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THE
PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

VOL. I.

THE
PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

A NEW TRANSLATION
WITH COMMENTARY AND APPENDICES

BY THE
REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A.

HONORARY D.D. EDINBURGH
ORIEL PROFESSOR OF EXEGESIS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

FOURTH EDITION, REVISED

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TO THE
REV. BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

THIS ATTEMPT TO COMBINE MODERN METHODS OF EXEGESIS
WITH FIDELITY TO ANCIENT TRUTH

IS BY PERMISSION

DEDICATED

P R E F A C E



THE first edition of this first volume appeared in 1880, the second in 1882. I have done my best to make the third edition worth procuring even for those who already possess the first. Very many passages will reveal traces of a revision which, if not so thorough as that which Delitzsch is in the habit of giving, is yet not superficial, and which witnesses to the author's belief that in the study of the prophets nothing is trivial or insignificant. The results of Assyriological research have again, to the best of my power, been sifted and utilised, so that M. Maspero's complaint that '*les hébraïsants rejettent systématiquement l'aide que pourrait leur offrir l'antiquité égyptienne et assyrienne*' less than ever applies to the present work. I may have erred, but it seemed worthier of a student of the Old Testament to qualify himself to some extent for a personal judgment, than either to stand aloof and wait for others, or to transfer in pellmell confusion all the various illustrations of the Old Testament proposed by Assyriologists. Something, too, has been attempted for the further correction of the text; the slowness with which I have, since my first contributions in 1868, moved towards critical independence will, I hope, be a guarantee that I have no

parti pris against tradition. The 'critical notes' in the second volume have received numerous additions; and if I am to a great extent eclectic, yet there will be found evidence of personal judgment and mature principle. How far any fresh light has been thrown in this edition on the meaning and the progress of religious ideas I cannot venture to say. I have, at any rate, proved my continued adherence to the historical principles gained long since from Ewald. A not unfriendly reviewer, from the secure vantage-ground of a German university, has, I observe, accused me of theological bias in some parts of the exegesis in the second volume, though he as good as acquits me of any in the first. I have re-examined the sentences in which such a bias may be detected in the first, and will make some reply to him in the preface to the second volume. It will be easy, for there is no fundamental difference between us. But I may at least ask here, Where *is* the commentary entirely free from theological or philosophical bias? It has, at any rate, been my own object, as a commentator, to confine my theological bias within the narrowest possible area, and to meet the curiosity which in England is so generally felt as to the tendencies of an author in one of the essays attached to the commentary. The same remark applies to my critical bias. I cannot pretend to be without at least provisional conclusions. I am not so modest as to think that I have made no contributions to critical thought. These conclusions or contributions may here and there have influenced my exegesis, but not, as I think, unduly; and certainly not so much as the

bias of more orthodoxly critical commentators both of the 'right' and of the 'left' has affected their exegesis. My constant effort has been to suppress myself as a critic as much as possible, though I considered myself bound, as far as I could, to acquaint the student (see Essay VI.) with the present state of one important part of the critical controversy. In this connection I may quote a sentence or two from the preface to the first edition of this volume. 'It appears to the author that a more thorough exegesis must (in England and America) precede the fruitful investigation of critical problems. It is the interest of all parties to ascertain the exegetical data, and these he has endeavoured to set down impartially, without allowing himself to be deterred by accusations of inconsistency, such as even his earlier work¹ was exposed to from the *Speaker's Commentary* on Isaiah. If it is a fact that the exegetical phenomena are conflicting, let them be fairly represented as such; the final critical solution will have to take account of all the data of the problem.'

The prospects of Old Testament study in England are more hopeful now than when I first began to write. Free and reverent investigation is at least sincerely tolerated, though within my own range of observation it has not received much countenance

¹ This work on Isaiah, published in 1870, contained an amended version, which aimed at reconciling in some degree English style and Hebrew scholarship. Mr. Matthew Arnold (in his *Isaiah of Jerusalem*) censures the translation in the present work precisely as if its object was the same as that of my earlier attempt. I have not recalled the latter; indeed, it partly supplements the present work, especially in the introduction, which contains a moderate statement of the anti-traditional point of view scarcely as yet superseded.

from the authorities. We have still to live in hope in this as in so many other respects. A single professorship at each of our national universities will not always be held sufficient for a study which ramifies in so many directions as that of the Old Testament.² If I may refer to but one of its departments, Old Testament Exegesis has, so far as I am aware, no official recognition in the English universities³ though, at Oxford at least, the interpretation of the New Testament is not unfairly represented by two learned professors. Isolated students of this and other sections of the subject may no doubt be found, but what the study requires is a small band of qualified scholars who are at the same time teachers, and who have distributed among themselves the different departments of this wide field of research. As yet we hear little said about these things in the organs of Church and University opinion, and it may therefore be unfair to expect much help from those who officially have the means of giving it. But the horizon is, as I said, not without gleams of hope. Men of the younger generation, trained in a more historic school than their elders, are at least friendly to critical investigations; and if the energies of most of them are absorbed by the questions of the hour, yet there are some left who can give more than a friendly regard, and to those I appeal, out of my unwilling seclusion, to take

² I am most glad to be able to refer to the Inaugural Lecture of Professor Driver at Oxford (as reported in the *Times*), which describes these ramifications. Compare also the sketch of the field of Old Testament study in my own Essay on the Maintenance of the Study of the Bible in *Essays on the Endowment of Research* (Lond., 1876). To the practical suggestions of that essay I should not now commit myself.

³ I gratefully retract this (February, 1886).

their part distinctly and ungrudgingly, in spite of all discouragements, in a work of which few can estimate the beneficial results, and for the want of which not only philology, but theology and the Church in general suffer—the application of modern methods to the criticism and exegesis of the Old Testament.

* * * The reader will kindly refer to the 'Critical Notes' and 'Last Words' in the second volume, which sometimes explain or illustrate the translation and commentary, and especially to the emendations of the text due to the late Dr. Weir, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Glasgow. Specimens of Dr. Weir's exegesis have also been given ; but this, though generally sober, and sometimes very clear-sighted, is by no means so remarkable as his criticism of the text. I am much indebted to Dr. Weir's representatives for permission to examine his note-books, and am glad thus to honour the memory of a singularly fresh and candid mind.

ADDENDUM.—On xliv. 4 (p. 283). There is great doubt whether the best Massoretic reading is אֲדָמָה 'amidst' (?), or אֲדָמָה 'as amidst' (א being defective) or 'as young (grass).' The Sept. reading is preferable.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

(On the complicated question of the chronology of this period, see Vol. II. of Duncker's *History*; Wellhausen, 'Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reiches,' in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, Vol. XX. (1875), pp. 607-640; Schrader, *K. A. T.*, ed. 2, pp. 458-468; Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige* (1883); Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 144-151, 402, 413-419.)

- ^{B.C.}
740? Death of Uzziah. (So too Duncker; Wellhausen, 750; Kamphausen, 736.)
734. Expedition of Tiglath-Pileser against Damascus, Israel, and Philistia; tribute of *Yahukhazi Yahudai*, i.e. Jehoahaz (= Ahaz) the Judahite, to Assyria.
727. Accession of Shalmaneser.
724? Accession of Hezekiah. (D., 728; W. and K., 714.)
722. Accession of Sargon and fall of Samaria.
720. Great defeat of Egypt at Raphia.
713? Merodach Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah.
711. Sargon's siege of Ashdod, and (probably) invasion of Judah; Hezekiah's illness.
710. Sargon's conquest of Babylon.
709. Capture of Merodach Baladan.
705. Accession of Sennacherib.
701. Sennacherib's invasion of Judah.
681. Accession of Esar-haddon.
672. Esar-haddon's conquest of Egypt.
586. Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem.
539. Capture of Babylon by Cyrus.
536. First return of Jewish exiles.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS.

II. *Isaiah*. Second part of the Book of Isaiah.

I. C. A. 'The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged' (by the present writer).

Q. P. B. 'The Holy Bible, &c., with Various Renderings and Readings' (published by Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen).

K. A. T. 'Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, von Eberhard Schrader' (2nd ed., Giessen, 1883).

K. G. F. 'Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung.' Same author (Giessen, 1878).

A. E. Aben Ezra (also referred to in the commentary as Ibn Ezra).

Bi. Bickell.

Calv. Calvin.

Del. Delitzsch.

Ew. Ewald.

Ges. Gesenius.

Gesch. Geschichte.

Hend. Henderson.

Hengst. Hengstenberg.

Hitz. Hitzig.

Houb. Houbigant.

Knob. Knobel.

Kr. Krochmal.

La. Lagarde.

Lo. Lowth.

Lu., Luz. Luzzatto.

Naeg. Naegelsbach.

Olsh. Olshausen.

Pesh. Peshito.

Sept. Septuagint.

Symm. Symmachus.

Targ. Targum.

Theod. Theodotion.

We., Wellh. Wellhausen.

R. P. Records of the Past (12 vols., Bagster).

T. S. B. A. Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology.

Vitr. Vitrina.

| *Vulg.* Vulgate.

Z. D. M. G. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

I S A I A H.

CHAPTER I.

'THE Great Arraignment' is the title appropriately suggested by Ewald for this prophecy. Jehovah is the plaintiff, Israel the defendant, the prophet a deeply interested bystander and interlocutor. Hence the prophecy naturally falls into four symmetrical stanzas or strophes, dividing at *vs.* 10, 18, 24 (Ewald, Drechsler). Str. I. contains the charge, with an appeal to the witnesses; II. meets a preliminary objection of Israel's to the production of a charge; III. offers reconciliation on condition of Israel's amendment; IV. fulminates the judgment which the rejection of this gracious offer renders inevitable. The prophecy begins by addressing the whole people as equally guilty; then directs itself more especially to the higher classes; and, last of all, anticipates that some will be converted, and so escape destruction. There is no finer specimen of prophetic oratory than this (see on *v.* 10).

It is difficult to say when this prophecy was most probably composed, or rather, it was difficult in the infancy of Assyrian studies. Hence we find, among the elder critics, Caspari¹ referring to the period of Uzziah and Jotham; Ges. and Knob. to that of Ahaz; Vittr., Hitz., Ewald, to that of Hezekiah. The fact is that, in some respects, it might have been written almost equally well in any one of these periods, which suggests that it was designed, in its present form, as a preface to a larger or smaller collection of Isaiah's prophecies. Still it would be strange if Isaiah had been able altogether to exclude references to passing events, nor does he appear to have done so. He tells us that the land of Judah has been flooded with a foreign soldiery—'your land, strangers devour it' (*v.* 7), a description which points rather to the Assyrians than to an army partly composed of Israelites (*vii.* 1). There are no points of contact between this prophecy and those composed (see *e.g.* chap. xxxiii.) with reference to Sennacherib's invasion. It must therefore have been composed *before* that event,—not *after* it (Oort), as there is no allusion to the collapse of the Assyrian enterprise. There seems no alternative but to suppose Isaiah to refer to the first Assyrian invasion of Judah, *viz.* that of Sargon.² He wrote, probably, after the stress of the storm had passed,

¹ See especially his *Beiträge zur Einl. in das Buch Jesaja*, part i.

² Why such an invasion is held to be probable, if not certain, is explained in introduction to chap. x. 5-xii. 6.

or even when the invasion was over, for during a calamity it was not his wont to speak so roughly and discouragingly. Indeed, he speaks quite as much to the next generation as to the men of his own time; it is a purely literary product that we have before us. As he depicts the sufferings caused by the invasion (*vv.* 7-9), he deepens the shadows to impress the future readers of his prophecies. He offers not so much a realistic account of what actually took place, as what might and must result from a continued neglect of true religion. (From this point of view, comp. the *ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται* of LXX. and the *derelinquetur* of Vulg.) And yet his description is based upon facts, and is not entirely imaginative. The sketch of the moral and religious condition of Judah applies at any rate to some extent to the reign of Hezekiah, whose reformation was only superficial. The crimes imputed to the princes in *vv.* 15, 18, 21 (only mentioned again in Isaiah's earliest discourses, *iv.* 4, *v.* 7), and the openness of the 'apostasy,' are no less characteristic of the reign of Ahaz, to which Delitzsch still refers it. The theory that chap. i., though written in the reign of Hezekiah, was designed as an introduction to prophecies of various periods, enables us to reconcile all the conflicting data.

¹ VISION of Isaiah, son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. ² Hear, O heavens, and give

¹The heading, in its present form, belongs to the whole of the prophecies of Isaiah. There may, however, have been a time when it stood at the head of a smaller portion of prophecy, for the words 'concerning Judah and Jerusalem' do not suit all the prophecies. Vitringa supposes the heading to have been originally written for chap. i., and to have had the concluding words ('in the days of,' &c.) added to it by the scribes who collected Isaiah's works into a volume. But as the very similar heading to chap. ii. belongs to a group of prophecies (ii.-v.), it is reasonable to suppose that the heading of chap. i. once did likewise. It cannot, indeed, have been penned by Isaiah, if (as is most probable) none of the prophecies were really written in the reign of Uzziah. Here, as in the case of the headings of the Psalms, we seem driven to assume the handiwork of the scribes during the Exile, a period when the study of the religious writings formed the chief

consolation of the pious. The same writer, or writers, may have prefixed the headings of Hosea and Micah, and perhaps of some of the other books, also of Isaiah ii. and xiii. (note the similarity of form). —[**VISION**] Perhaps collectively for 'visions'; occurs again in the headings of Nahum and Obadiah. A technical term for the prophetic intuitions or inward perceptions. A synonymous phrase is 'hearing' (xxviii. 22; comp. xxi. 10). He who 'makes to see' is of course Jehovah (*Am.* vii. 1), through the objective influence of His Spirit (see on viii. 11). Thus 'vision' = prophetic revelation (comp. 1 *Sam.* iii. 15), just as 'seer' = prophet; but while 'seer' was early supplanted by 'prophet' (*nābî*), 1 *Sam.* ix. 9, 'vision' held its ground till a much later time (*Dan.* ix. 23, 1 *Chr.* xvii. 15). 'Prophecy' (*n'bhūāh*), only occurs thrice (2 *Chr.* ix. 29, xv. 8, *Neh.* vi. 12). —[**AND JERUSALEM**] i.e. especially *Jerus.*, Isaiah being distinctively a city-prophet.

² **Hear, O heavens**] i.e., either :

ear, O earth, for Jehovah speaketh: sons I have made great and high, and they have broken away from me. ³The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass its master's crib: Israel is without knowledge, my people is without understanding. ⁴Alas for the sinful nation, the people burdened with guilt, the seed of evil doers, the sons that do corruptly: they have forsaken Jehovah, they have spurned Israel's Holy One, they have withdrawn backward. ⁵Why * will ye be still smitten

* On what part, Vulg., Lowth, Ew.

Bear witness to the judicial sentence which Jehovah is about to deliver (cf. Deut. iv. 26, xxx. 19, xxxi. 28, Ps. l. 4, Jer. vi. 19); or, since Jehovah is speaking rather in sorrow than in anger, Listen with reverence to Jehovah your Creator, whom His rational creatures refuse to hear, cf. Jer. ii. 12. Many find here an allusion to Deut. xxxiii. 1, but (apart from the question as to the date of Deuteronomy) there is so much greater depth of feeling in the passage of Isaiah that one is loth to admit an imitation. The expressions (see Lowth) are the common property of poets. The tenderness of these opening verses reminds us of Hosea, as the section *vv.* 10-20 reminds us by its severity of Amos. — **Sons**] This word is placed in the forefront to account for the singular favours about to be mentioned. What can a loving parent refuse to his *sons*? — **I have made great and high**] i.e., I have reared Israel to maturity, and set him on high among the nations. Comp. Hos. 1. 10 — **Rebelle**] The highest degree of sin. 'For he addeth unto his sin rebellion,' Job xxxiv. 37, '... sons of the living God' (xi. 1, Ex. iv. 22).

³ **The ox . . .**] So Jeremiah (viii. 7) contrasts the insensibility of Israel with the sagacity of the stork.

⁴ **Seed of evil doers**] i.e., a seed (or race), consisting of—not descended from—evil doers. Comp. xiv. 20, lxx. 23, where the context is clearer than here. — **Forsaken . . . spurned . . . withdrawn backward**] Observe the climax—

alienation, insult, idolatry. On the implication in the last phrase, see Ezek. xiv. 3. It is, however, not so much outward idolatry which is referred to, as the idolatry of the heart; see on *v.* 21. — **Israel's Holy One**] i.e., He who shows himself holy in the midst of Israel. Holiness is an idea which has had a long history, and it is not easy to realize it in its original simplicity. In Isaiah's mind, however, it evidently stood in close relation to the conception of the Divine glory. In *vi.* 3 the Trisagion is accompanied by 'The whole earth is full of his glory.' But Isaiah himself indicates a distinction already developed between God's glory and His holiness. The sense of creaturely weakness is awakened by the thought of the one (*vi.* 5, first clause), the consciousness of transgression by that of the other (*vi.* 5, second and foll. clauses); and this because, whereas the glory of God extends over all nature, His holiness is specially exhibited in judicial interpositions within the sphere of His kingdom. And yet the Israelites, who owed so much to these interpositions, displayed, not contrite awe but insulting contempt, (On Holiness see Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament*, i. 154, &c., Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 169-172; Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, ii. 1-142, Delitzsch, art. 'Heiligkeit' in Herzog-Plitt's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Krüger, *Essai sur la théologie d'Esaië* xl.-lxvi., pp. 19-26.)

⁵ **Why will ye . . .**] Why

going on in apostasy? Every ^bhead is sick, and every ^bheart faint. ⁶ From the sole of the foot even to the head there is no sound part in it; wounds and wales and festering sores—not pressed, and not bound up, and not softened with oil. ⁷ Your land—a desolation, your cities—burnt with fire, your tillage—in your face strangers devour it; even a desolation, like the overthrow of ^cSodom. ⁸ And the daughter of Zion is left as a booth in a vineyard, as a lodging-place in a cucumber-

^b The whole, Ew.

^c So Ew., Studer, Lagarde. Text has, strangers.

bring down fresh judgments upon your head through persisting in your infidelity? Kay well compares Ezek. xviii. 31. (On the rend. see Del. and Kay.)—**Every head is sick . . .**] Instead of descending from the public to the private calamity, the prophet adopts the more striking plan of ascending from the individual to the body corporate. He singles out the two noblest members of the body, the seats of the intellectual and moral life. There is not a head nor a heart which has escaped the infection of sin. Cf. Jer. xvii. 9. 'The heart is . . . wofully sick,' Gen. viii. 21.

⁶ **From the sole . . .**] It is the state which is thus characterised (cf. x. 16, xvii. 4). The meaning of the figures is determined by that of the figures in *v.* 5. The inward sickness of the individual produces a mass of moral corruption in the nation, and no attempt has been made to apply a remedy. 'Binding up' is a well-known figure for spiritual regeneration, Hos. xiv. 4, Ps. xli. 4. 'To heal' (*rāfā*) in Hebrew means properly to sew up a wound.

⁷ The condition of the land is as sad as that of the people. The wild soldiery of Sargon has wrought a ruin only comparable to that of Sodom. But the men of Sodom were foreigners, Israel is a 'son.' It was a painful surprise to the Israelites that their land could become the prey of the Gentiles, comp. lxiii. 19, Jer. l. 25. [On the

reading, see crit. note. The text-read. seems to me scarcely translatable. The conjecture ' . . . of a rain-storm' is plausible (comp. Ps. xc. 5); but 1, the verb 'overturn' is specially appropriated to the 'catastrophe' of Sodom and Gomorrah (xiii. 19, Am. iv. 11, Jer. xlix. 18, l. 40, Deut. xxix. 23 [22], and 2, we should not expect, in so artistically composed a chapter, to find *zērem* so close to *zārīm*—a confusion would be unavoidable.]

⁸ There is one qualification to be made; the capital remains, but how forlorn and helpless! See *Notes and Criticisms*, p. 2.—**The daughter of Zion**] A highly poetical phrase, here and in general a personification of the city and inhabitants of Jerusalem. Sometimes, however, it seems to mean the city without the inhabitants (Lam. ii. 8); sometimes the inhabitants without the city (Mic. iv. 10).—**As a booth . . . a lodging-place**] Temporary shelters for the watchmen. See xxiv. 20, xxvii. 3 (note), Job xxvii. 18; also Trench's instructive note, *Parables*, p. 195, and Wetzstein's in Delitzsch, *Hiob*, p. 318.—**As a besieged city**] This is very difficult to harmonise with the preceding figures. Can Isaiah have written thus? Dr. Weir's conjecture is very ingenious. True, Jerusalem had walls, but it might as well have been without them, for the Assyrian 'despiseth cities' (or citadels), xxxiii. 8. See the Hebr. of Prov. xxv. 28, 2 Chr. xxxii. 5.

field, as a ^dbesieged city.^d ⁹ Had not Jehovah Sabáoth left us a remnant, [almost ^e] like Sodom should we be, Gomorrah should we resemble!

¹⁰ Hear the word of Jehovah, ye judges of Sodom; give

^d Fort of watch (comp. 2 Kings xvii. 9), Hitz., Ges. (*Thesaurus*).—City broken through, *i.e.* defenceless, Weir (conj.).

^e Omitted in Sept., Pesh., Vulg.; comp. Rom. ix. 29 (after Sept.). So Geiger.

⁹ The first revelation closes with a reflection in the name of the people. It is touching to see how the prophet's human feelings force an utterance. He seems to feel that the statement in *v.* 7 was too strong:—'not yet quite like Sodom.'—**Jehovah Sabáoth**] The phrase is used as a kind of seal or attestation to a specially solemn prophecy. This has become almost a rule with most of the prophets. Yet there are some exceptions, as Ewald remarks. Hosca, Ezekiel, and Micah (if, as many critics think, iv. 1-4 is quoted by Micah from another prophet) avoid it altogether. Jehovah Sabáoth is, I think, a fuller, and more expressive *proper name* for the God (primarily) of Israel: more expressive than Jehovah alone in that it lays special stress on his supra-mundane being, thus becoming equivalent to the latter phrase 'the God of heaven,' 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23, Neh. i. 4, 5, Ps. cxxxvi. 26, (Gen. xxiv. 3, 7?), &c. See also Appendix to this chapter.

¹⁰ Yet strange to say, the principal men of Jerusalem think they have completely discharged their religious obligations. A second revelation dispels this illusion. By an apostrophe which Steinthal the philologist pronounces unequalled, the prophet addresses them as **Judges of Sodom** (comp. iii. 9, and, with Dr. Kay, Deut. xxxii. 32). Into this short phrase he condenses the philosophy of their misfortunes. So severe a punishment argues a more than commonly heinous offence. Out of this passage perhaps the Arabs have distilled the proverb, 'More unjust than a kadee of Sodom' (*kādī* = *kātsin*, the word used by Isaiah,

and in a similar context by Micah iii. 9). Obs., no mention is made of the king. The judges seem to have acquired the whole executive power, and to have greatly impaired the royal prerogative (cf. Jer. xxxviii. 5).—**The instruction of our God**] A. V. renders 'the law,' implying, as usual, a reference to the Mosaic law. This, however, is doubtful at best. The word (*Tōrah*), rendered 'teaching,' means etymologically, 'direction,' or 'instruction,' and hence was the suitable term for the authoritative counsel given orally by the priests (Deut. xvii. 11) and prophets to those who consulted them on points of ritual and practice respectively. It is unsafe, therefore, in the majority of passages to render *Tōrah* 'law' (with A.V.), when 'instruction' or 'revelation' will suit all the requirements of the context. See Isa. ii. 3, viii. 16, xlii. 4, Jer. xviii. 18, Ezek. vii. 26, Hag. ii. 11, Zech. vii. 12; and especially Jer. xxvi. 4, 5, where, 'to walk in my *Tōrah*' is parallel to 'to hearken to the words of my servants the prophets.' There are, indeed, a few passages where some modern critics render *Tōrah* 'law.' 'The written law of Moses had come into general acceptance from the days of Josiah,' and 'the "law" already presented itself during the Exile as the one lofty object which, despised and rejected now, would in the future once more win from all mankind a lofty reverence and unique acknowledgment.' So writes Ewald, referring to Isa. xlii. 4, 21, li. 4, 7, Lam. ii. 9 (2.), Ezek. vii. 26 (*History of Israel*, v. 133). Even here, however, the sense '(prophetic) revelation' is quite satisfactory. The Book of II Isaiah is not con-

ear to the instruction of our God, ye people of Gomorrah.
 11 Of what use is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? saith Jehovah; I am satiated with the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts, and in the blood of bullocks and lambs and he-goats I have no pleasure. 12 When ye come to ^fsee my face,^f who hath required this at your hands—to trample

^f So Pesh. Luz., Geiger.—Appear before me, Ew., Del., Naeg. (after Hebrew vowel-points).

cerned with legal ordinances; Ezek. vii. 26 is explained by Deut. xvii. 11; and in Lam. ii. 9 *Tōrah* is parallel to '(prophetic) vision.' The only absolutely certain reference to the Pentateuch is in Mal. iv. 4. (Am. ii. 4, and Hos. viii. 12 appear to allude to early compends of laws.) The context, however, shows that such a reference cannot be intended here, and that *Tōrah* means the revelation which Isaiah is about to communicate.

11 The 'judges of Sodom' may multiply sacrifices, but Jehovah attaches no value to them. Not that Isaiah intends to condemn ritual altogether, any more than St. James does (i. 26, 27). His utterance must be qualified by what he tells us himself of his early vision (see vi. 6), and by a consideration of his circumstances. He was not only a prophet, but a reformer, or at any rate the friend of a reforming king, and it is not probable that he was inwardly hostile to the very foundations of the established order of things. It is true, however, that the duties of religion which he most inculcates are the moral ones, and that he is no friend to the existing priesthood (xxviii. 7). He seems rather to tolerate forms than to recommend them. For statements of contemporary prophets, see Am. v. 21-24, Hos. vi. 6 ('and not sacrifice' = 'more than burnt-offerings'), Mic. vi. 6-8.—**Sacrifices**] Isaiah means those in which the life of a victim was taken. Of this class, the most important were the burnt-offerings. The mention of rams may perhaps point to guilt-offerings (see on liii. 10), the only kind of sacrifice limited to a

ram in Leviticus. Or, if our Leviticus be of late date, the 'rams' may be a vestige of the high estimate of rams in primitive times (cf. Gen. xxii. 13). 'Fat' is mentioned because, except in burnt-offerings, the fat pieces were burnt; 'blood,' because in all the sacrifices of this class the blood was sprinkled on the altar.

12 **To see my face**] (On reading, see crit. note.) To 'see God,' men must be 'pure in heart' (Matt. v. 8), or, in the words of a Psalmist, 'the upright shall behold his countenance' (Ps. xi. 7). It is therefore a purely formal and imaginary seeing which the prophet refers to—a vestige probably of that unspiritual stage when the Israelites worshipped God under the form of images (Judg. xvii. 3, 4, 1 Kings xii. 28, 29). The prohibition of idolatry did not extinguish this merely formal religion, for the invisible God could still, it was thought, be propitiated through the Temple-ritual. It was not every one who could reconcile the sanctity of the Temple with the illimitable character of the Divine Being as it is reconciled in the beautiful 'prayer of Solomon' (1 Kings viii. 27-30). The phrase, 'to see God,' is therefore a relic of what may be called roughly the pre-prophetic or pre-Mosaic age. It is not merely, as Hupfeld thinks, a metaphor from a royal court, into which only a select few could have ingress. The 'face of God' was no doubt a symbolic expression, but one of a less commonplace order than the eminent critic supposes. It represents in the old Semitic religious systems generally that aspect of the Divine

my courts? ¹³ Bring no more false ^g offerings: a sweet smoke ^g is an abomination to me; the new moon and the sabbath, ^h the calling of a convocation. . . . I cannot bear wickedness together with a solemn assembly.^h ¹⁴ Your new moons and your set days my soul hateth; they are an encumbrance to me, I am weary of bearing. ¹⁵ And if ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; even if you make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. ¹⁶ Wash ye, make you clean, take away the evil of your works from before mine eyes; cease to do evil,

^g Meal-offerings; incense. Ew., Del., Naeg.

^h So the accents and most moderns. Auth. Vers. (and Kay) follows Sept., Aq., Symm., Theod., Vulg. See crit. note.

Being which was turned towards man; and this aspect, it may be added, was regarded as personal (comp. Ex. xxxiii. 14). Does not this seem to explain the prayer in Ps. xvii. 15, 'May I be satisfied, when I awake, with thine image' (comp. Ps. xli. 12)? See also on lix. 2.—**To trample my courts**] Like the oxen led in to sacrifice; so formal is your attendance.

¹³ **False offerings**] i.e., hypocritical sacrifices, contrasted with 'right' ones in Ps. iv. 5, li. 20. *Minkhāh* is here taken in its primary sense of 'gift,' as in Gen. iv. 3, 5, 1 Sam. ii. 17, Mal. i. 10; and in the common phrase, 'the evening sacrifice.' Dr. Kay, with Ew., Del., &c., adopts the secondary and more common sense of 'meal-offering.' But why should the least important kind of sacrifice be singled out? After the mention of the 'courts,' we expect at least an implicit reference to bloody offerings. The reason why so many adopt the less natural rendering is the supposed reference to incense in the next clause (see Lev. ii. 2). But the word they render 'incense' (*h'tōreth*) means properly 'a sweet smoke,' as in Ps. lxxvi. 15, 'with the sweet smoke of rams' (see Hupfeld [*ad loc.*], Deut. xxxiii. 10 [where parallel to 'whole burnt offerings']). —**The new moon . . . convocation**] This corresponds to the division in a much later book, 'the

sabbaths, the new moons, and the solemn feasts' (2 Chr. viii. 13). The calling or proclaiming of convocation belonged properly to the great festivals (Lev. xxiii. 4), though, apparently by an afterthought, to give greater honour to the Sabbath, the weekly festival also receives the name of 'convocation' (*ibid.* v. 3). 'Convocations' form an integral part of Isaiah's sketch of a regenerated Zion (iv. 5). For the new moon, see Num. x. 10, xxviii. 11-16.—**I cannot bear . . .**] Before he has completed one construction, he begins another; he is carried away by indignation. Such strictness in ritual combined with such moral laxity! (*Utrumque simul*, as de Dieu puts it.)

¹⁵ **Many prayers**] Forms of prayer are nowhere directly ordained in the existing Pentateuch, though patterns of prayer are given for special occasions, Num. vi. 23-26, Deut. xxvi. 5-10, 13-15. 'The men of the Great Assembly' (i.e., the Scripturists who succeeded Ezra) were the first to prescribe a definite form of prayer ('*Berachoth* f. 28^b, 29^a').—**Full of blood**] i.e., guilty of judicial murders (comp. v. 7). Perhaps, however, 'bloodshed' may be put by synecdoche for 'violent conduct leading to the ruin of others,' the 'soul' or vital principle being 'in the blood.' This view may be supported by lix. 3, Deut. xxxii. 40, Mic. iii. 10. Prov.

¹⁷ learn to do well, seek out justice, righten the violent man, do justice to the orphan, plead for the widow.

¹⁸ Come now, and let us bring our dispute to an end, saith Jehovah. Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall become white as snow; though they be red as crimson, they shall become as wool. ¹⁹ If ye be willing and obey, the good of the land shall ye eat; ²⁰ but if ye be unwilling and defiant, by the sword shall ye be eaten, for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it. ²¹ How hath become a harlot the faithful city, she

i. 11. Comp. with caution Hupfeld on Ps. ix. 13.

¹⁷ **Righten**] Bring into the right way. In these verses we seem to have an echo of the justice-loving Amos (see chap. v.) who was *senior* to Isaiah.—**Plead for the widow**] i.e., let not the want of an advocate (no uncommon thing in the court of a modern kadee) prevent you, the judges, from doing justice to her.

¹⁸ **Let us bring our dispute to an end**] 'Let us reason together' (A.V.) is a misleading translation; the Divine Judge in this passage does not reason, but commands amendment.—**Though . . . white as snow**] We must not explain this on the analogy of a passage in a much later work, Ps. li. 7. There, no doubt, a free and unconditional pardon is attached to an unreserved repentance and humble trust in God's mercy. But the repentance required by Isaiah is a trifle compared with that of Ps. li.; it is comparatively external, and does but touch the surface of the conscience. It is not spiritual joy (as in Ps. li. 8, 12) which is promised in Isaiah, but the enjoyment of the fruits of the land. This is guaranteed on condition of a reformation in practice. The promise in *v.* 18 is conditioned by *v.* 19*a*, just as the promises in lviii. 8, 9*a* are conditioned by *vv.* 9*b*, 10. There is a curious application of this passage to the times of the last good high priest, Simeon the Just, in the Talmud; see Deerenbourg, *Hist. de la Palestine*, p.

48. On the use of crimson-red for 'dark,' comp. Song of Sol. vii. 5, and see Del.'s note here.

^{19,20} **The good of the land**] All outward blessings shall be yours, Obs. the antithesis, 'shall ye eat' . . . 'shall ye be eaten.' The sword is personified, as in xxxiv. 5, 6.

²¹ **How hath become . . .**] This short, plaintive strain need not be a verse of a current song (Roorda), for lyricsnatches are not uncommon in the Prophets, and the idea is that of *v.* 7. Comp. for the form, Lam. i. 1. It is the prophet who speaks, in the manner of a Greek chorus, to fill up the pause, while the bystanders are anxiously waiting, but waiting in vain, for Israel's reply.—**A harlot**] Even heathen religions supposed a mysterious union to exist between a god and his worshippers (see on xlv. 11), symbolised by the marriage relation. To the heathen, however, this union was a hereditary physical one; to the Old Test. writers it was more than this—a devotion of the heart to Jehovah. Hence every moral delinquency could be described as adultery. It is in a moral sense that Jerusalem is called 'a harlot' by Isaiah, as the context proves. So in Ps. lxxiii. 26, 27 (quoted by Oehler), the pious man who says, 'My heart's rock and my portion is God,' is opposed to 'those who commit whoredom away from thee;' and so our Lord calls the Scribes and Pharisees an 'adulterous generation' (Matt. xii. 39).—**Faithful city**] i.e., faithful to her divine hus-

that was full of justice ; righteousness was wont to lodge in her, but now assassins ! ²² Thy silver is become dross, thy choice drink thinned with water. ²³ Thy law-makers are law-breakers and in partnership with thieves ; every one loveth a bribe, and pursueth rewards ; to the orphans they do not justice, and the cause of the widow cometh not unto them.

²⁴ Therefore—it is an oracle of the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, the Hero of Israel : Ha ! I will appease me through mine adversaries, and avenge me on mine enemies, ²⁵ and will bring back my hand upon thee, smelting out as with lye thy dross, and will take away all thy alloy ; ²⁶ and I will

band ; comp. Hos. ii. —**To lodge**] i.e., to find a hospitable reception (lit. to pass the night). —**Assassins**] The word indicates that they made murder an art or profession (so Hos. vi. 9).

²² **Thy silver . . .**] ‘Silver’ and ‘choice drink’ are figures for the great men of Jerusalem. The former occurs again in Jer. vi. 28, 30, Ezek. xxii. 18. The other side of the figure is given in *v.* 25.

²³ Paronomasia, as in Hos. ix. 15, **law-breakers**] With reference to the Tōrāh, or (not so much ‘law’ as) directions given from time to time by the prophets. —**Thieves**] i.e., the unjust rich who appeared before their tribunal and bribed them with a share of their plunder (comp. iii. 13). Dr. Kay well compares Ps. l. 18. —**A bribe**] Comp. Mic. vii. 3 (an expansion of Isaiah’s phrase).

²⁴ **Oracle**] Etymologically, whisper ; a phrase possibly mythic in its origin (comp. on viii. 19), but no doubt retained as an apt symbol of the hidden action of the supernatural. Comp. Job iv. 12–16. —**Of the Lord . . .**] Such an accumulation of Divine names is found nowhere else in Isaiah (Del.). They express the manifoldness of the Divine power. —**The Hero of Israel**] ‘Hero,’ an uncommon word in the Heb. (see crit. note), only found in combination with Israel (as here), and with Jacob, as in xlix. 26, lx. 16 ; also in the original passage, Gen. xlix. 24, and

in Ps. cxxxii. 2, 5. —**I will appease myself**] In the next clause we have ‘avenge myself.’ In fact, the two verbs are almost the same in pronunciation, and spring from the same root, meaning ‘to fetch one’s breath,’ ‘to give vent to a strong emotion.’ The context clearly shows that the relation of God to man thus indicated is not, in the sense of the prophet, occasioned by caprice, but by the holiness of the Divine nature (comp. Ps. xviii. 26, 27). ‘The standpoint of the inspired writers is a spiritual realism, alike removed from both spiritualism [in the philosophical sense] and materialism’ (Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, p. 71).

^{25–27} With a few pen-strokes the prophet sums up the spiritual future of Israel. First of all, he corrects the description in *vv.* 22, 23. —**Bring back my hand upon thee**] The phrase is generally used of punishment (Ps. lxxxii. 14, Amos i. 8) ; here, however, as in Zech. xiii. 7, a favourable sense predominates, though the Divine favour was necessarily preceded by the removal of the causes of indignation. ‘Quod dicitur, *reducam manum meam ad te*, si in te spectes, vel ad castigantem vel ad sanantem et beneficam manum referri potest. Sed posterius hic obtinet, quicquid alii reclamant.’ Vitringa. —**As with lye**] or potash (Job ix. 30), which was used as a flux in purifying metals.

²⁶ **As aforetime**] ‘I remem-

bring back thy judges as aforetime, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterwards thou shalt be called, Citadel of righteousness, Faithful city. ²⁷ Zion shall be delivered through justice, and her converts through righteousness. ²⁸ But a demolition of rebels and sinners together! and they who forsake Jehovah shall perish. ²⁹ For ye shall be ashamed because of the terebinths which ye had pleasure in, and blush for the gardens which ye chose: ³⁰ yea, ye shall be

¹ So Targ., 3 Heb. MSS.—Lo., Houb., &c.,—Text, they.

ber to thy good the kindness of thy youth, the love of thy bridal state, thy following of me in the wilderness, in a land unsown' (Jer. ii. 2). The regeneration of Israel is to be as great an event as its first foundation on a religious basis by Moses, Joshua, and Samuel. In support of this explanation of the phrase, see lli. 4, Jer. vii. 12. —[**Citadel of righteousness**] Vitringa and Naeg. see a connection between this passage and the names of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) and Jehovah Tsidkenu (Jer. xxxiii. 15; cf. xxxiii. 6). But in both names the righteousness spoken of has a different shade of meaning from the righteousness mentioned here. The former is God's righteousness, His faithful adherence to his revealed principles of action (Melchisedek means 'King-righteousness,' the King being God); the latter, the righteousness of man to man, civil justice.

²⁷ **Shall be delivered**] A.V. 'redeemed'; but this is not the primary meaning of the word (*pādāh*) and is often unsuitable; comp. Job vi. 23. The idea is that of cutting loose.—[**Through justice . . . through righteousness**] This may mean either the judicial manifestation of God's righteousness (so Del.), cf. v. 16, or the righteousness of the people of Zion, especially of their new judges (so the Rabbis, followed by Ew., Hitz., Knob.). The latter is favoured by the context (see esp. v. 21), and is in harmony with Isaiah's severe advocacy of the moral law. Vitringa calls this

'doctrina damnabilis superbix,' but forgets Matt. v. 20.—[**Her converts**] Lit. her turning ones; i.e., the escaped remnant which shall turn unto 'God-the-Mighty-One' (x. 21), 'when the Lord shall finish his whole work upon mount Zion, (x. 12). Isaiah's first allusion to this great doctrine. From v. 21 it is clear that the remnant, in the mind of Isaiah, was to consist of the poor and weak, who alone had the germ of humility required by the fear of Jehovah. A clearer statement still in xxxix. 19, 20.

²⁸ The first clause, having no verb, is to be taken as an exclamation; it is explained in the more complete clause which follows.—[**Rebels**] or renegades. Those who have inwardly and outwardly 'broken away from' Jehovah (same word v. 2).—[**Sinners**] Those who lead a life of open sin.—[**Together**] i.e., without exception. [**Those who forsake Jehovah**] Those who in the one way or the other have alienated themselves from God.

²⁹ **Ashamed**] Not in the sense of Rom. vi. 21; it is the disappointingness of nature-worship which is indicated.—[**The gardens**] or, the groves. These are hardly pleasure-gardens (Hitz.), for there is a contrast between 'forsaking Jehovah' and 'choosing the gardens.' Groves were the scenes of the worship of Asherah, the Canaanitish goddess of fertility and good fortune (xvii. 8); see lviii. 5, lxvi. 17, 2 Kings xvi. 4; and comp. Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 13, vi.

as a terebinth whose leaves are withered, and as a garden that hath no water; ³¹ and the strong one shall become tow, and his work a spark, and they shall both burn together, and none quencheth.

545. Votive offerings may still be seen hanging upon trees on the east side of the Jordan (Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 261).

³¹ **The strong one]** The mighty and rich (the word will cover both meanings) will refuse conversion, and suffer destruction. — **His**

work] i.e., his idol, cf. xli. 29, lvii. 12 (synonymous word). Or, his gains (Caspari). The meaning is, his sin contains the germ of his ruin: 'per quod quis peccat, per idem punitur et ipse.' See further on v. 18.

APPENDIX ON 'JEHOVAH SABÁOTH.'

THIS remarkable but obscure phrase, expressive of the almightiness of God and His distinctness from nature, occurs forty-nine times in the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah, and only thirteen times (including xxi. 10) in those of questioned authorship.

i. *As to its meaning.*—(a). The theory which has met with the widest acceptance till recently, is that of Ewald,¹ who regards the 'hosts' as primarily the angels. According to him, the phrase arose on the occasion of some great victory, when it seemed as if the armies of Jehovah had come down to the relief of His people. He finds an allusion to this origin in Isa. xxxi. 4, and even, which seems more venturesome, in Judges v. 20. The rise of the name is traced to the close of the period of the Judges (it occurs first in 1 Sam. i. 3, 11), on the ground of its evident popularity in the time of David; Ewald refers especially to Ps. xxiv. 7-10 (the only Psalm-passage in which the phrase occurs outside the Korahite psalms), which he regards as occasioned by the solemn entrance of the ark into the city of David. He admits, however (referring to Isa. xl. 26) that the phrase was in later times probably explained of the stars. The *usus loquendi* is to some extent undoubtedly in favour of this view. The angels are called 'Jehovah's hosts' in Ps. ciii. 21, cxlviii. 2 (see below), 'the host of heaven' in 1 Kings xxii. 19, Neh. ix. 6, and (a certain number of them) 'a camp of Elohim,' Gen. xxxii. 2; and in Isa. vi. 3 there may be an allusion to this meaning of 'Jehovah Sabáoth.' There is no doubt a large element of truth in this view of Ewald's.

(b) Herder and Schrader² think the 'hosts' were originally the armies of Israel, of whom Jehovah is represented as being the leader, Ex. vii. 4, xii. 41, 51; comp. Josh. v. 14. The explanation in a speech of David, 1 Sam. xvii. 45, is favourable to this view, as also is the fact that צבאות

¹ Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, iii. 62, Germ. ed. iii. 87; *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, ii. 1, pp. 339, 340.

² Herder, *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, ii. 84, 85; Schrader, *Jahrb. für protestant. Theologie*, 1875, pp. 316-320; comp. Delitzsch, *Luther. Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 217, &c., and note on Ps. xxiv. 10.

everywhere else means 'earthly armies.' 'Lord of Armies' will then be the best translation; so already Aquila, Symm., Theod., Vulg. Herder grants, however, that the meaning gradually expanded till it included first the stars, and then the whole fulness of the Divine glory in creation (comp. use of צבא in Gen. ii. 1). Schrader further remarks, that the celestial hosts of Jehovah are constantly expressed by צבא (sing.); in two places only, Ps. ciii. 21, cxlviii. 2, we find צבאות and צבא; but these readings, Schrader thinks, are due to a pedantic grammatical objection, the authors of the points having taken offence at the incongruity of a singular noun with a plural verb. In both places we should read צבא, which indeed is the K'ri reading in Ps. cxlviii. 2. To this remark Delitzsch replies, Why should not צבא have two plurals, just as צבא has both צבאות and צבאות? The received reading in the Psalms should stand. I cannot, any more than Delitzsch, accept Schrader's explanation as adequate, even admitting his view of the meaning of 'צ'. It is clear to me from Isa. xiii. 4 that the prophets sometimes interpreted the word with reference to non-Israelitish armies, when those were under commission, so to speak, from Jehovah. But even thus we have not expanded the meaning sufficiently.

(c) The original meaning of 'Sabáoth,' as critics are more and more coming to see, is probably the stars. So Kuenen, Tiele, Baudissin, and even Delitzsch.¹ Whence comes it, asks the latter, that the title Jehovah Sabáoth comes specially before us in the regal period? There were armies of Israel before this; must there not be some connection with the astrolatry of the neighbouring nations (especially the Aramæans) with whom the Israelites then came into contact? The stars, too, are constantly referred to as 'the host of heaven' (Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3, 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3, 5, xxiii. 4, 5, Isa. xxxiv. 4, Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13, xxxiii. 22, Zeph. i. 5, Dan. viii. 10, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, 5); in Job xxv. 3 (comp. 5) as Jehovah's 'bands'; and in Isa. xl. 26 as the 'host' which He musters. Considering that the roots of Mosaism lay in a popular, primitive Semitic religion (though its life-giving spirit came from another source); or, in other words, that the prophets did not introduce an entirely new phraseology corresponding to their new ideas, it seems most probable that when the stars were first called the hosts of God it was with the notion that they were animated creatures. In later times the belief in the angels threw the belief in the stars as animated beings into the background; the angels, however, were evidently connected very closely with the stars, as appears from Job xxv. 5 (comp. iv. 18), and especially xxxviii. 7. Comp. also Judges v. 20, Dan. viii. 10, 11, and the symbolic language of Luke x. 18, Rev. xii. 7; notice too the place of the stars between vegetables and animals in Gen. i. 16. Our own Marlowe has a phrase pointing to a similar idea:

(The moon, the planets, and the meteors light,
 These *angels* in their crystal armour fight
 A doubtful battle, &c.—(*Tamburlaine*, Act V., Sc. 2),

¹ It is strange that Hermann Schultz, in ed. 2 of his valuable *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1878, p. 492), should still adhere to the opposite view.

and Wordsworth, in his sonnet on the stars, indulges in the same fanciful supposition.—It is only of the original meaning of the phrase that I am now speaking. In later times different writers may have used it in other senses, some thinking of the angels, others of the armies of Israel, others in all senses combined; hence LXX.'s *παντοκράτωρ*, in 2 Sam., 1 Chron., Minor Prophets, and eight times in Jeremiah (according to Gesenius). For the latter use, comp. the parallel phrase about Nebo quoted below.

ii. *Parallel religious phrases.*—The Assyrian and Babylonian parallels are not verbally so close as might be supposed from the translations sometimes given, as *kissatu*, plur. *kissāti*, is not exactly a 'legion' (Oppert, Lenormant) in a military sense, but 'a multitude, or mass of men' (Aram. *Knash*, collegit). Still they agree in ascribing to the supreme gods the lordship over the celestial as well as the earthly populations. Assur, for instance, is called 'the king of the multitudes of the great gods' (*Obelisk of Nimrud*, line i.); Nebo, 'the king of the multitudes of heaven and earth' ('Annals of Sargon,' *Records of Past*, vii. 46, amending the translation); while to Marduk, the other great Babylonian deity, is ascribed the empire of 'the spirits of the multitudes of heaven and earth.'¹ The phrase 'spirits of heaven' will include the three hundred spirits, who, though not gods properly so called, were supernatural beings, and were closely attached to the stars (a similar theory to that noticed above).² On the parallel Persian belief in the Fravashis, see Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthümer*, ii. 94.

iii. *Construction.* There are three views, (a) that of Gesenius: 'צ is in the direct relation of a genitive to 'ה, comp. Aram-Naharaim, 'Aram of the two rivers,' and in Arabic 'Antar of the horsemen'; (b) that of Ewald: There is an ellipsis of אֱלֹהֵי; thus 'Jehovah (the God of) Hosts' (this is confirmed by the occurrence of יהוה צ' and יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צ' in the same book—Jeremiah), (c) 'צ has become a proper name, as it was evidently taken by the author or corrector of Ps. lxxx. 8, 15 אֱלֹהִים צ', by the translators of parts of the Sept. version (*κύριος Σαβαώθ* constantly in Isaiah), by St. Jerome once (Jer. xi. 20, Vulg.), and Luther constantly, and as in the *Sibylline Oracles*, and sometimes in (Christian) Ethiopic. Comp. also Rom. ix. 29 (quotation from Isa. i. 9), James v. 4. 'It is at least a noteworthy coincidence,' remarks Dr. Plumptre, 'that it is through the liturgy which is ascribed to [St. James], that it has passed into the devotional language of Christendom' (*Biblical Studies*, p. 15). An incidental confirmation of the view of which we are speaking is furnished by Valerius Maximus, who, being a mere compiler, doubtless took his statement from a much older authority. He relates that a prætor expelled certain Jews from Rome, 'qui Sabazii Jovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant' (i. 3, 3). It is difficult to avoid seeing here a confusion of the Phrygian deity Sabazius with the Sabáoth of the Jews. If we are puzzled to account for Sabáoth as a proper name, Luzzatto is at hand with an answer (note on Isa. i. 9); he accounts for it in the same way as for the use of Elohim for the true God, the separate objects of

¹ *Jahrb. für protestant. Theologie*, 1875, p. 340; Lenormant, *La Magie*, p. 176; Boscawen, *T.S.B.A.* 1877, p. 299.

² Comp. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 263.

heathen worship, so far as they had a real existence, being concentrated in Jehovah. The combination of two proper names is paralleled in the *Corpus Inscr. Semit.* (i. 33) by the Astar-Kemosh of the Moabite Stone (l. 17), though the parallel is incomplete, as there is no evidence that Sabáoth was ever used without another name for God being prefixed. At the very least, Sabáoth is in process of becoming a proper name, and there is good ancient authority for the rendering here adopted, *Jehovah Sabáoth*.

CHAPTER II.

THERE is clearly no connection between chaps. i. and ii., whereas ii.-iv. form a continuous prophecy. There is a difference between Ewald and Delitzsch as to whether chap. v. ought to be regarded as part of the same work as chaps. ii.-iv. The moral and social state described agrees with that in the foregoing chapters, but the prediction of the judgment differs by introducing human instruments, viz. the Assyrians. Ewald's conclusion, that 'these pieces belong to one great oration' (*Prophets*, ii. 18), seems to me correct, provided it be clearly understood that chaps. ii.-iv. represent, at any rate in part, earlier discourses than chap. v. I have given a full analysis in *J. C. A.* pp. 3, 4. Suffice it to say here, that the burden of the prophecy is the necessity of a grand vindication of God's holiness, which will lead to a realisation of Israel's destiny such as is at present impossible.

As to the date of these four chapters. Two points referred to by the prophet are of importance, (1) the taste for foreign fashions, particularly in religion; and (2) the weak character of the king. Both suggest the reign of Ahaz, who was specially fickle in religion (2 Kings xvi. 2-4, 10), whereas Uzziah and Jotham were strict worshippers of Jehovah, and who, according to vii. 1-12, was both timid and a prey to ignoble superstitions. But what part of the reign of Ahaz? From ii. 16 ('ships of Tarshish') it appears that Elath was still in the possession of Judah. Now this port was lost by Ahaz during the period of the Syro-Israelitish invasion. Hence the prophecies summed up in chaps. ii.-iv., or ii.-v., must be placed either very early indeed in the reign of Ahaz, or else the prophecies of two successive periods (Jotham and Ahaz) have been fused together. See also on ix. 8-x. 4.

¹ The word which Isaiah, son of Amoz, saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem. ² 'And it shall come to pass in the

¹ The heading evidently belongs to chaps. ii.-iv., or ii.-v., which are thought to have formed a separate collection of prophecies. — **The word** i.e., the revelation (so Jer. xviii. 18). There cannot be any special reference to the actual words of the prophecy, for it is added, 'which Isaiah saw' (see on i. 1).

²⁻⁴ This passage occurs with a

few variations and one additional verse in Mic. iv. 1-4. The variations have a more rugged look, and therefore are perhaps closer to the original text, and certainly the verses fit in better there with the context than in Isaiah. Micah therefore can hardly have borrowed it from Isaiah. Neither can Isaiah have borrowed it from Micah, for the prophecy to which it is attached

after-days that the mountain of Jehovah's house shall become

(see Mic. iii.) was delivered in the time of Hezekiah (Jer. xxvi. 18). The force of this argument has been doubted by Del., who observes that Micah may have composed the prophecy long before he published it in Hezekiah's reign, and that Isaiah may have taken the passage from Micah's lips, though not from his book. (Similarly Caspari, *Micha*, p. 447; but see, on the other side, Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, ii. 348.)—It is a minute and delicate question. My *impression* is that Mic. iv. 1-4 is not in the tone of Micah, and that *v.* 5 is a skilful attempt of that prophet to work a fragment of an older prophecy into his own work:—Isa. ii. 5 has no doubt a similar object. Both Isaiah and Micah were charged with messages of a predominantly gloomy character. Their hearers, however, were familiar with an old and truly Divine word of promise, which seemed to some inconsistent with the terrible judgment which later prophets so earnestly announced. Isaiah and Micah, prophets of a kindred spirit, have both quoted this prophecy with the view of showing its essential agreement with their own graver revelation. Similar quotations from older works occur (probably) in Isa. xv., xvi., Jer. xlix. 7-22.—It is significant that Isaiah leaves out one verse of the fragment which Micah preserves. Such an idyllic picture was out of harmony with the awful prospect before Isaiah (Duhm).

² **And it shall come to pass]** These words nowhere else occur at the beginning of a prophecy.—**In the after-days]** Literally, in the sequel of the days. A much-debated phrase, which occurs here only in Isaiah, but four times in the Book of Jeremiah (xxiii. 20, xxx. 24, xlviii. 47, xlix. 39), once in Hosea (iii. 5), once in Micah (iv. 1 = Isa. ii. 2), once in Ezekiel (xxxviii. 16), once in Daniel (x. 14), and four times in the Pentateuch

(Gen. xlix. 1, Num. xxiv. 14, Deut. iv. 30, xxxi. 29); in Ezek. xxxviii. 8, we have the parallel phrase 'in the sequel of the years.' The rendering adopted above is based on philological grounds. 'After,' in the term 'after-days,' corresponds to a Hebrew word (*akhrith*), meaning—not 'end,' but—'latter part' or 'sequel,' as Bildad says in the Book of Job, 'Thy early time was a trifle, but thy latter time (thy future) shall be very great' (viii. 7). Precisely the same phrase occurs in Assyrian, and its meaning is certain from the context (*anu akhrat yumi irib*, 'for a future time I deposited.') In the Old Test. the phrase 'in the sequel of the days,' or 'in the after-days,' occurs only in prophecies—mostly (not always, as Kimchi asserts), referring to the glorious Messianic period which should ensue upon the 'day' or assize 'of Jehovah,' and so here, but sometimes used quite vaguely of future time, e.g. Jer. xxiii. 20, 'The anger of Jehovah shall not turn back, till he have executed, and till he have carried into effect the purposes of his heart: in future days ye shall duly consider it' (Henderson's translation); also Deut. iv. 30, xxxi. 29, where a reference to the Messianic period is excluded by the context. The rendering of A.V. 'the last days' is misleading, for the Messianic period (described in the following verses) has no 'last days'; it is without an end (ix. 7). A similar mistake occurs in the A.V. of 1 Tim. iv. 1, where *ἐν ὑστερίοις καιροῖς* 'in later times' (Revised Version), is rendered 'in the latter times.'—**The mountain of Jehovah's house. . . .**] An implied contrast to Sinai, whence the earlier and more limited revelation proceeded. Mount Zion, where Jehovah's merciful presence constantly abides, is to be the centre of religious unity to the world. So much is intelligible enough, but the physical pheno-

fixed at the head of the mountains, and be exalted above the hills, and all the nations shall stream unto it. ³ And many peoples shall set forth and shall say, "Come, let us go up to the mountain of Jehovah, to the house of the God of Jacob, and let him teach us out of his ways, and we will walk in his paths." For from Zion shall go forth the instruction, and the word of Jehovah from Jerusalem. ⁴ And he shall judge between the nations, and arbitrate for many peoples : and they shall beat their swords into coulters, and their spears into pruning-knives, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'

menon connected with this statement seems paradoxical ; and Vitringa asks, ' Quid sibi velit, et quod sub cortice lateat mysterium?' But the prophet means just what he says. It is for the spirit of revelation at each successive stage of prophecy to strip off the worn-out form received from the past, until the fulfilment shows the depth of spiritual meaning underneath the letter. It was an old belief in Eastern Asia that there was a mountain reaching from earth to heaven, on the summit of which was the dwelling of the gods (see on xiv. 13). The prophet is, perhaps, alluding to this belief, which he recognises as true in substance, though attached by the heathen to a wrong locality. At any rate, mount Zion is to be physically raised, and to **become fixed at the head** of the lower mountains, which radiate, as it were, in all directions from it. A similar physical change is anticipated for Jerusalem in Zech. xiv. 10, and for the Valley of Jchoshaphat, in connection with the 'day of Jehovah,' in Joel iii. 12. Ezekiel, too, speaks of having been transported in an ecstatic state to 'a very high mountain' (xl. 2), evidently alluding to this passage. The view adopted has the further method of explaining a similar phrase in xi. 9 (see note). The alternative rendering, 'on the top of the (piled up) mountains' (Vitr., Ew., Luz., Caspari), requires to be taken in a figura-

tive sense, and so introduces an inconsistency into the description. — **And all the nations . . .**] This great mountain shall become their rallying-point, like the banner in xi. 10. Parallel passages, Isa. lx. 3, Jer. iii. 17, Zech. ii. 11, viii. 22, 23.

³ **Shall say, Come . . .**] Similarly Zech. viii. 20, 21. — **Let him teach us**] viz. by his prophets (called 'teachers,' xxx. 20). The revelation of the 'prophet-people,' Israel, was reserved for II Isaiah. — **Out of his ways**] God's ways here are not His dealings with man (as Iv. 8), but the rules of moral and religious conduct. So ἡ ὁδός is used in the New Test. for Christianity viewed on its practical side, and *sabil* 'way' in the Korān. These rules are described as a store out of which the divine teacher draws his instruction (comp. Ps. xciv. 12 Del.). — **Shall go forth the instruction**] i.e., the revelation of divine truth shall be like a perennial stream.

⁴ Thus Israelites and non-Israelites shall be united in one great spiritual empire under Jehovah. No satraps nor Tartans are necessary, for the nations have the full rights of citizenship (Ps. lxxxvii.), and the only precedence of Israel is that coveted by Milton for England, of 'teaching the nations how to live.' — **They shall beat their swords . . .**] The same image reversed Joel iii. (iv.) 10. Comp. also ix. 5 (4), Hos. ii.

⁵ O house of Jacob! come, let us walk in the light of Jehovah. ⁶ For thou hast cast off thy people, the house of Jacob, because they are replenished ^a from the East,^a and are diviners of the clouds like the Philistines, and make contracts with the sons of aliens. ⁷ And his land is become full

^a With sorcery, Sept., Ew. (var. read.).

18, Zech. ix. 10, 'the battle-bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the nations.'

⁵ But alas! the ideal time described by the prophet is still very far off. Israel himself must first be brought into the right way. Therefore, in accents of an appealing tenderness rare with Isaiah, he exclaims, **O house of Jacob! come, let us walk** (comp. 'Come, let us go up, *v.* 3), **in the light of Jehovah**, i.e. in the light of Jehovah's revelation. 'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path' (Ps. cxix. 105).

⁶ The connection is a little difficult to trace, and it is very possible that the text is in some disorder. As the text stands, we had best explain it thus. The invitation in *v.* 5 implies that the people were at present not 'walking in the light of Jehovah'; in fact, that they had more or less completely forsaken Jehovah.¹ But instead of continuing, 'For thou hast forsaken thy God, O house of Jacob,' the prophet expresses the corresponding fact from the point of view of revelation: **For thou** (O Jehovah!) **hast cast off thy people**, and then the cause of this change in the Divine revelation, **because they are replenished from the East**. ('House of Jacob!'¹ in *v.* 6 *a* is repeated to link this section with the last.) The East here undoubtedly means Aram (i.e., Syria and Mesopotamia), which in ix. 12 (comp. xi. 14) is antithetically parallel to Philistia, and in Num. xxiii. 7, parallel synonymously to 'the moun-

tains of the East.' All forms of culture, especially religious, are covered by Isaiah's phrase. The prevalence of magic in Syria is shown by the narrative of Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv.), and the Aramaic affinities of three of the special names for sorcerers in iii. 2, 3 confirm the accuracy of the prophet's statement. Babylonia, however, not Syria, was the earliest home of magic. The very next phrase, **diviners of the clouds**, reminds us that the clouds, both of the day and of the night, were studied by the Chaldean diviners.² Another possible rendering is cloud-makers (Del.), which reminds us of the common name of sorcerers in savage tribes, 'rain-makers.'—**Like the Philistines**] With whom the victories of Uzziah and Jotham had brought them into contact. They had a recognised order of diviners (1 Sam. vi. 2), and a famous oracle at Ekron (2 Kings i. 2).—**Make contracts with . . .**] Alluding probably (if the rendering be correct) to the commercial activity of the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham (2 Kings xiv. 22, xvi. 6). The prophets were opposed to this, because it opened the door to influences unfavourable to a pure religion. See xxiii. 17, Zeph. i. 8.

⁷ **Is become full of silver and gold . . .**] Comp. the account of Hezekiah's tribute to Sennacherib on the Taylor cylinder:—'30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, cast metal (?), . . . large precious stones,' &c., (Schrader, *K. A. T.* p. 293).

¹ On the relative proportion of heathenish elements in the popular religion of N. and S., see Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 200-203.

² Lenormant, *La divination chez les Chaldéens*, pp. 63-64.

of silver and gold, and without end are his treasures; ⁸ and his land is become full of horses, and without end are his chariots; ⁹ and his land is become full of not-gods; to the work of their hands they do homage, to that which their fingers have made. ¹⁰ ^b Therefore must the earth-born be bowed down, and the man be brought low, ^b and thou canst not forgive them. Go into the rock, and hide thee in the

^b And the man is &c., Ew.

⁸ **Horses . . . chariots]** The chariots were not merely for use in war, but for state; comp. 2 Sam. xv. 1; 2 Kings v. 9 15; Eccles. x. 7 (Hitz). Horses were first imported from Egypt by the worldly-wise Solomon (1 Kings iv. 26, x. 28, 29); and Ahab seems to have cared more for them than for his suffering people (1 Kings xviii. 5). The prohibition in Deut. xvii. 16 was therefore not uncalled for, and it was no idle feature in the description of the Messianic King, that he was to ride upon an ass (Zech. ix. 9). The statement about the chariots must be taken with the qualifications required by xxx. 1, xxxvi. 8. Ritter thinks that chariots were mostly used in Ephraim, and horses without chariots in Judah (as being more hilly); comp. Zech. ix. 10.

⁹ **Not-gods]** i.e., idols, possibly including symbols of Jehovah. Similar complaints are made by Isaiah's contemporaries, Amos (ii. 4), Hosea (xi. 12), and Micah (i. 5, v. 13). The uniqueness of the divinity of Jehovah, and the inadequacy of any symbol, were their special revelation. Isaiah seems to have chosen or coined a special word (*'ellim*) for the dethroned idol-gods; as if he would say, 'They are not *'ellim* 'strong ones' = gods, but *'ellim* 'nonentities.'

¹⁰ **Therefore must . . .]** By a necessity of God's moral law (this is implied in the Hebrew, comp. Ps. cix. 16-18), such open infidelity must be chastised. Whether the chastisement is past, present, or future is not expressed in the words

themselves; it is the context which proves it to be future (comp. v. 15). Many of the older expositors, however, and among the moderns Ewald, take the 'bowing down' and the 'bringing low' to refer to the idolaters of the preceding verse ('Thus the earth-born abaseth himself, and the man boweth low'), the transition to the judgment being formed by the second half of the verse ('And forgive them not'). The objection is (1) that the idolatrous worship has been sufficiently treated in v. 9, and (2) that there is no evidence that v. 9 ^b marks a transition—in order to do so, it should run 'And thou—forgive them not' (Naeg.).—**The earth-born]** There is probably an allusion to a popular etymology for *ādām* 'man' (comp. Ps. cxlvi. 3, 4), as a Latin writer might take *homo* from *humus*.—**And thou canst not forgive them.]** Lit., and forgive them not. Why? Because theirs is a 'sin unto death' (comp. xxii. 14). 'Forgive me my foul murder? That cannot be' (*Hamlet*, act iii. sc. 3).

A brief pause must be supposed here, after which the divine Judge is seen approaching, accompanied by the earthquake and the storm (v. 25; comp. Mic. i. 4, Hab. iii.). Obs. nothing is said as yet of the Assyrians.—**Go into the rock]** Similarly Hosea x. 8, Rev. vi. 16. The limestone caverns of Palestine were frequently used as strongholds and hiding-places, Judges vi. 2, xv. 8, 1 Sam. xiii. 6, xiv. 11, xxiv. 3 (especially), 1 Kings xviii. 13.

dust from before the terror of Jehovah and from his excellent majesty. ¹¹The haughty eyes of the earth-born must be brought low, and the loftiness of men bowed down, and Jehovah alone be exalted in that day.

¹²For a day hath Jehovah Sabáoth upon all that is proud and lofty, and upon all that is raised up that it may be brought low; ¹³and upon all cedars of Lebanon that are lofty and raised up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan; ¹⁴and upon all the lofty mountains, and upon all the up-raised hills; ¹⁵and upon every high tower, and upon every fortified wall; ¹⁶and upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon

¹¹ **Alone shall be exalted]** 'Alone shall stand a high and safe asylum (as the word means); like an impregnable rock-fortress (comp. Ps. xlvii. 7, 11)' Dr. Kay.

¹² **For a day hath . . .]** 'A day' for displaying his power in wrath and in mercy (see on xiii. 6), hence followed by 'upon.' 'Hath it,' viz. in readiness—every day has a kind of pre-existence in the super-sensible world (Job iii. 1-10). It is the world's judgment-day which is here referred to, one act of which is the judgment upon Jerusalem, see on chap. xxiv. The same form of phrase in xxii. 5, xxxiv. 8.—**Proud and lofty]** The ideas of eminence, pride, and opposition to Jehovah melt into each other in the Old Test.; comp. Job xl. 11, 12, Gen. iii. 22.

¹³ **Upon all cedars of Lebanon . . .]** It has been asked whether the various items of the following description are to be taken literally or figuratively. They must be all taken in the same way; there is nothing to indicate a distinction (made by Calvin and Hitzig) between *vv.* 13, 14, and the rest of the passage. The mention of artificial as well as natural objects pleads strongly in favour of a literal interpretation; only we must not suppose the judgment of Jehovah to be confined to the objects here specified. We have before us nothing less than the germ of the prophecy of the 'regeneration' of nature (Matt. xix. 28), which,

though probably affected in some of its Jewish and Judæo-Christian expressions by the analogous Persian belief, is in idea an essential part of the old prophetic teaching. Actual nature has become too closely wedded to man's sinful pride to be suitable for the regenerate people of the glorified theocracy. The forests of Lebanon and Bashan tempted Solomon and Uzziah to build those palaces and towers which corrupted the simplicity of Israelitish faith. They are therefore to be taken as representatives of the condemned features of the existing order of things, just as towers are taken in xxx. 23.

¹⁴ **Mountains . . . hills]** Comp. Korān, Sur. xx. 105-6 (Rodwell), 'and they will ask thee of the mountains: Say: scattering my Lord will scatter them in dust; And he will leave them a level plain: thou shalt see in it no hollows or jutting hills.' Mohammed is speaking of the Day of Resurrection.

¹⁵ **High tower]** Referring to the buildings of Uzziah and Jotham, 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, 10, xxvii. 3, 4. Comp. Hosea viii. 14, Mic. v. 11.

¹⁶ **Ships of Tarshish]** Deep sea ships, such as were built for the foreign trade, especially with Tartessus and Ophir (1 Kings xxii. 48). At this time, then, the Jews still possessed a fleet, the station of which was at Elath, on the Red Sea. In the reign of Ahaz the Arameans 'recovered Elath for

all delightful works of imagery; ¹⁷ and the highness of the earth-born shall be bowed down, and the loftiness of men brought low, and Jehovah alone shall be exalted in that day. ¹⁸ And the not-gods—the whole shall pass away. ¹⁹ And men shall go into caverns of rocks and holes of the ground, from before the terror of Jehovah and from his excellent majesty, when he shall arise to shock the earth. ²⁰ In that day shall a man cast his not-gods of silver and his not-gods of gold, which were made for him to worship, to the moles and to the bats, ²¹ in order to go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the rents of the crags, from before the terror of Jehovah and from his excellent majesty, when he shall arise to shock the earth.

²² ^c O cease ye from man, in whose nostrils is a breath; for at how much is he to be valued? ^c

° Omitted in Sept., and (as late marginal note) by Diestel and Studer.

Edom' (2 Kings xvi. 6 *Q. P. B.*, compare xiv. 22).—**Precious works of imagery**] Such as the merchant-ships brought from far countries to furnish the houses of the great. See crit. note.

¹⁸ **And the not-gods . . .**] A verse of three words in the Hebrew, suggestive of a swift and sudden catastrophe.

¹⁹ **To shock the earth**] A thoroughly Isaianic paronomasia—'ut terreat terram.' So in Ps. x. 18.

²⁰ **Shall a man cast . . .**] Or, shall (the whole tribe of them) cast (Dr. Weir). Like an African fetish-worshipper, disappointed of some desired good. It is remarkable that neither here nor in the partly parallel passages, xxx. 22, xxxi. 7, does Isaiah say anything against the high places or local sanctuaries; it is only idolatry against which he thunders. Nor, in fact, do Amos, Hosea, or Micah—at least so far as Judah is concerned. In Mic. i. 5 we should certainly, I think, read

not 'high places' but 'sin,' see *Q. P. B.*; 'high places' is a gloss from Hosea x. 8.—**Which were made**] viz. for a very different purpose. Lit. 'which they made,' viz. the manufacturers of idols.

²² **In whose nostrils is a breath**] 'Jehovah Elohim . . . breathed into his nostrils breath of life' (Gen. ii. 7). This verse connects very badly with what precedes. 'Cease ye from idols' would be a much more natural exhortation. The style, too, is very inferior. Omit the verse, and the effect of the sequel is enhanced. We then have a striking transition from the general description of the effects of the day of Jehovah to the special details connected with Jerusalem: the captivity of Jerusalem becomes the earnest of the overthrow of all 'proud and lofty' things. The tone of v. 22 reminds us of the post-exile period. Comp. Ps. cxlvi. 3, 4 (in a Psalm of Haggai and Zechariah, according to Sept.).

CHAPTER III.

HAVING established the certainty of a judgment, the prophet goes on to describe it in detail. Probably we have here a summary of a fresh series of discourses. At *v.* 16 it is probable that the summary becomes a little fragmentary, for the introductory formula is elsewhere confined to cases in which Jehovah in person is the speaker. This is not the case here. The unusually lax application of the formula suggests that here, as in chap. ii., a later editor has been at work, and that the formula is merely inserted to bridge over a lacuna in the notes. Still the position of *iii.* 16-24 is not at all unsuitable. There are clearly points of contact in it with what precedes. Haughtiness and luxury are rebuked in chap. ii., and the prominence given to the women is in harmony with the feminine form of the word 'staff' (see on *v.* 1), and with the statement respecting the women in *v.* 12.—At *v.* 25 there is an abrupt transition from the fate of the women to that of Zion as a whole.

¹ For behold, the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, taketh away from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff, ^a[every stay of bread, and every stay of water]^a; ²hero and warrior, judge

^a Omitted as gloss by Hitz. and Knobel.

¹ **For behold, the Lord . . .**] Notice the solemnity of the introduction. Comp. i. 24, x. 16, 33, xix. 4.—**Removeth . . .**] i.e., mediately, through war and captivity.—**Stay and staff**] i.e., all those classes and orders mentioned in *vv.* 2, 3, on which the outward and inward life of the community depends (ch. xix. 10; 'the pillars' = the nobles). 'Staff' in the Heb. is the feminine form of 'stay' (cf. Mic. ii. 4, Nah. ii. 11, Del.). Observe the importance still enjoyed by women among the Israelites, though less now than in the 'patriarchal' period.—**Every stay of bread . . .**] It would be strange if the prophet used the same phrases in parallel members of the verse in totally different senses. If the classes referred to in *vv.* 2, 3 were merely those of bread-winners, the productive classes as we call them, the second interpretation might perhaps pass. But with the exception probably of the last but one, it is not bread-winning but valour and wisdom which characterise these classes. It is probably one of those marginal glosses which

the scribes and editors of the prophecies inserted during or after the exile (see any critical edition of Jeremiah). Inattentive to the context, a scribe interpreted 'stay and staff' by the light of the phrases, 'staff of bread' (Ps. cv. 16, Ezek. iv. 16, v. 16, Lev. xxvi. 26), and 'to stay the heart with bread' (Gen. xviii. 5, Ps. civ. 15).

² First in order among the props of the state came the warriors. The prophet puts himself at the popular or unbelieving point of view. Then comes a medley of different offices. Obs., in the mention of the *elder*, how the idea of the family still governs the social organisation. The 'elders' were originally heads of families, and have their analogue in the council of the Aryan village communities (comp. Sir H. Maine). References to their parliamentary status (if the phrase may be used) occur in Ex. iii. 16, 2 Sam. xix. 11, 1 Kings viii. 1, xx. 7. The institution lingered on during and after the Babylonian exile, Jer. xxix. 1, Ezech. xiv. 1, xx. 1, Ezra v. 5, vi. 7, x. 14; Matt. xxvi. 3, 47, Mark xiv. 43, Acts iv. 5, &c. In *v.* 14

and prophet, and soothsayer and elder; ³ the captain of fifty and the man of repute, and the counsellor and the skilful ^b artificer, and the expert enchanter. ⁴ And I will make youths to be their princes, and with wilfulness shall they rule over them. ⁵ And the people shall oppress one another, man against man, and neighbour against neighbour; they shall behave boisterously, the child towards the old man, and the mean man towards the honourable. ⁶ When a man shall take hold of his brother in his father's house, 'Thou hast clothing, thou shalt be our judge, and let this ruin be under thy hand:'

^b Magician, Ew., Weir.

(see note) they are referred to as 'princes' or 'principal men'; they are also included under the term 'counsellor' in *v.* 2.—**Prophet and soothsayer** are classed together, like 'mighty man and man of war'; they are nearly the same in meaning, at any rate from the point of view which the prophet here assumes. So Jer. xxix. 8; cf. Mic. iii. 11, Ezek. xxii. 28. It does not appear that the prophets denied the reality of magical powers, though they did assert that the use of them without the direction and assistance of Jehovah was an act of rebellion against the God of gods (see further on vii. 11). Nor does Isaiah appear to have denied the prophetic character to those who held lower views of the Divine nature. He classes the degenerate prophets with the degenerate priests, and upbraids the former because, when they might have prophesied 'right things,' they uttered 'deceits' (xxx. 10). Jeremiah, however, has had it revealed to him that there are false prophets (xxiii. 25-32), though the invention of the phrase 'false prophet,' is due to the Sept. (e.g. xxxiii. 1-16 Sept.).

³ **Captain of fifty**] The leader of the smallest division of the army (2 Kings i. 9), but also apparently a civil officer (comp. Ex. xviii. 21, 25), just as in Jer. xxvi. 21 the *gib-bōrim* or 'mighty men' are treated as men of weight in civil affairs. The fifty was a technical term, analogous to our 'hundreds' and

'tythings.' See *Church Quarterly Review* (July 1880, p. 429).—**Skilful artificer**] Artisans are particularly mentioned as sharing the captivity of Jehoiachin, 2 Kings xxiv. 14, Jer. xxiv. 1. Alt. rendering is no doubt plausible. (Ps. lviii. 6, Hebr.) Magic practices were highly developed in the Semitic East, and even as it would seem in Jerusalem. Still, we have already two designations of soothsayers, and we can hardly spare the artificers, on whom so much depended in times of war (for machines) as well as of peace.

⁴⁻⁷ Thus deprived of its *ἄπιστοι*, Judah will become a prey to an anarchy such as had already befallen Israel. — **Youths their princes**] Only youths would desire such a miserable kingdom; and their childish capriciousness would contribute to the general misery. A specimen of the latter was given by Ahaz (see on *v.* 12), and after him by Manasseh (king at 12).

⁶ The distress shall be so great that any one who is still possessed of a respectable outer garment shall be importuned to accept the government, and shall protest against the dubious honour.—**In his father's house**] Where brothers would naturally meet, opposed to 'my house' afterwards.—**A binder-up**] One to hold together the fragments of the state; comp. xxx. 26, 'bindeth up the breach of his people'; or, a binder-up of wounds, a surgeon.

⁷ he shall lift up (his voice) on that day, saying, 'I will not be a binder-up, for in my house is neither bread nor clothing; ye shall not appoint me to be a judge of the people.'

⁸ For Jerusalem is sunk into ruin, and Judah is fallen, because their tongue and their deeds have been against Jehovah, to defy the eyes of his glory. ⁹ Observation of their face witnesseth against them, and their sin they have declared like Sodom, undisguisedly: alas for themselves, for they have achieved for themselves misfortune. ¹⁰ (^d Happy is the righteous! for ^d it is well, for the fruit of their deeds they shall eat. ¹¹ Alas for the wicked! Ill! for the achievement of his hands shall be given him.) ¹² My people—his governor is a wilful child, and women rule over him: my people—thy guides are misleading, and the way of thy paths they have swallowed up. ¹³ Jehovah is stationed to plead, and standeth to judge the

^c So Ges., Weir, Naeg.—The expression, Del.

^d So Duhm; pronounce ye happy, &c., Lo.; say ye of the righteous that, TEXT.

⁸ The prophet now justifies the foregoing gloomy description. He speaks of Judah, chiefly as represented by the ruling classes.—**Hath come to ruin]** The perfect of prophetic certainty.—**Their tongue]** i.e., their language. Obs. the importance attached to words as revelations of character, both in O. and N. T., lviii. 9, 13, Ps. xciv., 4, Matt. v. 22, xii. 36, 37.—**The eyes of his glory]** Jehovah's glory is the outward manifestation of his invisible essence. Through this glory he enters into relation with the world, which is described, anthropomorphically, as 'looking out upon the children of men.'

⁹ **Observation of their face]** Their character may be read by a keen glance at their face. Alt. rend. is rather too distant from the primary meaning of the Hebrew, but the difference is unimportant.—**Sodom]** An example of shamelessness, Gen. xix. 5.

^{10, 11} These verses rather interrupt the connection, but supply a beautiful example of parallelism. They assert the doctrine of 'future rewards and punishments' in a spiritual and not a mechanical sense. Good deeds ripen into

happiness, as evil deeds into misery. Comp. Ps. lviii. 11 *Q. P. B.*

¹² **His governor is a wilful child]** Isaiah means a child in character rather than in age, for Ahaz was probably twenty-five (i.e., five years older than Solomon, Ewald, iii. 208; comp. iv. 167) when he came to the throne. His timidity was shown in the Syro-Israelitish invasion (vii. 2, 2 Kings xvi. 5, 7); his effeminacy appears from the next clause of this verse, and his hankering for novelties from 2 Kings xvi. 10.—**Thy guides . . .]** Lit. 'thy righteners,' those who should lead thee in the right way, a duty commended to the ruling class in i. 23. A delicate irony! So ix. 16.—**Swallowed up]** i.e., effaced. Similarly xxv. 7, 8.

¹³ No effect has been produced by the friendly pleadings of the prophet. Now the scene changes. Jehovah **standeth to plead** judicially. The same phrase is used in the same sense in Ps. lxxxii. 1, though critics doubt whether the objects of the judgment are human or superhuman beings. Elsewhere we read that Jehovah 'sitteth (i.e., on his heavenly throne) to judge (Joel iii. 12, Ps. ix. 4). Here the figure

peoples. ¹⁴ Jehovah will enter into judgment with the elders of his people, and its princes: 'So then ye have eaten up the vineyards, the plunder of the afflicted is in your houses. ¹⁵ What mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the afflicted?' Oracle of the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth.

¹⁶ And Jehovah said, Because the daughters of Zion are proud, and go with outstretched throat and ogling eyes—go

is different. Jehovah stands in a menacing attitude ready to hurl his bolt; whether in heaven or on earth (comp. Mic. i. 2) the prophet does not say.—**The peoples**] Jehovah has revealed himself as the God, and consequently as the Judge, of all the nations of the world. But Isaiah merely hints at this, and devotes himself rather to the case of Jerusalem, which has such grievous need of purification, before the 'many nations' can go up thither for spiritual teaching. We might express the relation between *vv.* 13, 14 thus: 'Jehovah, when setting himself to judge the world, shall first enter into the case of the princes of his chosen people Israel' (Roorda). Comp. Ps. ix. 7, 8.

¹⁴ **Elders . . . princes**] See on *v.* 2. From Ex. xviii. 13-26 it appears that the 'elders' originally performed judicial functions—**So then ye . . .**] The prophet skips over the examination of the witnesses, and gives only the latter part of the summing up of the judge. 'Ye' is emphatic. *Ye*, from whom such different conduct was to be expected, have 'eaten up the vineyard' (see *v.* 7). 'He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye,' is Jehovah's word elsewhere (Zech. ii. 8).

¹⁵ **Grind the face**] Isaiah uses the strongest of metaphors to describe the cruel injustice of which the poor were the subjects. Its opposite is 'to smooth the face,' i.e. to entreat the favour (Ps. xlv. 12 A. V.). A similar metaphorical passage in Mic. iii. 2, 3.

¹⁶ **And Jehovah said**] Here a new discourse begins, which these words loosely connect with the foregoing prophecy (see *Intro.*).

It concerns the ladies of Jerusalem (comp. xxxii. 9-12), whose love of dress, expressing their inward pride, is threatened with condign punishment. Twenty-one articles are mentioned (some of which are still very general among Syrian ladies), and the difficulty of explaining all the names from the Hebrew shows that this toilette-luxury was not of native origin; comp. Zeph. i. 8: 'all such as are clothed with *foreign* clothing.' To judge from the names we should suspect Syrian and Arabian influences, though it must be admitted that modern Arabic names of clothing do not at all correspond; nor has any light as yet been derived from the Assyrian. Quantity, it is evident, was as much sought after as quality, by the fashionable ladies of Jerusalem, Rings and chains, head-dresses and veils, upper and under garments, occur in a profusion which it is difficult to represent. All this was doubtless alien to primitive simplicity, though Judges v. 30 warns us that the deflection from simplicity began long before Isaiah.—There is a somewhat parallel passage in the Korān (Sura xxiv. 31) beginning with the words, 'And speak to the believing women that they refrain their eyes, and observe continence,' and ending, 'And let them not strike their feet together,' &c. (referred to by Drechsler). Comp. also the tirade of Sacchetti, the Italian novelist, against the fashions of the Florentine women of the fourteenth century (he mentions *inter alia*, feet-chains), by which Longfellow illustrates the prophetic denunciation of Dante, *Purgat.* xxiii. 106-111.—The only monographs on the Israelitish toilette are still those of

tripping along and tinkling with their feet: ¹⁷ therefore Jehovah will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and Jehovah will make bare their secret parts. ¹⁸ In that day Jehovah will take away the finery of the anklets, the ^a wreaths and the crescents; ¹⁹ the ear-drops and the arm-chains and the fine veils; ²⁰ the diadems and the stepping-chains and the girdles; and the scent-bottles and the amulets; ²¹ the seal-rings and the nose-rings; ²² the state-dresses and the tunics, and the wrappers and the purses; ²³ the ^e mirrors, and the linen shifts and the turbans and the

^d Little suns, Ew., Naeg.

^e Gauzes, Ew.

Schröder and Hartmann, the one entitled *Commentatio philologico-critica de vestitu mulierum Hebræarum* (Lugd. Bat. 1745); the other, *Die Hebräerin am Putzische und als Braut* (3 vols. Amsterd. 1809). Part of the latter has been reproduced in a popular form by De Quincey (*Works*, vol. xi.).—Ewald thinks there is a method in the order of the catalogue; first the ornaments of the feet, then those of the head, then (*vv.* 22, 23) the larger dresses; but this requires some violence to carry it out.—

Tripping . . . and tinkling] 'The melodious chime of the silver ankle-bells, keeping time with the motions of the feet, made an accompaniment so agreeable to female vanity, that the stately daughters of Jerusalem, with their sweeping trains flowing after them, appear to have adopted a sort of measured tread, by way of impressing a regular cadence upon the music of their feet' (De Quincey, xi. 123).

¹⁸ **The anklets]** i.e., rings of silver or some other metal worn round the ankles; hence the verb rendered 'tinkling' in *v.* 16.—**Wreaths]** Explained in the Talmud of a wreath worn round the forehead, from one ear to the other (Buxtorf). LXX. τὰ ἐμπλόκια. Alt. rend. is also plausible, but involves comparison of the Arabic ('wreath' is from the Aramaic).—**Crescents]** Lit. little moons. These were hung upon the neck, Judg. viii. 21,

26 (Midianitish). Originally, perhaps, talismans. They still find a place in the Arab toilette.

¹⁹ **Ear-drops]** See Judges viii. 16 (Midianitish).

²⁰ **Diadems]** The words used for the tiaras of priests, Ex xxxix. 28; of bridegrooms, lxi. 10.—**Stepping-chains]**, connecting the anklets, and so enabling their wearers to go 'tripping along' *v.* 16.—**Girdles]** Costly girdles such as brides wore, Jer. ii. 32, comp. Isa xlix. 18. **Amulets]** These were evidently in the form of ornaments. Probably ear-rings are meant here, such as those which Jacob took away and buried (Gen. xxxv. 4, Targ. *q'dā-shāyā*, 'holy things'). Similar amulets are still worn by Eastern women.

²¹ **Seal-rings]** Worn on the finger (Jer. xxii. 24). Levy's monograph (*Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau, 1869) includes an account of extant seals and gems from the pre-exile period.

²² **State-dresses]** Named in Hebr. from their being put off when the occasion for their use was over. In Zech. iii. 4 the word is used of the splendid high-priestly robes.—**Tunics]** i.e., the uppermost of the two under-dresses, richly embroidered, and bound with a superb girdle.—**Wrappers]** such as Ruth put on over her best clothes when she went to Boaz (Ruth iii. 15).

²³ **Mirrors]** i.e., hand-mirrors, made of polished metal (probably copper) plates; comp. Ex. xxxviii.

large veils. ²⁴ And it shall come to pass : instead of perfume there shall be rottenness ; and instead of a girdle, a rope ; and instead of artificial curls, baldness, and instead of a mantle, a girding of sackcloth, a brand instead of beauty. ²⁵ Thy people shall fall by the sword, and thy forces in war. ²⁶ And her gates shall sigh and lament, and she shall be emptied, sitting upon the ground. IV. ¹ And seven women shall take hold of one man in that day, saying, ' Our own bread will we eat, and our own clothing will we wear : only let us be called by thy name ; take away our disgrace.'

CHAPTER IV. 2 ETC.

2-6. A short section full of glorious promises. Why so short ? Because the proper subject of the discourse to which this section belongs is not promise but threatening. The two passages which have a different scope (ii. 2-4, and iv. 2-6) are evidently inserted to relieve the dark tints of the picture. They describe the fair future of the purified Jerusalem, the one from without, the other chiefly from within.

² In that day shall the ^a growth of Jehovah be for beauty

^a Sprout, Ew., Del.

8, Job xxxvii. 18, and the commentators on 1 Cor. xiii. 12. Glass indeed may possibly have been known ¹ through the Phœnician traders. Bottles and vases of that material have been found both at Nimrūd and at Khorsabad (Layard's *Discoveries*, 195-6), while in Egypt glass-blowing was known at least as early as the reign of the first Osirtasen (Wilkinson, iii. 88).—**Large veils**] Comp. Cant. v. 7.

^{25, 26} **Thy people . . . her gates**] referring to Zion.

IV. ¹ **Seven women . . .**] 'A companion picture to iii. 6, where the surviving men lay hold on one who has bread and clothing to make him their kadi. The male population are in search of a ruler ; the women in search of a husband' (Dr. Weir).—**Our disgrace**] The disgrace of being childless (Gen.

xxx. 23), immortality being regarded as a family, not a personal, privilege.

² **In that day**] That is, after this destruction, says Alexander, with most of the commentators. This, however, is a superficial view. It will be observed that the phrase has been used five times since 'the day of Jehovah' was first mentioned in ii. 12, and in very different contexts. Hitherto it has pointed to some feature in the divine punishment of the sinners, but now it refers to the mercies of the saved. How can we account for this diversity of scope ? Only on the theory, forced upon us by a wide examination of prophecy, that the contents of the prophetic revelations of the Messianic period are unconditioned by time (comp. 2 Pet. iii. 8). It is not a series of successive events

¹ I do not quote Job xxviii. 17, 'gold and glass,' as the poem of Job cannot be as early as Isaiah.

and honour, and the fruitage of the land for a pride and

which is unfolded before us, but rather processes which may in fact be going on simultaneously, though one may be more prominent at one time and another at another. The punishment of the sinners and the mercies of the saved are different aspects of one and the same eternal purpose of God.—**The growth of Jehovah . . . the fruitage of the land** [‘And Jehovah their God shall deliver them in that day as the flock of his people. . . . For how great is his goodness, and how great is his beauty! corn shall make the young men stalwart, and new wine the virgins;’ Zech. ix. 16, 17. ‘And I will raise up unto them a plantation as (a matter for) renown, and they shall no more be consumed with hunger in the land;’ Ezek. xxxiv. 29. These two passages may serve to dissipate two objections which may be urged against the above rendering. First, it may be said, that a reference to the natural products of Canaan strikes a jarring note in the prophecy. But it equally seems to jar in Zechariah, and yet all interpreters admit the necessity of it. The truth is that a lengthened fertility of the soil is one of the most frequently recurring Messianic features—see, besides the above passages, Isa. xxx. 23, Am. ix. 13, Hos. ii. 21, 22, Joel iii. 18. It may be objected, secondly, that such a reference lacks any point of contact with the foregoing and the following prophecy (for few will agree with Ewald and Hofmann that there is a contrast suggested between the natural beauty of the divine gifts and the artificial luxuries of the Hebrew women). The answer is, that we have here only an imperfect summary of Isaiah’s discourses. In all probability, *v.* 2 is merely a condensed abstract of a long section, and what that section contained may be guessed from the passage quoted from Ezekiel. The idea of it probably was that the supernatural fertility suddenly

granted to the soil should prevent any evil consequences from the previous desolation of the land of Judah.

I have still to justify my explanation of these two expressions on phraseological grounds. 1. The two expressions in the Hebr. are clearly parallel; they may of course be either synonymous or antithetical; but considering that exactly the same quality is predicated of each of them, it is more natural to suppose them to be synonymous, or nearly so. 2. The fact that the context is entirely connected with the land of Judah shows that we must render the Hebr. *ha-areç* ‘the land,’ and not ‘the earth.’ Now the phrase, ‘fruit of the land,’ and the synonymous one ‘fruit of the ground,’ occur twelve times in the O. T., and always with reference to vegetation. 3. The Hebr. *çemakh*, though singular, is almost always used collectively. See especially lxi. 11 and Gen. xix. 25. The exceptions are Jer. xxiii. 5, xxiii. 15 (though even here Graf and Kuenen take *çemakh* collectively); and Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12. It must be observed, however, that in Jer. the phrase is ‘Plant (A. V. branch) of David.’ This is clear, and therefore allowable; ‘plant of Jehovah’ is not clear—indeed, it would almost infallibly be misunderstood, with such a phrase as ‘fruit of the land’ in the parallel line. The only clear rendering is ‘plantation (= plants) of Jehovah,’ for which comp. Ps. civ. 16. ‘The trees of Jehovah are satisfied (with rain); the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted.’ [Ew. and Del. both render ‘Sprout of Jehovah,’ but the former explains this collectively = ‘products,’ the latter personally of the Messiah. Del. fully admits that ‘fruit of the land’ must be taken as synonymous with this, and therefore explains ‘fruit’ as a personal designation, for which he comps. Ezek. xvii. 5: ‘he took of the seed of the land (i.e., Zedekiah) and planted in a fruitful

adornment unto the escaped of Israel. ³And it shall come to pass : he who is left in Zion, and remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, everyone who is written down for life in Jerusalem, ⁴when the Lord shall have washed off the filth of the daughters of Zion, and cleansed the blood of Jerusalem from her midst by a blast of judgment, and a blast of extermination. ⁵And Jehovah shall create upon the whole site

field.' But I would ask, Could Zedekiah have been called 'seed of the land' except in a detailed allegory? Calvin interprets literally as above, but thinks that the unwonted temporal blessings are types of spiritual ones, comp. xlv. 8. But there is nothing to indicate this in our passage. So too H. Schultz, *Alltest. Theologie*, ed. 1, ii. 244. Naeg.'s view is too farfetched to quote. Lagarde, *Semitica*, i. 8, takes the *cemakh* to be 'a descendant of the Davidic house, whom in a dark age Yahwé will cause to be born, in antithesis to the natural descendants now become unprofitable,' and compares the Talmudic phrase 'field of Baal' = 'field nourished by rain.' But the opposite of this in the Talmud is —not 'fruit of the land'—but 'field of fountains,' i.e., irrigated land. See further in *Last Words*, vol. ii.]

³ The character of the surviving citizens of Jerusalem shall be in harmony with their outward prosperity.—**Shall be called**] A name, according to the primitive belief, being a symbol of character, and almost a part of personality. In the Messianic period, this primitive belief will be uniformly verified by facts (xxxii. 5).—**Holy**] i.e., free from the contaminations of sin (see *v.* 4), with the collateral idea of inviolability, comp. vi. 13, Ps. xciii. 5.—**Written down for life**] Their survival, then, was no mere accident, but *predestined*. The belief in predestination, observes Ewald, was a 'powerful lever' of Hebrew prophecy (*Glaubenstheorie*, ii. 208). For the 'book of Jehovah,' or 'the book of life,' comp. Ex. xxxii. 32, Ps. lvi. 8, lxix. 28, Mal.

iii. 16, Dan. xii. 1, Phil. iv. 3, Rev. xiii. 8, xxi. 27.

⁴ **When the Lord . . .**] This is to be connected with *v.* 5; it supplies the conditions on which the fulfilment of the promise depends.—**The filth**] i.e., the moral defilement.—**The bloodshed**] refers chiefly to judicial murders (i. 15), but also perhaps to sacrifices of children to Moloch. 'And they shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan; and the land was polluted with blood' (Ps. cvi. 38; comp. Isa. lvii. 5, Ezek. xxii. 2, 3).—**A blast of judgment**] i.e., of punishment for the wicked. The same Hebrew phrase in xxviii. 6 means '*spirit of judgment*.' The meaning 'blast,' however, is required here by the context, 'judgment' being synonymously parallel to 'extermination.' It is indeed still the Divine energy, but being exercised in the physical and not the moral sphere, the rendering 'spirit' is inappropriate. Comp. xxx. 27, where 'lips' and a 'tongue' are spoken of; also xi. 4 (end).—**Extermination**] A common expression for the putting away of idolatry from the theocratic community; Deut. xiii. 5(6), xvii. 7, &c.

⁵ God's felt presence, the pledge of Zion's security. The sign of this presence shall be some new and special exhibition of the Divine power, hence the statement, **Jehovah shall create** :—'Nam verbum creandi, quo hic usus est Esaias, indicat ipsissimum esse Dei opus, non hominum' (Musculus). The word *bara* does not occur again in I. Isaiah (see crit. note). — **Upon the**

of mount Zion, and upon her convocations, a cloud by day, and smoke with the brilliance of a flaming fire by night. For upon all (the) glory a ^b canopy . . . ⁶ And it shall be a pavilion for shade [by day] from the heat, and for a refuge and for a shelter from storm and from rain.

^b Is (or, shall be) a canopy. Ew., Del. (See below.)

CHAPTER V.

ISRAEL'S ripeness for judgment, expressed first under the veil of a parable, then in a list of the national sins, to which the corresponding punishments are specified. The chapter bears evident marks of artistic arrangement. Ewald, who on very plausible grounds attaches parts of chaps. ix. and x. to it, proposes to distribute it thus,—Introduction, vv. 1-7; section I, vv. 8-10, 17; II. 11-16; III. 18-24. He makes a fresh discourse begin at v. 25 (the Introduction), after which follows ix. 8-12 (section I.), 13-17 (section II.), 18-21 (section III.), x. 1-4 (section IV.), and as a finale v. 26-30.

¹ Come, let me sing about my friend, ^a a love-song ^a about his vineyard. A vineyard had my friend On a richly fruit-

^a Lit. a song of love, Lowth, supposing the sign of abbreviation to have been overlooked. Heb. text has, a song of my friend.

whole site . . .] Strictly, upon every (part of the) site. 'Site' (*mākōn*) here, as xviii. 4 and often, = 'sanctuary' (compare Arab. *maqām*).—**A cloud by day . . .]** The first of a long series of references to the Exodus (see Ex xiii. 21, 22). The powers of the world will be as impotent for harm as the Egyptians were at the Exodus.—**Upon all (the) glory . . .]** The phrase is so abrupt as to be hardly explicable; have not some words fallen out? Dr. Weir remarks: 'There is an evident contrast between the true glory (that of Jehovah and that which he gives) and all false glory. Over the glory which is not of Jehovah—such as that described in chap. ii.—there is no covering. It cannot endure. It speedily fades. But over the glory of Jehovah and his redeemed there is a covering.' This is a worthy meaning, I admit (comp. xxiv. 23

end), but rather divined from the context than unfolded from the five Hebrew words. See crit. note (vol. ii.).

⁶ **It (Zion) shall be a pavilion . . .]** Comp. Ps. xxvii. 5, xxxi. 20. 'There shall be protection not only against greater evils, but even against lesser inconvenience; so perfect shall be the happiness of God's people in those days; comp. xlix. 10' (Dr. Weir). 'By day' seems to me to have intruded by a clerical error from the preceding verse; otherwise we should have a corresponding 'by night' in the next line.

^{1,2} The parable takes the form of a song, which from its melody and its dancing rhythm might well be a drinking-song, did not the bitter irony of the close dispel the illusion.—**My friend**] i.e., Jehovah. Comp. the proper names David (i.e., friend, viz. of Jehovah), Jedidiah, 'beloved of Jehovah.'

ful height, ² And he digged it over, and cleared it of stones, And planted it with choice vines, And built a tower in its midst, Yea, and hewed out a wine-vat therein, And he hoped for it to bear grapes. But it bore wild grapes.

³ And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah : judge, I pray, between me and my vineyard. ⁴ 'What is there still to be done to my vineyard which I have not done in it? why, when I hoped for it to bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?' ⁵ And now, let me tell you, I pray, what I will do to my vineyard : take away its hedge, that it become grazing-land ; break down its walls, that it serve for trampling upon : ⁶ and I will make an end of it, it shall neither be pruned nor hoed, and shall grow up in thorns and briars ; and to the clouds I will give a charge that they rain no rain upon it. ⁷ For the vineyard of Jehovah Sabáoth is the house of

—**A love-song**] By this reading 'we avoid the great impropriety of making the author of the song, and the person to whom it is addressed, to be the same' (Lowth).

—**Height**] Lit. horn ; an expression, common in Arabic for a small isolated eminence. Comp. the famous *Kurún Haṭṭin* (horns of Haṭṭin), the scene of Saladin's victory over the last Crusaders ; also, perhaps, *Ashteroth-Karnaim* (Gen. xiv. 5). *Apertos Bacchus amat colles*, Virg. *Georg.* ii. 113.

² See the striking parallel in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. xxi. 33-41, &c.), and the allusion in Ezra ix. 9, end. Ps. lxxx. is also probably composed with reference to Isaiah's allegory.—**Choice vines**] Same word as in Jer. ii. 21 : 'Yet I had planted thee a noble vine' (A.V.) ; other forms in xvi. 8, Gen. xlix. 11. The deep red colour of the grapes was the origin of the name in Hebr.—**Tower**] i e., a watch-tower ; see on v. 5.

³ *The application.* The prophet loses himself in the thought of his Divine sender. He first calls upon his hearers to act as arbitrators ; but they are condemned (see v. 5) by their evil conscience (comp. Luke xx. 16), and listen silently to their sentence, viz. that the vine-

yard be left to itself, without any fostering care, either from earth or from heaven. For heaven, too, is concerned, the mention of the clouds in v. 6 preparing the way for the solemn statement in v. 7. The picture can still be recognised as drawn to the life. Southern Palestine, especially 'the bare slopes of Hebron, of Bethlehem, and of Olivet,' abounds in enclosures of loose stone, each with a square grey tower at the corner (Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.*, 1st ed., p. 413).—**And he hoped . . .**] The assonances of the following words in the Hebr. are inimitable.

⁷ **Bloodshed**] Lit. shedding. Some have objected to this rend., because murder is not expressly mentioned in the subsequent complaints. But chap. v. cannot be treated by itself. The developments are new, but all the fundamental ideas are those of chaps i.-iv. Now murder is certainly a prevalent sin, according to these chapters (i 15, 21, iv. 4), not to mention that 'laying field to field' sometimes involved bloodshed (1 Kings xxi.—**A cry**] either from the blood of the murdered, according to the striking symbolic language of Gen. iv. 10, Job xvi. 18, or from the oppressed (James v. 4).

Israel, and the men of Judah his darling plantation; and he hoped for justice, but behold bloodshed, for righteousness, but behold a cry.

⁶ Woe unto those who join house to house, who add field to field, till there is no room left, and ye are made to dwell alone within the land. ⁹ In mine ears Jehovah Sabáoth [hath spoken concerning them]: Surely many houses shall become a desolation; great ones and fair without inhabitants. ¹⁰ For ten days' work of vineyard shall yield one bath, and the seed of a homer shall yield an ephah; ¹⁷ and lambs shall graze ^b upon their wilderness, and their ruined places kids shall devour ^b ¹¹ Woe unto those who rise up early to follow strong

^b TEXT, as was said concerning them, and sojourners shall devour the ruins of the fat (Targ.).—Kids (for 'sojourners'), Sept., Ew. (See further crit. note.)

⁸ Here begins the evidence of Israel's criminality before Jehovah. One by one the national sins are counted up, and each receives an exactly suitable punishment. The first sin is the attempt to concentrate the landed property in a few hands.—**Who join house to house . . .**] i.e., by violently expelling the poorer proprietors, see Job xx. 19, Mic. ii. 1-5, Ezek. xlvi. 18; and comp. Deut. xix. 14, Job xxiv. 2. Whatever be the date of 'jubilee' as a law of the state, the accumulation of landed properties was diametrically opposed to the spirit and early practice of the traditional Israelitish law of land-tenure (comp. 1 Kings xxi. 4). Comp. Mr. Fenton's illustrations of this land-law from the systems of Village Communities, *Early Hebrew Life*, 1880. Pliny's complaint that the *latifundia* had ruined Italy has only a distant relation to our passage.—**To dwell alone**] Comp. Ps. xlix. 11: 'They have called lands by their own names' (Del.); Job xxii. 8: 'And the man of force, to him belongeth the land, and he who is respected shall dwell therein.'

⁹ **In mine ears . . .**] All agree that some word or words are necessary to complete the text. Jewish scholars suggest 'The cry of the oppressed hath come up,' and 'saith,' or 'for I am' (before 'Jehovah

Sabáoth') :—so A.E., Kinchi, Luz-zatto. The moderns mostly understand 'And hath revealed himself' (viz. Jehovah Sabáoth), comparing xxii. 14 (a doubtful passage, however). But I do not feel certain that such important words can be left to be understood; my own impression is that some words have dropped out of the text. The kameç in *be'oznai* shows that those who affixed the points supposed an ellipsis.

^{10,17} Retributive justice: barrenness sent upon the ill-gotten land.—**Ten days' work**] i.e., so much ground as a yoke of oxen can plough in a day.—**One bath**] A liquid measure = about 7 gallons, 4 pints.—**A homer**] A dry measure = 32 pecks, 1 pint. Assyrian, *imer*.—**An ephah**] The tenth part of a homer.—**And lambs . . .**] The transference of these words was suggested by Ewald. 'Lambs' and 'sojourners' in alt. read. were probably meant to be taken as descriptions of the meek-spirited Jewish sojourners in Babylon. If we once admit that 'lambs' is to be taken literally, we must give up 'sojourners,' which can no longer be explained naturally. (Comp. ed. 2, where 'sojourning' was adopted, with reference to the 'lambs' of the nomad pastoral tribes.)

¹¹⁻¹⁶ Second woe: on the luxuri-

drink; who sit long in the twilight, the wine inflaming them; ¹² and lute and cymbal, timbrel and flute, and wine, is their feast, but the work of Jehovah they regard not, and the operation of his hands they do not see. ¹³ Therefore my people goeth into exile unawares, and his honourable ones are 'sucked out with hunger,' and his tumultuous ones parched with thirst. ¹⁴ Therefore Sheól enlargeth her greed,

^c So Hitz., Ew., Böttcher (see crit. note). Hebr. text, 'men of hunger,' 'starvelings' (or, dead [*mēthē*] from hunger, Sept., Pesh., Vulg., Targ., A.E.).

ous.—**Who rise up early** . . .] 'Tempestiva convivia'; comp. Eccles. x. 16, 17. 'Strong drink' (*shēkar*, Ass. *sikāru*), means artificial wine, made of dates, apples, pomegranates, honey, barley, and sometimes spiced or of mixed ingredients (hence 'to mix strong drink,' *v.* 22).

¹² **Lute and cymbal**] Comp. Am. vi. 5, 6. On the nature of these instruments see an excursus by Wetzstein, in Delitzsch's *Jesaia*, 2nd ed.—**The work of Jehovah**] History being the realisation of God's eternal purposes (comp. xxxvii. 26, ii. 11), whether of grace, or, as the next verse shows them to be here ('unawares') of punishment.

¹³ **Goeth into exile**] In the Hebr. it is the perfect of prophetic certitude.—**Unawares**] Without their having foreseen the divine judgment.

¹⁴ **Therefore Sheól** . . .] To understand this passage, we must remember that there was a twofold conception of Sheól or Hades. First, it was localised underground. Hence one of the synonyms for Hades both in Hebrew and Assyrian is 'the pit.' Hence too perhaps 'the valley of deadly shade' (Ps. xxiii. 4), and still more certainly phrases in Ps. lxiii. 9, lxxxvi. 13. Comp. note on xxxviii. 10. Next, it was conceived of as a person; comp. xiv. 9 (note), xxviii. 15, Hos. xiii. 14, Jon. ii. 2, Cant. viii. 6, Prov. i. 12, xxx. 16, Rev. vi. 8, xx. 13, 14. The two conceptions are very closely connected; thus the Greek Hades and the Teutonic Hel were variously applied to the

infernal ruler and to his, or her, kingdom; comp. too the notion of the stars as both material and spiritual, Job xxxviii. 7. The Jews also, like the Greeks, spoke of a 'king of terrors' (Job xviii. 14), and the Apocalypse gives us this king's name—Abaddon (Rev. ix. 11), which is a synonym for Sheól in Prov. xv. 11.—Sheól is here treated as a feminine (like the names of countries); in xiv. 9^b (see note) it becomes a masculine.

