in spirit, who tremble at His word, are to be found. It is instructive to compare with this passage not only lvii. 15, but also Ezra ix. 4, x. 3.

3 describes the illegitimate forms of cultus which were practised among those who were hostile to the Jerusalem sanctuary. This verse is somewhat difficult, and the text, as well as rendering, as the LXX show, is by no means certain. This is largely due to the obscurity of the subject, as we are very imperfectly informed respecting the varied types of cultus which then prevailed and to which allusion is here made. Probably it would be safest to follow Marti and regard the first member of the successive pairs as the subject and the second as the predicate in the short clauses which follow one another. The first member describes a legitimate offering and the second an illegitimate. The intention of the writer is to describe the syncretism in worship that prevailed: 'He who slaughters an ox (also) smites a man,' i. e. participates in human sacrifice, of which we find numerous traces among the Israelites (Jer. xix. 5, xxxii. 35; Ezek. xvi. 21, xx. 26, 31; 2 Kings xvi. 3 and xxiii. 10). It was specially forbidden in legislation (cf. Lev. xviii. 21). These awful rites of child sacrifice, which were carried on in the vale of Hinnom, were specially characteristic of Milk (Molech), the god of Ammon and Moab. Though suppressed in the reformation of Josiah's reign they, like many other customs of primitive Semitic religion, still persisted (see Introduction to Trito-Isaiah, p. 231 foll.).

The following clause combines similarly the legitimate sacrifice of a sheep with the illegitimate sacrifice of the dog: 'One who

- 4 I also will choose their delusions, and will bring their fears upon them; because when I called, none did answer; when I spake, they did not hear: but they did that which was evil in mine eyes, and chose that wherein I delighted not.
- 5 Hear the word of the LORD, ye that tremble at his

offers the bloody sacrifice of a sheep (also) breaks the neck of a dog.' Respecting the mystic piacular sacrifice of the dog and also of swine, see Robertson Smith, *R.S.*², p. 291, and note above on lxx. 4. Not only the legitimate meal-offering, but with it the libation of swine's blood is presented. Not only the legitimate offering of incense¹, but the blessing of the *idol-image* (here called *āwen* as in Hos. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, literally 'falsity,' or 'evil'). The last clause in this verse should be connected with the opening clause of the following. Accordingly render with Duhm and Cheyne, 'As these have chosen their own ways' (i. e. modes of cultus), &c.

4 will then begin, 'So will I choose,' &c. For the rendering **delusions** it would be better to substitute 'follies.' The word in the original is the same as in iii. 4 ('babes' rendered in the note 'wilfulness' or childish caprices). What are called **abominations** (a frequent designation of idolatrous rites) in the preceding verse are here called perverse follies. These 'follies' become transformed into formidable penalties in the days of Divine visitation for the evils of faithlessness and schism: 'I will bring their *terrors* upon them.'

Verses 5-11. There follows in close connexion with the preceding verses a short poem which Duhm arranges in three strophes of six long lines each. That they were composed at the same time and in reference to the same set of events is quite obvious. The same phrase 'tremble at his word' occurs in the opening line of this poem as in verse 2 of the preceding. 'Your brothers that hate you' are the schismatics whose evil practices are described in verse 3, and the vengeance on God's enemies to which verse 6 makes reference is darkly hinted in verse 4 above. The present

¹ The word for 'burneth' (*maskl̄r*) is really a denominative partic. based on the subst. *askārah*, which was a burnt-offering consisting of meal, oil, and frankincense. This was characteristic of the more elaborate and later ritual described in Lev. ii. 9, 16, v. 12, vi. 9 [8 Heb.]; Num. v. 26. Respecting the frankincense (*lebhōnah*), cf. note on Isa. xliii. 23 above.

word: Your brethren that hate you, that cast you out for my name's sake, have said, Let the LORD be glorified, that we may see your joy; but they shall be ashamed. A voice of tumult from the city, a voice from the temple, a voice of the LORD that rendereth recompence to his enemies. Before she travailed, she brought forth; before 7

poem, however, is addressed to the faithful community in Jerusalem, while the preceding is addressed to (verses 1, 2) or refers to (verses 3, 4) the schismatics.

5. Probably the latter part of the long line has fallen out after 'your brothers who have hated you have said' . . . The term 'brothers' is here used, as often in Hebrew, for 'kinsmen.' The words which these 'brothers' use in driving out the faithful are of course expressions of mockery. The language of this verse points to evident scenes of violence enacted between the 'brothers' (who were led on by Sanballat) and the returned exiles from Babylonia. What actually occurred may be conjectured from Neh. iv, an instructive parallel. But an attentive perusal of that chapter leads us to the conclusion that in the present Isaiah passage allusion is made to an earlier episode in which the returning exiles were actually expelled from the city precincts. Probably the intervention of the Persian governor (*pehah*) obtained for them admission and security.

'But they shall be ashamed' (i. e. disappointed of their hopes, humiliated) is the poet's reassuring word to the faithful, following upon the words of scorn uttered by their opponents.

6. The vividness of the original is best expressed by the rendering, 'Hark! a roar from the city, thunder¹ from the temple, Yahweh's thunder, awarding retribution to His foes.' The words are very suggestive of a battle in the streets of Jerusalem in which the party of Sanballat are driven out. The language has an Isaianic ring, especially in its use of the word for 'roar' (*shā'ôn*); cf. xvii. 12, xxx. 30.

Verses 7-11 convey words of comfort to the hard-pressed and faithful followers of Yahweh. Reinforcements are coming, and the population of Zion shall immediately receive a considerable accession. Verse 12 clearly shows that this increase is to come from without.

7. On grounds of sense and metre we should expect that the

¹ In the original the word is *kôl* ('voice'), as in Isa. xxx. 30 (on which see note). The same word is previously used in the sense 'hark!' just as in Gen. iv. 10 ('Hark! thy brother's blood crieth . . .'). See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 146, 1, rem. 1.

