

ISAIAH 34 AND ITS POSITION IN THE PROPHECY

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IN THE structure of Isaiah's prophecy chapter 34 occupies a pivotal position!¹ Gesenius was one of the first to suggest identity of authorship with chapters 13-14.² Ewald, however, attributed the chapter to the writer of Jeremiah 50-51,³ and Duhm sought to combine these two views.⁴ Kissane declares that not even the most conservative critics (and among these he ranks Feldmann and Fischer) will attribute the poem to Isaiah, but he, himself, seems to think that Isaiah may be the author,⁵ and advances some considerations against a post-exilic date.⁶ Torrey makes the chapter the beginning of the

¹ For a recent discussion of the relation of this chapter to what follows cf. Marvin Pope: "Isaiah 34 In Relation To Isaiah 35, 40-66" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 71, 1952, pp. 235-243.

² Gesenius (*Commentar über den Jesaia*, Leipzig, 1821, pp. 908 f.) held that both 34 and 35, like 40-66, clearly belong to the last period of the exile. This position "bedarf . . . keines ausführlichen Beweises". These two chapters therefore have a close relationship with other passages from the same period such as 13 and 14, and this renders the identity of authorship probable. Gesenius compares 34:4 with 13:9, 10; 24:19 ff.; 34:11 ff. and 13:20-22; 35:2 with 40:5, 9 and 60:1; 35:3-5 with 40:1, 2, 9 and 42:16; 35:6, 7 with 43:19, 20; 48:21 and 49:10, 11; 35:8 with 40:3, 4; 49:11 and 62:10, etc. From the ethical standpoint also 34 is said to belong in the same class as 13 and 14.

³ Ewald: *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament* (English translation), vol. V, 1881, p. 19.

⁴ Duhm (*Die Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn, 1875, p. 302) held that Isaiah 13:2 ff., 34 f. and Jeremiah 50 f. probably all came from the same author. All presuppose the book of "Deuterodesaia".

⁵ Edward J. Kissane: *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. I, Dublin, 1941, p. 380.

⁶ Kissane asserts that the fundamental reason for the unity of opinion in assigning this chapter to a post-exilic period is the supposed bitter hostility toward the Edomites which is thought to have characterized that period. The parallels between Isa. 34 and 40-66, Jeremiah and Zephaniah are believed to show that 34 and 35 depend upon the literature of the exilic and post-exilic period.

If the name Edom in 34:5 ff. is original, Kissane thinks the Isaianic authorship must be abandoned. Kissane, however, holds that the name

work of his "second" Isaiah.⁷ The conservative scholars of the nineteenth century as well as conservative scholars today attribute the authorship of the thirty-fourth chapter to Isaiah himself. What are the reasons for such a position? Is Isaiah the author of chapter 34 or does it come from some time after the exile?

The Dead Sea Scroll

A new phase in the study of Isaiah 34 has arrived with the discovery of the great Isaiah scroll in Cave I near Khirbet Qumran.⁸ In this manuscript there is a break between chapters 33 and 34, to which Paul Kahle early called attention. He thought that this supported Torrey's theory that chapter 34 began the work of the so-called "second" Isaiah.⁹

In his recent book Brownlee seeks to maintain that the prophecy of Isaiah in its present form is the work of an Isaianic school which produced a two-volume edition of Isaianic material,¹⁰ and that the two volumes are remarkably parallel in general outline and structure.¹¹

is not original, but a misreading for 'man'. Indeed, all of 6 e-f is said to be an interpolation from after the exile.

Furthermore, with respect to the parallels, Kissane points out that in 34-35 the desert is Palestine itself whereas in 40-66 it is the desert through which the exiles pass on their way to Palestine. In 51:11 words (appearing also in 35:10) are quoted as a prophecy formerly given. Kissane goes on to indicate that the general theme of 34-35 is common to nearly all the prophecies of the section. Furthermore, he argues, even minor details have close parallels with earlier prophecies in this section.

⁷ C. C. Torrey: *The Second Isaiah*, Edinburgh, 1928.

⁸ A facsimile of the text together with a transcription in square Hebrew characters is given in Burrows: *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950. The literature on the scrolls has become tremendous. The reader who is particularly interested in the manuscript of Isaiah may be referred to William Hugh Brownlee: *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible*, 1964. This book devotes special attention to the great scroll of Isaiah.

⁹ Paul Kahle: *Die Hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle*, 1951, pp. 72 ff.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 247-249. Brownlee gives an analysis of the prophecy to show the parallelisms between 1-33 and 34-66. The analysis, however, appears to be forced and not derived from an exegesis of the text itself.

Chapters 36-39, he reasons, were probably borrowed from the same stream of Isaianic tradition from which the author of Kings obtained his material, and were inserted in order to form a parallel to chapters 7-8.¹² Furthermore, chapter 6 also has some echoes in chapter 40. Thus, the two halves of the book (*i. e.*, the present Isaiah) possess a unity which derives from the Isaianic school.

It is Brownlee's position that the Qumran scribe began with a manuscript containing only the first thirty-three chapters and concluded copying from one with sixty-six chapters.¹³ In other words when he completed copying the first manuscript he was compelled to turn to another because the first one contained the text of only the first thirty-three chapters. This first scroll, therefore, is to be regarded as volume I.