—**Down goeth her splendour**] 'Splendour' = nobility. The phrases chosen form a striking contrast with the still, dim, and mournful life of Hades. It has been inferred from the Biblical descriptions (*e.g.* Job iii. 13, &c.) that the shades (*Rephāim*) in Sheól share a common lot, but against this may be urged (1) that the Hades of the N. T. comprehended two large divisions for the good and the bad respectively ('Abraham's bosom' and Geenna), though of course the distinction may not have been known to Isaiah, and may have been affected by non-Jewish influences; and (2) that the Babylonians and Assyrians seem to have recognised a difference among the shades corresponding to their conduct upon earth (comp. on xiv. 9).—The parallel Assyrian view of Hades may be best gathered from the Legend of Ishtar in the sixth tablet of the Izdubar Series (see Schrader, *Die Höllenfahrt Istars*, 1874, Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, ed. Sayce, 1880, pp. 239-246). It is, however, only Assyrian by adoption; its origin is Accadian. This

and openeth her mouth without measure, and down goeth her splendour and her tumult and her uproar, and that which is jubilant in her. ¹⁵ So the earth-born is bowed down, and the man brought low, and the eyes of the haughty are brought low, ¹⁶ but Jehovah Sabáoth is exalted in judgment, and the holy God showeth himself holy through righteousness. . . .

¹⁸ Woe unto those who ^d draw iniquity ^d with cords of ungodliness, and sin as with cart-ropes ; ¹⁹ who say, Let his work hasten, let it speed, that we may see it, and let the counsel of Israel's Holy One draw near and come, that we may know it. ²⁰ Woe unto those who call evil good, and good evil ; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness ; who put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. ²¹ Woe unto those who are wise in their own eyes, and in their own view are understanding. ²² Woe unto those who are mighty ones—for drinking wine, and valiant men—for mixing strong drink ; ²³ who declare the wicked righteous for a bribe, and take away

^d Draw guilt near, Ew., Naeg.—Draw punishment near, Ges.

accounts, as Schrader remarks, for its non-occurrence among those Semitic nations which, like the Arabs, preserved the freshness of their individuality.

¹⁵ The words of this and the following verse are mainly taken from ii. 9, 11, 17, but with a modification in the meaning.

¹⁶ **The holy God . . .]** Since Israel will not 'count Him holy' (viii. 13) by obeying His messages and His word, Jehovah must restore the balance by a judicial display of His righteousness.

¹⁸⁻²³ Short woes on various sorts of impiety, connected by their common share in the retribution described in v. 24. The first, on those **who draw iniquity with cords of ungodliness.** 'Ungodliness' is the disposition which deliberately seeks for opportunities of committing 'iniquity.' Literally, it means 'emptiness.' In their 'emptiness' of true religion, these men allow themselves to be yoked to sin like beasts of burden. The same figure in the *Rig-Veda*, ii. 48, 'undo the rope of

sin' (transl. Max Müller). Alt. rend. means, in one form, that they not only fall into sin, but actually court it ; or, in the other form, that by persisting in sin they invite punishment (comp. the Hindu and Buddhist doctrine of *karma*).

¹⁹ The climax of their sin :—scoffing unbelief in the Divine retribution (comp. Am. vi. 3, Jer. xvii. 15).—**That we may know it**] Viz., by experience (ix. 9).

²⁰ The second short woe on those who confound or rather reverse the distinctions of good and evil, who say 'Fair is foul, and foul is fair.' Comp. Job xvii. 12.

²¹ The third, on those who are **wise in their own eyes**, and do not fear Jehovah (Prov. iii. 7). Perhaps an allusion to the indifferentist or humanist section of the class of 'wise men,' who had no positive religious beliefs.

^{22, 23} The fourth, on corrupt judges who sacrifice justice to meet the demands of an expensive luxuriousness.—**Who are mighty ones . . .]** 'Very valiant trencher-

the righteousness of the righteous from him. ²⁴ Therefore, as the fire's tongue devoureth stubble, and hay sinketh in a flame, so their root shall become as rottenness, and their blossom go up as dust, because they despised the instruction of Jehovah Sabáoth, and spurned the word of Israel's Holy One.

²⁵ Therefore the anger of Jehovah is kindled against his people, and he stretcheth out his hand over it, and smiteth it,

men !' Comp. Jer. xxiii. 10, end (*Q. P. B.*)—**For mixing strong drink**] The phrase means, not 'to dilute wine with water,' but to compound rightly artificial wine (see on *v. 11*), which was apparently stronger than the natural wine.

²⁴ All these sins have one common characteristic—the obstinate rejection of that word which is the only source of happiness. Their punishment will be sudden and self-evolved. This is expressed by a combination of two figures, the first borrowed from the custom of burning part of the stubble, the ashes being used for manure; the second from a decaying tree. Comp. Job xviii. 16.—**The fire's tongue**] A vivid and natural personification, comp. 1 Kings xviii. 38, Acts ii. 3.

²⁵⁻³⁰ A further development of the preceding woe. The language is vague, but there seems no reasonable doubt that the Assyrians are the people referred to; the Assyrian policy of deportation has already been alluded to in *v. 13*. It is, however, very uncertain whether these verses originally stood at the end of this prophecy. Ewald (and so *I. C. A.*) regards them as containing the prologue (*v. 25*), and the epilogue (*vv. 26-30*), of a new prophecy, which was the third and last part of a prophetic work beginning at *ii. 2*, and the body of which prophecy was formed by *ix. 8-x. 4*. There are too many examples on a smaller scale of passages being misplaced in MSS., for us to consider this at all an improbable hypothesis; and while the section *v. 1-24*, is no loser by *vv. 25-30* being thus removed from it, there can be no doubt that the prophecy *ix. 8-x. 4* is greatly the gainer

by it. As it stands, that prophecy is thoroughly enigmatical; but, with the addition of *v. 25* and *vv. 26-30*, it becomes both well-rounded and fairly intelligible. Obs., the closing words of *v. 25* occur four times over in *ix. 8-x. 4*.—It is just possible, however, that the passage in question (*v. 25-30*), has a double right of existence, and that though originally written for the place where Ewald would put it, Isaiah himself appended it to chap. v., without intending to remove it from its original place. He certainly does not mind repeating himself, at any rate on a smaller scale, see on *v. 15*, and comp. *x. 22* with *xxviii. 22*.

²⁵ **Is kindled**] The prophetic perfect, if the verse be read in its present context, but the historical one, if read as Ewald would have it. According to him, the prophet's discourse rises here to a wide historical survey, extending into the past and the future. 'Once (during the present generation) Yahvé manifested himself also in Jerusalem as the God who inflicts rigorous chastisement . . . but that was only a first stroke; he threatens to strike still further. In the last words we have the fundamental utterance . . . of the four following larger strophes, in which the discourse takes new starts in order to follow out this thought' (*Prophets*, ii. 54). Other critics regard the judgment as belonging to the near future. Ewald naturally thinks of the earthquake of Uzziah, *Am. i. 1*, *Zech. xiv. 5*; but earthquakes probably were no rarity in Palestine (see Dr. Pusey on *Am. iv. 11*, and comp. Plumptre, *Biblical Studies*, p. 136).

so that the mountains tremble, and their carcasses become as refuse in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger turneth not back, but his hand is stretched out still.

²⁶ And he lifted up a signal to ^ea distant nation, and hisseth to him from the end of the earth; and, behold, hastily swiftly he cometh; ²⁷ there is none weary and none that stumbleth therein, he slumbereth not and sleepeth not; the girdle of his loins is never loosed, nor the thong of his shoes torn: ²⁸ whose arrows are sharpened, and all his bows bent, his horses' hoofs accounted as flint, and his wheels as the whirlwind: ²⁹ a roar hath he like that of the lioness, he roareth like the young lions, moaning and catching the prey and carrying it off safe, and none can rescue. ³⁰ And there is a moaning over him in that day like the moaning of the sea, and if he look unto the earth, ^fbehold distressful darkness, yea, the light becomes dark through the clouds thereof.^f

^e So La., We. TEXT in plural.

^f So Vulg., Weir, Naeg., (thick darkness, &c., Ew.).—Lo, darkness—(now) distress, and (now) light—it becometh dark in the cloudy sky thereof, Del. (but see crit. note).

²⁶⁻³⁰ The future described as in prophetic vision.—**A signal**] So in both parts of Isaiah, xi. 10, 12, xviii. 3, xiii. 2, xlix. 22, lxii. 10.—**To a distant nation**] For Jehovah is the governor of the world. The 'nations' are those of the Assyrian empire.—**Hisseth**] The Assyrians likened to bees, as in vii. 18.—**To him**] because the various elements of the Assyrian army are directed by a single will, comp. xvii. 13. Obs. the effective mysteriousness of the description;—the invaders are not yet named.—**Swiftly**] The Assyrians and Babylonians (Hab. i. 6, 8) were famous for their rapid marches.

²⁷ **None that stumbleth**] The description given of Israel in Ps. cv. 37.

²⁸ **All his bows bent**] The chief weapons of the Assyrians (comp. the engravings in Layard). So xxi. 15.—**As flint**] Shoeing being unknown, the solidity of a hoof was of prime importance. Comp. II. v. 329. Hence Am. vi. 12 'speaks of it as a thing as much impracticable to make horses run upon a hard rock, as to plough up

the same rock with oxen' (Lowth). See also Ges.

²⁹ **A roar . . . moaning**] The roar comes from the lion in quest of prey, the moan or growl as he springs upon his victim.

³⁰ **And there is a moaning over him . . .**] Ewald understands this of thunder, as a sign of the Divine displeasure. But considering that the word used is the same as that in the preceding verse, it would seem that the subject of the verb must be still the lion, i.e. the enemy (Jer. vi. 23). Ew.'s object in so explaining was to provide an antithesis to the words 'and if he look unto the earth,' comp. the parallel passage, viii. 21, 22. But we have no right to interfere with the natural meaning of the text. It would be better to suppose that something has dropped out, especially as the last words of the verse are probably more or less corrupt.—**Through the clouds thereof**] i.e., clouds of misfortune, which hang over the earth, darkening the bright day of prosperity. A figure from eclipses, comp. viii. 22; Joel iii. (iv.) 15, Am. v. 18-20, Job iii. 5.

CHAPTER VI.

THE vision and prophetic call of Isaiah, and an accompanying revelation of the mingled prospects of Israel.

In several ways a noteworthy chapter, but open to various interpretations. That which will here be given assumes the absolute sincerity of the writer, and that his narrative is generically different from the poetical fictions of Goethe and Burns (the 'Zueignung' and the 'Vision'), and even from the more naïve imaginations of William Blake. The Old Testament—not to mention the records of other religions—abounds in accounts of experiences which were only possible to the inner eye (2 Kings vi. 17), but which were not the less founded on facts. It may suffice to mention the two visions of Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 17, 19–22). If these are poetical fictions, then it is impossible to discriminate between the naïve truthfulness of primitive tradition and the scenic illusions of the contemporary novelist. And so, too, it is in the passage before us. Isaiah simply and sincerely claims to describe his personal experience. No doubt there may have been a psychological starting-point for the vision in the early visits of Isaiah to the temple of Jerusalem. The pealing trumpet on festival days, and the Hallelujahs of the choir would produce a powerful impression upon his lively imagination. This is far from explaining the peculiar experience which followed, but an impression of this kind would naturally determine the general form of the vision.

It is, however, quite consistent with a belief in Isaiah's veracity to hold that the significance of the vision was not at first realised by him in all its fulness. As Tholuck has remarked, the intelligibility of what a prophet saw and heard in his inner man did not of itself involve his comprehension of its meaning. The difference between Moses and the ordinary prophet consists, we are told, in this, that Jehovah spoke with the former 'mouth to mouth, even visibly, and not in dark speeches (or enigmas)' (Num. xii. 8), and the revelation connected with Isaiah's inaugural vision must, unless communicated magically, have been a 'dark speech' to him at first. The youth, whose 'fervid zeal breaks forth on the first word of encouragement,' could not surely have at once realised that his mission would only lead to the confirmation of his people in their unbelief. As a matter of fact, we find that Isaiah's hopefulness varies at different stages of his career, but that he only once again paints the future in colours of such a lurid hue, viz. xxxii. 13, 14. Now, if at the very outset he had received a distinct assurance that his ministry would be one 'of condemnation,' would he have been justified in indulging and expressing hopes which God had told him could not be realised?¹ That he was at any time addicted to rose-coloured dreams of the future is of course entirely out of the question. But it is in perfect harmony with 'the

¹ Comp. *J. C. A.*, pp. 21, 22. The position there asserted I have here substantially maintained, though, as I hope, with greater clearness and decision. The doctrine of 'a gracious proportion between the revelation vouchsafed and the mental state of the person receiving it' is admitted even by orthodox critics in Germany, and it may be hoped that it will soon become more prevalent in England.

analogy of faith' to suppose that the 'dark speech' or 'enigma' of Isaiah's early vision lay in his mind and fructified, till at length he attained that full insight into its meaning which is expressed in *vv.* 9-13. The immediate object of the vision was to set before Isaiah the ideal of prophecy as a life-work, as opposed to the primitive view connecting it too closely with isolated ecstatic moments. Isaiah stands, in consequence of this revelation, between two schools of prophecy. To his predecessors, the source of inspiration was more or less external and intermittent; to him, it was internal and perennial. Even Amos (if, at least, chaps. vii.-ix. are to be interpreted literally) seems to have needed to be occasionally rapt into the ecstatic state; Isaiah, so far as we know, had but one vision, but that one gave him a stimulus and a theme for his whole ministry.

Compare the inaugural visions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the form of which was presumably influenced by the vision of Isaiah. The superior genius of the latter is unmistakable.

It is a probable conjecture that chap. vi. originally formed the preface to a small collection of prophecies of Isaiah, viz. either chaps. ii.-v., or more probably vii. 1-ix. 7.

¹ In the death-year of King Uzziah, I saw ^a Jehovah sitting upon a high and exalted throne, and his train filled the palace.

² Seraphim were standing above him; each one had six wings,

^a So many MSS.; the Lord, Baer's ed. of Massoretic text. (I have not everywhere marked such changes).

¹ **In the death-year . . .]** B.C. 740. It has been doubted whether the vision took place before or after the death of Uzziah. But if the latter, should we not expect 'in the first year of king Jotham'? The heading, too, in i. 1 favours the view that the vision dates from the reign of Uzziah. At any rate, our present account of the vision belongs to a later reign.—**I saw Jehovah . . .]** The received text bears witness to the arbitrary procedure of the scribes of the pre-Massoretic age,¹ who sought to mitigate the naïve boldness of the early writers (comp. *δ Κύριος* of Sept.). Generally the Massoretic critics restored the true reading, saving their conscience, doubtless, by the rule of pronouncing Adonai where the text read Yahveh (Jehovah). Now, as to the picture presented by Isaiah, which is that of a king on his throne, attended on each side by courtiers (comp. 1 Kings xxii. 19). Isaiah stands at

the threshold of the palace (see *v.* 4), and sees no more than 'the skirts' of the royal mantle (comp. Ex. xxxiii. 20-23). The two rows of courtiers alternately raise a cry of praise,—**The palace]** Heb. (*ha*) *hēkal* = Ass. *'ikallu* = great house (through Accadian). A great hall must have been the primary conception of a temple. Jehovah's heavenly palace or temple is meant here (Ps. xi. 4, xxix. 9, Hab. ii. 20), which, whatever may have been the case with the temple at Jerusalem, had no distinction between the Holy and the Holy of Holies.

² **Seraphim]** This is the only place in the Bible where the Seraphim are described as supernatural beings. The word *s'rāphim* does, it is true, occur in Num. xxi. 6, but there it means a species of venomous serpents (called *s'rāphim* from their 'burning' bite), which attacked the Israelites in the desert; and the singular *sārāph* occurs in the

¹ Geiger, *Urschrift u. s. w.*, p. 267.

with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew. ³ And the one kept crying to the other and saying, Holy, holy, holy is Jehovah Sabáoth, The whole

same sense in Num. xxi. 8, Deut. viii. 15, Isa. xvi. 29 (see note), xxx. 6. Now, although it is quite conceivable (considering the analogy of Ezekiel's Cherubim) that animal forms might be introduced into a description of heaven, it does not appear that Isaiah did regard the seraphim as animals in form, as there is nothing but their wings and their loud voice to distinguish them physically from ordinary men. It is his practice, moreover, as of the Old Testament writers in general, to use familiar phrases of mythical origin, giving them a new turn or a deeper, or at least a harmless, meaning. No class of myths is more abundant than that of serpent-myths,¹ and it would be strange if no trace of their currency in Palestine could be found in the Old Testament. But how are we to reconcile the differences between the two Biblical uses of the word 'seraphim'? We may, I think, get some light by considering the function of the Seraphim in Isaiah. They are essentially the divine guards, who keep everything that is profane or unclean at a distance. In this respect, they are strikingly analogous to the Cherubim. Now the Cherubim, as I have sought to show on philological and analogical grounds,² are almost certainly (I am speaking of course of the extra-Biblical, popular, mythic Cherubim) the clouds of the storm or of the sunset, comp. Ps. xviii. 10, 11, Ezek. xxviii. 13; it is but reasonable, therefore, to conjecture that the popular, mythic Seraphim are the serpent-like lightning. Isaiah uses the popular form of speech quite freely as a symbol (the 'dragon' in

xiv. 29 is also a symbol). Except in the name and the supernatural colouring, there is nothing here to remind us of the mythic origin of the Seraphim. Perhaps it was at Isaiah's suggestion that Hezekiah put down the 'brazen serpent' to which the children of Israel used to burn incense.³ At any rate, this reform of Hezekiah's accounts for our hearing no more of the Seraphim after this vision of Isaiah.—The popular notion of the Seraphim as angels is of course to be rejected. They are not called 'angels,' and differ widely from the angels, as described elsewhere. They are indeed more like Titans than placid Gabriels and Raphaels.—It is noteworthy that the 'living creatures' of Rev. iv. 7, 8, are an original fusion of the Cherubim of Ezekiel with the Seraphim of Isaiah. On these kindred forms and their Oriental analogues see further in *Essays*, vol. ii.—**Were standing above him**] i.e., hovering, for with two of his wings each of them flew.

—**Covered his face**] in adoration. More strictly 'used to cover.'
³ **Kept crying**] Comp. Rev. iv. 8: 'They rest not day and night, saying Holy, holy, holy.'—**Holy**] Comp. Ps. xxix. 9: 'In his palace every one saith, Glory!' Holiness and glory are, in fact, correlative conceptions. Jehovah in Himself is 'holy,' and His manifestation of Himself is 'glory.' Nor is Jehovah only Israel's God; hence the Seraphim add, that the **fulness of the whole earth is his glory** (his glory is the predicate). The cry of 'Holy' is uttered three times, either because three is a favourite number of the Hebrews (comp. Jer. vii. 4), or be-

¹ See Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte* (1876), no. iv.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1876), art. 'Cherubim'; comp. Tiele, *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis* (1872), p. 701, Friedr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1881), p. 155.

³ Nehushtan, the student will remember, is not a name of contempt, but the popular name of the image ('men called it Nehushtan,' i.e. 'copper'-image, 2 Kings xviii. 4).

earth is full of his glory. ⁴ And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the voice of him that cried, and the house became full of smoke. ⁵ And I said, Woe is me! surely I am undone, for I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips, for the King, Jehovah Sabáoth, mine eyes have seen. ⁶ And there flew unto me one of the seraphim, with a stone in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar. ⁷ And he touched my mouth with it, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and forthwith gone is thy iniquity and thy sin is forgiven.

cause it is first uttered by the two choruses, and then taken up by the whole body of Seraphim (so H. Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*, first ed., i. 345). Of the ancient Trinitarian interpretation, Calv. remarks, 'Quorum sententiam ego non improbo: sed si mihi res cum hereticis esset, malleum firmioribus testimoniis uti.' If indeed we admit the Trinity in this Hebrew passage, why should we not also in the Assyrian passages referred to in *Last Words* (end of vol. ii.)?—**Jehovah Sabáoth**] Specially appropriate in the mouth of the Seraphim (see on i. 9).

⁴ **Of him that cried**] i.e., of each one who cried.—**Became full of smoke**] The smoke indicates the coming into view of the dark side of the self-manifesting God, viz. His anger against sin (Naeg.). Comp. Rev. xv. 8, where the heavenly temple becomes full of smoke from the glory of God immediately after 'the seven angels' have received the 'golden vials full of the wrath of God.' Del.'s view seems to me farfetched.

⁵ **I am undone**] He is awestruck as he realises God's glory and holiness and his own weakness and sin; comp. 1 Sam. vi. 20, Luke v. 8. The widow of Zarephath is afraid of contact with Elijah as one who could 'call sin to remembrance' before God (1 Kings xvii. 18).—**A man of unclean lips . . .**] Comp. 'a pure lip,' Zeph. iii. 9. The pure lips of the Seraphim painfully reminded Isaiah of his own sins of the lips. He may

have been conscious of no others: these he could not but have, according to James iii. 2, and yet his guilt must be purified, before he could receive a prophet's commission from Jehovah. He feels his guilt enhanced by his 'solidarity' with his people.—**For mine eyes have seen . . .**] Isaiah's second motive for fear. It is the same which is expressed in the familiar phrase of the primitive people, that 'no man can see God, and live'; comp. Ex. xxxiii. 20.

⁶ One of the seraphs brings a stone from the never-extinguished fire of the altar of incense to purge the lips of the predestined apostle from their earthly dross. (Dr. Weir quotes Ps. li. 15.) So Jeremiah tells us that Jehovah touched his mouth (Jer. i. 9) as an 'outward and visible sign' of his commission. But Isaiah shows a keener sense of his sinfulness than Jeremiah, and consequently is purged from that infirmity of will which afterwards cost Jeremiah such severe struggles (Jer. xx.). Fire is the sacramental sign of moral purification, Matt. iii. 11, comp. Num. xxxi. 23.—**A stone**] For the heavenly altar (Rev. viii. 3, ix. 13), is formed on the model of the earthly one. Ewald rightly sees an allusion to the law in the 'Book of the Covenant,' that altars should be constructed of earth, or of unhewn stones (Ex. xx. 25), a law which evidently arose in the nomadic period before tools were common. A word for 'altar' in Himyaritic—*maslima*—also has

⁸ And I heard the voice of Jehovah, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? And I said, Here am I, send me.

⁹ And he said, Go and say to this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not, and see ye indeed, but perceive not.

¹⁰ Make the heart of this people fat, and its ears heavy, and its eyes besmear, lest it should see with its eyes, and hear with its ears, and its heart should understand, and it should be converted and be healed. ¹¹ And I said, How long, Jehovah? And he said, Until cities be waste without inhabitants, and houses without men, and the ground be ^a left a desolation,^a ¹² and Jehovah have removed men afar off, and the deserted region be large in the midst of the land. ¹³ And

^a So Sept., Gr.—TEXT, be wasted to a desolation.

the meaning of 'stone' (Praetorius).—On rendering, see crit. note.

⁸ And now Isaiah, though a mortal, is free of the heavenly precincts, and qualified to be sent, like his compeers, on the royal errands.

—**Who will go for us ?**] This is no mere 'plural of majesty'; ancient Oriental kings did not speak of themselves in the plural number. The picture is evidently that of Jehovah, 'the King,' in consultation with his trusted servants (so 1 Kings xxii. 19–22), a picture which is also comp. suggested in Gen. i. 26. Comp. also Job ii. 1, xv. 8 (*Q.P.B.*)

⁹ **This people**] Even Judah, under certain circumstances, is addressed contemptuously as 'this people'; so viii. 11, xxviii. 11, 14, xxxix. 13, 14.

¹⁰ **Make the heart. . .**] 'Heart' = understanding, as Hos. vii. 11, &c. 'No one,' observes Julius Müller, 'can withdraw himself from the range and influence of God's revelations without altering his moral status' (*Doctrine of Sin*, ii. 412). The obduracy, therefore, is self-caused. But as God is the first cause (Prov. xvi. 4), He must have 'made Israel to stray from his ways' (lxiii. 17, see note). Obs. 1. It is the nation as a whole which is spoken of. The phrase 'hardening of the heart' is, I think, only twice applied to individuals in books of

the Old Testament, viz. to the Pharaoh of the Exodus (Ex. iv. 21, &c.) and to Sihon, king of Heshbon (Deut. ii. 30). Jews never have this phrase applied to them, but only the Jewish nation or sections of it (e.g., Isa. vi. 9, 10, xxix. 10, and here). 2. This grievous act or process has an object, or at least a compensating benefit (*v.* 13). As soon as the existing evil tendencies have worked themselves out, the purified 'remnant' shall create a perfectly new epoch for the nation (Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, 160).—**Its eyes besmear**] Comp. xxix. 10, xliv. 18. Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain mentions a son of the Great Mogul, who had had his eyes sealed up three years by his father as a punishment (Burder, *Oriental Customs*, i. 178).

¹¹ **Lord, how long ?**] The question is wrung from Isaiah by his compassion.

¹² **Removed**] A covert reference to the Assyrian policy of deportation.

¹³ . . . **a tenth in it**] Parallel passage, Zech. xiii. 8, 9. A single judgment will not be sufficient to eradicate the evil tendencies.—**As the terebinth and as the oak**] (An abrupt transition, reminding us of ix. 1.) The 'extermination' is only in appearance (comp. iv. 4); Isaiah is not careful to file away in-

should there yet be a tenth in it, this shall again be exterminated; as the terebinth and as the oak, of which, after the felling, a stock remaineth, a holy seed is the stock thereof.

CHAPTER VII.

THIS chapter forms the first part of a group of discourses, all connected directly or indirectly with the Syro-Israelitish war referred to in the opening verses. The latter require to be illustrated by the parallel passages in 2 Kings xvi. 5-9 (comp. xv. 37, and 2 Chr. xxviii. 5-16). Both of these appear to be less original than the narrative in Isaiah, especially that of Chronicles, which many critics go so far as to reject as absolutely unhistorical. Nor are they without excuse, not to say justification, considering the difficulty of discriminating between the traditions embodied by the Chronicler, and the adventitious matter due to his predominating regard for edification. One great stumbling-block in 2 Chr. xxviii. is the crushing defeats which it asserts to have been sustained by Ahaz (*vv.* 5, 6), but which are not mentioned in Kings. How, it has been plausibly asked, could Isaiah have called the two hostile kings 'smoking firebrands,' if they had just inflicted such a crushing blow on Judah? On the other hand, Dr. Caspari declares, after an elaborate investigation of the narratives, 'that nothing can be clearer than that the events of 2 Chr. xxviii. 5, &c., fall between those of the two halves of 2 Kings xvi. 5*a* and *b*; that the author of Kings gives a report of the beginning and the end, while the Chronicler gives a supplementary account of that which happened in the middle of the campaign. He shows us, in fact, how it was that such an extreme calamity as the siege of Jerusalem became possible.'¹

Into the manifold difficulties of a historical reconstruction of this period I am not called upon to enter. I must assume, however, that the object of the northern kings, as is generally admitted, was to compel Judah to join a coalition against the common enemy of Syria and Pales-

consistencies. Like those evergreen trees which, even when they are cut down, send out new shoots from the stump, so the 'tenth part' of Israel, even when almost consumed, shall have such a 'stump' or 'stock' in its pious remnant, the 'seed of holiness.' This is the bright side of the judgment, by which Isaiah constantly relieves the general gloom of his preaching (i. 27, iv. 3, x. 20, xxix. 18, xxx. 18, &c.)—**A holy**

seed] So 'the holy seed,' Ezra ix. 2. 'Holy' = dedicated to Jehovah, with the derived meaning of inviolable (iv. 3).—Obs. There is no reference here to the Messiah; but the figure is precisely the same as that used for the Messiah in xi. 1, comp. x. 33. As soon as the pious remnant of Israel is organised, a personal stem becomes a necessary conception (at any rate in I Isaiah).

¹ Caspari, *Ueber den syrisch-ephräimischen Krieg* (Christiania, 1849), p. 101. Compare Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, first ed., pp. 10-16; and among less conservative critics, Ewald (*History*, vol. iv.), and Bertheau (*Exegetisches Handbuch* on Chronicles).

tine—Assyria. Curiously enough, Azariah or Uzziah, the grandfather of Ahaz, (or may it have been Jotham, in his father's name?) had, according to the Inscriptions, been a leading member of just such a coalition only six years before (B.C. 740).¹

It will be observed that chap. vii. does not claim to be the work of Isaiah. There is also a looseness in the connection, and an occasional feebleness of style, which make even the editorship of Isaiah difficult to realise :—notice in particular the break between *v.* 16 and *v.* 17, and the cumbrous style of *vv.* 17–25. The same looseness of connection is apparent in chap. viii. Taken together with the very peculiar introduction to chap. vii., and the cumbrousness of vii. 17–25, it makes it a very probable conjecture that the whole section vii. 1–ix. 7 only assumed its present form long after the original utterance of the prophecies. Perhaps when the last editor took up the work, the manuscript authority used by him had become partly mutilated or illegible (comp. *Last Words*, vol. ii.).

In *I. C. A.*, p. 25, I described chaps. vii. 1–ix. 7, as ‘an epitome of the discourses delivered at this great national crisis,’ viz. the Syrian and Israelitish invasion. This statement, however, seems to need qualification. From viii. 17 to ix. 7 there is no allusion to the Syrian invasion; it is the formidable power of Assyria which fills the imagination of the prophet. This part of the group of prophecies is evidently later than the rest. It may be added, that at any rate chap. vii. has probably been worked up or ‘restored’ to the best of his ability by a comparatively late editor, on the basis of an incomplete transcript of the original epitome. Whether the latter was the work of Isaiah, or of one of Isaiah’s disciples acting under his direction or at any rate in his spirit, it is, of course, impossible to say. To this partly ‘restored’ epitome, there appears to be prefixed an illustrative passage from the book, or section of a book, entitled, in 2 Chr. xxxii. 32, ‘the vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz.’ The historical setting is a characteristic which this prophecy shares in common with those in chap. xx. and chaps. xxxvi.–xxxix.

Dr. C. J. Bredenkamp of Greifswald, has examined current explanations of vii. 1–ix. 6 in an article in Luthardt’s *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 621–632. His exegetical method is bold, e.g. he connects ‘that go softly’ (viii. 6) with ‘this people.’ He denies that Isaiah expected Immanuel to be born in the near future, because of his allusion to an Assyrian invasion, apparently assuming that Isaiah’s doctrine of the Messiah and his intuition of the future were already complete when he first opened the subject in public. All very disappointing in the successor of so brilliant, even though one-sided, a scholar as Wellhausen.

¹ And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin king of Aram,

¹ **Rezin]** The Syrian king appears to have been the soul of the expedition: hence the singular number of the verbs. Pekah, as the

Hebraist will observe, is only attached by the Vāv of association (see crit. note). The pretender to the throne of Judah, too, has a

¹ Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 395–421.

together with Pekah son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up to Jerusalem to war against it (but he was not able to war against it). ² And it was told the house of David, saying, Aram ^a resteth upon Ephraim; and his heart shook, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest shake before the wind. ³ And Jehovah said unto Isaiah, Come, go out to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-Yashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, at the highway of the fuller's field; ⁴ and say unto him, Look that thou keep calm; fear not,

^a Hath settled (*i.e.* encamped), Ew., Naeg.

Syrian name (*v.* 6).—**Went up]** The phrase has no special reference to the elevated situation of Jerusalem (Knob.), for it is used of retreating as well as of invading armies (1 Kings xv. 19, 2 Kings xii. 19, Jer. xxi. 2, xxxiv. 21, xxxvii. 5, 11). See Graf, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, p. 891, &c.—**To war against it]** A term for the protracted combat which went on by the gate of a besieged city (Judges ix. 45, 52, 2 Sam. xi. 20). In 2 Kings xvi. 5 it is stated that Jerusalem had been enclosed (a different word), with a view, that is, to the storming of the city.—**But he was not able . . .]** Presumably because some bad news (such as the approach of the Assyrians) compelled him to renounce his intention. This is an anticipative remark, like those in xx. 1, xxxviii. 21; consequently the circumstances related in the following verses should come in order of time before the last clause of *v.* 1.

² **It was told the house of David]** For the expedition was really directed against the family of David; its expressed object (*v.* 6) is not conquest—but a change of dynasty. In 2 Kings xvi. 5, too, there is a trace of this; for we read—not 'they besieged Jerusalem'—but 'they besieged Ahaz.' As to the 'house of David,' see on *v.* 13.—**Resteth upon]** viz. as one allied force rests upon another. According to alt. rend. the figure is taken from the appearance of a swarm of flies or locusts. But surely the

cause of the alarm of Ahaz was not any encampment, but the confederacy.—**Ephraim]** The popular name for the kingdom of Israel.

³ **Go out]** Isaiah lived in the middle (lower) city, 2 Kings xx. 4 (Heb. text). He was now to meet Ahaz at the end of the city. By his social rank (probably), as well as by his position as a prophet, he could venture to address Ahaz unbidden. Comp. on xxxvii. 2.—**Shear-Yashub]** i.e., A remnant shall return (comp. x. 22). An instance of the way in which Isaiah and his family were 'for signs and for omens' (viii. 18). According to Ewald, the meaning of the name formed the subject of a revelation, now lost, which originally preceded that concerning Immanuel. It seems safer to assume that Shear-Yashub went as a witness, either to chronicle events in his memory, or for his own sake as a means of religious education.—**The conduit of the upper pool]** Ahaz had probably gone hither, like Hezekiah, on a similar occasion, 'to stop the waters of the fountains without the city' (2 Chr. xxxii. 3). The 'upper pool' may be the Birket-el-Mamilla = 'the dragon's well' of Neh. ii. 13; it seems to correspond to the 'lower pool' of xxii. 9. See, however, Capt. Warren, in *Athenaeum*, Feb. 6, 1875.

⁴ **Smoking]** i.e., almost burnt out.—**The son of Remaliah]** Indicating the mean origin of the upstart Pekah: comp. 'the son of Kisb,' 1 Sam. x. 11, 'the son of Jesse,

neither let thine heart be soft, because of these two stumps of smoking firebrands, even for the burning anger of Rezin and Aram, and the son of Remaliah. ⁵ Because Aram hath purposed evil against thee (with) Ephraim and the son of Remaliah, saying, ⁶ Let us go up against Judah and ^b distress it, ^b and break through and win it for ourselves, and let us appoint king in the midst of it the son of Tabel: ⁷ thus saith the Lord, Jehovah, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. ⁸ For the head of Aram is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin, ^c ⁹ and the head of Ephraim is Samaria,

^b So Ges. (conj.).—Alarm, Ew., Del., Naeg. (text).

^c TEXT inserts, And within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken that it be not a people. (Lowth transfers these words to the end of *v.* 9.)

xx. 30. It is rather singular that the same form of expression occurs five times in the list of Solomon's twelve provincial officers for supplying the royal tables (1 Kings iv. 8-19).

^d **Break through**] The same word is used with reference to the fortified towns or passes commanding the entrance into a country, 2 Chr. xxi. 17 (in Hiphil), xxxii. 1 (with the same 'pregnant construction' as here, but in Kal).—**The son of Tabel**] The way in which this person is mentioned suggests that he was an obscure adventurer, like Pekah (2 Kings xv. 25), and his name (= 'good (is) God' in Aramaic; comp. Tabrimmon) indicates that he was a Syrian. The name occurs again among the Aramaic-speaking 'people of the land,' after the exile (Ezra iv. 7), but not, as Oppert and Schrader thought, in Assyrian inscriptions of this period, since Idibil and Dibil (i.e. Abdeel) are better readings (Friedr. Del.).

⁸⁻⁹ **For the head of Aram is Damascus . . .**] The chief cities of Syria and Israel are Damascus and Samaria:—the chief city of Judah is Jerusalem. Those two powers which the prophet regards as essentially profane or secular and unconnected with Jehovah, are and shall continue to be confined within their allotted range. So, too,

the rulers of Syria and Israel are Rezin and Pekah—puny mortals, whereas (it is implied) the true king of Judah is Jehovah. But in the very middle of this symmetrical structure of parallelism we are surprised by a precise chronological statement, not strictly germane to the subject, and unparalleled in its range, either in the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah or in the works of Isaiah's contemporaries. There is nothing (except a superstitious belief in the unalterableness of the Biblical texts) to prevent us from holding that some pious student and editor of Isaiah inserted the words, honestly believing that Isaiah must or might have foreknown the date of the event referred to. He knew his author well, for the disputed clause is in perfect accordance with the style of Isaiah (comp. xxi. 16, xvi. 14, xvii. 1). But under the ægis of Isaiah he addressed his own contemporaries, and the lesson he wished them to learn was this, that if Judah did not cast aside all human confidences, and rely exclusively on Jehovah, it would share the fate of the sister-kingdom.—And now as to the date fixed in this prediction. According to the most ancient theory (Jerome, Euseb., A.E.), it is the captivity of Tiglath-Pileser, or Sargon, which is referred to;—against this, see Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, i. 148.

and the head of Samaria is the son of Remaliah. . . . If ye have no faith, verily ye shall not have continuance. ¹⁰ And Jehovah spoke further to Ahaz, saying, ¹¹ Ask thee a sign of Jehovah thy God, ^a deep unto Sheól or high unto heaven.^d

^d So the Greek versions (but not Sept.), Vulg., Ew., Del.—Ask something in the depth, or in the height above, Ges., Weir, Naeg. (The read. is the same in both cases. See Ewald, *Lehrbuch d. h. S.*, § 93, 3.)

Another old view is that of Archbishop Usher, followed by Hengst., that the reference is to the transplantation of a foreign population to Samaria in the days of Esarhaddon (Ezra iv. 2). Bosanquet's confirmation of this view from Assyriology (Smith's *Assurbanipal*, p. 363) seemed at first almost decisive; and Schrader, after him, argued, on the same grounds, that even after 722 Samaria was 'quite a respectable power, with which the Assyrian kings had to reckon' (*Jahrbücher f. prot. Theologie*, i. 333), so that the kingdom was not thoroughly 'broken' by Sargon's capture of Samaria. Unfortunately, this has been upset by the discovery that the true reading of the name on which the above view depended was, not Usimuruna (Samaria), but Samsi-muruna; comp. Halévy, *Revue des études juives*, No. 3, p. 12, Friedr. Del., *Paradies*, p. 287. Archbishop Usher's explanation, however, is still the most reasonable one. The mixture of races in Samaria was the final blow to the existence of the nation, and if we reckon 65 years from 736 B.C., assumed as the date of Isaiah's meeting with Ahaz, we come to 671, which may very well have been the year when Samaria was finally 'broken.' Ezra iv. 2 ascribes the blow to Esarhaddon, but *v.* 10 speaks of Asnapper, which is probably a corruption (see crit. note) of Assurbanipal, the name of Esarhaddon's son and successor, who was also his co-regent in his lifetime. **If ye have no faith . . .**] Or, if ye hold not fast, verily ye shall not stand fast (rendering in *I. C. A.*). There is a designed assonance between the clauses; we

find it again in 2 Chr. xx. 20 (see Hebr.); also Hab. ii. 4.

¹⁰ **And Jehovah spoke further . . .**] The form of the phrase is peculiar, and only occurs elsewhere in viii. 5. Here, however, it is doubly remarkable, because it is not a direct communication from Jehovah to Ahaz which follows, but a mediate one through the prophet. In spite of Delitzsch's deep remark pointing to the prophet's consciousness of Jehovah, the most natural view, considering the general character of the chapter, seems to me that 'Jehovah' is an error either of the scribe or of the editor of the section. The following words were perhaps spoken at a different time and place from *vv.* 4-9.

¹¹ **Ask thee a sign**] It is clear that something had passed between Isaiah and Ahaz, through our ignorance of which we cannot thoroughly understand the sequel. Very probably it had some reference to the plan of an embassy to Assyria (2 Kings xvi. 7), already maturing in the royal mind. Chronology is not opposed to this view, for it is only stated in *vv.* 2, 5, that a confederacy had been formed, not that the hostile armies had as yet set foot on the soil of Judah. We may well suppose that Isaiah was as unfavourable to an Assyrian as he was afterwards to an Egyptian alliance, and that he did all in his power to dissuade or deter the king from it. In *vv.* 17-25 his language is deterrent; in the lost passage which should precede *v.* 11 it was probably of a persuasive character. 'Trust in Jehovah,' the prophet may have said, 'and your highest hopes will be surpassed.' And now he continues, 'Ask thee a sign of this.'

¹² But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I put Jehovah to the test. ¹³ And he said, Hear, I pray you, O house of David; is it too little for you to weary men, that ye will

What sort of sign did Isaiah mean on this occasion?—**Deep unto Sheól or high unto heaven**] i.e., say some, Isaiah will either call up from the dead the shade of some mighty prophet or hero—a Samuel or a David—or ‘darken the sun at midday’ (comp. the wonder of the sundial, xxxviii. 8). To the second alternative, no strong objection can be taken, but the first is open to criticism. It is true that Isaiah must have believed in Jehovah’s lordship over Sheól (1 Sam. ii. 6), and true that there would be a certain fitness in the prophet’s availing himself of the presumed fondness of the king for necromancy. On the other hand, (1) it seems probable that an offer of this kind would have been expressed more distinctly, and (2) we find Isaiah, at the very same period, denouncing necromantic practices in the strongest manner (viii. 19). It is safer, therefore, to take both expressions, ‘deep unto Sheól’ and ‘high unto heaven’ metaphorically, comparing lvii. 9 (end), and still better Job xi. 7, 8:—

Canst thou find out the depth of Elohím?
Or canst thou find out the end of Shad-dai?

Heights of heaven! what canst thou do?
Deeper than Sheól! what canst thou know?

Nothing is impossible to Jehovah; therefore Ahaz has perfect freedom of choice, provided that he asks in reverence. He may ask, for instance, for the restoration of some lost child from the dead, or for any seemingly simpler ‘providential arrangement’ (comp. 1 Sam. x. 7), but not for anything inconsistent with, or capable of being turned against, the true religion. Contrast, in passing, the Old and New Testaments in their estimate of ‘signs.’—**Jehovah thy God**] Ahaz was a genuine worshipper of Jehovah, but also of ‘other gods beside’ him. His name in full appears to

have been Jehoahaz (Yahukhazi in Tiglath-Pileser II.’s great Inscription). This is not inconsistent with the expression ‘my God’ in *v.* 13 (see note).

¹² **But Ahaz said . . .**] Ahaz is incredulous. No doubt he has prophets of his own, in whose word he places more confidence than in that of Isaiah. He desires, therefore, to break off the conference under the hypocritical pretext of not wishing to ‘test Jehovah’ (a sin springing from unbelief, Ex. xvii. 7, Deut. vi. 16).

¹³ **And he said**] Here again the conjecture is a probable one that the following discourse was spoken at a fresh time and place. It is highly noteworthy that the prophecy is first of all directed to the **house of David**, not to Ahaz alone. The house of David means all the various branches of the royal family, and ought strictly to include the ‘house of Nathan’ (Zech. xii. 12, comp. Luke iii. 27, 31). It would seem that this princely order was almost as numerous a body in Judah as it was, according to Brugsch, in Egypt, and that it was able to exercise a decisive political influence. On the former point, see *I. C. A.*, p. 88 (top), and comp. Zeph. i. 8; on the latter, see three passages in Jeremiah, where the members of the royal family receive the designation ‘kings of Judah’ (xvii. 20, Hitz., xix. 3, xxv. 18), just as the queen-mother is called ‘the mistress’ (Jer. xiii. 18, 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Kings x. 13). They appear to have monopolised the judicial function (see Jer. xxi. 11, 12), so that the people had frequent opportunities of testing their fitness for the crown. Hence on at least one occasion the unpopularity of the eldest son of the king led to his being excluded from the succession by ‘the people of the land’ (2 Kings xxiii. 30: comp. *vv.* 31,

also weary my God? ¹⁴ Therefore Jehovah himself shall appoint you a sign; behold, ^e the young woman ^e is with

* So Hitzig, R. Williams, Naeg., and (in effect) Ges. The maiden (*Jungfrau*), Ew., Del. The virgin, Weir, observing, 'But the Hebr., strictly speaking, does not correspond to our 'virgin.' 'A young woman,' however, is also admissible, if Ewald be right in regarding the article as that of species (like 'the lion').

36). In fact, the queen-mother ¹ and the royal princes formed a numerous and influential upper caste, which only a king of unusual force of character, like Hezekiah or Josiah, could venture, and that rather timidly, to oppose. For instances of high officials belonging to the royal family, see 1 Kings xxii. 26, 2 Kings xxv. 25, 2 Chr. xxviii. 7, Jer. xxxviii. 6. See further in *Last Words*, vol. ii. (Graf, on Jer. xxi. 11, would extend the meaning of the term 'house of David' to all who enjoyed any office or dignity under the crown, comparing our phrase 'the court.' Similarly Hitz. But this is very unnatural, and the analogy of Egypt is rather against it.—**My God**] Yet in *v.* 10 Isaiah had said 'thy God.' True, but Ahaz had forfeited his religious rights by his unbelief. So in some threatening prophecies (e.g. vi. 10) 'my people' becomes 'this people.'

¹⁴ **The Lord himself**] Whom ye reject.—**Behold**] A forewarning of a great event.—**The young woman**] The prophet sees the woman selected by Jehovah with the inner eye. We need not, however, suppose that he had any other reason for mentioning her than to introduce the naming of the child (comp. Luke i. 60).

The rendering adopted has been objected to from an English and from a Hebrew point of view. But **1**, it is that of a synonymous word in the A.V. of Am. ii. 7 (margin), and **2**, unless the con-

text determines otherwise, we are precluded from going beyond the strict etymological meaning of the word, which is simply 'a woman of mature age.' See crit. note.—As to the details of the interpretation, opinions are and always will be divided. There is no explanation which does not require us to make some assumption not directly sanctioned by the text. The only question is, Which assumption is most in harmony with Isaiah's early prophecies? The first theory (*a*) which presents itself is that started by Rashi and A.E., and adopted by Ges., Hitz., Knob., that a young woman actually present, or at any rate alive, is referred to, viz. Isaiah's wife. In favour of this, one may urge the significance of the names of other sons of Isaiah (vii. 3, viii. 3, comp. 18). But how can Isaiah have called his wife by a name so liable to be misunderstood as '*almah*, especially as in the very next chapter he gives her what was probably her recognised title, 'the prophetess' (viii. 3)? It can hardly be that this objection is adequately met by the conjecture that Isaiah had married a second wife who was at that time giving birth to a son (Ges., Dr. S. Davidson). There is also (*b*) the theory of Hofmann, Köhler, and Dr. Weir, that 'the young woman' = the people of Israel, as the bride of Jehovah (comp. liv. 5, Ezek. xvi., Hos. ii. 16, 19, 20, Zeph. iii. 17). Against this it

¹ The high rank of the queen-mother seems to be a relic of the primitive age in which the relationship of the mother was of such vast importance (Accadians, Etruscans, Finns, &c.). The political value of the position is strikingly shown in the authority usurped for six years in Judah by the bold Athaliah. The mention of the mothers of the kings seems connected with their high rank in the social system as queen-mothers. It is singular enough that Ahaz is one of the only two kings of Judah whose mothers are not mentioned in the historical books. Perhaps his mother died before arriving at the dignity of queen-mother.—Comp. also Mic. vii. 6 ('against her mother-in-law').

child and shall bring forth a son, and shall call his name

may be urged : 1. that this figure of speech is reserved for the higher style of prophecy ; 2. that the advocates of the theory are not able to agree on the meaning of the birth of the child. Hofmann says the child is the regenerate people ; Dr. Weir that child-birth is simply an allegory of deliverance from danger (though the child, he inconsistently says, is also a type of the Messiah). Others (*c*) take the clause as to the birth of the son hypothetically. Thus Roorda, as before him substantially Eichhorn, explains it to mean, 'Any young woman who is at this time with child may call her son by the name Immanuel,' as a memorial of the foretold deliverance (*Orientalia*, 1840, pp. 129, 130). So Kuenen and Prof. Robertson Smith (see *Last Words*, vol. ii.). But thus we get no sign at all, whether of promise or of threatening—not to mention the appeal to Immanuel as an individual in viii. 8. There remains¹ the theory (*d*) that the 'young woman' is the mother of the Messiah, whose advent, as Ewald has well pointed out, was expected by Isaiah to synchronise with the Assyrian invasion (see chaps. ix. xi.). The touch of passion, to which Sir E. Strachey has already called attention in the opening words (*Hebrew Politics*, p. 104), suggests that there was something extraordinary in the child beyond such external peculiarities as name and food. There is, besides, a prophecy of Isaiah's contemporary, Micah (v. 3-5), which may perhaps be held to allude to the two Isaianic prophecies of God-with-us and Wonder-Counsellor:—

'Therefore will he (Jehovah) give them up, until a travailling woman hath brought forth, and (until) the remnant of his brethren return unto the children of Israel ; and he (the Messiah) shall stand, and shall

shepherd in the strength of Jehovah, &c. ; for then shall he be great unto the ends of the earth.'

It is true that there is no mention of Immanuel's being of Davidic origin, but strictly speaking there is no mention of the Davidic origin of the Messiah even in chap. ix. At any rate, there is nothing here to exclude such an ancestry ; and Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 68) long ago argued in favour of it from the prophecy being addressed to the 'house of David.' It is true, again, that nothing is said of the child Immanuel's growing up to be a king and a deliverer. But this only confirms the view, already adopted as probable, that chap. vii. consists of an incomplete summary of Isaianic discourses ; or again (as in *I. C. A.*, p. 31) we may regard this prophecy as the first rough sketch of the Messianic doctrine, to be filled up on subsequent opportunities. Why indeed should we expect a single prophecy (especially if only handed down from notes) to be as complete as an article in a dictionary?—The two really important objections are these : 1. Is it conceivable that Isaiah expected the Messiah to pass through the period of exile predicted in vi. 11-13, before he restored the kingdom to the regenerate remnant of Israel ? The answer is that, on grounds external to this prophecy, the concluding portion of chap. vi. is probably the latest portion of the group formed by chapters vi.-ix. 7 ; whereas the prophecies in chap. vii. are probably the earliest, and in many respects the least altered, of the group. When the prophecy of Immanuel was delivered, Isaiah could not have had such a full conception of the events preceding the appearance of the Messiah as he attained afterwards. And 2. Would the birth of a child from an unnamed and unknown woman be recognised

¹ The theory that Immanuel = Hezekiah was long ago disproved by the remark of Jerome, that Hezekiah must have been at least nine years old when this prophecy was delivered (comp. 2 Kings xvi. 2, xviii. 2).

Immanuel. ¹⁵ Milk-curd and honey shall he eat, ^fwhen he shall ^fknow how to reject the evil and choose the good. ¹⁶ For before the boy shall know how to reject the evil and choose the good, the land shall become deserted, at whose two kings thou fearest horribly. ¹⁷ Jehovah shall bring upon

^f That he may, Pesh., Vulg., Kay.

as a sign by Ahaz? The answer is, 1. that this was unimportant to Isaiah. Ahaz and his house were judicially hardened, and their unbelief on this occasion was a fresh degree in the hardening (comp. xxix. 10, 11). The prophecy was really addressed to those who could receive it, such as Isaiah's disciples (comp. viii. 16). And, 2. that the obscurity of the mother of Immanuel was part of the punishment which must, from the context, have been included in the prophecy. It was neither Ahaz himself, nor a son of Ahaz, who was the destined deliverer of God's people, but the child of a nameless and obscure mother (Del.).—**Is with child**] So we should render, and not 'shall be with child,' in view of the parallel passage, Gen. xvi. 11 (Judg. xiii. 5, 7 is doubtful), and of *vv.* 15, 16.—**Immanuel**] i.e., God (is) with us, or, on our side; compare Ittiel. This symbolic name is a part of the sign. The meaning is determined by viii. 10.

¹⁵ **Milk-curd and honey shall he eat**] These are not mentioned, as we should have expected, as delicacies,¹ but to imply privation (this is clear from *v.* 22). For a lad arrived at years of discretion (see next note) to have no other food indicated that 'the land of Immanuel' had been brought very low. Obs., this particular detail would be true of a multitude of other Hebrew children, which shows that it can only form a subordinate part of the 'sign.'—**To reject the evil and choose the good**] A fuller

phrase for 'to discern between good and evil.' Hitz. explains it of pleasant and unpleasant food (as 2 Sam. xix. 35), but most critics take it in a moral sense (as Gen. ii. 9, Deut. i. 39, 1 Kings iii. 9). The second view will throw the period named in the next verse rather more forward than the first, and as the circumstance of eating milk and honey is to be a 'sign,' this view seems the preferable one.

¹⁶ **For before . . .**] A somewhat vague definition, which makes it all the more unlikely that Isaiah himself should have written *v.* 8 *b.* Hitz.'s view would fix the term at the end of the second year, for a Jewish child was weaned in his third (2 Macc. vii. 27.)—**Deserted shall the land become**] i.e., the people of Syria and (N.) Israel shall be carried captive by the Assyrians. Comp. 2 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 9, and Smith's *The Assyrian Canon*, pp. 121-125.

¹⁷ The abruptness of the transition is remarkable, and, taken together with the cumbrous style of the sequel, confirms the theory that chap. vii. is based on incomplete, though authentic, notes. We are now introduced to a dark side in the advent of Immanuel. Had Jehovah 'found faith' in Israel's rulers and representatives, Immanuel would have been simply a sign of promise; as it is, he is also a sign of threatening. The Syrians and Israelites shall indeed be removed, but shall be succeeded by a worse foe than Judah had ever had before, 'the king of Assyria.' It is

¹ They are asked for as such in an Assyrian prayer for the king translated both by Lenormant and Friedr. Del.; *dispa khimita* (= רבש והמנהה) *khigalli*, 'honey and curdled milk in canals,' *W. A. J.* iv. 18, 3, l. 29, 30. With which comp. Birch, *Egypt*, p. 28, 'Neferkara, in whose time the Nile is said to have flowed with milk and honey.'

thee and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days such as have not come since the day of Ephraim's departing from Judah, [the king of Assyria.]¹⁸ And it shall come to pass that in that day Jehovah shall hiss to the flies at the end of the Nile-arms of Egypt, and to the bees in the land of Assyria,¹⁹ and they shall all of them come and settle on the steeply walled valleys of the torrents, and on the rents of the cliffs, and on all the thorn-bushes, and on all the pastures.²⁰ In that day shall the Lord shave with the razor that is hired on the banks of the River [with the king of Assyria] the head and the hair of the feet, and the beard also it shall sweep away.²¹ And it shall come to pass in that day that a man shall nourish a young cow and two sheep;

⁸ Omitted as interpolation by Ges., Hitz.

probable enough that this prophecy only confirmed Ahaz in his resolution of sending an embassy to Assyria. He may have hoped thus to render the fulfilment of the prophecy impossible.—**Departing**] Obs. the deep impression produced by the severance of the northern tribes. [Hitz. and Knobel omit the last words as a gloss, as also in *v.* 20 and in *viii.* 7. Ew. and Del. retain them, but without offering any solid reason. Surely they fit in here very badly, and mar the effect of the revelation in *v.* 18. Such ultra-distinctness is just the manner of the interpolators.]

¹⁸ According to Ewald, a long piece has fallen out between *vv.* 17 and 18, relating how Isaiah left the king, and went home, and explained his intuitions of the future, and the truths to which Ahaz would not listen, in the circle of his disciples. Yet, if *v.* 15 was spoken to Ahaz (which Ew. allows), must not *v.* 22 have been so too, for without it *v.* 15 is unintelligible? That something, however, has been lost with regard to Immanuel seems highly probable.—**Shall hiss to the flies . . .**] Isaiah had already said (*v.* 26) that Jehovah would hiss to 'the distant nations,' with a description which precisely fits the Assyrians. He now refers to them and to Egypt by name, and adds

that the two great rivals shall come to a collision in Judah. There is nothing to indicate that the intervention of Egypt was out of regard to Rezin and Pekah, as Knob. and Kuenen suppose. It is rather a subsequent phase of the judgment upon Judah.—The Egyptians are compared to the swarms of venomous flies which infest the region of the Nile (see on *xviii.* 1), the Assyrians to the bees of their native woods and mountains (comp. *Deut.* i. 44, *Ps.* cxviii. 12).—**At the end . . .**] i.e., in the whole extent of country watered by the Nile and its arms; comp. *lvi.* 11, *Gen.* xix. 4, *xlvii.* 2 (*Hebr.*).

¹⁹ **On the steeply walled valleys . . .**] A faithful picture of the scenery of Judah.

²⁰ **With the hired razor**] An allusion to the treaty of Ahaz with Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser was hired in one sense by Ahaz, in another by Jehovah (comp. *x.* 5). If chap. vii. be a summary of various prophecies, this will probably be a somewhat later insertion.—**On the banks . . .**] Assyria being the ruling power on both sides of the Euphrates.—**The head . . . the beard**] For Judah has been stripped of her clothing, her defences; comp. *i.* 6.

^{21, 22} Obs. the increasing awkwardness of the style, so unlike

²² and (yet) it shall come to pass that because of the abundance of milk which he shall get, he shall eat milk-curd, for milk-curd and honey shall everyone eat who is left within the land. ²³ And it shall come to pass in that day that every place shall be, where there used to be a thousand vines at a thousand pieces of silver—for thorns and briars shall it be; ²⁴ with arrows and with bow shall men come thither, for all the land shall become thorns and briars. ²⁵ And as for all the mountains which used to be hoed, ^h thou shalt keep aloof from them in fear of thorns and briars^h: and it shall be a place for letting loose oxen, and for sheep to trample.

^h Thither will the fear of thorns and thistles not come, Vitr., Ew., Weir, Rodwell.

Isaiah.—Cornfields and vineyards having been destroyed, there will be a superabundance of pasture-land, and the few survivors will have to subsist on sour milk and natural honey.—**Two sheep**] ‘Two’ is feminine.—**And yet**] Even with these few cattle.

²³ **A thousand vines . . .**] This reminds us of the thousand shekels paid yearly for a vineyard, as a rent to Solomon (Cant. viii. 11). Here, however, the thousand shekels (= 150*l.*) are the purchase-money.

²⁴ **With arrows . . .**] Only the hunter will venture to go thither.

²⁵ **As for all the mountains**] Isaiah is thinking of the vineyards (comp. v. 6), which ‘are generally planted on the sides of mountains, often climbing, by successive terraces quite to the summit’ (Thomson).—**Thou shalt keep aloof**] . . . Lit., ‘thou shalt not enter there,’ &c. ‘Not enter’ is a compound expression = ‘keep aloof from.’ See crit. note.

CHAPTER VIII.

¹ And Jehovah said unto me, Take thee a large tablet, and write thereon with a common pen, Concerning Maher-shalal-

¹⁻⁴ ‘Maher-shalal-hash-baz;’ a twofold sign of the Assyrian intervention.

¹ **A large tablet**] i.e., probably of wood polished with wax (same word for metal mirrors in iii. 23). ‘Large,’ for it was to be set up in public. Comp. xxx. 8.—**With a common pen**] i.e., in large characters such as the common man can easily read (comp. Hab. ii. 2); they are opposed to the smaller, more cursive characters, such as only a ‘learned man’ can read (xxix. 11). Comp. on x. 19.—**Concern-**

ing . . .] Lit., to . . . The form reminds us of the legends on seals, To—i.e., belonging to—such and such a person. The context, however, forbids such an explanation here. It is best to take the inscription as the heading or title of an as yet unwritten chapter of prophecy. In one sense, of course, the heading was itself a prediction—it pointed to a child, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, soon to be born. It would, of course, powerfully excite curiosity. As to the name itself, see on fourth verse.

hash-baz ; ² and ^a take for me, as credible witnesses, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah son of Jeberechiah. ³ And I went near the prophetess, and she conceived, and bore a son. ⁴ And Jehovah said unto me, Call his name Maher-shalal-hash-baz ; for before the boy shall know how to cry, My father, and My mother, men shall carry the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria before the king of Assyria.

⁵ And Jehovah spoke still further unto me, saying, ⁶ For-

* So Sept., Pesh., Targ., Hitz. TEXT, I will take.

² **Take for me . . .**] 'For me,' because the prophecy was Jehovah's ; Isaiah was but an instrument. 'Witnesses,' viz., to the people at the fulfilment of the prophecy that it was no forgery. Uriah may be the high-priest mentioned so unfavourably in 2 Kings xvi. 10, 11 ; this, however, is not certain, still less certain is Berthold's and Bleek's identification of Zechariah the author of the prophecy in Zech. ix.-xi.

³ A living tablet, instead of the dead one. — **The prophetess**] i.e., the prophet's wife. The same title of courtesy was given to Ayesha, Mohammed's third wife, on account of her influence with her husband even in matters of religion. So too the wives of kings are called 'queens' and 'princesses' (xlix. 23, 1 Kings xi. 3, Cant. vi. 8), and so in the Mishna the priest's wife is called 'priestess' (*kehantâ*).

⁴ **Maher-shalal-hash-baz**] i.e., probably 'Swift (swiftly cometh) spoil, speedy (speedily cometh) prey.' Imitated by Goethe, in his Habebald—Eilebeute (*Faust*, act iv. sc. 3). It has been doubted whether the child can actually have borne such a name, but the analogies of Shear-Yashub, of the compound religious names in 1 Chr. iii. 20, iv. 3, xxv. 4, Ezra viii. 4, and of the names of the Assyrian kings, may dispel the doubt. It might of course have been shortened in every-day use, as Abijah was shortened into Abi, Jehoahaz into Ahaz, &c. — The prediction of Maher-shalal-hash-baz is not invested with

such solemnity as that of Immanuel. But the two are in several respects allied. In both the birth of a child is the pledge of deliverance. In both the arrival of the child at a certain age is the signal for the fulfilment of the prophecy. Both, too, refer to the same event. True, a child can say Father and Mother before it can clearly discern between good and evil. But then the date of the latter prophecy must be placed at least half a year later than that of vii. 14-16, on account of v. 3. In an inferior degree, therefore, the birth of Maher-shalal-hash-baz may be called a 'sign' (comp. viii. 18).

⁶ **This people**] The phrase is most commonly applied to Judah (e.g., vi. 10, xxviii. 14, xxix. 13, Jer. viii. 5, xiii. 10), but in ix. 15 (16) is used of Israel, and in Jer. xxxiii. 24 it is even applied to the heathen neighbours of the Jews. We are therefore by no means shut up to the view of Ewald (entirely inconsistent with vii. 2), that most of the population of Jerusalem were in favour of the pretender Ben-Tabel (vii. 6), and wished well to the invading army. It is much more natural to suppose, with De Dieu, that 'this people' means N. Israel, Judah being first mentioned in v. 8. There is the same transition from Israel to Judah in ix. 8—x. 4 and xxviii. 1-6. — **Hath rejected the waters of Shiloah**] Comp. Hos. i. 2 b. To 'reject' in a religious sense = to apostatise from (comp. Jer. xvii 13). But why 'the waters of Shiloah'? For this reason. The pro-

asmuch as this people hath rejected the waters of Shiloah which flow softly, and ^brejoice with ^bRezin and the son of Remaliah, ⁷therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth upon them the waters of the river, mighty and great, [^cthe king of Assyria and all his glory^e:] and it shall mount over all its channels, and go over all its banks, ⁸and shall sweep along into Judah,

^b Despair because of, Hitz., Reuss.

^c Omitted as interpolation by Ges., Hitz.

phets gloried in Jerusalem's not possessing large streams, as means of defence. They knew that Jehovah would supply the place of 'rivers and canals' (xxxiii. 21), and be like a stream, whose arms 'make glad the city of God' (Ps. xlv. 4). The brook of Shiloah, therefore, which flowed past Zion and Moriah, became a type of the gracious God enthroned in the temple. But since the Davidic dynasty alone had Jehovah's sanction (comp. Hos. iii. 5), the phrase is also a figure for the mild government of the Davidic family. — **Which flow softly**] Dr. Neubauer supposes that Ahaz had made a conduit for the more rapid passage of the waters of Shiloah, and that the people ironically said of them that they still went but softly. The first part of the conjecture has a basis in the Talmudic passage (*Erachin* 10 *b*) quoted by Delitzsch *ad loc.*, but it is by no means necessary to explain Isaiah's expression. Soft-flowing waters are a natural emblem of humiliation; comp. with Ges., Virg. *Æn.* viii. 726, 'Euphrates ibat jam mollior undis.' — **Rejoice** (in union) **with Rezin and the son of Ramaliah**] The peculiar form of the phrase is determined by the wish for an alliteration—(*mā's* in the first clause, *māsōs* in the second). *The whole passage refers primarily to Israel*, whose fault was rejecting Jehovah, the true king of Israel, and cleaving to Rezin and Pekah as their champions against Assyria. But this was also in part the fault of Judah. The latter, of course, rejected Rezin, but was far (to judge from the prophecies of Isaiah)

from joyful attachment to Jehovah. Hence the punishment fell on 'both the houses of Israel' (viii. 14). Instead of the beneficent overflow of the 'living waters' (Jer. xvii. 13, Ezek. xlvii. 1–12), the faithless land shall be flooded with the cruel soldiery of Assyria. But there is a difference in the fate of the two countries. Israel is swept away by the stream and absorbed; Judah, through Immanuel's help, emerges safely from the torrent.

⁷ **Upon them**] i.e., upon the Israelites of the north. The image is based upon the annual inundations of the Euphrates. Comp. Jer. xlvii. 2.

⁸ **And shall sweep along . . .**] Judah shall only escape for a time. He shall be overtaken by the torrent, and barely keep his head above the water (xxx. 28). Masses of water branching off, like wings, from the main current, shall cover the utmost extremities of the land. But Assyria shall not ultimately prevail. The safety of Judah is secured, for its real though invisible lord is Immanuel, who shall emerge out of his obscurity, with supernaturally matured powers, when the time shall have come (comp. vii. 14). — **O Immanuel!**] An ejaculatory prayer for the Deliverer's advent.—The not unpleasing confusion of metaphors in *v.* 8 may be paralleled from Wordsworth:—

So shall its waters from the heaven supplied

Brood o'er the long-parched lands with Nile-like wings.¹

Dr. C. Taylor thinks the fate of

¹ *Descriptive Sketches*, near the end.

shall overflow and pass over, reaching even to the neck, and the stretching out of its wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel! ⁹ ^d Take knowledge, ^d O ye peoples, ^e and give ear, all ye distances of the earth: gird yourselves, but ye shall break down; gird yourselves, but ye shall break down; ¹⁰ devise a device, but it shall come to nought: speak a word, but it shall not stand, for, 'With us is God.' ¹¹ For thus said Jehovah unto me, with a strong pressure of the Hand, and warned me not to walk in the way of this people, saying, ¹² 'Ye shall not call everything a 'holy thing' ^f which this

^d So Sept., Lowth, Grätz. TEXT, Be enraged.

^e Text inserts, but ye shall break down.

^f So Secker, Kr., Gr., La. TEXT, conspiracy.

the Assyrians is described in *vv.* 21, 22 (see notes).

⁹ At the thought of Immanuel, the prophet raises his tone. He challenges the combined nations, whether near as the Syrians and Israelites, or distant as the Assyrians, and announces their overthrow.—**Gird yourselves**] With your belt and weapons (see on *xlv.* 5).—**Break down**] i.e., in dismay. Used again of Assyria, *xxx.* 31, *xxxii.* 9.

¹⁰ **With us in God**] Comp. Ps. *xlv.* 7, 11 (a contemporary writing?)

¹¹⁻¹² A short oracle, complete in itself, and probably written down (so vigorous is the style) not long after the experience described. It has no reference to the invasion of Rezin and Pekah, as most critics have supposed (see on *v.* 12), but explains upon what conditions the motto 'Immanuel' will be verified. **With a strong pressure . . .**] 'The Hand' (or, 'the Arm of Jehovah,' *liii.* 1) is a personification of the self-manifesting power of Jehovah (analogous to 'the Face of Jehovah'; see on *lix.* 2), with reference especially, though not exclusively, (see *Ex.* *vi.* 1) to the extraordinary deeds or words of the prophets. So in the story of Elijah (*1 Kings* *xviii.* 46) and Elisha (*2 Kings* *iii.* 15). It is probable enough that in ordinary Canaanitish phraseology the phrase was descriptive of a completely passive ecstatic state, in which the

self-consciousness of the prophet was entirely asleep, and that it was retained by prophets of Jehovah, like Isaiah, as having in their case a comparative degree of propriety. It is not reasonable to suppose that Isaiah ever lost his self-consciousness:—that would have been a temporary suspension of his moral life. Fortunately, we have a prophecy of his in which he has described his state when under the prophetic impulse with pictorial vividness (*chap.* *vi.*) It is remarkable that Ezekiel, living in the decline of the higher prophecy, shows a preference for a form of speech characteristic of the primitive stage, and rare among the greater prophets. See *Ezek.* *i.* 3, *iii.* 22, *xxxvii.* 1, and especially *iii.* 14, *viii.* 3. 'The Hand' only occurs again in Isaiah in *xiv.* 26, and according to *Del.* in *xxviii.* 2, which I doubt.—**The way of this people**] i.e., the low religious views of the Israelites (both of north and of south; see *v.* 14). Just as the Gospel-religion is called 'this way' in *Acts* *ix.* 2. Kocher (*Vindicia*, p. 64) asks, How could Isaiah be in danger of idolatry? But he seems to be here described as the head of a little society, some of whom may have needed this exhortation more than Isaiah.

¹²⁻¹⁴ **Ye shall not call everything . . .**] Isaiah and his disciples—in fact, the 'church' within the nation—are the persons ad-

people calleth a ^f 'holy thing,'^f and the object of their fear ye shall not fear, nor account it dreadful. ¹³ Jehovah Sabáoth, him shall ye count holy, and let him be your fear, and him your dread. ¹⁴ And he shall ^g shew himself as holy,^g and as a stone for striking against and a rock of stumbling to both the houses of Israel, as a gin and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem: ¹⁵ and many ^h shall stumble at it,^h and fall, and be broken, and snared, and taken.'

¹⁶ 'Bind thou up the admonition, seal the instruction among my disciples' . . . ¹⁷ And I will wait for Jehovah, who hideth

^g Be for a sanctuary, Ew., Del., Naeg., Weir.

^h Among them shall stumble, Ew., Del., Naeg. (see crit. note).

dressed. The warning corresponds to that against necromancy in *v.* 19. There is to be no compromise between the worship of Jehovah and the rights and practices of a lower type of religion. Indeed, Jehovah will soon prove His exclusive right to the title of 'holy,' by the terrible ruin which, by their own fault, shall overtake the two houses of Israel. He will be a 'stone of stumbling' to the unbelievers (comp. Luke xx. 18), but (as we may supply from xxviii. 16), a sure support to the faithful; and from the suddenness of his interposition, will be like unto 'a gin and a snare' (Luke xxi. 35). No other view of this passage seems to me even plausible, and Grätz deserves much credit for having revived the forgotten emendation of Secker. Isaiah could not forbid his disciples to banish the word 'confederacy' (or rather 'conspiracy') from their vocabulary—for this is what the ordinary view (see *I. C. A.*, p. 32), amounts to—'this people' would not be likely to misapply such a word; while the theory of Roorda, Del., and Kay, that the court party accused Isaiah and his friends of having conspired (comp. Am. vii. 10), is refuted by the simple observation already made above, that not the opponents, but the disciples of Isaiah are the persons here addressed.

¹⁴ **Shew himself as holy**] Lit. 'become a hallowed thing';—be-

come = shew himself as (so often, e.g., 1 Sam. iv. 9). Alt. rend. is against the connection, and if sanctuary = asylum, against usage.

¹⁶ **Bind thou up . . .**] 'But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book to the time of the end,' Dan. xii. 4, comp. viii. 26. This parallel passage shews who the speaker is, viz., Jehovah, who enjoins the prophet not to trust so important an oracle to the memory alone, but to write it down (this is implied as in Dan. i. c.), and lay it up, carefully bound and sealed, among his disciples (comp. xxx. 8). So already the Targum. 'Jehovah's disciples' are of course Isaiah's disciples, whose relation to the highest of teachers has been already recognised by the plural form of the address in *v.* 12; comp. liv. 13.—**The admonition**] The word rendered 'to testify,' 'admonish,' or 'solemnly declare,' is often used of Jehovah and the prophets, e.g., Ps. l. 7, Deut. viii. 19.—**The instruction**] i.e., the prophetic teaching or revelation (see on i. 10) referring here to the oracle in *vv.* 12-15. There is surely nothing to indicate a reference to the Mosaic law: *Tōrāh* has a far wider meaning.

¹⁷ **And I will wait . . .**] Isaiah is evidently the speaker, but how strangely abrupt is his language! We should at least have expected, 'And as for me I will wait,' &c., and even this would be only a degree less abrupt. Has not a

his face from the house of Jacob, and hope in him. ¹⁸ Behold I and the children whom Jehovah hath given me are for signs and for omens in Israel from Jehovah Sabáoth who dwelleth on mount Zion. ¹⁹ And when they shall say unto you, 'Re-

verse dropped out between *vv.* 16 and 17? Considering the unsatisfactory state of the remainder of the chapter, the supposition cannot be called a violent one. An attempt has indeed been made to bridge over *vv.* 16 and 17 by supposing that the prophet speaks in his own person in both verses (so Kimchi, Drechsler, Del., Perowne). As Dr. Perowne puts it,¹ in the former verse he utters a command, or a petition; in the latter, he declares his own attitude in reference to it. But in either case, it seems impossible to make sense of 'in my disciples.' Were the passage a command of Isaiah, we should expect 'O my disciples!' were it a petition, 'in the hearts of my disciples' (comp. li. 7, Prov. vii. 3). Del., indeed, supposes the latter to be the meaning of the existing text; but it is doubtful whether even the fuller form suggested would admit the desired interpretation.

¹⁸ Isaiah confirms his faith by the thought that he and his children are divinely appointed.—**Signs and omens**] The meaning is plain from Ezek. xii. 11, 'Say, I am your omen; like as I have done, so shall it be done unto them; they shall remove and go into captivity;' and from Zech. iii. 8, where the high-priest Joshua and his fellows are called 'men of omen.' The conception is, that God selects certain men to be shadows or types of still greater men or things to come. By the prophetic announcements of their birth, and by their divinely appointed significant names (*nomen omen*), the two children of Isaiah, like those of Hosea, were living prophecies: and so, too, by his steadfast faith, by his symbolic acts (see on xx. 3), and perhaps by

circumstances in his life not known to us, was Isaiah himself.² The last words of the verse evidently close a section, and confirm the impression that the preceding passage is incomplete.

¹⁹ The prophet warns his disciples not to give way to the solicitations of the soothsaying party. The apodosis, however, is wanting. Either it has been lost, or, like Paul on similar occasions, the prophet breaks off from inner excitement. From the beginning of the sentence, 'And when they shall say unto you,' we may infer that he meant to conclude with something like 'Hearken not unto them.' See on *v.* 20.

—**Resort to the necromancers** . . .] Magic and necromancy seem to have been specially prevalent in S. Israel. The various kinds are named in Deut. xviii. 10, 11. A vivid picture of a necromantic consultation is given in 1 Sam. xxviii. 1-20.—**That chirp and that mutter**] i.e., that imitate the 'squeaking and gibbering' of ghosts; comp. xxix. 4; *II.* xxiii. 101; *Æn.* vi. 492; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 408. 'Chirping' reminds us first of all of birds, and in the Babylonian Legend of Ishtar (line 10) the spirits are compared to birds.³ It may also allude to the voice of children, and H. Spencer quotes a passage about the Zulu diviners, 'The voice (of the supposed spirits) was like that of a very little child.' According to Sept., the phrase is descriptive of ventriloquism (as if *obh* = 'bottle'), 'Read Captain Lyons' account of the scene in the cabin with the Esquimaux bladder or conjurèr; it is impossible not to be reminded of the Witch of Endor' (Coleridge).—**Should not people resort to**

¹ *Sermons* (1874); Exposition of Isa. viii. 16-ix. 7.

² We might add the significant name of Isaiah himself = 'salvation (is) Jehovah.' But such names were not uncommon, comp. Joshua, Hosaiah, Elishua.

³ Comp. quotations in H. Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, p. 356.

sort to the necromancers and the wizards, that chirp and that mutter'¹ Should not a people resort to its God? on behalf of the living (should it apply to) the dead?¹
²⁰ To the instruction and to the admonition! ^k Surely they shall speak according to this word when there is no dawning for them. ^k ²² And he shall look unto the earth, and behold, distress and darkness, gloom of affliction, and ¹ thick darkness driven (upon him); ¹ ²¹ and he shall pass through it hard-pressed

¹ (Do not the people [always] resort to their gods, instead of the living to the dead?). Ew.—Should not a people resort to their gods, on behalf of the living to the dead? *I. C. A.* (1870), and so Buhl (in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 230).

^k So Weir; Perowne also 'when' (see crit. note).—Surely, &c., who have no day-break, Hitz., Ew.—Or shall they not speak thus for whom, &c., Knob. Reuss, Del. ed. 2 and 3 (corresponding question to that in *v.* 19).—If they speak not thus, they are a people for whom there is no daybreak. Del. ed. 1 (after Luther).

¹ Darkness spread abroad, Saad., Luz., Naeg.—Into darkness is he driven, Rashi, Ew., Del. (TEXT uncertain).

their God?] This and the following words seem to me a parenthetical remark of the prophet, half serious, half ironical. To take them as a reply suggested for Isaiah's disciples is surely rather forced; they sound more like the words of an interested bystander. 'Their God,' i.e., the national God, Jehovah (comp. Mic. iv. 5). Formerly (see crit. note) I explained Elohim of the spirits of the dead (comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 19), as if the people naïvely exposed the absurdity of their own conduct. Plausible; but would the shades be called the Elohim of a people? 'The dead' does not here mean idol-gods (as Ps. cvi. 28), but the spirits of the dead (see Deut. xviii. 11).

²⁰ **To the instruction . . .**] i.e., Let us rather edify ourselves by the true oracle laid up in our midst (*v.* 16). In form the words remind us of Judg. vii. 18, 'To Jehovah and to Gideon!'—**Surely they shall speak . . .**] 'The general import of this and the following verses cannot be mistaken; but the language is so compressed and elliptical that it is not easy to make out the meaning and connection of several of the clauses . . . The second clause admits of two legitimate renderings: If they speak not thus, or, Surely they shall speak

thus. The objection to the former rendering is that the prophet had already supposed them to speak quite otherwise (*v.* 19) . . . The latter is therefore much more appropriate. The time will come when even *they* who had once despised the law and the testimony shall turn to it in despair' (Dr. Weir). Compare for the use of the relative pronoun for the relative adverb 'when,' Lev. iv. 22, Num. v. 29, 1 Kings viii. 33, 38; and for the sentiment, Ps. cvii. 11-14, lxxviii. 34. But though the former despisers of revelation turn to it now in despair, it does not follow that their appeal to Jehovah is in vain. We might, indeed, expect that it would be so, comp. xxviii. 19, Am. viii. 11, 12; but ix. 1, 2 tells a different tale.—**Dawning**] = hope of better days, comp. lix. 9, 10.—**For them**] Lit., for him.

²¹ This and the following verses form the most difficult part of the prophecy. They are not only obscure in themselves, but, at first sight at least, inconsistent with the opening verses of chap. ix. Here, hopeless gloom and distress; there, light and prosperity. How are these two opposite descriptions to be reconciled? The easiest way is probably that adopted above, which was suggested by Dr. Siegfried.¹

¹ *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1872, p. 280.

and hungry; and it shall come to pass, when he is hungry, that he shall be deeply angered, and curse ^m by his king and by his god,^m and shall look upwards.

^m His king and his god, Hitz. Naeg. (comp. ii. 20).

It involves, no doubt, a transposition, but this is no novelty in critical editions of ancient texts; for other instances of misplaced verses, see on xxxviii. 22. Dr. C. Taylor's ingenious theory¹ (partly anticipated by A. E.), that vv. 21, 22 are a continuation of vv. 7, 8, and describe the fate of the Assyrian invaders (vv. 9-20 being a digression suggested by the words Immanu El), must, I almost fear, be rejected, because the picture in vv. 21, 22 is so much more suitable to a people suffering from invasion than to the invaders, and because it so evidently contrasts with the vision of light in chap. ix. 1, 2.²

^{22,21} The unfortunate Jews look first downward to the earth, and then upward to heaven. No cheering sight meets them below; we are

not yet told what vision meets their eyes when they turn them towards heaven. (See crit. note).—**And he shall look. . .**] viz., the people personified. For the change of person, in the preceding verse in the Hebr.), comp. x. 4, &c.—**Through it]** i.e., through the earth (see v. 22).—**Hungry]** Famine being a frequent consequence of invasion, see on xxx. 23, and Lev. xxvi. 26.—**Curse by his king and by his god]** He first curses his enemies by his god (comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 43), and then looks up to his god for help. 'King' and 'god' may either be taken as synonymous (as Am. v. 26, Hebr., comp. Ps. v. 2), or as meaning respectively the earthly and the heavenly ruler.

¹ *Journal of Philology*, vol. vi. pp. 149-159.

² I do not argue against Dr. Taylor on the ground of the length of the digression. There seem to be several instances of insertions being made by the prophetic writers themselves, owing to after-thoughts. Take, e.g., xlii. 1-7. As Duhamel has pointed out, xlii. 8 fits on much better to the end of chap. xli. than to the verse which now precedes it. Dr. Taylor will observe that I have spoken above with some hesitation. I wish to allow room for the possibility that a passage has fallen out of the text, before v. 21, which accounted for and led up to the description of the Assyrians (*ex hyp.*) in vv. 21, 22.

CHAPTER IX.

Vv. 1-7. The conclusion of the prophecy. The mystery in the dealings of Jehovah with His people shall be cleared up. The light of His favour shall return, and those parts of the land of Israel which bore the first brunt of Assyrian hostility shall be proportionately glorified. For the Messiah shall appear, and bring the tyranny of Israel's foes to an end. Under him the empire of David shall be restored on an indestructible foundation.—The tenses in the Hebr. are 'factive,' or perhaps prophetic perfects.

¹ Surely there is (now) no (more) gloom to her whose lot

¹ **Surely there is (now) no (more) gloom . . .**] Alluding to the expressions in viii. 21. The

mute petition of the upturned eye has been granted. In a moment the condition of Israel is reversed.

was affliction. At the former time he brought shame on the land of Zebulun and on the land of Naphtali, but in the latter he hath brought honour on the way by the sea, the other side of Jordan, the district of the nations. ² The people that walk in darkness see a great light; they that dwell in the land of deadly shade, light shineth brilliantly upon them. ³ Thou hast multiplied ^a exultation, thou hast increased joy: ^a they rejoice before thee as with the joy in the harvest, as men exult when they divide spoil. ⁴ For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his back, the rod of his task-master, thou

^a So Kr., Selwyn &c. (conj.); the nation, not increased (=removed) joy, TEXT, Hengst. Kay; the nation, unto it thou hast increased joy, Heb. marg., MSS., Pesh., Targ., and most moderns. See crit. note.

The clouds are lifted, and a brilliant day dawns suddenly (as in lx. 1). 'To her,' i.e., to Palestine, where a hard-pressed remnant of Israelites has been 'walking in darkness.'—**The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali**] i.e., the later Upper and Lower Galilee. These were the districts despoiled by Tiglath-Pileser, 2 Kings xv. 29, comp. Zech. x. 10. Isaiah does not mean that these parts shall enjoy more prosperity than others, but that the contrast between the past and the present shall be greater in their case than in others. All Israel shall rejoice, but those parts which have suffered longest shall rejoice most.—**The way by the sea**] i.e., the district on the W. of the Sea of Galilee, as opposed to 'the other side of Jordan,' and the 'circle of the nations,' i.e. the frontier districts nearest to Phœnicia, including 'the land of Cabul' (1 Kings ix. 11-13), which formed part of the later Upper Galilee. *Via Maris*, M. Renan observes, was the name of the high road from Acre to Damascus, as late as the Crusades. 'Way,' however, here means region, comp. lviii. 12, Job xxiv. 4; 'the sea' is the Sea of Galilee (John vi. 1), called the Sea of Kinnereth in Num. xxxiv. 11.

² **In the land of deadly shade**] 'Deadly shade' (Heb. *çalmäveth*) is properly a title of the Hebrew

Hades (Ps. xxiii. 4, Job xxxviii. 17, see crit. note). There is no need here (as in some places) to weaken the sense into 'obscurity'; comp. passages like Ps. lxxxviii. 4-6. A night like that of Hades is followed by a blissful dawn (*nögah*, see on lxii. 1), somewhat as Ps. xlix. 14.

³ **Multiplied exultation**] Joy naturally follows upon light (see lx. 1-5). Selwyn's correction removes the one flaw in the symmetry of the parallelism. Otherwise the sense of the text-reading is good; a supernatural increase of the population being a common feature in Messianic descriptions, see xxvi. 15, 18, 19, Jer. xxxi. 27, Ezek. xxxvi. 11.—**Before thee**] Alluding to the sacrificial meals, comp. xxv. 6, and see Deut. xii. 7, 12, 18, xiv. 26. A religious harvest festival goes back to the most remote Semitic antiquity. But the phrase has received a deeper meaning. It is the presence of Jehovah on which their joy depends (Vitr.).—**When they divide spoil**] comp. xxxiii. 23, Ps. cxix. 162.

⁴ **Thou hast broken**] Through the Messiah, as a second and greater Gideon.—**The yoke of his burden**] i.e., the yoke which burdened him.—**The staff of his back**] i.e., the staff with which he was beaten.—**His task-master**] Lit, his driver. Same word and idiom in Ex. v. 6.—**The day of**

hast broken, as in the day of Midian. ⁵ Yea, every boot of him that stamped ^b with noise, and the cloak rolled in blood—they are to be burned up as fuel of fire. ⁶ For a child is

^b In the noise (of battle), Ew., Del.

Midian] 'Day' = battle, whether this lasts one day or more, as frequently in Arabic. Comp. x. 17.

⁵ Isaiah wishes to describe the permanence of Israel's redemption. As long as war exists, there must be conquest and slavery. Hence war must be destroyed; the very emblems of war broken for ever (comp. Milton, 'Ode on the Nativity'). So Zech. ix. 10, Ezek. xxxix. 9, Ps. xlvi. 9 (10), lxxvi. 3 (?), where, however, the emblems mentioned are the various weapons, whereas here we have the military boot and cloak. The selection is a happy one, as it lends itself to a strikingly picturesque contrast. We are shown first the warrior stalking along in his blood-stained cloak and boots well set with nails, and seeming to shake the earth with his sounding tread; then both cloak and boots supplying fuel for a bonfire. Homeric vigour and simplicity.—**With noise**] Lit., with shaking; comp. Jer. viii. 16.—**Rolled in blood**] Sometimes explained as a metaphor, crimson being the colour of the military cloak, comp. Nah. ii. 4, Matt. xxvii. 28. But it is better taken literally. The prophets do not mince their language in depicting Israel's enemies, comp. lxiii. 2, 3, Rev. xix. 13.

⁶ A further security for the permanence of the redemption. A prince of a new 'order' has arisen, with supernatural qualities and privileges.—**A child is born unto us**] We must not separate this passage from the context, and infer that the Messiah had, according to the prophet, already been born at the date of the delivery or writing down of this discourse. The prophet is unrolling a picture of the future, and each part of it is introduced with a 'factive' perfect tense. He is designedly vague;

the word rendered 'child' (*yéled*), will serve equally well for a newborn infant (Ex. i. 17, ii. 3, 6), and for a youth or young man (Gen. xlii. 22). It is, therefore, quite uncertain what interval is to elapse between the birth of the child and his public manifestation as the Messiah. We are not told anything about his origin; it is only an inference that he was expected to come from the Davidic family. The prophet is entirely absorbed in his wonderful character and achievements.—**The government**] Not that of Israel and Judah alone but, as the parallel passage Mic. v. 3-5 shows, that of the world. A small world, it may be said, was the *orbis Hebraeis notus*, but probably it did not seem such to Isaiah: 'conosciuto il mondo Non cresce, anzi si scema' (Leopardi).—**Upon his back**] Government being regarded as a burden—comp. vizer (*wezir*) = burdened. See xxii. 22. **And his name is called**] If we took this literally, we might compare the not unfrequent practice of Assyrian kings of bearing two names (Smith, *Assurbanipal*, p. 323). But of course Isaiah merely wishes to describe the character of the ideal king, name and character standing in such close relation in the Oriental mind; other examples occur in i. 26, vii. 14 (probably), lx. 14, Jer. xi. 16, xxiii. 6, Ezek. xviii. 35. The length of the name in the present instance may be intended to suggest the extraordinary character of its bearer. It reminds us of the long honorific names of Egyptian kings (e.g., in the Treaty of Peace, *R. P.*, iv. 27, where the royal titles of Rameses II. take up six lines).—As to the exegesis of the details, three views have a special claim to be mentioned. Luzatto, a great Jewish scholar (died 1865), puts the name of the Child

born unto us, a son is given unto us, and the government resteth upon his back, and his name is called, Wonder-Coun-

into a sentence, and renders 'Decreta prodigi Iddio potente, il sempre padre, il signor della pace.' This is, at least, plausible. It can be supported by the analogy of many (short) Hebrew names (see my 'Index of Proper Names, with Explanations,' in Eyre & Spottiswoode's *Variorum Teacher's Bible*), and of the Assyrian and Babylonian royal names, nine out of ten of which form a complete sentence, though none so long a one as this. But the meaning which it gives is unnatural. If the intention is to emphasise the Divine wisdom, why accumulate epithets of God which do not contribute to that object? And, above all, why employ the participle instead of the usual verbal form, viz., the imperfect or perfect? But Luzzatto is right on one important point, viz., that all which follows the words 'And his name is called,' constitutes (virtually) a single name (though not, as he wrongly represents it, a complete sentence). Del., though very instructive on other points, seems to me less convincing on this. He thinks (with the older commentators) that the Messiah here receives not merely one but five names, 'Wonder, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace,' thus avoiding the necessity of supposing what he calls (and with justice as against Luzzatto's sentence-theory) a 'sesquipedalian' name; and he justifies such a name as 'Wonder' by the reply of the Angel of Jehovah to Manoah in Judg. xiii. 18—a rather doubtful argument, however, since the Angel does not say that his name is 'Wonderful,' but actually refuses to tell it, 'seeing that it is wonderful' (i.e., unspeakable). Two considerations, however, seem to me conclusive against Del., (1) that Isaiah leads us to expect a name, and not names; and (2) that the several titles are arranged in a significant order (see below).—It is more reasonable to hold, with Ewald, that we

have here 'two pairs of compound names united, describing the character of the Messiah first from within and then from without' (*J. C. A.*, p. 33). Thus, 'Wonderful-Counsellor' is parallel to 'Everlasting-Father'; both titles describe what the Messiah is at home. 'God the Hero' is parallel to 'Prince of Peace'; both titles express the ability of the Messiah in working out his plans beyond the limits of his hereditary state.—**Wonder-Counsellor**] i.e., either 'one who deviseth things which are wonderful' (for the idiom, comp. xxii. 2 Hebr.), or 'wonder of a counsellor' (idiom as 'wild ass of a man,' Gen. xvi. 12). The latter meaning is at once linguistically the more obvious (the natural Hebr. equivalent of the former will be found in xxviii. 29, Del.), and much the more forcible. 'Wonder-Counsellor' = one who as a counsellor is entirely wonderful (more strictly, exceptional, supernatural). Any king might be called a counsellor, a man of practical counsel, but here is one whose political sagacity is a phenomenon which can neither be described nor comprehended. ('Wonder' is a word specially used with reference to the Divine, see Judg. xiii. 18, Ex. xv. 11, Ps. lxxvii. 11, lxxviii. 11; and comp. Isa. xxix. 14). Isaiah has a strong sense of the importance of this quality in a ruler; in his second sketch of the Messiah he again lays the chief stress on his supernatural 'wisdom and understanding' (xi. 2)—**God the Mighty One**] 'Mighty,' that is, against His enemies (xlii. 13). The meaning of the phrase is defined by x. 21, where it occurs again of Jehovah. It would be uncritical to infer that Isaiah held the metaphysical oneness of the Messiah with Jehovah, but he evidently does conceive of the Messiah, somewhat as the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians regarded their kings, as an earthly representation of Divinity

sellor, God-Mighty-one, 'Everlasting-Father,' Prince of Peace ;
 7^d increased is the government and to peace there is no end,^d

^c Father (*i.e.* giver) of booty, Hitz., Kuenen, R. Martineau.

^d So Sept., Gr.; for the increase of the government and for peace without end,
 TEXT.

(see on xiv. 13, 14). No doubt this development of the Messianic doctrine was accelerated by contact with foreign nations; still it is in harmony with fundamental Biblical ideas and expressions. This particular title of the Messiah is no doubt unique. But if even a Davidic king may be described as 'sitting upon the throne of Jehovah' (1 Chr. xxix. 23), and the Davidic family be said, in a predictive passage it is true, to be 'as God (*elōhīm*), as the (or, an) angel of Jehovah' (Zech. xii. 8),¹ much more may similar titles be applied to the Messiah. The last comparison would, indeed, be especially suitable to the Messiah, and it is a little strange that we do not find it. But we do find the Messiah, in a well-known Psalm, invited to sit at the right hand of Jehovah² (Ps. cx. 1), and it is only a step further to give him the express title, 'God the Mighty One.' It is no doubt a very great title. The word selected for 'God' is not *elōhīm*, which is applied to the judicial authority (Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 8), to Moses (Ex. vii. 1), and to the apparition of Samuel (1 Sam. xxviii. 13); but *el*, which whenever it denotes (as it generally does, and in Isaiah always), Divinity, does so in an absolute sense:—it is never used hyperbolically or metaphorically. There is very little, I think, to be said for the other renderings of the phrase;—the notes of Drechsler and Knobel may be consulted.—**Everlasting Father**] 'Father,' because the Messiah will rule in a fatherly

manner. Job was 'a father to the poor' (Job xxix. 16); Eliakim is to be 'a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem' (xxii. 21). 'Everlasting,' because one who is in such close relation with Jehovah must be, like Jehovah (lvii. 15), everlasting. Among the titles of Rameses II. (referred to above), is this—'endowed with life eternal and for ever' (Goodwin's translation), and a loyal Israelite's cry was 'Let the king live for ever.' Much more, thinks the prophet, can this be said of Jehovah's chosen one. Were the Messiah to cease to be, how could the Lord's people maintain its ground? Through the Messiah's posterity? But his posterity might degenerate.—This view is not only in itself the worthiest, but also required by the parallelism (see above). Dathe's explanation, 'possessor of the attribute of eternity,' is based on a purely Arabic idiom (see Ewald, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, § 273 b). Hitzig's and Knobel's 'winner, or distributor, of booty,' is against the parallelism, and out of harmony with the religious character of the passage. Surely the spoil of the enemies of Jehovah would have been made a *khérem*, and been destroyed (comp. 1 Sam. xv.).—**Prince of Peace**] Comp. Mic. v. 5, 'And this man shall be Peace;' Zech. ix. 10, 'he shall speak peace to the nations.' Such is the prophetic ideal of Israelitish royalty, in striking contrast to the false ideal represented by Assyria.

² The Messiah's object—the ex-

¹ I do not venture to quote Ps. xlv. 6, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,' as the meaning, and indeed the completeness of the text, are so much disputed.

² This is, I am aware, not the explanation which has become traditional among liberal critics. But even on the view that the Davidic king is referred to, the passage retains its illustrative value. For if the king could be so addressed, much more could the Messiah. A reference to some Maccabean prince (rest and king in one) seems excluded by the 'oracle of Jehovah,' which opens the psalm. For the writers of those late periods painfully felt the want of prophetic revelations (see 1 Macc. xiv. 41).

upon the throne of David and throughout his kingdom, in establishing and supporting it by justice and by righteousness from henceforth even for ever. The jealousy of Jehovah Sabáoth will perform this.

⁸ Jehovah hath sent a word into Jacob, and it hath fallen tension and peaceful establishment of the Davidic kingdom. The second member of the verse is logically as well as rhythmically parallel to the first. **The throne of David** is the seat of the 'government' (v. 6), and **his kingdom** is the scene of the 'endless peace.' Ewald's rendering, 'on behalf of David's throne,' &c., is therefore less suitable. The mention of David seems to imply that the Messiah was to be one of that king's descendants.—**From henceforth even for ever**] Two meanings are exegetically possible (*I. C. A.*, p. 34): 1. that the Messiah shall live an immortal life on earth, and, 2. that there shall be an uninterrupted succession of princes of his house. The latter is favoured by 2 Sam. vii. 12-16; comp. Ps. xxi. 4, lxi. 6, 7; but the former seems to me more in accordance with the general tenor of the description. See on 'Everlasting Father,' v. 6.—**The jealousy . . .**] Jealousy is the affectional manifestation of the Divine holiness. The holiness of Jehovah, and His exclusive right to objects which have been consecrated to his service, is maintained, in Biblical language, by the Divine 'jealousy.' Holiness and jealousy are co-ordinate terms. Hence Josh. xxiv. 19, 'He (Jehovah) is an all-holy God; he is a jealous God'; hence, too, the name of Jehovah can be said to be 'Jealous'; Ex. xxxiv. 14. See Oehler, *Old Test. Theology*, i. 165-8.

IX. 8-x. 4. An unusually artistic prophecy, the four stanzas, or strophes, of which are not only equal in length, but marked by the recurrence of the refrain in vv. 12, 17, 21 (comp. Psalms xlii., xliii.). It announces a judgment on the whole of Israel, but especially on the northern kingdom. There is a question

whether the past tenses in the first three strophes are entirely historical (Ew.), or partly historical, partly prophetic (Hitz., Knob., Del.). 'The prophet places himself,' remarks Del., 'at a time when judgment upon judgment has passed upon all Israel, without producing any amendment. . . How much or how little of what the prophet surveys from his "ideal" position has really taken place, cannot be determined.' Ewald's view, adopted in *I. C. A.*, still seems to me the more probable one, as it is certainly the more consistent. The change from the past to the future seems to me clearly indicated by the form of expression in x. 3, 4. Ewald is further of opinion that ix. 8-x. 4 originally came between v. 25 and v. 26-30. To this also I must still adhere. No one can accuse this view of audacity who recollects how frequently passages in manuscripts are misplaced. The scribe left out something by accident (e.g., xxxviii. 21, 22), could not afford to rewrite his work, and so put in the missing passage at the most convenient place.—In *I. C. A.*, p. 5, I have shown cause for dating ix. 8-x. 4 earlier than chaps. ii.-v., viz. in the reign of Jotham (see on v. 21). Probably ix. 8-x. 4 was written first, then ii. 2-v. 24 was put into its final shape, and connected with the independent prophecy, ix. 8, &c., by means of v. 25, whilst v. 26-30 were added last of all (note the reference to Assyria) to form a suitable conclusion to the whole volume.

⁸ **Hath sent a word**] The word of Jehovah personified; Ps. cvii. 20, cxlvii. 15; comp. John xii. 48, Hebr. iv. 12. Self-fulfilling; Isa. lv. 11, Jer. i. 9, v. 14, comp. Num. xxiii. 25.—**It hath fallen**] Comp. Dan. iv. 31,

in Israel, ⁹ and the whole people shall know it, Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria, [who stiffen their neck] in pride and arrogance, saying, ¹⁰ Bricks have fallen down, but with hewn stones will we build up; sycamores have been cut down, but cedars will we put in their place. ¹¹ But Jehovah exalted against him the ^fprinces of Rezin, and spurred his enemies on, ¹² Aram before and Philistia behind, and they

* So Bickell. TEXT may be rendered 'in spite of (their) pride, &c., in saying.'

^f So some MSS., Houb., Lo., Ew., Weir, Studer.—TEXT, adversaries.

Zech. ix. 1, and Mohammed's expression (Sur. lxxvii. 23, &c.), *anzāla*, 'he hath sent down,' i.e., revealed.—**Israel**] i.e., the whole nation, as generally in the prophets, till N. Israel fell, and thus Israel became practically identical with Judah.

⁹ **Shall know it**] i.e., by experience; comp. v. 19, Hos. ix. 7, Job xxi. 19, and Korān, xl. 72: 'They who treat the Book as a lie . . . shall know hereafter.'—**Ephraim**] i.e., especially Ephraim; like 'Judah and Jerusalem,' ii. 1.—**In pride and arrogance**] This is the first transgression of the northern kingdom. One great source of this irreligious temper would be the perennial abundance of corn and wine, good customers for which were always at hand in the wealthy and populous cities of Phœnicia. Comp. Wilkins, *Phœnicia and Israel*, pp. 112-114.

¹⁰ **Bricks have fallen down**] Alluding perhaps to the tribute imposed upon Israel by Raman-Nirari and Tiglath-Pileser.—For the form of the speech, comp. Mal. i. 4. Sun-dried bricks were probably then as now the common material of houses in Palestine (comp. Job iv. 19), 'hewn stones' being reserved for kings and nobles (comp. 1 Kings vii. 9, Am. v. 11).—**Sycamores**] The commonest tree in the lowlands of Palestine, still much used in building.—**Cedars**] Purchased at a great price from the Phœnicians (comp. 1 Kings x. 27).

¹¹ It is doubtful whether the 'past tenses' are historical or ex-

pressive of prophetic confidence.

—**Exalted**] i.e., placed in a position of superiority, as Ps. xx. 1 (2).—**Against him**] viz. Israel. Hence, 'who smote him,' v. 13.—**The princes of Rezin**] The text-reading fails to make sense. It can only mean the Assyrians (comp. 2 Kings xvi. 9), but the next verse makes it clear that the prophet refers rather to the Syrians. Besides, we want something in the first clause nearly equivalent to 'his (Israel's, not Rezin's) enemies' in the second.

¹² **Aram before . . .**] Knobel infers that the Syrians and Philistines were compelled by Tiglath-Pileser, immediately after being conquered, to furnish auxiliaries for his expedition against Israel. But this, as Diestel observes, is extremely improbable, and does not agree with the statement that the attack proceeds from the east and west. Delitzsch, with a keener sense of the connection, finds here a prediction of injuries to N. Israel from Syria, and to Judah from the Philistines. But he still ascribes the impulse in the former case to Assyria, in order to explain 'the adversaries of Rezin.' It is surely more natural to assign the prophecy to which this passage belongs to the period preceding the league of Rezin and Pekah. Rezin's policy was to force first Israel and then Judah into alliance with him against Assyria. Israel and Judah both resisted; the resistance of the former has found its only permanent record in Isaiah. The Philistines had the double stimulus

devoured Israel with open mouth. In spite of all this, his anger turned not away, and his hand was stretched out still.—¹³ But the people turned not unto him who smote him, and unto Jehovah Sabáoth they did not resort. ¹⁴ So Jehovah cut off from Israel head and tail, palm-branch and rush, in one day. ¹⁵ ^g [The elder and the honourable, he is the head; and the prophet who teacheth lies, he is the tail.] ^g ¹⁶ And the guides of this people became misleading, and its guided ones lost men. ¹⁷ Therefore Jehovah ^h spared not ^h its young men, and upon its orphans and its widows he had no compassion, for everyone was profane, and an evil-doer, and every mouth was speaking profanity. In spite of all this his anger turned not away, and his hand was stretched out still.

¹⁸ For unrighteousness burned like fire, consuming thorns

^g Omitted as gloss by Ew., Kuenen, &c.

^h So Lagarde (conj.).—TEXT, rejoiced not (in).

of hereditary enmity to Israel and dread of Assyria. Their territory extended on the north to the frontier of the Israelitish kingdom.

^{13, 14} Israel continues impenitent, and is punished by a 'day' (i.e., battle, see on *v.* 4) in which many lives are lost: what battle is intended we cannot now say.

¹⁴ **Palm-branch and rush**] A proverbial expression = high and low (LXX. has *μέγαν καὶ μικρόν*); comp. xix. 15. The palm-branch receives its name in Hebr. (lit. palm of the hand) from its upward bend. The rush is an emblem of humiliation: lviii. 5.

¹⁵ It is difficult to defend the genuineness of this verse. The false prophets, being leaders of the people, ought to belong to the 'head.' Besides, the verse makes the stanza or strophe too long by a verse. Hence most critics since Koppe have included it in the list of intrusive marginal glosses. I admit that there is a certain humour in the passage (Del. compares *blande caudam jactare popello*, Persius); it is not a *sotte glose* (Reuss) but simply unsuitable to the context. The natural explanation of the figures in *v.* 14 is given in *v.* 16;

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the 'guides' are the 'head,' the 'guided' are the 'tail.'

¹⁶ **Misleading**] Here in a political sense, as the context shows.—**Lost men**] Lit. swallowed up—not here figuratively (in a 'sea of troubles,' or in Sheól) but simply = destroyed, as iii. 12, xxv. 7, 8.

¹⁷ A variation on the theme of *vv.* 13–16. The flower of the population shall perish, as a judgment upon their impiety.—**Young men**] The word is generally used with reference to military service.—**Orphans . . . widows**] Elsewhere represented as the objects of peculiar care. Dr. Weir continues: 'he cannot pity, i.e., he is compelled to restrain his compassion,' giving the imperfect a potential force; see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 37.

¹⁸ The third transgression—'an unrighteousness which like burning fire seizes upon and destroys everything, both high and low, in the nation' (Ewald). As no class is free from the infection of anarchy, so none can escape its natural and self-developed as well as divinely-willed punishment. The lawlessness of the one punishes the lawlessness of the other. There is

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and briars, and kindled in the thickets of the forest, so that they rolled upwards in a volume of smoke. ¹⁹ By the fury of Jehovah Sabáoth the land was burned up, and the people became as fuel of fire; they had no pity for each other. ²⁰ And one devoured on the right hand, and was hungry (still); and ate on the left, and was not satisfied, every one eating the flesh of his own arm—²¹ Manasseh Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh—and they were together against Judah. In spite of all this, his anger turned not away, and his hand was stretched out still.

CHAPTER X.

¹ Woe unto those who inscribe decisions of injustice, and to the writers who register oppression, ² turning aside from judgment the weak, and tearing away the right of the afflicted of my people, making widows their spoil, and orphans their prey. ³ What then will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the crashing ruin which cometh from far? to whom will ye flee

the same figure and almost the same sentiment in xxxiii. 11; comp. on *v.* 18.—**Thorns and briars**] Emblems of the wicked, as 2 Sam. xxiii. 6. There is a *verbal* parallel in x. 17, 18.

^{19, 20} General anarchy, connected probably with the revolution which placed Pekah on the throne; 2 Kings xv. 23-25.

²⁰ **Every one eating . . .**] Comp. xlix. 26, Zech. xi. 9. A figure either for the insane fury which destroys itself, or for the cruelty of rival factions (Ges.). In the latter case, 'arm' = helper, as xxxiii. 2, Ps. lxxxiii. 9; comp. parallels from the Arabic and Syriac in Gesen. *Thes.*, p. 433^b. The religious union of the tribes being dissolved, they were abandoned to the disintegrating tendency common to the less civilised Semitic populations.

²¹ A common jealousy unites the northern tribes against Judah. Possibly there is an allusion to the in-

ursions described in 2 Kings xv. 37, 2 Chr. xxviii. 6-15.

x. 1. The last strophe, or stanza, chastises the tyranny of corrupt officials. Here, as it seems, the prophet has the condition of Judah principally in mind. The transition seems to us abrupt, but its possibility is established by viii. 6-14 and xxviii. 1-6. The division between north and south was, in fact, not recognised by the prophets of Isaiah's age. Comp. viii. 14: 'both the houses of Israel.'—**Inscribe**] Lit. carve; see on xxx. 8. 'The carving and writing is mentioned to indicate that the various legal forms were carefully attended to, whilst the law itself was trampled under foot' (Dr. Weir).

³ **What then will ye do . . .**] Ironical. Such bold defiance of God would be impossible without an ally or a place of deposit for your treasures.

for help, and where will ye leave your glory? ⁴ Except he crouch under the captives, and they fall under the slain! ^a In spite of all this, his anger is not turned away, and his hand is stretched out still.

^a Except, &c., they will fall under the slain, Hitz.—Beltis is bowed down, Osiris is broken down (?), Lagarde.