- 8 her pain came, she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? Shall a land be born in one day? shall a nation be brought forth at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she
 9 brought forth her children. Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? saith the LORD: shall I that cause to bring forth shut *the womb*? saith thy God.
 10 Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad for her, all ye

first unusually abbreviated line of this verse has lost a few words. It begins very abruptly without any subject. Fortunately the repetition of its phrases at the close of the following verse allows us to restore with some probability, as follows:—

‘Before [Zion] travaileth—she hath brought forth [a son],
 Before pangs come to her—she hath a male child born.’

The language used in describing the birth in the second line of the original is unusual, probably designed to express an unprecedented fact, the swift increase of Zion’s future inhabitants in the new era that is to dawn. This conception of Zion’s prolific increase of progeny is a borrowed Deutero-Isaianic conception; cf. xlix. 18, 20, 21, liv. 1, 2.

8. Not only the metre of the original but also concord in gender renders it probable that the word for ‘people’ has been dropped out before the word ‘land’¹. Therefore translate:—

‘Shall the people of a land be begotten in travail—in one day?’

9 continues the same theme—Zion’s rapid accession of population; the immigration of faithful worshippers of Yahweh, the diaspora which must now have been very considerable, i. e. scattered Jewish exiles in all lands within and surrounding Western Asia (cf. verses 18-20).

The conclusion of this lyric poem and the opening verses of that which follows (verses 10-13) are strongly Deutero-Isaianic in tone; cf. xlix. 14-16, 22, 23, li. 2, 3, liv. 5-8.

10. In place of **Rejoice ye with Jerusalem** the LXX read in their text ‘Rejoice, O Jerusalem’; and there were also other slight

¹ In the original text, though the word for ‘land’ is fem., the verb ‘shall-be-begotten-in-travail’ is masculine. The insertion of the word for ‘people,’ which is masculine in Hebrew, restores the harmony of construction.

that love her : rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn over her : that ye may suck and be satisfied with the breasts of her consolations ; that ye may milk out, and be delighted with the abundance of her glory. For thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the nations like an overflowing stream, and ye shall suck thereof ; ye shall be borne

modifications in their text¹. Duhm adopts the text of the LXX in the opening clause.

11. The **abundance of her glory** is a questionable rendering, since we have no evidence that the Hebrew word *sis* which occurs in this solitary passage in the O. T. had the meaning 'abundance.' Comparison with the vulgar Arabic, as well as the parallel in the earlier part of the verse, confirms the view of most commentators (including Ewald, Duhm, and Marti) that it means the *maternal breast*. We might therefore render 'delight in her rich breast.' The same reflexive form of the original 'delight' (delight oneself) occurs in lvii. 4, lviii. 14.

Verses 12-17 are another poem on the same theme. Here, however, the thoughts of the writer are chiefly directed to the caravans of Jewish immigrants laden with the wealth of foreign lands. lx. 4 foll. is a close parallel. At the close of verse 14 a very different note is struck, and the writer suddenly quits his inspiring theme and turns to the heretical community that had its centre in Samaria whose evil practices are denounced as in lxxv. 1-7, lxxvi. 1-4.

12. This new section opens with the familiar formula 'Thus saith Yahweh,' which recurs so often in the Deutero-Isaiah as well as in the Trito-Isaiah (xlii. 5, xliii. 1, 14, xlv. 1, 11, xlix. 7, l. 1, lii. 3, lvi. 1). Yahweh here assures the Jewish community of a full tide of prosperity like an overflowing brook. It is derived from the wealth of foreigners (xlix. 22 foll., lx. 5). The language here (as in lx. 4) is an obvious echo of the Deutero-Isaianic xlix. 22. Render :

¹ The LXX render, 'Rejoice, Jerusalem, and be gathered in festal assembly all who dwell in her ; exult with exultation all ye that mourn over her.' Apparently their Hebrew text was as follows: . . . סָמְרוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם . . . וְהִתְעַבְרוּ (?) כְּלִי-שִׁבְיָהּ שִׁשִׁי מְשֻׁשׁ כָּל . . . On the whole this appears to be a more probable text. Those who are to rejoice are the *inhabitants* of the city, and not those who lived outside the borders of Judah. Of the latter as a vast incoming tide we read in verses 12 foll.

13 upon the side, and shall be dandled upon the knees. As
 one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you ;
 14 and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem. And ye shall
 see it, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall
 flourish like the tender grass : and the hand of the LORD
 shall be known toward his servants, and he will have
 15 indignation against his enemies. For, behold, the LORD
 will come with fire, and his chariots shall be like the
 whirlwind ; to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke
 16 with flames of fire. For by fire will the LORD plead, and
 by his sword, with all flesh : and the slain of the LORD
 17 shall be many. They that sanctify themselves and purify

' Their infant progeny¹ shall be carried on the hip (lit. 'side')
 —and on knees shall they be caressed.'

According to ix. 4 it is the girls only who are carried on the hip, while in the Deutero-Isaianic original (xlix. 22) the boys are carried in the bosom and the girls on the *shoulder*. The following verse as well as verse 22 shows that it is the foreigner who renders these kindly (yet servile) offices. And the same conception evidently underlies the present passage.

14. The **bones** are used here to designate the body generally, as in Ps. li. 8 (10 Heb.). These are to sprout like young grass, i. e. renew their vigour.

15. The Hebrew verb translated **render** (*hāshibh*) means really 'award as retribution' (Deut. xxxii. 41, 43). Read with LXX 'shall come as fire' (cf. the following clause).

16. **will plead**², i. e. will conduct his suit, urge his cause with invincible effect ; cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22.

17. Once more we have a reference to the gross rites of expiation practised by the heretical community in Palestine whereby they 'consecrated themselves.' The expression **behind** (or after) **one in the midst** evidently refers to the exercises of these companies in the heathen mysteries carried on in the gardens (cf. lrv. 3), the 'one in the midst' being the leader of the company. It is possible that scenes of frantic excitement took place

¹ Punctuate the Heb. מִבְּטֶנְיָהָ from the feminine collective טֶנְיָהָ, and see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gram.*²⁶, § 122, 4 c.