Brownlee holds that Isaiah himself organized a school which even included his own children, and from this school itself the supposed exilic prophet, the so-called second Isaiah, is said to have arisen. It is this school which gave us the book of Isaiah as we now have it and which included some intentional parallelisms between the two volumes.¹⁴

In each volume, we are told, there is introductory material followed by biography, the appearance of the second-Exodus motif, and the balancing of anti-foreign with anti-Babylonian oracles. The two volumes are thought to have been developed simultaneously, with exilic and post-exilic material being added to the first volume and pre-exilic traditions included in the second.¹⁵

As far as chapter 34 is concerned, Brownlee finds that it is most intimately related to chapters 56-66. This is said to be due to its literary and apocalyptic character. Both 34 and 35 make a "superb introduction" to chapters 40-66. The dualistic

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 249. In the second volume of my commentary on Isaiah I hope to show that the material in Isaiah 36-39 is original with Isaiah, and that the author of Kings incorporated this material in his work in a way that best suited his purposes. The erroneous idea that the editor of Isaiah derived this material from Kings must be abandoned.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

¹⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

structure of the book, he believes, may be intended to confirm the divine authority of its message, "and stress the certainty and the imminence of its fulfillment".¹⁶

This thesis of Brownlee's is perhaps of as great significance as anything written on Isaiah for some time. One aspect of it in particular will engage our thought, namely, the attention which it focuses upon chapter 34 as a supposed introduction to a second volume of Isaiah.

On the great Isaiah scroll, chapter thirty-three concludes four lines from the bottom of the column. At the end of the line on which it concludes there is space for three or four letters. The following three lines, however, are entirely blank, and chapter 34 begins on the first line of the following column (col. 28). It is evident that there has been no change in the copyist, for both columns are obviously the work of the same man. The break, therefore, was made by the Qumran scribe who copied chapters 33 and 34.¹⁷

Does the break between chapters 33 and 34, however, lead to the far-reaching conclusions of Brownlee? What, if anything, is its significance? Before attempting an answer to these questions, we must first direct our thought to several related considerations, in particular to the question whether chapter 34 is to be separated from chapter 33 in the structure of the prophecy. What, in other words, is the position of 34 in relation to the remainder of Isaiah?

According to the Massoretic note, 33:21 constitutes the middle of the prophecy.¹⁸ It is possible then, that a division at the end of chapter 33 was made simply for the sake of convenience, so that there would result two scrolls of approximately equal length. The scribe of Qumran took note of this fact by leaving a space at the conclusion of chapter 33.

The Mention of Edom

If we consider chapter 34 in isolation from its preceding context, we are struck by the majesty of the summons to all nations to hear the declaration that the Lord has anger, and

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 259.

¹⁷ Column 28 is somewhat wider than column 27.

¹⁸ הוציו כי אבישם אדיר יי [שעיה ליג כ"א].

that this anger is directed against the nations. The Lord also possesses a sword which will come down upon Edom for judgment. It is this mention of Edom which, according to many, requires a post-exilic dating for the chapter. Here is reflected, so the claim goes, the bitter hostility towards Edom which is thought to have characterized this late period.¹⁹

In answering this argument Kissane says that if the name Edom is original in chapter 34, then the case for Isaianic authorship is lost. The name, however, he argues, is not original. As between verses 2-3 and 4, so between 5a and 5b there is an obvious antithesis. We should expect in verse 5 an antithesis between "heaven" and "man", not between "heaven" and "Edom". Hence, we should read אָרָם and not אֲדוֹם. Secondly, in 30:27-33 there is a description of the overthrow of Assyria, and it is probable here in verse 6 that the reference is also to the overthrow of the same people. Thirdly, the description in verses 6, 7 is in many respects similar to descriptions of the overthrow of Assyria. Fourthly, the change from אָרָם to אֲדוֹם was a minor one, evidently made at a late date when feeling against Edom ran high.²⁰

Kissane himself acknowledges that the reading "Edom" is "accepted without question by all critics". There must, of course, be good grounds for the universal acceptance of the Massoretic text as it stands, and it may be noted that the Hebrew is supported by all the manuscripts and versions. Strong textual support for Kittel's emendation is not to be found.²¹ Secondly, as we shall seek to demonstrate later, the reference to Edom yields an eminently good sense.

What, however, may be said about Kissane's positive argu-

¹⁹ Gesenius: *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 908; Dillmann: *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 1898 p. 300; Duhm: *Das Buch Jesaja*, 1922, "Der Hader Zions wird als bekannt vorausgesetzt. Seit der Zerstörung Jerusalems, an der die Edomiter unter Hohn und Schadenfreude beteiligt waren (Ob. Ps 137), und der Besetzung des südlichen Juda durch sie werden die Propheten, Hesekiel voran, nicht müde, Edom aufs grimmigste zu bedrohen, und die Makkabäer griffen es schon in der ersten Zeit an, bis Johannes Hyrkanus es unterjochte" (p. 251).

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

²¹ Kittel (*Biblia Hebraica*, 1929) would substitute אֲדוֹם (he omits Metheg) for בארץ אדום. This shows a preference for the reading in B, εὐ ἤδ' Ἰδομαία. The Targum, however, clearly supports the Hebrew, בארעא דאדום, as does the Dead Sea Scroll and the Vulgate.

ments? With respect to his first point, we may note that the substitution of "man" for "Edom" creates more difficulties than it is intended to remove. Verse 5c, "and upon the people of my curse for judgment" is explanatory of 5b. This explanatory clause (5c) points not to mankind generally, but to the one upon whom God's sword falls. If, however, 5c be not construed exegetically, then it becomes very weak, for in that case the sword is represented as falling both upon man and also upon the people of God's curse. Upon this construction there would be no need for 5c. If, however, the reading "Edom" be retained, the passage yields a good sense. Edom is then characterized as the people of God's curse, and a satisfactory agreement between 5b and 5c is procured.

Furthermore, despite Kissane's objection, there is a suitable antithesis between "heaven" and "Edom". Strictly speaking one might say that the antithesis should be between "heaven" and "earth", but Isaiah's purpose is not to establish such an antithesis. God's sword is in heaven, drunken with wrath, and from heaven it will come down, not to smite the entire earth, but that people which is destined for judgment, namely, Edom.

That 30:27 ff., refers to the destruction of Assyria is no reason for assuming that 34:5 ff. must also refer to the same thing. Furthermore, it is true that there are similarities of vocabulary between the description of Edom's downfall and that of Assyria, but this does not prove that the two descriptions really refer to the same subject.