* **Except he crouch . . .**] The answer to the question in *v.* 3. This is the only place where the Jewish nobles can hide their head or deposit their glory. Alt. rend. is the only other possible one of the text as it stands. They must either accept captivity in a crowded prison,

or fall by an indiscriminate massacre (comp. *xiv.* 19). The text-reading is certainly difficult, but not ungrammatical, and not inconsistent with Isaiah's style and thought. Lagarde's conjecture, brilliant as it is, is inferior in suitability. See crit. note.

CHAPTER X. 5—XII. 6.

THIS, as Ewald remarks, is the first discourse of Isaiah's aimed directly and solely against the Assyrians. To the people of Judah it is almost entirely favourable; once only (*x.* 22) does the prophet glance at the terrible fate of unbelieving Jews. It falls into two parts, the one (*x.* 5-34) describing the moral and spiritual antecedents of the Assyrian invasion (from which—see on *v.* 22—the Judahites are already suffering, and the great overthrow reserved for the foe); the other (*xi.* 1-xii. 6), the blessed state of Israel and the world under the Messianic king, when all shall recognise one standard of spiritual morality, when the scattered members of the nation, and even distant peoples, shall gather to Jerusalem as the centre of religious unity. Two bursts of lyric song, put into the mouths of the reunited nation, close the prophecy.

There are several remarkable points of contact between this prophecy and chaps. xxviii. and xxix.: comp. *x.* 12 with xxviii. 21; *x.* 22 with xxviii. 22; *x.* 26 with xxviii. 15, 18; *x.* 33 with xxix. 7, 8; *xi.* 2 with xxviii. 6. From this Ewald infers that chaps. *x.* xi. (chap. xii., he thinks, must have been written by one of those 'redeemed' from the great exile) were composed not long after those chapters. Samaria must at any rate have fallen in the interval. So, at least, thinks Ewald on the ground of *x.* 9. Delitzsch, however, is of opinion that the prophet is speaking from his 'watch-tower' (*xxi.* 6), and gives his intuitions the form of history. He knows that Samaria is doomed; he knows how Sennacherib will speak after her fall; he knows that a hostile army will march upon Jerusalem; and in *vv.* 28-32 gives an imaginative representation of the line of the Assyrian march. So far as this last point is concerned, Ewald is at one with Delitzsch. 'It is clear,' he says, 'from the context that Yesaya is here describing [Sennacherib's] future march as his imagination depicts it; the perfect tense prevails merely to produce greater vividness of description.' Both scholars are also agreed that the invasion, when it came, was not actually made from the quarter described by the prophet. Prof. Robertson Smith follows Ewald, and thinks that the invader was

made to come from the north to make the imaginary picture more effective.¹

In spite of these and most other recent critics, I must agree with Sayce, Brandes, and Kleinert that Sargon and not Sennacherib is the invader of the prophecy, and that the line of advance described corresponds to fact. That Isaiah's expectations pointed to the former is unquestionable, as the conquests referred to in *v.* 9 as recent were effected by Sargon. It is of course quite possible that these expectations were unrealised. Just as Esar-haddon and not Sargon fulfilled the prophecy in chap. xix., so Sennacherib, instead of Sargon, may have carried out the Divine purpose by invading Judah. If, however, we could render it probable that Sargon invaded as well as Sennacherib, we should, I think, find it easier to explain a group of Isaiah's prophecies (chap. xxix.-xxxii., chap. x. 5-xi. 16, chap. xxii. and chap. i.), and to account for the fragmentary and, as they stand, inconsistent traditions put together in chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix. It seems that we can do so; the documentary evidence may be scanty, still it exists, and there is good reason to suppose that it once existed in larger abundance. We know from the cylinder inscription found at Kouyunjik, and referred to on chap. xx., that Judah was a member of the coalition which included Yavan, king of Ashdod, who was so severely punished by Sargon. Unfortunately this cylinder is broken, so that the history of Sargon's vengeance of Judah cannot be presented in detail. It is certain, however, that in another inscription Sargon calls himself the conqueror of Judah: his words are, *musacnis mat-Yahudu sa asarsu ru'uku*, 'the subduer of the land of Judah whose situation is remote.'²

Dr. Schrader in 1876 accepted the fact of Sargon's invasion of Judah, and welcomed it as throwing a bright light on the confused narrative of 2 Kings xviii. (Isa. xxxvii.). 'That Sargon,' he said, 'in his campaign against Egypt, in which he penetrated as far as Raphia on the Egyptian frontier, should not have also touched Judah, is *à priori* quite inconceivable, and the contrary is expressly ratified by an inscription of Sargon.'³ In his new edition of *K. A. T.*, however, he takes up a different position, and apparently treats the statement of Sargon's inscription as an empty boast, forgetting that Sargon is not arrogant and boastful like Sennacherib, and does not claim to have done what he had not.

I shall have to return to the subject when treating of chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix., and again in the first of the essays in vol. ii. Suffice it to have recorded Schrader's former endorsement of the new view: second thoughts are not always best. Prof. Robertson Smith's opposition is dictated by his chronological theory, in which he mainly follows Wellhausen. The objections expressed by him in *The Prophets of Israel* have been mostly answered elsewhere. But with regard (1) to the non-mention of any conquest of Judah in the Annals of Sargon, I may reply here that these annals cannot claim to be exhaustive, and that the portion for 711 seems to be little more than an extract from an eponym list,

¹ *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 430.

² Layard's *Inscriptions*, xxxiii. 8, quoted by Sayce; *Theological Review*, 1873, p. 18.

³ *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, vol. xlv. (1876), pp. 738-9.

where only the chief object of the year's campaign is recorded. And (2), as to the absence of any direct mention of the invasion of Sargon in the Book of Kings; the written traditions of the Jews have come down to us in such a fragmentary state (thanks to the catastrophe of the Exile), that hardly any omission can much surprise us. Is there any reason to doubt whether Sargon captured Samaria, because the Book of Kings is silent upon the fact? We may well be thankful for the supplementary and corrective uses of the Assyrian inscriptions, and not least as students of the prophecies of Isaiah. And if it be objected that the inscriptions have in this case only led us to a highly probable result, I reply that this is all that we can generally attain to in dating the products of Hebrew literature. But even a probable result is better than none at all. A prophecy like that before us is a historical document, and must be dated in order to be understood.

⁶ Woe unto Asshur, the rod of mine anger, in whose hand as a staff is mine indignation! ⁶ Against a profane nation ^b am I wont to ^b despatch him, and against the people of my wrath to give him a charge, to take spoil and to seize prey, and to make it a trampling, like the mire of the streets. ⁷ But as for him, not so doth he plan, and his heart not so doth it reckon, for to destroy is in his heart, and to cut off nations not a few. ⁸ For he saith, 'Are not my princes altogether kings? ⁹ Is not Calno ^c as Carchemish? or is not

^b Will I, Del.—Did I, Ges.

^c Have I not taken the country above Babylon and Chalanè, where the Tower was built? Sept.

⁵ **The rod of mine anger.** . .] i.e., Assyria is but the instrument of the Divine purposes. So in Jer. li. 20 (comp. l. 23), Babylon is addressed as God's 'hammer.' On the end of the verse see crit. note.

⁶ **Am I wont to despatch him]** This rendering implies that the **impious nation** and the **people of my wrath** refer to any and every nation of this description; alt. rends., that either Israel is intended alone, or Israel and Judah together.

⁷ **Not so doth he plan]** His whole thought is bent on enlarging his own empire, without regard to the purposes of Jehovah. For Jehovah, according to the Old Testament, punishes even unwitting violations of his rights (comp. 2 Sam. vi. 7).

⁸⁻¹¹ But Sargon makes no distinction between Judah and other coun-

tries. He has two good reasons for feeling sure of victory: 1. his very officers are kings—his might is therefore tenfold that of Hezekiah; and 2. he has already captured cities as important as Jerusalem.—**Princes]** As in Jer. xxxviii. 17, xxxix. 3.—Dr. Weir compares this boastful speech with the vaunts of Tiglath-Pileser I (*R. P.*, v. 5-26).

⁹ **Is not Calno as Carchemish?]** The fate of both populations was deportation, Calno being captured in 738, Carchemish in 717 (comp. Smith, *Assyria*, pp. 79, 97). There is a close parallel in a contemporary prophet—'Pass ye over to Calneh, and see; and thence go ye to Great Hamath, and go down to Philistian Gath; are ye better than those kingdoms? or is your border greater than their border?'

Hamath as Arpad? or is not Samaria as Damascus? ¹⁰ As my hand hath found the kingdoms of the not-gods (and their images did exceed those of Jerusalem ^d), ¹¹ can I not, as I have done to Samaria and her not-gods, so do to Jerusalem and her images?'

^d So Bi. TEXT inserts 'and Samaria;' but see *vv.* 9, 11.

(Am. vi. 2, following Geiger). Comp. also xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 13. — **Calno**] the more correct form, or Calneh (Sept. *Καλάνη*), one of the four cities of Nimrod, is Kulunu or Zirgulla (modern Zerghul), one of the necropolises of Chaldea, 'on the important loop-canal between the two main rivers of Babylonia.' Its mounds have been recently explored by M. de Sarzec.¹ — **Carchemish**] It was Mr. G. Smith's last fatal journey which revealed the long-lost site of this great Euphratean emporium (on its name, see *Last Words*, vol. ii.), which is not at Mabug (Hierapolis), eight or nine miles from the Euphrates, but at Jerâbis, or Jirbâs (Europos or Oropos), on the right bank of the river.²—Important though Carchemish was as a city of the Hittites (the Assyrian Khatti and Egyptian Kheta), it attained still greater prosperity under the Assyrians, especially after the overthrow of Tyre by Sennacherib. How important it was, is shown by the frequent references to the mana (= Heb. maneh) of Gargamis (its Assyrian name) as a standard weight in the commercial cuneiform inscriptions. The Hittites, on a survey of the various evidence, do not appear to have spoken a Semitic tongue (see Sayce, 'The Monuments of the Hittites,' in *T. S. B. A.*, vii. 248-293, and my art. 'Hittites,' in *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed.). — **Hamath**] The Assyrian Amatu, in early times the capital of the Khavvat or Hivites (?), and still an important city under the name of Hamah. On the hieroglyphic inscriptions

found there, see Burton and Drake's *Unexplored Syria*; Sayce, *T. S. B. A.*, v. 22-32; Rylands, *ibid.* vii. 429-442. **Arpad**] the Assyrian Arpaddu, always coupled in O.T. with Hamath. Its Tell or hill still preserves the name of Erfâd; it is about three (German) miles from Aleppo (*Z. d. m. G.*, xxv. 655). Arpad seems to have shared the fate of Hamath in 720 (see Smith's *Eponym Canon*, p. 127).

¹⁰ We should have expected Isaiah to continue, 'How then shall Jerusalem escape?' But two other related thoughts suggest themselves to his mind: First, that Samaria and Jerusalem are in a special manner parallel; and secondly, that Sargon might well represent the idols which, according to him, they worshipped as inferior in number and importance to those of the other nations. — **The kingdoms of the not-gods**] This would certainly be strange in the mouth of Sargon, however appropriate in that of Isaiah. An Assyrian king would not have denied that the gods of other nations had any existence at all; he only regarded it as his mission to reduce them to subjection to the supreme god Asshur. The destruction of weaker states involved, to him, the humiliation of as many rival deities. Sargon carries away captive the gods of the king of Ashdod. Esarhadon improves upon this. He takes away the gods of the Arabs, inscribes the idols with the praises of Asshur, and then returns them to their original owners. — **Their images**] Sargon throws in Je-

¹ Boscawen, *T. S. B. A.*, vi. 276-7; anon. art. in *Times*, Oct. 4, 1883.

² See letter from Mr. John Parsons in the *Times*, dated Aug. 23 (1876); Boscawen, *Statement of Pal. Explor. Fund*, July 1881, p. 226; Wright, *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*, Session 1880-81, pp. 58, 59.

¹² And it shall come to pass: when the Lord shall have finished all his work on mount Zion and in Jerusalem, I will hold visitation on the fruit of the arrogance of the king of Assyria and on the vainglory of the haughtiness of his eyes. ¹³ For he hath said, 'By the strength of my hand have I done it, and by my wisdom, for I am discerning, and I removed the bounds of peoples, and their treasures I plundered and brought ^edown like a Mighty One those that sat (on thrones) ^e;' ¹⁴ and my hand reached as a nest the riches of peoples, and as a man gathereth forsaken eggs I have gathered all the earth, and there was none that fluttered a wing, nor

* Those who were strongly seated. Heb. margin (?). A. E., Lowth.—(As) a strong one, Heb. marg. (?); like a god (or, like a steer, Del.); the enthroned, Hebr. text, Ew.

hovah together with the 'heaps' (lvii. 13) of adopted deities. He also confounds the worship of Jehovah under a symbol, prevalent in Israel, with the imageless religion maintained by Isaiah and Hezekiah.—**Did exceed**] In Phœnicia, as in Assyria and Babylonia, each canton and even town had its own variety of cult (Baal-Çor, Baal-Haçor, &c.). In Israel and Judah the same localising tendency existed; it was derived from the Canaanites. But the influence of the simpler religion of Jehovah must have checked its progress, even in Israel, but especially in Judah. Yet even in Judah, we find Isaiah complaining that 'their land has become full of not-gods' (ii. 8), and Jeremiah—before the Reformation of Josiah—that 'the gods of Judah are become as many as her cities' (ii. 28; comp. xi. 13). Perhaps the Sargon of Isaiah means that the idols of the other nations were superior, partly in numbers, partly in importance. A bitter insult, whether it exactly corresponded to fact, or not!—On the word rendered 'images,' see Smith's *Bibl. Dic.*, art. 'Idolatry.'

¹² But the turning-point is coming. As soon as Judah has been chastised sufficiently, Jehovah will throw the 'rod' away, and take notice of these defiant words.—**Shall have finished**] Lit. cut off (same word

in Zech. iv. 9).—**All his work**] It is the 'work' of Judah's punishment, in which the under-worker is Assyria. See on xxviii. 21.—**The fruit of the arrogance**] i.e., the acts and words in which this arrogance expresses itself.

^{13, 14} Another imaginary speech of the Assyrian king. It is a graphic sketch of his victorious march, which he ascribes to his possession of absolute strength and wisdom.—**Removed the bounds**] So Raman-nirari (1320 B.C.) four times over styles himself 'remover of boundaries and landmarks,' Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 243-4 (Dr. Weir).

—**And brought down**] viz., from their high thrones (comp. xlvii. 1).

—**Like a Mighty One**] Hebr. *Kabbir*. I have hesitated between the rival renderings (above). For the former, comp. xxxiv. 7, Ps. xxii. 12 (13), l. 13; the bull was a familiar royal emblem in Assyria. For the latter, see Ps. lxxviii. 25, 'bread of Mighty Ones,' i.e. celestial beings; LXX., angels. The latter seems to me now more in accordance with the style of the Assyrian royal inscriptions (see, e.g., *Records of the Past*, v. 17). *Abbir*, *Abtir*, and *Addir* are all divine epithets in Hebrew (the last-named also in Phœnician), and capable of being used as synonyms for *Elohim*.

—**Mine hand reached**] Precisely this language is used by

opened a beak, nor chirped.' ¹⁵ Is the axe to vaunt itself against him who heweth with it? or is the saw to brag against him who moveth it to and fro? As if a rod should move him to and fro who lifteth it up, as if a staff should lift up that which is not-wood!

¹⁶ Therefore shall the Lord, ^f Jehovah Sabáoth, ^f despatch against his fat parts Leanness, and under his glory shall burn a burning like the burning of fire; ¹⁷ and the Light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame, and it shall kindle and devour his briars and thorns in one day: ¹⁸ and the glory of his forest and of his garden-land, both soul and body, shall it consume, so that it shall be like a sick man's pining away: ¹⁹ and the remnant of the trees of his forest shall be

^f So many MSS. and editions. TEXT, the Lord (Adonai) Sabáoth (which occurs nowhere else, and is against the Massora).

Sargon in his Annals (*Records of the Past*, vii. 28).—**As a nest**] Strictly speaking, the kingdoms are the nests (comp. Hab. ii. 5), the eggs are the treasures. Metaphors from bird-catching occur both in Assyrian and in Egyptian royal inscriptions.—**None that fluttered a wing**] None that even attempted the feeble resistance of a bird defending its nest.

¹⁵ **Him who lifteth it up**] The participle is in the plural, suggesting that Jehovah is referred to. So liv. 5 Hebr.—**Not-wood**] A compound expression, = different from wood (comp. xxxi. 8).

¹⁶⁻¹⁹ Assyria's punishment described under the familiar images of pining sickness and fire.—**His fat parts**] i.e., his strong warriors, as Ps. lxxviii. 31. Same figure, xvii. 4.—**A burning**] It is the fire which symbolises the anger of God against sin; (comp. xxx. 27, 33, xxxi. 9, xxxiii. 14. See next verse.

¹⁷ **Israel's Light**] Again a phrase of mythic origin used nobly as a symbol (comp. on xxx. 27, xxxi. 9, and especially xxxiii. 14). Notice the accumulation of Divine titles,

expressive of the fulness and awfulness of the Divine perfections.—**His briars and his thorns**] Comp. ix. 18. Not the common soldiers, as opposed to the stately forest-trees of the leaders (Lowth, Hitz., Ew.); this is too realistic. The serried battalions of Assyria remind the prophet of a forest (comp. Dante, *Inferno*, iv. 66), and their destruction of a forest-conflagration. The fire first catches hold of the thorns and briars, and then passes to the crowd of stately trees.—**In one day**] i.e., in one battle (see on ix. 3).

¹⁸ **His garden-land**] A favourite word of Isaiah's. Hebr. *karmel*, i.e., land planted with the choicer fruit-bearing trees, such as vines and olives (see crit. note on v. 1).—**Both soul and body**] An abrupt change of metaphor (comp. i. 6). 'Body,' lit. flesh. Biblical Hebrew has no word to express our conception of 'body.' The last clause is difficult; see crit. note.

¹⁹ **Few**] Lit., a number. The word is cognate with the verb in the next clause.—**Write**] Children, then, could write; comp. Judg. viii. 14.¹

¹ 'The chief interest of the inscription [in the rock-tunnel of Siloam] lies in the indication it affords of the extent to which writing was known and practised among the Jews in the early age to which it belongs' (Sayce). For it appears to have been carved by the workmen themselves.

few, that a child may write them. ²⁰ And it shall come to pass in that day : the remnant of Israel : and the escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no longer rely upon his smiter, but shall rely upon Jehovah, Israel's Holy One, in faithfulness. ²¹ A remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob to God-Mighty-One. ²² For though thy people, O Israel, were as the sand of the sea, (only) a remnant of them shall return : a final work and decisive, overflowing with righteousness ! ²³ For a ^g final work and a decisive doth the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, execute ^g within all the ^h land.

²⁴ Therefore thus saith the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, Fear not, O my people that dwellest in Zion, because of Asshur, if he smite thee with the rod, and lift up his staff upon thee in the manner of Egypt. ²⁵ For yet a very little while, and indignation is at an end, and mine anger ⁱ shall serve for wasting them away (?). ²⁶ And Jehovah Sabáoth shall brandish over

^g So Kay.

^h Earth, Sept., Ev., Naeg., Weir.

ⁱ Against the world shall cease, Lu., Kr. (dividing the words in the Hebr. differently).

^{20, 21} The remnant of Assyria remains without a promise, at least for the present (see on xix. 23). The remnant of Israel, however, is thoroughly weaned from its false confidences, and returns to the true God.—**His smiter**] Assyria.—**In faithfulness**] Or, in steadfastness. See Jer. iv. 1-4.—**God the Mighty-One**] God who has manifested Himself as the mighty one. They are the words (*El Gibbôr*) which form the second couple in the compound name of the Messiah. Yet we can hardly venture to take them as an appellation of the Messiah, for it is Jehovah who acts alone throughout this part of the prophecy. Even later on, when the Messiah does appear (xi. 1, &c.), it is with more restricted functions than in ix. 6, 7, where he is not merely the source of happiness for the future, but the author of deliverance from misery (see on ix. 6).

²² **A remnant of them**] A remnant certainly, but only a remnant. A phrase of double meaning, such as Isaiah loves (comp. vi. 24).—**A final work . . .**] Isaiah anticipates the worst for the impenitent.

Indeed, the judgment seems to have begun ; the Assyrians are already in Judah. This phrase, as modified in next verse, recurs in xxviii. 22, Dan. ix. 27 ; comp. xi. 36. Dr. Weir sees nothing in it to hinder him from taking *vv.* 21-23 as purely consolatory ("a remnant shall certainly return' . . . 'destruction shall be kept within fixed limits,' for which last he compares Job xiv. 5). Luther reached the same result, but by downright mistranslation.—**Righteousness**] i.e., righteous judgment, righteous at once in vengeance and in lovingkindness.

²³ **Within all the land**] Not merely 'in its midst,' comp. vi. 12.

²⁴ The prophet here turns to the believing portion of the people. With these cheering prospects they have no occasion to fear.—**In the manner of Egypt**] Again a Janus-word. For the oppression of Egypt led to the Exodus (see *v.* 26).

²⁵ **A scourge**] Comp. the flail, the emblem of the Egyptian Horus, as the avenger of wrongs. So xxviii. 15, 18, Job ix. 23 ; comp. on xxx. 28.—**As at the smiting of**

him a scourge, as at the smiting of Midian at the rock of Oreb, and his rod over the sea—he shall lift it up in the manner of Egypt. ²⁷ And it shall come to pass in that day: his burden shall remove from off thy back, and his yoke from off thy neck; yea, the yoke shall be broken by reason of ^k the fat.

²⁸ He cometh upon Aiath, passeth through Migron: at Michmash he layeth up his baggage: ²⁹ they go through the pass, in Geba they have taken up their lodging; Ramah trembleth, Gibeah of Saul fleeth. ³⁰ Cry aloud, O daughter of Gallim; attend, Laishah! ¹ answer her, Anathoth! ¹ ³¹ Madmenah wandereth; the inhabitants of Gebim save their goods by flight. ³² This very day he will halt in Nob, swinging his

^k Oil, Vitr., Kay, Weir.—(TEXT probably corrupt, Weir.)

¹ So Pesh., Lowth, Ew., Weir.—Hebr. points, poor Anathoth!

Midian] (So ix. 3.) Or, as he smote Midian (Naeg.), for all the turning-points in Israel's history are notable signs of the energising of Jehovah. The mention of the rock Oreb as the chief locality is strange (see Judg. vii.), but Isaiah may wish to suggest that the Assyrian army will not only be overthrown, but deprived of its leaders, like the Midianites. There is no sufficient reason for supposing that Isaiah followed a different tradition of the Midianitish defeat (Studer, Wellhausen).—**His rod over the sea**] 'And he shall pass through the sea Affliction, and shall smite the waves in the sea Billows' (Zech. x. 11). The Red Sea has become typical. Comp. xi. 15, 16.

²⁷ Two figures:—Israel as a burden-bearer, and as an animal under the yoke. The last clause is very difficult according to the rec. text. It is surely strange to say that the pressure of the fat of an animal will destroy the yoke. Besides, it is

not the yoke of Israel which bursts of itself, but Jehovah who bursts it. Of course, the present reading may be ingeniously defended; but it is much more probable (judging from the analogy of many corrupt passages) that there is some error in the text. See critical note, vol. ii.

²⁸⁻³² It is this passage which led to the rectification of the date of the prophecy (see Introd.). The details are to be taken literally. They are either Isaiah's prophetic anticipations (realised by the event), or his retrospect, and relate to the latter part of Sargon's march against Jerusalem.—**Aiath**] i.e., Ai. It would seem that the kingdom of Judah extended nearly as far north as Bethel. Elsewhere Geba is the frontier-town (e.g., 2 Kings xxiii. 8). See Ewald, *History*, iv. 3.

³⁰ **Anathoth**] The name is important as proving the wide prevalence of cults analogous to those of Babylon.¹

³² **This very day . . .**] He

¹ *Anath* is undoubtedly the same as *Antum*, the feminine of the god Anu. Other Hebrew names compounded with Anath are Beth-anat, Beth-anoth—no mistake is possible, for Beth-anat (Bet-anata) is transcribed in Egyptian by Thothmes with the determinative of Divinity. Comp. also Shangar, 'the son of Anath.' The male deity, Anu, is only found in the Old Test. in the name Anammelech (Anu-malik), the god of the colonists from Sepharvaim or Sippara, 2 Kings xvii. 31. See De Vogüé, *Mélanges*, pp. 41, 42; Lenormant, *Bérose*, pp. 148-165, and for Anath or Anta in Egypt, De Rouge, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, 1875, p. 269. [E. Meyer denies that the Anath of the Canaanites is to be identified with that of the neighbouring countries (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1877, p. 717). Yet the view is intrinsically reasonable.]

hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem. ³³ Behold, the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, lops off the mass of boughs with a terrible crash; and the high of stature are felled, and the lofty are brought low; ³⁴ and one shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon shall fall through a Glorious One.

will at once press on to Nob, within view of the city.—The site of Nob is still uncertain. It cannot possibly be the same as Mizpeh and Gibeon, as Lieut. Conder conjectured. Major Wilson 'cannot imagine a more natural site than some place in the vicinity of that Scopus whence, in later years, Titus and his legions looked down upon the Holy City.' See Josephus, *B. J.*,

v. 2, 3.—**Swinging his hand]** Threateningly.

^{33, 34} The sudden end. A hand from above lops off the crown of Assyria's foliage, and lays that proud Lebanon low. Comp. *vv.* 17-19, xxxii. 19. A similar faith in xxix. 6.—**A Glorious One]** i.e., Jehovah; see on x. 13, and comp. xxxiii. 21, Ps. xciii. 4 (see Hebr.).

CHAPTER XI.

COMP. *Oracula Sibyll.*, iii. 766-794, a fine paraphrase of this prophecy, which may possibly in its turn have been imitated by Virgil (unconscious of its Jewish origin) in the famous Fourth Eclogue.

¹ And there shall come forth a shoot from the stock of Jesse, and a twig from his roots shall bear fruit. ² And there

¹ Still the figure of the tree, but employed on a new subject—the Jewish state. Hence a striking contrast between the fate of the cedar-forest of Assyria and the oak of Jesse. The cedar, being a species of pine, throws out no fresh suckers (see Kay *ad loc.*); an interesting anecdote in Herodotus (vi. 37) is based on this fact, which also explains the dwindled numbers of the cedars of Lebanon. But the oak is a tree 'in which, at the felling, a stock is left' (vi. 13); or, as Job says, 'from the smell of water it will sprout and bring forth boughs like a [fresh] plant' (xiv. 9). There is a future then for the country represented by the oak. As David sprang from the humble family of Jesse, so the Messiah, the second David, shall arise out of great

humiliation.—This prophecy supplements the vague predictions in vii. 14-16, ix. 6, 7. It tells us (comp. Mic. v. 2) that the Messiah was to belong to the family of David; this is all which Isaiah appears to have known. The house of David was large; there was even 'a sort of secondary royal family'—the house of Nathan (Zech. xii. 12). 'Isaiah might well be uncertain which of the numerous princes who were descended from David was the one chosen by God to be the national regenerator.'¹ There is nothing to indicate that he thought of Hezekiah, or of any of the children of Hezekiah.

² Deserting the figure, the prophet proceeds to describe the character, gifts, and public conduct of the Messiah. He is to be David

¹ See *I. C. A.*, p. 88; comp. p. 239.

shall rest upon him the spirit of Jehovah, a spirit of wisdom and discernment, a spirit of counsel and might, a spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah. ^a And he shall not judge according to the sight of his eyes, nor arbitrate according to the hearing of his ears, ⁴ but with righteousness shall he judge the helpless, and arbitrate with equity for the humble in the land, and he shall smite the ^b terrible with the sceptre of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the ungodly. ⁵ And righteousness shall be the girdle of

^a So Bickell (see crit. note). TEXT begins the verse, 'And he shall draw his breath (or, he shall find a sweet savour) in the fear of Jehovah'; but?

^b So Kr., La., Gr. TEXT, earth (or, land).

and Solomon in one, equally great in knowledge and in practice. His qualities are arranged in three pairs, but all spring from one source, 'the Spirit of Jehovah,' which 'rests (permanently) upon him' (comp. xlii. 1). They are (1) moral and intellectual clearness of perception, (2) the wisdom and bravery which befit a ruler (comp. xxxvi. 5), (3) a knowledge of the requirements of Jehovah (see Mic. vi. 8), and the will to act agreeably to this knowledge.

³ But 'the fear of Jehovah' is nothing if not practical, and the Messiah's royal calling requires him in the first instance to be a judge (comp. Jer. xxi. 12). Hence the prophet continues, **He shall not judge . . .**] i.e., the Messiah will not be the sport of appearances, like ordinary kings, nor even require a lengthened investigation. Having 'the spirit of knowledge' from on high, he will 'know what is in man.'

⁴ In striking contrast to the corrupt princes of Judah (i. 23, x. 2) he will make the poor, especially the 'poor in spirit,' his chief care. But **the terrible**, him whom all men dread for his tyrannical behaviour; or, as the next line explains it, 'the ungodly one,' **he shall smite**, &c. This is exactly parallel to what Isaiah says of the Messianic period (though the King is not there mentioned) in xxix. 19, 20, 'And the humble shall increase their joy in Jehovah . . . because the terrible one has come

to nought.' The received reading gives the passage a different and rather less appropriate term. The 'earth' must be the hostile, heathen world, and the 'ungodly' a collective term for its rulers (comp. Ps. cxxv. 3, 'the sceptre of ungodliness'), and the prophet will then allude to the judicial act of vengeance which, down to the time of John the Baptist, was regarded as chronologically the first function of the Messiah.—**With the sceptre of his mouth**] The whole phrase is remarkable. It brings the King very near divinity, for the creative virtue of the word belongs properly to Jehovah: 'I have slain them,' says Jehovah, 'by the words of my mouth' (Hos. vi. 5). It is also ascribed to the Messiah in Zech. ix. 10, 'He shall *speak* peace to the nations,' and to the Servant of Jehovah in xlix. 2 (see note). The bearings of this point on the questions as to the nature of the Messiah and of the Servant will be at once evident. There is a tempting appearance of a parallel in Zoroastrianism; but it is a mirage!—the 'word' or 'words' in a remarkable passage of the Avesta (*Vendidad*, xix. 28–34) are too certainly liturgical symbols. Obs. the Messiah is monarch of the world, though, as Sir E. Strachey truly observes, the idea of the universal kingdom is not so prominent here as in many other places.

⁵ He shall be always ready for acts of **righteousness** (i.e., jus-

his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. ⁶ And the wolf shall lodge with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and there shall be a little child leading them. ⁷ And the cow and the bear ^cshall graze,^c together shall their young ones lie down, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox; ⁸ and the suckling shall play by the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall stretch out his hand on the great viper's ^dden. ⁹ They shall not ^eharm nor destroy in

^c Shall be friends, La. (but see lxx. 25).

^d So Pesh., Vulg., Bochart, Ges., Naeg.—Eyeball, Targ., Hitz. Ew., Del.

^e Do evil, Vitr., Ew., Kay.

vice) and **faithfulness** (i.e., trustworthiness). Does not this passage determine the sense of ἀληθεία in Eph. vi. 14? The tautology in the repeated **girdle** displeases Bishop Lowth and Dr. de Lagarde, but Hebrew ears did not mind it; comp. xv. 8, xvi. 7, xvii. 12, 13, li. 8 (Koher, against Lowth, in 1786).

⁶⁻⁹ The rest of creation shall sympathise with this reign of virtue and piety. Evil having been eradicated from human society, it would be incongruous that cruelty and rapine should prevail among the lower animals. It is stated as the cause of the Deluge that 'all flesh (i.e., both man and beast) had corrupted its way upon the earth' (Gen. vi. 12). If the sight of the violence and cruelty of man was effectual for the corruption of the original innocence of the beasts and birds, surely the sight of their peace and harmony would be equally potent in its restoration. It is singular that nothing is said here of the products of the earth, which generally furnish such striking features to descriptions like the present. Verses 6, 7, and 9 are repeated in a condensed form in lxx. 25.—Most of the ancients and Calvin take the description allegorically; the rabbis realistically; Hengst. admits a secondary allegorical sense; Naeg., while adhering (and rightly) to the realistic interpretation, takes the details to be simply typical or symbolical of a real elevation of the natural world; Ew. is vague.

⁸ **Great viper**] Why go to Africa for the basilisk? One of the most beautiful but most venomous of the vipers of Palestine is the large yellow one, called *Daboia xanthina* (Tristram).

⁹ **They shall not harm . . .]** Most of those who adopt alt. rend. assume that the allegorical sense of vv. 6-8 is at least the primary one, and make the verbs in v. 9a refer to the citizens of the Messianic kingdom. They seem to doubt whether wild beasts can be called 'evil,' forgetting Gen. xxxvii. 20. Not only, however, is it more natural to continue the realistic interpretation; but we are almost bound to do so by lxx. 25 (see note). The prophet argues (as suggested above) from the improved condition of the human world that the evil propensities of the lower animals will die out.—**In all my holy mountain**] i.e., on the slopes of Mount Zion, which will have been wonderfully transformed in accordance with the prophecy in ii. 2, comp. Zech. xiv. 10, Ezek. xl. 2 (Naeg.). Or, in the whole highland-country of Israel, comp. lvii. 13, Ps. lxxviii. 54, Ex. xv. 17 (Hupf., Del.). The first view is the safer; it is by no means certain that 'mountain' in the passages mentioned means the Holy Land.—The next clause shows that the harmlessness of the animals on the holy mountain is only a symbol of 'paradise regained' throughout the whole world.—**The earth . . .]** Such, and not 'the

all my holy mountain, for the earth will have become full of the knowledge of Jehovah, as the waters which cover the sea.

¹⁰ And it shall come to pass in that day : the root of Jesse which standeth for a signal to the peoples—unto him shall the nations resort, and his resting-place shall be glory. ¹¹ And it shall come to pass in that day : the Lord shall stretch out his hand a second time to purchase the remnant of his people which shall be left from Assyria and from Egypt, and from

land,' must be the rendering, unless we are prepared to limit 'the sea' to the waters washing the coast of Palestine! In the next verse, too, we have 'peoples' and 'nations.'

¹⁰⁻¹⁶ But the 'restitution of all things' requires some further development on the side of humanity. Hence the details in the following verses. The mention of the earth as a whole in *v.* 9 suggests to the prophet to begin with the Gentiles.—**The root**] i.e., the plant springing from the root, as *liii.* 2, *Deut.* xxix. 17, *Sirach* xlvii. 25 (22). There is a special reason for the phrase here; it emphasises the contrast between the outwardly mean origin and the ultimate greatness of the Messiah. For how tall must the plant have grown, to serve as 'a signal to the nations.'—The passage is alluded to in *Rev.* v. 5, *xxii.* 16.—**Resort**] Word specially used of prayer (*lv.* 6) and of consultation of oracles (*viii.* 19, *xix.* 3).—**His resting-place**] The word is significant. The throne of the Messiah is 'for ever and ever' (*ix.* 6), like that of Elohim (*Ps.* xlv. 6).—**Shall be glory**] viz. the glory of Jehovah, for when Jehovah Sabáoth (whose representative is the Messiah) 'becomes king in mount Zion,' there shall be 'glory before his elders' (*xxiv.* 23). *Comp.* *iv.* 5.

¹¹ Out of chronological order (*pace* Naegelsbach) the prophet now describes the restoration of the Israelites.—**The Lord shall stretch out his hand a second time**] The 'first time' was clearly at the Mosaic Exodus (*x.* 24, 26).

—**To purchase**] Illustrate by *Ex.* xv. 16 (*xix.* 5), *Ps.* lxxiv. 2, *Isa.* i. 1, *lii.* 3.—**From Assyria . . .**] First the prophet mentions the two greatest of Israel's foes, Assyria and Egypt, or rather Lower Egypt, (Ebers), then Pathros, or South-land (Brugsch), i.e. Upper Egypt, and Cush, i.e. Ethiopia, then Élam (*xxii.* 6) and Shinar (i.e. the country enclosed by the Euphrates and the Tigris from the points where these rivers approach = Irak-Arabi), then the neighbouring Hamath (see below), and lastly the more distant shores of the Mediterranean Sea. *Comp.* parallel passage, *xxvii.* 13. The extent ascribed to the dispersion is certainly surprising. Does Isaiah, we must ask, describe a present or a future state of things? No doubt the calamities of war (especially the fall of the northern kingdom) had brought many Israelites into foreign slavery, and this may be alluded to in *Zech.* ix. 11-13 (*Joel* iii. 6 is, I believe, much later). But this affords a very inadequate explanation. Nothing short of a succession of severe judgments, issuing in the almost complete destruction of the Jews as a people, will fully account for the emphatic language of Isaiah. 'Jehovah stretched out his hand a second time':—there must therefore be a correspondence between the first and the second deliverance. The whole people was in Egypt; it must be presumed that the whole people, or so much as will be left from the sword, will be languishing in exile when Jehovah shall again interpose. This implies that a suc-

Pathros and from Cush, and from Elam and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the ^f countries of the sea. ¹² And he shall lift up a signal for the nations, and shall gather the outcast of Israel, and collect the dispersed of Judah from the four wings of the earth; ¹³ and the jealousy of Ephraim shall depart, and the ^g adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not be jealous of Judah, and Judah shall not be an adversary to Ephraim. ¹⁴ And they shall pounce upon the shoulder of Philistia towards the west: together shall they spoil the sons of the east; on Edom and Moab shall they

^f See on xl. 15.

^g Hostile ones, Ges.

cession of sore judgments will have passed over the land of Israel, as the result of which not even 'a tenth part' will be left, and 'great will be the desolate space within the land' (vi. 12). Isaiah, like the prophets in general, idealises the actual circumstances, and 'sees the entire evolution of the kingdom of God compressed into the immediate future' (Drechsler).—**From Elam]** Sargon (*R. P.*, ix. 16) states that he transplanted Hittites into Elam; of course he may have treated Israelites so too. But we are not bound to assume this. Jews from Elam or Susiana (lit. 'sons of Elam') appear in the list of returned exiles in Ezra ii. 7.—**From Hamath]** Mentioned here because the kingdom of David and of Jeroboam II. extended thus far. Hamath, too, is really quite as far from Jerusalem as Cairo (about ten days' journey, says Mukaddasí). Nöldeke, *Z. d. m. G.*, 1878. **And from the countries of the sea]** The only passage in which this technical phrase occurs in the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah. See on xl. 15, and comp. *Last Words*, vol. ii.

¹² The raising of the signal is mentioned again, to associate the Israelites with the Gentiles. Hence the true religion will be open to all nations.—**The outcast** (men). . . **the dispersed** (women)] A short way of expressing that both sexes will be included.

¹³ The inner union of the tribes

shall correspond to the outer. The great feud which runs through all Israel's history (comp. ix. 21) between north and south shall come to an end; and those who seek to revive it, God 'shall cut off'.—**The jealousy of Ephraim]** i.e., the jealousy felt towards Ephraim in contrast to 'the adversaries of Judah,' i.e., the Ephraimites. This seems to me now a grammatically easier and therefore more probable explanation than its converse—'jealousy felt by Ephraim' and the 'unquiet ones in Judah.' Obs. the skilful variation in the latter part of the verse. Ephraim, who was the object of jealousy before, now becomes its subject; while Judah, at first the sufferer from Ephraim's hostility, now becomes the foremost in the feud. So Naeg., whose note throws great light upon the passage.

¹⁴ Another picture of the Messianic age is here presented to us, expressing the wishes of a less advanced stage of morality. Some of the tribes had suffered greatly from their restless and warlike neighbours, whom, owing to the incomplete national union, they had not been able to repel. Now, however, Israel can take his revenge. United as one man—or rather, as one bird of prey (*Hab. i. 8*)—he shall **pounce on the shoulder of Philistia** (a coast district, sloping down to the sea like a shoulder, comp. Num. xxxiv. 11), **on the sons of the east**, i.e., the Arabian and Aramaic tribes, E. and N.E. of Palestine, and lastly

put forth their hand, and the sons of Ammon shall obey them. ¹⁵ And Jehovah shall ^h lay under a ban ^h the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and shall swing his hand over the River with his ¹ violent blast, and strike it into seven channels, and make men go over dry-shod; ¹⁶ and a highway shall be made for the remnant of his people, as there was made for Israel in the day of his coming up out of the land of Egypt.

^b Dry up, Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg. (another reading).

¹ So Lu., Kr. (see crit. note).—Glowing. Ew., Del., Naeg.

on the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites (comp. Zeph. ii. 4-10).

¹⁵ A miraculous passage shall be made for the exiles in Egypt and Assyria.—**The tongue, &c.**] i.e., the gulf of Akaba, 'or its former

northerly extension' (Major Palmer). 'Tongue,' used as in Josh. xv. 2, 5, xviii. 19. 'The Egyptian sea,' i.e., the Red Sea.—**Swing** . . .] See on x. 32.—**The river**] i.e., the Euphrates; comp. xlv. 27.

CHAPTER XII.

¹ And thou shalt say in that day, 'I will thank thee, Jehovah! for thou wast wroth with me: thy wrath turned back, and thou comfortedst me. ² Behold, the God of my salvation! I will trust and not be afraid, for my strength and my song is ^a Jah, for he became unto me salvation.'

³ And ye shall draw water with joy out of the wells of salvation. ⁴ And ye shall say in that day, 'Give thanks to

^a So some MSS., and some editions of Targ., (as Ex. xv. 2). Sept., Pesh., Vulg., also give but one name of God. TEXT, Jah Jehovah; see crit. note.

¹ The song of the reunited and restored people, with whom the prophet unites himself in spirit. It is the counterpart of the Song of Moses in Ex. xv.; indeed, *v. 2b* is adopted from Ex. xv. 2, and *v. 5a* alludes to the beginning of the song, Ex. xv. 1.

² **Salvation**] The Hebr. *y'shu'āh* is a pregnant word. The root-meaning is width of space; the derived meaning may be as well 'deliverance' as 'liberty,' or 'a state of happiness' (A.V. Job xxx. 15 'welfare'). In Isaiah, especially in the second part, this latter meaning frequently occurs. The reference, however, is not always the

same—sometimes purely temporal blessings, sometimes mixedly temporal and spiritual (comp. *σωτήρ* in 1 Tim. iv. 10).

³ The prophet encourages his people with a promise. There will be a constant supply of salvation (comp. xxxiii. 6).

⁴ Israel is to publish his mercies, that the other nations may pay homage to Jehovah.—**Celebrate his name**] Lit., 'call by means of his name.' This may be applied in either of the two senses, 'celebrate' and 'invoke.' Here, as in xli. 25, xlv. 5, the former is alone suitable; comp. Ex. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5.

Jehovah, celebrate his name, make known his deeds among the peoples, make mention that his name is exalted. ⁵ Play music unto Jehovah, for he hath done surpassingly; let this be known in all the earth. ⁶ Give a shrill and ringing cry, O inhabitress of Zion, for great within thee is the Holy One of Israel.'

CHAPTER XIII.—XIV. 23.

THIS is the first of a series of twelve prophecies (chaps. xiii.—xxiii.) mostly directed against foreign nations. It announces the fall of Babylon, not as an isolated fact in its relations to the Jews only, but as the central event of the 'day of Jehovah.' Its tone is in harmony with the title, extremely rare in the prophetic writings, which it gives to the Divine Judge (El Shaddai, see on *v.* 6); the softer element, so conspicuous in chaps. xl.—lxvi., is entirely wanting. This remark applies both to the preliminary prophecy in chap. xiii., and to the triumphal Ode on the king of Babylon in chap. xiv. The poetical merits of the latter are, however, so far superior to those of the former, that I have been led to the conjecture (which I hope to defend elsewhere) that the Ode was not originally composed to occupy its present position. However this may be, it is not only a splendid enforcement of the Biblical doctrine of retribution, but supplies most valuable illustrations of the current beliefs—partly of the Jews, partly also of the Babylonians—as to the other world. (With regard to the form of the Ode, see on *xiv.* 3.)

Sir E. Strachey (with the half-assent of Stanley¹) has attempted to show that the 'king of Babylon' referred to in the Ode is a king of Assyria (*Jewish History and Politics*, pp. 166–170), but on insufficient grounds. It is true that Sargon is called 'king of Babylon' by the Babylonians (comp. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, ii. 253), and that he styles himself 'king of Assyria and viceroy of Babylon;' but this does not render it probable that 'king of Babylon' in the mouth of Isaiah would mean 'king of Assyria'; would any of his readers have understood him? Is not the Ode precisely parallel to the song in chap. *xlvii.*, where no one has yet attempted to make Babylon equivalent to Assyria? (See more against this view on *xxxix.* 8.)

¹[Utterance of Babylon which Isaiah son of Amoz saw.]

¹ The title is by many critics ascribed to a later editor, on the grounds 1. that *massā*, 'utterance,' *effatum*, only occurs in Isaiah in chaps. *xiii.*–*xxiii.*, and that in *xvii.* 1, *xxi.* 11, *xxii.* 1, it is difficult to believe that Isaiah would not have

prefixed more suitable titles; and 2. that the Isaianic authorship is opposed by internal evidence. It does not fall within my scope to discuss the latter point here.—**Utterance**] Not 'burden'; 1. because the word is prefixed to at

¹ *Jewish Church*, ii., p. 480, note. Mr. G. Smith independently explained the phrase of Tiglath-Pileser (*T. S. B. A.* ii. 328).

² Upon a bare mountain lift ye up a signal, raise the voice unto them, swing the hand, that they may enter the gates of the princes. ³ I, even I, have charged my consecrated ones, I have also called my mighty men to execute mine anger, my proudly triumphant ones. ⁴ Hark, a tumult in the mountains, like as of much people! hark, the uproar of the kingdoms of nations gathered together! Jehovah Sabáoth is mustering the host of war. ⁵ They come from a far country, from the end of the heavens, even Jehovah and the weapons of his in-

least four passages which are not of a threatening purport (Zech. ix. 1, xii. 1, Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1; comp. Lam. ii. 14); 2. because the rebuke in Jer. xxiii. 33, &c., only yields a good sense if we admit that the prophets were accustomed to apply the word *massā* to their prophecies in the sense of oracle or utterance (comp. Hupfeld on Ps. xv. 3).—Ewald divides chap. xiii. into three stanzas or strophes:—I. vv. 2-8; II. vv. 9-16; III. vv. 17-22. This is plausible, but seems to obscure the connection. The subject suggests a single division at v. 14 (see note).

²⁻¹³ The Divine judgment upon the world.—**Upon a bare mountain**] 'Bare,' i.e. treeless, that the signal may be clearly seen. So Balaam 'went to a bare hill,' to survey the tribes of Israel (Num. xxiii. 3). Obs., the hills of Palestine were not so bare anciently as they are now; hence the writer's particularity.—**Lift ye up . . .**] A mysterious voice is heard (as in xl. 3-6, lxii. 10), appointing a signal for a distant army (see v. 26). The summons being urgent, it is to be enforced by a ringing cry (as the army draws nearer), and by a 'swinging (or beckoning) of the hand' (see for the phrase, x. 32; and comp. xlix. 22).—**The princes**] i.e., the long-established dynasties, which the barbarian *parvenus* are to overthrow.

³ Jehovah's explanation of the summons in v. 2. The war is to be a crusade, a *jehād*. **My consecrated ones**] Warriors were 'hallowed' or 'consecrated' by the sacrifices offered before the cam-

paign (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 9). The prophet boldly declares that the Persian army is not 'consecrated' to Ahuramazda, but to Jehovah. Comp. in *Q. P. B.*, Jer. xxii. 7, Zeph. i. 7, and Jer. li. 27, 28 (based on our passage).—**My proudly triumphant ones**] Alluding, says Hitz, to the vainglorious character of the Persians, comp. Herod. i. 89. But this is unnecessary; the phrase describes the exuberant spirits of the warrior, and refers not exclusively to the Persians, but to all the barbarian peoples. It recurs in Zeph. iii. 11 in a bad sense, of the haughty sinners of Zion. Which of the two passages is the original, is a complicated question, not to be settled in a few words.

⁴ How vividly in three lines the gradual approach of the invading army is described! (Ges.)—**In the mountains**] No doubt, there is a range of mountains (Zagros) in the N.E. of Babylonia, but is it likely that the prophet is thinking of his geography? Are not the mountains rather the ideal barriers which have hitherto kept the barbarian peoples at a distance from civilisation? Nor is it merely the Babylonian empire, but the whole world, which is to be laid waste. We can only understand this prophecy in connection with the other eschatological sections (see on iii. 13; and on chap. xxiv.).

⁵ **From the end of the heavens**] Heaven being conceived as an immense dome resting on the earth. So Ps. xix. 7, Deut. iv. 32 (twice), xxx. 4 = Neh. i. 9).

dignation, to waste the whole earth. ⁶ Howl ye, for the day of Jehovah is near; as a destruction from him who is powerful to destroy shall it come. ⁷ Therefore shall all hands be slack, and every human heart shall melt: ⁸ and they shall be dismayed, taking hold of pangs and throes; as a travailing woman shall they writhe, they shall look aghast each one at the other, faces of flames their faces. ⁹ Behold, the day of

⁶ Comp. Joel ii. 1, Zeph. i. 7. A **day of Jehovah** in its original, popular sense is a victory of Israel's God over Israel's enemies ('day' as in ix. 4); see Am. v. 18, probably the earliest passage in which the phrase occurs. The prophets adopted the phrase, disburdened it of its grosser associations, and made it a symbol of the great judicial retribution in store both for Jew and for Gentile. A parallel description to the present (and of a date equally disputed) is Joel iii. 11-16. 'Day' has now ceased to mean 'victory,' it comes nearer to 'assize'; Jehovah, indeed, has put off the arbitrariness of the warrior and delights in even-handed justice. Justice, however, is tempered by mercy, for 'who-soever shall call upon the name of Jehovah shall be saved' (Joel ii. 32). It is impossible to unite all the various features of this 'day,' as given in the different prophecies in a single picture. See, however, H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, pp. 690-2, and on the original conception, W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 397.—**As a destruction . . .**] i.e., with all the characteristics (such as suddenness and completeness, Jer. iv. 20, Weir), of a direct intervention of the Lord of Nature. The Hebr. is *k'shōd mish-shaddai*, an assonance difficult to reproduce tersely. So again Joel i. 15. The name here given to God is rarely found in the prophets. Wherever it does occur (Joel i. 15, Ezek. i. 24, x. 5), it appears to express the more severe and awful side of the Divine nature.

A similar impression is produced by its use in Ruth i. 20, Ps. lxxviii. 14 (15); and though in the Book of Job (23 times), in the Pentateuch (8 times, excluding compound proper names), and in Ps. xci. 1, it seems to be used as a mere synonym for El or Elohim, it must at least be clear that force, and specially force as exhibited in a dangerous aspect in some natural phenomena, is the original meaning of the word (a meaning suitable enough in early times, comp. Ex. vi. 3). Geiger and Dr. Robertson Smith¹ have shown that the interpretation Almighty (found in Sept. generally, in Vulg. Pentateuch, and, virtually, sometimes in Pesh.) arises ultimately out of a false etymology, presupposed, it seems, by the pointing, as if the word meant 'sufficient.' It is, of course, still possible to derive from *shādād*, and explain 'the destructive,' comp. the Phœnician *šādidos*² (= Arab. *shadīd*, violent). But as *Shaddai* is in usage generally a substantive, and not an adjective, to El, 'God,' it is plausible to connect the word with Aram. *sh'dā*, 'to throw or pour out.' It will then have meant originally (i.e., before its adoption by Biblical writers) the rain-giver or the thunderer—a sense abundantly justified by analogies. An Assyrian cognate is no doubt still wanting, unless we compare *sadu*, mountain (projection).³ The word stands up in the later Hebrew vocabulary like a rare monument of a primitive age (Ewald).

⁸ **Faces of flames their faces]** The phrase is difficult. Most

¹ W. R. Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 423-4; comp. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s.v. Shaddai.

² Philo of Byblus, *Fragmenta Hist. Gr.*, ed. Müller, iii. 568.

³ Or did Shaddai once mean 'rock'? See critical note, vol. ii.

Jehovah cometh, a cruel one, with fury and burning anger, to make the earth a desolation, and to exterminate the sinners thereof out of it. ¹⁰ For the stars of heaven, and the Orions thereof, shall not give out their light; the sun shall be dark at his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine. ¹¹ And I will punish the world for its evil, and the wicked for their iniquity; and I will cause the pride of the arrogant to cease, and the haughtiness of the terrible will I abase. ¹² I will make men scarcer than fine gold, and people than the solid gold of Ophir. ¹³ Therefore will I make the heavens to tremble, and the earth shall move quaking from its place, for the fury of Jehovah Sabáoth, and for the day of his burn-

have attempted to make it out to be equivalent to the parallel clause, but without success, for a paralysing terror rather produces paleness (Jer. xxx. 6). But is this necessary? May we not suppose a transition from horror-struck alarm to 'excitement flashing up amidst their terror, as when flames rise out of thick volumes of smoke' (Kay)? Joel ii. 6 sometimes quoted is not in point; see *Q. P. B.*

¹⁰ **For the stars**] 'Light is sown for the righteous' (Ps. xcvi. 11); consequently, the punishment of the wicked takes place in darkness. Comp. Joel ii. 10.—**The Orions thereof**] i.e., Orion, and the constellations equal to it in brightness. 'Orion' is in Hebr. *k'stl* (whence the name of the month Chisleu, Ass. *kisiluv*), the 'foolhardy' giant who strove with Jehovah, as Hebrew folk-lore told (comp. Job xxxviii. 31). Here, however, the original mythic element has been almost effaced; the name has become applied to constellations in general. (See *Last Words*, vol. ii., and comp. Steinthal in Goldziher's *Hebrew Mythology*, appendix, p. 427. (It is true, we have not absolute certainty that the Hebrew *k'stl* is Orion. The Chaldaeo-Assyrian astrology gave the name *kisiluv* to

the ninth month, connecting it with the zodiacal sign Sagittarius. But M. A. Stern's argument still seems to me a valid defence of the above view.¹ We must beware of inferring too much from the verbal correspondence of allied myths.)

¹¹ **The world**] 'That is, the Babylonish empire; as *ἡ οἰκουμένη* for the Roman empire, or for Judea, Luke ii. 1, Acts xi. 28' (Lowth). But the analogy of prophecy compels us to interpret the words more strictly. See on *v.* 4.

¹² **I will make men . . .**] So in a fuller account of the judgment, 'few men shall be left' (xxiv. 6).

¹³ Amidst convulsive throes, the present world comes to an end. See on xxiv. 19, 20.—**Therefore**] Clearly this is in no immediate connection with the preceding statement that few men shall survive the judgment. Rather it introduces an intensified description of the terror of Jehovah's Day, and is explained by the latter half of the verse. Because Jehovah's anger is so hot, therefore he will sweep away the scene of man's rebellion. The corresponding image of a new heaven and earth does not appear in this prophecy.—**The earth shall move quaking . . .**] A clear allusion to Job ix. 6, where the

¹ See Stern in Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, 1865, pp. 258-276; and for the Chaldaean view, Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire*, ed. 1, vol. i., p. 247, comp. Sayce, in *T. S. B. A.*, iii., 164.

ing anger. ¹⁴And it shall be as with a gazelle which is chased, and like sheep with none to gather them; they shall turn every one to his own people, and flee every one to his own land; ¹⁵every one who is found shall be thrust through, and every one who ^ais caught ^ashall fall by the sword; ¹⁶and their sucklings shall be dashed in pieces before their eyes; spoiled shall their houses be, and their wives ravished. ¹⁷Behold, I stir up

^a So substantially, Ew., Del., Naeg.—Withdraweth himself, Ges. (Comm.), Weir.

phrase is, so to speak, at home, arising more naturally than here out of the context.

¹⁴⁻²² The first act in the world-judgment—the overthrow of Babylon. The prophet does not indeed mention Babylon at once. But a flash of light at the end of *v.* 19 clears up the details of the scene. The place before us is a gathering-point for strangers from all countries, and what should this be but Babylon, with its wide commercial relations and its *πάμικτος ὄχλος* (*Persæ*, 53; comp. *xlvii.* 15, *Jer.* i. 16, *li.* 9, 44)?

¹⁵ **Found**, in the city; **caught**, in battle or in flight.

¹⁷ The first to be mentioned by name are the invaders. They are **the Medes**, or, in Hebrew and Assyrian, *Madai*. We cannot here altogether avoid trenching on the province of the 'higher criticism.' Even the most cursory examination of the text suggests the twofold question,—How can Isaiah have referred to the Medes, and how can a prophet of the Exile (if such a one be the author rather than Isaiah, on account of 'the Medes') *not* have mentioned the Persians? Some light is thrown on the former point by the inscriptions, which from Raman-nirari III. onwards (or say, from B.C. 810) from time to time record the conquests of the Assyrian kings in Media, and indeed by the Old Testament itself, for, according to 2 Kings *xvii.* 6, *xviii.* 11, a part of the captive Israelites had a dwelling-place assigned to them

'in the cities of the Medes.' Media, therefore, was not beyond the horizon of a well-informed Hebrew writer, and in spite of the fact that the Medes are only mentioned in Isaiah in prophecies of disputed authorship (here, and in *xxi.* 2), and not again till the Persian period (*Ezra.* vi. 2, *Dan.* v. 28, &c., *Esth.* i. 3), I conclude that Isaiah may conceivably have referred by name to the Medes, just as in *xxii.* 6 he refers to Elam (see, however, *Intro.* to chap. *xxii.*) Then (*b*) as to the non-mention of the name of Persia which might at first sight appear surprising in a prophetic writer of the period of the Exile. It is quite true that the name 'Persia' occurs in Ezekiel (*xxvii.* 10, *xxxviii.* 5), but this does not exclude the Captivity-origin of Isaiah *xiii.* any more than the occurrence of 'Medes' for 'Persians' in Herodotus or Thucydides¹ disproves the contemporary origin of a work in which the word 'Persians' occurs. Besides, as I have remarked elsewhere (*J. C. A.*, p. 137), the name Persia occurs in Ezekiel 'in company with other names which were certainly unfamiliar to the great majority of Hebrews;' and if, on philological grounds, a critic should be led to maintain that chap. *xiii.* was written by a prophet of the Exile, he can offer an additional reason for the special mention of the Medes rather than the Persians, viz. that the generals of Cyrus were apparently Medes (*e.g.*, Mazares and Harpagus, *Herod.* i.

¹ It is worth noticing, too, that the Egyptian commentator on Egyptian prophecies made known to us by M. Révillont, always calls the Persians Medes (*Revue Egyptologique*, 1880-81).

the Medes against them, who regard not silver and take no pleasure in gold. ¹⁸ And bows shall dash in pieces the youths, and on the fruit of the womb they shall have no compassion; their eye shall not be sorry for children. ¹⁹ And Babylon, the splendour of kingdoms, the proud ornament of Chaldea, shall be as at God's overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah. ²⁰ It shall be uninhabited for ever, and be unpeopled for successive generations; and the Arab shall not pitch tent there, and shepherds shall not cause to lie down there. ²¹ But wild cats shall lie down there, and jackals

157, 162). The latter circumstance is rather remarkable. It may be accounted for partly from the important share which the Median army had taken in Cyrus's earliest victory (they revolted against Astyages, and sent him captive to Cyrus), and partly from the fact, so repugnant to the Persian mind, that Cyrus, an Aryan by origin, had become practically a non-Aryan, as being King of 'Anzan' or Elam—he does not indeed call himself a Persian. See the Cyrus inscription commented upon in Essay xi.—**Who regard not silver**] Either because it is a war for vengeance, not for booty (Del.), or because gold and silver money was confined to the Semitic world, i.e. to Phœnicia and the regions with which it was in relation.

¹⁹ **As at God's overthrow . . .**] Evidently the phrase has become proverbial. See Am. iv. 11 in the Hebrew, and see on i. 7.

²⁰ **The Arab**] Nomad Arabian tribes are mentioned by Sargon on the other side of the Tigris as far as Elam.

^{21, 22} Parallel passage, xxxiv. 14. The precise species of the animals are not always certain; one of the words used has Assyrian affinities (see crit. note). The first clause of the verse is antithetical to the last of v. 20. A worse fate is reserved for Babylon than for less guilty cities (comp. v. 17):—not flocks of sheep, but their deadly enemy, the jackal, 'shall lie down there.' Then, as for 'their palaces,

where luxury late reigned' (see context in *Par. Lost*, xi. 750), the only inhabitants shall be demons and demon-like animals. It is worthy of remark, that there is no mention of demons or evil spirits, except in prophecies upon regions utterly excluded from the kingdom of Jehovah, such as Babylon and Edom (chaps. xiii., xxxiv.), prophecies, too, which are denied by many, if not most, critics to Isaiah.—Did the writer or writers of these prophecies themselves believe in the existence of the demons? They may have done so (at any rate, if exiles in Babylonia), or they may have used them as poetical decorations; but in either case, they entirely subordinated them to the One God, Jehovah. None of the great prophets could have written the words which Mr. Budge has rendered thus from an Inscription (14) in vol. iv. of *Brit. Mus. Coll.*, 'An incantation to the desert places holy may it go forth!' It is more than probable, however, that the belief in the demons of the desert at any rate increased among the Jews during the Exile, owing to its prevalence in Babylonia and Assyria—see Lenormant, *La Magie*, p. 29, and comp. Levy, *Z. d. m. G.*, ix. 461-491. There is a striking Assyrian parallel to the present passage in the *Annals of Assurbanipal* (Cyl. A. col. 7, l. 7, 8, Smith and Lenormant). As a feature of the devastation of Elam, the king relates, 'Wild asses, serpents, beasts of the desert, and bull-shaped demons, safely I caused

shall fill their houses ; and ostriches shall dwell there, and ^b satyrs shall dance there ; ²² and hyænas shall cry in ^c the castles thereof, and wolves in the palaces of luxury ; near coming is its season, and its days shall not be prolonged.

^b Wild goats, Saadya (d. 942), Alexander, Henderson.

^c So Pesh., Targ., Vulg., Lo., Houb., de Rossi ; their widows, TEXT.

to lie down in them.' This passage is remarkable for its occurrence in a historical inscription. As for the Babylonian documents on magic, they simply abound in references to the demons of the desert who lie in wait for human prey.—**Satyrs**] i.e., demons or goblins shaped like goats, which, we know from Lev. xvii. 7, 2 Chron. xi. 15, were sacrificed to by some of the Israelites. The combination is, no doubt, an odd one to Western readers, 'jackals, ostriches, demons, hyænas.' But there is a

similar one in the passage quoted from Assurbanipal, and we shall meet with another in xxxiv. 14.—Coverdale's 'apes,' Kay's 'baboons,' are against usage. Alt. rend. is, however, quite admissible ; see in support of it Alexander's note, and De Goeje, *De Gids*, 1865, pp. 546-7. Several interesting questions are connected with the Hebr. word (*se'irim*) ; see Gesenius's *Commentary or Thesaurus*, and Bandissin, *Studien*, i. 136-9. Our passage is imitated in Jer. l. 39 ; comp. also ch. xxxiv. 14, 15.

CHAPTER XIV.

¹ For Jehovah will have compassion upon Jacob, and will yet again choose Israel, and settle them on their own ground ; and the foreigner shall join himself to them, and they shall attach themselves to the house of Jacob ; ² and peoples shall take them and bring them to their place, and the house of Israel shall take them in possession on Jehovah's ground for bondmen and for bondmaids ; and they shall become the captors of their captors, and shall subdue their tyrants.

¹⁻²³ The general reason of the judgment on the world is the world's accumulated sin (chap. xiii.). The special reason of that upon Babylon is the servitude in which it has held Israel.

¹ **Will yet again choose**] The Captivity seemed to imply a resignation on Jehovah's part of his rights over Israel. Comp. Hos. ix. 3, 'They shall not dwell in Jehovah's land,' and lxiii. 19.—**The foreigner**] Lit. the sojourner (comp. Ex. xx. 10, 'thy sojourner'). A characteristic idea of II. Isaiah ; see, e.g., xliv. 5,

lv. 5, lvi. 3 (see note) ; as also is that of the friendly escort given by the Gentiles, xlix. 22, lx. 9. In later Hebrew 'sojourner' = proselyte.

² **For bondmen and for bondmaids**] This is no doubt partly intended as a righteous retribution—hence the allusion to their 'tyrants.' But in the case of some of the Gentiles, we are meant to suppose that fear will have passed into love, and that they will press for admission into the community of Israel in even the lowest capacity. This is clearly a part of the

³ And it shall come to pass in the day that Jehovah giveth thee rest from thy travail and from thy disquiet, and from the hard service which men laid upon thee, that thou shalt take up this taunt-song upon the king of Babylon, and shalt say:—⁴ How is the tyrant stilled—the ^a raging stilled! ⁵ Jehovah hath broken the staff of the wicked, the rod of the rulers, ⁶ which smote peoples in passion with an unceasing stroke, which trampled down nations in anger with a ^b trampling unrestrained! ⁷ Quiet and at rest is all the earth; they burst out into a ringing sound. ⁸ The pine-trees also rejoice at thee, the cedars of Lebanon, 'Since thou liest low, the feller cometh not up against us.'

^a So Sept., Aquila, Pesh., Targ., Ges., Ew., Weir, Naeg., Bi.—TEXT, golden (city).

^b So Döderlein, Ges., Ew., Alexander.—TEXT, persecution.

prophet's meaning (*if the song was originally written for its present place*), for he has just spoken of a voluntary adhesion on the part of 'the sojourners.' Comp. also xlv. 14; but contrast lvi. 6, 7, where the 'foreigners' are allowed to 'join themselves unto Jehovah' on equal terms with born Jews.—**Shall subdue** . . .] Thus the promise in Deut. xv. 6 shall be ultimately fulfilled.

³ **The hard service**] See on xlvii. 6.—**This taunt-song**] Hebr. *māshāl*, i.e., a parallelistic poem (*Dichtung*)—the parallelism may consist either in the moral application of emblems, or simply in the parallel disposition of the lines and the sense. From the fact that emblems were generally applied in a witty, satirical manner, *māshāl* sometimes obtains the meaning of taunt-song, as here, and in Mic. ii. 4, Hab. ii. 6. Sept. translates ὀργῶν, a rendering of *māshāl* which is nowhere else found, but which though unsuitable enough to the contents (the condolence in vv. 10, 12 being only bitter affectation), is justified by the form of this *māshāl*. Its resemblance to the first four Lamentations is all the more remarkable, as xiii. 1–xiv. 2, and xiv. 22, 23, are written in an

entirely different style.—The song falls into five strophes, each consisting of seven long lines (*v.* 17 *b* is the only exception). This, however, involves accepting Ewald's arrangement of vv. 19, 20 (see end of note on *v.* 20). Verses 22 and 23 form an epilogue or appendix.

⁷ **They burst out** . . .] The phrase only occurs besides in II. Isaiah (4 times); the verb also in Ps. xcvi. 4 (comp. Isa. lii. 9).

⁸ **The pine-trees**] According to Schrader the Hebr. *brāsh* and Ass. *burāsu*, mean the so-called sherbin-tree (my own rend. of *Laštur* in xli. 19, see note); Tristram prefers the Aleppo pine, a tree highly characteristic of Lower Lebanon, and only inferior to the cedar. The cypress, which Ewald and many others have adopted, is said to be rare in Lebanon, and probably had another name in Hebrew corresponding to Ass. *tabran* and Aram. *dafrono* (see Schrader, *K. G. F.*, p. 218).

—**Rejoice at thee**] The poet knows nothing of our modern dualism. Man and nature sympathise (comp. Gen. iii. 18). The passage is therefore not really parallel to Virgil's 'Intonsi montes,' &c. (see Conington's *Vergil*, vol. i., Introduction.) But why are the trees of Lebanon mentioned. Because

⁹ Sheól beneath is disturbed at thee, to meet thee at thy coming : it stirreth up for thee the shades, all the ^o bell-wethers of the earth ; it maketh to arise from their thrones all the kings of the nations. ¹⁰ They all answer and say unto thee, Thou also art made weak as we ; thou art made like unto us ! ¹¹ Thy pride is brought down to Sheól, (and) the sound of thy

• So Kay.

they had been cut down (a type of Israel's ruin) by the Babylonians, see on xxxvii. 24.

⁹ **Sheól is disturbed**] Starts up in excitement on the arrival of so eminent a stranger. The same verb is applied to the shade of Samuel (1 Sam. xxviii. 15). In this first clause, therefore, Sheól may perhaps be used collectively of the entire population of shades.¹ In the next clause, however, the choice of the verb and the change of gender from feminine to masculine indicates that Sheól is personified as a single Will, whose electrifying influence not even kingly shades can resist. The personification (*audacissima*, Rosenmüller) may be aided by a lingering consciousness of the original mythical demigod Sheól (if the theory offered on v. 14 be correct).—**Stirreth up the shades**] The 'shades' are the 'weak,' the 'nerveless,' as their name in Hebrew and Phœnician *r'fāim* indicates—comp. *εἰδωλα καμόντων*. Hence they need to be 'stirred up.' A similar phrase occurs in the Babylonio-Assyrian Legend of Ishtar (ed. Schrader, pp. 8, 9), where the goddess Ishtar threatens that she will 'stir up the dead.'—**The bell-wethers**] i.e., the princes. So Zech. x. 3, comp. Jer. l. 8, and so in Accadian and Assyrian (Friedr. Del.). Bell-wethers and rams are frequently used as figures in Arab war-songs (Kremer), and a Hebrew proverb-writer, in a list of comely things, mentions a he-goat and a king. Comp. Tristram's *Natural History of the Bible*, p. 88.—

Maketh to arise . . .] If we may interpret this on the analogy of the superstitions of primitive races elsewhere, it would seem to indicate a lingering popular belief among the Jews that the political and social relations once formed were not interrupted by death. Once a king, for ever a king. (Again comp. the Legend of Ishtar.) Hence the kings here are said to be seated on their thrones ; hence the dead warriors in Ezek xxxii. 27 have their swords buried with them (to ensure a phantom-sword in Sheól) ; and hence the prophet Samuel is said to come up from Sheól wearing his accustomed robe (1 Sam. xxviii. 14). It would seem, too, as if the kings and warriors were believed to have a whole compartment of Sheól to themselves (see on v. 14).

¹⁰ The astonishment of the kings at the fall of so great a being (comp. Lucian's 13th Dialogue of the Dead (*ad init.*)).—**Shall answer**] 'To answer' is used widely in Hebrew. Sometimes the question is expressed, sometimes only suggested by the circumstances as here (comp. Job iii. 2). Here the address of the shades is at an end.

¹¹ Contains a triumphal exclamation of the Jews. The cause of their joy only comes out by degrees. First, it seems to be the cessation of all that pomp and luxury for which Babylon was famous. Then, the collapse of the king's blasphemous dreams of deification. Finally, the insults heaped upon his dead body are detailed.—**The sound of thy cymbals**]

¹ Comp. a strikingly parallel description of Amenti, the Egyptian Hades, translated from a papyrus by Lepsius, and given in English in Bonwick's *Egyptian Belief and Modern Thought*, pp. 46, 47.

cymbals: beneath thee the maggot is spread out, and thy covering is the worm!

¹² How art thou fallen from the heavens, O Shining One, son of the Dawn! how art thou hewn down to the ground, that didst overpower the nations! ¹³ And *thou* didst say in thine

On Babylonian music, comp. Dan. iii. 5, &c., and Prof. Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 19, 20.—**Beneath thee . . .**] Worms are his only cushion and coverlet.

¹² **How art thou fallen . . .**] Parallel passages, Lam. ii. 1, Matt. xi. 23. In his pride and splendour the king of Babylon had been like the morning-star (comp. Rev. xxii. 16), here described as a 'son of the Dawn' (the Dawn, personified, is a relic of the mythic stage; comp. in the Hebr. Job iii. 9, xli. 10, Ps. cxxxix. 11). The Assyrian texts refer to a masculine as well as a feminine Venus. The former had a title (*mustêlil*) closely related to the Hebr. *hêlêl*, rendered here 'Shining One'; its period was from sunset onwards, that of the feminine Venus from sunrise onwards.¹ Koster's² finds here an allusion, parallel to that in xxiv. 21, to the belief in the jurisdiction of the star-spirits over the kingdoms of the earth. This seems to be supported by the words of the king in the next verse (on which Dr. Kay propounds a similar view).

^{13, 14} The sin of the king of Babylon, self-deification. Let me remark here that, amply justified as the Hebrew poet is by the language of some parts of the inscriptions, the sentiment of humility and repentance was not unknown to the kings of Assyria and Babylon. 'Ils savaient faire un retour sur eux-mêmes, et s'avouer pécheurs sous les coups qui les frappaient.'³ They were 'gods of the nations' (Ezek. xxxi. 11), but avowed their weakness before the only 'great gods.'

¹ Oppert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1871, p. 448; Schrader, *Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1874, p. 337; Friedr. Delitzsch, German translation of Smith's *Chald. Genesis*, p. 271.

² *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1876, p. 50.

³ Lenormant, *La divination*, p. 212; comp. his paper in *Revue politique et littéraire*, Sept. 1, 1877.

See the penitential Psalms, translated by Sayce (*R. P.*, vii. 153-6).—**And thou**] (*thou*, who art brought so low) . . . **To the heavens will I go up**] This is not a mere hyperbole of rhetorical origin (comp. Job. xx. 6, and perhaps Ps. lxxiii. 9), any more than the salutation 'O king, live for ever!' is a mere hyperbole; it has rather a solid foundation in primitive religious belief. We must not, however, connect it with the stories of Titans scaling the heavens, but with the Oriental belief in kings as incarnations of the Divine. The Egyptians, no doubt, gave the fullest expression to this belief, but the Assyrian kings (e.g., Shalmaneser and Assurbanipal) are distinctly called sons of this and that deity—the proto-Babylonians went even further, as we may argue from the determinative of divinity prefixed to some of the kings' names (see *Last Words*, vol. ii.). It was but rational to take the next step, and admit these semi-divine beings to a share in the family life of their celestial parents. I do not know that this can be proved as yet in the case of the Assyrians and Babylonians, though the mention of the 'land of the silver sky' (= heaven), in the Royal Psalm translated by Schrader, and less accurately by Fox Talbot (*R. P.*, iii. 133), confirms the conjecture that such a belief existed. Even apart from this, we have the same right to use the statement of the prophet as to a Babylonian belief that we have to use the parallel statement of Ezekiel relative to the Tyrian doctrine on the same subject (Ezek. xxviii. 2, 6,

heart, To the heavens will I go up, above the stars of God will I raise my throne, and I will sit on the mountain of

9, 13, 14). How largely this view increases the force of the passage, I need hardly point out. The king of Babylon expected to join the ranks of the gods. No, replies the prophet, thou shalt be hurled down to Sheól (*v.* 15).—**The mountain of assembly**] or . . . of meeting. The expression is not found elsewhere, but the meaning is clear. It is a mountain whose summit is among the 'stars of God,' and whose base is 'in the recesses of the north.' Mount Zion, which early writers fix upon with one consent (comp. 'tent of assembly,' or 'of meeting,' Ex. xxvii. 21, &c.), is therefore at once excluded, unless, with Dr. Weir, we regard it 'with the eye of faith' as the Zion of the Messianic age, which shall be 'exalted above the hills' (ii. 2; comp. Heb. xii. 22-24), and even then we have only tried to remove half the difficulty, for from a Hebrew point of view Jerusalem was the *centre* of the earth (Ezek. v. 5), and from a Babylonian certainly not in the extreme north. No one probably would have thought of mount Zion, were it not for the apparent parallelism of Ps. xlviii. 2 (3): 'Beautiful of elevation, the joy of the whole earth, mount Zion, the recesses of the north, the city of the great King.' What this passage means, no one has yet been able satisfactorily to explain, and very possibly the words 'the recesses of the north' are an interpolation due to a scribe who interpreted 'the city of the great King' of Nineveh. At any rate, we have no right to interpret a clear passage by our private hypothesis respecting an obscure one. Dr. Weir's candid concession, however, greatly simplifies the discussion between the advocates and the adversaries of the traditional explanation. Let it be granted, for the moment, that

the Babylonian king anticipates lording it over the sacred mountain of Israel. Still it is not of that mountain in its phenomenal but in its ideal character that he speaks—not of mount Zion as it appears, but as it is before God, and will be one day before men. Now, a conception of this kind would be unintelligible to a Babylonian, unless he could connect it with some similar beliefs of his own people. That similar beliefs existed among the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and other races, has long been known, but it is only since the recent advances of Assyriology that we have learned their existence among the Assyrians and Babylonians. Among the titles of the great god Assur is 'king of all the assembly of the great gods' (Sayce, *R. P.*, iii. 83), and there is a fragment of Berosus (Moses of Khorene, i. 7), which speaks of a *mountain* of the assembly of the gods. In the inscriptions this mountain is most frequently called 'the mountain of the lands' (i.e., of the world), and in a bilingual text (*W. A. I.*, iv. 27, 2) we read that, like Atlas, 'its head rivals heaven' (Sayce; Friedr. Del.). That it was placed in the north has not yet been ascertained, but may be assumed from our passage as not improbable.

We are not bound, however, to identify the 'mountain of assembly' either with mount Zion or (tempting as this may be) with any specially Babylonian mythic mountain. Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14 proves that there was a tradition, akin to the Babylonian, among the Jews themselves, of a 'holy mountain of Elohim,' on the slopes of which lay the garden or rather paradise (park) of Eden.¹ This tradition, which may have been a primitive heirloom, is quite sufficient to account for the language poetically given to the Baby-

¹ Comp. Dante's Terrestrial Paradise on the summit of the mountain of Purgatory.

assembly in the recesses of the north; ¹⁴ I will go up above the heights of the clouds, I will make myself like the Most High. ¹⁵ Nevertheless, thou art brought down to Sheól, to the recesses of the pit.

¹⁶ Those who see thee shall look narrowly and gaze earnestly at thee, 'Is this the man who made the earth to tremble, who made kingdoms to quake, ¹⁷ who made the world as a wilderness, and broke down the cities thereof; who released not his prisoners to their home?' ¹⁸ All the kings of the earth, even all of them, lie in honour, each one in his house; ¹⁹ and *thou* art flung away from thy grave, as an abhorred shoot, clothed with those who are slain, who are thrust through with the sword, as a carcase trodden under foot.

²⁰ ^d Those who have gone down to the stones of the pit,^d

^d This forms part of the last line but one of *v.* 19 in Hebr. text. See below.

lonian monarch.—**The recesses of the north**] There was a mysterious sanctity attaching to the north; comp. Lev. i. 11, Ezek. i. 4, Job xxxvii. 22. The Sabians in Harran turned to the north in prayer (En-Nedîm, *ap.* Chwolson). Comp. also Servius *ad* Virg. *Æn.* ii. 693, &c.; *Laws of Manu*, i. 67, ii. 52, 70.

¹⁴ **The Most High**] A favourite phrase in Daniel, and in the Apocrypha. See Plumptre, *Biblical Studies*, pp. 17-36; Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 33.

¹⁵ **Nevertheless**] Said in grave satire. Not to the recesses (or far parts) of the north, but to those of the pit. Instead of scaling the heights of Olympus, thou art thrust within the gates of Hades at its base! It was the Babylonian belief that the dark land of Arâlu (= Sheól) lay underneath the World-mountain. Hence Sargon speaks of the gods and goddesses who have been 'steadfastly (*kinis*) brought forth amidst the house of the mountain of the lands, of Arâlu' (Khor-sabad Inscr., l. 156). See Friedr. Del., *Paradies*, 117; Schrader, *K. A. T.* 389. Obs. the conceptions of the pit (or grave) and Sheól tend

towards fusion. Comp. lxvi. 24 (note), where only the torments of the dead body are spoken of, but those of the soul (or shade) are equally in the mind of the writer, and are only not described from his sense of their indescribability.

¹⁶⁻¹⁹ A further reason for the triumph of the singers of the *māshāl*. The scene is the field of battle (as lxvi. 24); the object of contemplation no longer the feeble shade, but the unburied corpse.

¹⁸ Other kings of more modest pretensions are buried honourably, **each one in his house**, i.e., in a sepulchre of his own. The trouble which Egyptian kings took about their pyramid-graves is well known. The Babylonian tyrant, too, had built one for himself ('thy grave'), but was never to occupy it. 'House' = grave, as in Eccles. xiii. 5, 'his (man's) perpetual house,' and as in Phœnician (*Melit.* ii. 1) and Egyptian (Ebers, *Aegypten*, i. 169).—**Clothed**] But not with grave-clothes! A strange expression, and the correctness of the text may be doubted.

²⁰ A curse supposed to be pro-

with those thou shalt not be joined in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people; unnamed for ever shall be the seed of evil-doers! ²¹ Prepare ye for his sons a place of slaughter, because of the iniquity of their fathers; that they may not arise nor take the land in possession, nor fill the face of the world with ^o heaps.

²² And I will arise against them, is the oracle of Jehovah Sabáoth, and cut off from Babylon name and remnant, and progeny and offspring, is the oracle of Jehovah. ²³ And I will make it a possession of the bittern, and pools of water,

* So Hitz.—Terrible ones, Ew.—Cities, or enemies (Targ. Ges.), TEXT.—Wars, Sept.

nounced upon the king and his family (Ex. xx. 5)—still upon the field of battle. He himself is excluded from burial with his predecessors—for a king the highest possible disgrace (2 Chr. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25, Jer. xxii. 19, Ezek. xxix. 5). The phraseology of the curse may be paralleled from various sources—Greek, Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Phœnician. For the four former, see Ebers, *Aegypten*, i. 169; Schlottmann, *Eschnunazar*, p. 37; *Records of the Past*, v. 26, ix. 36; and for the latter comp. these lines from the Inscr. of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon (iv. 4-6, Schl.): 'Let him (the king who opens the lid of this couch) not have a couch with the shades, and let him not be buried in the grave, and let him not have son and seed in his stead.' Thus, the king of Babylon is mulcted of immortality in two senses: he neither drinks of the water of life with the gods (comp. on v. 13), nor lives again (according to the old Semitic view) in his children. And the cause of all this (regarding the sin of the king from a fresh point of view) is that his ambitious wars have been the ruin of his country—**because thou hast destroyed thy land, &c.** The words here placed at the head of the verse have received a most unsuitable place in the received text. It is difficult, in fact, to make

any strict exegesis of them there. How is it possible that those who have been slain by the side of the king of Babylon should be described as 'those who are buried in a costly tomb built of hewn stones'? for such is clearly the meaning of the words **those who have gone down** (or go down) **to the stones of the pit.** Surely this was a most unlikely honour for the masses of the slain! Ewald's arrangement is both natural in itself, and greatly relieves v. 19, which before was awkwardly long.—**Heaps**] i.e., ruined cities; comp. xvii. 1, Ps. lxxix. 1. 'Cities' gives no good sense. Why should cities be denounced so unqualifiedly? See crit. note.

^{22, 23} The song is at an end, and is supplemented by a direct revelation from Jehovah, extending the punishment to the whole of Babylon.—The assonances in v. 22 are inimitable.—**Bittern**] Generally 'hedgehog,' but this does not frequent the marshes. The bittern is still common in the reedy swamps of the Euphrates, and its 'strange, booming note' (Tristram) is as awesome a sound as the wail of the hyæna. Comp. *Last Words*, vol. ii.—**The hesom of destruction**] Dr. Goldziher's reference to a supposed myth (*Hebrew Mythology*, p. 27) is ingenious, but unnecessary; comp. 'the sieve of annihilation' (xxx. 28).

and will sweep it with the besom of destruction, is the oracle of Jehovah Sabáoth.

vv. 24-27. A solemn repetition of Jehovah's assurance of the impending destruction of the Assyrian invaders. The circumstances closely resemble those of chap. x. 5-xii. 6; and a part of *v.* 25 is almost identical with a part of x. 27. The passage must once have stood close to the former prophecy, without, however, strictly speaking, belonging to it.

²⁴ Sworn has Jehovah Sabáoth, saying, Surely, according as I have planned, so shall it be; and according as I have purposed, that shall stand; ²⁵ to break Assyria in my land, and upon my mountains to tread him under foot, and his yoke shall remove from off them, and his burden remove from off his back. ²⁶ This is the purpose which is purposed concerning all the earth, and this is the hand which is stretched out over all the nations. ²⁷ For Jehovah Sabáoth hath purposed, and who can annul it, and his is the outstretched hand, and who can turn it back?

vv. 28-32. The Philistines are exulting over the death of their oppressor; but the prophet sees that their joy is premature. Meantime Judah is enjoying repose after her troubles.—This is the first of a series of prophecies on foreign nations called forth by the alarming progress of the Assyrians. 'Out of the north a smoke cometh.' It is a question whether the king of Assyria, whose hosts are referred to, is Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, or Sennacherib. The late Mr. George Smith (*T. S. B. A.*, ii. 325) supposed him to be the former, but the analogy of neighbouring prophecies, in which only Sargon or Sennacherib can be referred to, is against this view. It has also been doubted whether both the persons spoken of in the prophecy, the one under the figure of a 'rod' or a 'snake,' the other under that of a 'great viper' or a 'flying serpent,' are Assyrian kings, or whether only the latter is so, the former being the Jewish king, Ahaz (so *I. C. A.*, after Ewald). It is certainly most natural to understand them as successive Assyrian kings, and the only objection is the chronological statement in the heading, which implies that Ahaz is the rod which was broken, and consequently that the depredations of the

²⁵ **My mountains**] It would seem as if the Assyrians were now encamped on the hills of Judah before Jerusalem (comp. x. 32). The same phrase in xlix. 11, lxxv. 9, Zech. xiv. 5, Ezek. xxxviii. 21. It reminds us of the fancy of the Syrians that Jehovah was 'a god

of the mountains' (1 Kings xx. 23).

²⁶ **All the earth**] Partly because this is an act of the great drama of the world-judgment; partly because of the solidarity of all nations—'when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it.'

Philistines in the land of Judah (2 Chr. xxviii. 18) supplied the motive for the prophecy. But the genuineness of this, as of other headings in Isaiah, is most questionable (see *I. C. A.*, p. 41); the heading seems to have originated in a fancy adopted also in the Targum that the 'rod' or the 'snake' (*nākhāsh*) meant 'the stock of Jesse (xi. 1), Jesse being identified with the Nahash of 2 Sam. xvii. 25.¹ This would make Hezekiah 'the basilisk,' and the Messiah 'the flying serpent'; it is, however, obviously contradicted by the description of the Jews as being (though secure themselves from attack) 'poor' and 'helpless,' in fact, as incapable of taking vengeance or making conquests.

²⁸ [In the death-year of king Ahaz came this utterance.]
²⁹ Rejoice not, entire Philistia, that the rod which smote thee is broken, for out of the snake's root shall come forth a great viper, and its fruit is a flying serpent. ³⁰ And ^f the first-born of ^f the poor shall feed and the needy shall securely lie down; but I will kill thy root with famine, and thy remnant shall he slay. ³¹ Howl, O gate; cry, O city; faint, entire Philistia! for out of the north a smoke cometh, and there is no straggler in his bands. ³² And what shall one answer the messengers of

^f On my meadows, Hupfeld (conj.).

²⁸ **In the death-year . . .**] i.e., before the death of Ahaz (comp. on vi. 1).—**Rejoice not**] The news of the murder of Sargon, B.C. 705, and the revolt of Babylonia, much excited the smaller nations.—**Entire Philistia**] Alluding to the principalities into which Philistia was divided (comp. ix. 8 Hebr.).—**The rod**] So Assyria is called in ix. 4, x. 5 (20), 24, 26; and Babylon in xiv. 5, 6. Sargon is meant here. He is also the 'snake'; just as Sennacherib is both a 'great viper' (xi. 8) and a 'flying serpent.' For the pair of symbols for one person, comp. perhaps xxvii. 1. 'Root' and 'fruit' in the sequel are suggested by the 'rod.'—**A flying serpent**] A popular belief used poetically (comp. parallels in xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, 15)—not a lightning-myth, as Goldziher, but to be compared with the flying white serpents of Arabic literature ('*Aghāny*, xx. 135'), which were really *jinn* or malicious genii. Kremer well accounts for this from the ghost-like

ways of serpents (*Culturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. 257). Herodotus (ii. 75, comp. iii. 107) also refers to winged serpents which invaded Egypt from Arabia—a 'traveller's tale.' Comp. on xxx. 6.—Here the 'serpent' is the symbol of the destructive power of Assyria. The Hebr. is *sārāf*; comp. Seraphim (vi. 2 note).

³⁰ **The first-born of the poor**] i.e., the most needy, as 'the sons of the poor' (Ps. lxxii. 4), are simply the poor. Comp. Job xviii. 13. Hupfeld's conjecture is plausible, but unnecessary.—**I will kill . . . he shall slay**] Change of persons, as in Zech. ix. 10. The subject is Jehovah.

³¹ **O gate**] So the wall is personified in Lam. ii. 8; comp. 18.—**Out of the north**] So of the Babylonian invasion; Jer. i. 14, x. 22, xlvi. 20, xlvii. 2. Comp. Isa. x. 28-32.—**A smoke**] It is the smoke of the towns and villages burnt by the Assyrians.

³² **The messengers of the na-**

¹ Prof. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 432.

the ⁸ nation? That Jehovah hath founded Zion, and in her the afflicted of his people can seek refuge.

⁸ Nations, Sept., Pesh., Targ., Gr.

tion] i.e., either the Philistines or the Assyrians (comp. Nah. ii. 13 end), the one seeking Hezekiah's aid, the other threatening him.—

Hath founded Zion] Jerusalem is secured, not by its natural defences, but by its God. Comp. xxviii. 16.

CHAPTERS XV.—XVI.

UNDOUBTEDLY a prophecy against Moab (see xvi. 13). I am not myself certain whether the predictive element pervades the whole prophecy, or whether it is confined (at any rate in chap. xv.) to *v. 9b*. All critics, however, except Eichhorn, adopt the former alternative, according to which the invasion of Moab is still future, and the prophet, with vivid imagination, describes what the inhabitants of the different localities will feel, say, and do in their distress. The vision (as it may laxly be termed) falls into three parts (xv. 1-9, xvi. 1-5, 6-12), and is followed by two verses announcing the speedy fulfilment of that which 'Jehovah hath spoken formerly.'

These two appended verses are admitted by all critics (except Bleek and Geiger) to be the work of Isaiah. But there is a difference of opinion as to the authorship of the preceding prophecy. The statement in the appendix may mean either that Isaiah adopts and ratifies the work of an earlier prophet, or simply that he is now enabled to give a more specific revelation. We have already had an instance of the case supposed by the former alternative in ii. 2-4, and Jeremiah has adopted and expanded this very oracle in part of chap. xlviii. One of the psalms, too, probably has the substance of an ancient oracle imbedded in it (Ps. lx.). The conjecture of non-Isaianic authorship is therefore a perfectly natural one; can it also be said to be required by the contents of the prophecy? The reasons for an affirmative answer are two:—1. The flow of sympathy, unparalleled in Isaiah, towards the objects of the predicted judgment; 2. The writer's minute acquaintance with Moabitish topography, which points to a N. Israelite; and 3. The tediousness and archaic simplicity of the style (note the accumulation of assonances in the Hebrew, and of 'for' and 'therefore'), combined with certain words and phrases unknown to Isaiah. On the other hand, it is urged: 1. that Isaiah does occasionally give way to an elegiac mood (see i. 2-6, 21, xxii. 4, xxviii. 1-4), and though the other instances of this relate to Judah or Israel, the historical connection between Israel and Moab may account for Isaiah's sympathy with this kindred people; and 2. (for the argument from the topographical knowledge, however slight, cannot be replied to) that the non-Isaianic words and phrases (Knobel's list requires sifting) may be balanced by the Isaianic parallels (?), especially in xvi. 4b, 5. My own impression is very strongly against the Isaianic authorship of

the prophecy, *except the verse and a half just referred to*. I would not deny, however, that Isaiah may have altered words here and there, as Jeremiah did afterwards, and the obscurity of xvi. 1-4 leads me to conjecture that the original text has here been shortened. See further, *Last Words*, vol. ii.

It would be unwise to dogmatise as to the date of the original prophecy. It was at any rate subsequent to the revolt of Mesha, king of Moab, who, as we learn from the *Moabite Stone*, recovered and fortified ('built') the towns which Omri, king of Israel, had destroyed. Seven (probably) of the names in this prophecy are mentioned on the Moabitish monument—Dibon, Nebo, Arnon, Jahaz, Medeba, Horonaim, Sibmah (see on xvi. 8), from which Dean (now Bishop) Walsh has inferred that 'Isaiah' and Jeremiah were acquainted with the inscription. Comp. further the writer's Commentary on Jeremiah (chap. xviii.).

The name of the original foe of the Moabites is not mentioned, but the description points to a nomad or semi-nomad population, either the Arabs (Ew.) or the Israelitish tribes on the E. of the Jordan (Hitz.) The enemy expected, and perhaps dimly referred to in xv. 9 ('the lion'), is undoubtedly either Sargon or Sennacherib. The north side of the Arnon seems to have been a battle-field of races.

¹ [Utterance of Moab]. For in the night Ar-Moab was stormed, was ruined! for in the night Kir-Moab was stormed, was ruined! ² He is gone up to the temple, even Dibon to

¹ For] This particle occurs no less than fourteen times in this and the next chapter. It is probably in all cases causal or explanatory, and we may conjecture that words like 'Alas for Moab!' or 'Lament ye for Moab!' were in the mind of the writer (comp. xxiii. i. 14), though in his lyric excitement he forgot to express them. Some have accounted for the frequency of the word 'for' as an imitation of a Moabitish peculiarity. This seems to be at any rate the case with the next word in the Hebrew (see critical note).—In the night] When the terrors of a stormed town would be at their height; comp. Ps. xci. 5, 'the terror by night.' Mesha, king of Moab, boasts of having assaulted Nebo at dawn (Moabite Stone, l. 15).—Ar-Moab] i.e., citadel of Moab (Targ. has *k'rakkā*, i.e. 'fortress.') This was clearly the capital; it seems to be the unnamed city described in Josh. xiii. 9, 16, and also the Areopolis mentioned in Eusebius and

Stephen of Byzantium, and in the acts of Synods of the fifth and sixth centuries.—Kir-Moab] i.e., city of Moab. Probably the still existing Kerak (the 'Petra Deserta' of the middle ages), which rises impregnably on a peak more than 4,000 feet above the Dead Sea, surrounded on all sides by still higher mountains (which may explain 2 Kings iii. 25 end). Dr. Ginsburg, however, disputes this and the last identification. Obs. no less than nineteen or twenty Moabite towns are mentioned in this and the next chapter. A similar profusion of names occurs in the inscription of king Mesha (the so-called Moabite Stone). These very early documents, combined with the many ruined cities and temples, the thousands of cisterns, and the roads paved with squared blocks, prove that the fertile plains of Moab were once occupied by a people not a whit inferior in civilisation to the Israelites.

² He is gone up] The subject

the high places to weep: on Nebo and on Medeba Moab howleth; on all their heads is baldness; every beard is cut off. ³ In his (Moab's) streets they are girded with sackcloth; on his roofs and in his ^a broad places ^a he entirely howleth, running down in weeping. ⁴ And Heshbon crieth out, and Elealeh; even to Jahaz their voice is heard; therefore the men at arms of Moab shriek, his soul quivereth within him. ⁵ ^b The heart of Moab crieth out * * even unto Zoar, a third

^a Bazaars, Weir.—Market-places, Kay.

^b So partly Sept., Targ. (see crit. note). For Moab (whose fugitives *have come* even to Zoar) the fat heifer, Ges. (1829). . . her fugitives *have come* unto Zoar, even

of the verb must be borrowed from the second clause.—**The temple**] Lit. the house. No doubt the prophet means the Beth-bamoth ('House of High Places') of the inscription on the Moabite Stone (*l.* 27), which Schlottmann rightly identified with the Bamoth-Baal mentioned in Josh. xiii. 17, side by side with Dibon. Instead of simply saying 'Dibon is gone up to Beth-bamoth to weep,' the prophet breaks the clause into two, for there can be little doubt that 'the high places' in the second member of the verse means the same spot as 'the temple' in the first. Conder identifies these 'bamoth' with a group of dolmens at Mushibiyeh (*Pal. Fund Statement*, April, 1882); but would not the Moabites prefer altars of their own building?—**Dibon**] i.e., its population, is naturally said to 'go up,' lying as it does in a plain ('the plain of Medeba unto Dibon,' Josh. xiii. 9). It lies in a direct line north of Aroer and the Arnon. Here (its modern name is Dibân) the famous Moabite Stone was found—and broken up, though it has been skilfully pieced together, as far as possible, and now rests in the Louvre. See the English monograph on the inscription by Dr. Ginsburg, and the German ones by Schlottmann and Nöldeke.—Dibon was one of the towns claimed by the Reubenites (Num. xxxii. 34), but the Inscription of Mesha states (line 10) that 'the men of Gad dwelt in the land . . . from of old.'—**On Nebo and on**

Medeba] Nebo is of course not the mountain-range so called, but a town near, deriving its name from the same old Semitic divinity. Medeba, at any rate, is on an eminence.—**On all their heads is baldness**] Comp. xxii. 12: 'And in that day did the Lord Jehovah Sabáoth call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth,' Job i. 20, Mic. i. 16. Had this cutting of the hair originally a sacrificial import (comp. Deut. xiv. 1, and Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, iii. 364)? It may be so, but here it is merely symbolical. It was also the primitive Arabic custom; see Kréhl, *Religion der vorislamit. Araber*, p. 33, note 1, and compare Herod. ii. 36.—Jeremiah further elaborates the description (xlvi. 37).

³ **Running down . . .**] Lit. coming down. So Jeremiah, 'that our eyes may run down in tears' (ix. 18, comp. xiii. 17, xiv. 17). By a bold extension of the figure, the whole person is represented as immersed in tears.

⁴ **Heshbon . . . Elealeh**] Neighbouring hill towns.—**Jabaz**] Far to the south, about midway between Heshbon and Kir-hareseth.—**His soul . . .**] The Moabitish people is personified. There is a play upon sounds in the two verbs rendered 'shriek' and 'quivereth' ('wail' and 'quails,' Rodwell).

⁵ The prophet now turns more to the south of Moab.—**Zoar**] Mr. Grove places Zoar at the north

year heifer^b; for the ascent to Luhith—with weeping doth he ascend it, for in the^c way to Horonaim a cry of destruction they^d shout. ⁶ For the waters of Nimrim become desolate; for withered is the grass, gone is the herbage, verdure there is none. ⁷ Therefore the abundance which they have acquired, and their store—over the torrent of the poplars must they carry it. ⁸ For the cry hath gone round the border of

those of the fat heifer, Luzzatto. . . . whose bars (so Weir) *reached* even to Zoar—the fat heifer (so Naeg.). Vulg., Del. (Vowel-points, too, suggest rendering, for 'fugitives,' 'bars' (i.e. defences); whilst Ew., Graf on Jer., and Dietrich in *Merx's Archiv* i. 342-6, for 'the fat heifer,' render, 'to the third Eglath.')

^c Descent, Graf (with Jer. xlviii. 5). ^d So Lagarde.—TEXT, raise (?).

end of the Dead Sea, in the parallel of Jericho (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*); but I still follow Wetzstein (excursus in Delitzsch's *Genesis*, 4th ed.), who fixes it at the S.E. of the Sea in the Gôr eş-Şafia. The emigrants hope to get round by this way into the territory of Judah.—

A third year heifer] It is doubtful whether the crying of Moab is compared to that of a thwarted heifer, or whether the 'heifer' is a metaphorical description of the fortress of Zoar (comp. accents). I prefer the former view, which is substantially that of Vit. and of the A.V. of Jer. xlviii. 34. It is a third year heifer, just about to be broken in for the yoke (Piin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 4, 5), of which the prophet is thinking. Those who adhere to the common text can still explain the figure of Moab. Ewald's rendering assumes that there were three Eglaths in Moab, which receives a precarious support from Ezekiel's reference to 'En Eglaim (Ezek. xlvii. 10), Abulfeda's to an 'Ejlun (see Ges.), and Josephus' to an Agalla (*Ant.* xiv. 1, 4). Comp. also *Notes and Criticisms*, p. 20.—**Horonaim]** Probably on the borders of Edom: perhaps, too, the city of Sanballat 'the Horonite.'

⁸ To the capture of the cities of Moab and the flight of the inhabitants a fresh reason for lamentation is added, viz., that the fertilizing waters of Nimrim have been stopped up at their sources by the enemy (comp. 2 Kings iii. 19, 25).

These waters gave their name to the town Beth-Nimrâ (Num. xxxii. 36). The name Nimara occurs among the towns conquered by Thothmes III. Canon Tristram speaks of the 'plenteous brooks gushing from the lofty hills into the Ghor-en-Numeira' (comp. Nimrim); another site is proposed by Consul Wetzstein in the Wady So'êb, 13; miles east of Jordan (ap. Delitzsch, *Genesis*, ed. 4, pp. 572, 3). The name contains a reference to the panther, and appears, like many other animal-names of persons and places, to be rightly viewed as a vestige of totemism (see *Last Words*, vol. ii.).

⁷ The land of Moab being now uninhabitable, the Moabites cross the border into Edom, carrying what they can save of their property with them.—**The torrent of the poplars]** Not 'the torrent of the Arabs' (as Pesh., Saad., *not* Sept.), nor 'the torrent of the wastes' (as Hitz., Ew., Knob., cf. Am. vi. 14). Probably the Wady el-Ahsa, which formed the extreme northern boundary between Moab and Edom, and which is further identified with the torrent Zered, Num. xxi. 12, Deut. ii. 13. The poplar intended is the *Populus Euphratica*, the only Syrian habitat of which is the Ghor. See Wetzstein, ap. Del. *op. cit.* p. 567.

⁸ No part of the land escapes.—**The cry]** i.e., the cry of destruction (*v.* 5).

Moab; even to Eglaim its howling (hath reached), and to Beer Elim its howling. ⁹ For the waters of Dimon are full of blood; for I destine for Dimon fresh (evils), for the escaped ones of Moab a lion, and for the remnant of the land.

⁹ **The waters of Dimon]** i.e., the Arnon, just as the Kishon is described (Judg. v. 19) as the waters of Megiddo (Del.). It might with equal accuracy have been called 'the waters of Ar-Moab,' but the prophet wishes to enforce his words by a striking assonance. Dimon suggests the thought of *dām*, 'blood,' as if it meant town of carnage. Comp. Sanguinetto = blood-stream, the name of a small brook which falls into Lake Thrasimene, the scene of Hannibal's great battle; comp. also the similar allusions in Mic. i. 10-15. The name Dimon pro-

bably occurs again in Jer. xlvi. 2 (see on xxv. 10). It is only another form of Dibon. St. Jerome tells us that in his day both names were current for the same place.—**Fresh (evils) . . . a lion (or, lions)]** An enigmatical description of a conquering foe, either Judah (Hitz., Del., cf. Gen. xlix. 9), or (more probably—see xiv. 29, xxi. 16, 17, and comp. xvi. 4, 14) the Assyrians, who, as the Inscriptions prove, began to influence the fortunes of Palestine as early as the time of Ahab. For the figure, comp. v. 29, Jer. iv. 7.

CHAPTER XVI.

¹ 'Send ye ^a the lambs of the ruler ^a of the land from Sela towards the wilderness, unto the mountain of the daughter of

^a Tribute, ye rulers, Grätz (conj.).

Chap. xvi. Verses 1-6 are dramatic in style, and necessarily rather obscure, an indication of the names of the several speakers not being customary in Hebrew. It is very possible, too, that the text is either imperfect or misarranged.

¹ **Send ye the lambs]** According to 2 Kings iii. 4, Mesha, king of Moab, 'rendered unto the king of Israel 100,000 lambs, and 100,000 rams, with the wool,' though on the death of Ahab he definitively renounced his allegiance. The prophet, as a devoted adherent of the Davidic family, exhorts the Moabites to renew their long-suspended tribute to their original suzerain, the king of Jerusalem (see 2 Sam. viii. 2); or, it may be, the chiefs of the Moabites exhort each other to take this step, as the power of the kingdom of Samaria is no longer adequate to the protection of Moab.

It is a little uncertain whether this section presupposes the same situation as the preceding verses—whether, that is, the Moabitish fugitives are now in Edom (this would account for the mention of Sela in v. 1), or whether the prophet has shifted his point of view, and regards the Moabites as still on their own side of the border. In the latter case, the speaker or speakers of v. 1 recommend for the tribute-bearers the southern route, which passed by Sela and traversed the desert, because the north end of the Dead Sea is blocked up by the enemy. This view seems to be favoured by the next verse (see note). Dr. Weir suggests that *sela* (lit., rock, or collectively rocks) may mean the whole rocky region in the midst of which the city of Sela was situated; comp. Jer. xlvi. 28, 'Quit

Zion.' ² And it shall come to pass ; like wandering birds, (like) a scattered nest, shall be the daughters of Moab at the fords of Arnon. ³ 'Apply counsel, do the work of an umpire, make as the night thy shadow in the midst of the noon ; shelter the outcasts, him that wandereth betray not. ⁴ Let ^b the outcasts of Moab ^b sojourn with thee, be thou a shelter unto them from the face of the destroyer.' For at an end is the extortioner, finished is the destruction, consumed are the trampers out of the land. ⁵ And a throne is established through kindness, and there sitteth upon it with faithfulness in the tent of David one that judgeth and seeketh justice and is prompt in righteousness.—⁶ We have heard of the pride of Moab :

^b So Sept., Pesh., Targ., Lowth, Ges., Hitz., Ew., Weir.—My outcasts, O Moab ! Vowel-points, Del., Naeg.

the cities, and dwell in the rocks' (*sela*). Consul Wetzstein also takes *sela* collectively ; not however of the rocky region of Petra, but of the more northern defiles which issue in the Dead Sea, especially those of the Arnon, with their perpendicular walls of rock, splendidly adapted for hiding-places. See excursus in 3rd ed. of Delitzsch's *Jesaja*.

² We are not informed whether the counsel in *v. 1* was accepted. But, at any rate, the **daughters of Moab**, i.e., the inhabitants of the various townships (see Ps. xlviii. 11, 'daughters of Judah,') collect with nervous anxiety at the fords of the Arnon—they prepare, that is, to flee in the opposite direction to that indicated in *xv. 7*. For the simile, comp. Ps. xi. 1, Prov. xxvii. 8.—**West**] i.e., nestlings, as Deut. xxxii. 11.

^{3, 4a} An appeal to the humanity of some neighbouring people, apparently the Jews (see *v. 1*).—**Apply counsel**] So Kay. Or, 'carry into execution that which has been proposed,' comp. *v. 19*, *xvi. 11* Hebr. (Dr. Weir).—**Do the work of an umpire**] i.e., interpose in favour of the Moabites, and put down their oppressors.—**In the midst of the noon**] The glaring Oriental noon, in which it

would be impossible to elude the ravenous foe.

^{4 b} Here the prophet introduces his own reflection (comp. *ii. 3b*). The mention of Moab's 'destroyer' calls up before his mind's eye a picture of the blissful change in store for the theocratic state, when a great king, of unique gifts and character, shall have put an end to the ravages, as disastrous to Judah as to Moab, of the Assyrian 'lion' (*xv. 9*). The description is thoroughly in the style of Isaiah ; see *xxix. 20*.

⁵ **A throne**] We hardly need to ask, Whose throne ? 'Kindness and faithfulness,' 'justice and righteousness' are, it is true, the pillars of every divinely prospered king (Prov. xx. 28, *xxix. 14*), but here we are manifestly in the Messianic region of thought. It is only after judgment has been executed on Assyria, that the ideal king can be confidently expected (*ix. 4-7*, *xi. 1-5*, &c.). 'Kindness' is mentioned as the opposite of 'extortion,' 'destruction,' and 'trampling' ; 'faithfulness' means a sincerity which inspires confidence.—**Seeketh justice**] An Isaianic phrase, *i. 17*.