² The opening clause of this verse in the LXX runs: 'For with the fire of the Lord shall all the earth be consumed.' This has the appearance of being a later apocalyptic variant.

themselves *to go* unto the gardens, behind one in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and

like the dervish movements at the full-moon, which are common among the village fellahin in Egypt¹. On the other hand, Marti would compare the mystic rites portrayed in Ezek. viii. 11, in which the prophet sees in a chamber of the sanctuary seventy elders with Jaazaniah son of Shaphan standing in their midst, each with a censer in his hand. But the other parallel cited by Marti in his commentary from the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles II. 1, chap. 94 (Lipsius and Bonnet), is perhaps more closely illustrative. It is descriptive of certain sacramental dances. Probably we should find an allusion here to practices of this character carried on in the gardens by moonlight accompanied by piacular sacrifices².

Robertson Smith, *RS.*², p. 293, furnishes no analogy to this worship of the mouse. But we have interesting parallels cited by Pietschmann in his *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 228, who calls attention to the name 'Akbār, meaning 'mouse,' on Phœnician inscriptions³ as well as on sculptured stones in Jerusalem. From these facts we might conclude that the mouse was an animal totem. It would be normally what was called an unclean animal and sacrosanct. As Robertson Smith points out, the sacrifice of such an animal 'is generally limited to certain solemn occasions, usually annual . . . In several cases the worshippers partake of the sacred flesh which at other times it would be impious to touch' (*RS.*², p. 294).

There is no need to substitute for **abomination** (*shekes*) the word 'creeping thing' (*sheres*) as Duhm proposes. The former is read by the LXX in their text and in the parallel passage Ezek. viii. 10.

¹ Flinders Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt* (1892), p. 171. 'A professed dervish often leads the party . . . The people all stand in a circle and begin repeating *Al-lah* with a very strong accent on the latter syllable, bowing down the head and body at the former and raising it at the latter. This is all done in unison. Gradually the rate quickens, the accent is stronger and becomes more of an explosive howl . . . The excitement is wilder and hideously wild until a horrid creeping comes over you as you listen . . . Incipient madness of the intoxication of excitement seems poured out upon them all.'

² The *Kerê* reads קרן for פן, the feminine for the masculine form, apparently meaning a priestess rather than a goddess.

³ *Corpus Insc. Semit.*, I. 1, Nos. 178, 236, 239, 344 and 395. Cf. also the name 'Akbôr in Hebrew proper names (Gen. xxxvi. 38; 2 Kings xxii. 12, 14).

the mouse ; they shall come to an end together, saith the
 18 LORD. For I *know* their works and their thoughts : *the*
time cometh, that I will gather all nations and tongues ;
 19 and they shall come, and shall see my glory. And I will set
 a sign among them, and I will send such as escape of
 them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul and Lud, that

Confusion has evidently crept into the Hebrew text at the close of this verse and the beginning of the next. A part of the conclusion of verse 17 has been foisted into the beginning of verse 18. Accordingly read with Duhm :—

‘Their works and their devices—shall altogether have an end, saith Yahweh ;
 18. And I shall come to gather—all the nations and tongues.’

This reconstruction saves the passage from hopeless confusion, for which, as it appears to the present writer, no other satisfactory remedy has been proposed.

19. This verse is evidently based on reminiscences of chap. xlix. 22 (cf. lx. 9). The pronoun **them** obviously refers to the foreign peoples. Yahweh will display His power before them by a **sign** or miraculous deed, as in the Exodus from Egypt in the old days. The motive underlying this presents an analogy to that which underlies the prophecy of judgment against Gog in Ezek. xxxviii. foll. The restoration of Israel to Jerusalem took place under the aegis of the *foreign* Persian power. Some signal manifestation of the might of Yahweh, the God of Israel, before the eyes of the world, was needed. The ‘sign’ or manifestation of Yahweh’s power among the Gentiles will be destructive, and **such as escape** will be sent by Him to proclaim the news of Yahweh’s glory among foreign peoples who have never heard of it. In the enumeration of foreign races it would be safer to follow the LXX and read *Meshech* in place of **that draw the bow**. It is easy to see how the mistake arose. The proper name was mistaken for the Hebrew verb ‘to draw,’ and it was assumed by some scribe that the word for ‘bow’ had been dropped out.¹

¹ There is no need to add to Meshech the proper name Rôsh (Ezek. xxxviii. 1, xxxix. 1) with Duhm and Marti. The enumeration seems to proceed in groups of three. If, as Duhm points out, the race-names are borrowed from Ezekiel, who loved elaborate enumerations (e. g. Ezek. xxvii), we have the less reason to consider this modest list to be an interpolation. The influence of Ezekiel over the Trito-Isaiah is an obvious trait.

draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar off, that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. And ²⁰ they shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations for an offering unto the LORD, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the LORD, as the children of Israel bring their offering in a clean vessel into the house of the LORD. And of them also ²¹ will I take for priests *and* for Levites, saith the LORD.

Both *Meshech* and *Tubal* are mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (Schrader, *COT.*, i, pp. 64-7), and occur together in Gen. x. 2. They were races dwelling east of Cappadocia and north-east of Cilicia. *Javan* was the Semitic name for the Greek (properly the *Ionian*) race scattered over the coastlands (R. V. 'isles') as well as islands of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean (*COT.*, i, p. 65 f.). *Tarshish* is the town Tartessus in Spain (near the mouth of the Guadalquivir), well known to Herodotus (i. 163), who was a contemporary of the Trito-Isaiah and Nehemiah (see vol. i, p. 103). It is agreed among all critics that **פִּל** here is a scribal error for *Pūt*. *Pūt* appears to have been a Libyan people. So LXX in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. See Driver's *Genesis*, note on x. 6. Probably we should regard **לֹד** here as a North African race and region rather than identify it with the Lydians of Asia Minor conquered by Cyrus.

20. Overawed by the news of Yahweh's overwhelming manifestation of power, these peoples hasten to convey the scattered representatives of the Hebrew race dwelling among them to Zion as the offering of their homage to His might. The feminine form in Hebrew rendered above 'swift beasts' is rightly interpreted in R. V. margin 'dromedaries' (following Ibn 'Ezra and Kimḥi).