Why, however, does Isaiah mention Edom? In seeking to answer this question, let us forget for the moment questions of arrangement and simply examine the prophecy as we have it. There is good reason to hold that chapter one serves as an introduction to the entire prophecy and that in this chapter the major themes are presented in germ form.²² Chapters 2-5 contain the early messages of the prophet, probably delivered during the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham. This section again divides itself into two parts, 2-4 and 5. Chapter 2 begins with a general picture of universal peace, and this is followed

²² For a defense of the summary offered here, cf. Young, *The Prophecy of Isaiah*, vol. I, 1965, covering chapters 1-18.

with prophecies concerning the day of the Lord and judgment. In 4 the prophet reverts to his theme of peace, but now connects that peace with the Spirit of the Lord. Chapter 5 presents what may be called a philosophy of Israel's history, beginning with the beautiful parable of the vineyard, continuing with proclamation of the nation's guilt and concluding with a declaration of judgment which is tied in with the approach of an enemy from afar.

At this point the prophet speaks of his call to the prophetic ministry. It is questionable whether we are justified in characterizing this chapter as biographical. It really says very little by way of biography, but ties up the call with the message of doom to be proclaimed. Thus it serves to introduce chapters 7-12, a little cluster of Messianic prophecies. At this time the threat of Assyria hung over the land. In opposition to confidence in Assyria's king, Isaiah proclaimed confidence in the virgin born, divine king, who was to sit upon David's throne and to reign forever. The section aptly closes (chapter 12) with praise to the great God of salvation.

Having fortified his hearers with knowledge of the person of the Messiah to be born, Isaiah now directs his thoughts to a consideration of foreign peoples. Inasmuch as it is a hostile power in Mesopotamia which is the enemy of God's people, Isaiah first mentions Assyria and Babylon. He then proceeds to show what will happen to other nations because of Assyria's power. Finally, the entire section is brought to a close by the four difficult chapters, 24-27, where judgment and salvation mingle.

Beginning with chapter 28 we come to the period of Hezekiah. The Assyrian power is now felt, and evidently there were those who looked to Egypt for deliverance. Against this policy Isaiah spoke out strongly, at the same time also pointing to the future of Messianic blessedness. This section is brought to a close by chapters 34 and 35.

In chapters 13-23 there had been no mention of Edom, but in 25 Moab had been introduced as an example of the nations that would feel God's punishing wrath. In the conclusion of this section (28-35) Edom is mentioned as a counterpart to Moab in chapter 25. Edom thus epitomizes or represents the world in opposition to God. The entire section

concludes with a picture of the Messianic blessings which are to come upon the people of God.

Upon the interpretation of the prophecy just given it will be seen that there are two fairly parallel sections found within the compass of chapters 13-35, which we may illustrate as follows:

ASSYRIA and the foreign nations } chaps. 13-23	Judgment (Moab) and Blessing 24-27	ASSYRIA AND EGYPT } 28-33	Judgment (Edom) and Blessing 34, 35.
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On this scheme it will be seen that 34 and 35 form a conclusion to 28-33 just as 24-27 do to 13-23.²³ In this respect they serve parallel functions. As an example of a nation to feel the judgment Moab is first mentioned, and then in parallel fashion, Edom. If, however, 34 and 35 are the introduction to 40-66 and not the conclusion to 28-33, then the parallel with 24-27 is broken, and the parallel between Moab and Edom is also broken. Indeed, if 34 is an introduction, it is legitimate to ask why it contains any mention of Edom at all.

Isaiah 34 and Jeremiah

As a result of the investigation hitherto we conclude that the word "Edom" is an integral part of chapter 34. Does it therefore follow that the chapter must be denied to Isaiah? As early as 1891 Graetz declared that Isaiah 34 was such an obvious imitation of parts of Jeremiah that in one passage (34:16) he suggested reading "Jeremiah" for "the Lord".²⁴ This, however, would be a most infelicitous procedure, for 34:16 possesses certain definite Isaianic traits. The phrase

²³ Cf. J. Ridderbos: *De Profet Jesaja*, vol. I, 1952, "De verhouding, waarin deze hoofdstukken staan tot h. 28-33, is enigszins te vergelijken bij die, waarin h. 24-27 staan tot h. 13-23. M. a. w. zij vormen bij het voorafgaande een soort van slot, waarin de beide tonen van gericht en verlossing nog eens op krachtige wijze worden aangeslagen" (p. 245).

²⁴ Graetz in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, IV, pp. 1-8.

"and his spirit" (וְרוּחוֹ) for example, occurs also in Isaiah 30:28 and 48:16 but these are the only passages in the Old Testament in which the phrase "and his spirit" is found.

What, however, is to be said about Graetz's view that Isaiah 34 is an obvious imitation of parts of Jeremiah? That there is a relationship between the chapter and Jeremiah we hope presently to show, but the possibility must at least be acknowledged that Jeremiah made use of Isaiah 34. To show that he actually did use Isaiah 34 is the purpose of this article.

In the first place it is a fact that prophets did read the writings of earlier prophets. In the first year of Darius the Mede, Daniel studied the prophecy of Jeremiah from which he learned that the captivity would endure seventy years. This information concerning the length of the exile is found in Jeremiah 25:11, a passage which is said to date from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *i. e.*, 605 B. C.²⁵

It would appear that Jeremiah himself also read the works of earlier prophets, and evidence of the fact appears in his own work. This is what might be expected when one considers the relationship of Jeremiah to Isaiah in the history of redemption. To Isaiah it was given to enunciate the principles of the divine economy, in so far as these had to do with the purposes of God in the salvation of his people. Hence, Isaiah has much to say about the person and work of the Redeemer. With Isaiah the message steps into the foreground, and the personality of the prophet recedes into the background. In Jeremiah's day, however, the period of wrath and indignation was to begin. Jeremiah witnessed the theocracy's downfall and the beginning of the long period of preparation for the coming of the Messiah. Jeremiah's message is no strange one, for he exemplifies in his person the teachings of Isaiah. Hence the great similarity between the two prophecies; Jeremiah had steeped himself in the writing of Isaiah and of other earlier prophets.