⁶ **We have heard of Moab's pride . . .**] With the largeness of heart which comes of the 'Spirit of prophecy,' the writer has expressed

proud exceedingly! his pride, and his haughtiness, and his overweeningness, the untruth of his pratings. ⁷ Therefore shall Moab howl for Moab, he shall howl entirely; for the ^c raisin-cakes of Kir-Hareseth shall ye sigh, utterly downcast. ⁸ For the fields of Heshbon languish; the vine of Sibmah—^d its choice plants smote the lords of nations,^d unto Yazer

^c Foundations (i.e., ruins), Pesh., Rashi, Kimchi (not Aben Ezra), Ges.

^d The lords of nations have smitten down its choice plants, Ges., Ew., Naeg., Weir.

his firm belief in the ultimate submission and salvation of Moab. But alas! the reputation of Moab for haughtiness and vain pretentiousness forbids him to hope that its conversion will be immediate. These national characteristics are well illustrated from the inscription on the Moabite Stone. They evidently had a religious basis. Kemosh, the national god, being represented by Mesha as the inspirer of each of his plans and aggressive movements. 'Kemosh said unto me, Go, destroy Israel!'

⁷ **Moab shall howl for Moab]** A specimen of a not unfrequent tautology arising from the antithetical tendency of Hebrew style. Comp. viii. 18, xxiii. 2, Zech. xii. 6, Gen. xix. 24 (where inattention to this peculiarity has led even Ewald into serious error, *History of Israel*, ii. 157).—**The raisin-cakes]** Cakes of pressed grapes seem to have been the chief commodity of Kir-Hareseth. The destruction of the vintage cut off this valuable source of profit. There may also be an allusion to the sacrificial feasts at the vintage, as in Hos. iii. 1. Alt. rend. may be fairly justified from Assyrian and Arabic, but is contrary to the use of the same word elsewhere (Hos. iii. 1 same plural form, comp. 2 Sam. vi. 19, Cant. ii. 5). Note the weakened reading of Jer. xlvi. 31, followed by Targ. and Sept. of Isa.—**Kir-Hareseth]** or Kir-Heres (*v.* 11); usually explained as 'brick-fortress,' and identified with Kir-Moab. Prof. E. H. Palmer, however, suggests another meaning. 'Asking one of the Arabs where the Moabite Stone was found,

the latter replied that it was "between the *hârithen*," i.e., between the two *hâriths*. . . . On Mr. Palmer's demanding a further explanation, the Arab pointed out the two hillocks upon which the ruined village of Dhibán stands. . . . Nearly all the towns in Moab are built upon similar eminences, and Mr. Palmer found that they are invariably called *Hâriths* by the Arabs' (*Athenæum*, August 19, 1871).—**Sibmah]** acc. to St. Jerome was nearly 500 paces from Heshbon, which would approximate to the distance of Sûmia, which, with its tombs and ruined vineyard-towers, Conder identifies with Sibmah, (*Statement of Pal. Explor. Fund*, 1882, p. 9). The place is referred to on the Moabite Stone, *l.* 13, as Seran (for Seban). It was claimed by the Reubenites, Num. xxxii. 38.—**Its choice plants smote. . .]** Such was the strength of the generous wine of Sibmah. Comp. xxviii. 1, Jer. xxiii. 9, and perhaps Ps. lxxviii. 65, and similar expressions in Greek and Latin. The following lines describe the extensive culture of this kind of vine. Its northern limit was Yazer, its eastern the sands of the desert, its southern or western the farther shore of 'the sea,' i.e., the Dead Sea. For the words **passed over the sea** must surely be taken literally. It was in a fertile nook on the western bank of the Dead Sea that En-gedi, so famous for its vines (Cant. i. 14), was situated. By a stroke of imagination the prophet traces the excellence of these to a Moabitish origin. Jer. xlvi. 32 reads: 'They reached unto the sea of Yazer,' but though

they reached—they strayed into the wilderness, its tendrils spread out—they passed over the sea. ⁹ Therefore I will weep with the weeping of Yazer for the vine of Sibmah: I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh, for upon thy fruit-harvest and upon thy vintage the cry hath fallen. ¹⁰ And taken away is joy and gladness from the garden-land, and in the vineyards there is no singing, no shouting; the treader treadeth not wine in the presses; the cry have I brought to stillness. ¹¹ Therefore my heart shall sound like the lute for Moab, and my bosom for Kir-Heres. ¹² And it shall come

the Heb. *yām* may mean 'reservoir,' (comp. 1 Kings vii. 23), it is more likely that 'the sea (of)' has got in by accident; it is omitted in Sept. of Jeremiah.

⁹ The prophet, as a man, cannot but sympathise with the mourning of the Moabites; there is no rhetorical artifice in it (as Calv.).—**The cry hath fallen**] Here is a striking contrast, implied in a single word. 'The cry' (*hēdād*) is primarily the cheerful, musical note with which the vintagers pressed out the juice of the grapes (*v.* 10, Jer. xxv. 30, &c.). But here it is the wild shout with which the foe lays waste the fields and vineyards so full of promise, or as it is called in Jer. xlvi. 33, 'a cheer which is no cheer.'

¹⁰ **Singing**] The word is inaccurate: it means rather a long-toned cry (see lii. 8), the *hēdād*. Comp. Jer. xxv. 30b (a very striking passage).—**Have I brought to stillness**] 'They are God's words. Amidst all his true and deep human sympathy, the prophet is still delivering a message from God' (Dr. Kay).

¹¹ **My heart**] More lit., ἡ κοιλία μου, Sept. But κοιλία = καρδία, as the same word is rendered by Sept. Cod. Vat., Ps. xxxix. (Heb. xl.) 8.—**Like the lute**] 'vibrating with thrills of grief' (Dr. Kay.) The *kinnor*, like the κινύρη, was used at mourning ceremonies. Jer. xvii. 36 substitutes *khalālīm*, 'flutes.'

¹² We can hardly suppose that this verse contains a mere repeti-

tion of the inability of Moab to save himself by supplication to his gods. Indeed, this would be inconsistent with *v.* 3, in which the Moabites are represented as throwing themselves entirely on the merciful consideration of Judah. The turn of the phrase itself indicates that a few words have fallen out of the text. To render it in the ordinary way ('... he shall not prevail') produces a mere tautology, for it has already been said that Moab's religious efforts are but a 'wearying of himself.' The parallelism, too, requires that as the words 'when he appeareth' are matched by 'and cometh to his high place to pray,' so the words 'when he wearie himself' should be matched by 'and prevaieth not.' Further, the tender compassion of the prophetic writer for Moab leads us to expect that some happier prospect will be opened than a useless religious ceremony. Lastly, the idea of conversion as resulting from a terrible judgment lies at the very foundation of Old Testament prophecy. See also xix. 24, 25, lxvi. 19-21, Zeph. iii. 8, 9, Jer. xii. 15-17, and especially xlvi. 12, 13, comp. 47. From the latter passage, Ewald has with great sagacity restored what in all probability embodies the sense of the lost apodosis:—'Then shall Moab be ashamed of Kemosh his confidence, and turn unto Jehovah.' Dr. Weir objects that such an insertion is out of harmony with what immediately follows. But 1. the epilogue is, according to Ewald,

to pass: when Moab appeareth, when he wearieth himself on the high place, and cometh to his sanctuary to pray, ° and prevaileth not, [then shall Moab be ashamed of Kemosh and turn unto Jehovah. °]—¹³ This is the word which Jehovah spoke concerning Moab heretofore. ¹⁴ And now Jehovah hath spoken, saying, In three years, as the years of a hireling, shall the glory of Moab be disgraced, with all the great multitude, but the remnant † in a very little while will I bring unto honour. †

° So Ew.—That he shall not prevail, Hebr. text.

† So Hoffmann; TEXT, (shall be) very small (?), not great. (See crit. note).

not by the same hand as the prophecy, and 2. the epilogue, even without Hoffmann's correction, does not contradict the statement of the inserted passage, that in his extremity Moab (or the remnant of Moab) shall turn to Jehovah.—**The high place**] Bāmōth, or 'high places,' is the general term for local sanctuaries among the Canaanitish peoples. The Israelites long persisted in worshipping at them (Kings, *passim*). The Phœnicians had them also (see the famous eight-lined Inscription of 'Umm-el-Awâmid); and the Moabites, e.g., the stele of King Mesha is called a *bāmāh* (l. 3, 4).¹ The term is applied not only to the height, whether natural or artificial, on which an altar or sacred pillar was generally speaking erected; but also to the altar or sacred pillar without reference to its position. The stele of Mesha, for instance, was found in a depression between the two hillocks (*hârithein*, see on v. 7) on which the ruins of Dîbân stand, and the Israelites had Bāmōth in the Valley of Hinnom, Jer. vii. 31.—**And prevaileth not**] or, 'and is not able' (Ew., Geiger), i.e., is too full of despair to pray; but this seems too subtle.—**Kemosh**] The

national god of the Moabites, but also the object of worship to other nations, for the name occurs in a Phœnician inscription found in Sicily (Gesenius, *Mon. Phœn.*, 159), also on a stone found by M. Renan in Phœnicia (*Mission de Phénicie*, p. 352), and in a Babylonian name B.C. 524 (Oppert, *Revue archéologique*, sept. 1866, p. 166).

¹³ **This is the word**] So Isaiah, xxxvii. 22.—**Heretofore**] The phrase is quite vague, and would apply equally well to a much earlier prophecy, or to one of recent date. In Ps. xciii. 2 it is parallel with 'from everlasting,' but in Isa. xlviii. 7 it clearly means simply 'at an earlier period'; comp. xlv. 8, 2 Sam. xv. 34.

¹⁴ **And now Jehovah hath spoken . . .**] Not 'But now,' as A.V. Isaiah recognises the old prophecy as a true revelation, and here supplements it by fuller details.—**In three years, as the years of a hireling**] i.e., speedily; there will be no grace time (see on vii. 16). The same phrase in xxi. 16.—**Shall the glory . . .**] Thoroughly Isaianic, see xvii. 3, 4, xxi. 16; also x. 25, xxix. 17. The remnant of Moab, like that of Israel, is the germ of a regenerated people. See on v. 12.

¹ . . . And I made this *bawah* to Kemosh in Qorkhah. . . .
Because he delivered me out of all. . . .

CHAPTER XVII.

THE impending ruin of Syria and Ephraim. At first this calamity is described as leaving nothing behind, but the second comparison leaves a door of escape for at least a remnant of Ephraim. Thus, in the prospects of the future, Isaiah steadfastly refuses to identify Israel altogether with Judah.

The combination of Syria and Ephraim seems unnatural to some critics, but seems explained by the alliance of Syria and Ephraim, referred to in vii. 1. Thus we get the end of the reign of Jotham for a *terminus a quo* (2 Kings xv. 37); the *terminus ad quem* is the captivity of Damascus and Samaria (2 Kings xvi. 9, xvii. 6). No allusion being made to the siege of Jerusalem, there is no reason to date the prophecy much after the first-mentioned period. The calmness of its tone contrasts strongly with the impassioned energy of ix. 8-x. 4; this prophecy is evidently the fruit of a more meditative mood.

¹[Utterance of Damascus.] Behold, Damascus is removed from being a city, and becometh * a ruin.^a ²Forsaken are the cities ^bof Aroer,^b unto flocks shall they belong; and they shall lie down, none making them afraid. ³And the fortress shall cease from ^cEphraim, and the kingdom from Damascus and the remnant of Aram—like the glory of the children of Israel

^a (See crit. note.) A heap (?), ruin, Hebr. text.

^b For ever, Sept., Lo., La.

^c Aram, Houb., Lo., Gr.

¹ Obs. the heading does not entirely cover the contents of the prophecy, at least if Ephraim in v. 3 is genuine. It is not by Isaiah (see on xiii. 1).—**Removed . . .**] Struck out, as it were, from the list of cities.

² **The cities of Aroer**] i.e., the cities of the trans-Jordanic region, among which were two named Aroer. One of these ¹ is referred to in the Assyrian inscriptions as Qarqara, 'thrown down, dug up, burned with fire' by Shalmaneser II., and again 'reduced to ashes by Sargon' (*R. P.* iii. 99, ix. 6). This particular district is mentioned, because the Assyrians would pass through it first on their invasion of Israel, and these particular cities because their name (Aroer = 'the

laid bare') was significant of their fate. It is a short, enigmatical way of expressing what is said in full in Jer. li. 58a (see the Hebrew). Bishop Lowth's and Lagarde's emendations (based on Sept.) are plausible but unnecessary, and efface the characteristic paronomasia 'árey 'arber.

³ **And the fortress . . .**] Having threatened Syria and Israel separately, the prophet now describes their common doom. Their fortresses and independent sovereignty shall cease—the prophet gives the former to Ephraim, and the latter to Damascus, but he means that both losses are experienced in common.—**Shall be like the glory . . .**] i.e., like that which is left of the glory of

¹ So G. Smith, *T. S. B. A.*, ii., 328. For the interchange of sounds, comp. *ar'ā* and *argā* in Chuldee.

shall they be: an oracle of Jehovah Sabáoth.—⁴ And it shall come to pass in that day; the glory of Jacob shall be enfeebled, and the fatness of his flesh shall become lean. ⁵ And it shall be as when ^d one gathereth standing corn at harvest,^d and his arm reapeth the ears; yea, it shall be as with one who gathereth ears in the valley of Rephaim. ⁶ And gleanings shall be left thereof, as at the striking of an olive-tree, two or three berries at the uppermost point, four or five on the branches of the fruit-tree; an oracle of Jehovah, the God of Israel. ⁷ In that day shall the earth-born look toward his Maker, and his eyes shall have regard to the Holy One of Israel, ⁸ and he shall not look unto the altars the work of his

^d So Luz., Naeg.—The harvestman gathereth corn, A. E., Kimchi, Vitr., Ges., Del., Weir.—The harvest taketh away the corn, Ew.

the Israelites. The meaning of this is unfolded in the following verses.

⁴⁻⁶ The immediate prospects of Israel are described under three figures: 1. that of an emaciated body; 2. that of a harvest field; and 3. that of beaten olive-trees.

⁵ **His arm reapeth the ears]** 'Ears' is strictly accurate, as the Israelites cut off the stalk close under the ear. Indeed, every word of the description tells. Its effect is heightened by its being localised in **the valley of Rephaim**, a plain stretching to the S.W. of Jerusalem, if, as most suppose, this was a specially fruitful corn district (though a comparison of 2 Sam. v. 25 and Psalm lxxxiv. 6 may perhaps throw a doubt upon this).

⁶ A turning-point in the prophecy. Few, indeed, should be left of the inhabitants, and yet, by God's mercy, a few should be left (x. 22 is just parallel). Thus the doom of Israel is softened. Contrast the unbroken threatenings of the prophecy in ix. 8-x. 4.—**Thereof]** i.e., of Jacob.—**As at the striking of an olive-tree].** The olive crop was gathered by beating (Deut. xxiv. 20), but the technical word for the beating is not used here. The 'striking' is supplementary to the 'beating'; this appears from xxiv. 13, where it is parallel to 'the grape-gleaning, when the vintage

is done.' But the point of comparison is not the 'striking,' but the fewness of the berries remaining to be struck.

^{7, 8} The religious revolution brought about by these calamities.—**The earth-born]** Implying that the Israelites have forgotten the duty which they owe as creatures to the Creator.—**The altars]** viz., those of the deities next mentioned. Comp. Hos. viii. 11, x. 1, xii. 11. It would be too subtle to see with Lagarde an implied rebuke of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 10-13).

⁸ **The Ashérah]** i.e., the symbols of Ashérah, a goddess worshipped by the Canaanites as the giver of fertility and good fortune. The symbol seems to have been a pole or artificial tree (comp. the sacred tree in the Assyrian sculptures); see Judg. vi. 25, Deut. xvi. 21, where the word for 'plant' means simply to set into the ground, as Eccles. xii. 11, and comp. the singular rendering of Vulg. 3 Kings xv. 13.—It must be admitted, however, that side by side with the passages in which Ashérah (first letter Aleph) is spoken of as one of the chief deities of Canaan, there are others in smaller number which mention Ashtoreth or the Ashtoreths (first letter Ayin) where we should have expected Ashérah,

hands, and that which his fingers have made he shall not regard, and the Ashérah's and the sun-images [^e he shall break up.^e] ⁹ In that day his fortified cities shall be like the deserted places of the Hivites and the Amorites ^f which they deserted before the children of Israel; and it shall become a desolation. ¹⁰ For thou didst forget the God of thy welfare,

^e Not in Hebr. text.

^f So Sept., Houb., Lo., I.a.; the deserted places of forests and hill-tops (?), Ew., Del., Naeg., &c.; that which is left of a forest and a tree-rop, Vitr., Kocher, Ges. (Comm.).

see Judg. x. 6 (comp. iii. 7), 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4, xii. 10. These passages, however, may be due to a later editor, in whose time the distinction between the deities had been forgotten. At any rate, Ashtoreth or Astart seems to have been less popular than Ashérah; in other words, the Canaanites felt more attracted to the feminine side of the Babylonian Istar (the luxurious goddess of sensual love) than to the masculine (the stern god of war), and even the latter they converted into a goddess.—As to the derivation, Ashérah, as Dr. Tiele has pointed out, is probably the feminine of the Canaanitish god Asher = Assy. *âsir*, 'favourable' (properly 'straight, even, plain,' comp. the Hebrew phrase 'to smooth the face of anyone,' i.e., to sue for his favour), comp. the proper name S'almanu-âsir, 'Salman is kind.' Another form of the same word is Asur or Assur, the name of an Assyrian god and city, and Asurit, an epithet of the goddess Ishtar. Dr. Tiele is inclined to identify Asher and Assur, and the suggestion is well worth considering. It is, however, not absolutely necessary to identify all the deities who received the titles Asher or Ashérah, any more than it is to identify all those who were named Baal.—Against the view that Ashérah is not the name of a goddess, but means 'a pole,' see *Last Words*, vol. ii., and compare Knenen's *Religion of Israel*, i. 88–93, Tiele, *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis der oude Godsâiensten*, I. i. pp. 462–3, 810, Movers, *Die Phönizier*, I. i. pp. 561–2.—**The**

sun-images] i.e., the figures of Baal Khamman, the sun-god, often spoken of in Phœnician votive inscriptions. (Comp. Hebr. *khammah*, 'heat,' used poetically for the 'sun.')

There is a trace of this cultus in Hammon, the name of a place in N. Palestine, Josh. xix. 28, 1 Chr. vi. 76. In 2 Chr. xxxiv. 4, these figures are mentioned as standing on the altars of Baal. Perhaps they were modifications of the conical stones, which, at any rate, among Turanian peoples, symbolise the generative power of the sun. Comp. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, I. i. p. 411.—A verb seems wanting at the end of the verse, as Lagarde points out, unless with Stade (see his *Zeitschrift* 1882, p. 12), we regard the closing words as an intrusive gloss on the foregoing.

⁹⁻¹¹ Here the prophet drops the subject of the Israelitish penitents. In xxviii. 5, it is apparently implied that they were to share the prosperity of the pious kernel of Judah. Of N. Israel in general it is stated that its infidelity shall be punished by a desolation like that which ancient Canaan experienced at the hands of the Israelites.—**Deserted places**] i.e. ruins. The text reading is generally defended by 2 Chr. xxvii. 4, where mountain, country, and forests, are referred to as the localities of fortresses. See, however, crit. note. The decision is difficult.

¹⁰ **The Rock . . .**] See on xxx. 29, xxvii. 5.—**Plants of Adonis**]. Comp. on lxvi. 17. The ordinary rend. does not give a suitable contrast. The Israelites have forsaken

and the rock of thy fortress thou rememberedst not, therefore thou didst plant ^g plants of Adonis,^g and with vine-slips of a stranger didst sow it: ^h in the day of thy planting thou didst make a hedge, and in the morning didst make thy seed to blossom—^b a harvest-heap ^b in the day of sickness and incurable pain.

*vv. 12-14. The sudden destruction of the Assyrian army.*¹—The three last verses of this chapter seem to have no relation to the foregoing prophecy, to which they are joined. It is a beautiful piece, standing singly and by itself; for neither has it any connection with what follows;

^g Pleasant plantations. Del., Naeg., Weir, &c.

^b Fled is the harvest, Ges., Ew., Weir.

their Rock (a religious term), therefore they have planted pleasant gardens. Nor does it suit the immediate context. The term 'stranger' in 'vine-slips of a stranger' is most naturally taken as = 'a strange god'; comp. on xliii. 12. We are therefore almost compelled, as Ew. first saw, to explain the parallel word (Hebr. *na'amānīm*) as a Divine title, even if there be no evidence of its being such still extant. There were so many Divine epithets, often used by themselves as Divine names, that it would be no wonder if some had left few traces. But we have some presumptive evidence. There is the proper name Naaman 'the Syrian' (2 Kings v. 1), and its Arabian equivalent, No'mān (the name of a king in Tebrizī's scholia to *Hamāsa*); proper names like these have always a claim to be interpreted as Divine titles, if possible. There is also Nahr Na'mān, the modern Arabic name of the river Belus, near Acco (Acre), which evidently includes a title of the god Baal (elsewhere known as Adoni or Adonis). Lastly, there is a singular Arabic name for the red anemone, given in Lane's magnificent Lexicon, p. 1578, *shakāiku-n-no'mān*, explained first by Lagarde (following out a hint of Ewald, *History*, iv. 86) as 'the wounds of Adonis,' and evidently a

phrase of primitive origin (hence the word *anemone*):—Lagarde well compares the αἶμα Ἀθηνᾶς (*Semitica*, p. 32). Classical students will of themselves illustrate Isaiah's phrase by the 'gardens of Adonis' (pots or baskets filled with herbs, which soon withered in the sun, as Adonis was killed by the boar), the proverbial phrase for something which arises quickly, but does not last. First mentioned in Plato's *Phædrus*, p. 276 b. There is, I think, a similar proverbial application of the Hebrew phrase included in the meaning here. 'How quickly the Adonis-gardens fade! So quickly shall the devotion of the Israelites to false gods end in disappointment!' Such appears to be the thought of the prophet. We thus obtain a trace of Tammuz-worship earlier than (not to mention lxvi. 17) Ezek. viii. 17, or even than Jer. xxii. 18, which probably contains the burden of the Tammuz-dirge.—**Sow]** Used inexactly for 'plant.'

¹ **A harvest-heap]** i.e., the flourishing plantation shall become like a heap of reaped corn. As Hupfeld points out (after Clericus), 'heap' (*uēd*) is used in this special sense in Ex. xv. 8, Ps. xxxiii. 7, lxxviii. 13. So too Del., who compares the use of 'harvest' for God's judicial punishment in Hos. vi. 11, Jer. li. 33. Thus we have in the

¹ Not that of Rezin and Pekah (Hitig), see 'xxix. 5, xxxi. 8, xxxiii. 1, 3, where the reference to the Assyrians is unquestionable' (*I. C. A.*, p. 93).

whether it stands in its right place or not, I cannot say.' I quite agree both with what Bishop Lowth here asserts and with what he suggests. An unforced connection with xvii. 1-11 cannot be produced; and though most recent critics connect these three verses with chap. xviii. the concluding words of v. 14 are decidedly against this; besides which there are no phraseological affinities in vv. 12-14 to chap. xviii., and the former passage describes the ruin of the enemy under an image which is clearly inconsistent with those in chap. xviii. I venture to place this brief but well-rounded prophecy during the victorious march of the *corps d'armée* which seems to have been detached by Sennacherib from his main army at Lachish to force Judah back into allegiance to Assyria. It seems to have been framed on the rhythmic model of the slightly earlier prophecy, chap. xviii., and is one of the most vigorous and picturesque in Isaiah's works.

¹² Ah, the tumult of many peoples, like the tumult of the seas they are tumultuous; and the uproar of nations, like the roaring of mighty waters they roar! ¹³ The nations—like the roaring of mighty waters they make an uproar, but he rebuketh it, and it fleeth far away, and is chased like the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like things that are whirled before the hurricane. ¹⁴ At eventide, behold terror! before morning, it is gone! This is the portion of those who spoil us, and the lot of those who plunder us.

same prophecy a double application of the figure of harvest, first to the Assyrians 'reaping a harvest of cities and their inhabitants,' and then to the Israelites 'transplanting heathen gods into their worship, and reaping God's abandonment of their nation as the fruit' (Strachey.)

¹² Isaiah on his 'watch-tower' hears, and we seem to hear with him, the ocean-like roar of the advancing Assyrian hosts (comp. Ps. xlv. 3, 6, lxxv. 7). Full of sympathetic surprise at the tragic spectacle, he exclaims, **Ah! the tumult of many peoples** (alluding to the varied composition of the Assyrian army). The particle rendered 'Ah!' has several meanings, and the context must decide which is to be preferred. Del. takes it to be expressive here of indignation (as i. 4, x. 1), and in xviii. 1 of pity (as lv. 1). —**He rebuketh it!** Obs. how

the short clauses crowd upon each other in sharp contrast to the long-drawn-out clauses which precede. So quickly follow the blows of Divine vengeance. The tense in the Hebr. is the perfect or 'fact-tense' as it may be called. The prophet is set free from all personal feeling, and describes the events which loom as it were bodily before him.—**It!** Or, him; see on v. 26.—**The chaff of the mountains!** Threshing-floors being usually on high ground, for the sake of the current of wind 1 Sam. xix. 22 Sept., 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, 2 Chron. iii. 1).

¹⁴ The judgment upon the Assyrians is to begin in the evening, and to end before morning in their complete destruction. Comp. xxix. 7, 8, xxxvii. 36.—**This is the portion . . .**] The solemn judgment of the spectators (comp. Judg. v. 31).

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE sudden destruction of the Assyrians, and the homage of Ethiopia to Jehovah. Such is the prophet's theme, which is worked out in a most picturesque and dramatic way. The king of Ethiopia, stirred by the approach of the Assyrians, is sending messengers in the light river-vessels to spread the news through the empire as rapidly as possible, and to call together the troops. Shabataka, at this time nominally king of Egypt, was really much more of an Ethiopian than an Egyptian prince:—he belongs indeed to the 25th or Ethiopian dynasty. Hence we can account for Isaiah's confining his prophecy to Ethiopia, which would be strange indeed had Egypt been united under a single native king. Isaiah evidently sympathises (as in the case of Merodach-Baladan; see on xxi. 1–10) with Ethiopia's hostility to the general enemy, Assyria, and salutes its people with honourable epithets; but he regards its anxiety as misplaced, for Jehovah is looking on, and will himself interpose at the right moment. Then, he predicts, with a true intuition of the far-reaching consequences of the great event, will the distant lands, united under the sceptre of Ethiopia, recognise the divinity of Jehovah at 'the place of his Name' (comp. 1 Kings iii. 2) and the scene of the great deliverance—Jerusalem.—It is sometimes said (*e.g.* recently by Mr. Hodgkin) that Tirhakah (Egyptian, *Tahuraka*) is the name of the Ethiopian king referred to; comp. xxxvii. 9. This is against the Egyptian chronology, if Tirhakah reigned from 693 to 666 (Brugsch). We may either suppose the late compiler of xxxvi.–xxxix. to have confounded Shabataka with the better-known Tirhakah, or, with Lenormant, that Tirhakah acted as general against Sennacherib for his royal father.—Possibly Shabataka may have sent an embassy to Jerusalem; this will account for Isaiah's graphic description of the Ethiopians' appearance; only we must not, with Ewald, quote *v.* 2 in behalf of this theory, as the mention of the Nile-boats confines the scope of the messengers to Ethiopia.¹—Against the view that the Jews are the nation referred to, which makes the whole prophecy unintelligible, as well as on Mr. Hodgkin's theory, see *Last Words*, vol. ii.

The prophecy falls into two symmetrical strophes, or paragraphs, each consisting of three verses of four lines or members each, and followed by an epilogue in one verse of five lines.

¹ Ah! land "of the clang of wings," which art beyond

* So Ges., Del., Weir, Naeg.—Of overshadowing wings, Kay.—Of winged boats, Sept., Targ., Kimchi, Ew., Merx (on Job xl. 31).

¹ Ah! Here a cry of pity (Del.), or perhaps rather of sympathy with the anxiety of the Ethiopians.—**The clang of wings**] This would be a rhetorical synonym for the buzzing swarms of flies characteristic of Egypt and Nubia (Ex. viii. 21, 24), which are compared, as in

¹ Schrader (*K.A.T.*, p. 406) places chap. xviii. shortly before the series of events which led to the battle of Raphia (see Smith, *History of Assyria*, p. 95). There is

the rivers of Ethiopia, ² which art sending heralds on the sea, and in vessels of papyrus on the face of the waters! Go, ye fleet messengers, to the nation ^b tall and ^c polished, to the people terrible ever since it arose, the ^d strong, strong ^d nation

^b Strong, Ges.

^c So Del., Weir, Naeg.—Naked, Ges. (Thes.).—Nimble, Ew.—Beautiful, Stade.

^d See below and crit. note.

vii. 18, to the hosts of enterprising Egyptian and Ethiopian warriors. Possibly Isaiah may refer to a particular fly commonly known as the tsetse, but among the Gallas as the *tsaltsal*, a name which closely resembles the Hebr. word for clangour. This would supply an appropriate symbol for warriors, as it is the most dreaded of all the insects of the interior of Africa. Others have thought of the sacred beetle, so familiar a form in Egyptian symbolism, or of a kind of grasshopper or locust referred to under the name *tselätsal* ('clangour') as peculiarly destructive to vegetation in Deut. xxviii. 42 (this has also been identified with the tsetse). Again, seeing that the Hebr. *tselätsal* has also the meanings of cymbal and harpoon (= whizzing spear), we may, if we please, render the phrase 'winged cymbals' or 'winged spears' (in either case a fit name for the tsetses). It is the practice in Semitic to add a qualifying word like 'winged,' when a word may be understood in more than one sense (see, e.g., xxxviii. 14, Gen. xxxvii. 31).—**Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia**] i.e., not only Seba or Meroe (Assyrian *Milukkkhi*), which is nearly surrounded by rivers, but the country farther to the south, which was under the Ethiopian rule (Del.). The prophet's object is to emphasize the greatness of Ethiopia, which has dominion over such distant countries. The *remoteness* of Ethiopia seems greatly to have impressed the Hebrew writers, in

this early stage of geographical knowledge, see Ps. lxxii. 10, comp. 8.—There is a remarkable allusion to this passage in Zeph. iii. 10.

² **Heralds**] to the various districts of the empire.—**The Sea**] i.e., the Nile (as xix. 5, Nah. iii. 8, see Pusey), still called el-Bahr, 'the sea.' Comp. Sindhu, 'the sea,' the Sanskr. name of the Indus.—**In vessels of papyrus**], such as are mentioned under another name in Job ix. 26, comp. Rawlinson's Herodotus (on ii. 96), where a picture of a papyrus-canoe is given; for a modern parallel, see *Last Words*, vol. ii. Pliny (*H. N.*, vi. 22) represents these ships as crossing the sea to the island of Taprobane (Ceylon), but is evidently misinformed. The word here used for papyrus (*gōme*) also occurs in Coptic. The root, however, seems clearly Hebrew ('to absorb'). The native Egyptian name is Sufi.—**Go, ye fleet messengers**] The speaker may be either Isaiah or the king of Ethiopia, but most probably the former, in accordance with *v.* 3. The prophet leaves us to guess what he would have the messengers say. The king, their master, doubtless means them to give notice of the danger which threatens the empire, and to call together the available troops. Isaiah tacitly consents to the former part of their message, but not to the latter; for the next verses assure us, Jehovah himself will interpose.—**To the nation tall and polished** .] Why this accumu-

however, nothing in the chapter itself to suggest this date; in particular, there is no allusion to negotiations between Egypt and Ethiopia and the small states of Palestine—negotiations which drew from Isaiah a by no means complimentary description of Egypt (xxx. 7, contrast xviii. 2). It is true, chap. xviii. is placed among prophecies of the reign of Sargon, but this is owing to its subject—the oracles on foreign nations being placed together.

and all-subduing, whose land rivers ^ecut through.^e ³ All ye inhabitants of the world and dwellers on the earth, when a signal is raised on the mountains, look ye; and when a trumpet is sounded, hear ye.

⁴ For thus hath Jehovah said unto me, I will be still and look on in my mansion, ^f while there is ^f clear heat in sunshine,

^e Despoil, Targ., Vulg., 4 Hebr. MSS., Vitr., Naeg.

^f Like, Ew., Weir, Naeg.

lation of minute features, instead of a simple mention of the name of the Ethiopians? There is perhaps a divine irony in the contrast between the immense preparations of this great and powerful people and the ease with which Jehovah, nullifying all human calculations, will extinguish the pride of Assyria in a single night (Del.). Isaiah, however, does not mean to be contemptuous. All ancient writers agree in their high opinion of the Ethiopians. Isaiah has probably met with ambassadors of this hitherto unknown race, and mentions the points that struck him (comp. Herod. iii. 20, 23, 114).—

Polished] alluding to the appearance of the skin of the Ethiopians. Herodotus mentions the same characteristic.—**The strong, strong nation and all-subduing**] Isaiah doubtless alludes to the Egyptian conquest of Shabaka, the first king of the 25th or Ethiopian dynasty of Manetho, and celebrated for his cruelty to the unfortunate Bokchoris (Egyptian *Bokenranf*). A tradition of the victories of the Ethiopians has been perpetuated by Megasthenes (Strabo, xv. 1, 6), who couples Tearco (Tirhákah) with Sesostris.—The above rend. is much disputed, but is far the most probable one. The only reasonable doubt relates to the first part of it. McGill and Del., for instance, objecting to an unnecessary *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, and to comparing the Arabic, render literally ‘a nation of line-line and trampling,’ i.e., ‘a nation that takes possession of the territories of other nations and subjugates them’ (McGill), or taking ‘line’ in the sense of com-

mand (?) as marking out the *line* of conduct, ‘an imperious and victorious nation’ (Del., Naeg.). But the reduplication of ‘line’ seems hardly called for on the former hypothesis, and the meaning given to ‘line’ by Del. is not sufficiently supported by the stammering speech of the drunkards in xxviii. 10.—**Rivers cut through**] Comp. Herod. ii. 108: *κατεμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος* (Böttcher). The modern Nubia abounds in rivers and mountain-torrents (comp. on v. 1). Canon Cook, rendering ‘have spoiled,’ sees an allusion to the neglect into which the dykes and reservoirs of Egypt had fallen (see on xix. 5). But the prophet is not speaking of Egypt, nor is he picturing a period of decline.

³ Assyria is a *hostis humani generis*; therefore the whole world is invited to the spectacle of its overthrow.—**A signal**] This ‘signal’ is not to be understood as set up by the Ethiopians, on the watch against a sudden irruption of the Assyrians. It is a symbolical expression for the notice, supernaturally given, of the approach of the decisive moment. Comp. xi. 10, 12. For a verbal parallel see xiii. 2.

⁴ Explanatory. In the midst of all this excitement, of the Assyrians on the one hand, and of the Ethiopians on the other, Jehovah is calmly waiting till the fruit of Assyrian arrogance is all but ripe. Favouring circumstances are hastening the process (clear heat, &c.), and when perfection seems just within reach, Jehovah will interpose in judgment.—**My mansion**] Hebr. *m’kōnī* (see on iv. 5).—**Clouds of night mist**] Not ‘clouds

‘while there are^f clouds of night-mist in the heat of the vintage. ⁵ For before the vintage, when the blossom is over, and the bud becometh a ripening grape, he shall cut off the branches with pruning-knives, and the shoots he heweth away. ⁶ They shall be left together to the birds of prey of the mountains, and to the beasts of the land, and the birds of prey shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of the land shall winter upon it. ⁷ At that time shall a present be brought unto Jehovah Sabáoth ⁸ from the ⁸ people tall and polished, and from the people terrible ever since it arose, the strong, strong nation and all-subduing, whose land the rivers divide, to the place of the Name of Jehovah Sabáoth, mount Zion.

⁸ (Even) the, Hebr. text, Del., Naeg.

of dew,’ which is a contradiction in terms. The Hebrew and Arabic *tal* is ‘a copious mist shedding small invisible rain, that comes in rich abundance every night about 12 P.M. in the hot weather when west or north-west winds blow, and which brings intense refreshment to all organised life’ (Neil, *Palestine Explored*, p. 136). Lane hesitates whether to call it rain or dew (*Arabic Lexicon*, s. v.), but neither conveys a true impression. ‘The clouds drop down the *tal*’ (Prov.

iii. 20), but this would not be correct of either rain or dew. For the Arabic usage, comp. *Korán*, Sur. ii. 267. The vintage may be placed in August and September.

⁷ The effect upon Ethiopia. The text-reading is generally explained on the analogy of lxvi. 20, but is opposed by the parallel line. Nothing is here said of the conversion of the Ethiopians (contrast xix. 21, 22).—**The place of the Name**] Comp. 1 Kings viii. 17, and note on xxx. 27.

CHAPTER XIX.

THIS prophecy consists of two parts, *vv.* 1–15 describing the judgment impending over Egypt, *vv.* 16–25 the results of it. The first part falls into three stanzas or strophes, nearly equal in length; the second into five paragraphs, each beginning with ‘In that day.’ The first exhibits a prospect of unmingled gloom; the second admits Egypt, upon its conversion to the true religion, and Assyria, to equal privileges with Israel.

There are great difficulties in the right understanding of this oracle. Eichhorn actually denied the authorship to Isaiah altogether; and Ewald, who admits the authenticity, finds a general prolixity and an occasional peculiarity of expression which distinguish the discourse from the other writings of Isaiah. The points of contact with the prophet’s acknowledged works are, however, sufficiently numerous (Gesenius, *Commentar*, p. 594) to justify our adherence to the traditional view with

more confidence, it is true, so far as *vv.* 1-15 are concerned, than with regard to the remainder. But it must still be left an open question whether a disciple of Isaiah has not given the prophecy its present form, working of course on the basis of Isaiah's notes.

The Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions have thrown great light on the historical references. (1) We have a proclamation of Piankhi Mer-Amon,¹ who in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. united under his sceptre the whole of Egypt and Ethiopia. It appears from this valuable state-paper that the whole of Lower Egypt was divided among rival princes, whose connection with their overlord was merely nominal. One of these, named Tafnekht, revolted, and made himself master of Lower Egypt. Piankhi, in the inscription, recounts how he suppressed the revolt. Still the expression a 'hard lord' (*v.* 4) does not suit Piankhi, who enjoyed a character for clemency, which was only once stained by his conduct at Memphis (Inscr. line 96). The chief value of his inscription is the evidence which it supplies of the imperfect centralisation of the government of Egypt, and of the civil wars which from time to time resulted. It is clear, however, that many of the petty princes remained in undisturbed possession of their fiefs, so that upon any serious disaster happening to the supreme power, the old evil of anarchy would at once show itself. (2) From inscriptions of Sargon (Smith, *Assyrian Canon*, pp. 125-6), we learn that in 720 B.C. he defeated Sibahki (the Egyptian king Shabaka), at the battle of Raphia. It is possible that Isa. xix. was written on the arrival of this news. Isaiah was doubtless sufficiently well acquainted with the previous history of Egypt to know that the loosening of the central authority meant the revival of the local chieftainships and incipient anarchy. He might also well suppose (for of course the 'spirit of prophecy' does not exclude natural means of knowledge) that Sargon would, either now or later, follow up his advantage, and display his natural 'hardness' or cruelty in the subjugation of Egypt. All that was revealed to him was that Egypt should be shaken to its centre; the precise time and instrument of this were hidden from him. As a matter of fact, the conquest of Egypt, at least of Upper Egypt,² was reserved for Esar-haddon in 672, who divided the country into twenty small tributary kingdoms. (3) It is not impossible that Isa. xix. may refer to this event (the conquest by Esar-haddon)—see Smith, *History of Assyria*, p. 135; *Assurbanipal*, pp. 15, 16. If so, it will fall into the old age of Isaiah, who would be about 90 (assuming 762 for his birth-year). We might also ascribe it to a disciple of Isaiah. Either supposition will account for the pale reflection which it gives of the grand Isaianic style.

The Isaianic authorship of *vv.* 16 (or 18)-25 is questioned. So much at least is self-evident, that they must have been written later than the rest of the chapter:—the prophecy is, from a literary point of

¹ See *R. P.*, ii. 79-104, and a series of articles by De Rougé and Lenormant, in the *Revue archéologique*, 1871-73. Also Canon Cook's *The Inscription of Piankhi Mer-Amon* (Lond. 1873), and Brugsch's translation in his *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 68-707.

² *R. P.*, i. 61 (Annals of Assurbanipal).

view, complete without them, and the tone of prophecy and appendix is entirely different. Of course, Isaiah may have added these verses on a later revision of his works—and indeed we can hardly imagine a more ‘swanlike end’ for a dying prophet; or some later writer—it may be a disciple of Isaiah’s—also in his degree a prophet, may have been their author. We know, as a matter of fact, that prophecy becomes more minute, more circumstantial, the further we go from the age of Isaiah, so that it would not be an audacious conjecture that a prophet considerably more recent than Isaiah made this addition. Grätz suggests the author (or one of the authors) of the latter part of Zechariah (comp. Zech. xiv.), which on purely philological grounds must be separated from the former. Others (Ges., Hitz., Merx, Oort) seem to themselves to discover allusions to the age of the Maccabees, when Judæa was for the time independent, and when Egypt and Syria (here, according to them, called Assyria) were equally powerful. The time of the Maccabees, it is urged, also accounts for the prediction in *v.* 18, ‘One shall be called Sun-city,’ which was framed (*ex hypoth.*) in order to justify the erection of a temple at Leontopolis (in the nome of *Heliopolis*) by Onias IV., about 160 B.C.¹ The successes obtained soon afterwards by the Jews might, it is urged, encourage the formation of such extravagant hopes, and the friendly alliance between the three nations in *v.* 23 corresponds to the fact related in 1 Macc. x. 51–66 (see Hitzig’s powerful argument, *Jesaia*, pp. 219, 220).

The verses are no doubt peculiar, but we have no right to ascribe them to the time of the Maccabees simply on the ground of the questionable reading ‘*Ir la-khères*, Sun-city,’ and the questionable interpretation ‘Asshur’ = Syria (see on *vv.* 18–23). Knobel has already indicated points of contact between the disputed verses and the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah; nor are the ideas radically inconsistent with those of the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah (comp. ii. 3, xvi. 12 (?), xviii. 7), though no equally ‘catholic’ passage can be quoted. One feature in the description, moreover, points decidedly to a time when the Deuteronomic laws were not known, or at any rate not observed,—that of the *maççébah* or pillar unto Jehovah (see on *v.* 19). Note also that Assyria and Egypt are the powers hostile to Israel in *vv.* 23–25, as in xi. 11–16.

The site of the Egyptian-Jewish temple is placed by tradition at Tel-el-Yahodeh, ‘the Mound of the Jew,’ about 20 miles from Cairo, on the Suez line; and this is probably correct. See Hayter Lewis in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1881, pp. 177–191, and comp. Sayce in *Pal. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1880, pp. 136–8.

¹[Utterance of Egypt.] Behold, Jehovah rideth upon a swift cloud, and cometh to Egypt, and the not-gods of Egypt

¹⁻¹⁷ Threatenings. Prophetic per-
fects in the Hebrew.

¹ **Rideth upon a swift cloud**
Comp. Ps. xviii. 10: ‘He rode upon

a cherub, and did fly’—for the
‘cherub’ is a form of speech re-
tained from myth-making times, and
meaning the storm-cloud. Child-

¹ Josephus (*Ant.*, xiii. 3, 1; *Wars*, vii. 10, 3) makes Onias appeal to the prediction in Isaiah of an Egyptian temple to be built to Jehovah, but without referring to the phrase ‘city of the sun.’

shall shake before him, and the heart of Egypt shall melt within it. ² And I will ^a spur Egypt against Egypt, and they shall fight every one against his brother and every one against his fellow, city against city and kingdom against kingdom. ³ And the spirit of Egypt shall be made empty within it; and its counsel will I annihilate; and they shall resort to the not-gods, and to the mutterers, and to those who have familiar spirits, and to the wizards; ⁴ and I will shut up Egypt into the hand of a hard lord, and a fierce king shall rule over them—the oracle of the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth.

⁵ And the waters shall dry up from the sea, and the River become parched and dry; ⁶ and the rivers shall stagnate, the

^a Arm, Ges., Ew.

like language to childlike men.—**The not-gods of Egypt** . . .] So Ex. xii. 12: 'And against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment.'

² **Egypt against Egypt**] One canton or one province of Egypt against another (see *Introd.*).

³ **The mutterers**] viz., of sacred formulæ; or perhaps they were ventriloquists, who imitated the voice of the shades. Comp. on viii. 19.—**The wizards**] Magic was held in great honour in ancient Egypt, and magical books abound. The standard work on the subject is M. Chabas' *Le Papyrus magique Harris* (1866). Comp. on v. 11.

⁴ **A hard lord**] The description suggests a complete stranger to the culture of Egypt, i.e., an Assyrian rather than Ethiopian conqueror. Piankhi, moreover, was Egyptian by race (see *Introd.*).

⁵ The drying up of the Nile, and the death of vegetation. The verse recurs in Job. xiv. 11, where the special reference to the Nile is dropped.—**The sea**] i.e., the Nile (see on xviii. 2), or more strictly the Pelusiatic stream (according to Sharpe, *History of Egypt*, 1, 138). Canon Cook calls attention to the fact that

great trouble was caused by the neglect of the dykes and reservoirs during periods of civil disorder (cf. Herod. ii. 137). 'The complete overthrow of the Ethiopian dynasty was naturally followed by a recurrence of the old evil, which was at length, after many years, arrested by the energetic measures of Psammetichus, described by Diod. Sic. i. 66' (Cook, *Inscription of Piankhi Mer-Amon*, p. 14).

⁶ **The canals**] Hebr. *y'örim*; see on xxxiii. 21. The maintenance of the canals (on which see Herod. ii. 108, and Sir G. Wilkinson's note *ad loc.* in Rawlinson) was essential to the fertility of the soil, and has ever been a test of good government in Egypt.—**Egypt**] Or, the Fortified Land (and so xxxvii. 25, Mic. vii. 12). Ewald, *Distress-land*, but nothing in the context suggests this (contrast Zech. x. 11). The Hebr. *Maçor* (= Ass. *Muçur*) is simply an uncommon equivalent of *Miçraim* (the same root with the local termination in *-aim*,¹ like Ephraim, Mahanaim, Jerushalaim, Sepharvaim). It is not an Egyptian word, but one of its meanings in Hebr. is fortification (see Ps. xxxi. 22). Hence Ebers thinks it originally meant Lower Egypt, which was

¹ I agree with Friedr. Del. (*Paradies*, p. 309) that *Miçraim* has nothing to do with Upper and Lower Egypt, but (with E. Meyer) prefer to explain the *-aim* as above, and not to correct it, with Friedr. Del., into *-im*. His scepticism as to *Maçor* seems to me unfounded.

canals of Egypt shall become shallow and parched up, reed and papyrus shall waste away. ⁷The meadows by the Nile, by the shore of the Nile, and every seed-plot by the Nile, shall dry up and vanish away, and be no more. ⁸And the fishers shall sigh, and all who cast hook into the Nile shall mourn, and those who spread nets on the face of the waters shall languish. ⁹And those who prepare combed flax shall be ashamed, and those who weave white cloths. ¹⁰And its pillars shall become broken in pieces, and all those who work for hire (?) shall be grieved in soul.

¹¹Utter fools are the princes of Zoan; the wisest counsellors of Pharaoh—senseless counsel! How can ye say unto Pharaoh, A son of the Wise am I, a son of ancient kings?

protected by a wall across the isthmus of Suez, and that it was afterwards extended to Upper Egypt by the conquering Hyksos, when they found that Egypt was much larger in extent than the region protected by the wall (Ebers, *Aegypten*, i. 88). Brugsch, however, thinks Maçor meant originally the district of Zoan or Tanis, which occasionally bears the name in Egyptian (Semitised, I suppose) of *Ta mazor*, 'the fortified land' (*Gesch. Aegyptens*, 189).—**Papyrus**] Hebr. *suf*, from the Egyptian *tufi*. A Hebr. term is used in xviii. 2.

⁷**The meadows**] Which were proverbial for luxuriant vegetation (comp. Gen. i. 11).—**Shore**] Lit. mouth. Comp. Gen. xli. 3, 'lip (i.e., shore) of the Nile.' A more complete parallel is wanting.—**Vanish away**] Lit. he chased away (like chaff, xvii. 13). A vivid word-picture of the re-assimilation of the narrow oasis of the Nile to the arid desert which hems it in.

⁸The fisherman's occupation is gone. Fish abounded in the Nile (Herod. ii. 93), and was much eaten (Num. xi. 5). To the priests, however, it was unclean, on the ground of certain sacred legends (Pierret).

⁹**Who prepare combed flax**] Specially for the priests' clothing, and for the mummy-cloths. That the Egyptian byssus = flax was proved by the microscopic observa-

tions of Bauer (*Classical Museum*, vi. 152, &c.).—**White cloths**] Probably including cotton.

¹⁰All classes, high and low, are in consternation.—**The pillars**] Comp. Ezek. xxx. 4, Ps. xi. 3, Gal. ii. 9. (I doubt if the text of the second half of this verse is right.)

vv. 11-15 describe, not merely the perplexity of the Egyptian statesmen when the calamities have come, but the folly which accelerated their coming.—**The princes**] i.e., the king and his priestly counsellors. 'Books containing magic formulæ belonged exclusively to the king; no one was permitted to consult them but the priests and wise men, who formed a council or college, and were called in by the Pharaoh on all occasions of difficulty.' Cook (note on Ex. vii. 11).—**Zoan**] The S'an of the present day, with immense heaps waiting to be explored. It was a frontier-city in the Delta (the Greek Tanis), and was sometimes called Rameses, but is not to be confounded with the Rameses from which the Israelites started. In Isaiah's time it was still important, though verging on its decline.—**How can ye say unto Pharaoh** . . . ['With what reason can you boast, as you do, of belonging to a royal class' (the Pharaohs belonging to the priestly class, either by birth or by adoption)?

¹² Where are they, then, thy wise men? Let them, I pray, announce unto thee, and let them know what Jehovah Sabáoth hath purposed upon Egypt. ¹³ Become foolish are the princes of Zoan, deceived are the princes of Noph; those have led Egypt astray who are the corner-stone of its tribes. ¹⁴ Jehovah hath mixed into it a spirit of perverseness, so that they have led Egypt astray in all his doing, as a drunken man strayeth about in his vomit. ¹⁵ Neither shall there be for Egypt any deed which the head and the tail might do, the palm branch and the rush.

¹⁶ In that day shall Egypt be like women, and shall tremble and shudder, because of the swinging of the hand of Jehovah Sabáoth, which he swingeth against it. ¹⁷ And the

¹² The first proof of the 'folly' of the wise men. They cannot predict the nature or the course of events in this ominous period. Prediction became a favourite occupation of Egyptian religious writers in the Ptolemaean period (Révillout, *Revue égyptologique*, 1880, p. 145, &c.), and this may possibly have begun at an even earlier date. Certainly Herodotus tells us of Egyptian oracles. The so-called 'prophets,' however, 'who were generally priests of the temples, had the management of the sacred revenues, were bound to commit to memory the contents of the ten sacerdotal books, and directed the details of ritual and ceremonial according to the prescribed formulæ' (Rawlinson, *Egypt*, i. 434).

¹³ A second proof. They had led Egypt astray by their infatuated conduct of affairs.—**Noph**] i.e., not the distant Nap or Napata (the Ethiopian capital), but Memphis, the most ancient of all the great cities of Egypt, called in the inscriptions Men-nufr, or 'the good abode.' In Hos. ix. 6 called Moph.—**The corner-stone**] Applied collectively to the whole priestly class. Comp. Zech. x. 4, Judg. xx. 2, 1 Sam. xiv. 38. The Egyptian word *kenbet* is applied in the same way. (Renouf, *Academy*, Jan. 9, 1875).—**Tribes**] i.e., castes, or rather classes.

¹⁴ The origin of this strange con-

fusion is traced to Jehovah.—**Mixed**] i.e., poured out a drink of mixed ingredients.—**A spirit of perverseness**] Or, of subversion. The opposite of 'a firm spirit,' Ps. li. 10 (12). Comp. on xxxvii. 7.

¹⁵ The verse is slightly obscure. It either says that neither high nor low will be able to effect anything (taking 'and' = or), or, which better suits 'for Egypt,' that the general disunion will prevent any truly national enterprise (taking 'and' = with, as vii. 1). For the figure, **head and tail**, &c., see on ix. 14.

¹⁶ **In that day**] On the arrival of the foe?—**The swinging . . .**] See on xxx. 32.

¹⁷ **The land of Judah shall become a terror**] Why? Because it is Jehovah's seat of empire.

¹⁸⁻²⁵ Promises. The grand subject of this epilogue (with which comp. xxiii. 15-18) is the turn in the fortunes of Egypt consequent upon its submission to Jehovah (so Jer. xlvi. 26). The transition is abrupt; we have passed at a bound into the Messianic period. The abruptness might perhaps be an argument against the Isaianic authorship of these verses, were it not (1) for the prophetic custom of representing the final ἀποκατάστασις or 'restitution' as following immediately upon the then existing crisis, and (2) for Isaiah's fondness for painting a cheerful background to his gloom-

land of Judah shall become a terror unto Egypt; whosoever^b maketh mention of it, unto him they turn shudderingly,^b because of the purpose of Jehovah Sabáoth, which he purposeth against it (Egypt).¹⁸ In that day there shall be five cities in

^b (Lit. . . . he shuddereth.)—Mentioneth it unto him, he shuddereth, Ges., Del.—Recalleth it to mind, shuddereth, Ew.

iest descriptions.—The prediction was not altogether devoid even of human verisimilitude. Long ago, under the 18th dynasty (17th cent. B.C.), in consequence of the Syrian campaigns of the Pharaohs, so many Semitic words passed into Egypt that some texts of this period (e.g., the Anastasi papyrus) are scarcely more than half-Egyptian in vocabulary; and apart from this, the population of Lower Egypt, near the frontier, was at least half-Semitic (i.e., Canaanitish), and its idioms, manners, and modes of thought must have constantly influenced those of the pure Egyptians. The political history of Palestine assisted this Semitising process. We know from Jeremiah (xliv. 1) that many Jews found refuge in Lower Egypt after the fall of Jerusalem, and it is a mere accident that we have no earlier notice of similar displacements caused by the Assyrian invasions. One of the towns mentioned by Jeremiah as the seat of a Jewish colony is Migdol, and it appears that this pure Hebrew name had been selected by the Egyptians themselves under the form Maktal. It is noteworthy, too, that one of the names, in the Inscription of Pianchi, viz., Zadkhiau, is not impossibly the Egyptian form of Zedekiah (so Canon Cook). Comp. De Rougé, *Revue archeol.* viii. 127, &c.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, chap. xi.; Maspero, *Rev. arch.*, 1878, p. 168, *Histoire ancienne*, prem. éd., p. 338.

¹⁸ **Five cities in the land of Egypt . . .**] Is this to be taken literally? Vitrिंग and Hitzig think so; and it is quite true that the Heliopolite nome continued to be inhabited by Jews till a late period, one evidence of which is the name Tel-el-Yahoodeh given to various mounds besides that re-

ferred to above. But it would be strange if a prophecy which begins with such an absence of prosaically minute predictions (comp. Naeg. on *vv.* 2-4) should close with such remarkably circumstantial anticipations. If, therefore, *v.* 18 is to be taken literally, we shall have to accept the theory that the passage (and all belonging to it) is a later addition. It is well known, however, that five, the half of ten, was a favourite round number both with the Egyptians (see Ebers on Gen. xliii. 34) and with the Jews (xxx. 17, xvii. 6, Lev. xxvi. 8, I Cor. xiv. 19). The prophet may therefore only mean that there shall be a number, just large enough to be appreciable, of Egyptian civic communities (not merely Hebrew colonies, as Lenormant, see end of verse), **speaking the tongue of Canaan** (i.e., Hebrew, see on xxxvi. 11). These latter words probably mean that Hebrew shall become the language of sacred forms and ceremonies in these 'five cities,' which of course would be the natural result of their conversion to Jehovah (comp. Zech. xiv. 9). Granting, therefore, that the expectation of conversions on a large scale to the true religion is in harmony with the rest of the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah, there is nothing in the form of this verse to preclude its Isaianic origin.—**Swearing to Jehovah Sabáoth**] Not 'swearing by' (as lxv. 16), but 'swearing (fidelity) to' (as xlv. 23).—**One shall be named**] A phrase which constantly introduces a title descriptive of character; see i. 26, iv. 3, lx. 14, lxii. 4. If, however, we read the following words, 'City of the sun,' this cannot be its intention here; we must take it as simply equivalent to 'shall be'

the land of Egypt, speaking the tongue of Canaan, and swearing to Jehovah Sabáoth; one shall be named °City of destruction.^c ¹⁹ In that day there shall be an altar to Jehovah in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar by its border to Jehovah; ²⁰ and it shall be for a sign and a witness to Jehovah

^c So most MSS. and editions, Massora (but see Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 79). Peshito. City of the sun, 15 MSS. in text, 1 in marg. (Kenn., and de Rossi), Symm., Vulg., Saad., Talmud ('*Menachoth*, 110a), Rashi, Vittr., Ges. (*Thesaurus*, but not *Comm.*), Hitz., Naeg. City of righteousness, Sept., Geiger.

But where is there an analogy for this? — **City of destruction**] There is great doubt whether the reading should be '*Ir ha-héres*' (adopted here), or '*Ir ha-khéres*' 'City of the sun.' The main objection to the latter is that it is not at all suitable for a honorific title conferred by a Jewish prophet. An Assyrian might have written thus (comp. *R. P.*, ix. 24), but not a Jewish prophet. The attempts that have been made to provide a better meaning for '*Ir ha-khéres*' are extremely rash.—The text-reading has been well explained by Targ., which has 'the city of Bethshemesh (= the house of the sun) which is to be laid waste.' In other words, the prophet intends Heliopolis, but modifies the form of the first letter to indicate the pious zeal for the religion of Jehovah which shall one day inspire its *Egyptian* inhabitants. It is as if he would say, No longer 'city of the false god of the sun,' but 'city of the breaking down of idolatrous altars.' (It is the word used for Gidon's breaking down of the altar of Baal, *Judg.* vi. 25.) Comp. *Jer.* xliii. 13, 'He shall break the (idolatrous) pillars of the house of the sun,' i.e., the great temple in Heliopolis. A similar allusive transformation of the native Egyptian name An (pronounced by the Jews On) is made by Ezekiel (xxx. 17), 'The young men of Aven (= "nothingness," or "wickedness") shall fall by the sword.' So Secker (*ap.* Lowth), Caspari, Herzfeld, Drechsler, Del.

¹⁹ A further development of *v.* 18. The 'five cities' shall erect an altar to Jehovah. It is not quite

certain how this is to be understood. It depends on our decision of certain preliminary questions. If Isaiah wrote these verses, and if Deuteronomy was written after his time, the altar *may* have been intended as an altar of sacrifice, in accordance with the primitive law in *Ex.* xx. 24 (*Q. P. B.*). If, however, these verses were written after the composition of Deuteronomy (whether Mosaic or not), then we must suppose that the altar was merely an 'altar of witness,' on the principle set forth in *Josh.* xxii. 23, 24. Or again, the description may be purely symbolical. For this we have a striking analogy in *Mal.* i. 11, which describes how 'in every place' among the Gentiles 'incense is offered unto the name of Jehovah, and a pure meal-offering,' where the symbolical meaning is indicated by the context.—**And a pillar by its border**] In primitive times a pillar (Heb. *maççebah*) was the distinguishing mark of a holy place. Idolatrous pillars were commanded to be destroyed (*Ex.* xxiii. 24), but most critics think that 'pillars' to Jehovah were quite allowable till the time of Hezekiah or Josiah, to which they assign the Book of Deuteronomy (comp. *Deut.* xvi. 21, 22). At any rate, the prophet gives an implicit sanction to the erection of a sacred pillar in Egypt. 'By its border,' to indicate that the whole land belonged to Jehovah.

²⁰ The altar and obelisk are a sign and a witness to God as well as to man, viz., of the covenant now existing between Jehovah and his sworn servants (*v.* 18), the

Sabáoth in the land of Egypt: when they shall cry unto Jehovah because of oppressors, he shall send them a deliverer and an advocate, and shall rescue them. ²¹ And Jehovah shall make himself known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know Jehovah in that day, and shall serve with sacrifice and offering, and shall vow a vow unto Jehovah, and shall perform it. ²² And Jehovah shall smite Egypt, smiting and healing; and when they return unto Jehovah, he shall receive their supplications, and shall heal them. ²³ In that day there shall be a highway from Egypt to Assyria; Assyria shall come into Egypt, and Egypt into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. ²⁴ In that day shall Israel be a

Egyptians. Hence, if some great or petty king should again attempt to 'oppress' Egypt, Jehovah will send a 'deliverer,' as he does to his ancient people (same word in Judg. iii. 9, 15, iv. 3, Obad. 21).

²¹ **And Jehovah shall make himself known . . .]** Especially by answering their prayers (*v.* 20). They on their side recognise him for their God by offering sacrifice—whether on the altar mentioned in *v.* 20, or at Jerusalem, is not stated; but the latter is suggested by the parallel passage, Zech. xiv. 16–19. Obs., the 'five cities' have here expanded into 'the Egyptians.' Possibly the former were the 'remnant' which survived God's terrible visitation, and was to become the 'seed' of a regenerate nation (comp. vi. 13).

²² The prophet returns to the period of calamity which is to precede the conversion of the Egyptians. Egypt shall be smitten, but with a view to its being healed. For the antithesis, comp. Deut. xxxii. 39, Hos. vi. 1, Job v. 18, and for the important idea thus expressed, Zeph. iii. 8, 9, Jer. xii. 15–17.

²³ The first consequence of this wonderful conversion is the cessation of war between the once rival countries of Egypt and Assyria. The mention of Assyria confirms the view that the 'hard lord' is an Assyrian king.—Of course, this

prophecy presupposes that the Assyrians have also been converted (see on x. 20), and one cannot help regretting that no more distinct revelation on the subject is still extant.—**A highway]** i.e., an uninterrupted passage through Palestine. — **The Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians.]** The sense of the word rendered 'serve' is clear from *v.* 21. No Israelite could misunderstand the phrase any more than the term 'knowledge' for 'knowledge of Jehovah' in Hos. iv. 6. To render, therefore, with Hitzig, 'Egypt shall (resign itself to) serve Assyria' (or, as he explains it, Syria), is arbitrary, though Sept., Targ., Pesh., Vulg., thoughtlessly give this rendering. How could there be an empire, whose head in political matters was Assyria, and in religious Judea? A strange retrogression of the Messianic belief!—Hitzig's explanation of Asshur as = Syria is without authority. No doubt Asshur could be and was used of a power which succeeded to the place of Assyria, such as Persia (see Ezra vi. 22), but not of an inferior power, such as Syria. In Ps. lxxxiii. 8 (9) Assyria cannot = Syria, because it is only mentioned in the second degree of Israel's enemies ('Assyria *also*,' are the Psalmist's words). Lagardé, moreover, plausibly reads, not Asshur, but Geshur.

²⁴ But a third factor is still want-

third to Egypt and to Assyria, even a blessing within the earth, ²⁵ ^d forasmuch as ^d Jehovah Sabáoth hath blessed him, saying, Blessed is my people Egypt, and the work of my hands Assyria, and mine inheritance Israel.

^d Wherewith, Ew.

ing to complete the harmony, viz., Israel. These three, Egypt, Assyria, Israel, have been divinely prepared to become a **blessing within the earth** ('within,' i.e., 'within the entire compass of,' not merely 'in the midst of')—blessing is to stream forth from them in all directions, comp. Gen. xii 2*b*, 3*b*).

²⁵ **Hath blessed him]** viz., each of the three countries. Obs. Israel, as the central point of 'blessing,' still retains a certain pre-eminence. He is Jehovah's 'inheritance'—the phrase does not occur again till the second part of Isaiah (xlvi. 6, lxiii. 17), as Dr. Weir points out.

CHAPTER XX.

ISAIAH, in the habit of a captive, a sign for Egypt and Palestine.

The renascence of Egyptian prosperity under Shabaka (the So, or rather Seve, of 2 Kings xvii. 4) was but of short duration. The disastrous battle of Raphia (B.C. 720) not only compelled 'Rahab,' the Insolent One, to acknowledge the supremacy of Assyria, but again destroyed the dream of Egyptian unity. Tanis, Bubaste, Khnensa, and Sais, each became the residence of a petty king; Shabataka, the son of Shabaka, was forced to content himself with Thebes and the 'nomes' in its immediate vicinity.¹

It was not likely that so disunited a country could be of any real use to Judah. And yet it appears from this chapter, compared with chaps. xxx., xxxi., that negotiations were actually entered into between the courts of Palestine (especially that of Judah) and those of Egypt. The danger from Assyria must indeed have been urgent to have suggested so precarious an auxiliary, and Isaiah, whose faith in Jehovah kept him free from all political illusions, lost no opportunity of counteracting such a policy. The special occasion of the prophecy in chap. xx. is revealed to us by the Assyrian inscriptions. Two different texts² relate to the siege of Ashdod here so briefly referred to; according to one (the Kouyunjik inscription), it happened in the ninth year of the reign of Sargon, i.e., B.C. 711; according to another (the Annals), in the eleventh, i.e., B.C. 709. It is certain, however, that the siege was the consequence of a change of political parties in the town of Ashdod. A temporary advantage had been given to the Assyrian party by the interference of Sargon, who, some time after the battle of Raphia, deposed the rightful king Azuri, on a charge of rebellion, and enthroned his brother Akhimit in his place. The ruling class, however, were predominantly anti-Assyrian, and deposed

¹ Maspero, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, ed. 1, p. 398.

² G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 293.

Akhimit, setting up one Yavan as king. The consequence was the siege of Ashdod referred to by Isaiah, which ended in the deportation of the inhabitants to Assyria.—The same cylinder-inscription which relates the siege of Ashdod gives a list of the nations which incurred the same guilt of treason, and among them appears the name of Judah (see on *v.* 6).

Thus Isaiah had good reason, on political as well as religious grounds, to dehort the Jews from an Egyptian alliance. His ill success was revenged by the invasion and subjugation of Judah, to which I have referred in the introduction to *x.* 5–xii. The conquest of Egypt, however, which Isaiah here holds out in prospect, did not immediately take place. The war with Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, prevented Sargon from invading Egypt, and the nominal king of Egypt and Ethiopia (Shabataka), sent an embassy to Sargon desiring peace.¹

It seems to me very doubtful whether *vv.* 1, 2 can have been written by Isaiah, as *v.* 1 implies a confusion of two distinct sieges of Ashdod (see on *v.* 3). The former reminds us strongly of chap. vii. Both chapters have probably been worked up on the basis of notes of Isaiah's prophecies, and some historical traditions of the life and acts of Isaiah.

¹ In the year when the Tartan came to Ashdod, when Sargon king of Assyria sent him (he warred against Ashdod and took it), ² at that time spoke Jehovah by Isaiah son of Amoz, saying, Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins,

¹ **The Tartan**] The official designation of the general-in-chief of the Assyrian army; properly Tur-tanu. He was the second personage in the empire, the constitution of Assyria being essentially military. There is, therefore, no reason to identify this Tartan with the one in 2 Kings xviii. 17.—**Sargon**] This Sargon was called Sargon the Later, to distinguish him from another king (Sargina) who reigned in Babylonia several centuries earlier. The name is, properly, Accadian, and therefore non-Semitic; but the Assyrians, who Semitised it into Sarru-kinu, may have given it the meaning 'true (or, faithful; or established) king.' Sargon himself offers an interpretation; see *crit. note*, vol. ii.—**He warred against Ashdod** . . .] Told by anticipation, comp. the parenth. in vii. 1. The command to Isaiah was of course prior to the capture. This

passage supplements Sargon's own account of the siege, for this king, in accordance with the Assyrian custom, takes the credit of the capture of Ashdod to himself. (*R. P.*, vii. 40, ix. 11).

² **The sackcloth**] He means the haircloth which the prophets, like the later Christian ascetics, adopted as their habitual dress. *Comp.* 2. Kings i. 8, Zech. xiii. 4. The phrase 'to gird sackcloth' implies that it was worn as an outer garment. 'Naked' means without this outer garment (1 Sam. xix. 24, Am. ii. 16, Mic. i. 8, John xxi. 7). On the practical impressiveness of such an act in Jerusalem, see Sir E. Strachey's excellent remarks, *Jewish History and Politics*, p. 114. Micah (i. 8) performed a similar symbolic act. His words 'I will go stripped and naked' suggest that the appearance of the prophet is typical of the enforced 'nakedness' destined for his people.

¹ Menant, *Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, p. 186; Schrader, *K. A. T.*, p. 406.

and take thy shoe from off thy foot: and he did so, going naked and barefoot. ⁴ And Jehovah said, according as my servant Isaiah hath gone naked and barefoot ³ three years for a sign ^a and an omen against Egypt and against Ethiopia, ⁴ so shall the king of Assyria lead the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia, young men and old, naked and barefoot and with buttocks uncovered, a shame for Egypt. ⁵ And men shall be dismayed and ashamed because of Ethiopia their expectation and Egypt their ornament. ⁶ And the in-

^a For three years a sign, Sept., Vulg., Hebr. accents, Luzzatto, Del, Kay.

³ The act is symbolic—the only recorded instance of the sort (as chap. vi. is the only recorded vision) in the works of Isaiah. Two difficulties have to be resolved. First, as to the historical character of the act related here. Some (e.g., Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, ii. 76) think that it is not historical, but an imaginative embodiment of the idea of captivity, and take the same view of the similar episodes in Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. But we ought rather to consider each case separately; and there is, I think, a special inappropriateness in ascribing such a procedure to a prophet like the 'royal' Isaiah. The second difficulty relates to the duration of the sign. Some critics, ancient as well as modern, have found it difficult to believe that so strange a spectacle should have been exhibited for three whole years. Hence, according to some (but see xxix. 10 Heb.), the Massorettes have put a stop (Atnakh) after the word for 'barefoot,' in order to make the second part of the verse run 'for three years a sign.' Vittr. (doubtfully), Del., Kay, and Stade adopt this view, and Vittr. further conjectures virtually that the text originally ran thus, 'As my servant Isaiah hath gone naked and barefoot *three days*, for three years a sign,' &c., which he supports by the observation that *τρία ἔτη* is twice expressed in the Sept. This latter view (approved by Lowth) is at any rate better than the supposition that Isaiah performed the symbolic act

only once; a single act of this kind would have been at most a nine days' wonder. The difficulty is entirely caused by a preconceived notion as to what was proper conduct for Isaiah. Apart from this, no one would have entertained a doubt that 'three years' belongs naturally to 'hath gone' and not to 'a sign.'—A greater difficulty than that of the 'propriety' or 'impropriety' of a three years' 'sign' of this kind arises from the Annals of Sargon, which show that the (final) siege of Ashdod lasted only a part of a year (see Smith, *Assyrian Canon*, p. 129). The true solution, I think, is that the three years are to be counted from the rebellion of Azuri (see *Introd.*). There were, in fact, two sieges of Ashdod, one issuing in the deposition of Azuri, the other in the captivity of the whole people of Ashdod, and these are fused together in the compendious statement of v. 1—**And Jehovah said**] i.e., at the end of the three years.

⁴ The meaning of the sign—the shameful captivity of Egypt and Ethiopia.

^{5, 6} The application. The fulfilment of the sign will radically cure the men of Palestine of their inveterate confidence in Egypt. See *Last Words*, vol. ii.—**This re-geon**] The reference is dispute. Chwolson, rendering 'yonder island,' thinks of Cyprus (comp. Jer. xxv. 22), which submitted to Sargon in his eleventh campaign, see *Fühd. Zeitschr.*, 1872, p. 306; Knob., ren-

habitants of this ^b region shall say in that day, Behold, thus hath it gone with our expectation, whither we fled for help to get deliverance from the king of Assyria; and how can *we* escape?

^b Coast-land, Ew., Del., Weir, Naeg.

dering 'this sea coast,' of Phœnicia (xxiii. 2, 6) and Philistia (Zeph. ii. 5); Hitzig, of Philistia only. The two latter have seen half the truth, but only half, for Judah cannot be excluded, comp. xxx. 3. It seems to me that all the small populations of Palestine are intended, which, in the hope of Egyptian assistance, had revolted or were conspiring to revolt from Assyria. Comp. Sargon's statement, that

'the people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab, dwelling [who dwell] beside the sea, bringing [who bring] tribute and presents to Assur my lord, were speaking treason' (Smith, *Assyrian Canon*, p. 130). To those who adopt the rendering 'this sea-coast' the parallel expression used by Sargon will have special force. Comp. Ewald, *History*, i. 215.

CHAPTER XXI.

VERSES 1-10. The fall of Babylon; the 'vision' which announced it, and its effect upon Isaiah.—We must again digress into the province of the 'higher criticism,' as the exegesis depends more than usual on the age of the prophecy. Very many moderns, and the present writer himself formerly, have found the date in the Babylonian exile, and not without reasons of striking plausibility. In the first place, it should be observed that the prophet writes in the style and with the fervour of a contemporary, and that the only siege of Babylon with which students of Isaiah have (until lately) been acquainted is that at the close of the Exile. Next, the mention of Elam and Media agrees with the fact that Cyrus, born king of Elam (see Essay x.), conquered the Medes before attacking Babylonia, and the picture of the capture of Babylon during a banquet reminds us of Belshazzar's feast in Dan. v. (comp. Herod. i. 191 end). Nothing but a strong sense of the exegetical difficulties prevents me from still adhering to the modern theory, together with a suspicion that chap. xxi. 1-10 hangs together with chap. xxii. (see Introd.). The difficulties referred to are—1. the tone of strong depression in which the prophet announces his tidings (*vv.* 3, 4, 10), and the absence of anything even distantly resembling revenge; 2. the form of the second part of the prophecy, which seems to me to presuppose distance from Babylon; and 3. the fact that both ideas and phraseology are in harmony with the authorship of Isaiah: compare *v.* 1 with xxx. 6; *v.* 2 with xxxiii. 1; *v.* 5 (Hebr.) with xxii. 13 (Hebr.); *v.* 6 with viii. 11, xviii. 4, xxi. 16, xxxi. 4; (*reheb*) *vv.* 7, 9 with xxii. 6; *v.* 10 with xxviii. 28 and 22. These latter phenomena seem considerably to weaken the strength of the case for a date at the end of the Exile. Let it be observed further, 1. That the description of the capture of the city during a revel is picto-

rial and imaginative, not predictive; 2. that Isaiah gives Elam an equally prominent place in a besieging army in xxii. 6, and that even if he does not mention Media elsewhere, yet this country was not beyond his horizon (see on xiii. 17), and, 3. that Assyrian researches have revealed not less than three sieges of Babylon in the lifetime of Isaiah, viz., in 710 by Sargon, and in 703 and 691 by Sennacherib¹ (see G. Smith's *Assyria*, pp. 107, 110, 123). It is no longer adventurous to propose the view that Isaiah himself may be the writer, and that he may refer to some one of these three sieges; but to which? The language of v. 9 rather suggests the last of the three, the issue of which is thus described by Mr. George Smith: 'Babylon was now wholly given up to an infuriated soldiery; its walls were thrown down, its towers demolished, its people given up to violence and slavery, the temples rifled, and the images of the gods brought out and broken in pieces' (*Assyria*, p. 123; comp. Sennacherib's Bavian inscription, *R. P.*, ix. 126). The objection to regarding this siege (or that in 703) as the subject of the prophecy is that the Elamites (who were now in alliance with the Babylonians) had been in a state of revolt from Assyria from the very accession of Sennacherib. We can hardly imagine that this was unknown to Isaiah; in fact, there was a presumption against any of the tributary nations persisting in their allegiance when the murder of Sargon had given the signal for revolt.

I conclude, then, that the siege of Babylon in 710 is not improbably that referred to. Sargon did not indeed destroy the captured city, but he tells us himself that he 'made to shake the entrails of the town of Bel and of Merodach' ('Annals of Sargon,' by Oppert, *R. P.*, vii. 46). I am not embarrassed by the want of a more minute fulfilment, since the phenomena of prophecy do not justify me in requiring it. The prophecy, thus understood, both illustrates and is illustrated by the narrative in chap. xxxix.

The king of Babylon at the time of this siege (and also in 703) was Merodach-Baladan, who, as we know from xxxix. 1 (= 2 Kings xx. 12), sent an embassy to Hezekiah. His immediate interests, in fact, were identical with those of Hezekiah, with whom he probably desired to form an alliance, and who responded to his wishes so far at least as to exhibit all his treasures and his armour. This helps us to understand the depression with which Isaiah announces his revelation. Although he recognised, as a prophet, the divine necessity of Babylon's fall, he must, at any rate, have known, and have grieved from a human point of view to know, that it was an event of evil omen for still weaker kingdoms. It is true, the king of Elam was at this time favourably disposed to Merodach-Baladan, which is at first sight inconsistent with the summons, 'Go up, O Elam' (v. 2). But we may reply—1. that Isaiah need not have been minutely acquainted with the then shifting political relations of Elam and her neighbours; 2. that as a matter of fact the Elamites were not all either able or willing to support their king in the line he wished to adopt

¹ The circumstances of the latter of these sieges agree even better with the prophet's description than those of the siege by Sargon (see Smith, as above).

(see *R. P.*, vii. 44, 45); and 3. that part of Elam appears to have been annexed to Assyria by Sargon in 721 (*R. P.*, vii. 29).

The above view is identical with that of Dr. Paul Kleinert, *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1877, pp. 174-79. It should be added that the late Mr. George Smith also before him referred this prophecy to Sargon's conquest of Babylon (*T. S. B. A.*, ii. 329). The evidence in its favour is exegetical, and will therefore not command universal assent. For my own part, I gladly admit that a fuller knowledge of the circumstances of the Jews might conceivably enable us to reconcile the prophecy with a date at the close of the Exile. Let the other side as willingly acknowledge the remarkable contrast pointed out long ago by De Wette between this prophecy and the rest of the group which relates to Babylon.

¹ [Utterance of the wilderness ^a of the sea.^a] As tempests in the southland sweeping along, it cometh from the wilderness, from a terrible land. ² A hard vision is announced unto me: 'The barbarous dealer dealeth barbarously, and the waster wasteth. Go up, Elam! Besiege Media! All the sighing (?) thereof will I bring to stillness. ³ Therefore my

^a Sept. omits.

¹ **Utterance . . .**] An enigmatical title, reminding us of the titles of prophecies in *v.* 11, xxii. 1, xxx. 6. The sense is probably that Babylonia was to become a marshy desert (comp. xiv. 23), 'the sea' being a name given to the Euphrates for a similar reason as to the Nile in xviii. 2, xix. 5; comp. Herod. i. 184, where it is said that, before Semiramis, the river used to make a sea of the whole plain. The Assyrians, too, called S. Chaldea 'the sea-land' (Schrader, *K. A. T.*, p. 353). In Jer. li. 36 (comp. l. 38) Babylon's 'sea' is again referred to, and threatened with being dried up.—**In the southland**] i.e., in the south of Judah, called by the special topographical name *Negeb*, 'dry country.' For these 'tempests,' see Zech. ix. 14, Job xxxvii. 9, i. 19, Hos. xiii. 15, Jer. iv. 11, xiii. 24. Comp. also Layard's description of the violent whirlwinds of Babylonia and Susiana: 'They could be seen as they advanced from the desert, carrying along with them clouds of sand and dust. Almost utter darkness prevailed during this passage' (*Nineveh and its Remains*, chap. v.)—

It cometh from the wilderness] Babylonia was bordered on the S.W. by the Arabian desert. There is no cuneiform evidence that any invasion of Babylon was made from the S.W.; but why should we insist on a literal historical fulfilment? It is a grand poetical symbol which we have before us.—**Terrible land**] Comp. xxx. 6, Deut. viii. 15.

² **Hard**] i.e., calamitous, as 1 Kings xiv. 6.—**Vision**] i.e., revelation.—**The barbarous dealer**] i.e., the Assyrian army. The Hebr. *bōgēd* is strictly one who deals faithlessly: then, one who has no regard for the law of humanity.—a barbarous conqueror (as xxxiv. 16, xxxiii. 1).—**Elam**] The Elamites had been made tributary by Sargon in 721 (*R. P.*, vii. 29, comp. 41).—**Media**] The Median conquests of Assyria had begun long before Sargon (see on xiii. 17).—**Sighing**] i.e., the 'sighing' caused by Babylon—if the text be correct. But the verb 'to still' rather suggests a noun, such as 'jubilation' (xvi. 10), or 'arrogance' (xiii. 11).

^{3, 4} Such terrible tidings overpower the prophet. He thinks

loins are filled with anguish ; pangs have taken hold of me, like the pangs of a woman in travail : I writhe so that I cannot hear : I am alarmed so that I cannot see. ⁴ My heart beateth ; terror hath frightened me ; the evening of my pleasure he hath turned for me into trembling. ⁵ Preparing the table ! ^a spreading the coverlet (?) ! ^b eating, drinking ! ' Arise, ye princes, anoint the shield.'

⁶ For thus hath the Lord said unto me : ' Go, place a watchman ; what he shall see, he shall announce.' ⁷ And ^b he saw a troop of horsemen by pairs, a troop (of riders) on asses,

^b So Hitz.—Watching the watch, Del., Naeg.—Setting (?) the watch, Kay.—Taking a horoscope (?), Ew.

assuming him to be Isaiah) of his own city, and of the fate which threatens it (xxxii. 13, 14) ; or, according to others, is far more sympathetic towards the land of his exile (assuming him to be living in Babylonia) than most of the exile-prophets.—**My loins**] The loins as the seat of the sharpest pain, Nah. ii. 10 (11 Heb.), Ezek. xxi. 6 (11 Heb.), Jer. xxx. 6.—**The evening of my pleasure**] i.e., in which I take pleasure, either as the time of repose, or (Kleinert) of visionary communications from on high.

⁵ **Preparing the table . . .**] Historical infinitives, vividly depicting the arrogant security of the Babylonians. They are dancing and revelling at a banquet. Suddenly the feasting is interrupted by the announcement that the walls have been stormed, and that the palace itself is in danger. It is plausible, though (see Introd.) not necessary, to connect this description with 'Belshazzar's feast,' which appears (comp. Dan. v. 4 and note in Essay x.) to have had primarily a religious character, whereas this feast is apparently nothing but a court-revel.—**Spreading the coverlet**] i.e., either the cloth on which the viands are set, or the coverings of the seats of the banqueters. This rend. suits the context best, and accounts best for the article, but is far from certain.—**Anoint the shield**] They had not

even prepared their shields for battle—so confident were they ! The 'anointing' was mainly in order that the weapons of the enemy might glide off them.

⁶ ⁹ Explanatory of vv. 2-5. Isaiah feigns that he has been directed by Jehovah to set a watchman, but the watchman is really himself. The prophet, as Ewald points out, has, as it were, a double personality, and discharges two separate functions at the same moment. He is at once a 'watchman,' intent upon every indication of the Divine will, and the prophet who listens to the report (somewhat as a man who dreams). Here Isaiah wishes to make it clear that it was no political calculation of his own, but a warning from above, which gave him the certitude of Babylon's fall. Hence his fiction. Hab. ii. 1 is closely parallel.—It seems to me easier to understand the passage about the 'watchman,' if written at Jerusalem, than as the work of an exile in Babylon.—**Unto me**] Added for emphasis, as in v. 16 (*Isaiah's*), viii. 11, xxxi. 4.

⁷ **Asses . . . camels**] The commentators here quote Herod. i. 80, iv. 129, vii. 86, to show that some of the soldiers in the Persian army rode on asses or camels. But asses and camels are expressly mentioned as left on the field of battle by Merodach-Baladan (Bellino cylinder, *ap.* Schrader, *K. A. T.*, ed. 2, pp. 345, 6), and we may presume that

a troop on camels ; and he hearkened ^c very diligently. ⁸And he cried (as) a lion, 'O Lord, I stand upon the watchtower continually by day, and I remain at my post all the nights.' ⁹And behold, there came a troop of men, of horsemen by pairs ; and he answered and said, 'Fallen, fallen is Babylon, and all the images of its gods he hath broken unto the ground !' ¹⁰O my threshed and winnowed one ! that which I have heard (coming) from Jehovah Sabáoth, the God of Israel, have I announced unto you.

^c Should he see, &c., he shall hearken, Ew., Kay.

vv. 11, 12. A short, vague, and difficult prophecy. Is it in prophetic imagination that Isaiah hears a call from Seir ? or did the Edomites really consult the prophet of Jehovah, as Ahaziah consulted Baalzebub, the god of Ekron ? or has a word fallen out of the text, which, together with a slight emendation, would perhaps make the applicants Simeonitish fugitives in Seir (1 Chr. iv. 42, 43), sounding Isaiah as to their restoration to the rights of citizenship ?¹ The first seems to me the right view, as most in harmony with the heading and with the position of the prophecy. It is 'in the spirit' that Isaiah hears the question of the Edomites. Perhaps they had already suffered some great reverse ; the reading of the three Greek versions may be correct, and may be thus explained. I would assign the prophecy to the reign of Sargon, by whom (see on xx. 5, 6) Judah and Edom are brought under a common accusation of seditious plotting. In Sennacherib's time the Edomites paid tribute to Assyria.

they were sometimes employed in the Assyrian army.—**He hearkened**] viz., for a Divine revelation. The prophet knows that the king of Assyria has taken the field against various rebellious peoples, but for some time his inner ear catches no tidings affecting the interests of Judah. Hence, the imaginary watchman **cried (as) a lion** (*v. 8*), 'with a deep groan of impatience.' His cry is addressed to Jehovah ('O Lord') ; thus we have a key to the allegorical fiction. The prophet is the watchman, and he is set by Jehovah (*Ezek. xxxiii. 7*).

⁹**And behold . . .**] Just as the watchman had uttered his complaint, the answer came. He saw a troop of men riding, in pairs,

and coming from Babylon. Then all at once it dawns upon him with prophetic certitude that Babylon has fallen. As a prophet of Jehovah, he cannot but rejoice at the signal blow thus inflicted on idolatry, but at the same time he recognises, as a citizen, the pain which the news must give to his own people.

¹⁰**O my threshed . . .**] 'O Israel, who hast lately suffered so much from the cruel Assyrian invaders (under Sargon, see on x. 5, &c.), how gladly would I have brought thee more cheering tidings, news of the success of the rebellion against Assyria, but I can but wait upon my office. That which I have heard . . . I have announced unto you.' The prophet clearly

¹ So Movers, *Chronik*, p. 136, &c. ; Dozy, *De Israeliten te Mekka*, pp. 72-3 ; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, ii., 1, p. 485.

¹¹ [Utterance of Dumah.] ^d One calleth unto me out of Seir : ' Watchman, what part of the night ? Watchman, what part of the night ? ' ¹² The watchman said, ' Morning cometh, and ^e also night. ^e If ye would inquire, inquire ; return, come. '

vv. 13-17. This prophecy must have been written rather later than the foregoing. War had already reached the powerful tribe of the Dedanites, and forced their caravans to take flight. Within a year, says the prophet, the other tribes of Arabia shall share the same fate. Sargon relates how Samsie, queen of *mat Aribi*, brought him tribute (*R. P.* vii., 34).

¹³ [Utterance ^f 'in the evening. ^f] In the thickets must ye

^d The fugitives call, Dozy, Gr. (after Aquila, Theod., Symm.). See crit. note.

^e The night fleeth, Kr., Gr., virtually Dozy (emendation).

^f So Del., Naeg. (but supposing an allusion to the other reading or rendering),

implies that there is more trouble in store for his country from Assyria. But he suggests the only trustworthy source of comfort—viz. that He who doeth all this is 'the God of Israel.'—**Threshed** (or, trodden) **and winnowed one** (lit., son of my floor)] So of the later kingdom of Babylon when approaching its end, Jer. li. 33. It must be remembered that threshing was performed either by oxen treading out with the feet (so Hos. x. 11), or with iron wains (xxviii. 28, xli. 15, Am. i. 3, Mic. iv. 12).

¹¹ **Utterance of Dumah**] Adumu in the Assyrian inscriptions is the capital of *mat Aribi* (Arabia), and Yākūt, the great Arabic geographer, mentions several places called Dūma (though none in the mountains of Seir). Probably, however, none of these towns is referred to, but Edom (Assyrian Udumu). The title has a mystic meaning (comp. xxi. 1), and alludes (Dumah = 'silence') to the desolation in store for Edom. In the Hebrew of Ps. xciv. 17, cxv. 17, Dumah = Hades.—**What part of the night ?**] The first, second, or third watch ? Will the light soon dawn ?

¹² **Morning cometh and also night**] An enigmatical reply in the style of that 'wisdom' which the

neighbouring peoples, and not least the Edomites (*Obad.* 8), loved. Various interpretations have been given. I quote two from Dr. Weir : 'The dawn shall certainly come, but also night ; i.e., either the light promised is not to endure always, but to be followed by another and perhaps another period of darkness (contrast lx. 19, 20, and especially Zech. xiv. 7), or that which is morning to some is darkness to others.' I prefer the former. The prophet sees a short day of prosperity followed by a night of trouble. But the text may be incomplete ; see crit. note.—**If ye would inquire** (or, seek) . . .] 'If ye would have fuller information, ye may come and ask again. This is all that has yet been revealed to me.' Dr. Kay (following Jerome) thinks 'seek' means 'seek Jehovah,' and 'return, come' = 'repent' (comp. Jer. iii. 22), and so partly Dr. Weir. It may be so, but the sister prophecy in *vv.* 13-17 says nothing of the kind, and 'Jehovah' would hardly have been omitted.

¹³ **Utterance 'in the evening'**] The words 'in the evening' have been adopted from the sequel by the Hebrew editor as a title (similar cases in xxii. 1, xxx. 6). The whole inscription is wanting in most MSS.

lodge ^g in the evening, ^g ye caravans of Dedanites. ¹⁴ To the thirsty bring forth water, ye inhabitants of the land of Tema ; with his bread ^h meet the fugitive. ¹⁵ ¹ For before the swords have they fled, before the ^k whetted sword, and before the bent bow, and before the pressure of war. ¹⁶ For thus hath the Lord said unto me, In a year more, as the years of a hireling, all the glory of Kedar shall be over, and the number that is left of ¹ the mighty archers, ¹ the sons of Kedar, shall become small, for Jehovah, Israel's God, hath spoken.

^g So Sept., Targ., Pesh., Vulg., Lowth, Hitz., Naeg.—In (or, on) Arabia. Vowel-points, Ew., Del., Kay.

^h So Sept., Targ., Pesh., Vulg., Ew., Weir.—They met, Hebr. text.

¹ The Sept. of v. 15 is lucid, but very different.

^k So Luz., Gr. ; drawn (?). TEXT.

¹ So Vulg., Lo., Luz., Nöldeke (*Götting. gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 896), transposing two words.

of Sept.—**In the thickets**] The caravans had had to leave the beaten track, and take refuge in a less exposed part of the desert, where shrubs and thorn-bushes secured them to some extent from observation (see Del.'s note).—

In the evening] There are two objections to the reading of the vowel-points—one bad and one good. The bad one is that the name Arabia had not arisen as early as Isaiah (Ewald), whereas it occurs under the form *Aribu* (= N. Arabia, or a part of it) in inscriptions of Shalmaneser and Sargon ; the good one is that the limitation 'in Arabia' would be rather superfluously addressed to the Dedanites. The same confusion between '*erebh*' and '*arabh*' appears in 2 Chr. ix. 14,

comp. 1 Kings x. 15, and in the Sept. of Hab. i. 8.—**Dedanites**] Mentioned by Jeremiah as belonging to Edom (xlix. 8 ; comp. Ezek. xxv. 13), and again in company with Tema (xxv. 23). A commercial people, Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20.

¹⁴ **Tema**] See Job vi. 19, Jer. xxv. 23. On the E. border of the Haurán ranges, a station (now Taimâ) on the route between Palmyra and Petra (Wetzstein).

¹⁶ **As the years . . .**] So xvi 14.—**Kedar**] Here used (and perhaps in Ps. cxx. 5, Cant. i. 5) as a general name for the nomad tribes of N. Arabia, so as to include Dedan. The Kidrai are recognised as Arabian by Assurbanipal (Smith, *Assurb.*, p. 271 ; *R. P.*, i. 96). Comp. Sprenger, *Journ. As. Soc.* 1872, p. 8.

CHAPTER XXII.

VERSES 1-14. A prophecy of judgment upon Jerusalem. It is not easy to seize the right point of view for explaining it. After much fluctuation, these are the results to which the study of the prophecy as a whole has led me. In the two opening verses the prophet assumes the attitude of a stranger, and inquires the cause of the crowd on the roofs and the boisterous merriment. How strangely ill-timed ! For a part of the population has perished by pestilence, while the warriors have either fled or been taken prisoners. It is a calamity little short of the destruction of the nation, and the prophet gives himself up to sorrow (v. 4). True,

Jerusalem is still uncaptured, but the seer on his watch-tower foretells that it will not long continue so. A picture unrolls itself before him of tumult and consternation at the troops of fierce soldiery pouring in. *v.* 6 begins a new section.¹ The prophet transports himself mentally to the first appearance of the Assyrian army, and recalls the measures of defence hastily taken by the citizens. In *v.* 12 he describes a state of things which began in the past ('in that day'), but reaches into the present. Though misfortune has thus been closing in upon them, the people of Jerusalem have shut their ears to the preaching of repentance. With despair in their hearts, they endeavour to drown thought in sensual pleasure. But from heaven it has been distinctly revealed to the prophet that such an offence is unpardonable, and must be punished by death.

vv. 12, 13 are the key to *vv.* 1, 2. It is the merriment of despair of which the prophet is the spectator. The enemy is before the walls, but there is no thought of turning to Jehovah, who may still deliver. Hence the prophet threatens the city with capture, and the impenitent among its people with death.

It has always been difficult to explain the severe tone of this prophecy, into which not a gleam of hope penetrates. If it belongs, as has been generally supposed, to the invasion of Sennacherib, it is no easy matter to account for it, as the tone of Isaiah at that great crisis was one of consolation and promise. The most recent critic confesses, 'I am aware of no solution for this fundamental contradiction.'² But now that we know of an earlier invasion—that of Sargon—we are relieved from this difficulty. The circumstances of the prophet were very probably different in the two invasions. In the latter one there was probably a union of feeling and purpose between the king and the prophet; the preaching, too, of the latter had probably produced some effect on the better minds. It seems to have been otherwise in the time of Sargon; and finding the prophecy of Ariel ineffectual as a means of moral quickening, Isaiah may have deliberately chosen (for the 'spirit of prophecy' does not exclude deliberation) this harder and sharper tone under the double pressure of calamity and opposition. The view here taken is not inconsistent with the reference to Elam in *v.* 6. It is true that Elam was not thoroughly conquered by Sargon, but neither was it subjugated by Sennacherib. The Elamites were continually stirring up trouble in the Assyrian empire in the days of both these kings (comp. on *xxi.* 1–10). But the Annals of Sargon appear to show that a district or province of Elam was annexed by Sargon as early as 721 (*R. P.*, vii. 29), and this is perhaps referred to here under the name of Elam. The combination with Kir shows that Isaiah must intend an integral portion of the Assyrian empire (see on *v.* 6).

Prof. Friedr. Delitzsch, in his work on the site of Paradise (p. 237 of the German edition), offers the incidental remark, 'that Elam never served in an Assyrian host, any more than the nomad peoples Shoa and Koa; throughout the cuneiform literature it appears only as an ally of the

¹ I cannot help conjecturing that something has dropped out, or been omitted, between *v.* 5, 6, if not also between *vv.* 7, 8.

² Cornill, 'Die Composition des Buches Jesaja,' in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1884, p. 97.

Babylonians.' If this is true, not only of Elam as a whole, but of all Elamitish territories, and if Isaiah was bound to know that an Elamitish contingent in an Assyrian army was inconceivable, we are driven to the conclusion that chap. xxii. was manipulated by some subsequent writer, who was but ill acquainted with the facts of the earlier history. The theory can neither be proved nor disproved. At present the Isaianic authorship of the prophecy as a whole (admitting, however, the possibility of *lacunæ*) seems to me tenable; the Elamites and Shoites may have been regarded by Isaiah as compulsory allies of their formidable Assyrian neighbours. But even if the description of the army were cast out, the bulk of the prophecy must be Isaiah's, and will still be comprehensible, and *this* is the main point. (And if this be Isaiah's, why not also xxi. 1-10, which has several features in common with chap. xxii.?)

¹[Utterance of the valley of vision.] What aileth thee, then, that all belonging to thee have gone up to the house-tops, ²thou that art full of uproar, a noisy city, a joyous town? Thy slain are not slain with the sword, nor dead in battle. ³All thy chief men have fled ^a together, without ^a bow they have been made prisoners; all of them that were seized have together been made prisoners—they fled far away. ⁴Therefore I say, Look away from me, let me weep bitterly; be not urgent to comfort me for the destruction of the daughter of my people. ⁵For a day of discomfiture and of treading down and of perplexity

^a Together from the, Ew., putting (:) at 'bow.'

All belonging to thee] The whole population of Jerusalem is crumpled in this chapter (see *Intro.*).—**Gone up to the house-tops]** The meaning of this and the first part of the next verse seems to me clear from *v.* 13. It was the forced gaiety of despair which drove the people to the banquet-table, and (we may conclude) to the (flat) house-tops also. The latter appear elsewhere as places of concourse at festivals (*Judg.* xvi. 27, *Neh.* viii. 16).—**Not slain with the sword]** There had as yet, therefore, been no actual fighting, but the crowding of refugees from the country-districts had produced famine (comp. *Lam.* iv. 9) or pestilence (comp. *v.* 25, *Weir*), or both.

³ **All thy chief men . . .]** Thy rulers (same word in *i.* 10) have fled in despair from the devoted city

(comp. 2 *Kings* xxv. 4, *Jer.* iv. 29), but, meeting the Assyrians, have thrown their bows away and surrendered. Comp. the terror of the 'house of David' on a less great occasion (*vii.* 2).—**They fled]** i.e., while they were fleeing.

⁴ The last stage of calamity can be already foreseen; the prophet describes it as 'the destruction' of his people (same word in *xiii.* 6, *Kay*).

⁵ **A day]** viz., of judgment (*ii.* 12). This 'day' is then described in a series of inimitable assonances. We seem to see and hear the last hurrying stages of the siege and capture.—**The valley (or ravine) of vision]** Probably one of the valleys about Jerusalem, where, as *v.* 7 states, the horsemen had taken up a position towards the gate. The meaning of the phrase must remain uncertain. On the analogy of *Joel*

hath the Lord Jehovah Sabáoth, in the valley of vision;
^b Kir undermineth, and Shoa is at the mount.^b ⁶ And

^b So Luzzatto, Ew. (second ed.)—There is undermining of the wall, and a crying soundeth unto the mountains.—Ew. (first ed.), Del., and most.

v. (iii.) 14¹ it may be conjectured that 'valley of vision' should have some reference to the struggle going on at the place so described. ['Multitudes, multitudes in the valley (*'émeq*) of decision (= Jehoshaphat); for the day of Jehovah is near in the valley of decision.'] 'Vision' may mean 'a vision of Jehovah directing the struggle'; comp. the derivation of Moriah in 2 Chron. iii. 1 ('appearance of Jehovah'). This seems at any rate more natural than Ewald's and Knobel's theory that the phrase designates the quarter where Isaiah lived and received his visions. Others (Ges., Del., comp. Vitr.) have supposed it to be a synonym for Jerusalem, the home of prophecy (comp. Luke xiii. 33). Why, it is asked, should the 'day of discomfiture' be confined to one alone of the valleys of Jerusalem? The only reply is, that it is not really so confined; but the prophet is specially attracted by a spot where the fight was thickest (see above); and on the other hand, we may ask, What propriety is there in calling Jerusalem a 'valley'? It is surely the all but universal practice of the Hebrew writers to describe Jerusalem as a mountain ('mount Zion'), and we may add, to picture the prophets as standing on watch-towers, and not in the valleys. True, the personified people of Jerusalem is addressed in Jer. xxi. 13 as 'inhabitant of the valley' (*'émeq*), but this is immediately supplemented by the words '(even) of the rock of the level country.'—**Kir undermineth** . . .] There were iron tools specially designed for the work of undermining (comp. Josephus, *de Bell. Jud.*, v. 4. 2). Kir and Shoa are the names of parts of the Assyrian empire (on Kir, see

below). The latter is mentioned in Ezek. xxiii. 23 in company with Pekod (Puqudu, an Aramaean tribe bordering on Elam in the Assyrian inscriptions) and Koa. It has been identified by Prof. Friedr. Delitzsch² with the Sutû or Su, a tribe dwelling between the Tigris and the southern slopes of the mountains of Elam (similarly Koa = the Qutû or Qu). The objection I formerly took to the above rendering was that the harmony of the picture was destroyed by so abrupt a commencement of the catalogue of names of peoples. This, however, is not so serious a one as it might be, if the context were certainly preserved in its integrity. But, as I remarked before, this is not the case; how then can we be sure that the two halves of v. 5 originally stood together? (See further in crit. note). 'The mountains' in alt. rend., on the analogy of 'mount Ephraim' for the hill-country of Ephraim, taking *har* collectively.

⁶ It would be a plausible conjecture that a passage has been omitted before v. 6, in which other contingents of the Assyrian army were mentioned; see, however, xxi. 2, (if Isaiah's).—**Elam**] See Introd. and note on xi. 11.—**Kir**] The region to which Tiglath-Pileser transported the Damascenes (2 Kings xvi. 9), and from which, according to Am. ix. 7, the Arameans came. This has been generally identified with the district by the river Cyrus (the modern Georgia). But, besides the linguistic objection pointed out by Del. (Kir cannot = Kur), it appears that the Assyrian empire never extended to the Cyrus. We must therefore seek for Kir among the Assyrian conquests mentioned in the inscriptions; it

¹ Long after writing the above, I see that Naeg. has compared the same passage, but with a very different result.

² *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 235-6.

Elam carried the quiver with troops of men, of horsemen, and Kir made bare the shield; ⁷ and when thy choice valleys were full of troops, and the horsemen had set themselves in line towards the gate, ⁸ then did he draw aside the covering of Judah, and thou didst look in that day to the armour of the forest-house, ⁹ and ye saw that the breaches of David's city were many, and ye collected the water of the lower pool, ¹⁰ and the houses of Jerusalem ye counted and ye broke

may possibly be a shortened form of Kirkhi or Kurruri, the former of which lay to the east of the sources of the Tigris, near Diarbekr, the latter near the lake of Urmia. Both countries were conquered by Assurnazirpal (885-860). The suggestion is Mr. Heilprin's, *Historical Poetry of the Hebrews*, ii. 180.—**Made bare the shield**] i.e., took away its leathern covering, comp. Cæs., *de Bell. Gall.*, ii. 21 (Hitz.) See on xxxvii. 33.

⁷ **Thy choice valleys**] Jerusalem was almost surrounded by valleys, e.g., Kidron, Gihon, Rephaim, Hinnom. Comp. Josephus, *de Bell. Jud.*, v. 4. 1.—**Had set themselves in line**] i.e., ready to enter as soon as 'the gate' was broken through by the rams, comp. Ezek. xxi. 22 (27). It is the 'great gate' referred to by Sennacherib (Faylors's cylinder), who boasts of having 'caused them to break through' it. The remains are still to be seen, says Lieut. Conder.

⁸ **Then did he draw aside . . .**] The subject is Jehovah (comp. *v.* 5). 'Drawing aside the curtain' means either exposing the utter weakness of the state to the enemy (Ew., Meier), or, opening the eyes of the Judeans to their danger (comp. xxix. 10, 18 Hitz., Knob., Del.). The former view seems the more suitable.—Here begins the account of the measures of defence taken by the citizens. Very similar is the Chronicler's account of Hezekiah's preparations for the siege of Sennacherib, 2 Chr. xxxii. 2-5, 30 (see *Q. P. B.*), and as the memory of Sargon's siege had faded away by

the time of the Chronicler, it is possible that there is a confusion between the precautions taken on these two occasions. The compiler of Kings alludes briefly to some of the same measures as the Chronicler, but does not assign a date (2 Kings xx. 20). It was of course a matter of primary importance to prevent the enemy from using the water of the fountains (see on vii. 3). Sargon gives a similar account of the preparations for the siege of Ashdod (Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 291 top), 'And they brought the waters of the springs in front of the city.' The first step of the citizens, however, is to look after the supply of arms.—**The forest-house**]—'the house of the forest of Lebanon' (1 Kings vii. 2, x. 17, Jer. xxii. 23), a part of Solomon's palace, which was used as an arsenal (xxxix. 2.)

⁹ **And ye saw . . .**] 'Ye,' i.e., the princes, who practically monopolised the government (comp. on vii. 2, xxxii. 1).—**The city of David**] i.e. the fortress Zion, 2 Sam. v. 7, 9.—**The lower pool**] Certainly not the mediæval tank called Birket-es-Sultân, but possibly the pool made by Hezekiah, according to 2 Kings xx. 20.

¹⁰ **The houses . . . ye counted**] Partly to see how many could be spared, partly for the inhabitants to identify their property.—**To fortify the wall**] To withstand the shocks of the battering-rams. So 2 Chr. xxxii. 5, 'and he built up all the wall that was broken, and raised thereupon towers,' and Jer. xxxiii. 4 'the houses . . . which are

down the houses to fortify the wall, ¹¹ and ye made a lake between the two walls for the water of the old pool; but ye looked not unto him who made it, and him who formed it from afar ye did not regard. ¹² And the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, called in that day to weeping, and to lamentation, and to baldness, and to girding with sackcloth; ¹³ but behold, joy and gladness, killing oxen and slaughtering sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine, 'Eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.' ¹⁴ But (this) hath been made known ^e in the ears

^e So Sept., Cornill; most render the text, 'But Jehovah Sabáoth hath revealed himself in mine ears, [saying.]

thrown down because of (i.e., to resist) the mounds and because of the engines of war.¹

¹¹ **A lake]** i.e., a large pool, or reservoir.—**Between the two walls]** i.e., between that of Ophel on the east, and that of the High Tower on the west, where the Tyropæon valley is particularly narrow.

—**The old pool]** i.e. probably the 'Pool of Siloam' (called 'The Pool' *par excellence* in the Hebrew inscription in the rock-tunnel leading to Siloam).—**But ye looked not]** A contrast to 'thou didst look' (v. 8).—**Who made it . . . formed it]** i.e., in the counsels of eternity, as appears from xxxvii. 26 (same words). Comp. on v. 12.

¹² **And the Lord . . . called]** i.e., the prophet, God's messenger, or perhaps the silent march of events, called upon you to repent; penitence might have turned the Divine purpose, Joel ii. 14.—**To baldness]** So Am. viii. 10, 'I will bring. . . baldness upon every head.' The prophets accept things as they are, and do not trouble themselves with premature innovations. 'Baldness,' however, is forbidden in Lev. xxi. 5, Deut. xiv. 1.

¹³ But no moral effect has been produced by calamity. They rush to the banquet-table with despair in their hearts, and waste the pro-

visions which ought to be husbanded for the siege.—**For to-morrow we shall die]** It is doubted whether these words are quoted in mockery from the prophet (Ges.), or whether they express the sensualism of despair (Hitz.). The latter view is simpler and more natural.