21. *And of them also* obviously refers to the *Israelites of the Dispersion*, who were to be conveyed by Gentiles to the homeland. About this recent commentators (including Kittel, Duhm, and Marti) are agreed, though in former times a large number of authorities—including Gesenius, Ewald, Delitzsch, Orelli, and Baudissin—held that it was the converted Gentiles from whom priests were to be chosen. But the whole context and spirit of the Trito-Isaiah are against the supposition of such a splendid assertion of universalism. It has been a matter of dispute whether we ought to read 'for priests *and* for Levites' with LXX and old versions and numerous Hebrew MSS. (see Curtiss, *Levitical*

- 22 For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall
 23 your seed and your name remain. [And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before
 24 me, saith the LORD. And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall

Priests, p. 205 foll.). At the time when the Trito-Isaiah wrote, the Deuteronomic system still held sway in which no distinction was drawn between the Priests and Levites. After the reforms introduced by Nehemiah, when the system developed in the Priestercodex came to be enforced, this distinction was maintained. The insertion of 'and' into various texts of this passage (on which the versions were based) then arose. Render with Kittel, Duhamel, and others 'for Levite-priests'.

22. A promise of permanence to Israel's race and power at the dawn of this new era worthily concludes the oracles of the Trito-Isaiah.

23-24 are an appended conclusion by a later hand beginning with the familiar recurring formula **And it shall come to pass**. We recognize the same spirit that added the glosses to chap. xlviii—the same touch of pessimistic gloom that belongs to an age of decadence. In this case the phraseology clearly betrays the later origin—e.g. the use of *shabbâth* in the sense of 'week,' which only belongs to later Hebrew (as Num. xxviii. 10; Lev. xxiii. 15, xxv. 8) as well as Aramaic (reflected in Mark xvi. 2, 9). Also the word *dērâôn*, meaning 'abomination' or 'horror' (**abhorring** R. V.) is quite late, being found in Dan. xii. 2. Evidently the ecclesiastical system of the Priestercodex had been long established, 'As often as the month is at its new moon and the week returns at its sabbath.' The dreadful spectacle of the carcasses of the wicked amid the worms and fires of the valley of Hinnom², on which the righteous fix their gaze, belongs to a much later stadium

¹ Delete the preposition which precedes the word 'Levites' in our Hebrew text (i. e. read לְלֵוִיִּים).

² Gê-Hinnom, south and west of Jerusalem, was in the eighth and seventh centuries associated with the dark rites of Molech worship with its human sacrifices (2 Kings xiii. 10). See vol. i, p. 193. In later days this name assumed the form Gê-Hennâ, a term used to designate the place of torment for the wicked.

their fire be quenched ; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.]

of Jewish thought than that of the Trito-Isaiah. It was the age when Gê-Hennâ as a place of torment for the wicked was a part of its eschatology, in which 'this accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever' (Enoch xxvii. 2). Cf. Judith xvi. 17, Jesus Sir. vii. 17.

We have travelled a long way and descended far below the levels of the Deutero-Isaiah and the towering solitary peaks of the Servant-Poems. We have to travel further still before we reach the yet loftier height of Golgotha. Let the reader mark the contrast between the language employed towards the 'brothers,' the Samaritan schismatics, and Luke xxiii. 34 ; cf. Matt. xxiii. 37, and also Matt. viii. 11, 12. For in Jesus, the Son of Man, we find the true fulfilment of the ideal of the 'Servant of Yahweh.'

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

DATE	EGYPT	THE JEWS	BABYLONIA	PERSIA
556 B. C.			Accession of NABONIDUS.	
550				CYRUS. Conquest of Media and subsequently of Lydia.
545 538		<i>The Deutero-Isaiah.</i> Isa. xl-lv.	Conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, <i>Downfall of the Neo-Baby- lonian and establishment of the PERSIAN EMPIRE.</i>	
537-6		Restoration of Jew- ish Exiles by Cyrus.		
529			Death of CYRUS and accession of CAMBYSES.	
527-5	Conquest of Egypt by Cam- byses.	Isa. lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12.		
522 521			Suicide of CAMBYSES. PSEUDO-SMERDIS — DARIUS I, son of Hystaspes, begins his reign.	
520		Temple - rebuilding commenced under Zerubbabel and Joshua. Prophetic activity of <i>Haggai</i> and <i>Zechariah</i> .		
516 500 490		Temple completed.	Ionian revolt against Darius. Defeat of the Persians at <i>Marathon</i> .	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

DATE	EGYPT	THE JEWS	PERSIA
485			Death of DARIUS I and accession of XERXES I (Kshayarsha).
480	Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine (Yeb) and Syene belonging to Jewish settlers ¹ (471-407 B. C.).		Defeat of the Persians at <i>Thermopylae</i> and <i>Salamis</i> [<i>Herodotus</i> and <i>Aeschylus</i>].
464			Assassination of XERXES. Accession of ARTAXERXES I, <i>Longimanus</i> (Artakshathra).
458		<i>Malachi</i> and <i>Ezra</i> . The <i>Trito-Isaiah</i> . Isa. lvi-lxvi.	
445		Arrival of <i>Nehemiah</i> at Jerusalem. Walls rebuilt. Reorganization of cultus. <i>Priestercodex</i> .	
424			[<i>Socrates</i> , <i>Sophocles</i> , <i>Aristophanes</i> .] Death of ARTAXERXES I. Accession of XERXES II (<i>Sogdianus</i>).
423			Accession of DARIUS II (<i>Nothus</i>).
404		<i>Joel</i> prophesies.	Death of DARIUS II and accession of ARTAXERXES II (<i>Mnemon</i>). [<i>Euripides</i> , <i>Plato</i> , <i>Xenophon</i>].
401			Defeat of <i>Cyrus the Younger</i> at the Battle of <i>Cunaxa</i> . <i>Xenophon</i> leads back the 10,000 Greeks.

¹ Edited by Sachau (Elephantine) and by Cowley and Sayce (Syene).

APPENDIX II

INSCRIPTION ON THE CLAY CYLINDER OF CYRUS,
KING OF PERSIA (538-529 B. C.)