From even a cursory survey it is evident that the book of Jeremiah betrays a profound acquaintance with the events of

²⁵ For a recent, helpful study of Jeremiah, cf. H. L. Ellison: "The Prophecy of Jeremiah", *The Evangelical Quarterly*, beginning with the issue of July-September, 1959.

Israel's past history. This appears almost immediately when the prophet speaks of the nation's devotion in its youth and how it followed God in the wilderness.²⁶ There are several references to the Exodus and to the early faithfulness and subsequent unfaithfulness of the nation.²⁷ The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is known as is also the fact that Solomon built the temple.²⁸ Likewise the book shows knowledge of the existence of several historical personages: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Rachel, Esau, Moses, Samuel, Jonadab ben Rechab, David, Asa, Baasha, Hezekiah, Micah and Manasseh.²⁹

It is, of course, possible that information about these events and personages had been handed down by word of mouth. At the same time, when we consider the manner in which Jeremiah employs this material, we may easily believe that the prophet had also made use of written sources. We know that Jeremiah did use previously existing written documents. For one thing he employed material which he himself had earlier written. In 1:10 the purpose of his prophetic mission is stated, and, just as the phrase, "the holy One of Israel", became the binding thought and signature of Isaiah's prophecies, in like manner we find reflections of Jeremiah's particular commission scattered throughout his entire prophecy.³⁰

Not only, however, did Jeremiah reflect upon his own earlier work, he clearly shows an acquaintance with the written prophecies of others who had preceded him. In 26:18, a prophecy which is dated in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, express mention is made of Micah of Moresheth who prophesied in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah. To Micah, Jeremiah explicitly attributes the prophecy found in

²⁶ Jer. 2:2 ff.

²⁷ E. g., Jer. 7:22-26; 11:4-8; 16:14; 23:7; 34:13.

²⁸ Jer. 23:14; 49:18; 50:40; 52:20.

²⁹ Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jer. 33:26; Rachel, Jer. 31:15; Esau, Jer. 49:10; 50:40. Moses, Samuel, Jer. 15:1; Jonadab, Jer. 35; David, Jer. 13:13; 17:25; 21:12; 22:2, 4, 30; 23:5; 29:16; 30:9; 33:15, 17, 21, 22, 26; 36:30; Asa, Baasha, Jer. 41:9; Hezekiah, Jer. 15:4; 26:18, 19; Manasseh, Jer. 15:4; Micah, Jer. 26:18.

³⁰ The following passages appear to reflect upon the divine commission given in Jer. 1:10, namely, 2:21; 4:26; 11:7; 12:2, 14, 15, 17; 18:7, 9, 14; 24:6; 25:10; 31:5; 28, 40; 32:41; 33:4; 39:8; 42:10; 45:4; 46:8; 49:38.

Micah 3:12. Jeremiah's quotation is practically verbatim.³¹ Furthermore, Jeremiah is acquainted with the results of Micah's prophecy at least as far as Hezekiah's reaction is concerned. Indeed this event was used by certain of the elders to show that it would be wrong to put Jeremiah to death.

From this example we learn that the book of Jeremiah does refer to earlier prophecies. It may be argued, however, that Micah is not here made the basis for Jeremiah's own message. This is true; Jeremiah does not use this passage of Micah as a foundation upon which to build one of his own messages. But the point is that he shows an acquaintance with Micah and his work. There are, however, certain passages in Micah which are clearly reflected upon by Jeremiah in the development of his own message. If one compares Jeremiah 8:19 with Micah 4:9, it is clear that Jeremiah is reflecting upon the Micah passage. Inasmuch as 4:9 is an integral part of the prophecy and inasmuch as Jeremiah knew the written prophecy of Micah, it follows that the dependence is on the part of Jeremiah and not on that of Micah. The force of this argument is strengthened when we consider other instances where Jeremiah has made use of Micah.

That Jeremiah reflected upon earlier prophecies appears also from the following facts. Certain Jeremianic passages clearly reflect Hosea, Amos, Nahum and Habakkuk. It might, of course, be thought that Jeremiah was the earlier, and that these prophecies depended upon him. Or it might be suggested that the similarities were merely accidental or that all the prophets, because of the nature of their message, employed similar language.

That there is dependence on Jeremiah's part, however, becomes clear from a comparison of certain passages. In this connection Jeremiah 3:22 may be compared with Hosea 6:1 and 14:1, 5. Jeremiah's command to return *שובו* reflects upon the *וְשׁוּבוּ* of Hosea 6:1 and the *שׁוּבוּ* of Hosea 14:2, and *אָרְפָּה מְשׁוּבְתֵיכֶם* calls to mind the *וְיִרְפְּאֵנִי* of Hosea 6:1 and the *אָרְפָּה מְשׁוּבְתֵם* of Hosea 14:5. If 14:2-9 be denied to Hosea, it must, in the light of the above considerations, be

³¹ Micah reads *עֵינַי* and Jeremiah *עֵינַי*.

dated earlier than Jeremiah 3:22. And if one insist that Jeremiah 3:22 be the earlier, then Hosea 14:2-9 must be dated so late that it is meaningless. As a prophecy in the mouth of Hosea, addressed to Ephraim at a time when men looked to Assyria for help (*cf.* 14:3) the passage is filled with beauty and meaning. If it come from the exile or later, however, it becomes pointless.