¹⁴ **But it is made known . . .]** The Rabbis understand 'this thing' for a subject, and 'saith' before 'Jehovah Sabáoth' (comp. v. 9), or else explain as if they read 'I am Jehovah Sabáoth.' The ordinary explanation is still more forced. A single vowel-point is wrong; the Massorettes shrank from the anthropomorphism 'the ears of Jehovah.'—**Shall not be cancelled . . .]** Death shall indeed overtake you by the hand of the enemy (as A.E. rightly explains), as the punishment of your guilt. 'Some of the Jewish writers understand the words to mean "at death, but not before," and draw the inference that death does or may atone for sin' (Alexander). But it is not a Biblical idea that a sinner who has borne his punishment is thereby released from guilt. Punishment has only the effect of expiation when borne by the innocent on behalf of the guilty. See Riehm, *Der Begriff der Sühne* u.s.w., *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*,

¹ *Khérébh* is probably from a root meaning to pierce (comp. *khôr*, a hole), and can therefore just as well be applied to a battering-ram (or to some similar engine) as to a sword. Here, as in Jer. v. 17, Ezek. xxvi. 9, the rendering 'engines of war' seems to be required. For pictures of battering-rams, see Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 163; notice their lance-headed extremities.

of Jehovah^e Sabáoth; surely this iniquity shall not be cancelled unto you till ye die, saith the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth.

vv. 15-25. Denunciation of Shebna and promises to Eliakim. Probably this prophecy was written a short time before the invasion of Sennacherib, for in the narrative of this event Shebna is represented as holding a lower office (see on *vv.* 20-24). Isaiah's only invective against an individual.

¹⁵ Thus saith the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, Go, get thee unto this high officer, even unto Shebna, who is over the house. ¹⁶ What (right) hast thou here, and whom hast thou here, that thou hewest thee out here a sepulchre? hewing him out his sepulchre on high, carving him out in the rock a habitation! ¹⁷ Behold, Jehovah will ^dhurl, will hurl thee, O man,^d and clutch thee tightly; ¹⁸ he will roll thee up (and toss thee) as a ball into a broad country; thither shalt thou go to die, and

^d Cast thee with a man's (i.e., a manly) cast, Del. (but see crit. note.).

1877, Heft 1. Isaiah's threat is therefore precisely parallel to 1 Sam. iii. 14.

¹⁵ **This high officer**] (On rendering, see crit. notes.) 'This,' with a touch of disparagement (as vi. 9). Shebna's present function was that of 'house-steward' (mentioned 1 Kings iv. 6). Its importance is shown by the fact that it was once held by a 'king's son,' 2 Chr. xxvi. 21, and by the order of the court-officers in xxxvi. 3, xxxvii. 2. It has been well compared to the Frankish officer of Mayor of the Palace. —**Shebna**] From his father's name not being mentioned, it is probable that Shebna was not a native Israelite; his name (which is in the Aramaic 'emphatic state') points to a Syrian origin. If he was a refugee from Damascus, he would naturally be an advocate of an Egyptianizing policy, and would thus be one of the 'crooked' politicians, whom the prophet inveighs against in xxx. 12. The brother of the famous Rabbi Hillel was also called Shebna.

¹⁶ Shebna, like eastern grandees generally (comp. Joseph of Arimathea, Eshmunazar king of Sidon,

the Pharaohs and Caliphs of Egypt, &c.), builds himself a sepulchre in his lifetime. Comp. xiv. 18, 'thy grave.' — **What (right) hast thou here?**] Shebna's offence is aggravated by his being a foreigner. Even at a much later time a 'potter's field' was good enough 'to bury strangers in' (Matt. xxvii. 7). 'Here,' i.e., in Jerusalem; note the indignant repetition. — **On high**] Not necessarily on mount Zion (Knob.), or on its eastern slope (Del.). Tombs have been found on the slopes of all the hills about Jerusalem. — **A habitation**] Heb. *mishkan*, elsewhere used only of God, and implying a great personage and a long sojourn (comp. Eccles. xii. 5, Ps. xlix. 12, Sept., Targ.). — **O man**] I formerly rendered 'O mighty man!' supposing a touch of irony in the phrase. This is certainly suggested by the etymology, but is not favoured by the use of the word elsewhere, especially in Job, where it several times occurs (but without irony), in strong contrast with God (see Job iv. 17, x. 5, xxii. 2). — **A broad country**] i.e., the plains of Mesopotamia.

thither shall go thy glorious chariots, thou disgrace of the house of thy lord! ¹⁹ And I will thrust thee from thy post, and from thy station shall he pull thee down. ²⁰ And it shall come to pass in that day that I will call my servant Eliakim, son of Hilkiyah, ²¹ and I will clothe him with thy robe, and with thy girdle will I bind him, and thy authority will I give into his hand, and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah; ²² and I will lay the key of the house of David upon his back, so that he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open. ²³ And I will strike him as a peg into a sure place, and he shall be for a seat of honour to his father's house; ²⁴ and they shall hang upon him all the honour of his father's house, the scions and the offshoots, all the vessels of small size, from the

¹⁹ Note the change of person; Jehovah is the subject, however, in both clauses.

²⁰⁻²⁴ Nomination of Eliakim. We have only evidence of a partial fulfilment of Isaiah's authoritative word. Eliakim was house-steward, and Shebna merely secretary, when the Rab-shakeh came to Jerusalem (xxxvi. 3). Perhaps this was all that Hezekiah was able to effect against the opposition of the 'princes.' Isaiah evidently predicts a complete change of system, which would consist in the total abstinence from a policy of expediency and worldly alliances. Hence the strong language, almost Messianic in its tone, with which Isaiah hails in spirit the elevation of his disciple Eliakim.

²¹ **Robe . . . girdle]** The official dress of a high officer of state. The 'robe' is the long, sleeved tunic worn by people of rank, e.g., Joseph and Tamar (Vitr.). The girdle (*abnet*) is a costly one, such as priests wore (see Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7. 2).—**Into his hand]** Comp. Jer. xxxiv. 1 (Hebr.).—**A father]** The term is used of a prime minister in Gen. xlv. 8, 1 Macc. xi. 32; of the chief men of a town (1 Chr. ii. 24, iv. 5, &c., Ew.). Comp. ix. 6, Job xxix. 16, Judg. v. 7.

²² **I will lay the key]**

The 'key' here symbolizes the authority of the 'Deputy' or royal representative. (See on ix. 6, and comp. Matt. xvi. 19, Rev. iii. 7.) An Eastern key is as much as a man can carry (see figures in Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 150).

²³⁻²⁴ Description of Eliakim's tenure of office.—**As a peg into a sure place]** i.e., into a good solid wall—not mere plaster, as in an ordinary house—so as to be able to support a large number of vessels. (Comp. Zech. x. 4, where 'peg' = prince.)

²³ **All the honour of his father's house]** This is a strange expression, as it has to cover the undistinguished members of Eliakim's family as well as the distinguished. 'Honour' must be almost equivalent to 'multitude' (so Hitz., Del.), and no doubt the importance of a family ('father's house' = family) depended chiefly on its numbers. The entire passage, too, is strange, seeming, as it does, to give the Divine sanction to family-partiality. I say 'seeming,' because I suspect that the fall with which Eliakim in his turn is threatened is the punishment of an evil tendency which Isaiah noticed in Eliakim.—**Offshoots]** A contemptuous expression (cognate word Ezek. iv. 15).

bowl-shaped vessels to all pitcher-like vessels. ²⁵ In that day—an oracle of Jehovah Sabáoth—the peg that is struck into a sure place shall give way; it shall be cut down and shall fall and the burden upon it shall perish, for Jehovah hath spoken.

²⁵ **The peg]** It is doubted whether this refers to Shebna or Eliakim; but surely 'the peg' must be identical with that mentioned in the preceding verses. There is nothing strange in the anticipation that a high *Eastern* official should not be in favour for ever, and that his fall should involve the ruin of his adherents. The difficulty lies in the words 'in that day,' which

seem to co-ordinate, by way of contrast, the event here spoken of with that in *v.* 19. But we need not interpret the phrase so strictly. It may, in *v.* 25, merely imply that at the very time when Eliakim's connections are basking in the sunshine of prosperity, a sudden change shall come. Thus Jehovah will 'profane the pride of all glory' (xxiii. 9).

CHAPTER XXIII.

AN elegy, in three stanzas or strophes (*vv.* 1-5, 6-9, 10-14), on the fall of Tyre, followed by a kind of appendix on the future revival of the merchant-city. For an analysis, see *I. C. A.*, p. 55.

There have been great differences of opinion as to the date of this prophecy, several eminent critics supposing that the siege referred to is that of Nebuchadnezzar (comp. Ezek. xxvi. 4-21). The main argument in favour of this view is derived from *v.* 13. Taking this verse together with the next, it was not unnatural to suppose that the Chaldeans were thus prominently mentioned as the future destroyers of Tyre. But there is another view of the verse, and one, moreover, which is exegetically easier, viz. that the fate of the Chaldeans is pointed to as a warning for Tyre:—Babylonia had fallen a prey to Assyria, how should Tyre escape? This view, natural as it is, could not, however, have been entertained until it was possible to show that Babylonia had really been thus severely chastised by her powerful neighbour. Now that this has been done—now that we know that Babylonia was conquered three times over in the reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib (see *Introd.* to xxi. 1-10), there seems nothing to prevent us from adopting it.¹ The selfishness and injustice on which the Tyrian empire was based were to the prophet a sure guarantee of its overthrow, and a special revelation appears to have warned him to expect the event about this time.

But which of the three Assyrian invasions of Babylonia is intended in *v.* 13? There can hardly be a doubt; the description well applies to the third, and to this alone. 'His (Merodach-Baladan's) cities I laid waste,' says Sennacherib, 'and burned with fire.' True, there is no capture of Tyre mentioned as following upon this devastation; it was in the preceding year's expedition that Luli (the Elulœus of Menander,

¹ Dr. Tiele was the first to see the bearing of Assyrian discovery on this chapter. Comp. his *Vergeltende geschiedenis*, p. 707.

Jos., *Antiq.*, ix. 14, 2) king of Sidon, and suzerain (as appears from Menander) of Phœnicia, fled at the approach of Sennacherib to the island of Cyprus (*R. P.*, vii. 61). But it is no part of an interpreter's duty to prove the complete, literal fulfilment of a prophecy;¹ all that he has to do, in order to promote the enjoyment of the reader, is to collect and illustrate the data of the prophecy. It is certain that, from a moral point of view Phœnicia deserved chastisement, certain that the fate of Babylonia was an evil omen to other vassal states.

The minor key in which the prophecy is pitched reminds us of xxi. 1-10. Tyre, Babylon, and Judah were fellow-sufferers from Assyria. 'The poetical art of the piece is in a very high degree finished,' remarks Ewald, who, however, finds the 'elevation, magnificence, and energetic brevity' of Isaiah wholly wanting, and suspects (as in the case of chap. xxxiii.) that a younger contemporary and disciple of the prophet is the author. This is possible, as many phenomena converge to show that Isaiah's works were not always edited by himself; but I am particularly loth to deny so artistic a work to this great and, as Ewald admits, many-sided prophet.

¹ [Utterance of Tyre.] Howl, ye ships of Tarshish, for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in! From the land of Chittim it has been disclosed unto them. ² Be dumb, ye inhabitants of the coast, which Sidon's merchants who pass over the sea replenished. ³ And on great waters was the seed of Shihor; the harvest of the River was its ingathering, and it became ^a the gain ^a of the nations. ⁴ Be

^a The mart, Ges., Ew.

¹ **No house . . .**] The fleets are homeward-bound from the western colonies. At the very last place of call—Cyprus, they hear the sad tidings that their harbour and their homes are desolate.

² **The coast**] i.e., the Phœnician coast (so *v.* 6). True, this involves a tautology with the next line, since Sidon also = Phœnicia (as 1 Kings xi. 1, Gen. x. 15).

³ **On great waters**] i.e., on the ocean-highway (comp. Ps. cvii. 23, Ezek. xxvii. 26).—**Shihor**] i.e., the Nile, as Jer. ii. 18. Perhaps 'the dark grey' (see on xiv. 12), from the colour of the water; if so, a *Semitic* name for the Nile, but Friedr. Del. questions this (*Paradies*, p. 311).—On the connection

of Phœnicia and Egypt, see Ezek. xxvii. 7, Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. 3, pp. 314-336, Ebers, *Egypten und die Bücher Moses*, i. 147, &c. The Egyptians had no timber to build seaworthy ships; hence their foreign trade was carried on for them by the Phœnicians.—**The gain**] Not 'mart,' for the Phœnicians themselves distributed their wares, and these in their turn became a source of gain to other nations (Del. after Luzzatto).

⁴ **Be ashamed, O Sidon**] i.e., O Phœnicia! Tyrian coins bear the legend 'Of Tyre, mother (= chief city) of the Sidonians.'—**The stronghold of the sea**] i.e., the insulated ledge of rocks on which new Tyre was built, Ezek. xxvi. 5,

¹ As has been already pointed out, the oracle upon Tyre was not completely fulfilled till the time of Alexander the Great. Zech. ix. 4 may perhaps refer to this period.

ashamed, O Zidon, for the sea, the stronghold of the sea, speaketh, saying, I have not been in travail, nor brought forth, nor reared young men, nor brought up virgins. ⁵ When the tidings come to Egypt they shall be sore pained at the tidings of Tyre.—⁶ Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the coast! ⁷ ^b Is this, to your sorrow, the joyous one,^b whose origin is of ancient days, whose feet ^c were wont to carry ^c her afar off to sojourn? ⁸ Who hath devised this against Tyre, the giver of crowns, whose merchants were princes, whose traders were the honourable of the earth? ⁹ Jehovah Sabaoth hath devised it, to desecrate the pride of all glory, to disgrace all the honourable of the earth.—¹⁰ Overflow thy land as the

^b Fareth it thus with you, O joyous one! Del.

^c Carry, Ges., Ew.

14. In the following words, Tyre is aptly described as daughter of the sea, but (a figure to express the completeness of the ruin) denied by her own mother.

⁵ **They shall be sore pained]** Tyre being, as it were, an outpost of Egypt against the Assyrians.

⁶ **To Tarshish]** The prophet counsels the Phœnicians to emigrate to their Spanish colonies, as their fate has been determined by the fall of the capital. So at the siege of Tyre by Alexander, the Tyrians sent their old men, women, and children to Carthage (Diod. xvii. 41, Knob.), which Sept. even makes them do here (*εις Καρχηδόνα*). Comp. Layard's plate, 71, 'Enemies of the Assyrians taking refuge in ships.'

⁷ A question of perplexity and surprise (comp. xiv. 16). Is this heap of ruins all that remains of the joyous, the ancient, the restlessly energetic Tyre? (see crit. note).

—**Joyous]** as Zeph. ii. 15.—**Of ancient days]** see Herod. ii. 44, Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 3, 1.—**Whose feet were wont . . .]** Alluding to the distant commercial journeys of the Tyrians. Alt. rend. may be explained in two ways,—of captivity (Ges.), or of flight (Ew). Either way is plausible. The first is supported by the striking verbal parallel in 2 Kings xxi. 8 (overlooked by Ges.); the

second gives a special force to the words 'to sojourn,' which will mean that the Phœnician fugitives are to be only tolerated *μέτρουκοι* (= *gērīm*) in their own colonies. But I think the context decides that the clause must contain, a feature, not of the present Tyre, but of the past. In this case, too, 'to sojourn' is a perfectly accurate phrase.

⁸ **The giver of crowns]**, viz., to the kings of the Phœnician colonies, perhaps also of the other Phœnician cities. Modern parallels will occur to everyone.

⁹ **To desecrate]** So Ezek. xxviii. 7. Beauty having a kind of natural sanctity (comp. Lev. xix. 29, Heb.). There is no occasion to imagine a special reference to the temples of Tyre (as Del.).

¹⁰ The fall of Tyre is the signal for the emancipation of her colonies. About this time we hear of a revolt of Cyprus, and the Phœnician cities assisting Shalmaneser (or Sargon) in the siege of Tyre—Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 14, 2. Tarshish, or Tartessus, with its silver mines, may well have been, as Strachey remarks, the hardest treated of all the colonies.—**As the Nile]** 'The river that least regards any bounds.'—**There is no girdle]** The expression is strange. It looks at first as if it referred to Tarshish (comp. iii. 24), but this does not suit the con-

Nile ; O daughter of Tarshish, there is no girdle any more. ¹¹ His hand he stretched out over the sea, he made kingdoms to tremble ; Jehovah Sabáoth gave charge concerning Canaan, to destroy the fortresses thereof. ¹² He said, thou shalt not continue to exult, thou ravished virgin-daughter of Zidon ; arise, pass over to Chittim ; even there thou shalt have no rest. ¹³ Behold the land of ^d Chaldea ; this people is no more ; Assyria hath appointed it for desert-beasts ; they set up their towers, they laid low their palaces ; he hath made it a ruin. ¹⁴ Howl, ye ships of Tarshish, for your fortress is laid waste !—¹⁵ And it shall come to pass in that day that

^d Canaanites, Ew. (conj.).

text. Naeg. supposes an allusion to some dues or toll demanded on passing a barrier.

¹¹ [Kingdoms] i.e., especially those of Phœnicia and Syria,—hence ‘over the sea.’—**Gave charge**] So of Jehovah’s instruments, xiii. 2.—**Canaan**] i.e., Phœnicia, comp. Josh. v. 1, Sept. The word means ‘depression,’ and was therefore applied to various lowland-districts of Syria.

¹² The fate of Tyre shall be shared by all Phœnicia, here called the **daughter of Zidon**—hence the plural ‘strongholds’ in v. 11.—**Pass over to Chittim**] Luli, king of Zidon, had already sought refuge in Cyprus ; see Introd.—**Thou shalt have no rest**] For the long arm of Assyria will reach them even there. The importance of Cyprus as a naval station was recognised by the Babylonians fifteen or sixteen centuries B.C. The inscription of Sargon, king of Agadé, relates how ‘the sea of the setting sun he crossed,’ and in the third year conquered a land which can hardly be any other than Cyprus, as Mr. Boscawen has pointed out. The inscription is translated in part by Mr. G. Smith, *T. S. B. A.*, ii. 49–51. Cyprus was also, as we have seen, conquered by the Assyrian Sargon.

¹³ The prophet concludes by pointing to a recent event, foreshadowing the fate of Phœnicia.

In the first half of the verse he speaks of the *land* of Chaldea ; in the second, of its capital—Babylon, the fall of which involves that of the land. The subject in the latter part is throughout Assyria. For the change of number, comp. v. 23, 26.—**Chaldea**] On the form *Kasdim*, see crit. note. ‘In the cuneiform documents Kaldi is a tribe of the great nation of Accad, which became entirely predominant in the *southern* provinces [on the lower Euphrates] from the ninth century B.C., but certainly existed previously’ (Lenormant). ‘Under Merodach-Baladan [they] made themselves so important and integral a part of its (Babylonia’s) population as to give their name to the whole country’ (Sayce). There is, therefore, no historical reason why Isaiah should not have used the term ‘land of Kasdim’ for Babylonia, the conquest of which by Sargon might not unnaturally be referred to in this connection (see Introd.). For other, now antiquated, views, see *Notes and Criticisms*, pp. 22–26.—**For desert-beasts**] Comp. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, Jer. i. 39, Ps. lxxiv. 14, and, on the Heb. word, see *Notes and Criticisms*.—**Their towers**] i.e., their siege-works.—**Laid low**] Lit., laid bare (the foundations of).

^{15–18} Yet seventy years, and Tyre shall be restored to prosperity, and devote her profits to Jehovah. Comp.

Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, as the days of one king; at the end of seventy years it shall be unto Tyre as in the song of the harlot: ¹⁶ 'Take the lute, go round the city, forgotten harlot! Play skilfully, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered.' ¹⁷ And it shall come to pass that at the end of seventy years the Lord shall visit Tyre, and she shall return to her hire, and play the harlot with all kingdoms of the earth on the face of the ground. ¹⁸ And her earnings and her hire shall be holy unto Jehovah; it shall not be stored up nor hoarded, but to those who dwell before Jehovah shall her earnings belong for sufficiency of eating and for splendid clothing.

the appendix on the conversion of Egypt, chapter xix.—**Seventy years**] Most expositors regard these seventy years as those of the Babylonian captivity, according to Jer. xxv. 11, 12. But it is strange that Isaiah should specify the duration of the captivity in connection with Tyre, and not with Judah. Is it not rather bold to suppose a lost prophecy on the subject of the length of the captivity, which is what these expositors ought in consistency to do, unless they are prepared to bring down the appendix to the age of Jeremiah? It is surely allowable to understand these seventy years as a conventional expression for a long period, just as 'forty years' is used elsewhere: Ezek. xxix. 13 (see *Speaker's Comm.*). Seven is a sacred number, and 'the decade denotes the fulfilment of times, after which a new æon begins.'—**As the days of one king**] Meaning not that there should really be only one king during these seventy years, but that the condition of Tyre should remain as unchanged as if there were, an Oriental king being too proud to reverse a decree (Esth. viii. 8).—**The song of the harlot**] Evidently some well-known song, a fragment of which follows. The tone is evidently sarcastic; the singer by no means anticipates that the harlot will be 'remembered!' The prophet, however, applies the song as if it were meant in earnest. Commerce, as having regard to

purely worldly interests, is called 'harlotry,' comp. 'the iniquity of his covetousness,' lvii. 17. A further parallel between Tyre and the harlot or *bayadère* (ballatrix) of this song lies in the conditionalness of the renewal of prosperity. Commerce shall revive, but only as the handmaid of religion.

¹⁸ Tyrian tribute promised for the 'city of the great king' (Ps. xlvi. 2): tribute—not merely commercial intercourse, such as the Jews no doubt had with the Tyrians, as Dean Plumptre reminds us, after the captivity (Ezra iii. 7, Neh. xiii. 16). A strange announcement, says Del.; *hæc secundum historiam necdum facta comperimus*, remarks St. Jerome. **Holy unto Jehovah**] Inconsistent apparently with Deut. xxiii. 18, but the Biblical writers only adhere to their metaphors so far as suits their purpose.—**Not be stored up**] Comp. Zech. ix. 3, Joel iii. 5.—**Those who dwell before Jehovah**] i.e., the people of Jerusalem. It is not said 'those who stand before Jehovah;' that would mean the priests.—**For sufficiency of eating**] Implying that the prophet wrote at a time of great scarcity, or when a scarcity might be apprehended. This may of course be harmonized with a post-exile date (comp. Hag. i., Zech. viii. 12), but also with the times of Isaiah (i. 7, iii. 1, 7).

CHAPTERS XXIV.—XXVII.

AN imaginative picture of the overthrow of the mighty power which, at the real or assumed period of the prophecy, held the Jews in bondage, interwoven with descriptions of the unhappy state of God's people prior to their deliverance, and of the glorious lot reserved for them. This is introduced by an equally imaginative picture of the Divine judgment upon the whole world, and references to the world-wide extent of the judgment recur at intervals. This is not the first time we have met with an apparent identification of a temporary judgment upon the Jews with the great final judgment upon the world:—see on ii. 12, iii. 13, xiii. 9. It is, however, simply a combination and not a confusion. The Jews have had special privileges; they are the 'house of God,' and judgment naturally 'begins' with them (comp. 1 Pet. iv. 17), and with the nations with whom their fortunes have been linked.—The historical situation, it must be candidly admitted, is described in highly enigmatical language (see below), and it is not unnatural that some critics (both in Calvin's day and in our own) have denied its existence altogether. Among these Del. and Naeg. may be specially mentioned, who regard this group of chapters as throughout a symbolically expressed prediction of a still future judgment upon the world, and to whom the 'city of chaos' is neither Babylon, nor Susa, nor Jerusalem, but the centre (localise it where you please) of the antitheistic world. *Quod mihi nimis coactum videtur* (Calvin); the theory compels us to empty the most striking expressions of their meaning, and is also contrary to the analogy of other prophecies. On the other hand, the view adopted above is both natural in itself, and is supported by the position of these chapters in the Book of Isaiah. The latter point was clearly seen by Calvin. 'As far as I can judge,' says he, 'this prophecy is the close of all the preceding ones, from chap. xiii. onwards . . . Having as it were traversed all the regions near to and known by the Jews, Isaiah briefly sums up their contents.' Even those who regard the prophecy as anonymous may recognise the propriety of the place which it has received in the book. They will not of course agree with Naegelsbach that the prophet is here describing the final stage in a great judgment of God upon the Gentile nations, of which the denunciations in chaps. xiii.—xxiii. represent the preliminaries. Looking at the prophecy as a whole in itself, not written for its present position, however admirably it may fill it, they will rather regard the judgment here denounced upon Israel's enemies as the second stage in the great trial, the Babylonian captivity being the first ('thy chastening,' xxvi. 16).

As for the vagueness or mysteriousness of the language, this ought to be no difficulty to those who recognise in any degree the eschatological purport of the prophecy. The more the authors of the prophetic or apocalyptic literature have their minds directed to the 'latter days,' the more mysterious becomes their language, the greater their tendency to wide and general expressions.

¹ Behold, Jehovah ^a will pour ^a out the ^b earth, and empty it, and turn it upside down, and scatter its inhabitants; ² and it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the taker, so with the giver, of money. ³ The earth shall be poured clean out, and utterly spoiled, for Jehovah has spoken this word. ⁴ The earth mourneth, it withereth; the world languisheth, it withereth; the highnesses of the people of the earth languish. ⁵ The earth is become profane under its inhabitants, for they have transgressed commandments, violated the statute, broken the perpetual covenant; ⁶ therefore hath a curse devoured the earth, and those who dwell in it are dealt

^a Poureth, Hitz. (See below).

^b Land, Ges. (So throughout).

¹ **Behold . . .**] 'Behold' with a participle, in the prophets, almost always points to the future (iii. 1, vii. 14, xvii. 1, &c.). This favours the view of Ew., Del., Naeg., that the whole of chap. xxiv. is predictive. Others (Hitz., Knob., Kuenen, &c.) take it as a description of events which are actually taking place; this may seem to be confirmed by the perfects. But surely it suits the imaginative character of the work better to regard these as prophetic—as proceeding from the point of view of one who had attained a specially clear insight into the eternal purposes of God.

² **So with the priest**] It is inferred by some that at the real or assumed standing-point of this prophecy the priests were the paramount power in Judah. It may be so—there is the same prominence given to the priests in Joel. But perhaps the prophet selects those simplest of relations which extend to the lowest ranks of society. Every one comes into contact with a priest, but not every one with a king.

³ **Spoiled**] The prophet transfers to the world a feature which belongs properly to the fallen empire of Israel's oppressors.

⁵ **The earth is become profane . . .**] 'For blood profaneth the land,' Num. xxxv. 33, comp. Ps. cvi. 38. The blood-shedding by which the great empires of the East were founded (comp. xxvi. 21) was a violation of that elementary **statute** on which the **perpetual covenant** with Noah and his sons was based. The latter phrase seems to be a direct allusion to Gen. ix. 16:—it can hardly refer to the special covenant of circumcision (Gen. xvii. 13), or of the Sabbath (Ex. xxxi. 16), for it is a judgment upon the earth exclusive of Israel (see xxvi. 20, 21), which the prophet is describing. The phrases 'precepts,' and 'statute,' mean more than 'the law written in the heart' (A.E., Del.), and are best explained by the same passage in Genesis. Obs., 'commandments' in the plural occurs only here in Isaiah.

⁶ Jehovah has recalled his promise not to bring a second deluge upon the earth (see on v. 18).—**A curse**] Personified, as in Zech. v. 3, Dan. ix. 11, Jer. xxiii. 10 (where there is almost the same paronomasia). Comp. on ix. 8.—**Are scorched**] By the 'burning anger' (xxx. 27) of Jehovah.

with as guilty, therefore the inhabitants of the earth are scorched, and few men left. ⁷ The grapes mourn, the vine languisheth, all the merry-hearted do sigh. ⁸ The joy of timbrels is hushed; the uproar of the exulting ones hath ceased; the joy of the lute is hushed. ⁹ They shall not drink wine with song; strong drink shall be bitter to those who drink it. ¹⁰ Broken to pieces is the city of chaos; every house is shut up, not to be entered. ¹¹ In the ^c fields is a crying because of the wine; all gladness has set; the joy of the earth is banished. ¹² Of the city there is left desolation, and the gate is battered into ruins.

¹³ For so shall it be within the earth in the midst of the

^c Streets, Naeg.

^{7 8} Gesenius finds here an imitation of Joel i. 10-12; Vittr. compares a striking passage in the prayer of Judah the Maccabee, 1 Macc. iii. 45, which he regards as describing the fulfilment of this prediction. Music at feasts, as v. 12.

⁹ **Strong drink . . .**] i.e. artificial wine (see on v. 12). Understand, 'If there be any; otherwise the description will be inconsistent.

¹⁰ **The city of chaos**] i.e., the city which is destined to become a very chaos (*tôhu*), its outer and inner order being destroyed, and no germ of life remaining. It is an allusion to the narrative (oral or written) of the Creation; comp. 'And the earth was waste and wild' (*tôhû-va-bôhû*), Gen. i. 2. It is the most striking expression for utter desolation which the prophet could have chosen, and is specially characteristic of the Book of Isaiah, for 11 out of the 20 passages in which it occurs in the Old Testament are in Isaiah. I ought to add that of these 11 passages, 10 occur in prophecies of disputed authorship.—**Shut up**] Inaccessible, owing to its ruinous condition.

¹¹ **A crying because of the wine**] 'Awake, ye drunkards, and weep; and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the sweet wine, because it is cut off from your

mouth,' Joel i. 5. Comp. also xv. 8-10. Hitz. remarks that v. 11 is an *unda redundans* of vv. 8, 9; and v. 12 of v. 10.

¹³ 'For,' in fact, the condition of the world (or, possibly, of the region once ruled over by Israel's oppressors) will then be like that of an olive-tree after the regular beating (xvii. 6), or of the vine-plants when the vintage is over. There will be indeed a remnant out of all that multitude of 'peoples,' but how small will be that remnant! Of whom will it consist? Of the Jewish nation, no doubt; but also of some of the Gentiles; for a kindred prophet writes, 'Whosoever shall invoke the name of Jehovah shall be delivered' (Joel ii. 32). It must be a part of this remnant, whose chorus of praise to the God of Israel echoes **from the** (Mediterranean) **sea** (v. 14). But the survivors are not all gathered in one place. Hence they call upon other escaped ones **in the** (distant) **countries of the sea** (v. 15), to acknowledge and to praise the hand of Jehovah. The description is obscure, but there is a general parallel in xlii. 10-12, where the various regions of the earth—the (far) 'countries' are also mentioned—are called upon to praise Jehovah for his great work of deliverance. Obs. in passing the instance which v. 15 supplies

peoples, as at the beating of the olive, as at the grape-gleaning when the vintage is done. ¹⁴ Those shall lift up their voice, they shall ring out a cry;—because of Jehovah's majesty they shall shout aloud from the sea :—¹⁵ 'Therefore in the ^d countries glorify ye Jehovah ; in the countries of the sea the name of Jehovah, Israel's God !' ¹⁶ From the skirt of the earth we have heard songs, 'Honour (is come) for the righteous !' But I said, Wasting away is for me, wasting away is for me, alas for me ! The barbarous deal barbarously, and the barbarous deal very barbarously. ¹⁷ A terror and a pit and a snare are upon thee, O inhabitant of the earth ! ¹⁸ And it shall come to pass that whoso fleeth from the report of the terror shall

^d So Lowth. Hitz.—TEXT. lights. Sept. omits נְאֻרִים. See discussion in my 'Notes and Criticisms,' *ad loc.*

of that ascending rhythm, characteristic of this prophecy—'in the countries . . . in the countries of the sea ;' comp. xxv. 5, xxvi. 3-7, 11, 15 (Judg. v., Ps. xxix., cxxi., cxxiv.). For how a Hebrew prophet can have written 'the lights' (or rather 'the flames') for 'the East,' is to me simply unintelligible, and the comparison of lix. 19, *Iliad*, xii. 239, does not lessen the difficulty. A. E. has already the right rend. 'in the regions,' though he has to force it out of the received text by comparing 'Ur of the Chaldees' (as lf 'country of the Chaldees,' as Sept. of Gen. xi. 28). For the rend, 'countries,' or 'far lands,' see on xl. 15.

¹⁶ A new song is heard 'from the skirt of the earth,' viz. **Honour for the righteous!** i.e., splendid is the lot of the righteous' (see Sept.), the righteous being primarily the Jews (as in xxv. 2)—not Jehovah, who is nowhere in O. T. simply called 'the righteous,' nor said to have honour or splendour, 'glory' being the word for Jehovah, 'honour' for the fairest of created things (see Del.)—much less 'the conqueror' (as Hilgenfeld, comparing Zech. ix. 9, but wrongly).—**We have heard . . . But I said**] In recording the bright side of his vision, the prophet had lost sight of himself, and become identified in

feeling with the regenerate, 'righteous' community ; but the interval of misery to be passed through before such blessedness can be reached wrings from him a cry as of personal pain, twice-repeated.—

Wasting away (is) for me!] It would seem that he laments the sufferings actually undergone by the Jews in his own time, just as the Psalmist exclaims, in the name of the pious Israelites, 'My flesh hath pined away, so that it hath no fatness' (Ps. cix. 24). Here, then, the prophecy refers, not to the world's judgment-day as a whole, but to that single stage of it represented by a particular period in the history of the Jews (comp. on v. 3).—**The barbarous**] i.e., primarily the oppressors of the Jews, as xxi. 2 (note), xxxiii. 1.

^{17, 18} The same language recurs with little variation in Jer. xviii. 43, 44 (of Moab). The prophet is now occupied with the thought of the world-wide extent of the catastrophe. No sooner will one calamity be over, than another will come. If Babylon is punished to-day, the countries of the west will suffer to-morrow.—**For windows . . .**] Again has 'all flesh corrupted its way,' and again must 'all flesh be cut off' by a judgment not inferior to Noah's flood. Comp. Gen. vii. 11.

fall into the pit ; and whoso cometh up out of the midst of the pit shall be taken in the snare ; for windows from the height have opened, and the earth's foundations do shake. ¹⁹ The earth is utterly broken ; the earth is utterly shattered ; the earth tottereth exceedingly ; ²⁰ the earth staggereth like a drunkard, and moveth to and fro like a hammock ; and the rebellion thereof is heavy upon it, and it shall fall, and not rise again.

²¹ And it shall come to pass in that day that Jehovah shall hold visitation upon the host of the height in the height, and

¹⁹ The language here imitates the cracking and bursting with which the present world shall pass away ; for nothing less is the necessary close of the judgment, so far as the guilty parties are concerned (comp. *v.* 5).

²⁰ **Like a hammock**] Like a vineyard-watchman's deserted hammock, tossed to and fro by the storm, till at last it is swept far away.—**It shall fall**] We must remember that, according to the Hebrew cosmology (and it was no function of the prophets to correct this), the earth was immovable. Hence the destruction of the earth is described as its 'fall' (comp. *xiii.* 13). It is implied that there shall be a 'new heaven and a new earth.'

²¹⁻²³ 'Jehovah will overthrow the kings of the earth and their celestial patrons, and take the government into his own hands.'—**Shall visit upon the host of the height**] 'The height' is a synonym for 'heaven' (see *v.* 18, *xl.* 26, *lvii.* 15), and the 'host of heaven' is a constant expression for either the angels (*1 Kings* *xxii.* 19) or the stars (*Jer.* *xxxiii.* 22). The meaning of the 'visitation' is obscure ; but there is probably a parallel in *Ps.* *lxxxii.*, where Bleek (and similarly Koster) rightly understand the Elohim to be the patron-spirits of

the nations, who are threatened with deprivation of their superhuman character, and death.¹ We have an early interpretation of the passage before us in *Enoch* *xviii.* 13-16 (with which comp. *2 Pet.* *ii.* 4, *Jude* 6, *Rev.* *xx.* 2, 3) : 'And horrible was that which I saw there ; seven stars, like great burning mountains, and like spirits, which besought me. The angel said, This is the place where heaven and earth are at an end ; it serves for a prison for the stars of heaven and for the host of heaven. And the stars which roll upon the fire are those which transgressed the command of God before their rising, since they did not come in their appointed time. And he became wroth with them, and bound them unto the time when their guilt should be complete, in the year of the secret.' The Book of Job, too, contains dark allusions to struggles between Jehovah and the powers of heaven, and the Babylonians had various mythic stories of a war between the sun and the storm-demons (comp. on *xxvii.* 1). It is a singularly dark allusion which the prophet here makes to certain rebellious denizens of the upper regions, either stars or spirits, or rather both together, the celestial patrons of the nations of the world (comp. on *xxxiv.* 4). Whether

¹ Aben Ezra has already compared *Dan.* *x.* 13 (comp. *vv.* 20, 21), where the 'prince' or guardian angel of Persia is said to withstand Michael, the guardian-angel of Israel (*Dan.* *xii.* 1) ; see also *Sirach* *xvii.* 14 (17), and *Deut.* *xxxii.* 8, Sept. ('he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God').—With regard to *Ps.* *lxxxii.* see Koster, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1876, p. 125.

upon the kings of the earth on the earth. ²² And they shall be gathered ^o as captives are gathered ^o into the pit, and shut up in the prison, and after many days they shall be visited. ²³ And the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, for Jehovah Sabáoth hath become king in mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before his elders shall be glory.

^o See crit. note.

these are to be imagined as seducing the earthly kings to evil (Del.), I cannot say ; there is, at any rate, a mysterious relation between the fate of the heavenly and of the earthly powers, as there is between the fate of the angels and of the churches in Rev. i.-iii. 'All things are double, one against the other.'

²² **Pit**] i.e., dungeon, as Ex. xii. 29; the prophet probably means Sheól. In Enoch xviii. 14-16 the stars find a prison in space.—

They shall be visited] In a good or a bad sense? Authorities are divided. Jerome, Rashi, Vit., Ges., lean to the sense of punishing; Pesh., Aben Ezra, Calv., Hitz., Ew., Del., to that of pardoning (as xxiii. 17; comp. 15). It is difficult, however, to see why there should be two punishments—unless, 'after the manner of men,' we suppose some treasonable plotting against Jehovah's government; and it is more in accordance with the analogy of prophecy that the vanquished kings should cast their crowns before the throne of God. We need not trouble ourselves about the meaning of the 'visitation,' as applied to

the 'host of heaven.' For these were merely mentioned because of their connection with the 'kings of the earth'—a connection which was only broken by the imprisonment of the latter. The kings when released will be no longer kings, but humble subjects.—This passage early excited the curiosity of Christian readers. It has contributed the release, as xxvii. 1 contributed the final destruction, of the 'dragon,' to the picture in Rev. xx. 1-10, and was considered by the Origenists (see Jerome *ad loc.*) to favour their opinion of the future salvation of the evil spirits.

²³ **Hath become king**] So Mic. v. 7. It is the phrase for coming to the throne, 2 Sam. v. 4, 1 Kings xv. 1, &c. Hitherto Israel had been subject to 'other lords' (xxvi. 13), or at best to Jehovah's human representatives.—**And before . . .**] The 'elders' are the representatives of the people (see on iii. 2). These shall be admitted to a direct intuition of the Divine glory, like the seventy elders of old (Ex. xxiv. 9, 10), and shall carry the reflection of it wherever they go (Ex. xxxiv. 29).

CHAPTER XXV.

THE judgment upon all the enemies of Jehovah having been consummated, the prophet, in the name of believing Israel, offers praise to God. The hymn reminds us of chap. xii.

¹ Jehovah! thou art my God; I will exalt thee, I will give thanks to thy name; for thou hast done wonderful things—

¹ **Thou art my God . . .**] The prophet uses already consecrated expressions (or, conceivably, his expressions became consecrated). Ex.

far off counsels—perfect faithfulness. ² For thou hast made a citadel into a heap, a fortified city into a ruin, a castle of foreigners to be no city, not to be built again. ³ Therefore fierce peoples glorify thee, cities of terrible nations fear thee; ⁴ for thou hast been a fortress to the weak, a fortress to the poor in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat; for the blast of the terrible ones was like a storm against a wall. ⁵ As heat in a parched land, thou subduest the uproar of foreigners; as heat by the shadow of clouds, the song of terrible ones is brought low.

⁶ And Jehovah Sabáoth shall make unto all peoples in this mountain a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the

xv. 2, 11, Ps. cxviii. 28, cxlv. 1.—**Far off counsels**] Purposes eternally conceived (xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26); or, prophecies long since uttered ('counsellor,' xli. 28). The plural marks width of range.

² **Thou hast made . . .**] Not, I think, a mere generalisation from God's providential dealings (comp. Ps. cvii. 33), but either the mystic Babylon, which is yet to be revealed (virtually the view of Del.), or—which seems easier—the chief city of Israel's oppressors. Comp. xxiv. 10.

³ The remnant of the oppressors of the Jews (comp. v. 4 *b*) shall be terrified into submission to Jehovah (comp. Rev. xi. 13); or, perhaps, nations like-minded with those may be referred to, comp. lix. 19.—**Fierce peoples**] The rend. is justified by the plural verb, and by the plural noun in the parallel line.

⁴ **Against a wall**] Lit., of a wall. I doubt if this phrase can be correct. It is almost too concise to be intelligible, and if correctly explained (as e.g. by Del.), 'beating vainly against a wall,' scarcely suits the context. It is the violence, not the ineffectualness, of the attack which needs emphasising.

⁶ **In this mountain**] Mount Zion (xxiv. 23), where the author dwells.—**Unto all peoples**] Members of all nations, therefore, will be incorporated into the people of Jehovah (comp. Matt. viii. 11), and enjoy its privileges. Fear in their

case will pass into grateful love.

—**A feast of fat things**] An image of the highest spiritual and temporal blessings (see on lv. 1), not improbably suggested by the sacrificial meal connected with the Shélem (thank- or peace-offering), as Ps. xxii. 26, 29. According to the Levitical law the fat pieces of the victim were to be devoted to Jehovah immediately by burning, and the next best piece, the breast, mediately by giving it to His servants the priests (Lev. vii. 31); and the Messianic prophecy, Jer. xxxi. 14, is in substantial harmony with this arrangement. In this case it is presupposed that the offerer of the Shélem is the host, and Jehovah the guest (Oehler, *O. Test. Theology*, ii. 8). But in the coming age, our author seems to imply, God Himself will be the host, and all—priests and laity alike—will be His guests, and receive the choicest gifts: He will require no sacrifice but a broken heart. A similar image occurs in *Pirge Aboth*, iii. 25, iv. 23 (ed. Taylor). In the latter passage, the present age ('*ôlam, aiôn*') is described as 'the vestibule' leading to the *triclidium* or banquet-hall, i.e., the age to come. The Messianic age was to be unending, and so too it is implied here that the feast will be (see v. 8).—To understand the full force of the image of the Shélem we must remember that the meal which followed the sacrifice was a highly

lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well-strained. ⁷ And he shall annihilate in this mountain the covering which covereth all peoples, and the web which is woven over all nations; ⁸ he shall annihilate death for ever, and the Lord Jehovah shall wipe away tears from off all faces, and the reproach of his people shall he take away from off all the earth; for Jehovah hath spoken it. ⁹ And they shall say in that day, Behold, here is our God, for whom we have waited that he should save us; here is Jehovah, for whom we have waited; let us exult and rejoice in his salvation. ¹⁰ For the hand of Jehovah shall rest upon this moun-

festive occasion. True, the eucharistic meals of the Jews, like those of the early Christians (1 Cor. xi. 21) often degenerated into sensual merrymakings (1 Sam. i. 13, where Eli suspects Hannah of being drunk after a sacrificial meal, comp. v. 10; so too Prov. vii. 14-18), but moderate enjoyment was a duty (Deut. xii. 7). Obs. There is no analogy to this form of belief in Zoroastrianism.

—**Wines on the lees**] i.e., wine that has been left on its lees or sediment, to heighten its strength and flavour; comp. Jer. xlvi. 11, and see note in Lowth's *Isaiah*.

⁷ **The covering . . . nations**] 'A net (i.e., mortality) is spread over all the living,' *Pirqe Aboth*, iii. 16; comp. next verse. David 'wept as he went up, and had his head covered' (a sign of mourning), 2 Sam. xv. 30. 'Your (spiritual) eyes hath he closed, and your heads hath he covered,' Isa. xxix. 10. All these are in point, and we must not specialise too much. All 'darkness,' whether without or within, intercepts the 'light of Jehovah'; especially death, for, from the old Hebrew point of view, 'in Death no man remembereth thee.' Comp. 2 Tim. i. 10, where death is described as a power or principle which overshadowed the world, till Jesus Christ 'abolished death and brought life and immortality to light.'

⁸ **Annihilate death**] The promise belongs not only to the Jewish nation (as Hos. xiii. 14) as a community, but to all its believing indi-

vidual members: this is a necessary inference from the individualising reference of the next clause ('. . . from off all faces'). Comp. on xxvi. 19. It is a different prospect which is held out for the citizens of the new Jerusalem in lxx. 20. But even there the death which is still the portion of believers has completely lost its sorrowful associations. It is only to the wicked that it will be a curse. But why does the prophet add, **He shall wipe away tears?** What place is left for tears? Perhaps he remembers those to whom death comes as a blessing, who, as Job (iii. 21) and Dante (*Inf.* iii. 46) tell us, have the 'longing' and the 'hope' of death. He concludes with a special promise for the Jews, who, in their world-wide dispersion (comp. Joel iii. 2), were nowhere secure from the taunt, Where is thy God? (Ps. lxxix. 10). This **reproach of his people shall he take away.**

⁹ A brief strain from the hymn of the redeemed.

¹⁰⁻¹² A contrast. The happy state of the Jews is resumed in the words, **For on this mountain shall the hand of Jehovah rest**—protectingly (xi. 2) for his people, but vengefully for his enemies. True, the mightiest of these have been destroyed, but the petty foes of the Jews were regarded with intensified hatred. Hence the declaration, in a contemptuous figure drawn from common life, that Moab **shall be trampled down in his place.** The

tain, and Moab shall be trampled down in his place, as straw is trampled down in the water of a dung-pit; ¹¹ and ^a he shall spread out his hands within it, as a swimmer spreadeth out (his hands) to swim, but he shall abase his ^a pride together with the artifices of his hands. ¹² And the fortifications of thy lofty walls shall he cast down, abase, and bring to the ground, even to the dust.

^a (God) . . . its, Targ., Aben Ezra, Vitr., Kay.

latter words are not merely expletive; they imply that Moab cannot possibly escape (Del.). Is there a historical background to this? Probably, though we are not able to determine it with precision. There are, it is true, some evidences of a friendly intercourse with Moab in the post-Isaiaic period (Jer. xxvii. 3, xl. 11). But, on the other hand, we are told that bands of Moabites ravaged Judah during the reign of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 2), and Moab is accused of maliciously triumphing at the ruin of their neighbours, Ezek. xxv. 8-11. Sannaballat, too, was probably a Moabite (see on xv. 5).—**Dung-pit**] Hebr. *madmēnah*; possibly an allusion to the local name Madmen, Jer. xlviii. 2, if we should not there read *gam dīmōn* instead of *gam madmen*.

¹¹ Moab shall **spread out his hands** to prevent himself from sinking in the water. (Vitr. and Dr. Kay, with Targ., A. E., &c., make Jehovah the subject. The image will then be analogous to that of 'riding on the high places, but does not harmonise with the figure in v. 10).—**His pride**] Comp. on xvi. 6.—**Artifices**] Yet I rather doubt whether 'snares' can be so paraphrased. Is the text right?

¹² **The fortifications**] Most explain this of Kir Moab, or of the cities of Moab in general; Vitr. and Ges., of Babylon. I think it refers at any rate to the 'city' mentioned in xxiv. 10-12, xxv. 2, and especially (note the expressions) xxvi. 5. It is possible that the verse is misplaced.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FUTURE glory, and the discipline by which it is obtained.

¹ In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah: 'A city of strength is ours; salvation doth he appoint for walls and outworks: ² open ye the gates, that a righteous

^{1, 2} A third hymn. The picture is purely ideal. The new Jerusalem has no need of walls, and yet there is a mention of gates; it is already rebuilt, and yet there is an invitation to those who are to inhabit it (Reuss). Ewald, it is true, thinks the gates are those of the temple (as Ps. cxviii. 19, 20), but

there is the same (as I venture to think) happy inconsistency in lx. 11, 18.—**Salvation**] See note on xii. 2.

² **Open ye the gates . . .**] The call proceeds from heaven, comp. xl. 1-6. Of Jehovah himself we read that 'he observeth faithfulness' (Ps. xxxi. 23, Del.).

nation, that keepeth faithfulness, may enter in.' ³ ^a A purpose established thou purposest—a peace, peace, for in thee is his trust. ⁴ Trust ye in Jehovah for ever, for in Jah Jehovah ye have a Rock of Ages. ⁵ For he hath cast down those who dwelt on high, the lofty city; he hath abased it, he hath abased it to the earth; he hath brought it even to the dust. ⁶ The foot trode it down, even the feet of the afflicted, the steps of the weak. ⁷ The path for the righteous is plain; thou makest plain with a level the path of the righteous. ⁸ Yea,

^a A stedfast mind thou keepest in, Del., Kay.—Firm is the hope; thou wilt form, Ew.

³ **A purpose established]** 'Faithful is the saying' (1 Tim. i. 15). 'All his commandments are true; they are established (*same word*) for ever and ever' (Ps. cxi. 7, 8). 'For I know the thoughts which I think concerning you . . . thoughts of peace' (Jer. xxix. 11). Obs., throughout this first paragraph (*vv.* 1-4), the writer's mind is running on the security and immovableness of the new Jerusalem. This thread of thought is to some extent broken by alt. rendering, which has, however, in its favour the (only) apparent parallel of Ps. cxii. 7, 8, 'His heart is fixed, trusting in Jehovah: Established is his heart, he shall not be afraid.' The other passage sometimes quoted in its support is Phil. iv. 7, where A. V. has 'The peace of God . . . shall keep your hearts and minds,' but *νοήματα* is rather 'purposes' (Ellicott, Alford). It may tempt some to compare the use of the word *yētser* in later Hebrew, in which it is sometimes used synonymously with *lēb*, a heart. But its proper meaning in such passages, which is almost always suitable, is 'impulse, desire.'—For **purposest** some would render 'keepest,' supposing a play on the two meanings of the verb—'keep' and 'frame'; this implies a violent rendering of the first two words,—'Well-founded is the thought' (Calv., Hitz.).—**Peace, peace]** He refrains from epithets. Such peace is indescribable :—so lvii. 19.

⁴ **In Jah . . .]** For the form of the phrase, comp. Korán iv. 47, 'in God there is a sufficient patron.'

⁵ 'Rock' is a Divine title (xxx. 29). As a proof of Jehovah's right to it in all its manifold significance, the prophet points to the fate of the imperial city (as in xxiv.). Obs., the increased rapidity of movement in the style.—**The feet of the afflicted]** i.e., of God's people. The same word in Hebr. expresses poverty and humble-mindedness (the supposed distinction between 'ānī and 'ānāv cannot be made out); the same word, plainness or straightness, and uprightness.

⁷ Jehovah, who tolerates no obstacle on his own pathway (xl. 3, 4), will suffer none on that of his people. A **plain path** is theirs, free from trouble without and within. This is expressed in the style of the Proverbs; see *Q. P. B.* Prov. iii. 6, xi. 5, xv. 19, and the Hebr. of Prov. v. 6.—**With a level]** i.e., exactly, to a nicety.

⁸ Again the lyric tone. The Church is the speaker. 'Indeed, knowing this—that thou hadst a hatred of all that exalted itself, we looked out for thee to traverse the earth in **the path of thy judgments**, those judgments' which, according to the prophets, were to open the Messianic period.—**For thy name]** i.e., almost 'for thy manifestation,' but 'name' means not so much an act of self-manifestation as that side of the Divine Being which is turned towards

in the path of thy judgments, Jehovah! we waited for thee; for thy name and for thy memorial there was heartfelt desire. ⁹ With my soul I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me I sought thee earnestly; for as soon as thy judgments come upon the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness. ¹⁰ If the wicked be treated favourably, he learneth not righteousness; in a land of rectitude he dealeth unjustly, and hath no eye for the majesty of Jehovah. ¹¹ Jehovah! thy hand hath been lifted up, (but) they saw it not; they shall see—and be ashamed—the jealousy for the people; yea, ^b fire shall devour thine adversaries. ^b ¹² Jehovah!

^b Let the fire of thine enemies devour them, Ew.

man (comp. Ps. xx. 1, and see on xxx. 27, lxiii. 9). The term is common as a Divine title to Hebrew and Phœnician: comp. 'Astarte, name of Baal,' *Inscr. of Eshmun-azar* (ed. Schlottmann), vii. 9, and see *Last Words*, vol. ii.—**Memorial**] a synonym for name (so also in Assyrian), Ex. iii. 15, Ps. cxxxv. 13, comp. Hos. xii. 5.

⁹ **Soul . . . spirit**] On the distinction, see Oehler, *Old Test. Theology*, i. 216-220.—**As soon as . . .**] It was not, then, merely a selfish patriotism which moved the prophet, but a genuine interest in 'righteousness.' But this does not exhaust the meaning of the passage. It is the Messianic hope which we have before us. The spread of righteousness over the earth is connected with the coming of Jehovah to 'reign on mount Zion' (xxiv. 23), and this advent is to be ushered in by a series of judgments on the unbelievers and unrighteous. 'Righteous' = a worshipper of Jehovah; 'unrighteous' virtually = heathen, see Del. on Ps. cxxv. 3. Notice two indications of the point of time at which the author places himself: 1. The Jews are in constant intercourse with the heathen; 2. They suffer, not merely by their political subjugation (*v.* 13), but by the moral gulf between themselves and the heathen. Compare the Psalms *passim*.

¹⁰ The thought of *v.* 9 is enforced.

If judgment be withheld, the ungodly will not learn 'righteousness.'—**A land of rectitude**] i.e., a place where the upright dwell. Ps. cxliii. 10 is not a parallel passage.

¹¹ **Hath bee lifted up**] viz., against the enemies of Israel (comp. Ex. vi. 1).—**But they saw it not**] 'See' has two meanings, 'to see' with the eyes, and 'to feel' with the whole nature. Both are united here: 'they saw it not,' because 'they felt it not,' not being the objects of those Divine judgments.—**Jealousy for the people**] So 'the zeal of thy house' (Ps. lxxix. 9, A. V.) should be 'jealousy for thy house.' The clause means more exactly, 'They shall see what jealousy for a people (bound, as Israel is, to its God) means.—**Fire**] 'Shall thy jealousy burn like fire?' Ps. lxxix. 5, comp. Zeph. i. 18. Ewald strangely compares 2 Kings i. 10. Alt. rend. means, 'the fire with which thou punishest thy enemies.' But the analogy of 'jealousy for the people' now decides me against it. The construction adopted is, however, uncommon and harsh (see Knobel).—**Our work**] The work of our deliverance.—**For us**] The same thought is expressed in Ps. xc. 16, 17, where 'thy deed' = 'the work of our hands.'—In this and the next two verses, the prophet assumes the liberation of the Jews to have been accomplished.

thou wilt stablish peace for us, for all our work also thou hast wrought for us. ¹³ Jehovah our God! other lords beside thee have had dominion over us; only through thee do we celebrate thy name. ¹⁴ The dead live not (again), the shades rise not; therefore thou hast visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish. ¹⁵ Thou hast increased the nation, Jehovah! thou hast increased the nation; thou hast won for thyself glory; thou hast made distant all the boundaries of the land. ¹⁶ Jehovah! in trouble they looked for

¹³ **Other lords**] Jehovah was the rightful 'lord' of Israel (comp. lxiii. 19); Nineveh and Babylon had usurped his place. Another view (Hitz. Oehler) is that 'lords' = gods. This involves interpreting 'the dead' in *v.* 14 of the generation of idolatrous Jews. In its favour may be urged the further light which the passage will then throw on the prophet's belief in the Resurrection. In *v.* 19 he exclaims, 'Thy dead (O Jehovah) shall arise,' i.e., the believing Israelites shall return to life, and help to people the regenerate earth. In *v.* 14 he prepares the way for this by excluding unbelievers from a share in the future bliss. On the ordinary explanation, the outburst of faith in *v.* 19 is a little abrupt, and revelation does not disdain those psychological processes by which the mind is fitted for fresh intuitions of Divine truth. Still I do not see how *v.* 14 can fairly be interpreted as Oehler (*Old Test. Theology*, ii. 393) proposes, and (unless by violent means) the latter half of *v.* 13 is incapable of being reconciled with his view.—**Only through thee**] Only through thine interposition. Comp. Ps. lvi. 4, 10.—**Celebrate**] The word may mean no more than 'invoke' (Ex. xxiii. 13), but more probably it implies thanksgiving for a benefit received, as Ps. xlv. 17 (18). Of course a mere invocation of Jehovah was possible during the Exile.

^{14, 15} A sudden flight into the prophetic future. All foreign lords have passed away; they are in the

realm of the shades, from which—except by a miracle—none returns (Job xvi. 22); their very memory has perished. Cf. xiv. 22, Jer. li. 39. Meantime Jehovah has increased the population of Judah, and widely extended its borders (cf. xxxiii. 17). In fact, the territory occupied at first by the restored exiles was extremely limited; the ideal was still in the future.—**Therefore**] i.e., with this result. Hebrew cannot clearly distinguish between that which merely contributes to a result and that which is worked purposely for that result: it has no word for 'consequently.' Comp. Winer, *New Test. Gram.*, pp. 573-4, but obs. that this idiom occurs in some passages in which a theistic teleology cannot be traced.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ The prophet returns to the gloomy past and present.—**Looked for thee**] Or, remembered thee.—**Poured out prayers**] The rendering is doubtful, and the text has the appearance of corruptness. Sept. has 'in small affliction (was) thy discipline unto us.' Altering a point, Böttcher renders the present text, 'affliction (was) the charm of thy discipline for them,' i.e., affliction acted like a charm by bringing them back under thy discipline. This, indeed, is not free from difficulty, but 'affliction' is probably the meaning of the first word, rendered above 'they poured out.' 'Charm' (for this, not 'prayers,' is the primary meaning of the second word) can hardly be right; unless (assuming the late origin of the prophecy) the

thee; they ° poured out prayers (?), ° when thy chastening came to them. ¹⁷ As she who is with child, and near her delivery, writhes, and cries out in her pangs, such were we because of thee, Jehovah! ¹⁸ We were with child, we writhed, we brought forth as it were wind; we made not the land salvation, neither were inhabitants of the world produced. ¹⁹ ^d Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. ^d Awake

° See below.

° Let thy dead Ew.

old word for 'charm' (iii. 3), or amulet (iii. 20), acquired some new meaning in the religion of the Captivity, possibly not unconnected with the Babylonian incantations. For not even a prophet can disengage himself from the phraseology and mental imagery of his age. The ordinary rendering 'whispered prayers' seems to me now unsuitable. In the next verse, the Jews are represented as crying out vehemently, and such, too, is the language of those psalms which seem to express the feelings of the exiles.

¹⁷ **As she who is with child**] A figure for intense anxiety (as xiii. 8, xxi. 3). Contrast another figurative description, 'Before she travailed, she brought forth' (lxvi. 7). — **Because of thee**] i.e., because of thy hand (Jer. xv. 17).

¹⁸ **Wind**] i.e., that which was futile and useless (xli. 29). Or there may be an allusion to apparent pregnancy, and its result (*empneumatosi*). — **Salvation**] i.e., thoroughly safe or prosperous. The following clause expresses the disappointment of the later Jews at the scanty population of Judea. I must again remark that the real or assumed period of the author is after the return from exile. — **Inhabitants of the world**] Perhaps this certainly strange expression alludes to the pre-eminent position soon to be enjoyed by the regenerate Israel in a regenerate world. — **Were . . produced**] Lit., fell:—a unique expression for being born (see, however, Wisd. vii. 3, and comp. the use of *πῖπρω* and Arab. *ṣuḡata*, Ges.). We do meet (e.g., Job iii.

16) with the substantive 'that which falls' (*nefel*) for 'a birth,' but only in the sense of an 'untimely birth.' The prophet selects the term to express the abnormal and violent character of this second birth of the deceased Israelites (see next verse). So Oehler, *Old Test. Theology*, ii. 396.

¹⁹ **Thy dead**] Contrast *v.* 14, 'the dead (oppressors) live not again.' — **Shall live**] i.e., live again. The late Hebrew for the Resurrection is *ʿkhiyyath hammethim*, 'the revival of the dead.' 'Sublimely recovering himself, the prophet cries that God's saints, though they are dead, shall live' (M. Arnold), and shall share the duties and the privileges of regenerate Israel. The passage has a strong affinity to Hos. vi. 2: 'After two days will he revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight,' and Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10 (the 'dry bones'). The three passages agree in connecting the Resurrection with the circumstances of the Jewish community. This is very clear in Hosea and Ezekiel, but is hardly less certain in the passage before us. It is as 'my dead body' (or, 'the part of me that has faded and fallen off me') that the departed Israelites are summoned from the underworld. The difference is that the descriptions in Hosea and Ezekiel are allegorical (comp. Hos. vi. 1, Ezek. xxxvi. 27, xxxvii. 11-14), whereas the whole context of our passage (especially *v.* 14) shows that the language of the writer is to be taken literally. It is in fact an expression of faith in a resurrection, though

and cry for joy, ye dwellers in the dust, for a dew of ^e lights is thy dew, and the earth shall produce the shades. ²⁰ Go, my people, into thy chambers, and shut thy door behind thee; hide thyself for a little moment, until the indignation

^e Herbs, Kimchi, Vitr.

in a resurrection as exceptional as those of which we read in the Books of Kings. On the question of the relation of the Biblical doctrine of the Resurrection to the Zoroastrian, I have spoken elsewhere (*I. C. A.*, p. 130). I will only add, that we must not quote the covert opposition to Dualism which most critics find in xlv. 7 (see, however, note) as conclusive against the origination of the doctrine of the Resurrection in Persia. For the doctrine of Dualism is plainly inconsistent with Monotheism; that of the Resurrection is not. (Comp. Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 270.) Why, moreover, hunt for Persian affinities? The Babylonians too believed in the Resurrection; they ascribed it to the favour of Marduk, who (as a solar deity) himself died and rose again. See Hymn to Marduk, Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, ii. 177-8. I do not, of course, dream of claiming a Babylonian origin for the doctrine. Psychologically speaking, the revelation of it to the Israelites was prepared for by their earnest belief in retribution. Rewards and punishments for good and evil conduct being so imperfectly awarded in this life, faith inferred a second, and life to be complete required a body. Besides, the vague and incidental character of the reference in this passage is of itself a warrant of its underived origin. And now to return to the prophet. If the reader has any further doubt as to the meaning of the passage, let him refer to lxvi. 7-9, Ezek. xxxvi. 38, which prove how much the prophetic writers dwelt on the question of the repopulation of the sacred territory. Comp. also Prof. Drummond's remarks, *The Jewish Messiah*, p. 361.

—**My dead bodies**] The Heb. is in the sing., collectively (as Lev. xi. 11, Ps. lxxix. 2).—**Awake and cry**] Lively faith anticipating the event.—**Thy dew . . .**] The 'dew' here corresponds to the life-giving 'wind' in Ezek. xxxvii., as the 'dead bodies' here to the 'dry bones' there. The figure may be expanded thus:—The vivifying energy of Jehovah is like dew—not the common dew, but 'dew of lights,' i.e., the essential, supernal light (comp. James i. 17, Del.), which according to the primitive belief, Hebrew, Egyptian, Persian, Indian, existed before the sun (see Gen. i. 3, Job xxxviii. 19, xxv. 3, and comp. art. 'Cosmogony,' *Encyclop. Britannica*, ninth ed.). Light and life are correlative ideas—Ps. xxxvi. 9, Job iii. 16-20, John i. 4; but light is a more pictorial expression, and a more suitable companion for dew. The prophet means to say, 'Thy dew, O Jehovah, is so full of the light of life that it even draws forth the shades from the dark womb of the underworld.' Alt. rend. means 'a dew like that which falls upon plants'; comp. Hos. xiv. 5, Ps. lxxii. 6.—**The earth shall produce**] Lit., cause to fall (comp. v. 18). The earth is likened to a devouring monster, Num. xiii. 32, Ezek. xxxvi. 13, like Sheól (see on v. 14).

²⁰ The rapture is over, and the prophet returns to the sober present. He has gained on behalf of his people the comforting certitude that a great exhibition of the Divine justice is on the point of taking place; and his counsel is to withdraw from the doomed world into the privacy of communion with God (Ps. xxvii. 5, xxxi. 21, Del.). For even the righteous man shall only live in virtue of his

shall have passed by. ²¹ For behold, Jehovah cometh out of his place to visit the guilt of the earth's inhabitants upon them; and the earth shall disclose her bloodshed, and shall no more cover her slain.

trust' in Jehovah (Hab. ii. 4?)—
For a little moment . . .] Paral-
lel passage, x. 25.

²¹ For behold, &c.] The same
expressions in Mic. i. 3.—**Shall
disclose . . . her slain**] The
latter clause by itself might be
taken as a prediction of a resur-
rection; but with the words which
precede it, it can only be taken as

a strong expression for the inner
necessity of vengeance for blood.
Comp. Gen. iv. 11, Job xvi. 18.
A fine application in Macaulay, vii.
33 (field of Landen). The whole
stress of the verse lies on the pu-
nishment of the actually existing
inhabitants of the earth.—The de-
scription of the judgment follows
in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXVII.

¹ In that day shall Jehovah visit with his sword, the hard, and great, and strong, the leviathan the fugitive serpent, and

¹ Further details on 'that day,' expressed, with the fearless security characteristic of the prophets, in phraseology of mythic origin. The object is to throw into relief the terribleness of Jehovah's vengeance, which is effected by clothing the announcement in language originally used of the storm-cloud. The **sword** of Jehovah (xxx. 8, xxxiv. 5, lxvi. 16, Deut. xxxii. 41, 42, Jer. xii. 12, xlv. 10, xlvii. 6, l. 35-38, Ezek. xxi. 9 (14), Zech. xiii. 7, Judg. vii. 20, comp. Josh. v. 13) is described more fully in Gen. iii. 24 as the 'turning sword by the cherubim,' and the cherub is undoubtedly a symbol connected with the storm-cloud (see *Encycl. Brit.*, art. 'Cherubim'). The Babylonians had their parallel (as was first shown by Lenormant ¹) in the sword of fifty points and seven heads belonging to the god Marduk, which obviously means the lightning. The other imagery of the verse belongs to the same

order of conceptions. It is impos-
sible to help comparing the fourth
tablet of the Babylonian creation-
story, which describes the fight
between Marduk and the dragon
Tiamat or Tiamtu ('the deep,' like
Hebr. *hôm*), the personification of
disorder, who dwelt in the sea.
Indeed, the Book of Job, so full of
allusions to mythology, also fur-
nishes a parallel; we read in xxvi
12, 13,—

By his power he hath stirred up the sea,
And by his skill he hath smitten Rahab;
By his breath the heavens become serene,
His hand hath pierced through the flying
serpent.

Rahab in the second line is synony-
mous with the cloud- or storm-
dragon:—this is certain both from
its being placed parallel with 'the
flying serpent' (flying, that is, from
the sun or from the lightning) in
line 4, and from Isa. li. 9 (see note).
It is hardly less certain that 'the
sea' in the first line is the upper

¹ *La Magie chez les Chaldéens* (1874), p. 151; comp. Sayce's ed. of *Smith's Chaldean Genesis* (1880), pp. 86-7, where the same lyric monologue of Marduk is translated. Among its lines are the following:—

The sun of fifty faces, the lofty weapon of my divinity, I bear . . .
Like the serpent which beats the sea, (which attacks) the foe in the face.

the leviathan the wreathed serpent, and he shall slay the dragon in the sea. ² In that day—^a 'the pleasant vineyard'—sing ye of it. ³ I Jehovah am its keeper; moment by moment I water it; lest any should invade it, by night and by day I keep it. ⁴ ^b Wrath have I none ^b; might I but have

^a So Sept., Targ. (?), some Hebr. MSS., Lowth, Ew., Del., Naeg.—TEXT, The vineyard of foaming wine.

^b I have no wall [speech of the vineyard], Sept., Pesh., Lowth, Grätz.

ocean in its dark, cloudy reservoir (Job ix. 8, Ps. xxxiii. 7, comp. Job xxvi. 8), above which Jehovah sitteth (Ps. civ. 3); otherwise the first line will be inconsistent with the rest (comp. also Ps. lxxxix. 9, 10). So here in Isa. xxvii. The two leviathans, or 'coilers,' and the dragon, are slightly varying mythic expressions for the storm- and rain-cloud, the enemy of the sun and of light. And the prophet means to say that just as Jehovah is supreme in the physical heaven, and keeps the sky-dragon, that is, the ungenial, cloudy darkness, within bounds, so He is supreme in the moral heaven, and prevents 'the prince of the power of the air'—the personification of evil and disorder—from exceeding his permitted functions (Job i. 12).¹ Perhaps, too, he means to say that there is a connection between these physical, or physico-moral, and moral spheres of rebellion, just as in xxiv. 21 the Divine visitation is held upon the host of the heavenly patronisers and the host of the earthly patronised.—Most critics think that three particular kingdoms are referred to under these symbolic phrases—Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, or Egypt, Assyria, and Tyre, or Media, Persia, and Egypt. It is true, the dragon is elsewhere an emblem of Egypt, li. 9, Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2, Ps. lxxiv. 13 ('the dragons'); but so also, close to one of these passages, is the leviathan (Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14). If anyone chooses, therefore, to say that all three phrases mean Egypt, he cannot be

refuted; and yet I think it is safer, considering xxiv. 21, not to limit the number of the hostile kingdoms to one or even to three. The number is perhaps chosen to correspond to the triple description of the sword of Jehovah at the beginning of the verse.—[Hard] i.e., well-tempered ('cruel,' as Gen. xlix. 7, suits the context less).

² Here the bright side of the judgment begins:—Israel is received back into favour. Prophecy passes into song. Possibly the words 'shall this song be sung' have fallen out, and yet it may be urged that the abbreviation of the opening formula is in keeping with the rush of the song. This abruptness of style makes the work of exposition very difficult. The first verse of the song, no doubt, is clear. Jehovah is the speaker; he declares that he will in person be the guardian of his vineyard (cf. on i. 8). But v. 4, at any rate the first clause of it, seems very loosely connected; indeed, it evidently introduces a new cycle of ideas. Then again the second and following clauses seem hardly consistent with the first:—no wrath, and yet a hostile aggression on the part of Jehovah! Then, in v. 5, protection and peace are offered to certain persons, apparently to the same who are indicated by the phrase 'briars and thorns.' And yet elsewhere 'thorns' are the symbols of an obstinacy destined for destruction (comp. x. 17, xxxiii. 12, 2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7, Nah. i. 10). Lowth evades the difficulty by rendering in v. 1 'sing

¹ Mr. Budge remarks that perhaps a similar spiritual meaning was conveyed by the Babylonian tablet to those who read it, 'Tiamat representing wickedness or darkness, and Marduk light and righteousness' (*Proceedings of S. B. A.*, 1883, p. 6).

briars and thorns before me! with war would I stride against them, I would burn them up together; ^b else he must ^c take asylum in me ^e (and) ^d make peace with me.' ^d ⁶ In (days) to come Jacob shall take root, Israel shall blossom and bud, and they shall fill the face of the world with fruit.

⁷ Hath He smitten him as He smote his smiter? or was he slain as his ^e slayers were slain? ⁸ ^f In exact measure^f,

^c Lit., take hold of my asylum; or, my defence, Ges., Ew., &c. See on xxx. 2.

^d TEXT repeats these words.

^e So Sept., Pesh., Lowth, Ew.—Slain ones. ^f Hebr. points.

^f So Ges., Del., Naeg., Kay.—By driving her away, Hitz., Ew.

ye a responsive song' (comp. Ex. xv. 21: same verb apparently, but different conjugation); reading 'wall' instead of 'wrath' in v. 4, and distributing the song antiphonally—an attractive theory, but not entirely consistent with the present text. Drechsler regards the song as the counterpart of the song and oracle in v. 1-7. 'There the Lord pronounced a judgment of rejection upon Israel, using the figure of the vineyard: in our passage he declares that he receives his people back, and takes the parable of the vineyard for his theme.' This view seems to me correct; it enables us to give a reasonable exegesis, though it does not entirely remove the suspicion that the present text may contain some errors.—**Wrath have I none**] i.e., I have no longer any wrath towards it.—**Briars and thorns**] i.e., those referred to in v. 6, only that what is there an unexplained detail of the parable has here become a speaking figure for the hostile peoples, which, like parasitical plants, have overrun God's heritage. There is therefore a combined reference to v. 6 and x. 17.

⁵ **Or else . . .**] A truly evangelical belief that God is willing to be reconciled even to His enemies. Its presence here gives the prophecy a spiritual superiority over the other prophetic descriptions of the judgment upon the hostile nations, e.g., lxvi. 16. Even according to xix. 22 Egypt must be first

smitten in order that it may be healed.—**Take asylum in me**] Let him take sanctuary in the Name of Jehovah, which is 'a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe' (Prov. xviii. 10); in short, let him become a believing servant of Jehovah. 'Fortress' in alt. rend. would be a symbolical name for a protecting deity, as xvii. 10, Ps. lii. 7 (9).

⁶ Israel likened to a colossal tree, 'the leaves of which are for the healing of the nations' (Rev. xxii. 2), i.e., the blessing of salvation (*yeshū'ah*) shall extend to the whole world (the 'new earth?'). Partly parallel, xxxvii. 31, Hos. xiv. 6.

^{7, 8} The prophet returns to the point of view adopted at xxvi. 8. He reminds his people of the moderation with which Jehovah has treated them. Their punishment, however painful, was not so severe as that of their enemies.—**His smiter**] Comp. x. 20.—**His slayers**] No critic can be surprised at the misplacing of a Vāv. The received reading is most obscure. It ought to mean the slain Israelites, but this is clearly against the context; so the commentators perforce explain it of the enemies of the theocracy, slain either by Jehovah (Del.) or by Israel (Knob., Naeg., &c.).

⁸ **In exact measure**] 'Dealing out punishment in carefully adjusted quantities' (Kay). Lit., 'in a seah, a seah'; a *seah* is $\frac{1}{3}$ of an ephah (see on v. 10), and therefore a very small measure. A singular phrase-

when dismissing her, thou didst contend with her; he scared her away with his rough blast in the day of the east wind. ⁹ Therefore ^g on these terms ^g shall the guilt of Jacob be purged, and this shall be all the fruit of taking away his sin, when he maketh all the altar-stones like lime-stones dashed in pieces, that Ashérah's and sun-images rise up no more. ¹⁰ For the fortified city ^h shall be ^h solitary, a homestead dismissed and deserted as the wilderness; there shall the calf feed, and there lie down, and browse upon the branches thereof. ¹¹ When its

^g So Riehm.—Hereby, Ges., Ew., Del. &c.

^a Or, is.

and perhaps corrupt; comp. for the form of the Hebr., *kav-kāv*, xviii. 2. Alt. rend. seems to me now precarious; see, however, *Notes and Criticism*, p. 29.—**In the day of the east wind]** A figure for a national catastrophe, the east (more strictly, south-east) wind being specially violent and destructive, comp. Job xxvii. 21, Ps. xlvi. 7, and especially Hos. xiii. 15.

⁹ An inference from the Divine moderation. Jehovah has only banished, not destroyed, his people, consequently repentance is still possible, and Jehovah will mercifully accept this repentance as an atonement for guilt.—**On these terms]** viz., of destroying the emblems of idolatry. Rend. as in Gen. xxxiv. 15, 22, 1 Sam. xi. 2.¹ Alt. rend. seems hardly in accordance with prophetic theology (see on xxii. 14), at least if 'hereby' means 'by undergoing his punishment of captivity.' The next clause is difficult: we should expect, 'And the putting away of his sin is entirely the fruit of this.' But there is a meaning in this violation of the parallelism. In one sense (i.e., from a human point of view) Israel's repentance was the cause; in another (i.e., from a divine point of view) it was the result, of his forgiveness. Justice and mercy are combined in the removal of guilt, according to the Old Test. as well as the New. Obs., too, that 'guilt' and 'sin' are parallel, as in v. 18.

—**That Ashérah's . . .]** The mention of the symbols of Ashérah (see on xvii. 8) is not what we should expect from a writer living during the Babylonian exile. The phenomenon is, of course, not decisive of the critical question at issue, but ought to have its due weight.

¹⁰ Very different meantime shall be the fate of the world's metropolis. Its fortifications shall be razed; its population 'dismissed' (into exile or to Sheól); its only visitors pasturing flocks, and women in search of wood. Calv., Ges., Del., Knob. think **the fortified city** is Jerusalem, but surely the context is against this view. It is true that the Jews are said to be without knowledge in i. 3, and that Jehovah is their 'former' (xliii. 1), but the same things are said of the heathen (xliv. 17, Ps. lxxxvi. 9). The irremediableness of the ruin, expressed analogically by the 'unmercifulness' of Jehovah, certainly suits a great heathen city better than Jerusalem:—Jon. iv. 11 stands unique in the Old Test.—**Dismissed]** i.e., deprived of its inhabitants.

¹¹ **Its twigs]** i.e., those of the bushes which will grow up wild on the site of the now levelled city (comp. vii. 25). A striking contrast to the parks and gardens which an Oriental city enclosed within its limits.—For the suppression of the noun of the genitive, comp. v. 14.

¹ Riehm, *Der Begriff der Sühne im A. T.* pp. 12 13, note 2.

twigs are dry, they shall be broken off; women shall come and set them on a blaze: for it is not a people of understanding; therefore he who made it hath no compassion upon it, and he who formed it sheweth it no favour. ¹² And it shall come to pass in that day, that Jehovah shall beat out ⁱ(corn) from the ^kswelling stream ^k of the River unto the torrent of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered one by one, ye children of Israel. ¹³ And it shall come to pass in that day that a great trumpet shall be blown; and those shall come who were lost in the land of Assyria, and outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship Jehovah, in the holy mountain, in Jerusalem.

¹ Or, fruit, Hitz., Ges. ^k Or, ear (of corn). (There may be a double meaning).

^{12, 13} A concluding prophecy of comfort. Here again there are great difficulties of interpretation. The point of view assumed in the rest of the chapter is in the midst of a period of exile—as most critics believe, the Babylonian exile. But the point of view in these two verses is that of Isaiah, in whose time Assyria and Egypt were Israel's principal foes, and who distinctly anticipates that when Jehovah interposes 'the second time' his people will be dispersed chiefly in Assyria and Egypt. I venture to hold confidently that these verses must be explained en-

tirely on the analogy of xi. 11-16.—Ges. however thinks that the Euphrates and the Wady el-'Arish are here the extreme boundaries of the promised land of Israel (Gen. xv. 18, 1 Kings viii. 65), and that the passage means that Jehovah will people the kingdom in its fullest extent as rapidly and numerously as berries fall from the olive-trees. —**Beat out**] As a more careful plan than threshing (comp. Judg. vi. 11, Ruth ii. 17). — **A great trumpet**] The same signal for a Divine interposition as in xviii. 3, comp. xi. 12, Matt. xxiv. 31.—**Outcasts**] Same phrase as in xi. 12.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A GLANCE at the sad fate of Samaria, followed by an invective against the frivolity, perversity, and superstition of the ruling classes of Judah, and closed by a persuasive parable. The chapter divides naturally at *v.* 14 and *v.* 23. It must be taken in connection with the four, if not five, following chapters, which were probably circulated together among the disciples and adherents of Isaiah as a separate work. It is true, they have no heading, but their Isaianic origin and—in spite of some slight differences in the chronological data—their close connection (especially that of xxix.-xxxii.) cannot for a moment be called in question. They were evidently delivered at various stages of the Assyrian intervention under Sargon (see on chaps. x. 5, &c., and xx.).

'The most noteworthy feature of this important group of discourses is the wise distinction everywhere made between the various classes of

opponents. Isaiah well knew that the mass of the people erred rather from weakness and fear than intentionally, and that only individual defiantly rash 'princes' had so miserably gone astray in their aims and calculations. He therefore varies his tone and manner, according as he addresses the leaders of the nation or the people themselves. In the first case, the Divine words come from his mouth with a crushing force; in the second, they are full of gentle seriousness and hope' (Ewald). This variety of tone is specially exhibited in chap. xxviii.

¹ Woe to the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim, and the fading flower of his glittering bravery, which is on the head of the fat valley of those who are smitten down by wine. ² Behold, a strong and unflinching one hath ^a Jehovah; like a storm of hail (and) a tempest of destruction, like a storm of mighty, overflowing waters, he shall cast it to the ground with force. ³ With the feet shall it be trampled upon—the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim; ⁴ and the fading flower of his glittering bravery, which is on the head of the fat valley, shall become as an early fig before the fruit-harvest, which whoso seeth, while it is yet in his hand he swalloweth it. ⁵ In that day shall Jehovah Sabaoth be for a

^a So many MSS. ; TEXT, the Lord.

¹ Isaiah opens with a woe upon Samaria. He has before now said (viii. 6, comp. Mic. i. 6, &c.) that the storm of judgment must first break upon Samaria, and then upon Jerusalem—not merely for geographical reasons, but because the spiritual condition of both cities is similar. He mentions drunkenness, not as the root of the national evil, but rather as its flower. The appalling thing is that when all is on the point of collapsing, those responsible for the state should be given up to self-indulgence. Comp. Hos. vii. 5 and Am. iv. 1 (Samaria), Am. vi. 4-6 (Zion and Samaria).—**The proud crown . . .**] 'Isaiah fuses into one image the heads of the nation, crowned with flowers at their habitual debauches, and the capital cities—Samaria and Jerusalem(?)¹—each reposing in its fertile valley, and crowned with a chaplet of towers intertwined with vines and

olives' (Strachey). The luxury of Samaria reflects itself in the tribute of Jehu to Shalmaneser, which includes bowls, cups, bottles, and vessels of gold (Smith, *Assyrian Canon*, p. 114).—**Smitten down by wine**] Comp. on xvi. 8.

² **Unflinching**] An uncommon word; again in xl. 26.—**Hath Jehovah**] As his prepared instrument. So 'Jehovah hath a day,' ii. 12, xxii. 5.—**Destruction**] Word only found here and in Deut. xxxii. 24, Ps. xci. 6.—**Force**] Lit., hand; comp. Ex. xiv. 31. So Assyrian *idu* (= Hebr. *yād*), constantly, both of gods and of men (Norris's *Assyrian Dict.* i. 209).

⁴ **An early fig**] A special delicacy; comp. Hos. ix. 10, Mic. vii. 1, Nah. iii. 12, Jer. xxiv. 2.

⁵ When this great act in the drama of judgment is over, there will be an incipient fulfilment of the Messianic promise.—**Unto the**

¹ Surely not Jerusalem, which is nowhere described as situated in a valley. See on xxii. 5.

glittering crown, and for a brave diadem unto the remnant of his people, ⁶ and for a spirit of judgment to him who sitteth on the judgment-seat, and for valour to those who turn back war to the gate. ⁷ But even these reel with wine and stagger with strong drink; priest and prophet reel with strong drink, they are swallowed up through wine, they stagger with strong drink; they reel in the vision, they totter in judgment. ⁸ For all tables are full of filthy vomit, so that no place is left. ⁹ Whom would he teach knowledge, and whom would he make to understand the Tidings? Those who are weaned from the milk, and separated from the breasts? ¹⁰ For (it is) 'command

remnant of his people] The meaning is not very clear. Does 'his people' include Judah as well as Israel, or only Israel? The analogy of viii. 6 makes it probable that the former view is correct, though the promise is doubtless inserted here out of fairness to Ephraim, which still had its standing-ground in Jehovah's covenant. But we must evidently supplement the promise from x. 21. It is a converted 'remnant' of which the prophet speaks.

⁶ Civil justice is still (as in chap. xi.) the most prominent feature of the Messianic period as it mirrors itself in the mind of the prophet. Jehovah, he says, shall inspire the judges with a **spirit of judgment**. He specially refers to the priests, see *v.* 7, and comp. Deut. xvii. 8-12, Ex. xxi. 22, 2 Chr. xix. 5-8. — **Judgment-seat]** Same meaning of *mishpāt* in xli. 1, comp. Job ix. 32, xxii. 4. — **To the gate]** i.e., probably, to the gate of the city from which the enemies came; comp. 2 Sam. xi. 23.

⁷ Here the prophet seems to be summing up a fresh cycle of prophecies.—A scene worthy of Samaria is being enacted in Jerusalem (comp. Am. vi. 1-7, Mic. ii. 11). Priests and prophets come visibly drunk (from the sacrificial feasts? see on xxv. 6) to their most solemn functions of judgment (see above) and prophecy. Isaiah refers of course to the lower order of pro-

phets, who had no revelations of spiritual truth like himself.

^{9, 10} The drunkards mocking Isaiah over their cups. Does he not know what respectable persons he is dealing with, not like children who need leading strings, but educated priests and prophets? They have caught up from Isaiah one of his favourite words (probably), and repeat it with a sneer—viz., **Tidings**, i.e., revelation, that which the prophet has 'heard from Jehovah' *v.* 22, comp. xxi. 10). The word occurs again in this sense in *v.* 19, liii. 1, Ob. 1. It is from these passages that *ἀκοή* gets its peculiar meaning in Rom. x. 16, 17. **Knowledge** is also a term for the prophetic preaching, i. 3, xxxiii. 6. [I am not sure that the above interpretation (Ew., Del., Naeg.) is correct; it is at any rate possible and worthy. Others take 'weaned from the milk' as an allegory either of simplicity of faith (Kay) or of the very opposite of this (Weir), omitting of course the interrogation.] — **For (it is) command upon command . . .]** He is always interfering with his moral and (see *v.* 12) political recommendations; always finding some 'little' point to censure and correct. Comp. the word used by Micah's opponents, 'Do not go on dropping,' an old phrase for prophesying with a new unfavourable implication (Mic. ii. 6). The monosyllabic forms in the Hebr. (*צַו לֹא-צַו צַו לֹא-צַו*) re-

upon command, command upon command, rule upon rule, rule upon rule, a little here, a little there.' ¹¹ Yea, with stammerings of lip and with another tongue shall he speak unto this people; ¹² because he said unto them, This is the rest, give ye rest to the weary; and this is the refreshment, but they would not hear. ¹³ But the word of Jehovah shall be unto them 'command upon command, command upon command, rule upon rule, rule upon rule, a little here, a little there,' that they may go away, and stumble backward, and be broken, and be snared, and taken.

¹⁴ Therefore hear the word of Jehovah, ye men of scorn, rulers of this people which is in Jerusalem. ¹⁵ Because ye

present at once the stammer of a drunkard, and the monotonous character attributed to Isaiah's teaching.

¹¹ The prophet retorts their own language upon them. Yes; it shall be in fact as you say. This childish monotone shall indeed sound in your ears. The description which you give of the revelations of Jehovah shall be exactly applicable to the harsh, laconic commands of a merciless invader. For Assyrian, although closely allied to Hebrew, was sufficiently different from it both in grammar and in vocabulary to seem a 'stammering' or 'barbarous' tongue to Isaiah's contemporaries. The common diplomatic and commercial language of Syria and Assyria was Aramaic (see xxxvi. 11).—**Shall he speak**] The Assyrians being God's instruments. So xxix. 3: 'I will lay siege against thee.'—**This is the rest**] i.e., the true rest. Isaiah practically grants the monotony, or rather uniformity, of his preaching. But there was but one remedy for the evils of the time. 'Through returning and rest shall ye be saved' (xxx. 15). It was the 'rest,' not of passive obedience to Assyria, but of hearty faith in Jehovah, which he recommended. Comp. Mic. ii. 10, Jer. vi. 16.

¹⁴⁻²² Jehovah pronounces judgment. He addresses — not the king, who is passed over in silence

in most of the Hezekian discourses of Isaiah (comp. on vii. 2)—but the 'rulers,' the politicians. These are designated **men of scorn** (comp. *v.* 22, and xxix. 20). The title 'scorners' seems to be given in Proverbs to those who opposed or despised the counsels of the 'wise men,' and broke through the restraints of law and religion (comp. Prov. xv. 12, xxi. 24). Mere politicians were 'scorners' to Isaiah and Hosea (vii. 5).—The divine oracle has two aspects, like that addressed upon a similar occasion to Ahaz:—it holds forth at once a curse and a blessing. The ruling classes at Jerusalem had secured themselves, as they thought, by an Egyptian alliance (only, it is true, in its first stage as yet) against any damage to themselves from an Assyrian invasion. A policy of 'lying,' which would avenge itself upon its authors! Only those who trusted in Zion's 'foundation-stone' would hold their ground. The vacillation of the politicians has excited Isaiah's indignation. First, they have acted a 'lie' against Jehovah by calling in Assyria (2 Kings xvi. 7); next they shift their confidence from Assyria to Egypt (comp. Jer. ii. 17-19).

¹⁵ **A covenant with death**] Not = 'an alliance with the fatal power of the Assyrians' (R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 284). Isaiah adopts 'a kind of proverbial express

have said, We have entered into a covenant with Death, and with Sheól have we made an agreement; the flooding scourge, when it passeth along, shall not come unto us, for we have set lies for our refuge, and in falsehood have we hid ourselves:—¹⁶ Therefore, thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I ^b will found ^b in Zion a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone of solid foundation; he that hath faith shall not ^c give way.^c ¹⁷ And I will set justice for a line, and righteousness for a plummet, and hail shall sweep off the refuge of lies, and the

^b So Sept., Koppe, Weir.—Am he that hath founded. Hebr. points.

^c Make haste. Hebr. text.

sion to denote perfect security from evil and mischief of any sort. Job v. 23, Hos. ii. 18, Lucan ix. 894 (of the Psylli: Pax illis cum morte data est). Lowth.—Obs., the 'scorners' or free-thinkers have retained a strong belief in the infernal powers, Death and Sheól (see on xxxviii. 18), though little enough in those supernal.—**The flooding scourge**] A mixture of metaphors. 'Scourge,' as in x. 26; 'flooding,' with a sceptical reference to the prophecy of the 'overflowing waters,' which shall 'sweep along into Judah' (viii. 7, 8), or to similar prophecies.

¹⁶ **Behold, I will found in Zion a stone**] (See crit. note). To understand the form of this prophecy, we must recollect the enormous size and cost of the foundation-stones of Eastern public buildings:—comp. Job xxxviii. 6 'who cast (as a trifling burden) the earth's foundation-stone,' 1 Kings v. 17 'great stones, costly stones, hewed stones, to lay the foundation of the house.' But what is this 'stone'? Isaiah cannot mean to connect the peace and security of Zion (or of the pious Israel) with a material stone. He has told us elsewhere that Jehovah is, on the one hand, 'the Rock of Israel' (xxx. 29); on the other, 'a stone to fall against' to many nominal Israelites. Jehovah then must be meant here. There may, indeed, be an allusion to the old popular superstition which attached a peculiar sanctity

to sacred stones (e.g., at Delphi and Troy), but if so, Isaiah only alludes to it to discountenance it. It is not said 'he who believeth on the stone shall not give way,' but simply 'he who believeth':—now the object of absolute faith can be but one, Jehovah. But the foundation-stone of the temple in the solid rock of Zion (from which the mosque called Kubbet es-sakhrâ, or 'the dome of the rock,' derives its name) might well be regarded as a type of the unchangeableness of that temple's God. This view is confirmed by the peculiar introductory form of expression, 'I will found *in Zion*;' it is the manifestation of the Divine faithfulness towards believers which is meant. Jehovah will in Zion verify his revealed character. The security of believers will justify their faith, even as the permanence of the temple-building verifies the solidity of the foundation (comp. especially xiv. 32). There is perhaps an allusion in Ps. cxviii. 22.—**Shall not give way**] The text-reading does not suit the connection. Sept., Targ., Pesh., feeling that something was wrong, render freely 'shall not be put to shame' (see crit. note).

¹⁷⁻¹⁹ In contrast to Zion's *immobile saxum*, all other subjects of confidence shall be swept away.—**For trampling upon**] So again of the Assyrian invasion, x. 6.—**Take you away**] The image is that of a flood, which carries off more and more human

hiding-place ^d of falsehood ^d shall waters flood away; ¹⁸ and your covenant with Death shall be ^e annulled, and your agreement with Sheól shall not stand: the flooding scourge, when it passeth along—ye shall be unto it for trampling upon; ¹⁹ as often as it passeth along, it shall take you away, for morning by morning shall it pass along, by day and by night; and it shall be simply a terror to understand the Tidings. ²⁰ [^f For too short is the bed for one to stretch himself out at length, and too narrow the covering when one wrappeth himself in it. ^f]

²¹ For Jehovah shall arise as on mount Perazim, he shall be stirred as in the valley of Gibeon; to do his work—alien is his work, and to carry out his task—strange is his task. ²² And now—behave not as scorers, lest your bonds become fixed, for final and decisive is that which I have heard (coming) from the Lord, Jehovah Sabáoth, over all the land.

²³ Give ye ear, and hear my voice; attend ye, and hear my speech. ²⁴ Is a ploughman continually ploughing in order to sow; (or) opening and harrowing his ground? ²⁵ When he hath levelled the surface thereof, doth he not

^d These words, which are necessary to complete the sense, are wanting in text and versions.

^e So Targ., Secker, Lo., Houb., Hupf., Weir, Welh.; TEXT, cancelled (see crit. note).

^f (Of doubtful genuineness, Kuenen and others).

victims at each time of its appearance. Repeated Assyrian invasions.—**To understand the Tidings**] A clear reference to *v.* 9. Men shall then understand but too well the 'Tidings' which they once scorned. Or, perhaps, on the analogy of *v.* 13; As they refused a spoken revelation, they shall be compelled to understand the preaching of facts.

²⁰ **For . . .**] Perhaps a proverbial expression for a state of painful uneasiness. The view that it is an interpolation is confirmed by the presence of an Aramaism.

²¹ **Perazim . . . Gibeon**] Scenes of David's victories over the Philistines; see 2 Sam. v. 20 ('Baal of Perazim,' because the hill was surmounted by a sanctuary of Baal), 25 (Geba), 1 Chr. xiv. 16 (Gibeon). Ew. however denies this reference, and thinks, rather, of the events of Josh. x. 10 (the natural phenomena

suit our prophecy, comp. *v.* 2, 17). But both may be combined.—**Alien is his work**] 'Alien,' such as might be understood if worked upon foreigners, but not upon Jehovah's 'peculiar' people. See on i. 7, and comp. Job xxxi. 3, A. V. 'a strange punishment to the workers of iniquity' (see Hebr.); also Jer. ii. 14. 'His work,' i.e., his work of judgment, as x. 12, Ps. lxiv. 9, Hab. i. 5.

²² Again an appeal to the politicians, who are ambitious of breaking the **bonds** of the Assyrian yoke (x. 27, Nah. i. 13), and who scorn the prophet of ill-tidings. But this is only the way to fix their bonds, and, even worse than this, to invite certain destruction.—The closing words recur in x. 23, suggesting the nearly contemporaneous origin of both prophecies.

²³ A turn takes place in the dis-

scatter fennel-flower, and cast abroad cummin, and plant wheat and ^g barley, and ^g vetches as the border thereof. ²⁶And ^h he correcteth each ^h as is fitting, his God instructing him. ²⁷ For fennel-flower is not threshed with a sledge, nor is a cart-wheel rolled over the cummin, but fennel-flower is beaten out with a staff, and cummin with a rod. ²⁸ ¹ Is bread-corn crushed to pieces? Nay ¹, not for ever is he threshing it, or driving his cart-wheel and his horses (over it); he doth not

^g Text repeats this word in a corrupt form, Wellhausen (see crit. note).

^h (God) traineth him, Vulg., A.E., Kimchi, Ges., Ew., Del.

¹ Bread-corn is threshed, but, Ew. (another read.)

course. The style is gnomic—that of the so-called *Khokma* or ‘wisdom’-literature; obs. especially the word rendered ‘wisdom,’ which occurs ten times in the ethical books of Proverbs and Job. Comp. xxxii. 6-8, which is also in the gnomic style, and xxix. 24 (see note). The inference is that the literary style of the prophet was influenced by that of his less purely religious fellow-teachers, the ‘wise men.’—The parable which follows admits of more than one interpretation. We may suppose (a) that its object is to comfort believers. The operations of ploughing and threshing are a silent sermon, teaching those who have the inner ear the meaning of Israel’s *tribulations*. The delicate fennel-flower is not threshed, neither does Jehovah thresh his people; or if some wise purpose leads him now and then to do so, he does not crush them to pieces, his object being to purify, and not to destroy. (So Drechsler, Del., Naeg.)—Or (b) with Ewald, we may view it as a final appeal to the politicians. ‘The husbandman does nothing without regard to its proper manner and measure. Ye magnates and philosophers, who imagine yourselves to be far more than a husbandman, will ye observe no moderation and propriety? will ye go on in your wild, irrational life?’ It would be fatal to agriculture to desert its sacred traditions (see on v. 26); and equally fatal will it be to you to scorn the constantly proffered advice of Jehovah’s pro-

phet. Even the politician cannot disregard religious sanctions and traditions. If we adopt (a), we must suppose the notes of a fresh prophecy to have been tacked on to the foregoing; if (b), we have a justification which has till now been withheld of the ‘rule upon rule’ complained of by the ‘scorners.’ I now prefer the latter, with Robertson Smith and Wellhausen.—On the agricultural allusions in this section see Mr. Houghton’s papers on the botany of the Bible in the *Bible Educator*. In the rendering **vetches**, I follow Wetzstein *op. cit.* Del. ed. 2, p. 705. Apparently a kind of vetch was planted round the fields of grain as a protecting border—obviously a much more suitable border than one of spelt, the most delicate of the cereals. According to Wetzstein, the *ricinus* is still cultivated with this object.

²⁶ **And he correcteth each . . .]** Not only the soil, but the seed, is in a certain sense ‘chastised’ or ‘corrected,’ regard being had in each case to the character of the seed. Comp. Jer. xxx. 11, xlvi. 28, where the same phrase occurs. Del.’s rend. seems less natural and forcible, though it has the support of the older interpreters.—**Instructing him]** From Jehovah proceed the unwritten laws alike of social custom and of agricultural operations. The Eastern peasant never dreams of improving his methods; he accepts the wisdom of remote ancestors as a divine ap-

crush it to pieces. ²⁹ This also proceedeth from Jehovah Sabáoth ; wonderful counsel hath he, great wisdom.

pointment. One *may* without irreverence compare the mythic revelations of Osiris and Oannes.¹

²⁹ **This also . . .**] viz., husbandry, which, like the despised

prophesying of Isaiah, is an appointment of that manifold wisdom which will swallow up the puny wisdom of the scoffers (xxix. 14). Comp. 'Wonder-Counsellor,' ix. 6.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A SUMMARY of two discourses. *Vv.* 1-12 contain the riddle of Ariel and its explanation ; *vv.* 13-24 a prediction of a sweeping judgment on the untheocratically-minded members of the church-nation. In the latter part (*v.* 15) we meet with the first allusion to the negotiations with Egypt, which are more distinctly denounced in chaps. xxx. xxxi. The politicians as well as the prophet are awake to the pressing danger from Assyria, but the efforts of the former being but worldly-wise will utterly fail. Within a year, says the prophet, 'Ariel' will be reduced to extremities. In xxxii. 9-20 the interval allowed is slightly longer.—Isaiah implies that his unsusceptible hearers did not well understand his language ; no wonder, then, if *we* find it difficult, even in the light of a sympathetic and comparative study of his works.

¹ Alas for Ariel, Ariel, city where David encamped! Add

¹ **Alas for]** 'Wo to' (A.V.) does not suit the context, which is one of promise as well as of threatening.—**Ariel]** One of Isaiah's favourite symbolic names (comp. Rahab, Valley of Vision, &c.), and signifying either God's hearth or altar, or more probably (see crit. note) God's Lion (Ewald, 'Lioness'); comp. Gen. xlix. 9, Ezek. xix. 2, 3. From one point of view, Jehovah is Jerusalem's Lion (xxxii. 4) ; from another, Jerusalem is Jehovah's Lion.² Why not, then, Arijah (Lion of Jehovah)? Probably because the form Ariel was already in use (xxxiii. 7, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, comp. Gen. xli. 16, Num. xxvi. 17). Parallels for this symbolic name of Jerusalem abound in

the Assyrian inscriptions. Thus in the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser we find 'the city of Nappigi' endowed with the second name, 'The Law of Assur,' and 'the city of Ruguliti' also called 'The Command (of Assur)'; *R. P.*, iii. 92. So too at Babylon the two great walls were called respectively Ingur-Bel or 'Bel is gracious,' and Nimitti-Bel, or 'Foundation of Bel' (Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 215). Comp. also Isa. xix. 18 if 'City of the Sun' be the right reading.—**Encamped]** i.e., not in a hostile sense, as Sir E. Strachey, following Sept. and Vulg., but = dwelt (comp. 'To your tents, O Israel!'), perhaps with

¹ The true interpretation has been best given by Robertson Smith (*The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 285-7), following Wellhausen (*Gesch. Israels*, ed. 2, pp. 417-8).

² Hitzig finds an allusion to the physical resemblance of the mountain-city to a lion in repose (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, p. 32). Ewald, to the lion's being the ensign (might we say the totem? see on xv. 6) of the tribe of Judah (comp. Gen. xlix. 9, Ezek. xix. 2); *History*, iii. 250.

year to year, let the feasts run their round; ² then will I straiten Ariel, and there shall be moaning and bemoaning, but she shall be unto me as an Ariel. ³ And I will encamp in a circle about thee, and lay siege against thee with a ^a mound, and set up siege-works against thee; ⁴ and thou shalt speak being abased from the ground, and thy speech shall be subdued (coming) from the dust, and thy voice shall be as that of a ghost from the ground, and from the dust thy speech shall come chirpingly. ⁵ But the multitude of thy enemies shall become as small dust, and as the flitting chaff the multitude of the terrible ones, and it shall come to pass in a moment, suddenly. ⁶ From Jehovah Sabáoth ^b shall she be visited ^b with thunder, and with earthquake, and a great noise with whirlwind and hurricane and the flame of devouring fire; ⁷ and as a dream, a vision of the night, shall be the multitude of all the nations that go to war against Ariel, even all that go to war against her and her entrenchments, and those that straiten her. ⁸ And it shall be as when a hungry man

^a Palisade, Kay.

^b A visitation shall be held, Ges., Del.

the added notion of 'strength and security' (Dr. Weir).—**Add year to year**] This may mean either, Complete one more year; or merely, Enter upon the new year. Probably the latter, since 1. 'Add ye' implies a solemn act on the part of the persons addressed, such, for instance, as the celebration of the new moon of the first month; and 2. the phrase can thus be harmonised with the analogous description in a *later* passage, xxxii. 10. [Wellhausen, *Gesch. Israels*, i. 98, supposes the interval allowed here by the prophet before the siege to be the same as in xxxii. 10. This implies that xxxii. 9–20 is a part of the same discourse as chap. xxix., which is highly improbable, considering the varied contents of the intermediate prophecy].—**Run their round**] A cognate noun is used for the closing of the cycle of feasts, Ex. xxxiv. 22.

² **But she shall be . . .**] But in the very extremity of her need I will enable her to verify her name, 'God's Lion.'

³ **About thee**] 'Thee' is feminine, referring to the daughter of Zion.—**With a mound**] This was for the purpose of using the battering-ram, comp. Jer. xxxiii. 4, and Prof. Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 472.

⁴ **As that of a ghost**] See on viii. 19, where the same word, rendered 'chirp,' occurs.

⁵ **But the multitude . . .**] Dr. Kay prefers 'and' to 'but,' on the ground that 'a comparison of vv. 4, 6, shows that v. 5 must still relate to the humiliation of Jerusalem.' The continuity of the discourse is at first sight in favour of this view; but the expression 'thy strangers' (i.e., thy foes), cannot easily be reconciled with it. The simplicity with which v. 5 is appended to v. 4, is, perhaps, a rhetorical artifice to heighten the contrast. Comp. the way in which vii. 17 is attached to vii. 13–16.

^{7, 8} Twofold application of the figure of a dream. The enemies of Zion shall come to nothing, like a dream; they shall also be

dreameth, and behold! he eateth; but he waketh, and his soul is empty; and as when a thirsty man dreameth, and behold! he drinketh; but he waketh, and behold! he is faint, and his soul craveth: so shall it be with the multitude of all the nations which go to war against mount Zion.

⁹ ° Astonish yourselves, ° and be astonished; blind yourselves, and be blind! They are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink. ¹⁰ For Jehovah hath poured out upon you a spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your ^d eyes which see, and your ^e heads hath he covered, ¹¹ so that the vision throughout is become unto you as the words of a sealed book which if one delivers to a man that is book-learned, saying, Pray read this, he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed; ¹² and should the book be delivered to one that is

° Shew yourselves hesitating, Hebr. text.

^d Eyes, the prophets, Hebr. text.

° Heads, the seers (or, the seeing), Hebr. text (see crit. note).

disappointed, as one who dreams of eating and drinking.

⁹ The hearers stare in astonishment at a prophecy seemingly so out of relation to facts. The prophet warns them that if they wilfully deaden their spiritual faculties, there will be no emerging afterwards from this state of blindness and stupefaction. Jehovah will judicially fix them in it.—**Astonish yourselves**] Implying that the state is self-caused. So Hab. i. 5. It is mainly the ruling class which is addressed, hence the prophet says, **They are drunken, but not with wine**, alluding to xxviii. 7.

^{10, 11} They are thus spiritually asleep, with eyes closed, and heads wrapped up (in Oriental fashion). Not only the revelation in *vv.* 1-8, but the whole body of Isaiah's prophecy, is become non-existent to them. Their eyes that seem to see are baffled entirely by Isaiah's 'vision.' This is further illustrated by a comparison. The educated portion of the ruling class, having a mere secular intelligence, is like a man who is asked to read a book, but is unable to 'loose the seals' (Rev. v. 2). We may fairly infer from this passage that prophecies of Isaiah were already cir-

culated in a written form. The words inserted after 'eyes' and 'heads' in Hebr. text throw the whole passage into confusion. The word 'you' in *v.* 10 *must* mean the same persons as 'yourselves' in *v.* 9, viz. the ruling class, including, of course, the prophets. Must one add that to be asleep involves the closing of the eyes, which cannot here be meant allegorically. Still no one would venture to emend the text, were it not for the existence of so many other glosses, both in the Hebrew Bible and in the Sept. Comp. especially ix. 15.

¹² **And should the book . . .**] A further comparison, growing out of that in *v.* 11. Isaiah chiefly attacks the ruling class, but these only as representatives of the people. The judgment will fall with equal certainty on both the ruled and the rulers. He therefore adds a word for the former. Being equally devoid of secular and spiritual intelligence (comp. Jer. v. 4), they are like a man who can neither unseal nor read a book (see on viii. 1). Both in form and in contents the prophecies of Isaiah are quite out of their reach.—It is this verse which gives a colour of

not book-learned, saying, Pray read this, he saith, I am not book-learned. ¹³ And Jehovah said, Because this people draweth near, with their mouth and with their lips honouring me, while their heart is far from me, and (because) their fear of me is (nothing but) a commandment of men which hath been taught; ¹⁴ therefore behold I will continue to deal wonderfully with this people, even very wonderfully, and the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their understanding ones shall hide itself. ¹⁵ Woe unto those who deeply hide their purpose from Jehovah, so that their work is done in a dark place, and they say, Who seeth us and who noticeth us? ¹⁶ O your perverseness! Should the potter be accounted as clay, that the work should say of him that made it, He made me not? and the thing formed say of him that formed it, He hath no understanding?

¹⁷ Is it not yet a very little while, and Lebanon shall be

reason for the distribution of *v.* 10 among two classes of Jews. But then this verse is an appendix, and prepares the way for the sentence upon 'this people' in *v.* 13.