BASED ON THE TRANSCRIPTION AND RENDERING OF PROF. EBERHARD
SCHRADER (*KIB.*, vol. iii, Part 2, p. 120 foll.), WITH SOME
SUGGESTED CORRECTIONS BY REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A.

[Lines 9-35. The earlier and subsequent portions of the inscription are seriously mutilated.]

9. At this insolence (? *tasimti*) the lord of gods was very wrath . . . destroyed their wall (?). The gods which dwelt there forsook their dwellings (10.) in anger because he (Nabonidus) had carried them to Šuanna (Babylon). Marduk (Merodach) . . . and the people (11.) of Šumer and Akkad who resembled corpses (?) he allowed to go . . . permitted the return of the entirety of all lands ; . . . 12. was concerned about the righteous king whom he bore in his heart, whose hand he held, about Cyrus king of Anšan, whose name he proclaimed, for kingship ; over the entirety of the world was his name declared.

13. The land Kutù, the whole of the Manda troops, he (Marduk) subjected to his (Cyrus's) authority ; the dark-headed ones (or Babylonians) he (Marduk) delivered into his (Cyrus's) hands.

14. With justice and rectitude he cared for them (?). Marduk, the Lord, the protector (*tarù*) of his people, looked with joy upon his (Cyrus's) beneficent deeds and upright heart.

15. He commanded his (Cyrus's) march to his own (Marduk's) city Babylon, caused him to take the road to Tintir (Babylon). Like a friend and helper he marched by his side.

16. Whose far-extended hosts, whose number like the waters of a river, cannot be estimated ; who marched with weapons girded at his side.

17. Without battle or encounter he (Marduk) caused him to enter Šuanna, his town Babylon he with trouble spared. Nabonidus, who had no reverence for him (Marduk) he (Marduk) delivered up to his (Cyrus's) hand. 18. The inhabitants of Tintir (Babylon) altogether, all Šumer and Akkad, the great ones and the viceroys abased themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced in his kingship. Their countenance shone.

19. The Lord [i. e. Marduk], who in assurance that he brings the dead to life, maintains all amid trouble and sorrow, approached him graciously. His name thundered forth : 20. I, Cyrus, king

of hosts, great king, mighty king, king of Tintir, king of Šumer and Akkad, king of the four regions; 21. son of Cambyses, the great king, the king of Anšan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of Anšan, great-grandson of Šišpiš (Tešpes), the great king, the king of Anšan; 22. the eternal seed (*ziru*) of royalty whose kingdom Bel and Nebo love, whose rule they longed for to their hearts' joy—I made my entry into Babylon in peace. 23. I adopted with joy and pleasure the royal palace as my lordly residence. Marduk the great lord . . . inhabitants (?) of Babylon . . . On this day . . . (24.) my far-extended armies spread themselves forth in Babylon in peace. I caused all the [inhabitants of Šumer and] Akkad to have no adversary. 25. Amid Babylon and all its towns I was . . . in friendship . . . with the inhabitants of Tintir . . . 26. Their wrongs I set right, put an end to their grievance (*sarbu*). In order to execute this . . . (?) Marduk, the great Lord, gave instructions. 27. Unto me, Cyrus, the king who reveres him, and Cambyses my son, the issue of my body . . . unto my entire army (28.) he graciously drew nigh, in friendship before it he beneficently . . . The whole of the kings who dwell in (royal) chambers. 29. Who from the world in its entirety from the upper sea to the lower sea [such as dwell inland?], the kings of the land Amurri (Phoenicia and Palestine), the inhabitants of . . . all of them (30.) brought their rich tribute and in Suanna (Babylon) kissed my feet. From . . . the towns of Ašur and Ištar . . . 31. Agadi, Ašunnak Zamban, Me-Turnu, Dūrili to the district of Kutū, towns on the Tigris whose abode from old time lay in ruin (*nadū*), (32.) the gods who dwelt in them I brought back to their place, caused them to inhabit a permanent abode. All their inhabitants I assembled, re-erected their dwellings. 33. Moreover the gods of Šumer and Akkad whom Nabunāid (Nabonidus), to the indignation of the lord of gods, had brought into Suanna (Babylon)¹, at the command of Marduk the great lord (34.) I caused to dwell in their abode in security, a dwelling acceptable to their heart. May all the gods whom I have brought into their towns (35.) daily offer intercessions before Bel and Nebo during the length of my days, may they proclaim the utterance of my favour, and unto Marduk, my lord, may they declare how Cyrus the king who reveres thee and Cambyses his son . . .

¹ This line 33 clearly explains the allusion to the policy of Nabonidus in the defective lines 9, 10 above.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Vol. I. pp. 27, 316. 'Rahab *sit still*' is the conventional rendering of the conventional Massoretic text, which Hensler reads 'Rahab the vanquished' (*Rahab hammoshbāth*). This is accepted by Gunkel, Budde, and Cheyne, and is probably correct.

p. 138, last line, for 'allied kings' read 'Assyrian king.'

p. 246, Isa. xxi. 11. The ancient Greeks varied between three and five watches. See Vollbrecht on Xenophon's *Anabasis* (Introd.) who speaks of *three*, and Eurip., *Rhesus* 543 which alludes to a *fifth* watch.

p. 265. Isa. xxiii. 15 foll. The Phoenicians of Tyre were apparently celebrated for their music and singing. Comp. the ἀρχαιομελι(η)σιδωνοφρυνιχήματα of Aristophanes (*Wasps* 220) and Ezek. xxvi. 13.

p. 347, line 4 from below. Isa. li. 11 is a late insertion, and is derived from Isa. xxxv. 10, where metre as well as sense show it to have been original.