The following passages should also be carefully compared:

Jeremiah 4:3	with	Hosea	10:12
" 7:9	"	"	4:2
" 9:11	"	"	14:10
" 12:4	"	"	8:13; 9:9
" 30:9	"	"	3:5
" 1:1, 11, 12, 13	"	Amos	8:2
" 4:4	"	"	5:6
" 17:27	"	"	1:2; 2:2
" 25:30	"	"	1:2
" 46:5	"	"	2:14, 15
" 26:18	"	Micah	3:12
" 8:19	"	"	4:9
" 30:8	"	Nahum	1:13
" 30:12	"	"	3:19
" 46:9	"	"	2:5
" 51:58	"	Habakkuk	2:12
" 1:9	"	Isaiah	6:7
" 30:8	"	"	10:27

It is of course possible that in some cases the similarity between Jeremiah and earlier Scripture may be accidental. When he dealt with the same subjects as did earlier prophets, it is to be expected that the language might at times coincide.³²

³² This criticism is effectively used by J. Mauchline in his review of R. Fey, *Amos und Jesaja — Abhängigkeit und Eigenständigkeit des Jesaja*, 1963, in *Book List*, 1964, p. 45. *Cf.*, also, the review of the same work by Henning Graf Reventlow in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 89. Jahrgang, Nr. 8, pp. 593-595.

Jeremiah, however, had apparently steeped himself in the thought and expressions of earlier portions of Scripture. The following examples are sufficient to show that Jeremiah knew the earlier Scriptures.

Compare *Jer.* 1:9 with Deut. 18:18; Isa. 6:7; 51:16 and 59:21; *Jer.* 2:2 with Deut. 2:7; 8:2, 3 and S. of S. 3:6; *Jer.* 2:6 with Deut. 1:19 and

At the same time when one considers how deeply Jeremiah was steeped in the thought of earlier revelation one must allow for the possibility that much which might seem to be merely accidental similarity may actually be either conscious or unconscious reflection.

Thus, in Isaiah 8:2 we have the expression *וְאֶעֱדָה לִי עֵדִים* and in Jeremiah 32:10 *וְאֶעֱד עֵדִים*. It may be that the similarity is accidental; how else would one speak of taking witnesses? Yet, when one considers how frequently Jeremiah used Isaiah's prophecies, one is justified in suggesting that Jeremiah is probably reflecting upon Isaiah's language. Even if the language of Jeremiah 32:10 and other similar cases is not a reflection upon previous revelation, nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Jeremiah did use earlier Scripture. And this brings us to the heart of the argument. Jeremiah did use Isaiah 34.³³ This may be established from the following comparisons.

Jeremiah 46:10	with	Isaiah 34:3-8
" 25:31	"	" 34:2 and 66:16
" 25:33	"	" 34:2 and 66:16

Isa. 35:1; *Jer.* 2:12 with Isa. 1:2; *Jer.* 3:17 with Isa. 2:2, 3 and 60:9; *Jer.* 3:18 with Amos 9:15 and Isa. 11:13; *Jer.* 4:2 with Ps. 72:17; Isa. 48:1 and 65:16; *Jer.* 4:8 with Isa. 5:25 and 22:12; *Jer.* 5:15 with Deut. 28:49; Ps. 81:6; Amos 6:14 and Isa. 33:19; *Jer.* 6:23 with Isa. 13:9, 18 and 17:12; *Jer.* 7:23 with Ex. 15:26; 19:5; Lev. 26:12 and Deut. 6:3; *Jer.* 9:4 with Lev. 19:16 and Micah 7:5, 6; *Jer.* 10:8 with Num. 10:4 and Ps. 115:8; *Jer.* 11:15 with Lev. 26:3; Ps. 50:16 and Isa. 1:11, 12; *Jer.* 12:3 with Josh. 8:6; Ps. 17:3 and 139:1; *Jer.* 13:11 with Ex. 19:5; Zeph. 3:20 and Isa. 55:13; *Jer.* 13:16 with Deut. 28:24; Josh. 7:19; Job 3:5; Amos 5:8 and Isa. 5:30; 60:2; *Jer.* 17:22 with Ex. 20:8, 9 and Isa. 56:2; *Jer.* 19:13 with Deut. 4:19; II Sam. 11:12 and Zeph. 1:5; *Jer.* 23:5 with Ps. 72:2; Hos. 3:5; Isa. 4:2; 9:1 and 32:1; *Jer.* 25:16 with I Sam. 21:14; Nah. 1:10 and 2:4; *Jer.* 27:9 with Deut. 18:10 and Isa. 2:6; *Jer.* 31:10 with Isa. 40:11; *Jer.* 32:18 with Ex. 20:6; Deut. 5:9; Isa. 9:6 and 65:6; *Jer.* 38:22 with Job 38:6; Ps. 35:4; Isa. 42:7 and Obad. 7; *Jer.* 44:17 with Deut. 23:23; Job 31:26 and Isa. 30:10; *Jer.* 48:9 with Deut. 2:36; I Sam. 4:13 and Nah. 2:1; *Jer.* 51:14 with Ex. 32:18; Ps. 105:34; Joel 2:2, Amos 6:8 and Isa. 16:9; *Jer.* 51:27 with Gen. 8:4; 10:3; Ps. 45:8 and Nah. 3:17.

³³ In writing what follows I have leaned very heavily upon the pioneer work of Carl Paul Caspari: "Jesajanische Studien", in *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Vierter Jahrgang, Zweites Quartalheft, 1843, pp. 1-48.

Jeremiah 25:34	with	Isaiah 34:2
" 50:27	"	" 34:7 (cf. 48:15)
" 51:40	"	" 34:6
" 50:39	"	" 34:14
" 50:60 ff.	"	" 34:16

In examining the above comparisons we note that all these passages in Jeremiah which are related to Isaiah 34 are found in prophecies against the nations and are characterized by the fact that they contain more or less significant parts of older prophecies which, for the most part, were also directed against the same nations as they themselves.