¹³⁻²⁴ A summary of a fresh discourse. The Judahites are nominally worshippers of Jehovah, but it is merely formal lip-service; consequently Jehovah will continue to deal wonderfully with them. This is a very strong expression, implying that Jehovah's dealing with his people is nothing short of inconceivable (see on ix. 6), inasmuch as it seems to run counter to his covenant-promises to Israel; the phrase is parallel to 'foreign in his work,' &c., in xxviii. 21 (see note). 'Continue,' because the invasion of Rezin and Pekah had already destroyed the illusion of Judah's security.—**A commandment of men**] Alluding to *pre-canonical* collections of laws, which, we may infer from Hos. viii. 12, Jer. viii. 8, were current in some circles in the times of the pre-Exile prophets. However essential the *canonical* law-book was felt to be by the spiritual leaders of newborn Israel, the importance of an authoritative law-book was not by any

means clear to their predecessors. Comp. on i. 11. — **Taught**] This is verbally, but not more, inconsistent with Ps. xxxiv. 11.

¹⁵ The hypocrisy of the ruling class shows itself in their worldly-wise but underhand policy. They tacitly recognise the justice of Isaiah's claims to political as well as spiritual direction (see on xxx. 2), and, like Ahaz on a similar occasion (see on chap. vii.), seek to throw the veil of secrecy over their untheocratic pursuit of worldly alliances. But Isaiah detects an alteration in their manner. He divines their purpose, and in figurative language exposes its 'perversity.'

¹⁶ **Should the potter . . .**] A favourite comparison with the Biblical writers, comp. xlv. 9, lxiv. 8 (7), Jer. xviii. 6, Sirach xxxiii. 13, Rom. ix. 20.

¹⁷ **Is it not . . .**] Isaiah reminds his hearers of what he had probably often told them—the future material and spiritual ἀποκατάστασις, or restitution. The connection of ideas is more clearly traceable in the parallel passage, xxxii. 14-19 (see notes). The result of God's great judgment upon Jerusalem

turned into garden-land, and garden-land accounted a forest? ¹⁸ And in that day the deaf shall hear the words of a book, and out of gloom and darkness the eyes of the blind shall see, ¹⁹ and the humble shall obtain fresh joy in Jehovah, and the poor among men shall exult in the Holy One of Israel. ²⁰ For the terrible one will have come to naught, and the scorner be gone, and all that watched for iniquity be cut off, ²¹ that make people sinners ^f by words, ^f and lay snares for him that reproveth in the gate, and deprive the righteous by a mere nothing. ²² Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning the house of Jacob [^g he that delivered Abraham ^g]: Jacob shall not henceforth be ashamed, neither shall his face henceforth turn pale; ²³ for when he seeth [^h namely, his

^f For a (mere) word, Vitruv., Ew., Del.

^g Perhaps interpolated.

^h See below.

will be a temporary withdrawal of His life-giving Spirit from both land and people. But in a very little time (to the eye of faith) there will be a fresh outpouring of the Spirit; oppression will be at an end; desolation more than remedied; and the moral character of Israel regenerated. Most commentators prefer to take *v.* 17 figuratively. But a comparison of the parallel passage favours a combined literal and symbolical interpretation. Isaiah's symbols are very seldom mere symbols (and then he takes care to tell us so), and one of his most characteristic ideas is a future transformation of nature corresponding to that of man.—**Lebanon**] is merely a poetical synonym for 'forest'; comp. *x.* 34. It corresponds to 'pasture-land' in xxxii. 15, both being opposed to cultivated plantations; comp. *x.* 18.

¹⁸ Here there can be no doubt that the description is symbolic; see *xxix.* 10. The ignorant masses shall understand 'the words of a book' (he means, of a written prophecy, see on *vv.* 10, 11), and the self-blinded (*v.* 9) shall acquire spiritual perceptions. Thus the sentence in *vi.* 10 shall be reversed.

²⁰ **The terrible one**] i.e., the foes without (*v.* 5).—**The scorner**] i.e., the foes within (*xxviii.* 14, 22).

²¹ **That make people sinners by words . . .**] i.e., that effect their condemnation by false testimony. (Compare *Hos.* xi. 4, 'they have spoken words, swearing falsely'). Thus we obtain a close parallelism with the last clause in the verse.—**Lay snares for . . .**] i.e., seek to compass the ruin of.—**Him that reproveth in the gate**] In the chief place of concourse, where, too, the judges sat. So Amos, 'They hate him that reproveth in the gate (*v.* 10).—**Deprive**] Lit. turn aside, viz. from the favourable verdict due to him. Same idiom, *Am.* v. 12, *Mal.* iii. 5. More fully, *Ex.* xxiii. 6, 'Thou shalt not turn aside the right of the weak.'—**A mere nothing**] i.e., by a baseless accusation.

²²⁻²⁴ Conclusion. Israel will in future be spared the shame of oppression and captivity, for he will have learned the lesson of the sole divinity of Jehovah his God.—**He that delivered Abraham**] If these words are genuine, they refer to the migration of Abraham from Mesopotamia as caused partly by the 'vexing of his righteous soul' by his idolatrous kinsmen (comp. *Josh.* xxiv. 2, 3). There may however be an allusion to the fire out of which, as a Talmudic legend declares, explaining *Ur Kasdim* as

sons^h] the work of my hands in his midst, they shall count my name holy, and count holy the Holy One of Jacob, and the God of Israel shall they count dreadful ; ²⁴ and those that erred in spirit shall get understanding, and they that murmured shall receive instruction.

'the fire of the Chaldees,' Abraham was rescued. In this case, the words must be interpolated (Wellhausen). There is, I fear, no analogy for holding, with Dozy, that Abraham here = Israel.—**Jacob**] Is it Jacob the patriarch who is here represented as taking a sympathetic interest in the fortunes of his descendants? This is Ewald's opinion. But though a similar view may perhaps be traced elsewhere in the Bible (see on lxiii. 16), Jacob is more probably a collective term for the people of Israel ; otherwise, how are we to account for the words 'in his midst'?—**His sons**] I suspect this, with Ew. (in first but not second edition) and Knob., to be an

early gloss, intended to explain the plural '*they* shall count holy,' and originally written in the margin. The word used (*yēled*, not *bēn*) is not found with 'Jacob' or 'Israel' elsewhere. I have not, however, ventured to excise the suspected words. For the change, which the proposed reading implies, from the collective singular to the plural, comp. xlii. 24, 25.—**The work of my hands**] i.e., the divine judgment (comp. v. 12).

²⁴ **Erred in spirit**] So Ps. xcvi. 10, 'erring in the heart.' Comp. on xxxii. 6.—**Instruction**] A word in the gnomic style (six times in Proverbs). Comp. on xxviii. 23-29.

CHAPTER XXX.

ISAIAH denounces the irreligious embassy to Egypt, which has now actually been sent. He predicts that Egypt will furnish no effective help to Judah, and that this flagrant unbelief of the Jews will be punished by the ruin of the state. But suddenly an impulse comes upon Isaiah to soften his tone, and offer consolation. True, affairs are getting worse and worse, but at the last extremity Jehovah will interpose for his waiting people. A splendid description is then given of the Messianic glories, followed by a definite prediction of the catastrophe in store for Assyria. (See Analysis, *I. C. A.*, p. 69.)

¹ Alas for the unruly sons (it is Jehovah's oracle), carrying out a purpose which is not from me, and ^a weaving a web ^a without my spirit, that they may add sin to sin ; ² who set

^a Pouring out a libation, Ges., Naeg.

¹⁻⁷ The embassy and its uselessness. **Alas for**] So Dr. Kay, comparing i. 4.—**Not from me**] Same phrase in similar connection,

Hos. viii 4.—**Weaving a web**] i.e., the proposed treaty with Egypt. See Del. on rendering.

² **Have not asked**] A signifi-

forth to go down to Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth, to flee unto the ^a asylum of Pharaoh, and to take refuge in the shadow of Egypt. ³ But the ^b asylum of Pharaoh shall be unto you for shame, and the refuge in the shadow of Egypt for confusion. ⁴ For when his princes appear in Zoan, and his messengers arrive at Hanes, ^c all shall be ashamed of people who cannot profit them, who are not for help nor for profit, but for shame and also for reproach. ⁶ [^c Utterance of the beasts of the south-country.] Through a land of trouble and distress, whence come lioness and lion, viper and flying dragon, they carry upon the necks of young asses their riches, and upon the humps of camels their treasures, to people who cannot profit them. ⁷ Yea, the Egyptians—in vain and

^b So Del. ; Fortress, Ges., Ew. &c. (see Del.'s note here and on Ps. xxxi. 3).

^c See below.

cant indication of the place demanded by the prophets in the theocracy.

^{4,5} The predominant or regulative tense (speaking occidentally) is the perfect. Isaiah in spirit sees the ambassadors arrived in Egypt, and meeting with a disgraceful disappointment.—**Zoan . . . Hanes**] Zoan (see on xix. 11) and Hanes (from the Egyptian Chenensu) or Heracleopolis magna, had given dynasties to Egypt, and were now the capitals of petty kingdoms (see Intro. to chap. xix.). Like Zoan, it is still untouched by exploration.

—**People who cannot profit them**] So the Rab-shakeh (xxxvi. 6), and so Sargon, 'The people and their evil chiefs, To fight against me unto Pharaoh, The King of Egypt, a monarch who could not save them, Their presents carried and besought his alliance,' (Smith, *Assyrian Canon*, p. 130). Comp. Intro. to chap. xxxi.

⁶ **Utterance of the beasts of the south**] An early reader appears to have written this in the margin, as a kind of catch-word to mark this very peculiar verse. Or, perhaps an editor inserted it, not in the margin, but in the text, supposing a new prophecy to begin

with this verse. It is, however, impossible to separate *vv.* 6, 7 from the preceding verses, without which they are unintelligible. By the 'beasts of the south,' the interpolator meant those mentioned in *v.* 6. Del., however, who still maintains the Isaianic origin of the title, thinks the word rendered 'beasts' should rather be translated 'river-ox,' or 'river-horse' (hippopotamus), the Behemoth of Job xl. 15. This, he remarks, is peculiarly suitable in this connection as an emblem of the pretentious but slow-moving Egypt.—**A land of trouble . . .**] i.e., the desert between Palestine and Egypt. Comp. Deut. viii. 15, Jer. ii. 6.—**Viper and flying dragon**] King Esar-haddon, relating the hardships he underwent in a province of Arabia, says that 'of snakes and scorpions like flies (Delitzsch, "locusts") the land was full' (Fox Talbot, after Oppert, *T. S. B. A.*, iv. 260). As to the 'flying dragon,' see on xiv. 29.—**Their riches**] i.e., their presents for the Pharaoh.

⁷ **I proclaim . . .**] The objection to alt. rend is that it does not suit the following words, which present not a new name, but an explanation of an old one. Isaiah

empty is their help, therefore ^d I proclaim concerning it ^d (Egypt), 'Rahab! they are utter indolence.'

⁸ Now go, write it on a tablet before them, and inscribe it on a scroll, that it may serve to an after-day ^e for a testimony ^e for ever. ⁹ For it is a disobedient people, lying sons, sons that will not hear the teaching of Jehovah, ¹⁰ who say to the seers, Ye shall not see, and to the prophets, Ye shall not prophesy unto us right things; speak unto us smooth things, prophesy illusions, ¹¹ turn aside from the way, decline from the path,

^d I name it, Ges., Hitz., Ew., Del., Naeg.

^e So Sept., Pesh., Vulg., Targ., Lo., Ew., Kr.—For a perpetuity, Vowel-points.

avails himself of the popular taste for pungently ironical humour. The riddle of 'Ariel' receives its counterpart in that of **Rahab** . . . **indolence**] 'Rahab-hêm-shébbeth.' Rahab was a name for Egypt in Hebrew poetry (see li. 9, with note, Job xxvi. 12, Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10), derived from mythology and expressing the characteristic and immense 'arrogance' of the Egyptians ('ventosa et insolens natio,' as Pliny in his *Panegyric* calls them). Simply in Jer. i. 31, 32 Babylon is called 'Pride' (zādôn). Isaiah's point is that the name Rahab had better be exchanged for Shébbeth, i.e., 'inaction,' so incapable have its bearers showed themselves of carrying out their promises. Obs. Rahab is used collectively, like 'Egypt' in the first verse-half. [I do not feel sure, however, that the text is correct. Comp. Olshausen's note on Job ix. 13.]

^{8,9} Here Isaiah pauses in his discourse, warned, perhaps, by the threatening looks of the bystanders. An inner voice bids him (so I understand *v.* 8) first of all write a few words, such as 'Rahab—they are all inaction,' upon a tablet in the large common character to be set up 'before them' in public (precisely as in viii. 1), and then inscribe the prophecy more fully on a scroll. For the latter a special reason is added. Isaiah's contemporaries refuse to listen to any hut flattering prophecies, so that unless

perpetuated by writing, the recent revelation will be ineffectual.—This is probably the earliest passage of certain date in which a Biblical author distinctly asserts the perpetual validity of his writing. Of course, in order to be 'a testimony for ever,' the prophecy of Isaiah must be stripped of its temporary references, and Rahab and Israel regarded as types of permanent phases of character.—**Inscribe**] Lit., carve or engrave, synonymous with 'write,' as x. 1, Job xix. 23, and in late Hebrew (Zunz, *Z. D. M. G.* xxv. 441).—**Scroll**] Hebr. *sēfer*. The Chald. form *s'far* is used in the Mishna of the skins of animals (Löw, *Beiträge*, p. 115). Root, to scrape or smooth.

¹⁰ **Prophets . . . prophesy**] The Hebr. has 'seers . . . see'—different words from the preceding. The Germans well 'seher' and 'schauer.'—**Ye shall not prophesy**] We can already detect the germs of the persecution which broke out, as may be rightly inferred, with such severity under Manasseh; comp. *v.* 20, Mic. ii. 6, 11, Am. ii. 12 and 2 Chr. xxiv. 20, 21 (the fate of Zechariah).—**Speak unto us smooth things**] Here is the secret of the opposition between the two classes of prophets (the 'true' and the 'false'), viz., that the one makes prosperity conditional on righteousness or repentance, the other does not. See Jer. xxiii. 21, 22 (quoted in *I. C. A.*, p. 73), and cf. Ezek. xiii.

abolish out of our sight the Holy One of Israel! ¹² Therefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye reject this word, and trust in ^f wile and policy, and rely thereon, ¹³ therefore this guilt shall be unto you as a rent portion that falleth, bulging out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly in a moment; ¹⁴ and he will break it as one breaketh an earthen pitcher, shivering it unsparingly, so that not a sherd is found in its shivered pieces for taking fire from the hearth, or drawing water from a cistern. ¹⁵ For thus hath the Lord said, even Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, By returning and rest should ye be saved, in quietness and in confidence should be your strength, but ye have refused; ¹⁶ and ye have said, No, but on horses will we fly; therefore shall ye flee; and, On the swift will we ride; therefore swift shall be those that pursue you. ¹⁷ One thousand at the rebuke of one, at the rebuke of five shall ye flee, till ye be left as a pine on the top of a mountain, and as a signal on a hill. ¹⁸ And therefore

^f So Gr. (transposing two letters).—Oppression, Hebr. text. (See crit. note.)

¹² **This word**] i.e., the prophecy against the Egyptian alliance, the policy of which, in contrast with simple faith in Jehovah, is called in the parallel line **wile and policy** (lit. perverseness and crookedness), comp. xxix. 15. The reading 'oppression' is explained to mean the oppressive measures used for collecting the subsidy to Egypt (comp. 2 Kings xv. 20), but this is rather forced, and spoils the parallelism.

¹³ **Therefore this guilt . . .**] Sin, when it is mature, develops into punishment—one of the fundamental laws of God's kingdom, according to the prophets (see on v. 18, and comp. i. 31, xxxiii. 11, 12, James i. 15). The figure which follows, see Sir E. Strachey, *Hebrew Politics*, p. 285.

¹⁴ **Not a sherd . . .**] 'It is very common to find at the spring or the pit pieces of broken jars to be used as ladles, either to drink from or to fill with; and bits of fractured jars are preserved for this purpose.' Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (1881), p. 37.

¹⁵ The conditions of the proffered deliverance are **returning and rest**.

'Returning' here is not 'conversion' (as Henderson, comp. i. 27), but the abandonment of the distracting, distracting search for earthly aids (comp. Ps. cxvi. 7). Thus Ew. and Del. both have fragments of the meaning.

¹⁶ **Horses and fly** rhyme in the Hebr. The horses are those of Egypt, xxxi. 3; they are of course representative of creaturely objects of confidence.

¹⁷ **One thousand . . .**] A favourite hyperbole, see Deut. xxxii. 30, Josh. xxiii. 10, Lev. xxvi. 8. An Egyptian parallel in the inscription of king Pianchi, transl. by Cook: 'Many shall turn their backs on a few, and one shall rout a thousand.'

¹⁸ **Therefore**] Because of the extremity of your need. So x. 23, 24; 'The Lord shall make a consumption. . . Therefore . . . be not afraid of Assyria.'—The rendering and meaning of this passage are much disputed (see crit. note); the two verbs of the received text seem to me entirely inconsistent; the emendation of a 'tittle' (Matt. v. 18) restores harmony.—Here, I cannot help thinking, we have an

will Jehovah long till he can be gracious unto you, and therefore will he ^g wait in stillness ^g till he can have compassion upon you, for Jehovah is a God of righteousness; happy are all those that long for him!

¹⁹ For ^h a people shall dwell ^h in Zion, in Jerusalem; thou shalt weep no more: he will surely be favourable unto thee at the voice of thy cry; as soon as he heareth it, he hath answered thee. ²⁰ And ⁱ though the Lord ⁱ give you bread in short measure and water in scant quantity, thy ^k teachers shall no more have to conceal themselves, but thine eyes shall constantly see thy ^k teachers; ²¹ and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, 'This is the way, walk ye in it,' when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left. ²² And ye shall defile the covering of thy silver graven images, and the overlaying of thy golden molten images, thou shalt scatter

^g (Adopting another reading.) Be on high, Hebr. text.

^h O people who dwellest, Ew.

ⁱ The Lord shall [taking the verse as a qualified promise], Del., Kay.

^k Teacher, Ew., Kay, Wellh. (*Gesch. Isr.* i. 60), Robertson Smith (*The Old Testament*, &c., p. 282); not Del.

instance of the combination of discourses delivered at different times. The paragraph to which *v.* 18 forms the transition seems to me distinctly to imply that invaders are already in the land.—**A God of righteousness**] A God who faithfully carries out his covenant, showing favour to his people and wrath to his enemies.

¹⁹⁻³³ The true confidence, and its reward.—**For**] Because Jehovah is secretly longing to show mercy. Or, confirmatory of the last clause, = yea.—**A people shall dwell**] The national continuance is assured.—**In Zion**] With an allusion to the sacredness of Jehovah's abode. Zion was the title for Jerusalem regarded as a holy city (comp. *ii.* 3, *iv.* 3, *xviii.* 7). But, to prevent any misunderstanding, or, with affectionate emphasis, the prophet adds, 'in Jerusalem.'

²⁰ **Though the Lord give you . . .**] Judgment shall be tempered with mercy. The first compensating benefit arising out of the siege will be that the silenced prophets of Jehovah shall emerge from their

hiding-places (see on *v.* 10), and the Divine oracles be once more constantly heard. Alt. rendering is quite possible, and is temptingly set forth by Dr. Kay; but the image of Jehovah in person as a guide and teacher has no analogy in this prophecy. In chaps. *xl-lxvi.* it would be more intelligible (comp. *xl.* 11).

²¹ A new figure, not a continuation of *v.* 20. With the inner ear, the Jews shall have a divinely whispered warning, whenever they are tempted to leave the straight path. The opposite of *xviii.* 11.

²² But before a fresh shower of blessings can descend, the nation must make a decided break with the past:—they must destroy the instruments of their sin, the idols. The 'high places' are not mentioned; was Isaiah indifferent to their abolition? Has the narrative in Kings exaggerated the reforms of Hezekiah? See *Last Words*, vol. *ii.*—**And ye . . .**] So text; but it may be an error for the second person sing.—**Graven . . . molten images**] 'Graven, i. e., carved,

them as loathsomeness ; thou shalt say unto it, Go out. ²³ And he shall give rain for thy seed, with which thou sowest the ground, and bread-corn as the increase of the ground—it shall be juicy and fat ; thy cattle shall feed in that day in a broad pasture. ²⁴ And the oxen and the young asses which till the ground shall eat mixed provender with salt, winnowed with the shovel and with the fan. ²⁵ And on every lofty mountain and on every high hill shall be rivulets and water-courses, in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall. ²⁶ And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold ¹ in the day that Jehovah bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the wound of their stroke.

²⁷ Behold, the Name of Jehovah cometh from far, burning

¹ TEXT inserts, 'as the light of seven days.'

in reference to the inner solid figure of wood ; molten, i.e., overlaid or covered, in reference to the outward metalline case or covering. Sometimes both epithets are applied at once : "I will cut off the graven and molten image," Nah. i. 14, (Bishop Horsley).—**The covering**] Specially mentioned as a proof of earnestness, the overlaying being the most costly part of the images. The practice of gilding images was also an Assyrian and Babylonian one (comp. Dan. iii. 1).—**Scatter them**] Comp. Ex. xxxii. 20, 2 Kings xxiii. 6.

²³ After this, we should expect to hear of the destruction of the foe (as in xxxi. 8, comp. 7), but this grand feature in the description is reserved for the end. First of all, the minds of the hearers are relieved as to their means of living.

²⁴ 'His mercies are over all his works.' The idea of the 'solidarity' of all living creatures pervades the O.T.—**Shovel and fan**] I retain this conventional rendering. On the very primitive instruments which are probably intended, see Consul Wetzstein, in an excursus to Delitzsch's *Jesaja*, ed. 2, p. 707.

²⁵ The irrigation of the soil—a prominent feature of Messianic descriptions ; see Am. ix. 13, Joel

iii. 18, and especially Ezek. xlvii. Obs. the streams flow not only in the plains, but among the sun-parched mountains and hills (so xli. 18). The meaning of the Hebr. root *yābhal* (=Ass. *abātu*) is 'to bring' (here of artificial water-courses).—**Slaughter . . towers**] The 'slaughter' is that of Jehovah's enemies, within Israel (xxviii. 18–21) as well as without. The 'towers' are all irreligious means of security (comp. ii. 12),—not the Assyrian warriors, an image without analogy in Isaiah.

²⁶ 'God, in whose light we see light, will make the days go brighter' ['gratior it dies,' Horace] 'in the sense of his favour and peace' (R. Williams). Comp. Job xi. 17. But Isaiah meant more than this. It is the glorification of nature to which the prophet here, as in chap. xi., refers. 'Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit Purpureo' (Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 640). The arithmetical interpretation found in text (see note¹) belongs to some late scribe (in Palestine, not in Egypt, see Sept.).—**Buildeth up the breach . . .**] Same image as in i. 5.

^{27–33} A symbolic description of the judgment, introduced by a theophany. It is indeed not Jehovah in the absolute sense who comes,

with anger, and in thick uplifting of smoke ; his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue like devouring fire ; ²⁸ and his breath is like an overflowing torrent, dividing even to the neck, to swing nations in the fan of nothingness, and a bridle which leadeth astray (shall be) upon the cheeks of the peoples. ²⁹ From you the song shall be as in the night when a feast

but the name of Jehovah, i.e., that side of Jehovah which is manifested to the world, or, as Del. concisely puts it, 'the God of Revelation.' The form of expression was easily intelligible to Isaiah's readers, being common to the Hebrew with the Phœnician religion (see on xxvi. 8). There is no figure of speech in it ; Isaiah has a firm, though not logically defined, belief in the manifoldness of the Divine Being. The Name is obviously a 'person,' or perhaps better a 'persona.' See xviii. 7, xxvi. 8, and notes on lix. 19, lxiii. 9. Also Del.'s note on Prov. xviii. 10. In the description which follows, the two figures of a storm and of an angry man are fused together.—**Indignation**] Dr. Robertson Smith, 'angry foam.' But the cognate word in Arabic is used of the roaring of an irritated animal.—**Devouring fire**] Comp. ix. 19, x. 17, xxix. 6, xxxiii. 14, Ex. xxiv. 17, Deut. ix. 3.

²⁸ The awful appearance comes stormily along. His breath is like a torrent in autumn time, which all but covers the man who has fallen into it (comp. viii. 8) ; and his object is **to swing nations** (i.e., to sift them with a violent motion of the hand) **in the fan of** (reducing them to) **nothingness** (comp. xxix. 5). The good Osiris, too, in his character of judge, is said to be represented with a flail or whip.—**And a bridle . . .**] A fresh figure, borrowed from hunting (comp. Ezek. xix. 4, xxix. 4), with perhaps an allusion to a cruel practice of Eastern conquerors (see on xxxvii. 29). A new and terrible feature is suggested in the words, 'which leadeth astray.' The Assyrians are to be led against

their will into paths which end in ruin (so Job xii. 24, 25).

²⁹ The fall of Assyria shall be greeted with dancing and with music. Sir E. Strachey appositely quotes the similar conduct of the neighbours of Athens on the destruction of the Piræus (Grote, ix. 449). In neither case can we quite sympathise ; still there are certain collateral thoughts in Isaiah's mind, to be gathered from this and the other prophecies, which give a different colour to its anticipated rejoicing. Comp. also Ps. lviii. 10, 11.—**As in the night when a feast is consecrated** (i.e., opened by an introductory religious ceremony ; compare Ex. xix. 22). It is not improbable that the Passover had just taken place. Isaiah had predicted (xxix. 1) that when the feasts had 'gone round,' the dreaded enemy should be brought low, so that when the next Passover had ushered in the new (religious) year, it would be time to expect the fulfilment. The appropriateness of the reference is obvious, the danger from Assyria being hardly less than that at the Exodus. There is also an allusion to the Passover in xxxi. 5 (see note). The mention of the night-celebration ('as in the night' &c.) agrees with the directions about the Passover, Ex. xii. 6, 8, 42, comp. Matt. xxvi. 30 ; and Ibn Ezra even refers to a (doubtless Agadic) story that Sennacherib's army perished on the Paschal night. On the other hand, Ewald and Wellhausen (the latter influenced by xxxii. 10) think it is the Feast of Tabernacles (or of the Ingathering) which is intended. This was essentially a joyous festival, and

is consecrated, and there shall be joy of heart, like his who setteth forth to the flute to come to the mountain of Jehovah, unto the Rock of Israel. ³⁰ And Jehovah shall cause the ^m peal of his voice to be heard, and the lighting down of his arm to be seen, in fury of anger, and the flame of devouring fire, the bursting of clouds, and a storm of rain, and hail-stones. ³¹ For at the voice of Jehovah shall Asshur be panic-stricken, when he shall strike with the rod; ³² and it shall come to pass that whenever the destined staff passeth over, which Jehovah letteth down upon him from above, it shall be with timbrels and with lutes; and with battles of swinging will he fight against them. ³³ For a Topheth hath been set in order beforehand; it ⁿ also is ⁿ prepared for ^o Moloch; he hath

^m So Dr. B. Davies.

ⁿ Is also, Ew., Del.

^o The king, Ew., Del., Naeg., &c.

at a *later* time there was a very elaborate night-ritual for its observance (see Haneberg's *Relig. Alterthümer*, 676-9). It is mentioned by Hosea (xii. 9), and is constantly referred to as 'the feast,' see 1 Kings viii. 2, 65, xii. 32, Ezek. xlv. 25 (see Hebr.), 2 Chr. vii. 8, 9, and throughout the Mishna (Zunz)¹—the Passover is only so called in the New Testament (e.g. Matt. xxvi. 5). It is of course possible that Isaiah was not referring to one feast more than another; see, however, on xxix. 1 *b* (against Wellhausen).—**Who setteth forth to the flute]** This must be a day-celebration which is referred to—probably the festal processions of pilgrims from the country. Vitringa and others think of the procession of those who brought up the first-fruits, comparing the Talmudic treatise *Bikkūrin*, iii. 3, not, however, a perfectly reliable authority (Herzfeld, *Gesch.* iii. 128, 159). Obs., there is no mention of the Levitical singers here, but Jerusalem is distinctly recognized as the religious centre (comp. xxxiii. 20).—**The Rock of Israel]** 'Rock' was one of the synonyms for Jehovah; so xvii. 10, xlv. 8, comp. Deut. xxxii.

(six times), also the proper names Zuriel, Zurishaddai. Again a phrase of mythic origin.

³⁰ **The peal of his voice]** See Del. on Job xxxix. 20. The 'voice' is the thunder; comp. Ps. xxix.

³² **The destined staff]** Comp. Hab. i. 12: 'O Jehovah, thou hast appointed them (*same verb*) for judgment.'—The **timbrels**, &c. are those with which the Jews are praising God.—**Battles of swinging]** i.e., those in which Jehovah swings his rod and deals blows to his enemies, comp. xix. 16.

³³ **A Topheth]** Hebr., *tophthēh*, perhaps a derivative of Topheth = a place suitable for human sacrifices, like Topheth (or rather *the* Topheth, as it is an appellative). See Jer. xix. 13, 'the place of the Topheth.'—**Beforehand]** viz., in the Divine counsels.—**It also is prepared for Moloch]** 'It also,' like the high places of the Topheth, is prepared for a great burning for Moloch (the heavenly 'king,' or national god).—'What greater honour could there be for the god who delights in human sacrifices, than that Sennacherib and his army should be slain and burned in his honour?' There is a precisely

¹ Plutarch also, in treating of the Jewish festivals, speaks of this as 'their greatest and most perfect one' (*Symp.* iv. 6, 2).

made it deep and broad ; the pile thereof hath fire and much wood ; the breath of Jehovah, like a torrent of brimstone, shall kindle upon it.

similar form of expression in xxxiv. 6, where the (figurative) sacrifice is destined for Jehovah. It is true, Isaiah nowhere else refers to Moloch, but we know from Jer. vii. 31, xix. 13, 2 Kings xxiii. 10, comp. Isa. lviii. 5, that sacrifices of children were offered to Moloch in the pre-Exile period, and the Chronicles specially mention the reign of Ahaz as one in which this took place. This, which I prefer, is also the view of Geiger, Krochmal, and Dr. Payne Smith. In a slightly different form it is held by Luzzatto, Del., and Kuenen, who find in the passage a witty allusion to the double meaning of Mélek. The real Topheth was for Moloch (rather Molek, a dialectic form of Mélek), the heavenly king, the metaphorical one for the king of Assyria. In this case, we must substitute 'the king' for 'Moloch.' Alt. rend., however, is quite justifiable; see Del. on Job. ii. 10. It makes the clause simply the statement of a fresh fact concerning the Topheth.

The king will then be simply 'the great king, the king of Assyria,' who, though he has to be burned like a malefactor (Josh. vii. 25, Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9), deserves at any rate these grandiose preparations. If this view be adopted, the prophecy will be slightly inconsistent with that in xxxi. 8, 9, where Isaiah seems to speak as if the enemy would take flight, and return to his own land (comp. xxxvii. 34). This, however, is no objection, for as Dr. Riehm remarks, 'the prophets in order to make their threatenings and promises forcible and impressive, frequently painted in detail the features of approaching judgment or mercy, without attaching particular importance to the details themselves, or wishing to make the truth of the prediction dependent upon their harmony' (*Messianic Prophecy*, p. 246).—**Deep and broad**] To take in the Assyrian king and his whole army (as xxxiii. 12).

CHAPTER XXXI.

UNABLE to prevent the negotiations with Egypt, Isaiah exhibits forcibly their disastrous consequences to both the parties concerned. He speaks as if he expected that the Egyptians would actually go out to fight against the Assyrians, but that they would suddenly be overthrown by the hand of Jehovah (*v.* 3). As a further explanation, the prophet adds that Jehovah himself will descend to save mount Zion from its besiegers, and appeals to his countrymen to return to their allegiance to Jehovah.

¹ Woe unto those that go down to Egypt for help, and rely upon horses ; and that trust in chariots because they are

¹ **Rely upon horses**] Comp. xxx. 16. The only power which could compare with Assyria in its equipments for war was Egypt, the reputation of whose cavalry is

forcibly shown by Sennacherib's description of the battle of Altaku (*R. P.* i. 36). Every petty local king had his stud ; his noblest tribute is 'the best horses of his

many, and in horsemen because they are very strong, but have not looked unto the Holy One of Israel, and have not consulted Jehovah; ²(though he also is wise,) but he will bring evil to pass, and his words he will not set aside, and will arise against the house of evil-doers, and against the helpers of those that work wickedness. ³Yea, the Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit; and if Jehovah stretch out his hand, he that helpeth will stumble, and he that is helped will fall, and they all will be consumed together. ⁴For thus saith Jehovah unto me, As

stables'—see Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, i. 311-3, and comp. Hom., *Il.* ix. 383, 4, Ex. xiv. 6, 9, 1 Kings x. 28, 29. Strange to say, however, there is no representation of Egyptian cavalry on the monuments. The weakness of Judah in cavalry is strikingly shown by xxxvi. 8. Isaiah censures the efforts to remedy this weakness as religious treason, comp. on ii. 8.

² **Though he also is wise]** Ironically; 'he also,' as well as the Jewish politicians (xxix. 14). As Ewald remarks, it was a novelty to call Jehovah wise, due to the influence of the Wise Men (see on xxviii. 23-29).—**His words]** A revealed word being self-fulfilling (see on ix. 8). The 'words' referred to here are such as xxix. 14, xxx. 13-22.—**The house of evil-doers . . . those that work wickedness]** i.e., the untheocratic Jews who direct the affairs of the nation.

³ **Men and not God]** Comp. *v.* 8. So Hos. xi. 9, 'I am God and not man,' i.e., specifically different from man (see on x. 15).—**Flesh and not spirit]** i.e., dependent creatures, without any life in themselves (xl. 6, 7), and sure to disappoint (Jer. xvii. 5, 6). The idea of 'flesh' as essentially sinful is a derived one.

⁴ **As the lion . . .]** No passage in the book of Isaiah, observes Del., has such a Homeric ring as this (comp. *Il.* xviii. 161-2, xii. 299-302). As the lion will not give up his prey, so Jehovah will not

allow the Assyrians to rob him of his 'peculiar treasure,' Jerusalem. The title Jehovah Sabáoth is here peculiarly appropriate (see appendix to chap. i.); it has also governed the selection of the verb for fight.—The rendering 'fight upon' (and not 'fight against') mount Zion seems to me to be required by the terms of the figure; and to be confirmed by the title 'God's Lion' in xxix. 1. The 'growling' of the lion 'over his prey' corresponds to the thunder amidst which (comp. xxix. 6) Jehovah shall join the fray 'upon mount Zion.' If the prophet had merely meant to say that Jehovah would execute vengeance upon Jerusalem, he would not have selected a figure expressive of the determination with which the lord of a valuable possession resists all attempts to deprive him of it. In fact, supposing that the descent of Jehovah is hostile to Jerusalem, the object compared to Jehovah must surely be, not the lion who resists, but the shepherds who attack, which of course the tenor of the description renders impossible. It is a subsidiary argument in favour of my view that the next verse contains a promise. The figure of the hovering birds exactly corresponds to that of the lion growling over his prey. It is natural, then, to regard *v.* 6 as a further development on the same lines as *v.* 5. Still, I freely admit that, were Del.'s interpretation of *v.* 5 in itself the more probable, we could explain *v.* 6 on the analogy of xxix. 2, which

the lion with the young lion growleth over his prey, against whom there is called a troop of shepherds,—at their cry he is not dismayed, and at their noise he is not cast down,—so shall Jehovah Sabáoth descend to fight ^a upon mount Zion and ^a upon the hill thereof. ⁵ Like birds hovering, so shall Jehovah Sabáoth shelter Jerusalem, sheltering and delivering, passing over and rescuing. ⁶ Return ye unto him, against whom they have gone deep in transgression, O children of Israel.

⁷ For in that day they shall reject every one his not-gods of silver and his not-gods of gold, which your hands made you for a sin, ⁸ and Assyria shall fall by the sword of one who is not a man, and the sword of one who is not earth-born shall devour him; and he shall take his flight from the sword, and his young men shall be put to forced labour: ⁹ and ^b his rock shall pass away ^b through terror, and his princes shall be

^a So Ges., Ew.—Against. Del. Kay, Weir, Naeg.

^b He shall pass by his rock, Ges., Ew.

has a transition as abrupt as that which Del. supposes to exist in *v.* 6.

⁵ Jehovah is like a lion to his foes, but like a mother-bird to his own. Strong and bold and courageous as the lion, tender and provident as the bird, but, unlike even the eagle, able under all circumstances to repel the assailant. There is a similar effective contrast of figures in Mic. *v.* 7, 8. For the comparison of Jehovah to a lion, see xxxviii. 13, Hos. *v.* 14, *x.* 10, Am. *i.* 2, Jer. xxv. 38; to a bird, Deut. xxxii. 11. Other bird-similes in I. Isaiah, *x.* 14, *xvi.* 2; in II. Isaiah, *xl.* 31, *lix.* 11, *lx.* 8.—**Passing over**] The explanation of the Passover (Pésakh) presupposed in Exodus (*xii.* 13) seems to be well known to Isaiah.

⁶ **Return ye . . .**] Those who adhere to the ordinary sense of the imperative have to supply the connection from the statements of Isaiah elsewhere. Jerusalem will be sifted 'in that day,' and only those who 'return,' or are converted, will be saved. Therefore, return in time. It is also possible to take the imperative here as conveying a

strong assurance; comp. *x.* 21 for the thought and xxxiii. 20 for the idiom. (The change of person is harsh, but see next verse.)

⁷ The casting away of the idols is not a mark of despairing irritation (as in *ii.* 20), but of repentance. What the prophet asked for in *v.* 6, he predicts in *v.* 7.

⁸ **The sword**] This symbolic phrase (see on xxvii. 1) suggests a storm of thunder and lightning; comp. xxix. 6.

⁹ **His rock**] (lit., his cliff) i.e., the king of Assyria (Luther, Del., Riehm, Naeg.), whose name and power had hitherto been 'as the shadow of a huge cliff' to his servants. The expression is singular, but not more so than *xix.* 13 (which see). Two points must be held firmly, 1. that 'his rock' is the subject, on account of the parallelism, which is very closely preserved in this chapter; and 2. that the 'rock' is a person.—Hitzig's explanation, 'the rock on which Asshur thought himself so firmly planted' (comp. Ps. xxx. 7), is unsuitable to the words 'through terror.' Perhaps the word for 'cliff' was selected in

panic-stricken at the signal: the oracle of Jehovah, who hath his fire in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.

preference to that for 'rock' on account of the specially religious acceptation of the latter term (e.g., Deut. xxxii. 31).—**The signal**] The sight of the signal-pole, which formed the Jewish rallying-point (xiii. 2), shall throw the Assyrian princes into a panic.—**Fire . . .**

furnace] Not with reference to the altar of sacrifice (comp. xxix. 1?), for 'furnace' is never used in this connection, but symbolically of the light of Jehovah's presence on mount Zion, which is a protection to his friends, a destruction to his enemies (Del.). Comp. x. 17.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Vv. 1-8 ought clearly to be separated from *vv.* 9-20. They correspond to the close of another great anti-Assyrian prophecy—chap. xi, and describe the happy condition of Judah when idols have been cast away (xxx. 7), and the rod of Assyrian tyranny has been removed. A more just and merciful government—nay, an absolutely perfect government—shall then be enjoyed, the result (as we must infer from xxxii. 15) of a large outpouring of the divine Spirit. 'As the consequence of this, moral distinctions shall no longer be confounded, men shall be estimated at their real value; a general prediction, which is here applied to two specific cases, *vv.* 5-8' (Alexander).—The prophecy is Messianic, but not in the narrower sense which has been derived from a mistranslation of *v.* 2. It seems as if Isaiah sometimes (comp. xxxiii. 17) cherished the hope that the hereditary wearer of the Davidic crown would prove a worthy vicegerent of the supreme King, Jehovah. All prophecy is conditional. The tone of Isaiah in another prophecy written probably in the same period (*x.* 5-xi.), but somewhat later, seems to me to prove that there had really been an outpouring of the divine Spirit on the ruling class of Jerusalem (comp. *Introd.* to chap. xxii., end). If Hezekiah had been capable of receiving the Messianic gifts in full measure, the prediction in *ix.* 6, 7, would have been (from the prophetic point of view) sufficiently fulfilled in him. When Isaiah wrote xxxii. 1, he may have had grounds for the charitable belief that his sovereign would really be equal to the demands providentially made upon him. All that was certain to him was the coming of a new era for Israel and for the world, and whether the leadership of Israel would then be granted to the natural heir of David, or to Another, depended on Hezekiah's responsible exercise of his free will.

¹ Behold, righteously the king shall reign, and the princes

¹⁻⁸ Regenerate Judah.

¹ **The king**] Or rather, royalty—putting aside the person altogether

(as in xxxiii. 17). If Hezekiah is meant, his character has been purged of its dross. At any rate,

justly shall they rule: ² and ^a a great man ^a shall be as a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the rain-storm, as rivulets in a parched land, as the shadow of a huge cliff in a thirsty land. ³ And the eyes of those who see shall not be closed, and the ears of those who hear shall hearken; ⁴ and the heart of the hasty shall perceive distinctly, and the tongue of the stammerers shall be prompt to speak plainly. ⁵ No more shall the fool be called noble, and the knave shall no more be named gentle. ⁶ For the fool speaketh folly, and his heart prepareth wickedness, practising profanity, and uttering error concerning Jehovah, to make empty the soul of the hungry, and to cause the drink of the thirsty to fail; ⁷ and ^b the machinations of the knave ^b are evil, it is he who deviseth plots, to ruin the afflicted by lying words, even when the poor speaketh that which is right, ⁸ but the noble deviseth noble things, and *he* to noble things shall stand.

^a A man, Kay. Vir (ille), Vitr.—Each one, Ges., Ew., Del., Naeg.

^b As for a mean man, his means, Rodwell (a paronomasia).

Vv. 9–20. A supplementary address to the women, gathered, we may suppose, at a little distance from the rest, and testifying their indifference (comp. iii. 16–24). The prophet warns them that their self-pleasing and

nothing indicates that the Messiah is intended; king and princes are placed quite on a level, in accordance with the actual state of things under the so-called Monarchy. Indeed, the character of the ‘princes’ is of almost more importance than that of the king—hence the stress laid in the foll. verses on the changed character of the governing classes. Contrast the rebuke in iii. 14, 15.

² **A great man**] Strictly, anyone (king or prince) who belongs to the class of great men (*ἄνδρες*). Against the rend. ‘each one,’ see Dr. Kay’s note.

³ A spiritual change described in symbols. **Those who see . . .**] who ought to see, but are judicially hardened (xxix. 10).

⁴ **The heart**] i.e., the mind (see especially 1 Kings x. 2, 24).—**Hasty**] Precipitate in decisions,

perhaps with an allusion to the Egyptian alliance (Weir). (Same word differently applied, xxxv. 4.)
—**The stammerers**] Those whose thoughts and words are indefinite and inconsistent (Del.); not, mockers, comp. xxviii. 14, &c. (Knob., Drechsler).

^{5–6} Obs. the undercurrent of irony towards the governing classes; also the growing tendency to the proverbial style (see on xxviii. 23–29, xxxi. 2).—**The fool**] i.e., the ungodly man, sin being the highest folly; see v. 6.—**Noble . . . gentle**] In rank; not (as in v. 8) in character.

⁶ **Error**] Dr. Weir renders ‘heresy.’ In fact, in Rabbinic Hebr. and in Aramaic the stem does acquire the meaning of heresy (and in Assyrian, of madness); here, however, it is rather ‘practical atheism’ which is meant, comp.

security will not last much longer. He then describes the impending judgment, and contrasts the true security with the false. There is a point of contact with the foregoing long prophecy in *v.* 15 (see note).

⁹ Ye women who are at ease, rise up, hear my voice ; ye confident daughters, give ear unto my speech. ¹⁰ In a year and days ye shall shudder, ye confident ones ; for the vintage is consumed, the fruit-gathering cometh not. ¹¹ Tremble, ye that are at ease ; shudder, ye confident ones ; strip you, and make you bare, and gird sackcloth upon your loins. ¹² They shall smite upon the breasts for the pleasant fields, for the fruitful vine. ¹³ Upon the land of my people thorns and briars shall come up ; yea, upon all joyous houses of the merry town. ¹⁴ For the palace shall be forsaken ; the hum of

^c Self-flattering, Weir.

xxix. 15, Ps. xiv. 1. A similar phrase in xxix. 24.—**To make empty the soul . . .**] To deprive him of that which would satisfy his needs (see xxix. 8). Compare the character of 'Nabal' (= Fool), 1 Sam. xxv.

⁹ **Who are at ease**] i.e., unconcerned. Always in a bad sense (Am. vi. 1, Zech. i. 15, Ps. cxxiii. 4), except *v.* 18 and xxxiii. 20.—**Confident**] In a bad sense, compare Am. vi. 1, 'who are confident in the mountain of Samaria.' In a good sense, xii. 2, Ps. xxvii. 3.

¹⁰ **In a year and days**] Lit. (Add) days (whether many, as Num. ix. 22 *Q. P. B.*, or few, as Gen. xxiv. 55) to a year. Comp. on xxix. 1.—**The vintage is consumed**] It is the perfect of prophetic certitude. If the harvest was already over when this short prophecy was delivered (this would bring the date down to July), the words will have double force.

¹¹ **Strip you**] See on xx. 2.

¹² **They shall smite . . .**] A participle in the masc. gender. 'Upon the breasts,' for the sake of a play upon words (*shadáyim* 'breasts,' *s'dé* 'fields').

¹⁴ **The palace shall be forsaken . . .**] Perhaps the 'palace of the king's house' (1 Kings xvi. 18, comp. 2 Kings xv. 25) is meant.

Here is another illustration of the vagueness of the outlines of Messianic prophecy (comp. *I. C. A.*, p. 79). In the rest of this group of prophecies (xxix. 5, xxx. 19, xxxi. 4), Isaiah apparently anticipates that Jerusalem will be delivered from the Assyrians, but here that it will be destroyed, and lie for some time in ruins. The consequence is that the Messianic blessedness which is elsewhere drawn closely together with the present, is here thrown into an indefinitely distant future. There are points of contact, however, with earlier prophecies, which show that anticipations of this gloomier kind were frequent visitors to Isaiah (*v.* 9, 10, vi. 11-13), and connecting as he did the political future with the moral state of his country, it was natural that the variations in his view of the latter should reflect themselves in his view of the former. Parallel for the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, Mic. iii. 12, comp. iv. 1.—**The mound**] Hebr. '*ophel*, which was the name of the steep southern side of the temple-hill.—**The watch-tower**] i.e., perhaps the 'tower of the flock,' mentioned in Mic. iv. 8, in connection with 'the hill' (*I. C. A.*, p. 79).—**Wild asses**] which haunted the desert

the city shall be deserted; the mound and the watch-tower shall be instead of caves for ever, the joy of wild asses, the pasture of flocks, ¹⁵ until the spirit be poured out upon us from on high; and the pasture country shall become a garden-land, and the garden-land shall be counted for a forest, ¹⁶ and justice shall inhabit the pasture-country, and righteousness shall dwell in the garden-land, ¹⁷ and the fruit of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence for ever, ¹⁸ and my people shall inhabit a home of peace, and dwellings of confidence, and easeful resting-places; ¹⁹ but it shall hail, when the forest cometh down, and the city shall sink in abasement. ²⁰ Happy are ye who sow

(Job xxiv. 5); they have now disappeared from Palestine.

¹⁵ **Until the spirit . . .]** 'The spirit giveth life,' is the key to this passage. The saying about Lebanon's becoming a garden-land was probably a favourite one with Isaiah (see on xxix. 17). It may of course be taken either literally or symbolically, but is best explained (as remarked already) of a transformation of nature which goes hand in hand with that of man. The implication is that the life-giving Spirit had been (i.e., would be) withdrawn not only from the Jews, but from their land. Both people and country were (i.e., would be) reduced by oppression to a mere shadow of what they had been, far as even this was from what they were destined to be.

¹⁶ The inward blessings shall correspond to the outward. Wherever there are human dwellings, be they in the uncultivated pasture-land or in the fruitful garden-land, justice and righteousness shall be housemates.

¹⁷ Allusion in James iii. 18. **Peace]** In the objective sense = welfare.

¹⁸ **Of confidence . . . easeful]** Comp. *vv.* 9-11, xxxiii. 20.

¹⁹ But last of all the prophet must remind his readers that the way to this ideal state lies through bitter suffering. The 'hail' of God's judgments shall descend on the forest, and 'the city' shall be

utterly abased. Expositors seem to be agreed that the 'forest' means the stately army of Assyria (comp. x. 18, 19, 33, 34), and only to differ as to the reference of 'the city,' which most critics suppose to be Jerusalem, but Lowth and Ges. take to be Nineveh, Drechsler and Naeg. the city in which the hostility of the world to Jehovah will in the latter days be centralised; comp. xxv. 2, xxvi. 5, 6, xxvii. 10, 11. The latter view, however, in both its forms, is very improbable, because the fate of Nineveh, or of the future metropolis of antitheism, is nowhere else referred to in this group of prophecies. Still the transition from the 'forest' of Assyria to the 'city' of Jerusalem would be peculiarly abrupt, and is not to be assumed except under compulsion. It is usual, indeed, to compare (see above) certain passages in which Assyria is likened to a forest, but is there any reason why the same figure should not be applied to Judah? A very similar one *is so applied*, in ii. 13 (at once literal and symbolical), vi. 13, xi. 1. I therefore take the forest to be a symbol of the proud and scornful rulers of Judah, to whose imminent judgment Isaiah actually refers under the figure of hail in xxviii. 17.

²⁰ 'Happy days will those be for the tillers of the soil!' A weak conclusion, it may seem at first

beside all waters, who let loose the foot of the ox and the ass!

sight, but we must consider the sufferings caused by the all but total extinction of agriculture during the Assyrian invasion. Besides, agricultural prosperity is one of the most constant and prominent features in Messianic descriptions. Dr. Weir explains rather differently. 'Happy they who go steadily on,

doing the work committed to them by God, alike in storm and in sunshine, confiding in the righteousness of God.' He compares the close of chap. xxviii., and Eccles. xi. 1, 6.—**Beside all waters]** For there will be irrigation everywhere (xxx. 25), and unchecked freedom in tilling the soil.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RETRIBUTION to Assyria; Israel's extremity, Jehovah's opportunity; the hope of a glorious future—but not for unbelievers. (See detailed analysis *I. C. A.*, p. 97.)—Date, the 25th (or 27th) year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701 (comp. top of p. 207), in which year the inscriptions place the invasion of Sennacherib. The prophecy is highly figurative in style, and often obscure. Ewald has a strong impression that it is not the work of Isaiah, but of one of Isaiah's disciples. There are, no doubt, a few peculiarities of phraseology (see Ewald's *Prophets*, ii. 254); but, as Ewald himself admits, there are other phrases specially characteristic of Isaiah, and the entire spirit reminds us of that prophet. Few, however, will deny that the style is less uniformly sustained than usual, and it seems to me a reasonable conjecture that Isaiah has left this prophecy imperfectly prepared for publication. Perhaps this does but make it the more interesting.

¹ Woe unto thee who spoilest, and hast not been spoiled, and who dealest barbarously, and they have not dealt barbarously with thee! When thou shalt have ceased to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; when thou shalt have finished dealing barbarously, they shall deal barbarously with thee. ² O Jehovah! be favourable unto us; for thee have we waited: be thou ^a our arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble. ³ At a tumultuous sound the peoples have

^a So Lowth; TEXT, their.

¹ **Woe unto thee . . .]** Assyria, who has dealt destruction to so many, shall at length suffer violence herself. Taking the two halves of the verse, this seems more probable than Hitzig's view that it is a complaint of unprovoked aggression.

² The prophet concentrates his moral energy on prayer, and is thus

enabled to realize the certainty of what seemed so unlikely, the fall of Assyria. He speaks in the name of the 'fifty righteous' (Gen. xviii.), for whose sake God will spare a city, many of them his own disciples.

³ **At a tumultuous sound]** The word used suggests the image not

fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered; ⁴ and your spoil is gathered as when caterpillars gather; as when locusts run to and fro, he runneth upon it. ⁵ Jehovah is secure, for he dwelleth in the height; he hath filled Zion with justice and righteousness; ⁶ and the steadfastness of thy times shall be a store of salvations, (and) wisdom and knowledge: the fear of Jehovah is his treasure.

⁷ Behold, the Ariels cry without; the messengers of peace weep bitterly. ⁸ The highways are desolate; the wayfaring man hath ceased; he hath broken the covenant,

so much of thunder (Ew., Knob., Del.), as of the sound of many waters (comp. Jer. x. 13, Ezek. i. 24, Rev. xix. 6).—**The peoples**] As represented in the Assyrian army.—**At the lifting up** .] So Num. x. 35, Ps. lxxviii. 1.

⁴ **Your spoil**] Addressed to the foe. Comp. v. 23.—**He runneth**] viz., the band of spoilers, or, distributively, each of its members.

⁵ Two great spiritual facts: (1) Jehovah by his deliverance of Zion (regarded here as past), has shown that he is **secure**, i.e., inaccessible to his enemies; and (2) **he hath filled Zion** with spiritual treasures, the Messianic promise of the Spirit (xxxii. 15, 16) being drawn together into one with the overthrow of the Assyrians.

⁶ **Thy times**] i.e., the 'changes and chances' of thy life (Ps. xxxi. 15). The pronoun refers to the people of Judah.—**Shall be**] i.e., shall consist in.—**A store of salvations**] ready for every need.—**His treasure**] With an implied rebuke to the treasure-loving kings of Judah; or, as others think, with an allusion to the large fine demanded by Sennacherib (? see on chap. xxxvi).

⁷⁻¹² The prophet has now sketched the main outlines of his revelation. It remains to fill in and apply the details. He first describes the apparently hopeless condition

of Judah,—the mourning in the capital and the desolation in the country-districts.—**The Ariels**] i.e., 'God's lions,' picked warriors each as fierce as a lion, and as invincible as his God (comp. xxix. 1).¹ How truly Homeric is the scene! In fact, a childlike emotional sensibility is characteristic of the heroic age everywhere. Comp. Judg. xx. 23, 1 Sam. xiii. 16 Sept.—**The messengers of peace**] The ambassadors sent by Hezekiah to Sennacherib; they 'weep bitterly' at the hard conditions of peace. It is uncertain whether 2 Kings xviii. 14 can be compared; see Intro. to chap. xxxvi.-xxxix.

⁸ The returning ambassadors are the last citizens who have ventured outside the walls. Comp. the parallel in Judg. v. 6. Then three short passionate clauses about the stern Assyrian, whom neither moral obligations, nor fear of physical force, nor respect for human life, can check.—**He hath broken the covenant**] If (which I still doubt) 2 Kings xviii. 14 relates to this invasion, this may allude to a slightly later period, when it became clear that Sennacherib would not be satisfied with the payment of a fine.—**Despised cities**] Explanatory of the first clause. Comp. 'They deride every stronghold,' Hab. i. 10.

¹ Strange as it seems that 'God's lions' should have been a generic term for 'picked warriors,' I see no sufficient reason to doubt it. The title comes from a primitive age, when God was still generally known as El, and when the most respected qualities were those of the freebooter. Brugsch (*Gesch. Ägyptens*, p. 552) says that Ariel has also this meaning in Egyptian, being one of a large class of words borrowed from Semitic.

despised cities, regardeth not men. ⁹ The land mourneth, languisheth ; Lebanon is ashamed, dried up ; Sharon is become like the desert, and Bashan and Carmel shake themselves. ¹⁰ Now will I rise, saith Jehovah ; now will I exalt myself ; now will I lift up myself. ¹¹ Ye conceive hay, ye shall bring forth stubble ; your breath is fire which shall devour you ; ¹² and peoples shall become (as if) burned to lime, thorns cut off, which are kindled with fire.

¹³ Hear, ye that are far off, what I have done ; and acknowledge, ye that are near, my might. ¹⁴ The sinners are

⁹ Here the strain becomes lyrical ; in one verse we have assonance, personification, and even the 'pathetic fallacy.'—**Lebanon**] i.e. the Lebanon range of mountains (120 miles in length).—**Sharon**] 'The Sharon,' i.e., the lowland plain which extends from Carmel on the north to below Joppa on the south.—**Bashan and Carmel**] The oaks of Bashan, and the 'deep jungles of cypress' in the 'rocky dells' of Carmel are striking exceptions to the usual barrenness of the hills and vales of Palestine. Hence used as types of beauty and sublimity, xxxv. 2, ii. 13, Zech. xi. 2, Cant. vii. 5.—**Shake themselves**] It was now autumn ; comp. *I.C.A.*, p. 98.

¹⁰ This is the very moment for which Jehovah has been waiting. **Now will I rise**, viz. from my heavenly throne, comp. xviii. 4.

¹¹ **Ye conceive hay**] i.e., if ye cherish plans which are as futile as dried grass, **Ye shall bring forth stubble**, i.e., the result shall be no more lasting than stubble. A suggestive image, supplemented in the next clause. 'In the great scarcity of wood for fuel throughout the East, the *tannoor*, or oven, is usually heated with stubble or chaff.'—**Breath**] i.e., fury, as xxv. 4 ; comp. Ps. x. 5, xii. 5. For the figure of fire, comp. i. 31, ix. 18. Similarly in xxx. 28, the breath of a furious man is compared to a torrent.

¹² **Peoples**] See on v. 3.

¹³ The prophet changes his point of view. He has been hitherto

working with the reproductive imagination, writing as he remembers that he spoke during the crisis, though not, perhaps, without notes of discourses actually delivered. In this verse he places himself in the historical present, when the 'might' of Jehovah has been victoriously displayed, and calls on all nations to recognise the far-reaching importance of Jehovah's wonderful work. For it shows who is the only God worthy of the name.

¹⁴ Now (returning to the past) the once unbelieving Jews begin to 'understand' the 'Tidings' of the prophet ; but it is 'purely a terror' (xxviii. 19). For it was not merely the Assyrians on whom Isaiah pronounced God's judgment, but the immoral and irreligious Israelites. Isaiah's policy of repetition (xxviii. 10) justifies itself by the result. Even unbelievers cannot forget his constant reference to the awful fire of Jehovah's wrath (comp. xxxi. 9), of which their sins have furnished the fuel (v. 11).—**Oh, who can tarry . . .**] Lit., sojourn, as Ps. xv. 1). 'Who can dwell safely in the neighbourhood of the avenging God?' For only he who willingly yields himself to be God's organ can abide those flames (comp. Moses at the burning bush, Ex. iii. 2, and see on x. 17, xxx. 27). 'Perpetual burnings,' not with reference to the eternity of the punishment (comp. on lxvi. 24), but because the fire of Jehovah's self-manifesting love and wrath is, like him-

horror-stricken in Zion, shuddering seizeth the profane : ' Oh, who can tarry with devouring fire ? oh, who can tarry with perpetual burnings ? ' ¹⁵ He who walketh in perfect righteousness, and speaketh uprightness ; he who rejecteth the gain of oppressions, who shaketh his hands not to hold bribes, who stoppeth his ear not to hear of bloodshed, and closeth his eyes not to look on evil ; ¹⁶ he shall inhabit heights, fortresses of rocks shall be his place of security ; his bread is continually given him, his water faileth not. ¹⁷ The king in his beauty shall thine eyes behold ; they shall see a land of distances. ¹⁸ Thy heart shall meditate on the terror : ' Where is he who registered ? where, he who weighed ? where, he who counted the towers ? ' ¹⁹ The barbarous people thou shalt not see—

self, eternal. There is a good analogy in the perpetual fire on the altar of burnt-offering (Lev. vi. 13, Hebr. 6). That the ' fire ' is symbolical, is evident from the next verse, containing what is practically the prophet's answer to the question of the unbelievers.

¹⁶ **Inhabit heights**] Instead of saying that the pious man can joyfully exist in the light of this fire (comp. iv. 5), he introduces a new figure of inaccessible rocky heights. The picture of the righteous man reminds us forcibly of Ps. xv., also of Ps. xxiv. 3, 4.—**His bread . . .**] The promise goes beyond that in xxx. 20, for it is implied that the bread and the water should not be ' in scant measure.' Both come from an inexhaustible store (comp. Jer. xv. 18). We are already in the atmosphere of the Messianic age. Still more evidently is this the case in *v.* 17.

¹⁷ **The king in his beauty**] Not Jehovah (Targ., Vit., Hend.), in spite of *v.* 22, for the word ' beauty ' is never (except once in a doubtful passage, Zech. ix. 17) applied to God, but Hezekiah (comp. xxxii. 1), not, however, as a type of the Messiah (as Calv., &c.), for there is not a vestige of a *personally* Messianic reference in the rest of the chapter, but simply as the reigning king of Judah. The ' beauty ' spoken of is not that of state-robcs (Knob.),

nor that of recovered health after Hezekiah's well-known illness (Hitz.), but an ideal beauty, the evidence of God's extraordinary favour (as Ps. xlv. 2).—**They shall see a land of distances**] i.e., perhaps, the boundaries of the kingdom of Israel shall be extended as far as the eyes can reach. A similar hope is held out in xi. 14 (Hendewerk), and in xxvi. 15 (note the verb) ; but the closest parallel is Gen. xiii. 14, 15, which has been almost overlooked. Comp. also Mic. vii. 11, ' in that day shall the bound be afar off.'

¹⁸ *Et hæc olim meminisse juvabit* ; they shall look back on the past (' the terror ') as on a bad dream. Obs., the deep impression made by the elaborate subdivision of the Assyrian offices.—**He who registered**] viz. the amounts of tribute to be paid. It is the Assyrian *dupsarru* Hebraized into *tifsar* in Jer. li. 27.—**Weighed**] i.e., tested the weight of the gold and silver paid. Comp. Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 476.—**Counted the towers**] i.e., made a recognizance of the city to be besieged. A contemporary psalmist bids the Jews ' count the towers ' with a different object, viz., to convince themselves that the city is uninjured (Ps. xlviii. 13).

¹⁹ **The barbarous people**] *Βάρβαροι*. See on xxviii. 11.—**Not**

the people obscure of speech, not to be heard—of a stammering tongue, not to be understood. ²⁰ Behold Zion, the city of our festal assembly! thine eyes shall see Jerusalem (like) an easeful home, a tent that removeth not, whose pegs are never drawn out, and none of whose cords become rent. ²¹ But ^b there Jehovah shall be for us in majesty, ^c (like) a place of ^e rivers and canals, broad on both hands, into which oared galley shall never go, neither shall majestic ship pass thereon. ²² For Jehovah our judge, Jehovah our governor, Jehovah our king—he will save us. ²³ Thy ropes have be-

^b The name of, Sept., Pesh., Lowth (a different vowel).

^c Instead of, Ges., Hitz., Ew.

to be heard] 'to hear' = to understand (xxxvi. 11). Comp. Slav = 'speaking' (i.e., intelligible to his own people), in opposition to 'the dumb,' i.e., the Germans (Pott, *Die Ungleichheit menschlicher Rassen*, p. 70).

²⁰ **Behold Zion]** The imperative here conveys an earnest assurance, as xxxi. 6 (?), xxxvii. 30, and after an optative, Ps. cxviii. 5.—**Easeful]** As xxxii. 18.—**That removeth (lit., migrateth) not]** The men of Jerusalem having been threatened with deportation (xxxvi. 17). Comp. 2 Sam. vii. 10, Am. ix. 15.

²¹ **In majesty]** Jehovah's 'majesty' is no idle quality; it is protection to his friends, and destruction to his enemies. See x. 31, 1 Sam. iv. 8, Ex. xv. 6, 11.—**(Like) a place . . .]** i.e., Jehovah's presence shall compensate for the want of those broad streams which protected Mesopotamian and Egyptian cities (comp. Nah. iii. 8, Jer. li. 13). Strikingly parallel is 'Ps. xlvi. 4 (written, possibly, by Isaiah himself after the overthrow of Sennacherib), "The streams of a river make glad the city of God," that is, not the fountain of Shiloah, but the gracious influences of the Divine presence' (*J. C. A.*, p. 101).—

Canals] Hebr. *y'ōrim*. The plural of the word used in Genesis and elsewhere for the Nile, and almost certainly connected by one of the Pentateuch writers with the Egyp-

tian *aur* 'river' (especially the Nile). Since, however, it is used for the Tigris in Dan. xii. 5-7, for canals in general here, and for subterraneous passages in mines in Job xxviii. 10, it may well be a good Hebrew word, if Friedr. Del.'s reference to Ass. *y'ur*, 'stream,' should be confirmed (*Paradies*, p. 312).—**Majestic ship]** (Same epithet as above of Jehovah.) In Ps. xlvi. 17, written at the same time as Ps. xlvi. (see above), we meet with the 'breaking of the ships of Tarshish' (*v.* 7), of course metaphorically, of the Assyrians.

²² **Jehovah our king]** Among the Israelites, as among the other Semitic nations, the earthly king (*v.* 17) is but the representative of the divine. Comp. Ps. xlvi. 2. See Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 66, 67.

²³ **Thy ropes have become loose]** The Assyrian galleys were of two kinds. The smaller had no mast; the larger had one mast, to the top of which was attached a long yard, held in its place by ropes (Layard, *Nineveh*). Zion is addressed. In *v.* 20 she was represented as a tent; here as a ship, which is a more far-fetched image, but was suggested by *v.* 21. Assyria is like the stateliest of her galleys; Zion's ship can barely creep along, but in spite of this will gain the victory. The ordinary view which explains the passage of Assyria is excluded by the

come loose ; they cannot hold ^d upright their mast, nor keep the ensign spread out—*then* shall the spoil of plundering be divided in abundance ; (even) the lame shall seize upon a prey. ²⁴ And no inhabitant shall say, I am sick : the people which dwelleth therein hath its iniquity forgiven.

^d The stand of, Vitr., Ges., Ew., Hitz., Del. (see crit. note.)

feminine pronominal suffix, which belongs to a land or city, not to a people. (The Assyrians are only referred to as a people.)—**The spoil of plundering**] Two synonyms to express variety.—**The lame . . .**] Judah the Maccabee shared the spoil with the maimed, the orphans, &c., 2 Macc. viii. 30. But here the lame themselves secure their portion.

²⁴ **No inhabitant shall say, I am sick . . .**] This is not to be combined with the preceding verse, as if it meant that the sick will for-

get their sufferings out of sympathy with the joy of the nation. It is rather a Messianic feature. Sin and its punishment are to cease together. See xxxv. 5, 6, lxx. 20, and comp. Mark ii. 10, 11, 'But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (he saith to the sick of the palsy,) I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go thy way into thine house.' It is a *very* far-fetched reference which Hitz. and Knob. find to the Assyrian plague.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THIS prophecy is highly rhythmical, though the corruptions which disfigure some verses greatly hinder its appreciation. The subject is the Divine judgment upon the world, out of which (as in lxiii. 16) one specially important scene is singled, the judgment upon Israel's inveterate foes, the Edomites. For the bitter feelings here expressed towards the latter, comp. Ps. cxxxvii. 7, Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv., Ob. 10-16, Mal. i. 2-5.

There are striking parallels between chaps. xxxiv., xxxv. and Zephaniah, and between chap. xxxiv. and parts of Jeremiah (Jer. xlvi. 3-12, xxv., and l. li.), which are of great critical importance. On these, and on the relation between chaps. xxxiv. and xliii., see the dissertation of Caspari, *Zeitschr. f. lutherische Theologie*, 1843, Heft 2, a singular specimen of the uselessness of facts without a sound judgment. Surely, 'if the occurrence of parallels between Jeremiah and Isa. xl.-lxvi. is not a decisive argument in favour of the priority of the latter, it is not worth while to reopen the subject on behalf of Isa. xxxiv.' (*I. C. A.*, p. 112.) There is far more sense in the remarks devoted to this chapter in the essay of Budde, *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie*, 1878, Heft 4.

Inquiries into the historical fulfilment of the prophecies are, generally speaking, foreign to the purpose of a commentary. It is worth noticing, however, that the desolation which the prophet here speaks of as future is referred to by Malachi (i. 3, note the mention of the 'wolves' or 'jackals,' and comp. Isa. xliii. 22) as already past. Was Malachi referring to the desolation recently wrought by the Nabateans, when

they occupied Edom, dropping their nomad habits, and founded the kingdom of Arabia Petræa? (See the writer's comm. on Jer. xlix. 7-22.)

¹ Come near, ye nations, to hear, and ye peoples, attend; let the earth hear, and the fulness thereof, the world and all things that spring out of it. ² For Jehovah hath indignation against all the nations, and wrath against all their host: he hath laid them under the ban, he hath given them over to slaughter. ³ And their slain shall be cast forth, and their carcases—the stink of them shall go up, and mountains shall melt with their blood, and all the ^a hills shall rot. ⁴ And the heavens shall roll up as a scroll, and all their host shall fade, as foliage fadeth from the vine, and as fading leaves from the fig-tree. ⁵ For my sword hath been bathed in heaven; behold, upon Edom shall it come down, and upon the people of my ban to judgment. ⁶ The sword of Jehovah is become full of blood, and moistened with fat; with the blood of lambs and he-goats, with the kidney-fat of rams; for Jehovah hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of

* So Bi. TEXT, host of heaven (gloss on 'their host' in v. 4).

¹ Universal nature is summoned as a witness of the divine judgment, as i. 2, Ps. l. 4, &c., though, as v. 2 states, it is only humanity which is directly concerned.

² **Indignation . . . wrath]** It is noteworthy that these words only occur in the parts of Isaiah which are of disputed authorship. See, for the former, liv. 8, lx. 10; for the latter xxvii. 4 (text doubtful), xlii. 25, li. 17, lix. 18, lxiii. 3, lxvi. 15. In the acknowledged works of Isaiah, 'the anger of Jehovah,' is the phrase employed. — **All their host]** Somewhat vaguely used, as in Gen. ii. 1. There is a special reason for the choice of the phrase here (see on v. 4). — **Laid under the ban]** as xi. 15, xxxvii. 11.

³ **Mountains . . .]** Reversely parallel to Am. ix. 13 (end).

⁴ **As a scroll]** A unique simile, reminding us of the later Stoic conception of the sky as a *βιβλος θεου*, of which heavenly bodies are the *στοιχεῖα* or characters.

⁵ **For]** i.e., In fact. Or, because:— 'Jehovah's sword has sated itself in heaven, therefore, it will now descend to earth.' — **My sword]** A symbolic phrase for the divine vengeance, for the origin of which see on xxvii. 1. Comp. especially Deut. xxxii. 41-43, which Drechsler thinks that our prophet had in his mind. — **Been bathed]** Lit., soaked, i.e., strictly, with blood (as in Deut. *l.c.* and Jer. xlvi. 10), but here, by a bold metaphor, with fury. The same verb (in *Kal*) is used of love in Prov. vii. 18, remarks Dr. Weir. The first objects of this fury are the host of heaven (v. 4).

⁶ The perfects are those of prophetic certitude. For the figures, comp. Zeph. i. 7, Jer. xlvi. 10, Ezek. xxxix. 17-19. — **Lambs . . . he-goats . . . rams]** Animals 'clean' according to the Levitical law and therefore admissible for sacrifice. Compare the parallel in Jer. li. 40. — **Kidney-fat]** See Lev. iii. 4.

Edom; ⁷ and wild oxen shall be struck down with them, and bullocks together with oxen. And their land shall become drunken with blood, and their dust moistened with fat. ⁸ For unto Jehovah belongeth a day of vengeance, and a year of recompense for the quarrel of Zion.

⁹ And the torrents thereof shall turn into pitch, and its dust into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become pitch that burneth night and day. ¹⁰ It shall remain unquenched for ever, its smoke shall go up from generation to generation,

⁷ **Wild oxen]** Hebr. *ʾélmim*. An interesting word. Auth. Vers. renders 'unicorns,' which, however, is clearly wrong, for in Deut. xxxiii. 17 the *ʾélm* (singular) is said to have horns (A. V. evades this by misrendering 'unicorns'). The characteristics of the *ʾélm* in the Old Testament are its splendid horns; its great size and height; its untameableness; and its mountainous haunts.—These may suggest that it is the buffalo; but this cannot be, for 1. the wild buffalo inhabits swamps, 2. it can be tamed, and 3. it penetrated westward from India in comparatively recent times.—Most modern German commentators (e.g., Ew., Del., Kalisch), have thought of the oryx, or more precisely, the *Antelope leucoryx*, for which they claim the authority of passages in the Talmud (see Del. on Job xxxix. 9), and the analogy of the Arabic *rim*, which is now used in Syria for the white and yellow gazelle. The objection is that the oryx was confined to Arabia and N. E. Africa, and was very easily tamed.¹—Mr. Houghton, a zoologist as well as an Assyrian scholar, has shown from the Assyrian bas-reliefs and inscriptions, that the Assyrian *rimu* belonged to the genus *Bos*, not to that of Bison, and as the locality specified for the *rimu* by the Assyrians² is

just where it ought to be from the point of view of the Old Testament, we may accept his decision (endorsed at length, 1883, by Friedr. Delitzsch) as to the rendering of the Hebrew word as final. Auroch or wild bull then is the meaning.—We are of course bound to account for the divergent Arabic use of the term, but that is easily done. This kind of wild bull is now extinct, and the oryx, from its size and general aspect, is the natural legatee of its name.—**Be struck down]** Lit., go down. Comp. Jer. i. 27, li. 40, also xlvi. 15. Naeg. denies that the word has quite the same shade of meaning as there, but why? The Hebr. *yārad lattābhakk* surely means 'to be felled unto (so as to fall into) the slaughtering-trough.'—**Wild oxen . . . bullocks . . . oxen]** i.e., the chiefs of the Edomites, as opposed to the small cattle or the people (*v.* 6).

⁸ See lxiii. 4, and comp. lxi. 2, significant parallels for students of the critical controversy.

^{9, 10} The figures are suggested partly by the volcanic phenomena of Idumæa, and partly by its proximity to the site of Sodom and Gomorrah (see Jer. xlix. 18); imitated in Rev. xiv. 10, 11, xix. 3.—The eternity of the desolation is four times asserted. This may fairly be adduced as a subsidiary

¹ See Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, i. 227.

² On the broken obelisk attributed to Assur-naçir-pal, *rimu* are said to exist 'opposite the land of the Khatti, and at the foot of Lebanon'; see Houghton, *T.S.B.A.* v. 326-340. (Mr. Houghton's priority has escaped the notice of German scholars. His paper in *T.S.B.A.* is dated June 1877, and the substance of it was partly printed in the *Bible Educator* previously. But why compete about such trifles? Comp. Hommel, *Die semit. Völker u. Sprachen*, p. 497.)

it shall lie waste unto all eternity, there shall be none passing through it. ¹¹ And the pelican and the hedgehog shall take possession thereof; the eagle-owl and the raven shall dwell therein; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of chaos, and the plummet of desolation. ¹² ^a Its nobles [shall come to nothing], and none shall be there whom they might call to the kingdom,^a and all Edom's princes shall be no more. ¹³ And its castles shall spring up in thorns: nettles and thistles shall be in its fortresses; and it shall become a settlement of jackals, and an enclosure for ostriches. ¹⁴ And wild cats shall meet hyænas, and one satyr shall call to the other; surely there shall the night-hag repose, and find for

^a So Sept., Bi.—Hebr. text, As for its nobles, none shall be there to proclaim the kingdom (Ges., Ew., Naeg.); or, . . . whom they might call to the kingdom (Vitr., Hitz.); or, As for its nobles, no kingdom shall be there which they might proclaim (Del.).—They shall call the nobles of the kingdom, but there shall be none there, Weir (by a transposition).

argument for the eschatological reference of the chapter:—by itself it would be insufficient to prove it. The fall of Edom coincides with the fall of the whole antitheistic world.

¹¹⁻¹⁷ A fresh series of images, inconsistent, strictly speaking, with the foregoing. Comp. xiii. 20-22, xiv. 23, Zeph. ii. 14.

¹¹ **The eagle-owl**] 'A magnificent species inhabiting ruins and caves in every part of Palestine' (Houghton).—**He shall stretch out . . .**] The same image in Am. vii. 7-9. The work of destruction is to be carried out with the same thoroughness as that of building. The subject of the verb is Jehovah.—**Chaos . . . desolation**] Hebr. *tôhû* . . . *bôhû*, the two words which together express the idea of chaos, Gen. i. 2, comp. Jer. iv. 23.

¹² **Its nobles . . . kingdom**] It is inferred from this passage and from Gen. xxxvi. 31-43, that Edom was under an elective monarchy, the electors being the chiefs of the tribes. The text-reading is harsh, but gives the same sense; 'the kingdom' in this case means the newly elected king.

¹³ **An enclosure**] The rendering 'grass' will not suit the mention of 'ostriches,' which do not eat grass.

¹⁴ **Wild cats . . . hyænas . . . satyr**] See on xiii. 21, 22.—**The night-hag**] So Milton, *Par. Lost*, ii. 262; Hebr. *lilit*. Another popular superstition, analogous to that of the 'alākāh or vampire (?)' of Prov. xxx. 15 (comp. Targ. of Ps. xii. 9), and still more exactly corresponding to that of the *lilla* and *lilit* of the Babylonians and Assyrians, these being names of male and female demons who were thought to persecute men and women in their sleep.¹ Mixed with Persian elements it existed among the Jews of Mesopotamia as late as the seventh century A.D. (Levy, *Z. D. M. G.*, ix. 461-491.) The Rabbinical stories about Lilit may be found in Buxtorf (*Lex Talm.*, s. v.). She was said to have been Adam's first wife, who flew away from him (comp. the Greek myth of Lamia), and became a demon. Her passion was, like that of Lamia and the Strigæ, to murder young children.—Goethe's version of the story, in the Walpurgis night-scene of *Faust*, is

¹ Lenormant, *La magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 36; Hommel, *Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, i. 367 (when an Accadian list of demons is quoted).

herself a resting-place. ¹⁵ There shall the arrow-snake make its nest, and hatch, and lay, and gather within her shadow; surely there shall the vultures assemble, ^b none shall lack his fellow. ^b ¹⁶ ^c Seek ye out from the scroll of Jehovah and read ^c; not one of these is missing, for ^d the mouth of [Jehovah] ^d it hath commanded, and his breath hath brought them together. ¹⁷ And *he* hath cast the lot for them, and his hand hath divided it unto them with the line: for ever shall they possess it, generation after generation shall they dwell therein.

^b So Bi., restoring the verb from *v.* 16, where the whole phrase is found, but where it is not wanted.

^c According to their number Jehovah calleth them, Knob, Kuenen. (These critics read 'they seek' for 'seek ye out,' and attach it to the preceding verse. So, too, Sept., continuing in *v.* 16: 'By number they passed by.')

^d So Bi.; TEXT might mean 'my mouth.'—Sept. has simply, the LORD; a few Heb. MSS., Pesh., Ew., his mouth.

therefore not strictly accurate. The Targum of Job i. 15 gives a new and enigmatical turn to the story; 'Sheba' (A. V. Sabeans) it renders by 'Lilith, Queen of Zemar-gad' (= smaragd), identifying the wise Queen of Sheba with the Queen of the demons! See Grätz's *Monatsschrift*, 1870, pp. 187-9.)

¹⁶ **Seek ye out from the book of Jehovah . . .** i.e., when the time of fulfilment has come, refer to the prophecy, and see how exactly all its details have been realised. The advice and the phraseology are equally remarkable. The advice, because it reminds us so much of the Scripture-searching of the post-exile Jews, (comp. Dan. ix. 2); the phraseology, because 'the scroll of Jehovah' may plausibly be taken to imply the existence of a prophetic canon. A single prophecy might, no doubt, be called 'a scroll' (xxx. 8, Jer. li. 60), but the form of the phrase, 'scroll of Jehovah,' points

to something more—either to a collection of Isaianic prophecies, in which this was included, or a collection of various prophetic writings—in fact, a prophetic canon—in which a book of Isaiah was contained. The former view is, perhaps, easier than the latter.—The Sept. has a very singular rendering of this verse, which has given Knobel a basis for reconstructing the text. That a verb has fallen out at the end of *v.* 15 is not improbable, but his objection to *v.* 16 seems ultimately to depend on his opinion as to the date of the prophecy. To me the text of *v.* 15 wears all the appearance of genuineness. Kuenen, a high authority, thinks otherwise; but is he not unconsciously prejudiced by his views as to the formation of the canon? See his *Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek*, iii. 399 (in section on the collection of the Old Test. books). The Sept. at any rate gives a very meagre first clause in *v.* 16.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THIS is a description, not of the joyous return of the Jewish exiles from Babylonia (an inveterate error which I fear will not soon be eradicated), but of the glorious condition of Israel after the Return, which the

prophet involuntarily identifies with the Messianic age. The details of the description are partly to be taken literally, partly symbolically (see on xl. 11, xli. 18, lv. 12, 13). A transformation of the natural world is to accompany that of the spiritual (see on xxxii. 15, 16). The return spoken of in the last verse is that of the Jews who remained in dispersion even after the Return from Babylonia.

This is, I think, the only explanation which does justice to the group of prophecies of which chap. xxxv. forms a part (see on xl. 11, xli. 18, lv. 12, 13).

Is this prophecy to be connected with the foregoing one? The pronoun-suffix of the verb in *v.* 1 is purely imaginary (see Del.'s note), and the chapter is perfectly intelligible by itself. On the other hand, xxxv. 7 evidently alludes to xxxiv. 13, and parallels to Zephaniah occur in both chapters. There is also a suitableness in the juxtaposition of the prophecies; it produces a fine contrast, though the transition is abrupt. In short, there is a connection, though not quite so close a one as some have supposed. The case is rather like that of xvii. 12-14 and xviii.

¹ The wilderness and the parched land shall rejoice, and the desert shall exult and burst forth like the ^a narcissus, ² burst forth and exult, yea, exult and ring out a cry. Lebanon's

^a Meadow-saffron, Pesh. (the word is the same as in Hebrew). See crit. note.

¹ **The desert**] See on xxxii. 15. Rutgers (*De echtheid van het tweede gedeelte van Jesaia*, p. 171) has well pointed out the inconsistency of taking the 'blind' and the 'deaf' symbolically (*v.* 5), and the 'parched land' and 'the desert' literally.—**Like the narcissus**] Like the beautiful white narcissus, so common in spring in the plain of Sharon (Conder, *Pal. Fund. Statement*, 1878, p. 46). In Cant. ii. 1 we find this flower coupled with the (white or dark violet) lily. Both plants indicate a natural fertility of soil and abundant moisture. The claims of the rendering 'narcissus' were exhaustively set forth by Mr. Houghton in the *Dict. of the Bible*. Since then Friedr. Del. has proved that the original meaning of *ḫabhaççelet* is a certain marsh-plant, probably (as Prof. Sayce and Mr. Houghton have pointed out to me) the *Cyperus syriacus*, which ornaments several marshy districts in Palestine, and especially the jungly Nahr el-Aujeh in the Plain of Sharon. This plant is allied to and equally graceful with the *Cy-*

perus papyrus, whose tall stem and bushy crown of threadlike flowering branchlets visitors to Sicily never fail to admire. To render here 'like the papyrus' would commend itself to those who have seen this plant, and the comparison would not inappropriately precede the more glowing phraseology of *v.* 2. Before 'the glory of Lebanon and Sharon' can appear, the dry desert-soil must be moistened. The objections which strike me as most important are, 1. that reeds are generally emblems of instability and weakness, and 2. that the flowers of Canticles are spring-flowers, whereas the *Cyperus papyrus* and its allies do not flower till towards the end of autumn.

² The fairest parts of the Holy Land shall, as it were, share their beauty with less favoured districts. 'The Carmel' and 'the Sharon' are mentioned together, not merely because both are beautiful districts, but because they adjoin each other (see on xxxiii. 9).—**The glory of Jehovah**] i.e., the manifestation of his creative power.

glory shall be given unto it, the splendour of Carmel and Sharon; these shall see the glory of Jehovah, the splendour of our God.—³ Strengthen ye the slack hands, and make firm the tottering knees: ⁴ say unto those that are of a ^b fearful heart, 'Be strong, fear not.' Behold, ^c your God [cometh], vengeance [for his people shall he take]; a divine retribution cometh, he himself cometh to save you.—⁵ Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped: ⁶ then shall the lame man leap as the hart, and the tongue of the dumb ring out a cry. For waters shall break out in the wilderness, and torrents in the desert, ⁷ and the mirage shall become a lake, and the thirsty land springs of water.—In the settlement of the jackals * * * shall be its place to lie down; the enclosure [of the ostriches shall be] for reeds and rushes. ⁸ And a raised way shall be there, and it shall be called, The holy way; that which is unclean shall not pass over it, ^d [and * * * walking in the way,] and ^d fools shall not go astray.—⁹ No lion shall be there, neither shall the most violent of beasts go up thereon; but the

^b Lit., hasty (comp. xxxii. 4).

^c So Bi.—TEXT, your God (even) vengeance cometh, a retribution of God. (Rhythm and syntax require the restoration.)

^d Lit., and he for them walking (sing.) in the way, and.—And since he goeth on the way for them, Ew.—Since it is destined for them (for his people, Weir, comp. Ps. xxviii. 8, Sept.); whosoever walketh in the way, Del., Naeg. (Omitted by Bi.; see crit. note.)

³ The **slack hands** and **tottering knees** are evidently figurative (see next verse). The prophet generally, if not always, gives us a hint when we are *not* to interpret his descriptions literally.

^{5,6} Comp. xxxiii. 23, 24, and the symbolical language of xxxii. 3, 4. It is singular that the removal of human infirmities should occupy so small a portion of the Messianic descriptions in comparison with the 'restitution' of external nature. It could not, of course, be omitted altogether.—**For waters . . .**] Comp. xliii. 20, Ps. cvii. 35.

⁷ **The mirage . . .**] The phantom-lake which so often deludes the caravans shall give place to the reality,—a noble image (comp. lv. 2)! The *sarāb* or mirage is only once again referred to (xlix. 10). In Arabic literature, naturally enough,

it appears frequently; comp. Korán, xxiv. 39.—**In the settlement of the jackals**] The driest places shall be covered with vegetation.

⁸ **A raised way**] How it is to be produced, we need not ask:—the whole atmosphere of the prophecy is supernatural. See xlix. 11, and note on xl. 3. The purpose of the highway is more liable to dispute. Most think it is for the returning exiles. Rather it is a road for pilgrims to the house of Jehovah (comp. xix. 23). Hence as Naeg. well observes, the emphasis laid on the sacred character of the persons or objects passing over it.—**That which is unclean** is surely not to be limited (Knob.) to the heathen. Not all Jews are admitted to the Messianic blessings, and not all heathen are excluded from them, is the doctrine of this group of

released shall walk there,¹⁰ and the freed ones of Jehovah shall return. And they shall come to Zion with a ringing sound, and everlasting joy shall be upon their head; they shall overtake gladness and joy, trouble and sighing shall flee away.

prophecies. Comp. xlv. 5, lxvi. 3. Still there is probably an allusion to the forced entrances of heathen invaders of Judah, as in Joel iii. 17. After this comes a clause of which I cannot give a satisfactory explanation. Neither Ew. nor Del. can make the words 'for them' seem natural. Dr Weir's correction is easy, but the errors of the text probably go further. There is a family likeness in corrupt passages.

—**The released shall walk there]** Released from all trouble, and fear of trouble, the cleansed Israelites (not perhaps excluding Gentiles) shall walk unmolested to and from the house of Jehovah. Comp. on lv. 12. 'Released,' Hebr. *g'ulim*, occurs again only li. 10, lxii. 12 (comp. lxiii. 4), Ps. cvii. 2; 'freed' (*v.* 10), *p'duyim*, only li. 11.

¹⁰ Parallel phrases in lxi. 7, li. 3 (see also on li. 11). **The freed ones**

of Jehovah shall return . . .] Drechsler thinks that these are not the same persons as those mentioned in the last verse. According to him, 'the released' in *v.* 9 are the remnant of the population of Judah which has not perished in the judgments; the 'freed' in *v.* 10 are those brought back from exile. He is partly right, for the 'return' spoken of in *v.* 10 has nothing to do with the highway of *v.* 8. But whether it points backward to the great Return from Babylon, or forward to the restoration of the many Jews who were still dispersed among the Gentiles (comp. Neh. v. 8), seems to me uncertain.—**Joy . . . upon their head]** So, 'Thou hast crowned him with glory and honour' (Ps. viii. 5).—**They shall overtake . . .]** viz., that which they have so long pursued in vain.

CHAPTERS XXXVI.—XXXIX.

GENERAL HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions, which has thrown so much light on the undisputed works of the prophet Isaiah, has but revealed fresh difficulties in the mixture of prophecy and historic tradition before us. The principal of these arises from the newly-discovered fact that whereas, according to the Assyrian eponym Canon, Sennacherib only came to the throne in 705 B.C., the Old Testament (2 Kings and 'Isaiah') places his campaign against Judah as far back as 711. In this latter year, according to the Assyrian Canon, Sargon was still reigning; and though the same high authority admits an invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, it is as Sennacherib's third campaign, in the year 701, that the Canon and the royal inscriptions represent it. Hence a growing conviction on the part of Old Testament scholars that there must have been some misunderstanding on the part of the latest editor of the Hebrew traditions. 'The *least change*'—these are the words of Sir

Henry Rawlinson in 1858—'is to substitute in the 13th verse of 2 Kings xviii. [= Isa. xxxvi. 1] the *twenty-seventh* for the "fourteenth" year of Hezekiah. We may suppose the error to have arisen from a correction made by a transcriber who regarded the invasion of Sennacherib and the illness of Hezekiah (which last was certainly in his fourteenth year) as synchronous, whereas the words "in those days" were in fact used with a good deal of latitude by the sacred writers. . . . If this view be taken, the second expedition [of Sennacherib against Judah] must have followed the first within one or at most two years, for Hezekiah reigned in all only 29 years.'¹

This, however, is a hypothesis of exceptional boldness, and is not only contradicted by the absolute silence of Sennacherib's inscriptions as to a second Syrian campaign, but, as Prof. Birks remarks, 'seems disproved by almost every verse of the Biblical narrative.'² It is to the sagacious genius of the lamented Irish scholar, Dr. Edward Hincks, that the solution of the chronological problem is in all likelihood due. In a learned paper on this and similar difficulties he states that it seems to him 'as if a displacement of a portion of the text had taken place, and as if the verses preceding and following the passage displaced had been thrown into one. The text, as it originally stood, was probably to this effect: "Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, the king of Assyria came up (2 Kings xviii. 13). In those days was king Hezekiah sick unto death, &c. (xx. 1-19). And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them (xviii. 13b-xix. 37)." In the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sargon actually went to Palestine, as his annals of the tenth year show; but they mention no conquests made from Hezekiah. His only act of hostility seems to have been the conquest of Asdud, and he seems to have been chiefly occupied with visiting mines, among which is specified the great copper mine of Baalzephon, probably Sarabut-el-Kadim, in the Sinaitic peninsula. In the following year, Merodach Baladan was still in possession of Babylon; but being apprehensive of an attack from Sargon, he would be likely to look about for assistance. Hence his embassy to Hezekiah.

'If, then, the Hebrew text originally stood as is above supposed, it would be in perfect harmony with the contemporary records of Assyria; whereas, if the fourteenth year of Hezekiah be equalled to the third year of Sennacherib, in which that monarch places his expedition against Hezekiah, it is utterly impossible to reconcile with Scripture the capture of Samaria, which was in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and nineteen years previous to the expedition.'³

¹ Prof. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, first ed. (Lond. 1858) i. 479. Either this or the next mentioned hypothesis is more probable than that of Naeg. and Del., who suppose that the opening words of chap. xxxvi. belong properly to the narratives forming chaps. xxviii., xxxix. This involves cutting out the existing introductory formulæ of those chapters, and leaves the story of the invasion without a date. See also at the end of introd. to chap. xxxviii.

² Birks, *Commentary on the book of Isaiah* (Lond. 1878), p. 377. Mr. Birks gives a list of not less than twenty reasons against Sir H. Rawlinson's hypothesis.

³ Hincks, 'On the Rectifications of Sacred and Profane Chronology, &c.,' in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1858, p. 136.

There is only one inaccuracy in this lucidly-stated hypothesis. Dr. Hincks supposes that the cuneiform inscriptions are silent as to the achievements of Sargon in Judah; but, as we have already found (see on *v.* 5-xii. 6), this is not the case. His principal point, however, is (so far as I can see) unassailable, viz. that the latest editor of the Hebrew traditions confounded two invasions which were really separated by an interval of ten years¹—that of Sargon in 711, and that of Sennacherib in 701. The hypothesis of Dr. Hincks (which appears to have attracted very little attention at the time) has since been proposed anew by other scholars, especially Mr. Sayce and H. Brandes. The former, in January 1873, contributed to the *Theological Review* a 'Critical Examination of Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix. on the Basis of recent Assyrian Discoveries,' to which I have already acknowledged my obligations for the discovery of the subjugation of the kingdom of Judah by Sargon. No Old Testament scholar will fail to admire the acuteness and ingenuity which this essay displays. The discovery which gives it its chief value (divined, but not proved, by Dr. Hincks) pours a flood of light on a whole group of Isaianic prophecies. One cannot, however, help regretting the adventurous character of a part both of the exegesis and of the literary analysis. Even Dr. Kuenen, in speaking of the latter with that reserve which characterises all his literary judgments, makes no secret of his opinion that this well-meant attempt 'does not seem to have been successful.'²

The hypothesis of H. Brandes³ does not require such a great disturbance of the Hebrew text as that proposed by Mr. Sayce. The fact that in 2 Kings xviii. 14-16 the form of the name Hezekiah is not *Khizkiyyāhū* as in *v.* 17 and the following narrative, but *Khizkiyyāh*, of itself shows that these verses at any rate proceed from a different source,⁴ and a dim consciousness of the fact seems to have led to the space in our Hebrew Bibles between *v.* 16 and *v.* 17. Internal evidence is no less strongly in favour of disintegration. Both the form and the contents of *v.* 17 separate it from that which precedes. After Hezekiah had sent tribute,⁵ what could justify the Assyrian king in sending an army to Jerusalem? Again,

¹ He has also, as we shall see, shortened history by twenty years in xxxvii. 7.

² Kuenen, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, p. 289. Dr. Kuenen continues with the remark that Mr. Sayce's essay 'has shown still more clearly than before that the [Hebrew] narrative contains data mutually conflicting, and leaves more than one question unsolved.' For my own part, I agree to some extent with Mr. Sayce, viz. that points of contact with the invasion of Sargon can be traced even after 2 Kings xviii. 17; certainly there is one in *v.* 34 of the same chapter. But a redistribution of the historical material into a Sargon-document and a 'primary' and a 'secondary' Sennacherib-document seems to me impossible.

³ Brandes, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients* (Halle, 1874), p. 81, &c.; comp. Kleinert, *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, xvi. (1877), 174, &c.

⁴ Kuenen (*Onderzoek*, i. 269, 270), Wellhausen (Bleek's *Einleitung in das A.T.*, ed. 4, p. 255), and Nowack ('Remarks on the 14th year of Hezekiah' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1881, p. 300, &c.) fully admit this. The former thinks that the narratives relate to two different stages of the same campaign (against which see Schrader, *K.A.T.*, ed. 2, p. 306); the latter that they give two independent reports of the same events. Floigl agrees with Nowack, but thinks that the elaborate cycle of narratives in 2 Kings xviii. 17-xx. 19 is thoroughly legendary, like the cycles relative to Elijah and Elisha (*Die Chronologie der Bibel*, 1880, pp. 29, 30).

⁵ It is noteworthy that in 2 Chron. xxxii. nothing is said of Hezekiah's tribute, but much of his preparations for defence. Here, too, the fourteenth year is not specified as the date of the invasion. It is a remark of Dr. Brandes.

if the mission of the Tartan and the Rab-shakeh had taken place in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, the latter would certainly have accused Hezekiah of complicity with Babylon (comp. chap. xxxix.), and not with Egypt. But all becomes clear if we assign the events of the section beginning at 2 Kings xviii. 17 to 702 B.C., in the spring of which year the third year of Sennacherib officially opened. Babylon had fallen in 710, and Egypt alone remained to be crushed by Assyria. The accusation brought against Hezekiah of having a secret understanding with Egypt is now perfectly intelligible.

My view, then, is briefly this, reserving an answer to objections for Essay II. in the second volume. The events related in 2 Kings xviii. 14-16 belong to an account of Sargon's invasion of Judah, and the opening words of *v.* 13 seem to me (following Hincks) to presuppose a fragmentary introduction of this account, which was worked up by the compiler of Kings during the Exile, together with the opening words of the more elaborate account of Sennacherib's. Such a 'working-up' is in agreement with what we know of the procedure of the writer of Kings elsewhere:—he is not an original writer, but a compiler, and not always what we should call a critical compiler. He knew even less of Sargon than the compiler of Ezra iv. (see *v.* 10, 'Asnapper') knew of Assurbanipal, and had not the critical caution to put aside a fragmentary document which he did not understand.

Before passing on to Dr. Hincks's second point, an answer seems due to the objection that to put Sennacherib's invasion in the twenty-seventh (twenty-fourth?) year of Hezekiah makes the persecution of the prophets under Manasseh extremely difficult to realise. Would not so great an interposition of Jehovah, so striking a fulfilment of Isaiah's assurances in His name, give an impulse to the worship of the true God with which the polytheistic party would find it hopeless to contend? And does it not seem to destroy the distinctive character of the event as a turning-point in Israel's history hardly second to the Exodus, if we admit that it was followed so closely by the accession of the renegade Manasseh?—The objections well deserve consideration, but do not appear to me insuperable. First I reply, that the members of the polytheistic party would be sure to ascribe the glory of the removal of the invaders to the gods they themselves worshipped, just as the Egyptians ascribed it to the Creator, Ptah. The writings of Isaiah give us no reason to suppose that he exerted any deep spiritual influence; he seems to have been one of those who 'toil all the night, but take nothing.' Contempt and ridicule were the lot of the prophets of Jehovah (xxviii. 9, 10, 22), and there were times in Isaiah's experience (so I think we may infer from xxx. 20) when they even had to 'conceal themselves' or 'withdraw into a corner.' Next, it is surely too much to say that the deliverance from Sennacherib is deprived of its religious importance by the close neighbourhood of Manasseh's persecution. The divine 'election' of Israel was not dependent on the character of its kings, and it was as important for the church-nation of Jehovah to be saved from destruction in Hezekiah's twenty-seventh year as in his fourteenth.

On the second point—the transposition of the account of Hezekiah's illness—a long argument is clearly unnecessary. The promise of fifteen years more of life to Hezekiah compels us to place his illness in the fourteenth year of his reign (comp. 2 Kings xviii. 2), which is the year of the invasion of Judah, not by Sennacherib, but by Sargon. Besides this, the embassy of Merodach Baladan to Hezekiah, related in chap. xxxix., can only be adequately accounted for on the supposition that it had a principal reference to this impending invasion. For twelve years, says the Canon of Ptolemy, in harmony with the Assyrian inscriptions, Merodach Baladan, the successful rebel against Assyria, reigned over Babylonia. The twelve years extend from 721 to 710, i.e., to the sixteenth¹ year of Hezekiah. During this period Merodach Baladan might at any moment expect hostilities from Assyria, and he therefore set himself to form as strong a coalition as possible of those who like himself were threatened by that ambitious power. 'Against the will of the gods,' says Sargon in his Annals, ' . . . he had sent during twelve years ambassadors.'² We may reasonably place the embassy to Hezekiah in 713 or 712. At any rate, chaps. xxxviii., xxxix. ought chronologically to precede chap. xxxvi.

The Assyrian account of this great period (great to believers in the 'election' of Israel, not to the Assyrian annalists) is accessible to all in English, French, and German translations. It is extant in three (more strictly, in four) forms, only differing in their greater or less minuteness, which are found respectively in the inscriptions on the Taylor cylinder and on the Kouyunjik bulls, and in the text of another cylinder (very similar to the Taylor), translated by Mr. George Smith.³ Before, however, drawing the reader's attention to the peculiar features of the Assyrian account, it will be well to give a short historical summary of the events connected with the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib.

In 705, according to the Assyrian Canon, Sargon was murdered in his new and richly adorned palace of Dūr-Sarrukin (now Khorsabad), about ten miles from Nineveh. He was succeeded by a younger son, the famous Sennacherib, who, though inferior in political talent to his father, seems to have made a deeper impression on the Jewish mind. He may be taken, according to Mr. George Smith, 'as the typical Eastern monarch: all the vices of pride and arrogance, cruelty and lust of power, so conspicuous in Oriental sovereigns, were developed to excess in him . . . His military expeditions were on a grand scale, but more designed for show than real conquest. His greatest efforts sometimes bore no fruit, or only ended in disaster. He had no genius for conciliating the peoples he conquered, and his process for putting an end to revolt is shown by

¹ We are not, I think, tied up to the literal acceptance of the scheme of chronology to which 2 Kings xviii. 2 belongs. This, as the leading critics agree, is a later addition to the Hebrew narratives.

² *R.P.*, vii. 41.

³ For the Taylor cylinder, see *R.P.*, i. 33 &c.; for the Bull Inscriptions, *ibid.* vii. 57 &c. Readers of German will do better to consult Schrader's extracts and translations, *K.A.T.*, pp. 288-294, and 301-304. For Smith's text (translated), see his *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 296-308. The fourth Assyrian document is a cylinder-inscription, which may be called Mitunu's, as it is dated in the year of his eponomy or archonship. This has, however, not appeared in a translation. Prof. Schrader informs me that it 'contains nothing particularly new.' But it has an importance of its own (see note on the following page).

the ruin he inflicted on Babylon.¹ It was, however, a most difficult task which fell to him,—that of the pacification of the Assyrian empire, stirred to its furthest extremities by the news of the murder of Sargon. The foremost of the rebel-chiefs was the sworn foe of Assyria, Merodach Baladan, who emerged from his place of concealment, and once more assumed the Babylonian crown. It was a fruitless effort; Babylon was again captured by the Assyrians, though her champion, with characteristic good fortune, made good his escape. On his return from Babylon, Sennacherib laid his iron hand on the Aramean tribes of the middle Euphrates district. He says himself, on the Bellino cylinder, ‘208,000 men and women, 7,200 horses, wild asses, asses, 5,330 camels, 70,200 oxen, 800,600 small cattle, a large booty, I carried away to Assyria.’²

Meantime, the kings and chiefs of Phœnicia and Palestine had not been idle. The people of Ekron, for instance, had deposed their king Padi, a nominee of Assyria, and sent him in chains to Jerusalem. So Sennacherib himself informs us,³ and the fact is significant, as the imprisonment of a vassal of Assyria was an overt act of rebellion on the part of Hezekiah. Egypt too had been stirred by the news of the opposition encountered by Sennacherib in various quarters. It seemed a time for clearing off old scores. The active support of Shabataka, the energetic king of Ethiopia, was acquired. ‘The people, terrible ever since it arose, the strong, strong nation and all-subduing,’ is addressed in imaginative, dramatic style by the poet-prophet Isaiah, who evidently appreciates the noble qualities of the subjects of Shabataka. How the Ethiopian empire prepared to meet the foe, and how the spokesman of Jehovah courteously but decisively repels their assistance, we have already seen in commenting upon chap. xviii.

It was in the spring of 701⁴ (‘my third campaign’) that Sennacherib, with the deliberateness of conscious strength, condescended to measure himself with the enemies on the west of his empire. Of this period we have, as the reader is aware, a contemporary Assyrian as well as a late Hebrew account, and it is a disputed question how far these two narratives fairly admit of being harmonised. The following combination of facts seems to the writer to supply at least a probable setting for Isaiah’s prophecies.—After reducing Sidon and the rest of the Phœnician cities, Sennacherib marched along the coast-road in the direction of Egypt. On his arrival at Lachish he detached a corps from his main army to bring back Judah to its allegiance, and especially to reduce the dangerously strong fortress of Jerusalem. The Tartan⁵ or some inferior general invaded the land of Judah, captured forty-six of the fortified towns (this

¹ Smith, *History of Assyria*, p. 126.

² Schrader, *K.A.T.*, pp. 346-7; comp. *R.P.*, i. 26.

³ Bull Inscription, line 23, *R.P.*, vii. 61 (foot).

⁴ The Mitunu cylinder (note³ p. 205) has settled this, for the eponymy of Mitunu was in the year 700, ‘consequently’ (as Prof. Schrader, in a private letter, remarks) ‘the Syro-Phœnician campaign had already taken place in this year. And since the Bellino cylinder, dated in the eponymy of Nabulih, i.e. in the year 702, is silent as to this campaign, it is clear that the campaign against Palestine and Egypt must have taken place between 702 and 700, presumably therefore in 701.’

⁵ See note on xx. 1.

fact we owe to the Assyrian account¹), and proceeded to summon Jerusalem to surrender (here we follow the Biblical narrative). It was probably (see pp. 109, 189) during the victorious march of the Assyrian detachment that Isaiah wrote the prophecies in chap. xvii. 12-14 and chap. xxxiii., of which the former was apparently composed a little the earlier, though the latter, from the varied nature of its contents, is the more interesting. The prophecy in xxxvii. 21-35,² self-evidently genuine, in spite of—or rather, because of—its unusually inartistic form, may be taken as a pendant to the more elaborate oracle in chap. xxxiii. The chief difference between these two prophetic ‘words’ is that chap. xxxiii. regards the invasion from a human point of view—that of the sufferers, chap. xxxvii. 21-35, from the serene height of the prophetic watch-tower, nay, of Jehovah himself.

Let us now turn to the Assyrian account. This has been so often quoted, that I may assume a general acquaintance with it on the part of the reader. There are two passages³ which apparently conflict with portions of the Hebrew record; let us briefly consider these.

(1) In the inscription on the Taylor cylinder (col. ii., lines 20-23), Sennacherib, who, like his royal predecessors, often ascribes to himself the achievements of his officers, gives this account of the siege of Jerusalem :—
 ‘ . . Him (Khazakiau) like a caged bird within Ursalimmu his royal city I enclosed; towers against him I raised; the exits of the great gate of his city I blockaded.’

This is surely inconsistent with Isa. xxxvii. 33 (= 2 Kings xix. 32), where Isaiah is represented as prophesying that the king of Assyria should not ‘come before [Jerusalem] with shields, nor cast up a bank against it.’—It may be observed, however, (1) that it is not quite certain that Isaiah really delivered such a prophecy, for his great and undoubtedly genuine oracle has a well-marked conclusion at xxxvii. 29; (2) that, if these words be genuine, they afford a signal proof that, in the reproduction of Divine revelations, the prophetic writers were not secured from small errors of detail. The wonderfulness of the removal of the invaders does not in the least depend on the erection or non-erection of siege-towers. Granting that Sennacherib’s general did ‘cast up a bank against’ Jerusalem; granting that he even broke through the great gate of the city; this does not necessarily involve an inconsistency with the main point of Isaiah’s revelation, viz., that the Jews should in a wonderful manner be relieved from their invaders, at the very moment when human aid was hopeless. Sennacherib himself does not go so far as to say that he actually captured Jerusalem.

(2) The second apparent inconsistency between the Assyrian and the

¹ Taylor cylinder, col. iii. 13, Schrader, *K.A.T.*, p. 293; *R.P.*, i. 39.

² I will not here enter on the question whether the last three verses (33-35) were written at the same time as *vv.* 21-32.

³ M. Lenormant sees an inconsistency in the place given to Hezekiah’s payment of tribute in the Assyrian and the Biblical accounts respectively (see *Les premières civilisations*, ii. 288), but on the hypothesis of H. Brandes, adopted above, the tribute referred to in 2 Kings xviii. 14 was paid to Sargon, not Sennacherib. Another inconsistency might be supposed in the reference to Tirhakah (2 Kings xix. 9); see, however, p. 110.