Vol. II, p. 243 foll. The *hand* figured on Carthaginian votive stones is capable of explanation as having a *magical* origin. It served as a prophylactic to the depredator or the evil eye. According to Westermarck (art. on 'Magic Origin of Moorish Designs' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv (1904), p. 211 foll.). 'If a Moor suspects some one of looking at him with an evil eye . . . he stretches out the five fingers of the right hand towards the eyes of the other and says: *hamsa 'ala 'ainak* "five in your eye"! The hand is supposed to have the power of throwing back on the other the evil influence.' A missionary from Morocco has confirmed to the present writer what Westermarck has alleged. Inside or on the door of the shop or house, often inside the threshold, may constantly be seen the blackened figure of a hand as a prophylactic. Dr. Haddon states that this magic tradition is to be found throughout the Mediterranean littoral. It seems to be based on the conception of a power or *numen* residing in the hand, indicated in the phrase יָד בְּכַף עַיִן in Gen. xxxi. 29, 'it is in the power of my hand'; cf. Prov. iii. 27; Mic. ii. 1; Deut. xxviii. 32. See Brockelmann in *ZATW.*, 1906, p. 29 foll.

Respecting יָד in the sense of 'memorial,' 'monument,' see Gottheil, *ibid.* p. 277 f.

INDEX

- Aben 'Ezra : *see* Ibn 'Ezra.
 Abraham, 21, 69, 312.
 Abu Habba, 76.
 Ahab, 253.
 Ahava, 11.
 Ahaz, 29.
 Ahriman (Angromainyu), 121,
 122.
 Ahura-mazda (Aurmazd), 121.
 Amasis, 10.
 Amon, 4.
 Amos, 77, 180.
 Angelology, 299.
 Animals, 98 ; taboo with sacro-
 sanct flesh, 319 f.
 Anoint, 290.
 Anshan (Anzan), 61.
 Antelope, 184.
 Antimony (*Stibium*), Sulphuret
 of, 214.
 Aramaic papyri, 161, 228f., 263.
 Aristophanes, 344.
 Arms, metaphorical use of, 277.
 Artaxerxes Ochus, 307.
Arûchah, 267 (R.V. 'healing').
 Assouân (*see* Syene).
 Assyria, 3, 4, 187, 188, 216.
 Astyages, 61, 65.
 Ašurbanipal, 4, 7.
- Baalzebub, 78.
 Babylon, Babylonia, *passim*.
 Bacher, 104.
 Baentsch, 58, 62.
bārâ, 'create,' 82.
 Bar Cochba, 45.
 Barton, 167.
 Bâthgen, 252 n.
 Baudissin, 337.
- Bêl (Marduk), 33, 108 : *see* Mar-
 duk.
 Bennett, 21, 128, 179, 282.
Berôsh, 75.
 Bertholet, 195.
Beth essentiae, 55, 146.
Be'ûlah, 297 f.
 Black obelisk (Shalmaneser II),
 183.
 Book of the Covenant, 319.
 Borsippa, 52, 131.
Bosheth, name for deity, 255.
 Bousset, 42, 197 n., 209.
 Bowl (*kôs*), 34.
 Bozrah, 302 f.
 Budde, 136, 171, 183, 184, 189,
 199, 205, 306, 308 n.
- Calamus, *see* Sweet-cane.
 Cambyses, 229, 340, 343.
 Carbuncles, 215, 285 n.
 Casiphia, 11.
Casus pendens, 113.
 Chantepie de la Saussaye, 77,
 121.
 Chemosh, 77.
 Cheyne, *passim*.
 China, 160 (identified with
 Sinim) : *see* Syene.
 Clericus, 55.
 Clothing, metaphorical use of,
 277.
 Contract-tablets, 217.
 Cook, Stanley, 74.
 Cornill, 12, 19, 189, 230, 269 n.
 Cosmogony, 57 f., 60 f., 179.
 Covenant-people, 83.
 Creation story (Babylonian),
 33, 178 f.

- Croesus, 61, 119.
 Curtiss, S. Ives, 231 f., 337.
 Cyrus, 16, 17, 21, 28, 30, 31,
 32, 49, 52, 61, 65, 78 f., 108,
 115 f., 142, 148 f., 152, 187,
 194, 276, 342 f.
 Cyrus-cylinder (clay cylinder),
 32, 118, 119 f., 228, 342 f.
 Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle, 116.

 Dagon, 131.
 Dalman, 153.
 Daniel, Book of, 106.
 Darius Hystaspis, 121, 230,
 340.
 Darius II (Nothus), 229, 341.
 David, 15.
 Deeds, 217.
 Delitzsch, Franz, 55, 60, 64,
 69, 82, 102, 164, 201, 203,
 213, 252, 267, 290, 309.
 Delitzsch, Fried., 172.
 Demon, 78.
 Deuteronomy, Deuteronomic,
 5, 89, 99, 235 f., 242.
 Deutero-Zechariah, 151.
 De Wette, 252.
 Diaspora, 43, 280.
 Dillmann, 21, 96, 157, 164, 300.
 Divorce, writ of, 168.
 Döderlein, 254 n., 281 n.
 Door-posts, 253.
 Dör, 204.
 Drink-offering, 252.
 Driver, 35, 134, 189, 218, 228,
 233 f., 252 n., 259, 262, 263,
 267, 337.
 Dromedaries, 337.
 Dualism (Persian), 121.
 Duhm, *passim*.
 Dust-eating, as a phrase, 327.

 Edersheim, 153.
 Edom, 234, 301-5.
 Eerdmans, 226 n.
 Egypt, 1, 10, 28, 52, 93, 97,
 150, 160 f., 179 f., 187, 340 f.

 Eichhorn, 30, 64, 280.
El, 58, 82.
 Eleazar, 195.
 Elephantine, 228 f. (Yeb).
Elohim, 58, 202.
 Enoch (Book of), 41 f., 325.
Enôsh: see 'Man.'
 Ephah, 282.
 Ephod, 110.
 Ephraim, 102.
 Erman, 52.
 Esarhaddon, 4.
 Eschatology (in Deutero-
 Isaiah), 39.
 Ethiopia, 28, 92, 93, 125 f.
 Ewald, 31 n., 51, 55, 64, 66, 69,
 83, 86, 96, 126, 128, 185, 201,
 215, 216, 246, 252, 309, 311,
 315 n., 337.
 Ezekiel, 12, 13-17, 25, 69, 138,
 160, 169, 183, 190, 231, 236 f.,
 254 f., 321.
 Ezra, 242, 246, 258, 300.