Jeremiah's great prophecy against the Edomites is found in 49:7-22. Incorporated in this section as its basis are prophecies of Obadiah which were also directed against Edom. Cf. Jer. 49:14-16 with Obadiah 1-4; Jer. 49:9, 10 with Obadiah 5, 6 and Jer. 49:7 with Obadiah 8, 9.³⁴

The first six verses of Jeremiah 49 are directed against the Ammonites. Clearly Amos has formed the basis for these messages. Cf. Jer. 49:2 with Am. 1:14 and Jer. 49:1-3 with Am. 1:15. Jeremiah prophesies against Damascus in 49:23-27 and again uses Amos. Cf. Jer. 49:27 with Am. 1:4, 14. Isaiah's prophecy against the Philistines lies at the basis of Jeremiah's message against the same people. Cf. Jer. 47:2 with Isa. 14:31 and Jer. 47:5 with Isa. 14:30. We also may note how Jer. 25:30-38 reflects Amos. Cf. Jer. 25:30 with Am. 1:2. Lastly there is Jeremiah's prophecy against Moab, found in chapter 48. Cf. Jer. 48:3, 5 with Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:29-33 with Isa. 15:4, 6; Jer. 48:36 with Isa. 16:11; Jer. 48:37, 38 with Isa. 15:2, 3. Cf., also, Jer. 48:45 with Num. 24:17; Balaam also had prophesied against Moab. Cf. Jer. 48:1 with Amos 1:15; Jer. 48:43, 44 with Isa. 24:17, 18 and Jer. 48:16, 17 with Isa. 13:22; 56:1; 51:14; 49:17; 14:5; 52:1.

Caspari points out three objections which might be raised. In the first place there are some prophecies of Jeremiah directed against foreign nations which are not based on older prophecies. Such are the messages against Kedar and Elam, Jer. 49:28-33, 34-38. Likewise in Jer. 46:3-28, the second

³⁴ I have discussed the date of Obadiah in my *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids, 1958, pp. 276 f.

message against Egypt, no older prophecy forms the basis. Lastly, in Jer. 25:46, 50, 51 the prophet speaks against a different nation from that against which Isaiah 34 is directed.

In answer to this last consideration it may be pointed out that there are passages in Jeremiah based upon older prophecies, which are not directed against the same peoples as are those older prophecies. Thus in Jeremiah's utterance against Moab (Jer. 48) there is reflection upon a prophecy of Amos against the Ammonites (cf. Jer. 48:7 with Amos 1:15) as well as upon Isaiah's message of world judgment (cf. Jer. 48:43, 44 with Isa. 24:17, 18).³⁵

With respect to the objection that no older prophecy lies at the basis of Jeremiah's second utterance against Egypt, it may be remarked that Isaiah's prophecy against Egypt in chapter 19 would not have suited Jeremiah's purpose. In Jer. 46:3-12 the prophet is concerned with the defeat of Pharaoh Necho, whereas Isaiah predicts a conversion of Egypt (19:16-24). Likewise, in the remainder of chapter 46, Jeremiah is concerned to point out that Egypt will go down under Nebuchadnezzar. Despite the brief ray of hope in 46:26b, Isaiah 19 does not apparently fit Jeremiah's needs.³⁶ As far as we know there were no other older messages against Egypt. Certainly none have been preserved in the Scriptures.³⁷

Why, however, in the prophecies against Kedar and Elam, does not Jeremiah make use of older prophecies? Apparently he does not use any message against Kedar because there was only one, namely Isaiah 21:13-17, and this would have

³⁵ Caspari, *op. cit.*, p. 17, gives further examples.

³⁶ Isaiah in chapter 19 speaks of internal dissensions in Egypt, a war of all against all, whereas Jeremiah attributes to the Babylonians the disaster that Egypt will suffer.

³⁷ Jeremiah makes Edom the basis of his prophecy against Egypt because Edom as well as Egypt was a representative of the powers hostile to the theocratic nation. In Joel 4:19, for example, both Egypt and Edom are placed over against Judah. Hence Jeremiah could very easily apply to Egypt what another prophet had spoken about Edom. It is also possible, as Caspari indicates, that in 25:30-38 Jeremiah included some thoughts from Isaiah 34 together with passages from other prophecies. The prophecy against Egypt in 46:3-12 is closely related to Jer. 25:30-38, and Jeremiah could therefore easily have used Isaiah 34 as a basis for this latter prophecy.

been fulfilled by the Assyrians before Jeremiah's time. It would not then have been suitable for Jeremiah's purposes. As to Elam, as far as we know, no prophet before Jeremiah's day spoke against this nation. We may therefore conclude that in his oracles against the foreign nations Jeremiah did include ancient prophecies which were also directed against the same nations.

The relationship between Jer. 46:10 and Isa. 34:3, 5-8 is too great to be the result of mere chance. True enough, Ezekiel (32:5, 6; 39:11, 17 ff.), and Zephaniah (1:7, 8) also use expressions found in Isaiah (34:3, 6, 7) and Jeremiah (25:33, 34; 46:10; 50:27; 51:40; 48:15). Might it not then seem that all four prophets had a common fund of phrases and expressions from which they could draw? Were they not all simply using earlier prophecies to suit their purposes? These questions must be answered in the negative. There was an earlier prophet, namely, Isaiah, and the other three, Zephaniah, Ezekiel and Jeremiah, drew from him. We have already pointed out that Jeremiah used earlier prophets; the same was true of Ezekiel and Zephaniah.³⁸

A few considerations must be advanced which support the conclusion that Jeremiah employed Isaiah 34. In Isaiah 34 the passages from which Jeremiah drew are in a relatively small compass, namely, vv. 2-8. In Jeremiah, however, the

³⁸ The prophecy of Zephaniah claims to come from the days of Josiah (*cf.* Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-292 for discussion of questions of introduction). Like Jeremiah it also makes use of earlier prophets. A comparison of Zeph. 2:15 with Isa. 47:8, for example, clearly shows that Zephaniah has used Isaiah and not vice versa. For one thing, unlike Zephaniah, Isaiah 47 does not make use of earlier prophecies. The phrases which attribute haughtiness to Babylon in Isa. 47 belong together, whereas in Zephaniah the words seem to stand isolated. In Zephaniah they bear no particular relation to what precedes, but the language of 47:8 is presupposed by the language and thought of 47:1, 5, 7. The phrase *אני ואפסי עור* is characteristic of the emphasis of Isaiah 45 and 46, chapters which prepare for 47, (in particular 46:1, 2 and 45:1-3). Note the frequency of occurrence of *עור ואין עור* in 45:5, 6, 14, 18, 22 and 46:9 as well as the presence of *אפס*.