Biblical accounts has reference to Tirhakah, whose approach, in conjunction with the 'kings of Egypt,' and its consequences, are described briefly but with great distinctness in the Assyrian inscriptions. The text on the Taylor cylinder (col. ii., lines 73-82) contains the following statement:—

' . . . the kings¹ of Egypt had gathered together the archers, the chariots, the horses of the king of Meroe²—a force without number, and they came to their help (i.e., to the help of the Ekronites, see p. 206): the line of battle was placed before me over against Altaku.³ They called upon their troops. In the service of Asshur my lord, I fought with them and wrought their overthrow. The charioteers and the sons of the king of Egypt, together with the charioteers of the king of Meroe, my hands took in the midst of the battle.'

It is at any rate a plausible conjecture that there is a reference to this in the prediction in Isa. xxxvii. 7 (comp. *v.* 9). If so, it would seem to follow (1) that the prophet ascribes the retreat of Sennacherib to the operations of Tirhakah rather than to a 'destroying angel,' and (2) that he did not look forward to such a complete (?) success at Jerusalem for Sennacherib, as the Taylor cylinder describes.

These two implications may appear to some to be unfavourable to the accuracy of the prophet (if at least he really uttered the words ascribed to him). But, in the first place, it may fairly be asked whether the Assyrian account is not guilty, to some extent at least, of a vainglorious exaggeration? Dr. Schrader has well pointed out⁴ that Sennacherib omits the number of the prisoners and of the captured chariots, which is rarely neglected in the bulletin-like Assyrian inscriptions; also that in Sennacherib's later inscriptions he mentions payment of tribute by Hezekiah, but not the victory of Altaku. We may also reasonably ask why Sennacherib did not utilise the triumphant success ascribed to him, and press on to the conquest of Egypt. Dr. Schrader concludes that Sennacherib, though not actually beaten, obtained the victory with so much difficulty that he was compelled to withdraw from the struggle with Egypt; and he willingly admits that Sennacherib's departure may have been accelerated by the breaking out of a pestilence such as that described in 2 Kings xix. 35 (= Isa. xxxvii. 36), and apparently in Herod. ii. 141.⁵

¹ 'Kings,' because of the dismemberment of Egypt already referred to. Or (cf. the Hebrew idiom in Jer. xvii. 20, xxv. 18) the 'sons of the king of Egypt' mentioned afterwards; but this is less probable, as the royal family did not exercise that semi-regal power in Egypt which it seems to have acquired in Judah. 'The king of Egypt' will be the principal of these kings, i.e., Shabataka.

² The Assyrian has Milukkkhi. The king in question is Shabataka; see p. 110.

³ The same as the Eltekeh of Josh. xix. 44.

⁴ Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, art. Sanherib, v. 176.

⁵ Dr. Schrader's words are: Nicht ausgeschlossen ist bei dieser Lage der Dinge, übrigens, dass für seinen Entschluss, definitiv den Rückzug anzutreten, schliesslich ein Ereigniss entscheidend wurde, wie wir es in der Bibel (2 Kön. 19, 35 fg.) angedeutet finden, nämlich eine Pest, welche vielleicht infolge der gelieferten Schlacht oder überhaupt infolge des Krieges im Heer ausgebrochen war und dasselbe decimirt hatte (vgl. Herodot. ii. 141). *Bi el Lexikon*, v. 176. This leaves it undecided whether the plague among the Assyrians broke out at Pelusium (comp. Herod., *l.c.*), or before Jerusalem (as the Hebrew narrative has been thought by some to imply). The reference to Herodotus, however, suggests that Dr. Schrader agrees with Thénien and Professor Rawlinson in placing the calamity at Pelusium.

On the one hand, then, Sennacherib (if we accept Dr. Schrader's very plausible conjecture) exaggerates the importance of his 'Pyrrhus-victory' at Altaku; on the other, he makes no reference to the calamity which befell a portion of his army before Jerusalem. This is in accordance with the well-known style of imperial bulletins. Perhaps, however, the Assyrian annalist has, in spite of himself, given a hint of the missing facts. M. Lenormant has already drawn attention¹ to the evident embarrassment of the Assyrian annalist after he has related the first events of the invasion of the kingdom of Judah. He transports us abruptly to Nineveh, without telling us why or how; and soon after we read of a fresh outbreak of rebellion in Babylonia, of which the indomitable Merodach Baladan is the soul.

Such are the main points in this remarkable group of chapters (xxxvi.-xxxix.) which are susceptible of illustration from Assyriology. There remain two other classes of questions which it seems unwise to discuss here, as they would lead us too far away from the exegesis of the Book of Isaiah. If, however, the student wishes to know some of the leading data, and some of the possible solutions, he may still be referred to *The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged* (pp. 101-103). I mean, in the first place, the question as to the origin of these chapters, and as to their relation to the parallel section of the Second Book of Kings; and, in the second, as to the degree in which historical accuracy can be claimed for them. Did the range of Isaiah's historical narratives (such is one of the questions which may be asked) extend to the reign of Hezekiah, or did he confine himself to describing the 'acts of Uzziah'?² Even granting that he wrote some account of the Assyrian invasions in the reign of Hezekiah, is it probable that this account was at all more elaborate than the narratives in chaps. vii. and xx., which are merely explanatory introductions to the following prophecies? With regard to the strict historical accuracy of this part of our book, I have drawn attention in *I. C. A.* to at least a verbal inconsistency between Isa. xxxvii. 30-32 and *v.* 36 of the same chapter, to the juxtaposition of two events in xxxvii. 36 and 37, which the Assyrian inscriptions prove to have been separated by a considerable interval, and to the want of analogy in the preceding prophecies of Isaiah for such an extraordinary sign as that in xxxviii. 8, and for so circumstantial a prediction as that in xxxviii. 5. If these chapters are not by a contemporary writer, we need not be surprised should the representation of facts turn out to be imperfect.

¹ And it came to pass in the fourteenth year of the king Hezekiah, that Sennacherib king of Assyria went up against

² There is probably a mistake in the name of the Assyrian king in

¹ Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, ii. 288, 289. Let me warmly recommend the graphic and fact-full essay ('Un patriote babylonien du huitième siècle avant notre ère') of which this passage forms part. It originally appeared in a separate form in the *Correspondant*.

² See 2 Chron. xxvi. 22. The phraseology of 2 Chron. xxxii. 32 is obscure, and susceptible of more than one interpretation (see *I. C. A.*, p. xv. of the Introduction).

all the fortified cities of Judah, and took them.^a ² And the king of Assyria sent^b the Rab-shakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem to the king Hezekiah with a great army. And he stationed himself by the conduit of the upper pool on the highway of the fuller's field. ³ ^c And there went out to him^c Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, who was over the house, and Shebna the secretary, and Joah, son of Asaph, the annalist. ⁴ And

^a 2 Kings xviii. inserts (*vv.* 14-16), 'And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended: turn back from me: that which thou puttest upon me, I will bear. And the king of Assyria laid upon Hezekiah three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave up all the silver that was found in the house of Jehovah, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut away (the gold from) the doors of the temple of Jehovah, and (from) the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria.'

^b 2 Kings xviii. 17 inserts, 'The Tartan and the Rab-saris and.'

^c 2 Kings xviii. 18 reads, 'And they called for the king and there came out to them.'

this verse. It is Sargon's invasion which seems to be referred to (see above, p. 203).

Sennacherib] The native Assyrian form of the name is Sin-akhi-irib = 'Sin (the Moongod) gave many brothers; ' the Hebrew, Sankhêrib.—**And took them**] The Chronicler puts it differently—'thought to conquer them' (2 Chr. xxxii. 1).

² **The king of Assyria**] Here and subsequently it is correct to understand Sennacherib, the confused reference to Sargon's campaign being confined to *v.* 1.—**Sent the Rab-shakeh**] In 2 Kings xviii. 17 we find mention of 'the Tartan and the Rab-saris,' as well as 'the Rab-shakeh,' and as in Isa. xxxvii. 6, 24 the 'servants' of the king of Assyria are spoken of, it seems probable that the two former titles have fallen out of the text of this verse. All three are designations of high Assyrian officers. For the first, see on xx. 1. The second means in Hebrew chief of the eunuchs, and is probably the translation of an Assyrian court-title. The third, viz. 'the Rab-shakeh,' in its Hebrew form suggests the meaning 'chief butler' (comp. Gen. xl. 2 Hebr.)—a very singular office to be mentioned here, but the

truth is that the Jews simply reproduced a native Assyrian (or rather half-Assyrian, half-Accadian)¹ title, viz. rab-sâqê, 'chief of the officers,' a military officer, next in rank, as it seems, to the Tartan (see Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, i. 131).—**From Lachish**] The capture of Lachish was thought important enough to be commemorated on two large bas-reliefs in Sennacherib's palace; one of these has an explanatory inscription (see *T. S. B. A.*, 1878, plate opposite p. 85). The importance of the place doubtless arose from its commanding the direct route from Egypt to Judah. Sennacherib could here await the Egyptians (see xxxvii. 8).—**By the conduit of the upper pool**] The very spot where Ahaz had held his famous colloquy with Isaiah (vii. 3). Unbelief was represented then by an Israelite; now, more naturally, by an Assyrian.

³ **Eliakim**] The disciple of Isaiah has supplanted Shebna the foreigner: see on xxii. 15-25.

⁴ The Rab-shakeh speaks; perhaps the Tartan was too grand an officer.—**The great king**] He refuses to recognize Hezekiah as a king. The right of the strongest throws Judah prostrate at the feet

¹ Such a hybrid formation is more startling to us than it was to the Assyrians, who had adopted *sâq* 'officer, captain' into their vocabulary.

the Rab-shakeh said to them, Say ye, I pray, to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What is this trust with which thou trustest? ⁵ ^d Thinkest thou that a mere word of the lips is counsel and strength for war ^d! Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against me? ⁶ Behold thou trustest on this staff of a cracked reed, on Egypt; which, if a man lean on it, will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to all who trust in him. ⁷ And if thou sayest unto me, In Jehovah, our God, is our trust, is it not he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Before this altar shall ye worship? ⁸ And now exchange pledges, I pray, with my lord, the king of Assyria. I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou art able to set for thyself riders upon them. ⁹ How then canst thou turn away

^d So 2 Kings xviii. 20, according to the rendering of Seinecke and Wellhausen. The Hebr. text of Isaiah has, 'I say—only a word of the lips—counsel and strength for war,' which requires us to supply 'sayest thou, but it is' after 'I say,' and 'I have' before 'counsel.'

of the 'great king,' *Sarru rabbu*, 'great king,' *sarru dannu*, 'strong king,' *sar kissati*, 'king of hosts,' are the constant descriptive titles applied to themselves by the Assyrian kings.

⁶ He does not accuse Hezekiah of conspiring with Merodach Baladan; on this point see above, p. 204. **A cracked reed**] Not 'a broken reed,' as Auth. Vers., for who could even try to lean on such a staff? (Comp. xlii. 3, 'a cracked reed *he shall not break*.') Whereas the thick stem of the *Arundo donax*, so common both in Egypt and in Palestine, would give a show of support even when 'cracked.' The speaker alludes to the weakening effects of disunion and defeat in Egypt (see on chap. xix. and xxx. 3, 5, 7). Parallel passage, Ezek. xxix. 6, 7.—**Pharaoh, king of Egypt**] Here, as in the Assyrian inscriptions, the title Pharaoh is used inaccurately as a proper name. The particular Pharaoh intended is Shabataka (see Introd. to chap. xviii.).

⁷ **And if thou sayest unto me**] The Assyrians had a well-organised

intelligence-department. Sennacherib had heard of the reformation of worship undertaken by Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4, comp. 2 Chron. xxxi. 1). This, from his heathen point of view, was an act of gross impiety towards Jehovah; for had not Jehovah been worshipped from time immemorial at most if not all of the 'high places'? The local sanctuaries designated by the latter phrase appear from the inscriptions to have been known in Assyria and Babylonia as well as Palestine; indeed, they go back to Accadian—i.e., pre-Semitic—times (Sayce, *T. S. B. A.* iv. 30).

^{8, 9} These two verses are spoken by the Rab-shakeh in his own name, though in the spirit of his master. In *v.* 10 he returns to the royal message, precisely as the Hebrew prophets speak, sometimes more directly, sometimes less, in the name of Jehovah. There is therefore no occasion on this ground to disintegrate the narrative with Mr. Sayce (*Theological Review*, 1873, p. 22).—We have first a disparaging comparison between the weakness of the Jews (which sug-

the face of a single prefect from among the meanest servants of my lord? This is why thou trustest in Egypt for chariots and for horsemen. ¹⁰ And now, is it apart from Jehovah that I have come up against this land to destroy it? Jehovah said unto me, Go up against yonder land and destroy it. ¹¹ And Eliakim and Shebna and Joah said to the Rab-shakeh, Pray speak unto thy servants in Aramean, for we understand it, and do not speak to us in Jewish in the ears of the people who are upon the wall. ¹² And the Rab-shakeh said, Is it to thy lord and to thee that my lord hath sent me to speak these

gests that there is some degree of oratorical exaggeration in ii. 7) and the strength of the Assyrians in cavalry (comp. v. 28); this of course implies tacitly that a small detachment of the Assyrian army would be equal to overpowering the Jews.

—**The face**] i.e., the attack.—**Prefect**] The Hebr. *pakhath* ('construct' form of *pekhal*) has nothing to do with the mod. Persian 'pasha,' but comes direct from the Assyrian *pakhat* 'provisional governor.'—**This is why . . .**] i.e., because Judah itself is so deficient in cavalry.

¹⁰ Sennacherib professes to have received an oracle from Jehovah, who is irritated at the overthrow of his high places. One cannot help conjecturing that here, as in v. 15, the writer has given an Israelitish colouring to the ideas of the Assyrian (like Isaiah x. 10), in spite of the inconsistent statement in v. 20. Still it is only the word Jehovah which is out of place. 'Go, take Nebo (in war) against Israel,' says the god Chemosh to king Mesha on the Moabite Inscription; a prophet or a dream-voice (see *R.P.*, ix. 52) may have seemed to give a similar bidding to Sennacherib.

¹¹ Well did Nahum prophesy (ii. 13), 'The voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard.' The Rab-shakeh's speech was so well calculated to impress the multitude that Eliakim and his companions beg him to employ the Aramaic instead of the 'Jewish' tongue.

The statement implies that Assyrian as well as Jewish officials were acquainted with Aramaic, as being the great commercial language of Syria, Palestine, and West Asia. Nor are we confined to mere inference. Private contract-tablets in Aramaic and Assyrian have been found in the remains of ancient Nineveh. But the Rab-shakeh had a still wider range of linguistic knowledge. He belonged to a nation which had a genuine interest in the study of languages, and his official duties doubtless prompted him to extend his knowledge to the utmost. No wonder, then, if he could speak Hebrew. There is much difficulty, however, in the application of the term **Jewish**. In xix. 18 Isaiah speaks of Hebrew as 'the tongue of Canaan,' which shows (in harmony with the inscription on the Moabite Stone) that the language of Judah cannot have differed materially from that of the rest of Palestine (Phœnicia of course being excluded). 'Jewish,' therefore, means Hebrew, and not merely the dialect of the tribe of Judah (as Naeg.). But the only other example (except in the parallel passages in Kings and Chronicles) of this use of the word is in a passage of post-Exile date (Neh. xiii. 24). It is only reasonable to infer that this account of the proceedings of the Rab-shakeh has been, at any rate, considerably modified by a post-Exile writer.

¹² **Who sit upon the wall**] Who are stationed there for defence.—

words? is it not to the men who sit upon the wall, to eat their dung and to drink their urine with you? ¹³ And the Rab-shakeh stood forth, and cried with a loud voice in Jewish, and said, Hear ye the words of the great king, the king of Assyria. ¹⁴ Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you, for he will not be able to deliver you. ¹⁵ And let not Hezekiah make you trust in Jehovah, saying, Jehovah will surely deliver us; this city shall not be surrendered into the hand of the king of Assyria. ¹⁶ Hearken not to Hezekiah; for thus saith the king of Assyria, Make a treaty with me, and come out to me, and eat ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the water of his cistern; ¹⁷ until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and grapes, a land of breadcorn and orchards.^g ¹⁸ ^f Beware lest Hezekiah entice you,^f saying, Jehovah will deliver us. Have the gods of the nations delivered, every one his land, from the hand of the king of Assyria? ¹⁹ Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim^g? and how much less have [its gods] delivered Samaria out of my hand!

^g 2 Kings xviii. 32 adds, A land of generous olive-trees and of honey, that ye may live, and not die; and hearken not to Hezekiah.

^f 2 Kings xviii. 32 reads, For he enticeth you.

^g 2 Kings xviii. 34 adds, Hena and Ivvah (see note ^a on chap. xxxvii.).

To eat . . .] i.e., with no other result than their being reduced to the utmost conceivable distress.

¹³ Eliakim has given the Rab-shakeh an advantage of which the clever courtier at once avails himself. He now comes forward in the character of a friend of the deluded Jewish people.

¹⁵ **And let not Hezekiah . . .]** Here, as in *v.* 10, a Jewish colouring is distinctly visible. An Assyrian, as Mr. Sayce has remarked (*Theological Review*, 1873, p. 23), 'would hardly have been able to reproduce so exactly the encouragement held out by Isaiah' (xxxvii. 35).

¹⁶ **Make a treaty]** Lit., 'a blessing,' treaties being accompanied with mutual benedictions. The phrase is unique, but is analogous to the use of 'blessing' in the sense of 'a present' (frequently).—**Come out]** i.e., surrender, as 1 Sam. xi. 3,

Jer. xxxviii. 17.—**Eat ye . . .]** i.e., in that case ye shall enjoy your land undisturbed, until Sennacherib has brought his campaign against Egypt to a close; then, no doubt, ye will be removed from your home, but a new home will be given you equal to the old.

¹⁸ **Beware lest Hezekiah . . .]** The Assyrian is inconsistent. In his first speech he had stated himself to be the obedient instrument of Jehovah (*v.* 10); here, in accordance with x. 10, 11, he represents the wars of the Assyrians as inspired by a religious hostility to all the 'gods of the nations.'

¹⁹ **Where are the gods of Hamath . . .]** The answer would have been, In Assyrian shrines: see Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 475. Parallel passage, x. 9.—**Sepharvaim]** See on xxxvii. 13.—**Have [its gods] . . .]** Supply the

²⁰ Which are they among all the gods of these lands which have delivered their land out of my hand? how much less can Jehovah deliver Jerusalem out of my hand! ²¹ And ^h they kept silence, and answered him not a word, for the king's commandment ran thus, Ye shall not answer him. ²² And there came Eliakim, son of Hilkiyah, who was over the house, and Shebna the secretary, and Joah, son of Asaph, the annalist, to Hezekiah with rent clothes, and they told him the words of the Rab-shakeh.

^a 2 Kings xviii. 36 reads, The people.

bracketted words from the context; comp. 'the gods of the nations,' *v.* 18.

²⁰ **Out of my hand**] Either the speaker claims a royal license in dealing with facts; or the com-

piler confounds Sargon with Sennacherib.

²¹ **Ye shall not answer him**] For the Jews had, in fact, nothing that would seem, from an Assyrian point of view, a satisfactory answer.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

¹ And it came to pass, when the king Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and came into the house of Jehovah. ² And he sent Eliakim, who was over the house, and Shebna the secretary, and the elders of the priests, covered with sackcloth, to Isaiah the prophet, son of Amoz. ³ And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, This day is a day of trouble and punishment and contumely, for the children have come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth. ⁴ Perhaps Jehovah thy God

² This distinguished embassy shows the political importance attaching to Isaiah and indeed to the prophetic office in itself. Similar applications for prophetic intervention are recorded to Huldah (2 Kings xxii. 14) and to Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvii. 3). On the other hand, Ahab evinces his hostile spirit by sending an ordinary courtier to fetch Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 9).

³ **Punishment**] The sense 'rebuke' (Auth. Vers.) is clearly unsuitable. Judicial decision is the root-meaning; the context must determine the more precise reference. See Hos. v. 9, Ps. cxlix. 7. — **Contumely**] i.e., blasphemy.

This rend. suits the context (see *v.* 4), and is required in the other passages where the word occurs (with one vowel-point different), viz. Neh. ix. 18, 26, Ezek. xxxv. 12. — **The children have come . . .**] A proverbial expression rises naturally to the lips to express the utter collapse of all human resources. One hope, indeed, as the next verse shows, still remains—a hope in the Biblical sense, i.e., a sure confidence—the faithfulness of Jehovah. Comp. the similar transition, following upon the same figure, in Hos. xiii. 14.

⁴ **Will hear**] The word includes the idea of corresponding action.

will hear the words of the Rab-shakeh, with which the king of Assyria, his lord, hath sent him to reproach the living God, and will deal punishment for the words which Jehovah thy God hath heard, and thou wilt utter a prayer for the remnant which exists. ⁵ And the servants of the king Hezekiah came to Isaiah. ⁶ And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say unto your lord, Thus saith Jehovah, Be not afraid because of the words which thou hast heard, with which the minions of the king of Assyria have reviled me. ⁷ Behold, I will place a spirit in him, so that he shall hear tidings, and return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

⁸ And the Rab-shakeh returned and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah, for he had heard that he

—**Utter a prayer**] The intercessory prayers of a prophet 'availed much'; see Ex. xxxii. 10, 11, Jer. xv. 1.—**The remnant which exists**] Forty-six fortified towns had been already taken (it appears from the Assyrian account), when the Assyrian general (according to the Hebrew account) summoned Jerusalem to surrender.

⁵ **And . . . came to Isaiah**] An inartistic resumption of the narrative, such as often occurs in the narrative books, designed perhaps to comment on Isaiah's phrase 'your lord.'

⁶ **The minions**] It is a disparaging expression (not 'abhdé, as v. 5, but na'ârél). Del. renders *knappen* (= squires).

⁷ **I will place a spirit in him**] 'A spirit' is probably not to be understood personally (comp. 1 Sam. xviii. 10, 1 Kings xxii. 21), but in the weaker sense of impulse, inclination; comp. xix. 14, xxix. 10, Num. v. 14, Hos. iv. 12, Zech. xiii. 2. The two senses are, however, very closely connected. The Egyptians believed in the existence, in the supersensible world, of a genius, a spirit, or an εἶδωλον, even of abstract qualities or official dignities—the name for such a genius was *ka* (Le Page Renouf, *T. S. B. A.*, 1878, p. 494, &c.; *Hibbert Lectures*,

1879, p. 147, &c.) The rendering of Auth. Vers. is against the Hebrew idiom.—**Shall hear tidings**] We are not told whether these 'tidings' referred to the hostile movement of Tirhakah (see v. 9), or to the pestilence mentioned (apparently) in v. 36, or, what seems a more probable reason for Sennacherib's 'return to his own land,' to some insurrection in another part of the Assyrian empire. Del. combines the two former references; Kuenen (*The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, p. 296), pronounces for the latter. The absence of any explanation confirms the view that the narrative in its present form belongs to a time when the traditional knowledge of the events was confined to the broad outlines of history.—**Cause him to fall . . .**] The last twenty years of Sennacherib's reign seem to have left no traces in Jewish tradition. See on v. 38.

⁸ **Warring against Libnah**] No doubt this movement was dictated by the approach of the Egyptians. Libnah is generally placed near Lachish; a place of this name belonged to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 42). It is bold in M. Oppert to identify this Libnah with Pelusium (comp. Herod. ii. 141).

had broken up from Lachish. ⁹ And he heard say concerning Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, He is gone forth to fight against thee. And ^a he again sent ^a messengers to Hezekiah, saying, ¹⁰ Thus shall ye say unto Hezekiah, king of Judah, Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest, deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be surrendered into the hand of the king of Assyria. ¹¹ Behold, thou thyself hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done unto all lands, destroying them utterly; and canst thou be delivered? ¹² Did the gods of the nations which my fathers destroyed deliver them, (such as) Gozan, and Haran, and Rezep, and the Sons of Eden who were in Telassar? ¹³ Where is the king of Hamath, and

^a So 2 Kings xix. 9 and Sept. (virtually, both here and in 2 Kings);—TEXT, he heard it and sent.

⁹ **Tirhakah**] Famous both in the Assyrian and in the Egyptian inscriptions (comp. on xviii. 2), though a long historical inscription of his own has not yet been found. The former call him Tarku, the latter Taháraqa; comp. the Hebr. accentuation Tirhákah. Asurbanipal, like the Hebrew writer, calls him 'king (*sar*) of Cush,' sometimes also 'king of Muçur and Cush.'—As to the accuracy of the reference to Tirhakah, see introd. to chap. xviii.

¹⁰ The message is an amplification of the argument in xxxvi. 18-21.

¹² **My fathers**] This must mean 'my predecessors,' for Sargon founded a new dynasty.—**Gozan**, &c.] All Mesopotamian towns and districts (see Schrader, *K. G. F.*, p. 199).—**Telassar**] Hebraised from Tul-Asur, 'hill of Asur' (Asshur). Shalmaneser II. relates how he went out against a stronghold belonging to Akhuni the Son of Adini; put him to flight, and conquered several cities on both sides of the Euphrates. Of four¹ of these he says he changed the names, and the type of two of the names ('Law, Command of Asur') is exactly like Tul-Asur. It may be inferred that either Shalmaneser

or Sargon gave the latter name to another of the cities of Bit-Adini. This was a petty kingdom extending some little way both east and west of the Euphrates (Schrader, *l. c.*). Whether it is the Beth-Eden of Am. i. 5 may be questioned; its identity with the Eden of our passage and of Ezek. xxvii. 23 seems evident.—**Sons of Eden**] A tribal appellation, comp. 'Son of Adini' above, and note on xxxix. 1.

¹³ **Where is the king of Hamath** . . .] (For the first two names comp. on x. 9.) The connection between *vv.* 12, 13, escapes those who take 'king' in the phrase 'king of Hamath' in its limited modern application, whereas 'king' here, as so often in the Semitic languages (comp. viii. 21), means tutelary god. As Clericus saw, this follows from xxxvi. 19.—**Sepharvaim**] The Babylonian Sippar, the city of the sun-god (see inscr. in next note), discovered by Mr. Rassam in the mounds of Abu Habba, about 16 miles S.W. of Bagdad. Anciently the Euphrates flowed past it. There, according to Berosus, the sacred (mythological) tablets were deposited, probably because Sippar was safe from the inundations of the canals. As to

¹ So Sayce, *R. P.*, iii. 92: Schrader, however, says three.

the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim,
^b of Hana, and of Avvah ?^b

¹⁴ And Hezekiah took the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up unto the house

^b The Hebr. punctuation gives *hena v'ivva*, which most understand to be names of places, Hena and Ivvah, but which rather mean 'he hath made to wander, and overturned' (so apparently the Targum and Symmachus). This is obviously a wrong view of the original. Sept., 2 Kings xviii. 34, has 'Ανὰ καὶ 'Αβδ'. Avvah is also supported by the Avva of 2 Kings xvii. 24 (Hebr.).

the termination, see on Miçraim xix. 6. Others have thought of Sibraim (Ezek. xlvi. 16), which suits geographically, but is too obscure a place. In any case, the name is not connected with *sēpher*, a book.

—**Hana and Avvah**] Avvah is still a puzzle to me, but may we not venture to identify Hana with the *Hana* (near Carchemish) mentioned in an inscription found on the site of Sepharvaim, 'To Samas, king of heaven and earth, [his] king, Tugulti-Mer king of Hāna, son of Ilu-Saba, for the [safety] of his land, and his (own) protection, he has given (this instrument).'*Proceedings of S. B. A.*, 1883, p. 14.

¹⁴ **The letter**] The word is in the plural (we might render 'the leaves'); comp. *litera*.—**Went up into the house of Jehovah**] George Smith suggests a striking parallel from the annals of Assurbanipal's warfare against Teumman the Elamite,—Teumman's vow, Assurbanipal's tears before Istar, the oracle heard by a seer in a dream, and repeated to the king (*Assyria*, p. 156, *Records of the Past*, ix. 50–52). The contrast lies in the absence of self-commendation in Hezekiah's prayer, and in Jehovah's promise to overthrow Sennacherib without human agency. More remarkable still is the counterpart of Hezekiah's prayer and of its answer in Herodotus' version (may we say?) of the Egyptian account of Sennacherib's overthrow. 'On this the monarch (Sethos), greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary, and before the image of the god (Ptah) bewailed the fate which impended over him. As he wept he fell asleep, and dreamed

that the god came and stood by his side, bidding him be of good cheer, and go boldly forth to meet the Arabian (Assyrian) host, which would do him no hurt, as he himself would send those who should help him' (Herod. ii. 141 Rawl.). There is here still the same contrast with the immediateness of Jehovah's intervention according to Isaiah's prophecy. The last words, written with full conviction, lead me to ask how far the prayer of Hezekiah can be regarded as authentic. Kuenen has already remarked that no such strong statement of monotheism occurs in the works of Hezekiah's contemporaries, Isaiah and Micah, and it seems a natural supposition that the more developed faith of the later writer has here given a colouring to his language. Yet I think we may assert that Hezekiah (as one probably of the outer circle of Isaiah's adherents) felt as a monotheist, though his conscious belief was probably even less distinct than Isaiah's. With this reserve, we may admit the prayer of Hezekiah as being at any rate as accurate an expression of his sentiments as that in the Annals of Assurbanipal is of that Assyrian king's.—**Spread it before Jehovah**] Not 'in order that the LORD himself might read it' (Thenius)—a survival of gross anthropomorphism, which Gesenius even compares to the prayer-machines of the Buddhists. The action of 'spreading out' the letter is symbolical; hence the combination of phrases in *v.* 17, 'hear' and 'see,' both meaning simply 'regard.' It was the arrogance of which the letter was the symbol which Jehovah was besought to take notice of,

of Jehovah, and spread it before Jehovah. ¹⁵ And Hezekiah prayed to Jehovah, saying, ¹⁶ Jehovah Sabáoth, God of Israel, who ^c inhabitest the cherubim, thou art alone the (true) God for all the kingdoms of the earth ; thou hast made the heavens and the earth. ¹⁷ Incline, Jehovah, thine ear and hear ; open thine eyes, Jehovah, and see ; and hear all the words of Sennacherib, which he hath sent to reproach the living God. ¹⁸ Of a truth, Jehovah, the kings of Assyria have laid waste all the ^d nations and their land, ¹⁹ and have put their gods into the fire ; for no gods were they, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone ; and have destroyed them. ²⁰ And now, Jehovah our God, save us out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art Jehovah, thou alone.

^c So Ew., Riehm.—Art enthroned upon, Hitz., Del., Hengst., Keil, Oehler, Kay. (See crit. note.)

^d So 2 Kings xix. 17.—TEXT, lands (obviously a clerical error).

and it was the believing dependence on Jehovah—not the mechanical act here mentioned—which produced the desired result. The spread out letter was a 'prayer without words' (Del.).

¹⁶ **Who inhabitest the cherubim**] There is perhaps a double reference in this phrase, 1. to the cherub of the storm-cloud (see *Encycl. Brit.*, art. 'Cherubim'), 2. to the figures of the cherubim on the ark. For the former, comp. Ps. xviii. 10, 'And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly ;' for the latter,

Num. vii. 89, 'He heard the voice speaking unto him from off the lid upon the ark of the witness, from between the two cherubim,' see also Ex. xxv. 22.—**Thou hast made . . .**] The creative power of Jehovah, as contrasted with the impotence of the idols, becomes a favourite subject of contemplation in II. Isaiah (xl. 18-26, xlii. 5-8) and in the post-Exile psalms (Ps. xcvi. 5, cxv. 3, 4, 15, cxxxv. 5, 6) ; comp. also the Chaldee insertion in Jer. x. 11 (*Q. P. B.*)

Vv. 21-35. A prophecy 'of striking interest, and both in form and matter stamped with the mark of Isaiah' (*I. C. A.*, p. 101). This latter point is of importance, as the Isaianic origin of the rest of the historical section is so uncertain. Delitzsch divides the prophecy into eight almost equal stanzas ; but this seems arbitrary. We have before us—what is unfortunately so rare—a discourse nearly, if not quite, in the form in which it was delivered. All Isaiah's other works evidently owe much to reflection and to art ; here however his genius appears in its native simplicity. He seems to recognise (I am here speaking of his prophecy only as a literary work) that he has a foeman worthy of his steel, and, in contrasting the opposite religious spirits of Assyria and Israel, has done even-handed justice to each. How vividly, too, and how poetically he has represented the military prowess of his country's enemies !—how truthfully, we may now add, since the Assyrian monuments have placed us in a position to judge ! The eloquent lines devoted by M. Lenormant¹ to Assyrian

¹ *Les premières civilisations*, ii. 259, 260.

strategy rectify the unconscious injustice of historians, and attest the accuracy of the Hebrew prophet.

²¹ And Isaiah, son of Amoz, sent unto Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, That which thou hast prayed unto me concerning Sennacherib king of Assyria [^e I have heard ^e]. ²² This is the word which Jehovah hath spoken against him, Despiseth and mocketh at thee the virgin-daughter of Zion; behind thee shaketh her head the daughter of Jerusalem. ²³ Whom hast thou reproached and reviled? and against whom hast thou raised the voice? thou hast lifted up thine eyes on high against the Holy One of Israel! ²⁴ By thy ^fservants thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast said,

^e These words are supplied in 2 Kings xix. 20.

^f Messengers, 2 Kings xix. 23.

²¹ **And Isaiah . . . sent**] Are we to understand that Isaiah was supernaturally warned of Hezekiah's prayer (comp. Acts ix. 11), or have we simply a curtailed summary of what took place?

²² **Behind thee**] Pursuing the retreating foe.

²⁴ **Have I ascended**] I, the great, the all-powerful king, have performed this seemingly impossible feat. The Assyrian inscriptions present several parallels to this boastful language. Thus Shalmaneser says, 'Trackless paths and difficult mountains, which, like the point of an iron sword, stood pointed to the sky, on wheels of iron and bronze I penetrated,' lit., 'I dug up' (*R. P.*, iii. 85); and Assurnaçirpal, 'Rugged paths, difficult mountains, which for the passage of chariots and armies was (were) not suited, I passed;' 'The rugged hill-country . . . with instruments of iron I cut through' (*R. P.*, iii. 43, 58, comp. 60). Similarly Tiglath-Pileser I. (*R. P.*, iii. 9, 10, 16). Elsewhere, however, Shalmaneser at least is more modest: '(My) warrior-host traversed the mountain; bravely (in) its heart opposition it brought, and ascended on its feet' (*R. P.*, iii. 97).

Clearly these boasts of Sennacherib are not to be taken literally. He was indeed no stranger to mountain-passes, but it would seem that the route of the Assyrian armies as far as Aradus (the most northern Phœnician town) was by the shore—the route of the present day.¹ The boasts are to be explained (with Knobel) on the analogy of the phrase 'to ride upon the high places of the land' (see on lviii. 14) = 'to conquer and rule over it.' Lebanon, as the northern bulwark of the land of Israel, is used as a representative or symbol for the whole country (comp. Zech. xi. 1). This application of the word accounts for the following futures, 'I will cut down . . . I will enter,' which mean that the conquest of Palestine had still to be completed. (There is no occasion to take the perfects as perfects of prophetic certitude = 'I will ascend,' &c.).—**I will cut down . . .**] This feature in the description must be taken symbolically, if the view adopted at the end of the last note be correct. Tall cedars and choice fir-trees will be 'kings, princes, nobles, all that is highest and most stately' (Birks, comp. ii. 13, x. 34, lx. 13. But, though symbolical, the description

¹ Boscawen, *T. S. B. A.*, vii. 352. This would bring him into the region of the Nahr-el-Kelb, where one of the tablet-sculptures presents his unmistakable features.

With the multitude of my chariots have I ascended to the height of the mountains, to the recesses of Lebanon; and I will cut down its tallest cedars and its choicest pine-trees; and I will come into its farthest ^g height, its garden-like woodland. ²⁵ I have digged and drunk ^h foreign waters, and will dry up with the sole of my feet all the canals of Egypt. ²⁶ Hast thou not heard? long ago I made it, in ancient times

^g Lodging-place, 2 Kings xix. 23.

^h So 2 Kings xix. 24. TEXT omits.

is in harmony with literal fact. The felling of cedars, &c., in Lebanon and Amanus is repeatedly mentioned in the Assyrian Annals, and 'Remenen' (Lebanon) appears in Egyptian sculptures in relief, with trees felled. The two kings referred to above are fond of alluding to this subject. Thus Assurnaçirpal 'caused the forests of all (his enemies) to fall' (*R. P.*, iii. 40, 77), and Shalmaneser calls himself 'the trampler on the heads of mountains and all forests' (*R. P.*, iii. 83, comp. p. 90). Such great builders needed the wood for their palaces, their fleets, and their machines of war. But it was also a religious act to cut down the trees; at any rate in a country where the cultus of mountains was so developed as in Syria. Just so the Persians cut down the sacred groves of the Greeks. Comp. xiv. 8, Hab. ii. 17.—**Its farthest height**] Jerusalem, with its two Lebanon-houses (temple and palace, comp. on xxii. 8.—**Its garden-like woodland**] The prophet combines two, strictly speaking, inconsistent expressions to convey an idea of the strength and beauty of Jerusalem. So of the Assyrians, x. 18. Alt. rend. does not fit in so well into the clause.

²⁵ **I have digged** . . .] He implies that he has already exhausted the natural streams of Palestine, and been obliged to dig wells. 'Credimus altos | Defecisse amnes, epotaque flumina Medo | Prandente,' *Juv. Sat.*, x. 176.—Or, if the perfect be prophetic (see note on v. 24), he may refer to the desert of the *Tih* (between Palestine and Egypt),

where the digging of wells would be a necessity, and a hyperbole need not be supposed.—**Will dry up** . . .] He reserves his greatest achievement for the last. The conquest of Egypt was the true goal of the Assyrian kings. Hitherto the Egyptians had trusted, to apply the words used by Nahum (iii. 8) of Thebes, in 'her rampart the sea (i.e., the Nile), and her wall of the sea.' But the many-branched Nile should cease to be a protection; so numerous were the hosts of Assyria. A castle in the air, so far as Sennacherib himself was concerned.—**The canals of Egypt**] Or, of the Fortified Land (see on xix. 6).

²⁶ **Hast thou not heard** . . .] Sennacherib had, in fact, not heard, but is not excusable on that account, comp. Mic. v. 15, *Q. P. B.*, and see on x. 7. We may understand v. 26 in three different ways: (1) as a specimen of prophetic irony: 'so wise and so almighty in your own esteem, are you, after all, a poor ignorant mortal?' (Birks). Or (2) we may justify Isaiah's language by the not improbable supposition that the Assyrian officials, who were acquainted with the Hebrew language (see xxxvi. 11), might if they had liked have informed themselves more accurately about the Jewish religion. Or (3) we may suppose Isaiah to be only nominally addressing Sennacherib, and really intending a word of comfort for Hezekiah. Grätz strangely takes vv. 22-28 to be an extract from a diplomatic letter (not, however, denying Isaiah's authorship).—

I fashioned it; now have I brought it to pass, that thou mightest be (able) to destroy fortified cities into desolate heaps. ²⁷ And their inhabitants were ¹of small power,ⁱ were dismayed and ashamed; they became (as) grass of the field, and green herbage, blades of the housetops, and ^ja field (of corn)^j before it is in stalk. But thy sitting down and thy going out and thy coming in do I know, and thy deep rage against me. ²⁹ Because of thy deep rage against me, and that thy recklessness hath come up into mine ears, I will put my hook into thy nose and my bridle into thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.

³⁰ And this shall be the sign unto thee:—one eateth this year the after-growth, and the second year that which groweth

ⁱ Lit., short of hand.

^j A blasting, 2 Kings xix. 26, and so Ges., Ew., Hitz., Del., Naeg. (See crit. note.)

Long ago] in the counsels of eternity, see on xxii. 11.

²⁷ **Became grass**] So king Asurnaçirpal, 'Kings . . . he cut off like grass' (*R. P.*, iii. 41).

²⁸ **But thy sitting down . . .**] The connexion is, 'But I will not allow thee to go a step beyond the goal marked out by me. I scrutinize every movement of thine.'—The opening of this verse is logically unsymmetrical, probably because to insert 'and thy standing up' would have made the clause disproportionately long.

²⁹ **My hook . . . my bridle**] No mere symbolical expression, as the Assyrian bas-reliefs show. The 'hook' in the nose is indeed unusual, though not quite unexampled in Babylonian sculpture (comp. Ezek. xxxviii. 4, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, *Q. P. B.*). The 'bridle' is the thong or rope by which the more distinguished captives were led about. See Prof. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 304, iii. 436.

³⁰ **The sign**] 'The sign' not of what precedes, but of that which follows (see on *v.* 32). The departure of Sennacherib would be the signal for a new and blessed life in the church-nation of Jehovah. 'The hardly-earned existence of the Jews during the next

two years [rather fourteen or fifteen months] is a pledge of the brighter future in store; that is, of the Messianic period' (*I. C. A.*, p. 105). It is necessary to lay stress upon this, otherwise it would be difficult to see in what the 'sign' consisted, or why it was necessary. The 'sign' consisted in the certitude of the prophet that the danger from Assyria was over, and the Messianic period at hand. This certitude implies a claim to supernatural knowledge. 'The sudden flight of Sennacherib to Nineveh could not, of itself, put an end to all fear of a fresh invasion, not even when the terrible extent of the judgment was known. It might seem unlikely that a single check should wholly turn back a tide of conquest and plunder which had set in for thirty years' (Birks). Isaiah ventures, in the face of this unlikelihood, to assure the Jews that there will be no repetition of an Assyrian invasion. He even goes further, and speaks as if the Messianic period were close at hand. Without a violation of psychological laws, such as we have no Old Testament analogy for assuming, it would perhaps have been impossible for him to realize the long interval between his own period and the ideal age;

of itself ; but the third year sow ye and reap, and plant vineyards and eat the fruit thereof. ³¹And the escaped of the house of Judah who are left shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward ; ³²for out of Jerusalem shall go forth

at any rate, it appears that, when this prophecy was delivered, he did not realize it. It is for these bold assurances, of the close of the Assyrian period, and the advent of the Messianic age, that Isaiah here offers a sign.—**The after-growth**] Lit., that which is added, i.e., the produce of the grains which had dropped out by chance at the last harvest. The word (*saphiakh*) only occurs again in this sense, Lev. xxv. 5, 11.—**But the third year**] It may be asked why the 'sign' should be postponed to the third year. Some (Hitz., Knob., and formerly Del.) reply: (a) Because the Assyrians would pass through Judah on their return from Egypt, and so the harvest of the second year would be lost. Others (e.g. Hofmann) (b) suppose that the first year was sabbatic, the second a jubilee year, and that on this account the cultivation of the land was to be suspended. But with regard to (a), Consul Wetzstein has pointed out that it is not necessary to assume a second Assyrian invasion. 'If, for example, the breaking up of the fallow had to be omitted in the winter of 1864-65 on account of the enemy, there could be no sowing in the autumn of 1865, nor any harvest in the summer of 1866. . . . If seed were to be sown in the newly-broken fallow, there would be no harvest, and the seed would be lost' (Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, 1st ed., p. 655). And as to (b), the supposition is really baseless. There is no evidence that either the sabbatical year or that of Jubilee was observed before the Exile (comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21), and the utmost that can be maintained is a possible reference (assuming its pre-Exile composition) to the phraseology of Lev. xxv. 5, 11. 'Your condition this year will be like that in a

sabbatical year, and next year like that in a Jubilee year.—N.B. The fact is, that the postponement of tillage is not so great as might be supposed. The prophecy was probably delivered in autumn (see on xxxiii. 1), somewhat before the close of the civil year. The second year would thus be from one Tisri (or October) to another, and this would be the only year completely lost to agriculture. In ordinary language, then, the prophet assures the Jews that within fourteen or fifteen months the tillage of the ground might be resumed. It is a bright fancy of Del. to connect the composition of Ps. lxxv. with the spring of the third year, when the fields which had once been laid waste by the Assyrian soldiery were once more covered with ripening corn.

^{31, 32} The scanty population concentrated at Jerusalem shall again spread over the land and repair its losses.—**The escaped . . .**] A characteristic reference to the great doctrine of the 'remnant.' Comp. iv. 2, 3, x. 20, 21.—**Who are left**] The same pleonasm as in xi. 1, 16.—**Take root downward . . .**] Thus reversing the judgment in v. 24; comp. xxvii. 6.—**The jealousy . . .**] 'Jealousy,' being the affectional manifestation of the Divine holiness, is a 'two-edged word,' implying the destruction of all that opposes the Divine covenant, and the furtherance of all that promotes it.—These words form the close of the first great Messianic prophecy (ix. 7). It is a plausible conjecture of Hitzig's that vv. 33, 34, were added by a later editor, the original prophecy ending at v. 32. They certainly appear to have been added later, but why not by Isaiah himself? They at any rate fit on to v. 29 better than vv. 30-32. Hitzig's real reason

a remnant, and those who escape out of mount Zion. The jealousy of Jehovah Sabáoth shall perform this. ³³ Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shields, nor cast up a bank against it. ³⁴ By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and into this city he shall not come; it is the oracle of Jehovah. ³⁵ And I will shield this city to deliver it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

³⁶ And ^k the angel of Jehovah went out, and smote in the

^k 2 Kings xix. 35 inserts, It came to pass that night, that.

is the unusual definiteness of the prediction in *v.* 34, which, he thinks, is a *vaticinium post eventum*. True, it agrees in its expressions with the prediction in *v.* 7, but it contains nothing to remind us of the statement in *v.* 36.

³³ Comp. xxxi. 8, Hos. i. 7.—**With shields]** 'Shields' were needed against the darts and stones, or the burning torches, thrown out on the besiegers by the besieged. See illustration from Botta in Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 161.—**Nor cast up a bank]** Habakkuk (i. 10) says of the Chaldeans, 'He laugheth at every stronghold, and heapeth up earth, and taketh it.'

³⁵ **I will shield this city]** Sept. finely (also in xxxviii. 6) ὑπερασπιῶ. Or, shelter as a mother-bird (xxx. 5).

³⁶ **And the angel of Jehovah went out . . .]** (Comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, Acts xii. 23.) Commentators of all schools seem to be agreed in treating this Hebrew tradition of the destruction of the Assyrians with some freedom; nor can they be blamed, considering the long interval between the events and the Exile-period when the traditions were finally edited. Thus

Delitzsch feels justified by the conciseness of the report in supposing an epidemic of long duration in the Assyrian host, comparing the phrase of the Psalmist, 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness' (Ps. xci. 6). Prof. Rawlinson, following Thenius and apparently Ewald, transfers (and rightly—see below) the scene of the pestilence to the marshes of Pelusium, on the ground of the well-known Herodotean narrative (Herod. ii. 141). Hitzig inclines to reject the words of 2 Kings xix. 35, 'that night,' as a later addition to the original narrative; Delitzsch (ed. 1) thinks that the terms of the promise in *v.* 30 forbid us to interpret the words quoted in their most obvious sense,¹ and explains them with reference to *vv.* 33, 34, as = 'in the night in which the Assyrians encamped before Jerusalem.' Finally, Hitzig and Knobel refer the large number of the dead to a legendary exaggeration. The instances quoted of the large ravages effected by plagues will, however, not convince those whose difficulty is not so much in the great loss of life as in the large number of what (supposing the event to have happened before Jerusalem) can have been but a mere

¹ Thenius, too, thinks, with much reason, that the words in question refer to some notice which existed in the original source from which the editor of 2 Kings xix. drew, but which he unfortunately omitted. He also conjectures that the statement of the destruction of the Assyrians in a single night is a legend suggested by the words of Isaiah in xvii. 14. If so, however, we should have expected that the instrument of destruction would be a storm. This, in fact, has been suggested by the orthodox Vitringa, though there seems to be no analogy for the use of 'angel of Jehovah' synonymously with 'storm.'

camp of Assyria a hundred and eighty-five thousand; and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. ³⁷ And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, broke up, and went, and returned, and abode in Nineveh. ³⁸ And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of ¹ Nisroch

¹ Nasarach (v. l. Asarach), Sept.—Mesarach, Sept. of 2 Kings xix. 37.—Asshur, Wellh., Schrader.

corps of the entire Assyrian army. The Chronicler, too, simply states that 'Jehovah sent an angel, who cut off every mighty man of valour and leader and captain in the camp of the king of Assyria' (2 Chron. xxxii. 21). On the whole, although we may admit that the compiler may have believed the event to have taken place before Jerusalem, it is clearly the more probable view (as it enables us to leave the numbers untouched) that the scene of the pestilence was in the marshes of Pelusium. The legend in Herodotus presupposes a narrative much nearer to the Hebrew, for the 'mice' are simply misunderstood symbols of pestilence.¹ It was pardonable in the Egyptians to ascribe their deliverance to the piety of their own king.—**The camp of Assyria**] There was a place 'within the city' called 'the camp of the Assyrians' in the time of Josephus (*de Bello Jud.*, v. 7. 2); but 'Assyrians' here may possibly = 'Syrians,' as in Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 6. 7.

³⁷ **And Sennacherib . . . broke up**] This again must not be taken too literally. The inscriptions show that Sennacherib lived twenty years after the Egyptian and Jewish expedition, and undertook five more campaigns. All these, however, were in the east, north, or south of the empire, and were therefore as good as non-existent for nations in the west,

like the Jews. Among them were several against Babylonia—not against Merodach Baladan, who had been dethroned, but against his son, Nabu-sum-iskun, whom Sennacherib captured alive (Schrader, *K. A. T.*, p. 329).

³⁸ **Murder of Sennacherib.** Unfortunately we have no Assyrian account of this; an inscription of Esarhaddon which may have referred to it is fractured in the important part. The following passage, however, is very suggestive: 'From my heart I made a vow. My liver was inflamed with rage. Immediately I wrote letters (saying) that I assumed the sovereignty of my father's house' (*R. P.*, iii. 103, Talbot). In the next lines Esarhaddon apparently describes his contest for the empire with his brothers, and places the scene of it in the land immediately south of Armenia.—**Nisroch his god**] This name cannot be identified in the Assyrian pantheon, though M. Oppert formerly read Hea (the Air-god) as Nisroch,² an error which has been copied by Mr. Budge in *R. P.*, xi. 46. Attempts have been made to explain the word Nisroch (see Del. *ad loc.*, and Schrader, *K. A. T.*, ed. 1, pp. 205, 206), but, it seems to me, without success. Beyond question Nisroch is a corruption, as perhaps Hana and Avvah in xxxvii. 13. Wellhausen thinks the original source had

¹ Wellhausen, *Der Text der B. Sam.* (1871), on 1 Sam. vi. 4.

² I observe that Prof. Schrader also in 1872 read Nisroch (*Nisruk*) in an inscription of Assurbanipal, where Mr. G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 4, rightly reads Hea, on the ground that the sign commonly read A is now and then used (but ideographically!) for *ru k* (rather *ru ku* = 'distant') see *K. A. T.*, ed. 1, pp. 205-208. M. Oppert, however, now reads *Kin*, with as little reason as Nisroch, as Mr. Sayce kindly informs me. It is much to be wished that Assyriologists would contract their lebraizing of the proper names in the Assyrian inscriptions within as narrow limits as possible.

his god, that Adrammelech and Sarezzer his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esarhaddon his son became king in his stead.

Asshur (comp. Sept. above); Sayce long ago thought of Nusku,¹ a planetary god = Nebo. The *r* might be instead of an original duplication, so that Nisroch would imply a form Nussüku. Wellhausen's conjecture leaves the *ch* unaccounted for. — **Adrammelech**] i.e., the Assyrian Adarmalik '(the god) Adar (is) prince.' In 2 Kings xvii. 31 this is the name of a god of Sepharvaim (see on xxxvii. 13); in this case translate 'Adar—prince.' — **Sarezzer**] i.e., Sar(ra)-uçur (= protect the king), a shortened form of an Assyrian name, the first part of which probably consisted of the name of some god. It occurs again, as the name of a man of Bethel, Zech. vii. 2. The lacking name is most probably Nergal² (the lion-god), for Abydenus states that the successor of Sinecherihos was Nergilos, who was murdered

by his brother Adramelos (Adrammelech), the latter being in his turn put to death by Axerdis (Esarhaddon). Nergalsarezzer occurs as a proper name, Jer. xxxix. 3, 13. It means 'Nergal, protect (or, created) the king.' — **Ararat**] i.e., Armenia, in Assyrian *Urartu*, which lay just beyond the limits of the Assyrian empire or influence. — **Esarhaddon**] The Hebraized form of Asur-akh-iddin, 'Assur gave a brother.' Notice the later mode of transcribing the name Asur in Hebrew.

As the Assyrian eponym Canon requires us to date this king's accession in 681 B.C., a presumption arises that the compiler of this chapter was not Isaiah, who in 681 would be almost 100 years old. Del. admits this with regard to vv. 37, 38, but why should he stop there?

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE dangerous illness of Hezekiah, the sign of his days being prolonged, his recovery, his thanksgiving-psalm—such are the contents of this chapter. There is a parallel narrative in 2 Kings xx. 1-11, which is evidently much nearer to the original on which both it and Isa. xxxviii. are based; together with Delitzsch I regard the latter as having been once as full of details as the former, or with most critics as the work of a hasty³ copyist. In fact, Isa. xxxviii. in its present form may be considered as virtually an abridgment of 2 Kings xx. 1-11 (see notes). The date of the events described is settled by v. 6. Since, according to 2 Kings xviii. 2, Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, his illness must have occurred in his

¹ Essay on Isa. xxxvi-xxxix, in *Theological Review*, 1873, p. 27.

² I see that this acute conjecture is sometimes ascribed to Schrader, who, however, can well afford to give the credit of priority to a learned American, Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, the commentator on Isaiah (1846). Schrader well compares Bil-sar-uçur = Belshazzar, and quotes nine other names shortened like Sarezzer, e.g., Nabuhabal-uçur = Nabopolassar. (*Die ass.-bab. Keilinschriften*, 1872, pp. 154-6.) There are equally good parallels in the Old Testament, e.g., Ahaz for Jehoahaz.

³ The haste with which he worked is shown by the misplacement of vv. 21, 22, which were omitted by accident between vv. 6 and 7, and then restored at the end of the chapter. We have noticed, it is true, a tendency to abridgment throughout this group of narrative chapters, but in chap. xxxviii. the tendency is carried to an extreme and combined, in the case just referred to, with carelessness.

fourteenth year, and have synchronised, or nearly so, with the invasion of Sargon. Whether it preceded or followed the invasion, cannot, of course, be determined with certainty. The mention of fifteen years in *v.* 5 suggests, however (as Bähr has remarked), that Hezekiah had finished his fourteenth year and begun his fifteenth; otherwise there is an appearance of arbitrariness in the prophetic number.¹ In this case, the illness of the king will fall after the invasion, and *v.* 6 must be a late and in-harmonious insertion. That *v.* 6 was added by the editor is confirmed by the interruption which it causes to the context, an interruption which does not occur in the parallel, and probably original, passage, xxxvii. 35. The probability is that the latest editor, in whose time the invasion of Sargon was forgotten, made Hezekiah's illness coincide more or less exactly with the invasion of Sennacherib. On this assumption, his insertion of *v.* 6 becomes intelligible.

¹ In those days Hezekiah became sick unto death. And Isaiah the prophet, son of Amoz, came unto him and said unto him, Thus saith Jehovah, Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not live. ² And Hezekiah turned his face unto the wall and prayed unto Jehovah, ³ and said, Ah, Jehovah, remember, I pray, how I have walked before thee in faithfulness and with a whole heart, and have done that which is good in thine eyes. And Hezekiah wept aloud. ⁴ And ^a the word of Jehovah came to Isaiah, saying, ⁵ Go and say to Hezekiah, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of David thy father, I have

^a 2 Kings xx. 4 inserts, Before Isaiah was gone out into the middle court.

² **Unto the wall**] So, in a different spirit, Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 4. Compare Lowth's note; he points out that Hezekiah's couch was probably placed in a corner, which is the place of honour in the East.

³ **How I have walked . . .**] Contrast Hezekiah's former prayer (xxxvii. 16 &c.). This is a reason for his seeming egotism on this occasion. An early death was the penalty of ungodliness (Ps. lv. 23, Prov. x. 27), and Hezekiah knew that he had been faithful to his God. Hence he can appeal, like Abraham, to the Divine justice. — **A whole heart**] i.e., one not shared between rival deities, 1 Kings xi. 4. — **Wept aloud**] Comp. on

xxxiii. 7.

⁴ According to 2 Kings Hezekiah's death-warrant was suddenly cancelled (if we may use the phrase), before the prophet had reached the outer court of the palace. A striking instance of the conditionalness of prophecy. As Jerome says (on Ezek. xxxiii.), 'Nec statim sequitur, ut, quia propheta prædicit, veniat quod prædixit. Non enim prædixit ut veniat, sed ne veniat.'² Generally it is repentance which leads to a revocation of Jehovah's threatenings; here it is the prayer of a righteous man, who was to be taught that such prayer 'availeth much.'

⁵ **Fifteen years**] See *Intro.*

¹ I admit that this view makes the fifteen years added to Hezekiah's life incomplete, the first year being fragmentary. But it is the Hebrew way to count fragments of periods.

² Quoted by Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* (Eng. Transl.), ii. 361.

heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold,^b I will add to thy days fifteen years. ⁶ And I will deliver thee and this city out of the ^c hand of the king of Assyria, and I will shield this city.^d ⁷ And this shall be the sign unto thee from Jehovah, that Jehovah will do this thing which he hath spoken: ⁸ Behold, I will turn the shadow of the steps over which ^f the sun hath gone down ^f on the step-clock of Ahaz, ten steps backward. So the sun returned ten steps on the step-clock, over which (steps) it had gone down.^e

^b 2 Kings xx. 5 inserts, I will heal thee; on the third day thou shalt go up into the house of Jehovah; and.

^c Lit., palm of the hand.

^d 2 Kings xx. 6 adds, For mine own sake and for David my servant's sake.

^e 2 Kings xx. 9, 10 reads, Shall the shadow go forward (?) ten steps, or shall it go back ten steps? And Hezekiah said, It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten steps; nay, but the shadow shall go back ten steps. And Isaiah the prophet called unto Jehovah, and turned back the shadow over the steps which it (?) had gone down on the step-clock of Ahaz ten steps backward.

^f So Olshausen, after Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg. — TEXT has, It (?) hath gone down by reason of the sun.

⁶ See Introd., and note on xxxvii. 35.

⁸ **The step-clock**] Lit. the steps. There is no doubt that this phrase means some kind of clock, but what kind, is uncertain. Herodotus (ii. 109) states that the sun-dial was the invention of the Babylonians, and this may perhaps be intended here:—in this case, render above 'the shadow of the degrees.' But it is rather simpler to suppose the clock to have consisted really of 'steps' leading up to a pillar, the shadow of which was employed as a measure of the progress of the sun. In either case, we must suppose the clock to have been arranged, not for the twelve hours

(like the dial, an invention of the Babylonians), but rather for parts of hours, for otherwise there would not have been space for the shadow to rise or to fall ten steps or degrees equally well. Probably Isaiah is to be understood as speaking about mid-day. It is possible, too, that the motion of the shadow could be observed from the chamber in which Hezekiah was lying. This would make the choice of the sign particularly appropriate. Its ideal significance is, of course, that Jehovah would put back the life-clock of Hezekiah and of the nation, arresting the downward course, of the one towards death, and of the other towards political ruin.

vv. 7, 8. The sign of the sun's shadow. In 2 Kings this is given with a fuller introduction, and Hezekiah is represented as deliberately choosing that the sun's shadow should 'go back' on the ground that its 'going forward' would by comparison be 'easy.' 'Easy' must here mean 'easy to conceive,' for, of course, both occurrences would be equally extraordinary; but the 'going forward' of the shadow ten degrees would in fact only differ from everyday experience in its rapidity. The hypothesis that the phenomenon was due to a solar eclipse formed one of the assumptions of the chronological theories of the late Mr. Bosanquet (*T. S. B. A.*, iii. 36). But, however plausible, it has to be rejected, as the description clearly presupposes a local phenomenon (comp. 2 Chr. xxxii. 31). Ewald suggests that the entire narrative is built upon a misunder-

stood poetical expression, comparing Josh. x. 13. The parallel is not complete, for in Josh. x. 12 the poetical fragment which was misunderstood is actually preserved, whereas even the word 'shadow' does not occur in the Song of Hezekiah. But another poetical passage on Hezekiah's sickness may easily have perished in the *literary* catastrophe of the Exile, and the Song of Hezekiah is very possibly (see below) a late composition.

⁹ Writing of Hezekiah, king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was revived from his sickness.

vv. 9-20. The Song of Hezekiah, which is not found in the parallel narrative in 2 Kings, is a sweet and plaintive specimen of Hebrew psalmody, though from its conciseness of expression by no means free from difficulty.¹ Zwingli the Reformer, who had occasion in his life to apply it to his own case, hardly does it justice by the epithets 'cum primis doctum et elegans.' It is certainly deficient in originality, but it is at any rate a sympathetic reproduction of thoughts and expressions which can never become commonplace. In the melancholy tone of its contemplation of death, it reminds us partly of the Psalms (see Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10-12, xciv. 17, cxv. 17), partly of the Book of Job (e.g., chap. xiv.) :—the latter book, indeed, seems to have influenced, not only the tone, but even the selection of images and of phraseology in the Song. The proof of this has been given by Delitzsch, who infers from this relation of the two works that to ascribe a later date to the Book of Job than the age of Solomon is henceforth an impossibility.² As specimens of the close stylistic affinity between our Song and the Book of Job, take 'the gates of Sheól,' *v.* 10, comparing 'the gates of Death,' Job xxxviii. 17; the image of the body as the house of the soul, *v.* 12, comp. Job iv. 19, 21 (in the latter passage the soul is compared to a tent-rope); that of death as the cutting off of the thread of life, *v.* 12, comp. Job vi. 9, xxvii. 8 (*Q. P. B.*); and of God, when He afflicts man, as a lion, *v.* 13, comp. Job x. 16. Compare, too, the image of the weaver's shuttle in Job vii. 6. For the scattered phraseological parallels, see notes on *vv.* 12, 14, 15, 16.

The Song is called a *Miktābh* of Hezekiah (*v.* 9). Some would include it among the Psalms 'with artful terms inscribed' (Milton). So e.g. Gesenius, who supposes *bh* and *m* to be interchanged, so that *Miktābh* = *Miktām*. But the roots *kālahab* and *kātham* do not appear to be interchanged, so that it would be better to suppose *bh* in *Miktābh* to be a corruption of the *m* in *Miktām*. But even this is hardly more than plausible, since the context leads us to expect an emphatic statement of the authorship of Hezekiah. The literary character here attributed to that king is in harmony with the fact that a collection of Solomonic proverbs

¹ Klostermann's attempt to explain difficult words by peculiarities of pronunciation seems to me generally mistaken. (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1884, pp. 157-167.)

² Drechsler, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, ii. 2, pp. 220, 221 (*Anhang* or Appendix, by Delitzsch). We must first of all, however, settle the question of date. Besides the argument from the unoriginality of the Song in phraseology, an inference unfavourable to an early date may plausibly be drawn from the apparent allusion in *v.* 20 to a fact only supported by the Chronicler.

is ascribed to the zeal of Hezekiah (Prov. xxv. 1), as well as the revival of the liturgical use of the Psalms of David and Asaph (only indeed in 2 Chr. xxix. 30).

Of course, however, we must receive the statement of the heading with some degree of hesitation, knowing the inaccuracies which abound in the headings of the Psalms. The Song is so full of reminiscences, that it may perhaps, like the Psalm of Jonah, be not earlier than the Exile or even post-Exile period, when the study of the written Word weakened the impulse to original composition.

Four stanzas or strophes are pointed out by Ewald (*I. vv. 10-12, II. vv. 13, 14, III. vv. 15-17, IV. vv. 18-20*).¹ In the two first the poet recalls his despairing condition immediately before the Divine promise of recovery reached him; in the two last, he revels in the joy and gratitude called forth by the re-creating word of Jehovah's prophet. There is no reference to the 'sign' of the 'step-clock,' a remarkable omission, as to which see note on *v. 16*.

¹⁰ I said, 'In the noontide^g of my days must I depart into the gates of Sheól; I have been mulcted of the residue of my years.' ¹¹ I said, 'I shall not see^h Jah in the land of

^g Lit., in the stillness, or pause.—In *dimidio*, Vulg. (similarly *Pesh.*).—In the height (i.e., zenith), Sept.

^h So one MS. (de Rossi). One MS. of Kennicott and one of de Rossi read, once, Jehovah, and Jerome states that this was the reading in his Hebrew MS. *Pesh.*, The Lord; Sept., The salvation of God (comp. xl. 5, Sept.).—TEXT, Jah; Jah.

¹⁰ **In the noontide of my days]** Midway in life to Hezekiah, as to Dante, came his peril of death. 'Noontide' he expresses poetically by 'pause'; it is the time when the sun appears to stand still in the zenith. He has now outpassed by four years the middle of the period assigned by the Psalmist (Ps. xc. 10) to human life, but it is still noontide in his consciousness, when the sudden blow falls.—To some this appears a farfetched explanation, but in Josh. x. 12 we have the famous command, 'Sun, in Gibeon be still,' for 'stand still.' The alternative is to take 'in the stillness of my days' = 'when my days were gliding quietly along,' with reference either to the withdrawal of the Assyrians, as Ges. (which is probably against chronology), or to the 'even tenor' of a healthy life, as Del. The meaning adopted above, be-

sides being highly poetical and in perfect accordance with chronology, is favoured by the expression 'the residue of my days' at the end of the verse.—**The gates of Sheól]** The Assyrians, too, like the Hebrews, represented their Hades as an underground city or fortress. 'Seven walls encircle it, each with its gate and porter, its outer wall being a watery moat' (comp. Acheron); Boscawen, *T. S. B. A.*, iv. 290. Comp. 'the gates of Hades,' Matt. xvi. 18, and 'the gates of Death,' Ps. ix. 13, cvii. 18, Job xxxviii. 17; and see note on *v. 14, xiv. 9*.

¹¹ **I shall not see Jah . . .]** Comp. i. 12. There 'to see Jehovah's face' was a purely imaginary seeing, identifiable with formal attendance in the sanctuary. Here it is the seeing of experience, as in that vigorous aposiopesis of the

¹ See Ewald, *Die Dichter des alten Bundes*, i. 1, pp. 161-165. The reader will look in vain for the Song in the great critic's rearrangement of the Book of Isaiah in his work on the Prophets.

the living ; I shall behold men no more with dwellers in the ¹ world.' ¹² ^k My habitation ^k is plucked up and carried off from me like a shepherd's tent ; ¹ thou hast cut off, ¹ like a weaver, my life ; from the warp did he sever me : from day to night thou wilt make an end of me.

¹³ ^m I cried out for help ^m until the morning—as a lion did he break all my bones : 'from day to night wilt thou make

¹ So several MSS. (including Cod. Bab.), Saad., Olsh., Ew., Hupfeld (on Ps. xvii. 14), Del. (second ed.), Bi.—Hebr. text has, Cessation, i.e., the land of Cessation (of activity). Two letters are transposed.

^k So Ges., Del., Naeg.—My time (i.e., life-period), Ew., Kay.

¹ So Fürst.—TEXT, I have cut off, Vitruv., Ge. (comm.), Hi. ; I have rolled up, Ew., Del., Naeg. (Vulg., *præcisâ est*). For change of person, comp. xxxvi. 5.

^m So Targ., Lowth, Hupfeld (on Ps. cxxxi. 2), Knob, Gr.—Hebr. text, I smoothed down (my soul??), Ges., Del., Naeg. ; or, I thought (?), Ew., Kay. Vulg. '*sperabam usque ad mane.*'

psalmist (Ps. xxvii. 13), 'If I did not believe to see the goodness of Jehovah in the land of the living !' The Sept. translator sought, characteristically, to conceal the anthropomorphism (comp. crit. note on i. 12).—**In the land of the living**] Implying that 'the goodness of Jehovah' is not to be 'seen' or experienced in the Underworld (comp. *vv.* 18, 19).

¹² **My habitation**] The word is not common in this sense (see crit. note), but the poet is also a master of language, and prefers uncommon to familiar expressions. The rend. 'age' cannot be legitimated philologically ; also it hardly accords with the verbs which follow, though we do find the idea of time materialised as it were in Ps. xxxix. 5 (6), Matt. vi. 27 (*Q. P. B.*)—**Is plucked up**] i.e., is as good as plucked up. The figure is taken from the nomadic life, comp. xxxiii. 20. Besides Job iv. 21, comp. Ps. liii. 5 (*Q. P. B.*), 2 Cor. v. 1, 4, 2 Pet. i. 13, 14.—**Carried off**] As if into exile.—**Thou hast cut off**] i.e. wilt certainly cut off. The pointing of the received text makes this clause inconsistent with the next, in which Jehovah is the weaver. Another Chaldaism is nothing surprising : 'rolled up,' too, is merely an inferred sense. If however we retain the text-reading, this is the best meaning to give to it. In this case,

Hezekiah says, 'I regard my life as already "rolled up" and done with, so near is the prospect of death.'—**Did he sever me**] The speaker shrinks from naming God as the author of his calamity, comp. Job iii. 20 (Ew.). The same word is used in Job vi. 9, and, in a different conjugation, Job xxvii. 8.—**From day to night**] He expects this severe illness to run its course in a single day. Comp. Job iv. 20.

¹³ **I cried out for help**] So, in accordance with usage (see Ps. xxx. 2, lxxxviii. 13), and not merely 'I cried out' (comparing Ps. xxxviii. 9, Job iii. 24, where the phrase is different), we must render *shivva'ti*. The sick man appeals against the fate which threatens him, appeals—to whom? To God (comp. *v.* 3)—to God against Himself ; to the essential mercy, against the apparent cruelty, of Jehovah. So again in *v.* 14. It is the characteristic irony of faith. In Dr. Mozley's words (*Essays*, i. 217), 'The apparent doubt only expresses more strongly the real faith ; the protest against injustice and harshness, the sense of absolute goodness and ineffable mercy.'—The rend. of Del., Naeg., &c., based upon the text-reading, requires us to suppose an unnatural ellipsis. Ps. cxxxi. 2, which is quoted in its favour, is not really favourable, for there we read, 'I have smoothed *my soul*,' without

an end of me?' ¹⁴ Like a swift, (like) a crane, did I scream; I did moan like a dove; mine eyes ⁿ looked languishingly towards the height ⁿ; Jehovah, ^o be careful for me, ^o become my surety.

ⁿ Or, Longed heavenwards.

^o So Klostermann (see crit. note).—TEXT, I am oppresse^d.

any ellipsis. It is, moreover, quite opposed to the context, which by no means indicates patience as a quality of the speaker. The analogy, too, of 'I said' in *vv.* 10, 11, suggests some similar introduction to the vehement exclamation which follows.—**Until the morning]** His illness did not run its course so quickly as he had expected. He is still alive the next morning, but cannot expect, as the second half of the verse declares, to outlive this second day.—**As a lion]** The accents connect this with the preceding words, but here, as in other instances, the necessities of rhythm have led to a violation of logical sequence. Comp. Job x. 16.

¹⁴ **Like a swift (like) a crane . . .]** The conjunction of these two kinds of birds is remarkable, as their notes are in most respects very different, though not more different than those of the bear and the dove, which are conjoined as similes for groaning in *lix.* 11. The note of the swift (a bird of the swallow-tribe) is shrill, that of the crane is resonant but deep. One single verb is used zeugmatically for both; the Hebr. (*šifšif*) properly signifies a shrill but penetrating sound, and is therefore more applicable to the stridulous cry of the swift than to the deep, trumpet-like blast of the crane. Both notes, however, agree in their penetrating quality, and the zeugma in 'did I scream' is not more striking than others. The swift and the crane are both mentioned again together with the turtle-dove by Jeremiah (*viii.* 7) with reference to their migratory habits; this suggests that the sacred poet is here alluding to the cries which the two former birds emit in setting forth on their

migrations.—The word for 'did I scream' is in *viii.* 19, *ix.* 4 used of the thin feeble voice natural to ghosts and assumed by necromancers, and in *x.* 14 at any rate connotes feebleness of sound. On this some critics have based an objection to rendering '*āgūr*' by 'crane,' but wrongly; for the note of the swift as well as of the crane is described as loud. It must therefore be the quality and not the strength of the notes of these birds which is referred to; in fact, the penetrating quality mentioned above. (On the note of the swift, see Wood's *Illustrated Natural History: Birds*, p. 131; on that of the crane, see the same work, p. 671, and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth ed., vol. vi. p. 546. The peculiar note of the crane is ascribed to the unusual formation of its trachea.)—**Mine eyes looked languishingly . . .]** A half-despairing look is for some time all that he is equal to.—This is not to be taken as the turning-point in the speaker's sufferings (Naeg.), as if he only now ventured to appeal to Jehovah; the three first clauses in *v.* 14 are co-ordinated. Hezekiah has all along fixed his hope on Jehovah (comp. on beginning of *v.* 13), though it only now forces for itself an utterance.—**The height]** Where Jehovah dwells, *xxiii.* 5, *lvii.* 15.—**Become my surety]** The sick man thinks of his prototype Job, who, after very similar complaints, makes the very same petition (Job *xvii.* 3, comp. Ps. *cxix.* 122). The image is that of a debtor who is being carried to prison (Matt. *xviii.* 30). But what a deep thought is involved here in the application! For He who is asked to interpose as a surety is, in Hezekiah's case, at the same

¹⁵ What can I say? He both promised unto me and himself hath performed it! I shall walk at ease all my years ^p in spite of ^p the bitterness of my soul. ¹⁶ O Lord, by such things (?) men live, and ^q altogether in them (?) is the life of my spirit ^q; and so thou wilt recover me, and ^r make me to live.^r ¹⁷ Behold, ^s for (my) welfare was it (so) bitter to me,

^p So Ew.—Because of, Naeg.; (which shall follow) upon, Del.

^q Therein hath everyone the life of his spirit, Ew. (reading 'his' for 'my'). See below.

^r This translation is reached either by reading a *Tāv* instead of a *Hē*, or by taking the imperative of Hebr. text as that of assurance, with Hitzig.

time the creditor. It is the irony of the believer which we met with above (*v.* 13).

¹⁵ Meantime an answer of peace has been quickly sent.—**What can I say?**] 'I am at a loss how to express my wonder and my gratitude.' Comp. Gen. xlv. 16, 2 Sam. vii. 20.—**Promised**] Alluding to the promise of Isaiah in *vv.* 5-8.—**I shall walk at ease**] With leisurely pace, undisturbed, as if in a festal procession; comp. 'And I will walk at liberty' (i.e. freely), Ps. cxix. 45. It is not necessary to suppose a special reference to the processions of worshippers to the temple (as Ew., Naeg.), in spite of Ps. xlii. 5, where the same word occurs. It is the 'walk of our life' which is meant. The same figure, which must remind us of stately Italian pictures, recurs in xxxv. 9 *b*, lv. 12 *a*, with reference to Jehovah's 'freed ones.' The root-idea of the very uncommon Hebr. word (*'eddādeh*) is 'to impel'; this is qualified by the reflexive conjugation. See Del. on Ps. xlii. 5, and comp. *Notes and Criticisms*, p. 18.—**All my years**] All my remaining years.

¹⁶ **By such things . . .**] 'Not by bread alone doth man live, but by everything which proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah' (Deut. viii. 3, quoted by Ew.). Hezekiah now has full confidence in Jehovah's power; 'He speaketh and it is done.' The sign asked for in *vv.* 7, 8 is forgotten; it was, in fact, a symptom of spiritual weakness (*vii.* 11, comp. *v.* 9). 'By such things,'

i.e., such words as those of Jehovah's prophet, which carry with them their own fulfilment (see on ix. 8), men both come into existence and are preserved alive.—This explanation suits the context, but is not free from objection, as the Hebr. of the two first clauses of the verse does not read naturally, and is probably corrupt. Ew.'s conjecture (see above) is simple and plausible, but the difficulty to me lies in the two words which he leaves untouched.—**And so thou wilt . . .**] The application of the general truth that God is the source of all life to the particular case of the speaker.

¹⁷ **For (my) welfare . . .**] My welfare, my true peace (peace and welfare being equivalent ideas in Hebrew), was the end for which my trouble was sent. Comp. Job v. 17, 18.—**Was it (so) bitter to me, (so) bitter**] A repetition of the same word, as in *vv.* 11, 18. Perhaps the writer may intend to suggest a second meaning—'mutata est mihi amaritudo' (see note *).—**Hast kept**] The pronunciation of the two rival readings is very nearly the same (*khā-saktā—khāshagtā*), but that adopted above is at once the more natural in itself, and is supported by Ps. lxxviii. 50, and still more strongly by Job xxxiii. 18. According to the text-reading (an error of the ear as I venture to think, and due perhaps to dictation) we have a pregnant construction; 'hast loved' = 'hast lovingly drawn,' 'as if the love of God, shining on the soul,

(so) bitter^s; and thou hast^t kept my soul from the pit of destruction; for thou hast cast behind thy back all my sins.

¹⁸ For Sheól cannot give thanks to thee, Death cannot praise thee; those who have gone down to the grave cannot hope for thy faithfulness: ¹⁹ the living, the living, he can give thanks to thee, as I do this day: the father to the children shall make known thy faithfulness. ²⁰ Jehovah is ready to deliver me: and my stringed instruments will we strike all the days of our life in the house of Jehovah.

²¹ And Isaiah said, ^u Let them bring a cake of figs, and

^s My anguish is changed into ease, Lo., Gr.

^t So Sept., Vulg., Lo., Ew., Kr.—Hebr. text has, Loved.

had made it ascend out of the power of death' (Kay). A similar phrase in 2 Sam. xviii. 9 (Hebr.).

—**Hast cast all my sins . . .**] Such is the Divine magnanimity: He forgives and forgets. A similar figure for the pardon of sin in Mic. vii. 19. The connection of the clause ('for thou hast cast') is remarkable; Hezekiah evidently regards his peril of death as the punishment of his sins, see on v. 10.

¹⁸ Jehovah delighteth in praises; therefore he held back so praiseful a servant from descending into Sheól.—**Sheól cannot give thanks to thee . . .**] The form of expression is mythological, as Del. truly remarks; the same conjunction of Sheól and Death, personified on a mythic basis, meets us in xxviii. 15, Ps. vi. 5 ('hell' and 'the grave' of A. V. should be Sheól or the Underworld); comp. Job xxviii. 22, 'Abaddon (or Perdition) and Death,' Prov. ii. 18, 'Death . . . the shades.' Hezekiah is not, however, an unconscious Nihilist; death is not to him the extinction of being. He believes in a future state, but in one without consciousness of God's presence, and consequently without moral or intellectual energy. The dismay with which he contemplates departure from this world is a measure of the value he sets on personal communion with God:—such

dismay is (from a Christian point of view) one element in God's education of the Jews for a final 'illumination' of 'life and immortality' (2 Tim. i. 10, in the Greek).

¹⁹ **The living . . . can give thanks**] Life, according to Hezekiah, is a constant succession of benefits and thanksgivings.—**The father to the children**] We need not ask (for we cannot possibly determine the point) whether Hezekiah had any children at this time. It is one of the familiar sentiments of the psalmists which is here reiterated; see Ps. xxii. 31, lxxxvii. 3, 4.

²⁰ **Is ready to deliver me**] Or, was ready; but, as the context relates to the future, it is better to suppose the poet to be taking a hopeful prospect. Comp. xxxiii. 6, 'a store of salvations.'—**Will we strike . . . in the house of Jehovah**] 'The house of Jehovah' may be here a symbolical expression for that communion with God which the psalmists sometimes describe in similar language (Ps. v. 7, xv. 1, xxiii. 6, xxvii. 4). In this case 'we' will mean the royal poet and his family. But, more probably, Hezekiah identifies himself with the Levitical musicians, in whom, for the sake of the temple-service, he took so deep an interest, 2 Chr. xxix. 30.

^{21, 22} **And Isaiah said . . .**] These facts are evidently out of

let them bind (and apply it) to the boil, that he may recover."^u
²² And Hezekiah said, What is the sign ^v that I shall go up to the house of Jehovah ^v ?

^u 2 Kings xx. 7 reads, Fetch ye a cake of figs; and they fetched and applied it to the boil, and he recovered. (In 2 Kings the equivalent of *vv.* 21, 22 stands immediately after the prophetic promise of Isaiah.)

^v 2 Kings xx. 8 reads, That Jehovah will heal me, and that I go up to the house of Jehovah the third day.

their place, a difficulty evaded in A. V. by the inaccurate rendering, 'For Isaiah had said.' The true explanation was long ago seen by Kimchi, and is well given by Bishop Lowth on xxxviii. 4, 5. 'The narration of this chapter seems to be in some parts an abridgment of that of 2 Kings xx. The abridger, having finished his extract here with the 11th verse, seems to have observed that the 7th and 8th verses of 2 Kings xx. were wanted to complete the narration; he therefore added them at the end of the chapter, after he had inserted the song of Hezekiah, probably with marks for their insertion in their proper places; which marks were afterwards neglected by transcribers. Or a transcriber might omit them by mistake, and add them at the end of the chapter with such marks. Many transpositions¹ are, with great probability, to be accounted for in the same way.' The 'abridger' did not, however, in these verses, simply transcribe the text of 2 Kings (or the still earlier narrative on which 2 Kings and 'Isaiah' may both be based). The characteristic differences of

v. 21 make the original mistake of its position somewhat less perceptible.—**A cake of figs**] Many commentators suppose the figs to be mentioned as a remedy current at the time. But surely so simple and unscientific a medicine would have been thought of, without applying to the prophet, by those about Hezekiah. The plaster of figs is rather a sign or symbol of the cure, like the water of the Jordan in the narrative of Naaman (2 Kings v. 10).—**The boil**] 'Non patet ex historiâ, cujus generis hæc fuerit inflammatio pestifera et lethifera, et difficile est id assequi per conjecturam' (Vitringa). Hitzig and Knobel too hastily assume this to be the plague-boil, and that the plague is the same which probably carried off the army of Sennacherib. But not only is this theory against chronology (we are not yet in the period of Sennacherib, see *Intro.*), but the Hebrew word for 'boil' (*sk'khîn*) is used of various kinds of eruptions (see e.g., Ex. ix. 9, Job ii. 7), but not of the plague-boil.—**That he may recover**] The reading in 2 Kings is an anticipatory notice, vii. 1, xx. 1.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

AS we have already seen (p. 205), the embassy of Merodach Baladan to Hezekiah is most naturally explained by referring it to the period of the invasion of *Sargon*. That the illness of Hezekiah synchronises with this event seems to be proved by the terms of the promise in

¹ Gesenius (on *vv.* 7, 8) gives an excellent example of this transposition in Job xxxi. 38-40, which evidently ought to stand a few verses back. (Merx places them between *vv.* 32 and 33.) Other instances of the same kind are viii. 21, 22, Ps. xii. 7, 8, xxxiv. 16, 17, Prov. iv. 18, 19.

xxxviii. 5, and the first verse of chap. xxxix. distinctly connects the Babylonian embassy with Hezekiah's illness. Sargon himself too, as already stated, lays great stress on the numerous embassies sent by Merodach Baladan to the various kings opposed to Assyria. It is, however, a singular fact that Sennacherib, as well as Sargon, mentions the trouble which he had with a king of Babylon called Merodach Baladan. In the Nebbi Yunus inscription, for instance, after returning thanks to Asshur, he at once passes to 'Marduk-bal-iddina, king of the land of Gan-dunias' (i.e., lower Chaldæa), of whom he says, 'The Chaldæans and Aramæans, with the army of Elam his help, like corn I swept; he, to the land of the sea, alone fled, &c.'¹ Hence Prof. Schrader, in the first edition of his *K. A. T.* (1872), proposed to distinguish the Merodach Baladan of Sennacherib's annals from the king of that name mentioned by Sargon, and to identify the former with the Merodach Baladan of Isa. xxxix. There was some plausibility in this suggestion. The repeated escapes and reassumptions of the crown, which the theory of there being only one Merodach Baladan during the reigns of both Sargon and Sennacherib compels us to admit, were almost too romantic for a sober and sceptical historian; and, as a matter of fact, Merodach Baladan was not an uncommon name of Babylonian kings.² But even Prof. Schrader has been converted to this view in his second edition, while M. Lenormant has all along maintained the identity of the Merodach Baladans of Sargon and Sennacherib. To the latter's skilfully written *étude* I have already (p. 209) referred the reader; one or two facts have since been added by Mr. St. Chad Boscawen, from whom I borrow the following supplement to my sketch of the historical circumstances of this group of chapters.

'From an inscription of the Assyrian monarch Tiglath Pileser II. (*W. A. I.*, ii. 67, line 26, obv.), it appears that the family of Merodach Baladan ruled in southern Babylonia, on the shores of the Persian Gulf. In the inscription referred to, the Assyrian king stated that he received tribute of Merodach Baladan, 'son of Yakin, king of the land of the sea,' that is, of the shores of the Persian Gulf. This district of the marshland of the delta formed, for a period of many centuries, the place of refuge for fugitive rebels against the Assyrians, and it was here that was situated the province of Bit Yakin, the home of the tribe of Yakin; and in B.C. 731, Tiglath Pileser exacted tribute from the then ruling prince, Merodach Baladan.

'On the overthrow of Shalmaneser III. by Sargon, or during the years of weak rule, B.C. 725-722, when the Assyrian armies were chiefly engaged in the siege of the important Syrian town of Samaria, and consequently Babylonia was neglected, Merodach Baladan seized the Babylonian throne. . . Sargon, having captured Samaria, made an expedition against the new occupant of the Babylonian throne, but does

¹ Translated by Budge, *R. P.*, xi. 50.

² Mr. Rodwell has translated an inscription of 'Merodach Baladan III.,' dated about B.C. 1340 (*R. P.*, ix. 29-36). See also the list of Babylonian kings prefixed to G. Smith's *History of Babylonia*.

not appear to have met with any great success . . . In his twelfth campaign, which took place in B.C. 710, the Assyrian monarch states that he defeated Merodach Baladan, and forced him to flee to Cyprus ; and after a long and victorious war in Babylonia, he states that, in the thirteenth year of his reign as king of Assyria, he captured the city of Su-an-na (an ancient name of Babylon), and proclaimed himself king of Babylon, as well as of the Assyrian empire. This dualism of rule is shown by a tablet, K 5280, which bears date as follows :—"Registered at Kalah (Nimroud), eponym of Bele, 13th year of Sargon, king of Assyria, 1st year king of Babylon." Thus the reign of Merodach Baladan ended in his twelfth year, B.C. 710, and thus the monuments confirm the Canon of Ptolemy.¹ This is [further] confirmed by the dates found on some small terra-cotta olives, now in the Louvre, which relate to the sale of some women at Babylon. . . .

'Though Ptolemy is no doubt correct in making the reign of Merodach Baladan end in B.C. 710, it does not appear that he was killed until some years after. Sargon assumed the government in Babylon in B.C. 709, and reigned five years, until B.C. 705, when he died, and his son Sennacherib succeeded him as King of Assyria. On the death of Sargon, the fugitive Babylonian monarch Merodach Baladan returned, and attempted to seize the throne of Babylon. In this he was for a time successful, but Sennacherib, in B.C. 704, drove him out of Babylon, and forced him to fly to his old home among the marshes in the delta, to the seat of his old kingdom of the sea-coast. Here, among his own people, he was so well protected that he was not found by the Assyrian monarch. Sennacherib then placed on the Babylonian throne a person called Belibni, who was the Belibus of the Canon of Ptolemy. This person reigned two years, B.C. 703-702, having ascended the throne in the latter part of B.C. 703. Now it is possible that, though defeated and dethroned, Merodach Baladan never relinquished his claim to the Babylonian throne, but counted his regnal years all the same from his accession in B.C. 722. . . .

'On the death of Sargon and accession of Sennacherib, Merodach Baladan raised a revolt in Babylonia, the expedition to suppress which formed the first campaign of Sennacherib in B.C. 704-3. . . . This had the desired effect, in that the Assyrian king marched against Hezekiah in his third campaign, and, having subdued him in his fourth campaign, he defeats his southern rebels in the revolts of Suzdub and Merodach Baladan.'² This was in B.C. 701-700.

Accuracy of narrative in chap. xxxix. Two points at any rate must be admitted—1. that there is a basis of tradition to the narrative (Merodach Baladan could not have left Hezekiah out of his negotiations) ; and 2. that the ideas which it enforces are those of the main

¹ The Canon of Ptolemy is a chronological work, with astronomical notes, beginning with the foundation of the middle Babylonian empire by Nabonassar in B.C. 747. In spite of certain artificial arrangements, it is a valuable historical document, and stands the test of comparison with the Assyrian Canon. See chap. v. of the late Mr. George Smith's work, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon* (Lond., Bagsters, 1876).

² 'Babylonian Dated Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy,' by W. St. Chad Bos-cawen (*T. S. B. A.*, vol. vi. 1873, pp. 15-18).

current of the prophetic revelation. But there are also two points in which a later colouring, due to the editor, may be suspected, however unable we may be to arrive at a complete settlement of the question. 1. The leading political figure on the side of Judah is here the king, whereas elsewhere the direction of the state is in the hands of 'the house of David,' 'the princes,' 'the men of scorn who rule this people' (see notes on vii. 13, xxviii. 14-22, xxxii. 1). 2. The prediction of the subjugation of Judah by the king of Babylon is, for several reasons, unconnected with theology, not easily credible as an utterance of Isaiah (see below on *vv.* 5-7).

¹ At that time ^a Merodach Baladan, son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent a letter ^b and a present to Hezekiah; for he had heard that he had been sick, and had recovered. ² And Hezekiah rejoiced because of them, and showed them his storehouse, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the

^a 2 Kings xx. 12 reads Berodach. (An error of the ear.)

^b Sept. inserts, And ambassadors. So Lowth.

¹ **Merodach Baladan**] The Hebraized form of the Babylonian Marduk-bal-iddina, i.e., 'Marduk' gave a son; comp. Nabu-bal-iddina 'Nabu (Nebo) gave a son'—another Babylonian name. In the Canon of Ptolemy the former name appears as Mardokempados, or, as Ewald (*History*, iv. 187) corrects the reading, Mardokempalados. —**Son of Baladan**] Baladan is evidently a shortened form of Merodach-Baladan, Nebo-Baladan, or the like (comp. on Sarezzer, xxxvii. 38). It is not, however, likely that the father of this king bore the same (or nearly the same) name: the compiler appears to have fallen into an error. What, then, was his real name? Sargon calls his Babylonian enemy 'son of Yakin,' from which most have concluded that the father of Merodach Baladan was named Yakin. Considering, however, that Merodach Baladan was the hereditary king of Bit Yakin, it is more natural to suppose that 'Son of Yakin' merely

specifies the tribe to which the king belonged, just as, in the narrative referred to on xxxvii. 12, 'Son of Adini' is a tribal appellation.²—**For he had heard**] Lit. 'and he heard'; appending the cause to the effect, as 2 Sam. xiv. 5 (Del.). In 2 Kings xx. 12, the simpler form of expression, 'for he had heard,' is used.—Another ostensible motive for the embassy is mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, viz., 'to enquire of the portent that had taken place in the land,' i.e., of the phenomenon on the step-clock. The real motive was neither benevolence nor scientific curiosity, but political foresight (see p. 205). Hence the 'present,' *v.* 1, comp. xxx. 6. So Josephus, *Ant.* x. 2, 2.

² **Because of them**] i.e., because of the ambassadors; see note ^b. —**Showed them his storehouse**] The fact that Hezekiah's treasury is still full proves that the Babylonian embassy must have preceded the tribute to Sargon. —**His armoury**] See xxii. 8.—

¹ Marduk (Merodach) was originally a solar deity, but afterwards regarded as the god of the planet Jupiter.

² The famous 'Jehu, Son of Omri' (Yahua, Son of Khumri) must be explained on these analogies; Khumri (Omri) means the people of Pit Khumri, i.e. of Samaria. There is, therefore, no discrepancy between 1 Kings ix., which represents Jehu as the founder of a new dynasty, and the Assyrian inscriptions. See Schrader, *K. G. F.*, p. 207; Boscawen, *T. S. B. A.*, vi. 16.

fine oil, and the whole of his armoury, and all that was found among his treasures: there was nothing in his house, or in the whole of his dominion, that Hezekiah showed them not. ³ Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What have these men said, and whence come they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, From a far country have they come unto me, even from Babylon. ⁴ And he said, What have they seen in thy house? And Hezekiah said, All that is in my house they have seen: there is nothing among my treasures which I have not showed them. ⁵ And

In the whole of his dominion] The whole kingdom having been taxed to keep up the stores of the capital.

³ **What have those men said . . .]** Isaiah, with that fearless assumption of a superior position which we have noticed in chap. vii., at once challenges the king to explain his conduct. Jehovah's will is opposed to all coquetting with foreign powers (comp. xxx. 1). That the ambassadors are still in Jerusalem appears from 'these men.'—**From a far country]** 'As though he would make his hospitality seem a duty' (Strachey): he could not show the door to strangers from such 'a far land!' Hezekiah does not directly meet the suspicion implied in Isaiah's first question. He knows denial would be useless, and would bring upon him the woe denounced on those who 'deeply hide their purpose from Jehovah' (xxix. 15).

⁵ **And Isaiah said . . .]** The prophet is evidently displeased with Hezekiah; but why? The Chronicler says it is because the king's 'heart was lifted up' (2 Chron. xxxii. 25), i.e., on account of the vanity implied in the king's exhibition of his treasures. This is no doubt an important element of the truth (comp. ii. 12-17). But was it merely vanity which prompted the king thus to throw open his treasures? Surely not. It was to satisfy the emissaries of Merodach Baladan that Hezekiah had considerable resources, and was worthy of be-

coming his ally on equal terms. Isaiah, who saw so deeply into the heart of his contemporaries, no doubt read this in Hezekiah's conduct. To him, as a prophet of Jehovah, the king's fault was principally in allowing himself to be courted by a foreign potentate, as if it were not true that 'Jehovah had founded Zion,' and that 'the afflicted of his people could find refuge therein' (xiv. 32). His punishment should be corresponding to his sin. He thought to subscribe his quota to a profane coalition, and his treasures should be violently laid hold upon by 'wolves in sheeps' clothing.' Babylon had solicited friendship; she would end by enforcing slavery. Calm and dispassionate is the tone in which the prophet speaks. Charles the Great could not help weeping at the sight of the Northmen's vessels, prognosticating the calamities which those fell pirates would bring on the flourishing coasts of the Franks.¹ Jeremiah, himself a prophet, weeps at the thought of the cruelty of the Babylonians. But in Isaiah, contentment with the perfect will of God overpowers his emotional susceptibility; and whether he wrote chaps. xl.-lxvi. or not, it must at any rate be granted that he had a profound conviction of the irrevocable election of Jehovah's people (see vi. 13). That conviction was his stay in the prospect of temporary ruin for the kingdom of Judah. (This is written on the assumption

¹ Dr. Rowland Williams, *Hebrew Prophets*, I. 429

Isaiah said unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of Jehovah Sabáoth: ⁶ Behold, the days are coming when all that is in thy house, and that which thy fathers have treasured up, shall be carried

that the report of Isaiah's words in this chapter is in the main accurate. Granting that he foresaw the Babylonian captivity, I see nothing to be surprised at in the tone in which it is announced.)

⁰ **Shall be carried away to Babylon]** A very striking circumstantial prediction. If we could be quite sure that it really proceeded from Isaiah, it would represent the highest point which that prophet's insight into the future attained, since it distinctly asserts that, not the Assyrians, then at the height of their power, but the Babylonians, shall be the instruments of the Divine vengeance. There is no reasonable doubt that this is what the prophecy means. A few faint attempts have, it is true, been made to show that it points, not to the great Babylonian exile, but to the captivity of Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11), which, though not referred to in any known Assyrian inscription, is now generally admitted to be historically probable. The objection is twofold: 1. To make 'king of Babylon,' in *v.* 7, equivalent to 'king of Assyria' (as one might speak of the Prince of Wales under his second title of Duke of Cornwall), weakens the force of the prediction, for Sargon's second title of king of Babylon dates (see above, p. 236) from the dethronement, in B.C. 710, of Merodach Baladan, whose embassy supplies the starting-point of the narrative; and 2. even if Isaiah foresaw the assumption

tion of the crown of Babylon by Sargon and Esar-haddon, still he could not refer to this fact without hopelessly mystifying Hezekiah. 'The king of Babylon,' in the prediction here ascribed to Isaiah, means the lord of that great world-empire (to adopt a convenient hyperbole) which succeeded Assyria; and the use of this expression implies that Isaiah foresaw the transference of power from Nineveh to Babylon. To Ewald, such a degree of foresight appears only natural, 'inasmuch as that state [Babylon], though often in dispute with Nineveh, was yet by its peculiar position . . . too closely entwined with Assyria, and it was really only a question whether Nineveh or Babylon should be the seat of universal dominion.'¹ Looking back from the vantage-ground of history, such an inference from the position of Babylon may appear only natural, but I doubt whether it can be called probable. The 'question' mentioned by Ewald had not yet 'come within the range of practical politics.' Assyria had shown no signs of weakness; Babylonia's ablest monarch, Merodach Baladan, was on the verge of that calamity which was announced in solemn tones by Isaiah himself (xxi. 1-10). If the writer of xxi. 9, 10 did foresee the transference of the centre of power, it can only be called an extra-natural or super-natural phenomenon.²

If Isaiah really uttered this pro-

¹ *History of Israel*, iv. 188. Ewald continues: 'It accordingly flashed like lightning across Isaiah's mind that Babylon, attracted by those very treasures, &c., might in the future become dangerous to that same kingdom of Judah which it was now flattering. (One is compelled sometimes to abridge the involved sentences of this great historical critic, but weak stylist.)'

² Sir Edward Strachey, a thoughtful as well as reverent student of Isaiah, actually holds that, both here and in xiv. 4, 'king of Babylon' = 'king of Assyria.' This startling identification (see my remark above, p. 81) he defends by supposing that 'Babylon' throughout Isaiah is 'a monogram or ideograph' (the figure will be clear to those who know anything of the cuneiform method of writing) for the capital of the Assyrian empire. 'So,' he remarks, 'the Euphrates, not the Tigris, is the river which is to overflow the land of Immanuel (vii. 20, viii. 7, 8); . . . Babylon, not Nineveh, supplies the forces which besiege Tyre (xxiii. 13); and, to those who are content to

away to Babylon : nothing shall be left, saith Jehovah. ⁷ And of thy sons, who shall issue from thee, whom thou shalt beget,

phcey, I am willing to assent to any reasonable inference from it, but on several accounts it appears to me improbable that he did so. For (1) I can find no analogy for it in the great age of prophecy. The famous prophecy in Micah (iv. 10), 'Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion . . . and thou shalt go to Babylon,' is not a parallel passage, for the context shows that Babylon is mentioned there only as a part of the Assyrian empire (see Mic. v. 5, 6). There is no way to avoid this admission, except indeed the hypothesis that the clause respecting 'going to Babylon' is interpolated. (See further, *Last Words*, vol. ii.) (2) In xxi. 1-10 Isaiah announces the fall of Merodach Baladan's kingdom of Babylon. How can Hezekiah have harmonised such apparently inconsistent predictions as the fall of Babylon and the subjugation of Judah by Babylon? Yet even if predictions be intended partly for future readers, they are still primarily addressed to the prophet's contemporaries. Would Isaiah have thrown his royal friend and disciple into dire perplexity for the sake of generations yet unborn? (3) As a matter of fact, Hezekiah delivered up 'all the silver in the house of Jehovah and in the treasuries of the king's house' to Sargon (2 Kings xviii. 15). Why did not Isaiah rather foretell this nearer and more personal chastisement? By postponing Hezekiah's penalty so long, did he not run the risk of

shaking the king's faith in his prophetic mission? And how could he have allowed Hezekiah to repose on the thought that 'peace and steadfastness (or stability) should be in his days,' when so severe a trial as Sennacherib's invasion was reserved for his old age?—I conclude, therefore, (while fully recognising the complexity of the problem,) that the later editor has given his own colouring (comp. on xxxvii. 20) to the vague tradition which he may have received of Isaiah's prophetic condemnation of Hezekiah's intercourse with Merodach Baladan. If any reader feels disappointed at this result (which implies that the Jews had not yet discerned the full severity of the law of truthfulness), it may be some compensation to him that the ancient editor shows by this fictitious (or nearly fictitious) prophecy that he fully believed chaps. xl.-lxvi. to be the work of the great Isaiah. For he would never have given this 'colouring' which I have spoken of to Isaiah's reproof of Hezekiah without some real or supposed ground. This ground was the existence of a series of prophetic discourses from the pen, as he believed, of Isaiah, and intended for the Jewish exiles in Babylon. If Isaiah wrote those discourses which presuppose the Captivity, he surely must at some time or other have predicted the captivity (criticism of this elementary order is, I believe, by no means so modern as some suppose). What opportunity so fit or natural as the reproof which,

take the text as it is, I may further quote the denunciations of Babylon in chap. xxi. and the latter half of the book' (*Jewish History and Politics*, p. 168). But as to the first set of passages, the Euphrates is there taken as a symbol of the Assyrian empire (which, under Tiglath Pileser, included Babylonia), because it would have been unnatural to speak of a more northerly river as overflowing into Judah. As to xxiii. 13 (see my note), it is a mistake to suppose that the Kasdim are pointed to as the destroyers of Tyre; as to xxi. 1-10, it is probably the independent kingdom of Merodach Baladan, the ruin of which is announced (see pp. 126, 127); and as to the latter half of the book, Sir E. Strachey stands alone in thinking (if he seriously does so) that the real or assumed standing-ground of the prophet is any other than the Babylonian captivity.

shall they take away, and they shall become 'chamberlains in the palace of the king of Babylon. ⁸ And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, Good is the word of Jehovah which thou hast spoken. And he said, ^d For peace and steadfastness ^d will remain in my days.

^c Lit., eunuchs.

^d 2 Kings xx. 19 reads, Surely [I may be content], if peace and steadfastness. . . .

according (perhaps) to tradition, he actually addressed to Hezekiah for that unstable monarch's coquetry with the Babylonian power? (So that the tradition of the unity of authorship can be traced back as early as this editor of chap. xxxix.)

⁷ **And of thy sons who shall issue from thee]** It has been questioned whether this means the immediate offspring of Hezekiah, or, more widely, his descendants. Comp. xxxviii. 5, 'David thyfather;' and Gen. xvii. 6, 'kings shall issue from thee.' In the latter case, the phrase will refer to the descendants of the king who should be alive at the Babylonish captivity (comp. Dan. i. 3, 4). This explanation seems to me by far the more probable. It is favoured at once by the form of the phrase ('of thy sons,' implying that there was a considerable number), and by Hezekiah's expression of confidence in the next verse that the prophecy would not be fulfilled in his lifetime:—he could not be sure of this, if the prophecy referred to his immediate offspring.¹

⁸ **Good is the word . . . in my days]** The Syriac version connects the two sayings of Hezekiah directly, omitting 'and he said': 'Good is the word of Jehovah which thou hast spoken, that there

shall be,' &c.; and this is at any rate the sense of the second saying. Hezekiah not only acquiesces in the will of Jehovah, like Eli (1 Sam. iii. 18), but congratulates himself on his own personal safety. It would no doubt have been the nobler course to cry, 'Me, me, adsum qui feci,'² and to beg that he alone might bear the punishment, as he alone had sinned. But the principle of the solidarity of the forefather and his posterity, and of the king and his people, prevails almost throughout the Old Testament:—in Jer. xxxi. 29, 30, and Ezek. xviii. we have apparently the first revelation of a higher law of morality. From the point of view which the narrator rightly ascribes to Hezekiah, that king could not well speak otherwise than he did (unless we assume a suspension of the laws of psychology). Even from a higher standing-ground we must admit that he fails, not by what he says, but by what he omits to say. For it *was* a great mercy that at least a respite was granted both to the kings and to the people of Judah. 'Steadfastness,' i.e., continuance. There is the same combination of words, with the same sense, in Jer. xiv. 13; comp. also Isa. xxxiii. 6. 'In my days,' i.e., as long as I live, comp. Ps. cxvi. 2 (Kay).

¹ So Hitzig, with his usual acuteness.

² It is tempting to quote the fine saying of David, 'Lo, I have sinned, and I have done perversely; but these sheep, what have they done?' (2 Sam. xxiv. 17.) But unfortunately he continues, 'Let thine hand, I pray, be against me *and against my father's house.*'

CHAPTERS XL.—LXVI.

WE have now arrived at the most trying and yet most fascinating part of our subject—the interpretation of the last twenty-seven chapters. Sad it is that, from the only admissible point of view—the philological, the problem of their date and literary origin still remains unsettled, for until we know under what circumstances a prophecy was written, portions at least of the exegesis cannot but remain vague and obscure. Even the arrangement of the book (if it may accurately be called a book) is by no means as clear as we could wish. On both these points I will at least indicate what I conceive to be the present state of the questions later, reserving a more complete discussion for a subsequent work. In the following commentary I shall leave it an open question whether the book was composed by Isaiah or by some other author or authors, and whether it falls into two, three, or more parts, but not whether it is in the fullest sense of the word prophetic. I hold, with Dr. Franz Delitzsch, that ‘if we only allow that the prophet really was a prophet, it is of no essential consequence to what age he belonged’¹; and that, however limited the historical horizon of these chapters may be, the significance of their presentiments is not bounded by the Exile, but extends to the advent of the historical Christ, and even beyond. I wish I could proceed with the same influential critic to make the further admission that the standing-ground of the author throughout his book is the latter part of the Babylonian Captivity, and that ‘he is entirely carried away from his own times, and leads a pneumatic life [a life in the spirit] among the exiles.’ If this were only correct, it would greatly simplify the task of exegesis. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.* All that we can say is, that at least for a large part of these twenty-seven chapters, it is generally admitted that the prophet writes as if he were living among the exiles at Babylon, ‘when the victories gained by Cyrus over the Medes and Lydians had begun to excite the expectations of the Jewish patriots,’² and where this is not so clearly the case the reader will find it candidly stated in the notes.

The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged contains a tolerably full sketch of the line of thought, so far as it can be traced, throughout the prophecy. It will be noticed that the exegesis in the present work differs considerably from that in the former; I have had, however, more to develope and to supplement than to retract. With regard to the arrangement of the book, I cannot see my way to adopt any of the current redistributions of the prophecies. Occasionally,

¹ *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 138.

² *J. C. A.*, p. 141.

no doubt, the chapters in our Bibles are evidently misdivided, and here I have carefully noted the fact. But in the main I have accepted the existing arrangement, without comment or criticism. Some division of the book was necessary; and, in default of scientific accuracy, practical convenience seemed the first consideration.

Let us now approach with sympathetic minds this Gospel before the Gospel. Though written primarily for the exiles at Babylon, its scope is as wide as that of any part of the New Testament, and New Testament qualifications are required alike in the interpreter and in his readers.

CHAPTER XL.

Contents.—The prophet describes his commission (*vv.* 1–11); declares the infinite perfections of Jehovah, and rebukes the stupidity of idolaters, and the weak faith of Jehovah's worshippers (*vv.* 12–31).

¹ Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. ² Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and call unto her, that her warfare is fulfilled, that her guilt is paid off, that she hath received

¹ **Comfort ye, comfort ye]** The theme, not only of chap. xl., but of the whole prophecy which this chapter introduces; comp. xxxv. 3, 4, xli. 2. The persons addressed are the prophets (as the Targ. already states at *v.* 1), not the priests (as Sept. interpolates in *v.* 2), for the next verse continues 'Call ye' (see below). The prophets formed a numerous body, not only in Isaiah's time (iii. 1, xxix. 10, 20), but in the Babylonian exile (Jer. xxix. 1).—**My people]** No longer 'Not-my-people' (Hos. i. 9), no longer 'this people' (see on vi. 9)—both phrases implying Jehovah's temporary rejection of Israel; but again 'My people.'