 Face of Baal, 272.
 False prophets, 139.
 Fasts, 263, 265 n.
 Flint, 172.
 Forgiveness, 38, 102.
 Fortune: see Gad.
 Frankincense, 32, 101, 282.
 Friedländer, M., 43, 46.

 Gad, 323.
 Ganneau, Clermont, 232.
 Gardens in Babylonia, 176.
 Gê-Hinnôm (Gê-Henna), 252,
 338.
 Genitive, expegetic, 55.
 Gentiles, 194, 199.
Gēr, 43.
 Gesenius, 30, 51, 60, 64, 95,
 103, 252, 281, 337.
 Giesebrecht, 12, 24, 27, 84, 154,
 155, 158, 181, 193, 197, 199,
 203 f., 206 f.
 Gilgamesh epic, 101.

- Glory of Yahweh, 278 n.
 Gnostic Perfect, 262.
 God (ideas of) in Deutero-
 Isaiah, 36 f.
Góél, 72, 279.
 Gog, 197 n.
 Grätz, 72, 85, 215, 285.
 Gressmann, 52, 77, 134, 197 n.,
 210, 276 n., 307.
 Gunkel, 21, 52, 95, 128.

 Haddon, 344.
 Hades (*Sheól*), 114.
 Haggai, 21, 125, 225, 229 f.
 Hand = memorial, 243 f.;
 = phallus (?), 254; in magic,
 344.
Hasdám, 41, 249 (*Hesed*).
 Hengstenberg, 99, 103, 290.
 Henotheism, 77.
Hephes, in sense of 'occupation,'
 270.
 Hephzibah, 297 f.
 Herodotus, 119.
 Hezekiah, 4.
 Hillel, 45.
 Hitzig, 51, 60, 64, 95, 114, 126,
 156, 204, 215, 252, 309.
 Hofmann, 193 n.
 Holy (Holiness), 61; 'holy
 city,' 143, 259.
 Holzinger, 21.
 Hommel, 76.
 Horace, 171.
 Hosea, 102, 321.
 Hosts, 62, 144, 299 (*Sebâóth*).
 Houbigant, 103, 105.
 Hypostasis, 271.

 Ibn 'Ezra, 96, 128, 137, 193,
 252, 281, 294, 296, 309.
 Idols, idolatry, 106, 110, 144.
 Immanuel, 5, 15.
 Immortality, 196.
 Inauguration to prophetic call-
 ing, 153.
 Irrigation, 32.

 Isaiah (of Jerusalem), 3 f., 102,
 141, 216.
 Ishtar (Íštar), 6, 7, 138.
 Israel, God's relation to, 38 f.
 Izates, 44.

 Jacob, 102.
 Jastrow, 116, 141, 202 n.
 Javan, 337.
 Jehoahaz (Shallum), 5.
 Jehoiachin, 26.
 Jehoiakim, 8.
 Jensen, 101, 320.
 Jeremiah, 5-9, 26, 51, 102, 138,
 161, 218, 237, 284, 325.
 Jeremias, 58, 62, 101, 119, 176.
 Jerome, 60, 65.
 Jerusalem, New, 279 f.
 Jeshurún, 104.
 Jezebel, 214.
 Job, 20, 41.
 Johns, 12, 217, 344.
 Jonah, 41.
 Josephus, 44.
 Joshua, 125.
 Josiah, 5, 329.
 Jubilees, Book of, 326.
 Judgment, 242.

Kanú: see Sweet-cane.
 Kautzsch, 124.
 Kebar, 11.
 Kedar, 86, 283.
 Kennedy, 217.
Keré, 187, 289, 309.
Kethibh, 187, 289, 309.
Ketóreth, 101.
Kimhi, 65, 193, 280, 296.
Kinah (elegiac) metre, 53, 54, 71,
 115, 136, 171, 183, 295, 297.
 Kingu, 33.
 Kittel, 32, 51, 80, 108, 112,
 117, 143, 164, 215, 311, 337.
 Klostermann, 85, 103, 112, 145,
 156, 214 n., 285, 311.
 Knobel, 51, 204.
 'Know,' in Hebrew, 262.

- Kohl, 214.
 Koppe, 30, 280.
 Kosters, 31, 125, 195, 225 n.,
 276 n.
 Kuenen, 225, 245.
 Lagarde, 59 n., 302, 303.
 Lamentations (of Jeremiah),
 265 n.
 Larsa, 76.
Lēbh ('heart') properly *mind*
 of man, 56.
Lebhōnah: see Frankincense.
 Lehmann, 121.
 Levi, 20; Levites, 337 f.
 Lidzbarski, 323.
 Littmann, Enno, 236 f., 254,
 256, 276 n, 302, 307 f.
 Lofthouse, 13.
 Lowth, 30, 53, 64, 86, 114,
 137, 184, 185, 207, 213, 252,
 277, 281.
 Lud, 337.
 Luther, 204, 309.
 Magic, 109, 140, 250; magic
 broth, 319.
 Malachi, 21, 225.
 Man (in his limitation) = *enōsh*,
 180, 242.
 Manasseh, 4, 319.
 Marduk (Merodach), 16, 33,
 52, 95, 131, 148, 179, 228.
 Marti, *passim*.
Me'il, 'tunic,' 295.
 Memorial, 253.
Meni (Manat), 323.
 Mesha, stone of, 132.
 Meshech, 336 f.
 Messiah, Messianic expectation,
 218; absence in Trito-Isaiah,
 235, 279, 291.
 Meyer, 11, 124, 125, 227.
 Micaiah, 103.
 Michaelis, 60.
 Milk, 217.
Minbah, 100, 252 f.
Mishpāt, 81, 89.
 Moab, 77, 329.
Mohar, 168.
 Moloch (Molech), 252, 255.
 Monotheism, 77.
 Moon-god (*Sin*), 138.
 Moore, 164.
Mōrag, 73.
 Mordtmann, 168.
Mōsā, 74: see Water-channel.
 Moses, 153, 306, 310 f.
 Moth, 177 f.
 Mouse, 320, 335.
 Muhammad, 69.
 Nabonidus (Nabūnaid), 33, 76.
 Nabopolassar, 132.
 Nägelsbach, 102, 290.
 Nahum, 189.
 Name, 244.
 Namtar, 202.
 Nebaioth, 282, 283.
 Nebo, 16, 76, 108, 131, 138, 148.
 Nebuchadrezzar (Nebuchad-
 nezzar), 11, 16, 76, 191, 211,
 285, 308.
 Nebuzaradan, 103.
 Nehemiah, 125, 171, 246, 258,
 259, 269, 279, 300, 308, 316,
 338.
 Nergal, 138.
 New Covenant, 8, 83, 218.
 Nineveh, 139.
Niph'al tolerativum, 203 n.,
 219 n., 318 n.
 Nowack, 189.
 'Nursing father': see *Ōmēn*.
 Oak (terebinth), 251 f.
 Oholibah, 183.
 Oil of joy, 292.
Ōmēn, 'nursing father,' 165.
 Oort, 53, 72, 85, 94, 103, 112,
 156, 174, 185, 281, 311.
 Orelli, 96, 290, 296, 337.
Oren (*erīnu* Assyr.), 'fir,' 'pine,'
 III.