If Zeph. 2:15 is so clearly based upon Isa. 47:8 and not vice versa, it would seem to follow that elsewhere, also, Zephaniah depends upon Isaiah and not Isaiah upon Zephaniah. In particular it would appear that in 2:14 Zephaniah has made use of Isa. 34:11.

relevant passages are found in three independent, separated prophecies, namely, Jer. 25; 46:3-12 and 50-51. The first two of these passages are dated in the fourth year of Zedekiah. This fact would suggest that the compact section in Isaiah is the source from which the three independent sections of Jeremiah drew rather than the reverse.³⁹

It is also the case that the passages in Isaiah 34 which Jeremiah uses bear the impress of the author from which other Isaianic passages derive, whereas in Jeremiah these passages do not sustain a similar relationship to the remainder of Jeremiah. These verses or passages in Isaiah 34 which bear the impress of the author of the prophecy are the following:

Isaiah 34:8	כי יום נקם ליהוה	
Isaiah 34:5	כי רותח הרבי	
Isaiah 34:6	חרב ליהוה מלאה דם הדשנה	65:12, 66:16
	מחלב מדם	
Isaiah 34:6	כרים ועתודים	63:1, 2, 3, 6
Isaiah 34:7	ורותח ארצם מדם	
Isaiah 34:3	ונמסו הרים מדמם	
Isaiah 34:14, Jer. 50:39	ופגשו ציים את איים	

Isa. 34:8 may be compared with 61:2; 63:4; 35:4; 47:3; 59:17. In each of these passages the idea of vengeance is bound up with that of the deliverance of God's people. We may note that in each of these verses this vengeance is expressed by *נָקַם* and not by *נִקְמָה*. In Jeremiah, on the other hand, the word *נִקְמָה* is found (46:10),⁴⁰ but there is no mention of the time of vengeance visited upon a nation for what it has done to Israel.⁴¹ The shortness of the expression in Isaiah when compared to the lengthy expressions of Jeremiah would also argue for the priority of the former.

The words of 34:14 are clearly of Isaianic, not of Jeremianic,

³⁹ This consideration is strengthened by the fact that in the third of the Jeremianic passages, 50-51, the Isaianic references are also widely scattered. They are found in 50:27, 39 and 51:40.

⁴⁰ In all the Isaianic passages Jehovah is represented as possessing a day of vengeance.

⁴¹ Except in Jer. 46:10 and 51:6 which latter passage seems to be influenced by Isaiah.

authorship, as may be seen by a comparison with Isa. 13:21. Isa. 34:14 fits into its context naturally.

We conclude, therefore, that Jeremiah did use Isaiah 34, and that Isaiah 34 must, as a result, date from some time prior to the fourth year of Jehoiakim. If this much be granted, we can safely assert that Isaiah 34 came from the hand of Isaiah the son of Amoz.

Isaiah 34 and the Remainder of the Prophecy

According to Brownlee chapter 34 is "in its linguistic and apocalyptic character, most intimately related to chapters 56-66; and chapter 35 finds its closest verbal parallels in chapters 40-55".⁴² Before attempting to evaluate this statement we must examine more closely the language of Isaiah 34.⁴³

verse 1 The imperative קרבו used in connection with the root שמע appears to be found only here and in Isa. 48:16. It does not occur elsewhere, in the prophetic writings. Furthermore, the expression, "and peoples, hear ye" (ולאמים הקשבו) occurs in inverted order in Isa. 49:1 but without the accompanying root שמע does not appear elsewhere in the Old Testament. "Offspring" (צאצאיה) is found also in Isa. 22:24; 42:5; 44:3; 48:19; 61:9; 65:23 and nowhere else in Scripture. Only in 34:1 and 42:5 does it refer to the produce of the earth. The word "peoples" (לאומים) is also a characteristic expression of Isaiah, occurring also in Isa. 17:12, 13; 41:1; 43:4, 9; 49:1; 55:4; 60:2. In the other prophetic books it appears only in the parallel passage Jer. 51:58; Hab. 2:13. The combination גוים and לאמים occurs only in Isa. 34:1 and 43:9, and the combination "the earth" and "offspring" appear only in 34:1 and 42:5. The following passages should also be compared with 34:1, namely 41:1, 21; 45:20; 46:3, 12; 48:1, 14; 51:1, 7; 66:5.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 254. For a discussion of the relationship between Isaiah 34 and 35 cf. Caspari, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴³ In what follows I have used Caspari and also Rachel Margalioth: *The Indivisible Isaiah*, New York, 1964. Cf. also the work of Pope, mentioned in note 1.

verse 2 Parallelisms of thought and to a certain extent of expression, may be noted between 34:2 and 63:6; 65:12.

verse 3 Note the expressions, "their slain ones" and "the slain of the Lord" in 66:16.

verse 4 The use of the root נבל in a metaphorical sense is not found in the other prophets. It occurs in Isa. 24:4 and 44:5 and also in Ps. 18:46; II Sam. 22:46. The comparison with a leaf is restricted to 34:4 and 44:5 and 1:30.

verse 8 This verse should be compared with 61:2-3 and 63:4. The combination "year" with "day of vengeance" should be noted. This combination is peculiar to Isaiah. The structure of 8a יום נקם ליהוה should be compared with the structure of 58:5e, יום רצון ליהוה. This peculiar arrangement is also found in Isa. 22:5; 61:2. As Mrs. Margalioth points out, in other portions of the Old Testament the description of the day always follows the expression "unto the Lord", and never, as in Isaiah, precedes it. One should also compare 63:4; 49:25; 51:22; 47:3; 59:18; 66:6.

verse 10 The expression "from generation to generation" is found again in verse 17. It also appears in Isa. 13:20 and Jer. 50:39 (a repetition of Isa. 13:20); Isa. 58:12; 60:15; 61:4 (cf. 51:8). Very interesting is the phrase אין עובר found only in this verse and 60:15. The same combination, "for ever", "from generation to generation" and "none passeth" is found elsewhere only in 60:15.

verse 11 The combination "shall possess it" with "shall dwell therein" appears in 65:9.