- Osiris, 255.
 Otley, 157, 175, 186, 208.
- Paul, St., 45, 172.
 Peake, 14, 41, 199, 206.
Pe'al'al form, 291 n.
 Peniel (Penuel), 272.
 Persia, 17, 286 n., 299.
Pesel, 110.
 Petrie, Flinders, 335 n.
 Phallus, 254.
 Pharaoh, 312.
 Pharaoh Apries (Hophra), 10.
 Pharaoh Necho, 5.
 Philo, 44.
 Pillar, 252.
 Plucking the hair, 171.
 Post, 178.
 Prayer, 244 f., 327.
 Premundane existence, 153.
 Proselytes, 42, 241 f.
 Ptolemy Soter, 307.
Pûkh, 214.
 Pûl, 337.
 Pût, 337.
- Rahab, 178 f.
 Rashi, 65, 109, 128, 293.
 Red Sea, 180.
 Reshpâ, 78.
 Resurrection of race, 196.
 Revelation, Book of, 106.
 Riehm, 178.
 Righteousness, 37, 79 (*šedeḳ*,
šedaḳah), 122, 124, 136, 175 f.,
 216, 242, 249, 257.
 Rosenmüller, 29 f., 65, 69, 82,
 95, 193, 203, 267.
 Rothstein, 229 n., 308.
Rûah (Spirit), 56.
- Saadiah, 137, 162, 281, 293.
 Saba, 50 (Sabæans), 125.
 Sabbath, 232, 241 f., 244, 269 ;
 = week, 338.
 Sachau, 100, 229.
 Sackcloth, 170.
- Sagan*, 79.
 Samaritans, 250 f., 258 f. ;
 Samaria, 297 ; schism, 317 f.
 Sanballat, 331.
 Sargon, 92.
 Schian, 195 n.
 Schrader, *passim*.
 Schürer, 42.
 Schwally, 139.
 Seba, 92.
Sebâoth : see 'Hosts.'
 Secker, 143, 185, 268.
 Seetzen, 106.
 Sellin, 26.
 Sennacherib, 66, 87, 132.
 Servant of Yahweh, 18-29.
 Servant-poems, 18-27, 36, 80 f.,
 152 f., 170 f., 192-210, 238.
 Shallum : see Jehoahaz.
 Shammai, 45.
 Sharon, plain of, 322.
 Sheba, 92, 283.
Sheôl : see Hades.
 Shepherd = King, 117, 248.
 Sibyl, Jewish, 44.
 Siloam-inscription, 74.
 Simon ben Gamaliel, 45.
 Sippar, 76.
 Skinner, 37 f., 106.
 Slave, Slavery, 12 (slave-girl,
 137), 169.
 Smith, G. Adam, 37, 125, 217,
 227, 230, 307 n.
 Smith, Robertson, 105, 210,
 320, 321, 330, 335.
 Soothsaying, 116, 128, 141, 250.
 Stade, 276 n., 293.
 Star-worship, 319.
 Stier, 193 n.
 Stone-symbol, 252.
 Strauss-Torney, 160.
 Style of Deutero-Isaiah, 35 f. ;
 of Trito-Isaiah, 235 f.
 Sun (*Shamash*), 138.
 Sweet-cane (calamus), 101.
 Swine, 320.
 Syene, 92, 160 f.

- Tallquist, 33.
 Tanit, 272.
 Tarshish, 337.
 Tell Abib, 11.
 Tell-el-Amarna tablets, 34,
 117, 166.
 Temple of Solomon, 313; of
 Zerubbabel, 316.
 Temple-vessels, 182 f.
 Terebinth confused in Heb.
 with 'God,' 252.
 Tiāmat, 33, 178, 179.
 Tierce-measure, 56.
 Tiglath-Pileser III, 92.
Tincidae, 177.
Tōhu, 57 f., 127.
Tōrah, 81, 89.
Tōshāb, 43.
 Tree-cultivation, 111.
 Trito-Isaiah, 30, 143, 149, 223;
 and thereafter, *passim*.
 Tubal, 337.
- Umbreit, 57.
 Unclean, Uncleanness, of land,
 99.
 Universalism, 39 f.
 Ur, 76.
- Vicarious suffering, 209.
 Vitrina, 55, 57, 86, 204.
 Walls, named, 288.
 Water-channel, 32, 74, 105, 268.
 Way, as ritual term, 262.
 Weber, 209 f.
 Weir, 268.
 Wellhausen, 117 f., 124, 125,
 214.
 Westermarck, 344.
 Wetzstein, 303.
 Wife-purchase, 168.
 Wildeboer, 226 n.
 Willow, 105.
 Winckler, 26, 166, 327.
 Xenophon, 119, 341, 344.
 Yahweh as judge (Shōphēt),
 196.
 Yeb, 229.
- Zebhāh*, 253.
 Zechariah, 125, 225, 226, 229 f.
 Zephaniah, 139.
 Zerubbabel, 26, 29, 125, 218,
 238, 279; temple of, 313.
 Zimmern, 33, 101, 202 n.

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