34:11	וירשה קאת וקפור וינשוף וערב ישכנו בה
65:9	וירשה בחירי ועבדי ישכנו שמה

The similarity of construction is quite striking. In 34:11 the birds are subject; in 65:9 God's chosen ones and servants. In 34:17 the verbs occur again, without express mention of the subject. Isa. 13:21 is also related to these verses. No-

where else in the Old Testament do these verbs occur in this close connection.

Isa. 34:11 with its usage of *תהו* and *בהו* clearly reflects Gen. 1:2, indeed, presupposes it. Apart from I Sam. 12:21 and Jer. 4:23 the usage of *תהו* in the sense of "nothingness" is found in none of the prophetic writings save Isaiah. In Isaiah it appears in 24:10; 29:21; 34:11; 40:17, 23; 41:29; 44:9; 45:18; 49:4, 19; 59:4.

verse 12 One should compare the thought of this verse with 41:12, particularly the combination of *יהיו* and *אפס*.

verse 13 The mention of wild animals in this verse should be compared with Isa. 13:21, 22 and the occurrence of *נוה* and *חציר* together is also found in 35:7.

verse 15 In this verse the concept of hatching appears. It is found again in 59:5 (twice) but nowhere else in the Old Testament is the root used in this sense.

verse 16 The similarity between *לא נעדרה* and *נעדר* of Isa. 40:26 is striking. Cf. also Isa. 59:15 and Zeph. 3:5. As to the phrase *ורוחו* (and his spirit) it appears also in Isa. 30:28 and 48:16 but nowhere else in the Old Testament.

verse 17 What is interesting in this verse is the combination of *דור ודור* with the root *שכן* which combination also appears in 13:20. We may note also the occurrence of *נורל* with the root *חלק* which occurs again in Isa. 17:14 and 57:6 but nowhere else in the Old Testament.

In the light of the above evidence there seems little question but that Isaiah 34 belongs with Isaiah 40–66. This is also the conclusion of Marvin Pope who remarks, "It thus seems probable that Isa. 34 and 35 are a unity, and the case for adding both to the expanding Deutero-Isaianic corpus is doubly strengthened".⁴⁴

How is this close relationship, expressed by unity of thought and vocabulary, between Isaiah 34–35 on the one hand and

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

Isaiah 40–66 on the other, to be explained? This question, we think, can only be answered aright if one does justice to the fact that Isaiah 34 (and we would include 35 also) were written before the fourth year of Jehoiakim. For, if that be the fact, and we believe that it has been shown to be, then Isaiah 40–66 must also come from before the fourth year of Jehoiakim. This, however, is to take these chapters from the exilic and post-exilic periods and to consider them as pre-exilic. If, however, they are pre-exilic, there is no particular reason for denying them to the eighth century prophet, nor would scholarship in such a case necessarily have any particular zeal to deny them to Isaiah.⁴⁵ The fact that there is more and more emphasis being placed upon the unity of the contents of Isaiah, even though that unity is attributed to a school of Isaianic disciples, is quite remarkable. If, however, 34 and 35 belong with 40–66, and 34, 35 are pre-exilic, then it follows that 40–66 are also pre-exilic and the unity of the book is then far better explained by single authorship than by attributing it to a body of disciples who, at the most, spanned less than a hundred years.

We must, however, revert to the question raised by the presence of a gap in the Dead Sea Scroll at the close of chapter 33. Were there actually two books of Isaiah, the second beginning at chapter 34? If there were, the second book was completed at the latest by the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Another explanation of the gap, however, is more satisfactory. Could it not have been made because the conclusion of chapter 33 was the mid-way point (approximately) of the

⁴⁵ Caspari's words, written long ago, are still pertinent, (*op. cit.*, pp. 47 f.), "Allein (*i. e.*, in opposition to Hitzig's assertion to the contrary) wir wissen doch wohl, dass durch den Beweis, dass Jes. 40–66 und die übrigen Capitel von einem älteren, vorjeremianischen Propheten stammen, der neueren Kritik über die Weissagungen des Jesaja in's Herz getroffen ist, dass durch ihn nicht nur die Hauptgründe fallen, mit denen die Aechtheit dieser Kapitel bekämpft zu werden pflegt, sondern auch das grosse Interesse dahinschwindet, das man an der Unächtheit derselben hat und welches das *πρώτον κωσεν* aller Angriffe auf die Aechtheit gewesen ist. Herr Hitzig mag daher immerhin annehmen, der Verfasser von Jes. 40–66 sei ein anderer als der Prophet Jesaja, wenn er ihn nur für einen vorexilischen Propheten hält; ihn für einen solchen zu halten, das ist es aber, was ihm nicht gefallen wird und kann."

book? Brownlee may very well be correct in suggesting that 34-66 were written upon a separate scroll. Quite possibly this was often the case. The break was made at the conclusion of 33, however, simply in order that there might be two scrolls of approximately equal length. Organically, 34 and 35 bring to a conclusion the third main section of the prophecy, *i. e.*, 28-35, whereas 36-39 serve as a bridge to connect the entire first part, *i. e.*, 1-35 with the second, 40-66. But all is the work of one hand, Isaiah. Once grant the priority of Isaiah 34 to Jeremiah, and the exilic and post-exilic dates for 40-66 must be abandoned.

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