² **Speak ye to the heart . . . and call]** A single, concise declaration of God's loving will was not enough. The prophets are therefore told more distinctly still both what they are to speak and how. Their message is to be delivered encouragingly ('to the heart') and with a full clear note ('call'). The former phrase reminds us especially of Hos. ii. 16 (A. V. 14). 'To call' is a synonym for 'to prophesy'; so in the Hebr. of lviii. 1, lxi. 1, 2, Zech. i. 14, Jon. iii. 2.

Mohammed, in the Korán, constantly uses the corresponding Arabic word in a similar way; e.g. 'Call thou, in the name of thy Lord who created' (Sura xcvi. 1). The prophetic announcement falls into three parallel statements.—**Her warfare]** i.e., her enforced hardships (there is a similar use of *guerra* in Dante and Petrarca). The metaphor is very suggestive of the peculiar troubles of military service in ancient times; comp. the humorous Egyptian description given by M. Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, i. 315.—Notice here the first of a series of parallels between II. Isaiah and Job; see Job vii. 1, 'Hath not man a warfare (i.e. a hard service) upon earth'—in Job xiv. 14 the phrase has a rather different application.—**Her guilt]** i.e., the penalty of her guilt.—**Is paid off]** Lit. is satisfied. The sense is determined by Lev. xxvi. 41, 43, comp. 34 (*Q. P. B.*). See note on li. 21.—**That she hath received]** This is the historic perfect, as is clearly shown by the parallelism. The view of Ges., Hitz., Ew., that it is a prophetic perfect, and stands for 'she shall receive,' is bound up with

of the hand of Jehovah double for all her sins. ³ Hark! one that calleth: 'In the wilderness clear ye Jehovah's way, make plain in the desert a highway for our God. ⁴ Let every valley

a wrong interpretation of the closing words of the verse.—**Double for all her sins**] It has been said that this is a rhetorical hyperbole, designed to set the compassionate love of God in the clearest light, that God condescends to accuse Himself, as if He had been too severe. Others, objecting to this 'as if,' illustrate by the prophetic passages which assert an over-severity on the part of the heathen rulers of Israel (see xlvii. 6, Jer. l. 7, 11, 17, Zech. i. 15). It is simpler, however, to take 'double' in the sense of 'amply sufficient;' comp. Jer. xvii. 18, 'Ruin them with double ruin,' Rev. xviii. 6, 'Double unto her double according to her works.'—Ges., Hitz., Ew. would render 'double (compensation) for all her penalties,' referring to the rendering 'penalties' tov. 18 (where, however, such a meaning is improbable), and Zech. xiv. 19, and for the idea to lxi. 7, Jer. xvi. 14-18?, Zech. ix. 12, comp. Job xlii. 12. But this is not favoured by the plural, and is opposed by the context (see last note).

³ Here begins a triad of invitations, each containing three verses (*vv.* 3-5, 6-8, 9-11).—**Hark! one that calleth**] The second message relates to something to be done for Jehovah; it is therefore naturally ascribed to a non-divine though still supernatural voice. The poetic effect is much heightened by the mystery. Comp. li. 9, lii. 1, lvii. 14, lxii. 10. Similar voices are spoken of in the Book of Revelation (Rev. i. 10, 12, iv. 1, x. 4, 8), and are to be explained on these analogies.—**In the wilderness**] Not to be joined with 'one crieth' (as Sept., Vulg., and the Synoptic Gospels), for this would spoil the parallelism of the next line. The accents, too, are against this conjunction.—**Clear ye . . .**] An allusion to the well-known practice of eastern monarchs

on their progresses (see Bishop Lowth). In the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. iii. 3, Mark i. 3, Luke iii. 4) the passage is taken metaphorically of the preparation of the heart (cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 5, 'highways in their heart'), and so it must perforce be taken, if the command is addressed, as in *vv.* 1, 2, to the prophets. The parallel passages xlix. 11, lvii. 14, lxii. 10, cf. xxxv. 8, are, however, opposed to this view, and prove that we have here a grand poetic symbol, introduced to heighten the effect, and impress the reader with the greatness of the event. The pioneers, then, are (not the tribes of the wilderness, as Knobel thinks, but) supernatural, angelic beings. In xxxv. 8 no pioneers are mentioned:—the highway for the redeemed is one 'not made with hands.'—**In the desert**] It is true, the ordinary way from Babylon to Jerusalem, by Damascus, Palmyra, Thapsacus, for the most part went round, and not through, the desert. It is the importunity of faith which insists on going the nearest way, in defiance of all obstacles. There seems to be also an allusion to the journey through the desert at the Exodus, Egypt being typical of Babylon; see xlviii. 21, lii. 12, cf. xi. 16.—Del. rightly sees an allusion to this passage in Ps. lxxviii. 4 (5); see *Q. P. B.*—**Jehovah's way**] The return of Jehovah to Palestine is a compendious expression for the restoration of the exiles, and for the renewal of all the spiritual privileges of which the Jews had been deprived. That this is the case is shown by lxii. 10, 11, in which, side by side, we have the command to make a road for 'the people' (i.e., the Jewish exiles), and a promise word for word the same as xl. 10 *b*. So, too, in lii. 8 we have the return of Jehovah mentioned alone, and directly afterwards (*v.* 12), the re-

be exalted, and every mountain and hill be brought low, and let that which is rugged become a table-land, and the ridges a highland plain; ⁵ and then shall reveal itself the glory of Jehovah, and all flesh together shall see it: for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it.' ⁶ Hark! one that saith 'Call.' And ^a one said, ^a 'What shall I call?' 'All flesh is grass, and all

^a I said, Sept., Vulg., Geiger.

turn of the hosts of Israel under the generalship of Jehovah. There is therefore no reason to infer with Seinecke from passages like xl. 3-10, that Isa. xl.-lxvi. was written for those Jews who were left behind by Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine.

⁵ **All flesh shall see it]** Comp. Ps. xcvi. 6. The 'seeing' is twofold, as appears from the sequel (see chap. lx.). It is (1) the natural sight of Jehovah's glorious deeds on behalf of his people, and (2) the spiritual recognition of Jehovah as the Lord. It is possible for Jehovah's Arm to 'reveal itself' and yet for the spiritual eye to be closed to it; see liii. 1 (same word).

⁶ **And one said]** viz., the prophet, rapt by a vision out of his ordinary self (comp. xxi. 6-9, 11, 12, 2 Cor. xii. 2-4). Throughout his discourses, the self-effacement of the inspired author is very remarkable (comp. on xlvi. 16 b).—**All flesh is grass]** It is doubtful whether this and the next verse (or even the next two verses) belong to the questioner, or to the voice which said, 'Call.' In the former case, the preceding question is one of despondency, and 'All flesh is grass' gives the reason of this despondency:—'How can "all flesh" be destined to see such a glorious sight (v. 5), when it is subject to the law of decay and death?' To this implied question, v. 8 may be regarded as the answer. (So Kay, who improves the sense by taking 'the people' in v. 7 to mean Israel.) This view is surely unnatural. We cannot dispense with some fresh tidings for the herald, and the separation of v. 8 from v. 7 is against the style of the

Book of Isaiah, in both parts of which repetition of a phrase with a slight addition or modification is a favourite oratorical turn (see Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, E. T., ii. 134). I therefore adhere to the ordinary view, which regards vv. 6 b-8 as the answer of 'the Voice,' who draws an antithesis between the decay—it may be, the premature decay (for the breath of Jehovah 'bloweth' when 'it listeth')—to which even the brightest and best of earthly things are liable, and the necessary permanence of Jehovah and his revelation.—This is the first time that the phrase 'all flesh' occurs in the Book of Isaiah; we meet with it again in xlix. 26, lxvi. 16, 23, 24, also four times in Jeremiah, thrice in Ezekiel, once in Zechariah (ii. 17), also repeatedly in the Pentateuch, and it would be well worth while to examine the Pentateuch-sections in which it occurs with a view to illustrating their date. Jeremiah and Deuteronomy (v. 23 Hebr.) are the only pre-Exile books of absolutely certain date in which the phrase is found. It would, however, naturally be employed in dealing with subjects of universal, as opposed to merely Jewish, interest; so that the question for decision is, Was the present subject (whether it be the Flood, or the fall of the world-empires) a natural subject for any particular inspired writer to take up at the time to which he is commonly referred?—Dr. Weir makes the suggestive remark that the sentence 'All flesh is grass' is 'quite in the spirit of ii. 22' ('man in whose nostrils is a breath'). Unfortunately this does not greatly confirm the Isaianic origin of the

the grace thereof like flowers of the field. ⁷ ^b Dry is the grass, faded are the flowers, if the breath of Jehovah hath blown thereon; surely the people is grass. ^b ⁸ Dry is the grass, faded are the flowers, but the word of our God shall stand for ever.'

⁹ Get thee up on a high mountain, ^c O Zion, thou bringer of good tidings ^c; lift up mightily thy voice, O Jerusalem, thou bringer of good tidings; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold, your God! ¹⁰ Behold, the

^b The whole verse is omitted in Sept.; the last clause only, by Koppe, Ges. (doubtfully), Hitz., as a gloss. Comp. on ii. 22.

^c O company that bringest good tidings to Zion, Sept., Targ., Vulg. (?), Rashi, Ges., Kay.

passage before us, for the authorship of ii. 22 is open to grave doubt (see my note *ad loc.*).—It would be impossible within reasonable limits to treat every linguistic phenomenon even briefly, but it seemed right thus to draw the reader's attention to the important bearing which a single word, or group of words, may have on the literary problems of the Bible.—**The grace thereof**] The word (*khûsed*) nowhere else has this meaning, but its synonym (*khên*) has the double sense of favour and grace or gracefulness.

⁷ **Surely the people is grass**] The statement is resumptive. 'Surely the human folk (comp. xlii. 5, xlv. 7) is as perishable as grass (comp. Ps. xc. 5, 6). Israel and Assyria are both politically extinct, and Babylon is hurrying to its end.' The thought is suggested, though not expressed, that if Israel is to rise again from its ashes, it can only be by abstaining from all attempts at secular aggrandisement. The new Israel will be in all the circumstances of its growth supernatural. Others (Kay, Seinecke, Oort, Naegelsbach) make 'the people' = Israel, but this limitation hardly suits the context, which refers to 'all flesh.'

⁸ **The word . . . shall stand**] i.e., specially the promise or prophecy concerning Israel, comp. xlv. 26, xlv. 19, lli. 6, lxiii. 1, Jer. xlv. 28, 29, of which all mankind shall experience the saving fruits.

⁹ Here the prophet is transported mentally to Palestine and to the time immediately before the fulfilment of the promise. He calls upon Jerusalem to announce to her 'daughter'-cities (cf. Ezek. xvi. 46-48) the glad tidings of the approach of their God. By Jerusalem he means not merely the phenomenal or actual Jerusalem in its state of desolation, but the ideal Jerusalem, which has walls and watchmen (lii. 8, 9, cf. xlix. 16), for it is in the supersensible world, 'graven on the palms of [Jehovah's] hands' (xlix. 16). The ideal Jerusalem, in this prophecy, corresponds to the ideal Israel, though sometimes (e.g., lli. 1, 2) the two conceptions—the ideal and the phenomenal—are almost merged in one. See further xlix. 14-19, lxii. 6, and comp. Rev. xxi. 10 ('the city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God'). The passage of the apocryphal Book of Baruch, quoted in my note on xlix. 16, may also fitly be compared in this connection. (Alt. rend. is less poetical; see however Kay's note.)

¹⁰ **His Arm**] This is not merely figurative (as in xxx. 30), but one of the many symbolic expressions for the manifestation of the Deity—touching monuments of a childlike faith. Analogous phrases are 'the Face of Jehovah' (note on i. 12), his 'Name' (note on xxx. 27), his 'sword' (xxvii. 1, xxxiv. 5), and his 'Hand' (viii. 11, lix. 1). 'Arm of

Lord Jehovah, ^d as a strong one ^d will he come, his Arm ruling for him ; behold, his wage is with him, and his recompence before him. ¹¹ As a shepherd will he feed his flock ; in his arm will he gather the lambs, and in his bosom carry them, those which give suck will he lead.

¹² Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and regulated the heavens with a span, and comprehended the

^d With strength, Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg., Ges.

Jehovah' more especially embodies the attribute of Almightyness. In this symbolic sense it occurs only in II. Isaiah (xl. 10, li. 5, 9, lii. 10, liii. 1, lix. 16, lxiii. 5, 12).—**Ruling for him**] i.e., in his interest, Israel being 'formed for Jehovah' (lxiii. 21), or, in the language of the Vulgate (Ex. xix. 5), his *peculium*. Comp. lix. 16, Ps. xcvi. 1 (a psalm deeply influenced by II. Isaiah).—**His wage . . . his recompence**] The reward which he gives to his faithful ones (see xlix. 4, lxiii. 7, 8), perhaps with the collateral meaning of retribution to his enemies (so 'recompence,' lxxv. 7).

¹¹ At first sight it appears as if there were here a sudden transition. Were it really so, the effect would be most thrilling. But this verse is in fact closely connected with the preceding one ; it describes the reward of which we have just been told.—**Will he feed his flock**] The Israelites were the flock of Jehovah (Ps. lxxvii. 20, lxxx. 1), but during the Captivity a scattered and miserable flock. Jeremiah says that his eye 'shall run down with tears, because the flock of Jehovah is carried away captive' (Jer. xiii. 17). The change in the fortunes of the Jews is compared by the prophets to a shepherd's seeking his lost sheep, and feeding them again in green pastures (Jer. xxxi. 10, l. 19, Ezek. xxxiv. 11-16). The reference is not so much to the homeward journey of the exiles as to the state of temporal and spiritual happiness in which they would find themselves on their return. The same figures occur in a psalm,

where a reference to the return from exile is excluded by the pre-Exile date, ' . . . feed them also, and carry them for ever' (Ps. xxviii. 9).—**Will he lead**] Comp. Gen. xxxiii. 13, 'If men should overdrive them (i.e., those which give suck) one day, all the flock will die.'

¹² The homily which begins here is addressed to the phenomenal or actual Israel, many of whose members were in danger from a subtle combination of the forces of unbelief within and polytheism without. It seemed as if Jehovah had forgotten his people, and as unsophisticated man cannot dispense with a Divine patron, many Jews were on the point of (literally) falling into idolatry. The Book of Job here, as so often, supplies us with a parallel. Job indeed was not tempted to polytheism ; if he had broken away entirely from Jehovah, he would have stood alone, like Dante's Capaneo and Milton's Satan. But his spiritual trials were similar to those of the Jews ; his confidence in the justice of Eloah (as a non-Israelite he does not use the name Jehovah) was thoroughly shaken. The true God condescends to meet Job personally. He addresses him in a speech entirely made up of questions full of a 'divine irony,' the second of which reminds us strongly of the speech of Jehovah in our prophecy. It runs thus, 'Who set its (the earth's) measures, if thou knowest ? or who stretched out a line upon it ?' (Job xxxviii. 5.) The answer in Job, in a parallel passage in Proverbs, and in II. Isaiah, is the same, 'Who but Jehovah ?' (Ges., Kay, Naeg.

dust of the earth in a tierce, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? ¹³ Who ^e hath regulated ^e the Spirit of Jehovah, and being his counsellor informed him? ¹⁴ With whom hath he taken counsel, that he might instruct him, and teach him as to the path of right, and teach him knowledge, and inform him of the way of perfect discretion? ¹⁵ Behold, nations are accounted as a drop on a bucket, and as

* Hath directed, Targ., Pesh., A. V., Vit. Hath known, Sept. (Dr. Weir thinks this a different reading, comp. *v.* 21, in the Hebr. and the Greek; but it may be simply a paraphrase. The Hebr. may also mean 'hath weighed' (as Prov. xvi. 2), and hence 'hath tested,' or 'obtained accurate knowledge of;' so Hitz., Naeg., Krüger).

suppose the answer in our prophecy to be 'No man,' which seems to be confirmed by *vv.* 13, 14; see, however, the next note.) Some, e.g. Naeg., have taken offence at the implied ascription of a 'hollow of the hand,' a 'span,' and a 'tierce' to Jehovah; but prophecy regards earthly things as types and shadows of the heavenly. Jehovah has an Arm in this very chapter (*v.* 10), 'hands' in *xlix.* 16, a 'seah,' or a 'double seah' in *xxvii.* 8, here and in *Ps.* lxxx. 5 a 'tierce.'—A tierce is (as the Hebr. word *shālîsh* implies) the third part of some larger measure (probably of an ephah):—it was a very small measure for creation, observes Del. (see *Ps.* *loc. cit.*), but a large one for tears. Obs., the conception of the orderliness of creation took almost as firm a hold of the Hebr. mind as the Greek. Hence the Greek writer of Wisdom need not be credited with Alexandrinism when he writes (*xi.* 20), 'Thou hast ordered all things by measure and number and weight.' The same idea of the minuteness of God's creative arrangements is expressed by our prophet metaphorically.

¹³ Another question, equally ironical with the former. The correctness of the reading 'regulated' is slightly doubtful, but the repetition of the verb from *v.* 12 may perhaps have a special significance. The speaker, as I understand the passage, professes to sympathise with one of the theological difficul-

ties of the Jews, and treats it for a moment as an open question. It is this:—Jehovah, and he alone, 'regulated' or fixed the proportions of heaven and earth, but **who hath regulated the Spirit of Jehovah?** Was this almighty demiurge himself absolutely free? May not even Omnipotence be subject to conditions? May there not be an equal or superior power, whose counsel must be deferred to even by Jehovah? **The Spirit of Jehovah** is the life-giving principle in the Deity, and is especially mentioned in connection with creation (*Gen.* i. 2, *Ps.* civ. 30, *Job* xxxiii. 4). In II. Isaiah there is a marked tendency to hypostatise the Spirit; here, for instance, consciousness and intelligence are distinctly predicated of the Spirit (see further on *lxiii.* 10).

¹⁴ **With whom hath he taken counsel]** Contrast the Babylonian myth of a joint action of Bel and the gods in the creation of man, and the Iranian of a co-creatorship of Ormuzd and the Amshaspands (*Vendidad*, *xix.* 34). But there is no direct reference to either of these myths. In fact, neither Babylonians nor Persians had fixed cosmogonies.

¹⁵ **Behold]** To prepare the reader for a new and pregnant instance of Jehovah's might. From nature we pass to history.—**Countries]** Literally 'habitable lands.' The word occurs three times in the singular in the first part of Isaiah, thirteen

fine dust on a balance; behold, he lifteth up ^f countries as a straw. ¹⁶ (And Lebanon is not sufficient for burning, nor its beasts sufficient for burnt offerings). ¹⁷ All the nations are as nothing before him; as of nought and (as) Chaos they are accounted of him. ¹⁸ To what then can ye liken God? and what similitude can ye place beside him?

^f So Hitz. always (except xi. 11), and generally Ges.—Islands, Ancient Versions, Lowth (here only, see below), Del., Naeg.—Coasts, Ew.

times in the plural in the second part (including xxiv. 15), and once in the first (xi. 11). In usage it is generally applied to the distant countries of the West, though in Ezek. xxvii. 15 it may include India. Bp. Lowth goes so far as to render it generally in II. Isaiah, 'distant countries,' and distance is certainly implied in xli. 5, xlix. 1, lx. 9, lxvi. 19. This is at any rate better than 'islands' or 'sea-coasts,' seeing that in II. Isaiah it is generally parallel to 'nations.' 'The frequency with which this word occurs is very remarkable as indicating the wide range of thought which distinguishes this prophecy' (Weir). The two Psalm-passages in which it is found (lxxii. 10, xcvi. 1) imply imitation of II. Isaiah.

¹⁶ An inference from *v.* 16. Jehovah being so far greater than man, how can any sacrificial rites be worthy of him? Judah no doubt was poor in wood,¹ but even Lebanon, were it in the hands of Jehovah's worshippers, would not yield wood enough to do Him honour.

Vv. 19, 20. The uniqueness of Jehovah illustrated by describing how the idol-gods, first of the rich, and then of the poor, are manufactured. The prophet's tone is sarcastic. While monotheism was still struggling for existence, it was impossible to seek a common ground with polytheists, like St. Paul at the Areopagus, or with cool deliberate hand to mete out justice to the original intention of idolatries. The preacher of monotheism to a wavering and uncertain people must be instant 'in season and out of season.' A whole series of ironical descriptions, of which this is the first, remains to attest the prophet's earnestness. See xli. 7, xlv. 9-17, xlvi. 6, and comp. Hab. ii. 18, 19, Jer. x. 1-9, Ps. cxv. 4-7, cxxxv. 15-18, and especially the apocryphal Epistle of Jeremy (Baruch vi.).—We are not told whether the manufacturers of idols were themselves Israelites.

¹ The smallness of the Judæan territory obliged Nehemiah to appoint special officers for the collection of wood for the sacrifices (Neh. x. 34).

¹⁷ **Of nought**] The preposition is partitive. 'Nought' is regarded as a great concrete object, of which the nations are a part' (Hitzig). They belong to the category of nothingness. Same idiom in xli. 24, xlv. 11, Ps. lxii. 10.—**Chaos**] Hebr. *tôhû*, one of the two words (*tôhû va-bôhû*) used together in Gen. i. 2, to signify the formless waste of chaos. It is the strongest expression in the language for lifelessness, futility, and desolation, and occurs eight times in II. Isaiah (besides xxiv. 10, xxxiv. 11), once only in I. Isaiah (xxix. 21).

¹⁸ **What similitude . . .**] The prophet might at first sight be supposed to deprecate idolatry. But it does not appear that the Jews addressed in these chapters made images of Jehovah, and the parallel passages *v.* 25 and xlvi. 5 seem to show that the incomparableness, the uniqueness, of Jehovah is the truth which absorbs the prophet's mind. 'Similitude' (*d'mûth*) must therefore not be taken in the sense of 'image' (as in 2 Kings

¹⁹ The image—a craftsman casteth it, and a goldsmith overlayeth it with gold, and forgeth (for it) chains of silver. ²⁰ ^g He that is impoverished in offerings ^g chooseth a wood that decayeth not, seeketh unto him a skilful craftsman to set up an image that tottereth not. ²¹ Can ye not perceive? can ye not hear? hath it not been announced unto you from the beginning? have ye not understood ^h from the foundations ^h of the earth? ²² He who sitteth above the circle of the earth, (and its inhabitants are as locusts;) who stretched out the heavens

^g So the text literally. He that is poor (chooseth) for an offering, Drechsler.—He that is experienced in offerings, Rashi (substantially), Luzzatto (altering the points).

^h So Hebr. accents, Kimchi, Calv., Ew., Henderson, Weir.—The foundations, Sept., Pesh., Vulg., Ges., Hitz., Del., Kay, Naeg.—Targ. has, To fear before him who created the foundations, &c. See crit. note.

xvi. 10), but in that of 'comparable object.'

¹⁹ **The image]** This is put first for emphasis. Surely ye will not compare such an object as this to Jehovah?—**Chains]** To fasten the idol to the wall.

²⁰ The transition to *v.* 20 is so abrupt that I cannot help conjecturing that something has dropped out of the first part of the description.—**He that is impoverished in offerings]** Most commentators, since Kimchi, explain this, 'He that is unable by reason of his poverty to dedicate a costly image to his god.' But surely this puts great violence on the text; some error must have crept in.—The word rendered 'offerings' is *l'ru-mah* 'a lifting up,' sometimes rendered in A. V. of the Pentateuch, 'a heave-offering,' but which, in Ezekiel at any rate (see Ezek. xlv. 1, xlviii. 8, 12, 20, xlv. 13), also in Ex. xxv. 2 (and parallel passages), Ezra viii. 25, and here, must mean simply an offering, i.e., as Sept. understands it, something taken away (comp. use of verb in lvii. 14, Ezek. xxi. 31, Dan. viii. 11) from a larger mass, and set apart for God.

²¹ An indignant double question (as *v.* 28).—**Can ye not hear?]** He means an inner hearing, the 'hearing heart,' of which Solomon speaks (1 Kings iii. 9).—**From the beginning . . . from the**

foundations of the earth] In the beginning 'He founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods' (Ps. xxiv. 2), and ever since 'day unto day keeps pouring out speech, and night unto night declaring knowledge' (Ps. xix. 2). 'For from the creation of the world His invisible (attributes) are perceived, being understood by means of His works' (Rom. i. 20). Alt. rend. (see note ^h) injures the parallelism, and is rather less natural, as it requires us to take 'foundations' = 'origin,' or else metaphorically = 'the will and word of God.'

²² The participial clauses are to be taken as admiring exclamations, out of logical connection. No subject and no verb are necessary. There can be but One of whom these predicates are true, and the thought of Him who maketh and preserveth all things fills the prophet's mind.—**The circle of the earth]** i.e., overarching the earth, Job xxii. 14, Prov. viii. 27.—**As locusts]** 'There we saw the giants . . . and we were in our own eyes as locusts' (Num. xiii. 33).—**Stretched out the heavens]** A characteristic phrase of II. Isaiah (see also xlii. 5, xlv. 24, xlv. 12, li. 13), found in Job (ix. 8), Zechariah (xii. 1), and one of the later Psalms (Ps. civ. 2). A presumption, which however derives its main force from other corroborating circumstances,

as fine cloth, and spread them out as a habitable tent. ²³ He who bringeth men of weight to nothing, who maketh the judges of the earth as Chaos : ²⁴ (‘yea, they were never planted; yea, they were never sown; yea, their stock never took root in the earth: and moreover¹ he bloweth upon them and they dry up, and like stubble a tempest carrieth them away.) ²⁵ To whom then will ye liken me, that I may be equal to him? saith the Holy One. ²⁶ Lift up your eyes on high, and see. Who hath created these? He who bringeth out their host in

¹ Scarcely . . . scarcely . . . scarcely . . . when; Vit., Ges., Hitz., Ew., Del., Naeg. (in his note, but not in his translation).

arises that these books, or parts of books, are not so widely separated in time as some suppose.—**As fine cloth . . . tent**] Natural comparisons to the childlike Semitic nations. A Psalmist uses the latter (Ps. xix. 4); comp. *Himmelszelt*. For the Babylonian view, see Lenormant, *La Magie*, p. 142. Obs., *daq* = ‘fine cloth’; *daq* = ‘fine dust’ (v. 15).

^{23, 24} A picture of the revolutions at all times common in the East, with a side-reference to the fall of Babylon. Parallel passage, Job xii. 17-21.

²⁴ **Yea, they were never planted**] To a common eye Nineveh and Babylon seemed planted for eternity, firmly rooted in the soil, but to the prophets, regarding them from the point of view of the future, they seemed as though they had never been. ‘If He destroy him from his place,’ says Bildad, ‘it will deny him, (saying,) I have never seen thee’ (Job viii. 18). So Ibn Ezra, Luzzatto, Kay. The difficulty, on this theory of the meaning, is in connecting the first half of the verse with the second. The truth perhaps is that *there is no logical connection*. The prophet first exclaims, They never can have been really planted; then—another form of expressing the same thought, They were planted indeed, but He blew upon them, and all was over. According to the first view, their story was a comedy; according to the second,

a tragic reality.—The common rend. is rather a paraphrase, and obliges us to deviate unwarrantably from the letter of the original. ‘They were not planted’ is a negative statement; ‘they were scarcely planted’ involves the positive affirmation that they were (though only just) planted.

²⁵ **The Holy One**] The Hebr. *qādōsh* is like a proper name, being without the article, and without the defining words ‘of Israel,’ which we always find elsewhere, except lvii. 15, Job vi. 10, Hab. iii. 3, Ps. xxii. 3 (4). Comp. the use of *q’dōshīm*, without the article, as an equivalent of Yahveh, Prov. ix. 10, xxx. 3, Hos. xii. 1.

²⁶ A third time the prophet takes up the theme of the uniqueness of Jehovah.—**Who hath created**] Here we have the first occurrence of the verb *bārā* ‘to create’:—it is found in II. Isaiah no less than twenty times (once in I. Isaiah, viz., iv. 5, and once in Amos iv. 13), another proof of the ‘wide range of thought’ in this prophecy (see on v. 15).—**These**] i.e., these (=yonder) heavens.—**He who bringeth out their host**] This is not the answer to the foregoing question, which in fact, to the prophet, answers itself. The participle is to be explained like those in vv. 22, 23. ‘Bringeth out,’ i.e., into the field; it is a military term, comp. 2 Sam. v. 2, xi. 1 (Hitz.). The ‘host’ are the stars, which are described as called over, like sol-

[their full] number, (he calleth them all by name) through abounding might and being firm of strength; not one is missing.

²⁷ Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is hidden from Jehovah, and my right hath been let slip by my God? ²⁸ Hast thou not perceived? hast thou not heard? An everlasting God is Jehovah, creator of the ends of the earth; he fainteth not, neither is he weary; there is no searching of his understanding; ²⁹ who giveth to the weary

diers at the roll-call; comp. Job xxv. 3, where the 'bands' spoken of are the stars (see *v.* 5), and also the imitation in Ps. cxlvii. 4, 5:—

He counteth the number of the stars,
Calleth them all by (their) names,
Great is our Lord, and abounding in
might,
Of his understanding there is no number
(i.e. calculation).

According to the Bundelesh (chap. v.), the stars form a host divided into several parts, and ranged under leaders (Spiegel, *Avesta*, vol. iii. p. xxxi.).—**By name**] i.e., by their names. Dr. Weir quotes John x. 3, 'He calleth his own sheep by name.' The prophet speaks from the point of view of the exiles, who learned that the constellations had names in Babylon.

²⁷ Here the prophet turns to the despondent yet not unbelieving kernel of the nation. Those who form it complain that they are utterly forsaken by 'their God' (he is still *their* God), that their 'way' (the irksome condition of exile) is hidden from his view (comp. lxxv. 16), and that their 'right' (i.e., their lost independence) passes unnoticed by him. Similar complaints betokening a weakness of faith in God's providence occur in xlix. 14, Job xxvii. 2.

²⁸ The prophet's reply. Note the accumulation of Divine titles—'so many shields against despair' (Hengstenberg).—**An everlasting God**] His covenant therefore is irreversible. The prophet had said as much in *v.* 8, but felt that it needed to be enforced. Perhaps, too, he alludes to the meaning of

Jehovah. The idea of the Divine everlastingness is one of the primary notes of this prophecy.—

The ends of the earth] i.e., the whole earth from end to end. Babylonia, then, the seat of the exile of the Jews, is not beyond Jehovah's empire, as if he were only 'the god of the hills' of Palestine.—**He fainteth not**]

As some of the Jews seem to have imagined in their naïve, unspiritual view of God. Sept. renders 'he will not hunger,' and in fact the word sometimes means faintness from want of food, e.g., Judg. viii. 15. The Jews may have thought that their God missed the fat of their sacrifices (comp. xliii. 24). The Biblical narratives on the other hand are full of suggestive hints that Jehovah has no human infirmities, but works for His world both by day and by night. Thus each creative act occupies the whole of the twenty-four hours (Gen. i. 5, &c.), and Jehovah goes before His people in the wilderness night and day (Ex. xiii. 21). Comp. I Kings viii. 29, Ps. cxxi. 4.—**There is no searching . . .**] Consequently he must have had good reason for delaying the redemption of his people. The all-wisdom of God is a favourite idea of Job, though the phrase here used only occurs in Job v. 9, ix. 10, but comp. xxxiv. 24, xxxvi. 26; God's 'understanding' is spoken of in Job xii. 13, xxvi. 12. What strange contrasts there are in the religious views of members of the same nation! (see last note.)

²⁹ Comfort for the Jews in their depressed condition. They have

force, and unto the powerless maketh strength to abound: ³⁰and should the youths faint and be weary, and should the young men stumble, ³¹yet Jehovah's waiting ones shall gather fresh force, they shall ^kput forth ^kpinions as the eagles; they shall run and not be weary, they shall go on and not faint.

^k Lift up (their), Ges., Del.

only to 'wait for Jehovah,' i.e., to believe in him, to become younger and stronger than ever.

^{30, 31} The form reminds us of Ps. xxxiv. 10 (11).—**They shall put forth . . .]** 'Thou shalt renew thy youth as the eagle,' says 'the

oldest commentator on this passage,' himself a psalmist (Ps. ciii. 5). It is an allusion to the popular belief of the ancients that the eagle moults in his old age, and renews his feathers.

CHAPTER XLI.

Contents.—The Nations summoned to defend their idolatry by argument (*vv.* 1-4); the moral effect of the victories of Cyrus upon them described (*vv.* 5-7); a contrast between Israel's apparent weakness and real strength in Jehovah (*vv.* 8-20); the claim to foreknowledge of the idol-gods considered and dismissed.

¹ Come silently unto me, O countries, and let the peoples gather fresh force: let them approach, then let them speak; together let us draw near to judgment. ² Who hath stirred up from the sun-rising (the man) whom Righteousness ^a calleth to follow him ^a: (and) giveth up before him peoples, and

^a Meeteth at every step, Ges., Ew., Del.

¹⁻⁴ Jehovah is the speaker. The tribunal appealed to is that of reason, comp. v. 3; the question to be decided, Who has the best claim to be God, Jehovah or the idol-gods of the Gentiles.—**Countries]** See on xl. 15.—**Gather fresh force]** Same expression in xl. 31 of believers in the true God. Here it sounds rather strangely. Perhaps it is meant ironically, the 'force' of the idolaters being utter weakness, as, in *v.* 21, they are bidden to produce their 'bulwarks.'

² The first argument for the divinity of Jehovah: the victorious career of Cyrus.—**Whom Righteousness calleth to follow him]**

Cyrus is, to the prophet, the minister of God's righteousness, and God's righteousness means generally in the Old Testament His fidelity to covenant engagements, to His promises, and to His threatenings (see on xlii. 6). This close relation between Cyrus and Jehovah is one of the fundamental ideas of II. Isaiah. Again and again we are told that this Persian king was called 'in righteousness' (xlii. 6, xlv. 13). It is only a slight variation to say (as the prophet does here) that righteousness called Cyrus to follow him. So too in lviii, 8 we read that Israel's righteousness (i.e., the deliverance which is

maketh him trample upon kings, maketh like dust ^b their sword, like driven stubble ^b their bow? ³ He pursueth them, passeth on in safety; the road with his feet he ^c doth not ^c tread. ⁴ Who hath produced and carried out this? He that hath called forth the generations from the beginning; I Jehovah am the first, and with the last I am ^d He.

^b So Sept., Ew.—His; TEXT.

^c So Ew., Kay.—Was not wont to, Ges., Del.—(Passeth on) by a road which one entereth not with one's feet (or, in which no one can follow him), Weir.

^d The same, Ges.

the fruit of God's righteousness) shall go before him; comp. also Ps. lxxxv. 13 (14). If any further justification of the above rendering be necessary, let it be xlv. 2, where the mention of Cyrus's successes is preceded by the words, 'I (Jehovah) will go before thee.' [I see that this is De Dieu's explanation, *Animadversiones in V. T.*, Lugd. Bat. 1648, pp. 532-3. No other seems to me reconcilable with usage, at any rate so far as *Pragló* is concerned, which always implies following; see, e.g., Gen. xxx. 30, 1 Sam. xxv. 42, Hab. iii. 5, Job xviii. 11. So too, I see, thinks Dr. Weir, though he prefers rendering 'whom he (God) calleth in righteousness to follow him'; so too Krüger, p. 41, n. 1. Comp. Sept. Vulg.]—**Like dust their sword . . .**] i.e., incapable of even a passive resistance, comp. Job xli. 26-29 (A. V.). Alt. read. applies the figures to the rapidity of Cyrus's victories, for which comp. Lenormant, *Ancient History*, bk. v. ch. 5. It is, however, not a very natural rend. of the traditional reading, and Ew. rightly follows LXX. Dr. Weir too inclines to this view. Against the ancient reference (see Targ.) of this passage to the call of Abraham and the victory in Gen. xiv., Ibn Ezra, Vittr., and Dr. Kay have each well argued.

³ **The road with his feet . . .**] Cyrus (with Righteousness as his guide, *v. 2*) penetrates safely through districts impervious to ordinary wayfarers—he goes where there is no road (comp. xlv. 2*a*). The Assyrian kings, too, were accustomed

to boast of the trackless paths which they had traversed (see on xxxvii. 24). This explanation will suit any of the above renderings. The version adopted will also bear another meaning, viz. that Cyrus passes along the road so quickly that his footsteps are as it were invisible. So in xlv. 11 he is called an eagle or vulture; and so in Dan. viii. 5 (referred to by Ew.) the typical he-goat 'touched not the ground.'—Both the alt. rends. require us to take the last imperfect in a different sense from the preceding ones, and are therefore less natural than that in the text.—Dr. Weir's alt. rend. is also given by Hahn.

⁴ **Who hath produced . . .**] Which of the supposed gods can have raised up this mighty conqueror? Surely not those gods whose worshippers he has come to overthrow? Who, but he who summoned into being the generations of the vanished past and of the vanishing present—he who preceded them all, and who will be still the same self-existent One in the ages to come? 'The first and with the last'; repeated with but slight difference in xlv. 6 (see note), and xlvi. 12. It is an unfolding of the sense attached by the prophets to the name Jehovah; comp. Mal. iii. 6.—**I am He**] 'He' is here used with emphasis almost as a title of God, as it is indeed in later Hebrew (in which 'I' is also thus used), and in the Korán. The statement, 'I am He,' predicates of Jehovah that he alone is lord and master (cf. *αὐτός* in *Αὐτός ἔφη*), and

⁵ The countries have seen it, and are afraid ; the ends of the earth shudder ; they draw near and come ; ⁶ every one helpeth his neighbour, and saith to his fellow, Be strong. ⁷ And the caster strengtheneth the goldsmith ; he that smootheth with the hammer him that striketh the anvil : he saith of the soldering, It is good ; and he strengtheneth it with nails that it may not totter. ⁸ But thou, O Israel, my servant, O Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham that loved

Vv. 8-13. How different the condition of Israel, i.e., of the faithful kernel of the nation, the spiritual Israel ! The prophet vainly endeavours to express the intimacy between it (or rather him) and Jehovah. Note the accumulation of titles. First of all, Israel is **My Servant**. The full meaning of this title will appear later, when the functions of the Servant have to be explained (see on xlii. 1). Here the emphasis is laid on what God does for Israel, not on what Israel does for God. Jehovah speaks in the character of a friend rather than of a master, a friend superior in power as in dignity, and bound to his humble associate not only by the tie of compassion, but by memories of the past. For Israel is not only a 'servant,' but **The seed of Abraham that loved me**. The addition of this title ('that loved me') to the name of Abraham is far from otiose. It conveys a reminder to the Jews that they themselves had come very far short of their ideal, but at the same time inspires a well-grounded hope that Abraham's 'love' will call forth the Divine mercy towards his seed. The choice of it is characteristic of a prophetic writer, who throughout his work gives such a large scope to the affections. Not that it is a weak, nerveless feeling which is here intended ; it is a love which is also obedience—for it is

alone self-existent, though his nature be incapable of verbal definition. It occurs again in xliii. 10, 13, xlvi. 4, xlvi. 12, Deut. xxxii. 39, Ps. cii. 28 (comp. Rev. i. 11, &c.). The last passage deserves special attention, as the psalm in which it occurs is evidently written by one who deeply loved and studied II. Isaiah. It runs :—

But thou art He, and thy years will not come to an end.

In all the passages in which this expression occurs, Sept. renders ἐγὼ εἰμὶ (except Ps. l.c. where σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτός εἶ), which at once suggests that the ἐγὼ εἰμὶ in John xviii. 5 is intended in the same sense—a view confirmed by the supernatural effect of the sounds

described in v. 6. Comp. also

'The nameless He whose nod is Nature's birth.'

(Young's *Night Thoughts*, Bk. iv.)

⁵⁻⁷ We should here expect the result of Jehovah's command in v. 1. But the trial-scene is postponed to v. 21. What follows arises out of the news of Cyrus's expeditions. The emergency being so great, the (Western Asiatic) nations 'employ their carpenters and goldsmiths to make a particularly good and strong set of gods' (Sir E. Strachey). A vivid description is given of the life in the idol-manufactories (comp. xl. 19, 20). The last feature is 'to see that this excellent idol be made fast, or it might perchance fall' (Dr. Kay)—a fatal omen for its worshippers.

me ; ⁹ thou whom I have fetched from the ends of the earth, and from its outlying parts have called, and I said to thee, Thou art my servant, I have chosen and not rejected thee ; ¹⁰ Fear not, for I am with thee ; stare not (in thy dread), for I am thy God ; I ^e have fixed my choice upon ^e thee, I also help thee, I also uphold thee with my right hand of righteousness. ¹¹ Behold ! ashamed and confounded shall be all those that were enraged against thee ; they shall become as nought and shall perish—the men of thy strife. ¹² Thou shalt seek them, but shalt not find them—the men of thy contention ; they shall become as nought, and as nothingness—the men of thy warfare. ¹³ For I, Jehovah thy God, hold fast thy right hand ; I who say unto thee, Fear not, I do help thee.

'the fulfilling of the law,' and gratitude,—'because he first loved us.' These qualifications must be remembered ; they doubtless lay in the background of the prophet's thoughts. Still the most important idea in this part of the revelation is that Abraham was not merely passively but actively Jehovah's friend, not merely his beloved, but (literally) his lover. Vitringa, who would unite both meanings, and Dr. Weir, who takes the former by itself (see crit. note), both destroy the fine proportions of the idea.—The title here given to Abraham seems to have taken a firm hold of the prophet's readers. We find it again in 2 Chron. xx. 7, comp. James ii. 23, and it is still in use among the Arabs, who call Abraham *khalll ullah* 'friend of Allah,' or simply *khalll*.—**Whom I have chosen.**] 'For the gifts and calling of God are irrevocable' (Rom. xi. 29, Alford). The Divine election of Israel is a prominent idea in II. Isaiah ; see especially xliii. 10, xliv. 1, xlix. 7.

^e So Del., Naeg.—Strengthen, Ges., Ew., Kay.

⁹ **The ends of the earth . . .**] The expression is vague. Any rather remote country might be so called in rhetorical language. In Thucydides, the king of the Persians is said to have come to Greece 'from the ends of the earth' (Thucyd. i. 69), and a Spartan speaks of Attica as a distant land (Thucyd. i. 80, referred to by Seinecke). The prophet may possibly therefore intend Egypt—the starting-point of the national history of Israel (comp. Hos. xi. 1). But the mention of Abraham rather suggests Mesopotamia (see also on xl. 28). Throughout II. Isaiah the point of view shifts from Babylon to Palestine. The prophet had planted

himself in Palestine in the opening chapter (xl. 9), and there he for the present remains.

¹⁰ The consequences of Israel's election in Abraham. On his part, freedom from anxiety ; on his enemies' part, complete destruction.—**Have fixed my choice upon thee**] In xxxv. 3 the verb means 'strengthen,' but in xlv. 14 the sense of 'choose' seems made out, and this meaning is the more suitable one here, as it gives the exhortation to fearlessness a more positive, historical basis.

¹¹ **The men of thy strife**] i.e., they who strove with thee. The indignation of the speaker shows itself in his quadruple reference to

vv. 14-16. Not only shall Israel not be overcome; it shall itself, by God's help, overcome its foes. A fine touch is lost in the English here. In the Hebrew of *vv.* 14, 15^a Israel is addressed in the feminine gender, as a weak and suffering woman. It was not so in the preceding verses, and in *v.* 15^b the prophet significantly reverts to the masculine. All pride must first be humbled, and then the prophecies can take effect.

¹⁴ Fear not, thou worm Jacob, ye ^f petty folk ^f of Israel; I do help thee (it is the oracle of Jehovah), and thy Goel is the Holy One of Israel. ¹⁵ Behold! I make thee a threshing-roller, sharp, new, double-edged: thou shalt thresh mountains and crush them, and shalt make hills as chaff. ¹⁶ Thou shalt winnow them, and the wind shall carry them away, and the tempest shall scatter them; but *thou* shalt exult in Jehovah, and in Israel's Holy One shalt make thy boast.

^f Few men, Sept., Vit., Ges., Hitz., Del. (See crit. note on iii. 25.)

Israel's enemies, and the position of the synonymous phrases at the end of their respective clauses.

¹⁴ **Thy Goel**] i.e., charged with the duty of recovering thy rights and avenging thy wrongs. Comp. *xlvii.* 3, 4, *Jer.* i. 33, 34. See Mr. Fenton's article, 'The Goel,' *Theological Review*, Oct. 1878.

¹⁵ This weakest of the nations shall become a power against which nothing can stand. The figure in which this is expressed belongs, like *lxiii.* 1-6, rather to the pre-evangelical period (taking our prophecy as on the whole the earliest Evangelium), and contrasts at first sight with *xlii.* 2, 3. But the truth is, that while both the contrasting passages relate to the Servant, the one refers to him as Israel, the other as the branch which is one day to spring out of and to trans-

form Israel. In the interval, the prediction of the violently-obtained successes of the Israelites might well be fulfilled. History tells us that it was so, in a slight degree, in the Maccabean war (comp. *Ps.* *cxlix.* 7-9); and if only in a slight degree, the causes are too obvious to need mention. The essence of the prediction, however, is that Israel (i.e., the people of the Jews) in the strength of Jehovah shall overcome all the obstacles to the fulfilment of his destiny. — **A threshing-roller . . . double-edged**] For the application of the figure to success in war, see *Mic.* *iv.* 13. In the plains of Hamath the grain is still threshed by revolving sledges, to which circular saws are attached; ¹ see also on *xxviii.* 27.

vv. 17-20. A picture of the past misery of the Jews and their blissful future (see on *xl.* 11). The dreary interval of the Exile seemed to pious Israelites like 'dwelling in the tents of Kedar.' The principle of life, viz., God's presence consciously experienced, was absent, and each felt with the Psalmist (who speaks not in his own name, but in that of the Jewish Church), 'My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee, in a dry and weary land, without water' (*Ps.* *lxiii.* 1).²

¹ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 539.

² A golden psalm! That David is not its author seems to be clear from *v.* 11, not to mention other reasons depending on exegesis. It is probably contemporary with *Ps.* *lxi.*, which, if we may press the phrase 'from the end of the earth (I cry unto

¹⁷ The afflicted and the poor, seeking water and there is none, and their tongue is dried up with thirst! I Jehovah will answer them; I the God of Israel will not forsake them, ¹⁸ I will open rivers on bare hills, and fountains in the midst of highland plains; I will make the wilderness a lake of water, and dry land springs of water. ¹⁹ I will give in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia, and the myrtle, and the oleaster; I will set in the desert the pine, the plane, and the sherbin-tree together: ²⁰ that they may at once see and acknowledge, and

¹⁷ **The afflicted and the poor** . . .] It is an exclamation: the prophet presents his general impression of the Exile in a pictorial form. With all the compensations of life in a flourishing commercial empire, sojourn in a heathen land appeared to pious Israelites like a wandering in the desert. The 'afflicted and the poor' are the whole nation, all of which, whether consciously or unconsciously, had suffered both from its spiritual and political privations. Comp. the use of *πρωχοί* in Matt. xi. 5.

¹⁸ Hill and dale shall be full of streams: a figure for the highest happiness; comp. xxxv. 7, and the imitation of our passage in Ps. cvii. 35.—**Bare hills**] Such as were found in the desert (Jer. iv. 11, xii. 12), but rarely in Palestine (see on xiii. 2).—**Highland plains**] Such, for instance, as Cœlesyria, or the valley (or, highland plain) of dry bones, Ezek. xxxvii. Cœlesyria is still called the Bekâ'a (= *bik'ah*, the word employed here). Comp. xl. 4.

¹⁹ The eyes of the Jews shall be gladdened with a 'paradise' or park of stately and shady trees. The list of trees is eclectic; they were probably not quite all natives of Palestine.—**The myrtle**] The mention of this tree is important with regard to the question of the

authorship of these chapters; for, putting aside this prophecy, the myrtle is only referred to in books certainly written after the Captivity (Neh. viii. 15, Zech. i. 8, 10, 11, comp. the proper name Hadassah, Esth. ii. 7). According to Gesenius, *hadassah* = the myrtle, in the Arabic dialect of Yemen. 'Was it imported into Palestine from Arabia, and when?'

—**Plane-tree**] 'The renown of the plane-tree fills the whole of antiquity. . . What can be more acceptable in the arid, rocky labyrinths of southern sun-lands, or tune the mind better to devotion and admiration, than the tree which, with its glorious, bright foliage on a green-grey stem, overshadows murmuring springs and brooks,' &c. &c.² But the plane is not indigenous in the countries of Semitic races. Its home is the mountainous region of the farther Asiatic steppes.³

—**Sherbin**] So in the Arabic version of Saadia (Farq. *shurvân*; Pesh. *shurvin*). The tree is a small kind of cypress resembling the cedar (*oxycedrus*), and was known to the Assyrians as *sur-man*,⁴ which is mentioned with the *irin* (cedar) as a common tree on Lebanon.

²⁰ The object of all these wonders. Delivered out of such fearful misery, and introduced into such paradisaal bliss, the Jews cannot but

thee)' in v. 2, must have been written in a distant land, such as Babylonia (comp. notes on xl. 28, xli. 9).

¹ See Dr. Perowne, art. 'Zechariah,' Smith's Bible Dictionary.

² Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, p. 248.

³ *Ibid.* p. 252.

⁴ Esar-haddon used wood of *a-bi-me*, *irini*, and *sur-man* from Sirion and Lebanon in building his palace (see the text in Budge's *Esar-haddon*, pp. 78-9).

consider and understand, that Jehovah's hand hath performed this, and Israel's Holy One hath created it.

²¹ Bring forward your cause, saith Jehovah ; produce your bulwarks, saith the King of Jacob. ²² Let them produce (them), and announce unto us what shall happen : the former things,

repose a lasting and exclusive faith in Jehovah.

²¹ The prophet returns to the judgment-scene so suggestively sketched in *vv.* 1-4. Jehovah is the speaker ; he addresses, not this time the idolaters, who are too frightened to speak, but the idol-gods themselves. The scene reminds us of Elijah's challenge to the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 21, Naeg.).—**Your bulwarks**] i.e., your arguments. The verbal stem is used in the Mishna of legal disputes ; Job, too, uses a similar phrase of the special pleading of his friends. 'Your intrenchments are intrenchments of clay,' Job xiii. 12.—**The King of Jacob**] In opposition to the 'Kings' or patron-gods of the heathen.

²² The subject on which the idol-gods are to be heard is their possession of supernatural knowledge of the future. *Si sit divinatio, dii sunt* (Cicero). Jehovah openly identifies himself with his worshippers—the King with his people ; hence, **Let them . . . announce unto us** (so xliii. 9) **what shall happen.** This expression, 'announce' (i.e., predict), seems to me to determine the sense of the next phrase, which has been much disputed. **The former things . . . do ye announce**, can only mean, Predict, if ye can, the things which are to take place before certain other events ('the things that are to come hereafter,' *v.* 23), in other words, the near as opposed to the distant future (so Vitruvius, Stier, Hahn, Del.). The idol-gods are summoned to do this accurately and precisely ; they are to state **what they** (the former things) **are** ; in order that, when the time comes, those who are interested in them may observe whether they have turned out false or true (**take notice of their**

issue).—The difficulties of expositors have been mainly caused by the different senses in which the phrase 'former things' is used in this prophecy. In xliii. 9 it means events which have been predicted in former times. In xlii. 9 (with the article), xliii. 18, xlvi. 3, it means former events, with an expressed contrast, in the first two passages, to a new series of events, just coming into the foreground. Ewald adopts the first of these senses. 'The heathen, together with their gods, are called upon,' he says, ' . . . to declare that which they had in former times prophesied . . . and which is now being fulfilled.' (So Hengstenberg, Hitzig, Henderson, Alexander.) But the article, which is expressed in the Hebrew, is against this view, and so, it seems to me, is the context. Besides, how easy was it to answer such a call plausibly by reference to the Babylonian divination ! Calvin prefers the second sense. 'Sic ergo argumentatur : Si quæ colitis idola, sunt dii, oportet ipsos scire et posse omnia. Atqui nihil possunt, neque in prosperis, neque in adversis : *neque præterita, neque futura tenent* : ergo non sunt dii.' So too Naeg. 'The prophet presupposes that the future can be predicted directly and indirectly ; as, for instance, it is all one whether I say, The fruits of this tree will be apples, or, These roots are those of an apple-tree.' On this theory, Jehovah gives a choice to the idol-gods, either to declare the roots of the future in the past, or to give a direct prediction of the future. God alone can reveal the secrets of the past. If the idols can do this, they are Jehovah's equals, and may be trusted for their ability to predict the future. This is very subtle, but hardly consistent with the context.

what they are, do ye announce, that we may reflect on them and take notice of their issue; or else the future things do ye declare unto us. ²³ Announce ye the things that are to come hereafter, that we may take notice that ye are gods; yea, do good and do evil, that we may at once stare (in amazement) and behold it. ²⁴ Behold! ye are of nought, and your doing is of nothingness: an abomination is he who chooseth you.

²⁵ I have stirred up one from the north, and he is come;

²³ **Yea, do good and do evil]** (The Hebrew writer puts the two alternatives in juxtaposition—'do good, and (if ye will) do evil'—where we should rather disjoin them.) The Divine speaker waives the question of foreknowledge, and makes the least requirement possible. 'Prove that you are alive, by performing some act whether good (for your friends) or bad (for your foes).—Or, we may empty the terms 'good' and 'evil' of their moral meaning, and suppose them to be used proverbially, 'to express the one simple notion of *anything*, exactly as the two words "right and left" merely conveyed the idea of *anywhere* (Num. xx. 17, xxii. 26, Deut. ii. 27, Jon. iv. 11).¹ In favour of this view, see Gen. xxxi. 24, Num. xxiv. 13 (in which passages, however, the form of expression is not the same² as here), and especially Lev. v. 4.—Ewald's explanation, 'Prophesy something, good or bad,' i.e. (as Dr. Weir, who holds the same view, puts it) 'the good or evil that is to be evolved in providence,' does not seem to me to suit the context, which requires a more distinct abatement in the Divine demands.

²⁴ But judgment goes against the idol-gods by default. They can show no prophecies, cannot so much as speak; they are 'dumb not-gods' (Hab. ii. 18).

²⁵⁻²⁹ A summary of the evidence

in favour of Jehovah's claims. It was he who raised up Cyrus; none of the idols predicted Cyrus's coming; it is he too who gives to Zion the first tidings of the deliverance of her sons.—**From the north . . .]** Alluding to the union under Cyrus of Media and Persia, the former of which was northward, the latter eastward of Babylonia.—**One who shall proclaim my name]** Whichever rend. we adopt of this passage, it is evidently a prediction of a spiritual change to be wrought in Cyrus in consequence of his wonderful career. Light is thrown upon it by a later prophecy, xlv. 3-7, and by the historical statement in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23 (= Ezra i. 2), which the most sceptical critic will at least admit as an early interpretation of the prophecy before us. It hence appears that the change in Cyrus, anticipated with such profound conviction, was his conversion to the belief that Jehovah was the author of his success, the only true God. Such a change was a necessary link in the chain of providential events working out Jehovah's purposes; for, until Cyrus was in some sense a brother of the Jews in faith, he could not heartily adopt their national interests. What the prophet foretells is, not a sudden and violent conversion, but simply that Cyrus shall become conscious of his original religious affinity to the

¹ Kalis h, *Commentary on Leviticus*, note on Lev. v. 4.

² Not, that is, any part of Hifil. Del. quotes Zeph. i. 12, Jer. x. 5, where the verbs are in Hifil. But, as Dr. Weir remarks, 'Even in these passages there is no reason for departing from the more strict meaning of the words, They can neither bestow blessings, nor inflict injuries.'

from the rising of the sun one who ^g shall proclaim ^g my name, and he shall ^h trample upon high officers as upon mortar, and as the potter that treadeth clay. ²⁶ Who announced it from the beginning, that we might know it, and from aforetime, that we might say, (He is) in the right? Yea, there was none that announced; yea, there was none that declared; yea, there is none that heard your words. ²⁷ ⁱ A forerunner unto

^g So Ges., Kay.—Callesh upon, Hitz., Del., Naeg.

^h So Targ. (alternative), Clericus, Secker, Lo., Luz., Kr.—TEXT. Come.

ⁱ See below, and also crit. note.

Jews, and shall act upon that consciousness. We need only assume in the author a very elementary knowledge of the religion and policy of the Persians, such as (1) that they were monotheists (see on xlv. 7), and (2) that they went upon their conquering march (like the Assyrians in ancient and the Mohammedans in modern times) partly as religious missionaries. It was quite in the spirit of the evangelical religion of both Testaments to maintain that this monotheistic worship was genuine, however unconscious, worship of the True God. 'For,' in the language of a later prophet, 'from the rising of the sun even unto the going down thereof, my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure oblation; for my name is great among the nations, saith Jehovah Sabaoth;' ¹ and, in words attributed to St. Peter, 'In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.'² (I have adopted the rend. 'proclaim,' because it implies a somewhat less complete recognition of the True God than the other version—a recognition, in fact, like that of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius (according to Dan iv. 34-37, vi. 25-27), rather than of a Jewish proselyte, though this, no

doubt, would be only a degree less wonderful than the actual admission of a Persian king into the Jewish Church.

²⁵ **High officers]** The rend. 'viceroys' (1st ed.) is too definite, and does not suit all the passages in which the word occurs (see Ezra ix. 2, Neh. ii. 16 &c.). The word *Sagan* is of great interest, as it can only have come into Hebrew from Babylonia. It is the Hebraised form of a Babylonian title for a high officer (see crit. note on xxii. 15). Its long history closes in Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel':—

With him the Sagan of Jerusalem,
Of hospitable soul and noble stem.

²⁶ **Who announced it . . .]** 'Announced' = predicted (as constantly in II. Isaiah). The speakers are Jehovah and his worshippers; they place themselves in imagination at the time of the fulfilment of the prediction, when this question will naturally be asked (Naeg.).—**From the beginning]** i.e., with reference to the period culminating in the career of Cyrus.

²⁷ **A forerunner unto Zion . . .]** The speaker is evidently Jehovah. The order of the words is curiously irregular; like St. Paul, the writer is overwhelmed by the grandeur of his message.³ Following Luzzatto,

¹ Mal. i. 11, comp. last clause of v. 14.

² Acts x. 35; comp. xvii. 23, 'What therefore ye ignorantly worship, that declare I unto you.'

³ Vitringa's remark is worth quoting: 'Languidior et minus concitata oratio videretur, si illud, *Ecce, ecce illa!* integræ sententiæ esset subjectum. Oratio est hominum qui longum tempus expectarunt lucem et ad eam anhelant, ubi primum auroræ crepusculum observant: *ecce, aiunt, ecce, adest!*'

Zion, (saying,) Behold, behold them, and unto Jerusalem a bearer of good tidings I give.¹ ²⁸ But though I look, there is no one, and (though I seek) among these, there is no counsellor, that I may ask them, and they may give an answer. ²⁹ Behold! they are all vanity; nothingness are their works; wind and Chaos are their molten images.

I take the word rendered 'fore-runner' (literally, 'first one') as parallel to and synonymous with 'a bearer of good tidings' in the second clause and the words, 'Behold, behold them,' as referring to the return of the Jewish exiles. Perhaps the best commentary on the passage is lii. 7-12, where the same 'bearer of good tidings' is introduced in close connection with the return of Jehovah to Zion at the head of his people. In plain prose the prophet would have written thus, 'I give unto Zion a forerunner and a bearer of good tidings, saying Behold, behold thy sons' (comp. lx. 4). We have thus both a transposition and an omission; and a precisely parallel passage, as far as idiom goes, occurs in Ps. xci. 9, where the first member of the verse runs thus, 'Because thou, Jehovah is my refuge,' and the second, 'Hast made the Most High thy habitation;' so that we have to transpose, in thought, the verb and its object from the second clause into the first, and before 'Jehovah is my refuge,' to supply 'saying.'¹ For the omission of the latter word, comp. also xiv. 8, 1 Kings i. 17, &c.; and for the breaking up of one clause into two rhythmical lines, see crit. note on iii. 12.—A few words as to the other commentators. Ges. and Del. render '(I) first (said) unto Zion, Behold, behold them (i.e., behold the promised blessings), and gave unto Jerusalem a bearer (or, bearers) of good tidings.' De Dieu, preferably, as it seems to me,

supposes a transposition, and renders, 'Primus ego dabo Sioni et Hierosolymis lætè annunciantem, Ecce, ecce illa;' so Vitringa and (substantially) Ewald. Naeg., whose work appeared after the above was written, approaches the interpretation here adopted, grammatically at least. He makes 'the first' (*rishōn*), i.e., as he explains it, 'the beginner' (of Israel's redemption), the object to the verb in the second line, but refers it and the parallel phrase 'bearer of good tidings,' to *Cyrus*. 'Behold, behold them!' becomes the exclamation of the prophet, foreseeing the happy consequences of *Cyrus's* mission. He rightly objects to Del.'s view, that Jehovah was not merely the first but the only source of prophecy, and that we have no right to explain 'first' as if it meant alone. But his own proposal is hardly an improvement as regards the sense. The context is entirely taken up with the subject of prophecy, and how can *Cyrus*, himself Jehovah's 'Anointed One,' be his own herald (*m'bhassēr*)?

²⁸ Jehovah once more looks round to see if any of the idols profess an ability to prophesy, but in vain.—**Counsellor**] i.e., prophet, comp. xiv. 26, Num. xxiv. 14.

²⁹ With a final word of scorn the idolaters are dismissed; their boasted Palladia are but wind and Chaos' (see on xl. 17).—**Works**] i.e., idols, as lvii. 12 (comp. i. 31). Ezek. vi. 6.

¹ I am indebted for the reference to a supplementary remark on Hupfeld's note on Ps. l.c., by Dr. Riehm, Hupfeld's editor.

CHAPTER XLII.

Contents.—The prophet first describes the functions of the Servant of Jehovah (*vv.* 1-7); then, after two verses of transition (*vv.* 8, 9), he becomes jubilant at the liberation of the Jews, realized by faith as actual (*vv.* 10-17); at last, he returns to the present, and details the obstacles to the Divine manifestation of mercy (*vv.* 18-25).

' Behold! my servant, whom I uphold, mine elect, in whom my soul is well pleased; I have put my spirit upon him, he

¹ **Behold! my servant**]' Behold' invites the attention of the world—both of the Jews and of the Nations—to a new revelation. The Servant of Jehovah was first mentioned in xli. 8-10, but so cursorily as only to heighten our curiosity. All that we learn from that passage is that the people of Israel is, in virtue of the call of Abraham, Jehovah's Servant, and (see xli. 16) that his destiny is to subdue mighty nations, and to make his boast in Jehovah. This implies that Israel has not yet gloried in his God as he ought to have done,—an inference which may also be drawn from the statement (xli. 9) that Jehovah has not (as might have been expected) rejected Israel. But our knowledge is as yet very vague and incomplete. In the present magnificently sketched prophecy, the functions of the Servant are more fully described, though the seer does but propound fresh riddles to the interpreter. How, in short, can the description here given of the Servant be reconciled with the address to the Servant as Israel in xli. 8?—Some critics cut the knot by supposing that the prophetic writer hesitates between different conceptions of the Servant. Others, making the less sublime passages govern the more, take the Servant to be throughout a collective. But

though it must be admitted that 'Servant of Jehovah' in Jeremiah (xxx. 10, xlvi. 27, 28) and Ezekiel (xxxvii. 25) is merely a title for the Chosen People,¹ this is no reason why another prophet should not have given the phrase a deeper meaning. In the sublimest descriptions of the Servant I am unable to resist the impression that we have a presentiment of an individual, and venture to think that our general view of 'the Servant' ought to be ruled by those passages in which the enthusiasm of the author is at its height. 'Servant of Jehovah' in these passages seems about equivalent to 'Son of Jehovah' in Ps. ii. 7 ('son' and 'servant' being in fact nearly equivalent in the Old Testament²), viz. the personal instrument of Israel's regeneration, or, as we may say in the broader sense of the word, the Messiah. This theory seems to be confirmed by certain remarkable phenomena of the Book of Psalms. There, as in II. Isaiah, there are some passages which emphasize the royal aspect of this human and yet (if we do justice to their language) super-human Person, and others which exhibit Him more particularly, as it is at any rate allowable to read them, in His prophetic (see Ps. xxii.), and (see Ps. xc.) in His priestly aspect. A comparative

¹ One of the later psalmists adopts the phrase—'a heritage unto Israel his servant' (Ps. cxxxvi. 22).

² Comp. 2 Kings xvi. 7 ('I am thy servant and thy son'), Mal. iii. 17 ('his own son that serveth him'), Gal. iv. 1 ('differeth nothing from a bond-servant'). Ewald compares the relation of patron and client.

shall cause the law to go forth to the nations. ² He shall not cry nor clamour, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street ;

study of these two books has led me to substantially the same view as Oehler and Delitzsch, and which has been thus metaphorically described by the latter : ' The conception of the Servant of Jehovah is, as it were, a pyramid, of which the base is the people of Israel as a whole, the central part Israel "according to the Spirit," and the summit the person of the mediator of salvation who arises out of Israel.' ¹ To theological system, indeed, the prophet was entirely a stranger, but he had formed a conception of a future 'Israelite indeed,' so increasingly real and vivid as to have suggested that some features of the description (chap. liii.) were borrowed from the life of an eminent prophet. ² But we cannot consistently stop short there. If there are individualising features in chap. liii., which cannot be explained from the personification of the Jewish people, this is hardly less true of the passage in chap. xlii., on which we are now entering.—There are two phraseological points of contact between this description and the passage in chap. xli. : 'mine elect (or, chosen),' comp. 'I have chosen thee' (xli. 8) ; 'whom I uphold,' comp. 'yea, I uphold thee' (xli. 10). (See Essay IV., vol. ii.) —**Mine elect**] A favourite word in II. Isaiah (occurring six times) ; found also in Ps. lxxxix. 3 and (including plurals) in Ps. cv. 6, 43, cvi. 5, 23. Ps. lxxxix. a semi-Messianic psalm, may have been written before the Exile ; Ps. cv., cvi. are generally admitted to be post-Exile works.—**I have put**

my spirit . . .] In a special sense, for a high and arduous office (comp. on lxi. 1).—**Cause . . . to go forth**] i.e. (1) from its Divine source (li. 4) ; or (2) from Jerusalem (ii. 3) ; or (3) from its obscurity (Ps. xxxvii. 6). (1) and (3) may be combined ; (2) belongs most naturally to the theory that 'the Servant' = the people of Israel.—**The law**] i.e., 'the law of God, the religion of Jehovah' (Ges.) ; 'the true religion regarded from its practical side, . . . religion' ³ as an ordering of life, νόμος' (Del.). All religions claim to be 'laws' ; the distinction of Biblical religion is that it dwells with increasing earnestness on the moral as opposed to the merely ritual law. The same word (*mishpāt*) is used of mere religious observances, like θρησκεία, in 2 Kings xvii. 26–28 ; contrast its spiritual use here and in Jer. v. 4, viii. 7. The corresponding word in Arabic (*dīn*) means : 1. obedience, 2. a religion, 3. a statute or ordinance, 4. a system of usages, rites, and ceremonies (Lane, s. v. *dīn*). In the Korán (Sur. ii. 126) and elsewhere *dīn Ibrahim* means the pre-Mohammedan monotheism.—**To the nations**] The prominence given to the Servant's activity among the heathen is explained by the context. Israel's turn comes later (but see v. 7).

² **He shall not cry**] His methods shall be purely inward and spiritual, contrasting : 1, with the ostentatious ritual of heathen prophets (1 Kings xviii. 28) ; 2, with the imperious disciplinary manner even of prophets like Elijah (comp. the use of 'to call' for 'to prophesy,' xl. 2) ;

¹ Delitzsch, *Isaiah* (introduction to xlii. 1–xliii. 13) ; comp. G. F. Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, ii. 399, 400. Similarly the Rabbinist, Dr. Schiller, in his *Exposition* (1882), p. 19.

² Yet Sept. boldly translates, if the word may be used here, 'Jacob, my servant, . . . Israel, mine elect' (v. 1). Rashi interprets vv. 1–5 of Israel, v. 6, 7 of the prophet Isaiah. Ibn Ezra goes further, and explains the whole section of 'the prophet.' Saadya (according to Ibn Ezra) still more boldly interprets it of Cyrus.

³ Thus Del. as well as the writer falls under the perfectly gratuitous censure of a favourite English critic (M. Arnold, *The Great Prophecy of Israel's Restoration*, p. xxvii).

³ a ^a crushed reed he shall not break, and a dimly burning wick he shall not quench; ^b truthfully shall he cause the law to go forth. ⁴ ^c He shall not burn dimly, neither shall his spirit be crushed,^c till he shall have set the law in the earth, and for his teaching the countries wait.

⁵ Thus saith the God, even Jehovah, he that created the

▪ Lit. cracked.

^b Unto steadfastness, Krüger (unto truth, Sept.).

^c Lit. he shall not be dim nor be cracked.

3, with the destructive agency (not without a Divine sanction) of conquerors like Cyrus. It is implied that he might, if he would, enforce obedience; but that, in his Divine humility (*'anāvah*, Ps. xviii. 36), he waives his right, and limits himself to persuasion.—Dr. Weir wrongly regards *v.* 2 as an anticipation of chap. liii. 'The verse seems to express patient submission: *ḥā'ak* necessarily implies distress. The Servant makes no public demonstrations of anguish: in silence he waits upon God.' This is against the context, which implies that there is no serious impediment to his mission; moreover, the use of *ḥā'ak* in some of the verbal forms is wider than Dr. Weir admits.¹

³ His gentle regard for the germs of spiritual life; lvii. 15 is partly parallel.—**A crushed reed**] This is elsewhere a figure for outward weakness (xxxvi. 6, comp. lviii. 6 Heb.); here, however, the context seems to show that spiritual infirmity is intended, distresses in the physical sphere being reserved for *v.* 7.—Obs. 1. The prophetic Spirit intimates a difference in the spiritual capacities of races. Some (e.g. the Persians) only need to be 'instructed in the way of God more perfectly'; others, though not beyond hope (every creature being rooted in the Creator), are morally as powerless as a 'cracked reed.' 2. It is to the latter class, whether within or without Israel, that the Servant of Jehovah is chiefly sent

(comp. Matt. ix. 13). He will carefully tend them ('not break' is a litotes) with the pure and wholesome medicine of God's 'law.'—**Truthfully**] More literally, 'according to the standard of truth' (same idiom as xxxii. 1). There shall be no abatement, no compromise, in his exhibition of the objective truth. A contrast may be implied to 'the splendid falsehoods of heathenism' (Hitz.). For alt. rend., comp. xxxiii. 6, xxxix. 8.

⁴ **He shall not burn dimly, &c.**] So, excellently, Dr. Kay. The phraseology suggests that the Divine envoy is himself a lamp and a reed; in fact, both emblems are suitable. He is a reed, not such as Pascal, in his definition of man, but such as Dante describes, humble but not to be broken, and able to cleanse all stains (*Purgatorio*, i. 94-136); and he is also a light of the nations (*v.* 6).—**Till he shall have set . . .**] He shall have one absorbing interest—the final establishment (li. 4) of the true religion. The same concentration, it cannot but be remarked, stands in place of what we call 'character' to the Messiah who fulfils this prophecy.—**Teaching**] See on i. 10.—**The countries**] Synonymous with 'the nations.'—**Wait**] i.e., longingly. Frequently used with Jehovah (e.g. Ps. xxxi. 24 A. V. 'hope'), or some gift of Jehovah (Ps. cxix. 43, 74, xxxiii. 18 Weir) for the object.

⁵⁻⁹ A new revelation (followed by a solemn pledge) defining the mis-

¹ This view has been expressed before Dr. Weir by Kleinert (*Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1862 (pp. 709, 71c), and refuted by V. F. Oehler, *Der Knecht Jehovah's*, p. 34.

heavens, and stretched them forth, that spread forth the earth with the things that spring out of it, that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk through it :
⁶ I Jehovah have called thee in righteousness, ^d and taken ^d

^d That I may take. Hebr. points (see crit. note).

sion of the Servant with greater precision. Notice the solemnity of the expressions with which it is introduced and closed. The plan of that mission (such is the underlying thought of *v.* 5) requires an exhibition of the Divine power and wisdom on as large a scale as in creation and preservation. Comp. Zech. xii. 1, which seems to me a *reminiscence of our passage*.—

The God] i.e., the true God, in opposition to the idol-gods (*v.* 8). The phrase 'the God, Jehovah,' only occurs again Ps. lxxxv. 9.—

Have called thee in righteousness] 'In accordance with my revealed purpose that Israel should be my people, and that all nations should acknowledge me for their God.' 'Righteousness,' from the prophetic point of view, is measured with regard to the Divine covenant with Israel. Yet where the limitation to Israel is so plainly broken through, the meaning approaches that which I find thus expressed in Stier, 'the righteousness of the Creator towards his fallen creature, which prepares salvation, and calls the mediator of salvation.' Only we must not continue in the 'kaleidoscopic' manner of Stier, 'and appoints him to set up and impart a new righteousness,' for shortly after Cyrus is addressed in the very same terms (xliv. 13).—**Will keep thee**] Not 'will form thee,' for the Servant has been 'formed' or predestinated from eternity (obs. the perfect in xliv. 21). **For a covenant of the people**] 'The people' might be taken for 'the human race,' as in *v.* 5; but xlix. 8, where the whole phrase occurs again, limits the reference to Israel. 'A covenant of the people' means 'the medium or mediator of a covenant between Jehovah and Israel.' As

the Servant is called 'a light' in person, so he can be called 'a covenant' in person. Analogies elsewhere are not wanting. Thus in xlix. 6 the same Divine representative is called 'my Salvation'; in Mic. v. 5 (4) the Messiah of prophecy is designated emphatically 'Peace'; and in John xi. 25 the Messiah of history claims the speaking title, 'the Resurrection and the Life.' So, too, in Mal. iii. 1, the 'angel of the covenant' is mentioned, i.e., the angel who is to actualise, as it were, the covenant-relation of Jehovah to Israel. In all these cases persons are mentioned as embodying or representing, and not merely symbolising, certain spiritual gifts or relations; and such clear parallels dispense us from the obligation of discussing the meaning of disputed passages such as Gen. xvii. 10, 'This is my covenant,' or Luke xxii. 20, 'This cup is the new covenant.'—To critics who deny the personal reference of 'the Servant,' the phrase presents no slight difficulty. Ewald and Hitzig regard the second noun as qualifying the first, so that 'a covenant of a people' = a covenant-people; comp. 'a wonder of a counsellor' = a wonderful counsellor, ix. 5, 'a wild ass of a man' = a wild man, Gen. xvi. 12. The idea expressed in this rendering is unexceptionable (see lxi. 6, and comp. Rom. xi. 15), but the view of the construction is directly opposed to the parallelism. Knobel explains the phrase by *Volksbund*, i.e., 'popular league.' The believers in Jehovah, he thinks, formed a kind of association, recognised as such by the unbelieving or indifferent majority, and as evidence for this he boldly offers liii. 2! Unfortunately the Hebr. *brith* (rendered above

hold of thy hand, and will °keep thee, and will appoint thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the nations ; ⁷ to open blind eyes, to bring out captives from the prison, and those who sit in darkness from the house of restraint,—⁸ I, Jehovah, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise unto images. ⁹ The former things—

° Form, Ew.

'covenant') nowhere has the sense of 'league,' not even in Dan. xi. 28, referred to by Knobel, for the true meaning of the phrase 'the holy covenant' is the divinely ordained constitution of the Jewish people.¹

Accepting the above rendering, the question remains, 'Which covenant is referred to? The old covenant of Sinai, or the new and spiritual one described by Jeremiah? (xxx. 31-34). Surely the latter; otherwise why should the Servant be said to be 'called'? Obs., too, that in liv. 10 Jehovah expressly contrasts his present 'covenant of peace,' not indeed with the Sinaitic covenant of Moses, but with that of Noah; and that in lv. 3 an 'everlasting covenant' is spoken of, which is at once new and old (see note).—**For a light . . .**] The words recur in xlix. 6, comp. li. 4.

⁷ **To open blind eyes]** i.e., that thou mayest open, &c.—The healing of the blind, both in a physical and in a spiritual sense, is one of the chief features of the Messianic age in prophecy; which kind of blindness is meant, the context alone can decide. Here, as in xxix. 18 (but not xxxv. 5), it is spiritual blindness to which the prophecy refers—this is clear from vv. 18-20.

That the promise belongs first to the Jews is also clear from those verses, but the Gentiles are of course included (comp. v. 6).—**The house of restraint]** The prosaic Knobel understands this literally, in the face of v. 22! It is the prison-house of physical and spiritual trouble which is meant (comp. Ps. cvii. 10, Job xxxvi. 8). The Jews are doubtless foremost in the prophet's mind (v. 22, comp. xlix. 9, lxi. 1).

⁸ **That is my name]** Alluding to the meaning of the name Jehovah, which was at any rate felt to include the unique reality, and power to confer reality, of the Divine Being.—**My glory . . .**] Were such a God's predictions to fail, He would sink to a lower level than the imaginary deities who have, at any rate, not deluded their worshippers. (So perhaps we may connect the two halves of the verse.)

⁹ **The former things . . . new things]** Here are two cycles of events, the one complete, the other on the point of beginning. Both have been foreknown by Jehovah; and the fulfilment of the earlier predictions is appealed to as a pledge of that of the later. Kimchi understands by the former the prophecies of Isaiah against Senna-

¹ So Ewald, retaining the usual rendering 'covenant.' But 'constitution' is probably the true rendering, and not merely an interpretation of a rendering. As Hofmann, the celebrated author of the *Schriftbeweis*, was the first to point out (*SB.* i. 414-5), 'contract' or 'covenant' is only a secondary meaning of the Hebr. *b'rit*, the original sense being rather 'appointment' (from *bārāh* 'to cut,' hence 'to appoint,' like Ass. *barā*), comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 8 :—see in favour of this view Mühlau and Volck's edition of Gesenius's *Handwörterbuch*, s. v. *b'rit*, and Cremer's *Biblico-theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, s. v. *διαθήκη*. Passages like Hos. vi. 7, viii. 1, 2 Kings xi. 4, Job xxxi. 1, Jer. xi. 6, xxxiv. 13 (in v. 18, however, *b'rit* has the later sense 'covenant'), Ps. cv. 10, together with the meaning of the Chaldee and Greek equivalents, seem to me decisive; also the expression 'the ark of the covenant' (i.e., of the Law), comp. 1 Kings viii. 21. See also crit. note.

behold! they have come, and new things do I announce; before they shoot forth, I tell you of them.

¹⁰ Sing unto Jehovah a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth; ^fye that have gone down upon the sea,^f and the fulness thereof; the countries, and the inhabitants thereof. ¹¹ Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up their voice, the villages which Kedar inhabiteth; let the inhabitants of Sela shout; from the top of the mountains let them cry aloud; ¹² let them render glory to Jehovah, and declare his praise in the countries!

^f Let the sea roar, Lowth (emending from Ps. xcvi. 11, xcvi. 7).

cherib, but the Babylonian period seems more likely than the Assyrian to be referred to. We must remember that the real or ecstatically adopted point of view of our prophet is at the Babylonian Exile, when such predictions as xxxix. 6, 7, had long been fulfilled. The 'new things' are the same which call forth a burst of song in *v.* 10-12—the wonderful deliverance of the Jews, and the glories which shall follow; 'new,' not merely as being later, but as dimming the splendour of all previous achievements (xliii. 18, comp. lxxv. 17).—**Before they shoot forth . . .**] An evidence of Jehovah's sole divinity (comp. xlvi. 5). The phrase 'shoot forth' occurs again in a similar connection in xliii. 19; what does it signify? Not that one event 'develops' out of another, but that the 'word' of Jehovah is a seed, which, in virtue of its origin, has a self-realising character (lv. 10, 11). Some 'words' are unheard, save in the heavenly council (Job xv. 8, *Q. P. B.*), as for instance those spoken before man was formed; others 'he revealeth to his servants the prophets' (Am. iii. 7), and these latter words have an equally self-fulfilling power (ix. 8).

¹⁰ Here the prophet's language becomes impassioned, lyrical. 'The Spirit taketh him up' into a future age. He calls upon the whole world (vitaly interested in Israel's

welfare) to **Sing unto Jehovah a new song**] (Contrast the introductory form in xxvi. 1.) 'A new song' is familiar to us in the Psalter, where it occurs six times; two of the Psalm-passages (Ps. xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1) evidently involve reminiscences of our prophecy. It means generally a song inspired by gratitude for new mercies, but here perhaps it has a fuller content, corresponding to the deeper sense of 'new things' in *v.* 9 (comp. Rev. xiv. 3).—For a general parallel, see xxiv. 14-16.—**Ye that have gone down . . .**] Ye 'that do business on the great waters' (the corresponding phrase in the parallel line, Ps. cvii. 23). But Bishop Lowth's conjecture, well supported in his note on this passage, is highly plausible. A verb as well as a noun seems required for symmetry's sake, and the noun we expect is 'the sea,' i.e., the west.—**The fulness thereof**] i.e., the fishes (comp. on xxxiv. 1).

¹¹ **Cities . . . villages**] Both terms are to be distinguished from the encampments of the nomad Arabs. 'Kedar' is therefore used more widely than in xxi. 16.—**Sela**] Consul. Wetzstein (Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, 3rd ed., p. 700) takes *sela* collectively (as in xvi. 1). 'Inhabitants of rocks' are, he thinks, opposed to the tribes of the open desert. A similar Arabic pair of phrases is in use in the Haurân.

¹² **Let them render . . .**] 'Let

¹³ Jehovah shall go forth as a mighty one, as a man of (many) wars he shall stir up (his) jealousy; he shall cry, yea, he shall roar; against his foes he shall show himself a mighty one. ¹⁴ I have been silent from of old; I have been still, and restrained myself: (now) like a woman in travail will I groan, I will pant and gasp at once. ¹⁵ I will lay waste mountains and hills, and all their herbage will I dry up; and I will turn rivers into habitable lands, and lakes will I dry up: ¹⁶ and I will lead the blind by a way which

the distant nations of the west glorify Jehovah' (as xxiv. 15).

¹³ **Jehovah shall go forth . . .**] This verse gives the reason for the call for a 'new song,' not the gentle ministrations of the Servant, not the irresistible march of Cyrus, but the terrible deeds of the Almighty. It is in effect the Day of Jehovah which is here described; the victories of Cyrus and the fall of Babylon form but one act in that great drama; there is much in the description that follows which can never have been thought to be exhausted by any possible achievements of Cyrus. The Day of Jehovah has two sides, a dark and a bright; the stern work of retribution being over, Jehovah's Servant will step forward, and assume his delightful office of winning hearts.—Will this office be again suspended by the necessity for a fresh interposition of the Almighty? To answer this question would be to systematise where the prophet has left but vague outlines.—For the representation of Jehovah as a warrior see xxviii. 21, xxxi. 4, lix. 16, 17, Zech. ix. 13, 14, xiv. 3. It is another instance of the fearless security with which the prophets use popular phraseology of mythical origin, trusting to the general spirit of their revelation to correct any verbal inaccuracies.—**Shall go forth**] Elsewhere a technical phrase for taking the field (see xxxvii. 9, 36), but probably here with an allusion to Jehovah's previous seclusion (see next verse).—**A mighty one**] Or, 'a hero.' Comp Jehovah's title God-Mighty-One, x. 21.

—**Jealousy**] See on ix. 7; also for the combination with 'heroism' or active 'might,' lxiii. 15.

¹⁴ But why does the Mighty One need to 'stir up' his slumbering 'jealousy'? He tells us himself.

—**I have been silent from of old**] 'To be silent,' when said of God (as lvii. 11, lxii. 1, lxiv. 11), is 'to leave the prayers, spoken or unspoken, of the faithful unanswered;' comp. Ps. xxviii. 1, Hab. i. 13. Jehovah has been thus silent 'for an age' or æon ('*olām*), a period stretching indefinitely backward. It is the exaggeration of strong emotion (so lvii. 11, comp. lviii. 12, lxi. 4). Still it corresponds to the fact that 'we do not find miracles [or striking providences] sown broadcast over the whole Old Testament history,' but that they 'have reference to certain great epochs and crises of the kingdom of God' (Trench, *Miracles*, p. 43).—**Like a woman in travail . . .**] A figure for unrestrainable impatience, not without a secondary reference to the new birth of Israel and of the world. (Comp. xxvi. 17, 18, lxvi. 8, 9).—**At once**] i.e., these signs of anguish shall be unintermittent.

^{15, 16} Judgment and redemption side by side. **Mountains and hills** are symbols of the heathen world in general (not merely Babylonia).

—**The blind**] Not, I venture to think, 'the spiritually blind' (Del., Naeg.), which hardly suits the context, but 'the perplexed and desponding' (Calv.); there is an exact parallel in lix. 9, 10.—The difficulties of the commentators

they knew not; through paths they have not known will I make them to go; I will turn darkness into light before them, and rough places into a table-land. These are the things which I will surely do, and I will not let them slip. ¹⁷ They shall surely be thrust back; they shall be utterly ashamed, that trust in graven images, that say to molten images, Ye are our gods.

arise from not observing that *vv.* 10-17 are parenthetical (see on *v.* 18), and were probably introduced by an afterthought. — **I will surely do**] The tenses are prophetic perfects; so also the first tense in *v.* 17.

¹⁷ **Be thrust back**] The idolaters are represented as marching against the true believers. Suddenly an invisible hand thrusts

them back. Comp. for the figure Ps. xxxv. 3, 4, and for the rend. Hupfeld on Ps. vi. 11.—Prof. Birks makes a break at the end of *v.* 16, connecting *v.* 17 with *v.* 18. But this spoils the contrast between the believing blind in *v.* 16 and the unbelievers in *v.* 17 (see the same contrast in l. 10, 11), and introduces a premature reference to idolatry into the new parable.

vv. 18-20. We are confronted here with an at first sight perplexing discrepancy, viz., that whereas in *vv.* 1-7 'the Servant' is introduced as an indefatigable worker in Jehovah's cause, and as specially appointed 'to open blind eyes,' in *v.* 19 we find 'My servant' and 'My messenger' described as spiritually 'blind' and 'deaf.' This, however, is only one of those apparent inconsistencies in which Eastern poets and teachers delight, and which are intended to set us on the search for a higher and reconciling idea. The higher idea in the case before us is that the place of the incompetent messenger shall be taken by one both able and willing to supply his deficiencies and to correct his faults. Israel the people being as yet inadequate to his sublime destiny, Jehovah's own 'elect' shall come to transform and elevate the 'unprofitable servant.'

¹⁸ Hear, ye deaf; and ye blind, look, that ye may see.

¹⁹ Who is blind but my servant? and deaf as my messenger

¹⁸ **Hear, ye deaf . . .**] Jehovah is the speaker; he has before him a company of spiritually deaf and blind (see on *xl.iii.* 8). Surely (we may suppose him to make this reflection) they are not all stone-deaf; some may be able by exerting the power yet graciously continued to them to hear God speaking in history and in prophecy (comp. *v.* 23)!—Thus it would almost seem as if Jehovah himself had assumed the function of 'opening blind eyes' previously ascribed to the Servant. But there is no real discrepancy. The operations

of Jehovah and of his Servant are all one; Jehovah must nominally interpose here in order that the incompetence of his people-Servant may be exposed, and the necessity for another Servant, springing out of but far worthier than Israel, be made clear.

¹⁹ **Who is blind but my servant?**] The blind and deaf Servant means the people of Israel regarded as a whole, in its present state of spiritual insensibility,—Jehovah is sometimes described anthropomorphically as 'saying' or, more fully, as 'saying to his heart,' i.e., to

whom I ^g send? Who is blind as ^h the surrendered one ^h and ⁱ deaf as the servant of Jehovah? ²⁰ Thou hast seen many things, but thou observest not; he openeth the ears, and heareth not! ²¹ It was Jehovah's pleasure for his righteousness' sake to make the instruction great and glorious; ²² and

^g Or, will send.

^h He who is received into friendship, Ges., Del., Naeg.; the sent one, Kr., Gr. (slight emendation).

ⁱ So Symm., 2 Heb. MSS., Lo., Gr.; TEXT, blind.

himself (Gen. viii. 21). It is such a 'saying' that we have here. Jehovah sadly reflects, 'Who among earth's inhabitants is so blind and deaf as Israel my Servant?' Strange fact! The servant, who needs a sharp eye to catch the least gesture of his master (Ps. cxxiii. 2)—the messenger, who requires an open ear to receive his commissions, is blind—is deaf!—To interpret 'Who is blind, &c.' of Jesus Christ, as if 'the guilt and shame of the people [were] here enforced by direct contrast with the true Israel, the Prince who has power with God,' and as if the true no less than the phenomenal Israel could be called blind and deaf, with reference to his slowness to take offence (Prof. Birks), is to go directly counter to Biblical usage.¹ In fact, the only passages quoted in support of this farfetched view are Ps. xxxviii. 13, where the *sin-conscious* psalmist resigns his defence to God, and John viii. 6-11, where the Saviour (if this interpolated narrative may be followed), under exceptional circumstances, refuses an answer to his persecutors. — **Whom I send**] This alludes, I think, not to the description in *vv.* 1-8, but to the original commission of Israel, referred to in xli. 8-13. The present tense is used because the character of Jehovah's Servant is indelible (as we have been told already, xli. 9). In spite of Israel's offences, Jehovah still 'sends' and 'will (continue to) send' him. Chap. liii. will throw further light on this. — **As the surrendered**

one] One might almost say, 'as the Moslem,' for the prophet's word (*m'shullām*) is closely akin to the Arabic *muslim* (Moslem), i.e., 'he that devoteth or submitteth himself (to God).' Comp. Emerson: 'A more *surrendered* soul, more informed and led by God.' Apparently this word became a favourite among the pious Jews in later times. It appears as a proper name in Ezra viii. 16, x. 15, 29, and the fem. Meshullemeth (before the Exile), 2 Kings xxi. 19. Comp. also the frequent expression *lebh shalem*, 'a perfect (= devoted) heart.'

²⁰ **Thou hast seen . . .**] The people of Israel is likened to a man of mature years and experience, by which he has failed to profit. A different image from that in *liv.* 4b.

²¹ **For his righteousness' sake**] In accordance with his declared purpose, Jehovah sent a constant succession of prophetic teachers 'since the day that their fathers went forth from the land of Egypt' (Jer. vii. 25). A stream of self-consistent and divinely inspired instruction struck the outward organ of hearing, but, alas! not the inner ear (*v.* 20). And yet this 'instruction' was 'great and glorious,' both in its contents and, so far as the course of history had yet gone (see *v.* 9), in its fulfilment. — **Instruction**] Or, teaching. Hebr. *tōrāh*; see on i. 10.

²² **And yet it is a people . . .**] Clearly these expressions are not to be strained. It is very improbable that any large portion of the exiles suffered literal imprisonment

¹ See vi. 9, 10, Jer. v. 21, Ezek. xii. 2, Zech. vii. 11.

yet it is a people robbed and plundered ; snared are all of them in holes, and hidden in houses of restraint ; they are become a prey, and there is none to rescue—a spoil, and none that saith, Restore. ²³ Who among you will give ear to this, will attend, and be obedient for the time to come? ²⁴ Who delivered up Jacob for a spoil, and Israel unto robbers? Was it not Jehovah, he against whom we sinned, and they would not walk in his ways, and were not obedient unto his instruction? ²⁵ So he poured upon him in fury his anger, and the violence of war, and it set him on fire round about, but he took no notice, and kindled upon him, but he would not lay it to heart.

or confiscation of goods. The depressed life of the Exile is what is meant ; see *v.* 7 (with note), Ps. lxxix. 11, cii. 20, Zech. ix. 11.—**In holes**] Rutgers¹ draws an argument from this passage against the theory of the late origin of II. Isaiah, because ‘holes’ or caves are characteristic of Judea, and not of Babylonia. This is very plausible. And yet might not the prophet use figures drawn from the older Hebrew writings, in which caves are so frequently referred to? *Comp. I. C. A.*, p. 201.

²⁴ **Against whom we sinned**]

The prophet, identifying himself with his people (as in lix. 9–13, but scarcely in ch. liii.). Contrast the argument of the unhappy Jewish exiles in Egypt, Jer. xlv. 17–19—a most instructive passage!

²⁵ **Kindled upon him**] There is an evident allusion to this passage in xliii. 2, where the same phrase occurs, ‘a striking instance,’ as Dr. Kay well observes, ‘of the double aspect in which Israel is presented in these chapters. The corrupt nation is subjected to the fire of judgment ; but the Israel of God suffers no hurt.’

CHAPTER XLIII.

Contents.—‘All Israel shall be saved.’ Jehovah is the only God ; prophecy is his evidence ; his word none can make void. An example of such an irreversible decree is the fall of Babylon and the restoration of Israel to unimaginable felicity.

¹ But now, thus saith Jehovah thy creator, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel : Fear not, for I redeem thee ;

¹ **But now . . .]** Another of those bold transitions in which our prophet delights. It is not, however, entirely abrupt. ‘But now’

indicates that there has been a conflict between Divine love and Divine wrath, and that the former has gained the victory. In fact,

¹ Dr. Rutgers is, or was, the leading representative of orthodox views of the Old Testament at Leyden. My reference is to his able but inconclusive work on the genuineness of II. Isaiah (*De echtheid van het tweede gedeelte van Jesaja*, Leiden, 1866), p. 79.

I have called thee by name; mine art thou. ² When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee,—and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou goest through the fire, thou shalt not be scorched, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee. ³ For I Jehovah am thy God; (I) Israel's Holy One, thy deliverer; for thy ransom do I give Egypt, Ethiopia and Seba in thy stead. ⁴ Since thou art pre-

the wrath of Jehovah was but grieved affection. Its force is *now* for the time spent (comp. xl. 2); Jehovah will *now* deliver and protect, reassemble and restore his people.—**Thy creator**] Israel is a new and singular product, in which special Divine potencies have been at work: therefore 'precious' (*v.* 4). Among these potencies is affliction, which to the unfaithful Israel is only depressing or even destructive, but to the faithful is an instrument of purification. It is the faithful Israel (in spite of the point of contact in *v.* 24) to which the following promises belong.—**I redeem thee**] Lit., 'I have redeemed thee;' i.e., historically, of the past; and prophetically, of the future. Obs., verb and participle occur above twenty times in II. Isaiah.—**Called thee by name**] Lit. 'called with thy name,' i.e., proclaimed it. To utter a person's name, in primitive times, might be a grievous injury if the speaker's intention were malicious; it might also be a high distinction, if the speaker were much superior in rank. Comp. Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxiii. 12, 17. Israel was specially honoured, for Jehovah combined his own name with Israel's, calling it 'my people.' It was a *kunya* (as in the case of Cyrus, xlv. 4).—**Mine art thou**] Alluding to the Sinaitic covenant (see Ex. xix. 5, 6). On that wonderful spiritualisation of the common primitive idea of a patron-deity, the German

reader should consult an excellent chapter in Hermann Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (first ed.), i. 401-410 ('der Bund').

² **When thou passeth through the waters . . .**] A glance at the troubles in store for the Babylonian empire, but also at any subsequent ones in which the Jews might be involved. The revelation fuses all these together in one visionary image. The same use of the figures of fire and water occurs in Ps. lxxvi. 12; comp. Dan. iii. 17, 27.—**When thou goest through the fire**] Comp. on xlii. 25.

³ **For thy ransom do I give Egypt**] No price is too great for Israel's redemption; other nations will be sacrificed to attain it.¹—The passage implies (1) that the judgments which fall upon unbelievers are arranged providentially for the good of Jehovah's chosen ones—in this sense, 'the wicked are a ransom for the righteous' (Prov. xxi. 18, comp. xi. 8); (2) that Jehovah has a personal regard for Cyrus as well as for the Jews, and considers his generosity to the latter (so unlike the conduct of previous conquerors) as worthy of a recompense. History ratified the prophetic word; what Cyrus had planned (Herod. i. 153), Cambyses carried out. A more minutely exact correspondence is not to be required. A literal fulfilment is not the test of a prophet's veracity; and in xlv. 14 another description of the prospects of these nations is given, which it is not easy to reconcile with our

¹ The promise to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezek. xxix. 18, 19, is only partly parallel. It represents Egypt, not as the ransom of Tyre (as here of Israel), but as a compensation to Nebuchadnezzar for his ill-success at Tyre.

cious in my sight ; art honourable, and I love thee ; therefore will I give men in thy stead, and peoples for thy life. ⁵ Fear not, for I am with thee ; from the sunrising will I bring thy seed, and from the sunsetting will I gather thee ; ⁶ I will say to the north, Give up, and to the south, Restrain thou not ; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, ⁷ every one who is called by my name, and whom for my glory I have produced, have formed, yea, have prepared.

passage. It is clear that the prophet sometimes writes with an eye on the actual political circumstances, and sometimes is wholly absorbed in the glories of an age still future—the Messianic.—**Seba**] i.e., the peninsula of Meroe, or N. Ethiopia.

⁴ **Men**] i.e., ordinary men ; comp. Jer. xxxii. 20, 'in Israel and among men' (Hebr. 'ādām).

^{5, 6} From east and west, north and south, the Israelites are to be gathered to their home. (Parallel passages, xlix. 12, Ps. cvii. 3).—Historically interesting, as proving the wide extent at thus early a date of the Jewish Diaspora (comp. xi. 11, and note). Not only in Babylonia and Assyria, but in the 'far lands' of the Mediterranean, and even perhaps in China (xlix. 12)—at least of the 'ends of the earth' to the geography of that day, there were bands of Jewish exiles. But the peculiarity of the passage does not so much consist in this, as in the fact that it contains no express mention of Babylonia, where in general the scene of this prophetic drama is laid. It thus supplies a striking evidence of the truth that the scope of a prophecy is not to be confined to a single age or country. These latter chapters of the Book of Isaiah are something more than a private revelation for the exiles in Babylon. Great as are the miseries of the author's real or assumed present, he is not so absorbed by them as to forget the glories in prospect.—Rutgers ¹ in-

fers from this passage that chaps. xl.-xlv. cannot have been written during the Exile ; otherwise Babylon would, he thinks, have been referred to. The foregoing remarks tend to show that the passage has no bearing whatever on the question of date. Rutgers also refers to xi. 11, as showing that Isaiah had as full a view of the Jewish dispersion as is implied in the verses before us. But this only proves (assuming, as I am willing to do, the genuineness of that passage) that Isaiah might have written these verses, not that he actually did so. Besides, that passage contains one word (Assyria), which to some extent diminishes the value of the comparison.

—**Bring my sons . . .**] Here the earth as a whole must be addressed. 'Bring' implies the escort of the Gentiles (xlix. 22).—**My daughters**] Obs. the kind and even respectful mention of the female sex in Messianic descriptions ; see xi. 12 (note), lx. 4, Joel ii. 28, Gal. iii. 28.

⁷ **Who is called by my name**] i.e., who is Jehovah's servant. 'Israel must live, because the name of Jehovah has been named on him.' Dr. Weir, comparing Matt. xxii. 32.—**Produced . . . formed . . . prepared**] The three verbs 'seem to describe the process of formation from the first rough cutting to the perfecting of the work ; comp. xlv. 11' (Dr. Weir). The first verb, however, is restricted to the Divine creative operations, whether such as imply a pre-existent

¹ *De echtheid van het tweede gedeelte van Jesaia*, pp. 78, 79.

⁸ ^a Bring forth ^a a blind people which hath eyes, and deaf who have ears. ⁹ All ye nations, assemble yourselves; and let the peoples gather together: who among them can announce such things? and former things let them declare unto us; let them produce their witnesses, that they may be justified, and let them (?) hear, and say, It is truth. ¹⁰ Ye are

^a He bringeth forth, Hitz., Alexander. I will bring forth, Ew. (changing one letter).

material, or such as do not. The blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix.) shows us how rough was the material out of which the church-nation of Israel was carved.

⁸ Another of those mysterious voices, of which we have heard already (xl. 3-8), bursts on the ear. **Bring forth a blind people . . .**] The ministers of justice are the persons addressed. Israel, once blind and deaf, but now in possession of sight and hearing, is to be brought into court (see on xli. 1). For what purpose will appear later (v. 10).—Almost all critics explain ‘a blind people that hath eyes,’ as if it were ‘a people that hath eyes and seeth not.’ This, however, is certainly not a natural view of the construction, nor does it harmonise well with the context, for how can a spiritually insensible people be produced as a witness against the heathen nations? Calvin and Ewald seem to be nearer the mark. The former comments thus: ‘Sic educam cæcos, ut visum ipsis restituum; surdos ita liberabo, ut aures recuperent;’ the latter, ‘He will now disengage from their fetters those who in xlii. 7, 18, were called blind and deaf, that they may again receive eyes and ears (as in xlii. 7).’ Both Calvin and Ewald, however (the one virtually, the other avowedly), alter the first word; the former rendering ‘that I may bring out;’ the latter, ‘I will bring out;’ and both failing to see the close connection between this and the next verse. The truth is that this passage is reversely parallel to xlii. 20, where of the actual Israel it is said, that ‘he has seen many

things, but observeth not;’ and that ‘he openeth the ears, but heareth not.’ It is to Stier that the credit belongs of restoring its natural sense to this otherwise obscure verse.

⁹ **All ye nations, assemble yourselves]** On the one side, the spiritual Israel, a small company of believers in Jehovah, has already taken its place; a mighty host of heathen nations is now summoned to appear on the other. The question is then put to the latter, Which of their gods can produce predictions such as those in vv. 1-7? To prove that they can, the Divine speaker continues, Let them mention **former things**, i.e., past events which they have correctly foretold.—**Unto us]** viz., Jehovah and his servants (as xli. 22).—**That they may be justified]** In the event of their professing to have foretold events correctly, they must produce witnesses to justify their assertions.—**And let them hear and say, It is truth]** I do not understand this. The words (or rather the word) put into the mouth of the speakers is more suitable to a judge than either to a defendant or to witnesses. It would be bold to alter the text, but the passage would at once become intelligible, if we might emend the third person into the first (on the analogy of xli. 26), and render ‘and that we may hear, &c.’ The alternative is, with Luther, Ges., and Naeg., to make the subject indefinite (‘dass . . . man höre’); so Dr. Weir, ‘that men may hear.’ But this is not a natural interpretation.

¹⁰ But the idol-gods are dumb;

my witnesses, (the oracle of Jehovah,) and my Servant, whom I have chosen, that ye may acknowledge, and believe me, and understand that I am He; before me no God was formed, neither after me shall there be. ¹¹ I, I am Jehovah, and beside me there is no deliverer. ¹² I have announced^b and declared, for there is no stranger among you; and ye

^b Hebr. text inserts, And delivered. Probably this is merely a miswritten form of the following verb. Bunsen proposes to read, And made known.

they have no witnesses to produce. Meantime Jehovah calls upon *his* witnesses, viz., his people Israel, which has had abundant proof of his predictive power.—**And my Servant**] i.e., ‘and ye are also my Servant, the chosen instrument of my purposes;’ comp. xlv. 1. So Del., Seinecke, Riehm, Naeg., taking the phrase as a second predicate. Others (Vitr., Ges., Hitz., Ew., Stier, Kay) explain, ‘and so (or, and so especially) is my Servant,’ taking the two latter words as a second subject, and distinguishing the Servant from the people of Israel (at any rate, from the natural Israel). But this is less obvious. The only antithesis suggested by the context is that between Israel and the heathen world (Naeg.).—**That ye may acknowledge . . .**] It is not only in Jehovah’s interest, but in that of his people (the spiritual Israel), that this trial-scene is arranged. The spectacle of the futility of heathenism will confirm their faith in the true God.—**I am He**] See on xli. 4.—**Before me . . .**] i.e., as Dr. Alexander well puts it, ‘all other gods were made, but none of them was made before I had a being.’ There is also an ironical allusion to the incongruity of ‘forming’ him who is man’s ‘former’ (xlv. 9).—**After me**] i.e., ‘after I (*per impossibile*) have ceased to exist.’

¹¹ Then follows a series of royal self-assertions, resuming what has been proved above.—**I, I am Jehovah**] See on xlii. 8.—**No deliverer**] Alluding to *v.* 3.

¹² Prediction of the proof of divinity. **I have announced . . .**] ‘What none of the heathen prophets

can do (*v.* 9), I, Jehovah, have performed.’—The text-reading presents great difficulties. Such an inconsistent series of verbs as ‘announced—delivered—declared,’ can hardly have come from the pen of the prophet. Even if it were conceivable, another objection would remain in force. The subject of the prophesying referred to in *v.* 9 (comp. xlii. 9) is the restoration of the Jews and the Messianic glories. Neither of these events had as yet taken place. Consequently the middle verb of the series must be practically future, while the first and third are past, which is most unlikely. Bunsen’s conjecture is plausible, but less so, in my opinion, than that proposed above. [Dr. Weir follows Stier, explaining ‘declared’ as = ‘proclaimed the deliverance which prophecy had announced.’ He supports this by a reference to xlviii. 20. It should be remembered, however, that in nine out of sixteen passages in II. Isaiah the verb *hishmi’a* means ‘to prophesy.’]—**For there is no stranger . . .**] ‘Stranger’ here, as also in Deut. xxxii. 16, is short for ‘strange, or foreign, god’ (for the phrase in full, see Ps. xlv. 20, lxxi. 9). No God but Jehovah had any power for good or for evil over Israel.—The expression seemingly admits the claims of other gods for other nations, but the prophets sometimes understate their own belief, through adopting popular phraseology. According to our prophet, the idols were ‘of the nature of nothing’ (xli. 24).—**And I am God**] This is the inference from all the foregoing facts. ‘And’ = consequently (as

are my witnesses (the oracle of Jehovah), and I am God.
¹³ Also from (this) day forth I am He, and there is none that rescueth out of my hand; I work, and who can turn it back?

¹⁴ Thus saith Jehovah your Goel, the Holy One of Israel, For your sake I ^e have sent ^c unto Babylon, and will bring down ^d as fugitives, ^d all of them, and ^e the Chaldæans into the ships of their shouting, ^e ¹⁵ I, Jehovah, your Holy One, the

^c Send (i.e., will send), Driver (*Hebrew Tenses*, § 113).

^d The bars (i.e., defences, or, possibly, defenders), Theodotion, Vulg., A. E., Lowth, Henderson, Luzzatto (one vowel-point different).

^e The shouting of the Chaldæans into sighing, Hitz., Ew., Luzzatto (one point different).

xl. 18, 25 (Del.). 'God'; Hebr. *'el*, the Strong One—the common Semitic name for God.

¹³ **Also from (this) day forth . . .**] A fresh fact is here mentioned. Jehovah, who had for a time withdrawn Himself, has begun again to manifest Himself; and if He, the unique, the unchangeable one, is at work, the result is certain. — **Who can turn it back?**] i.e., who can reverse it? The same phrase occurs in Job ix. 12, xi. 10, xxiii. 13, thus forming another of the numerous affinities between II. Isaiah and Job. In Isa. xiv. 27, where it also occurs, it closes a prophecy; and here too it seems to mark a secondary pause in the discourse.

¹⁴ An example of such a work, which no man can reverse. — **For your sake**] i.e., not for Israel's sake as Israel, but as the Servant of Jehovah. — **I have sent**] viz., the destined instruments of my vengeance. — **And will bring down . . .**] i.e., 'and will bring all of them (viz., the mixed multitude of merchants in Babylon, see on xiii. 14-22), and especially ("and" as in ii. 1) the Chaldæans, down into the ships of their shouting.' The rhythmic structure of the verse obliges the prophet-poet to break up this clause into two. Hence arises some

amount of difficulty in the exegesis. 'To bring down,' if used without qualification, would, in such a connection, most naturally be referred to the overthrow of proud Babylon; comp. x. 13, xiv. 11, 15. But here the verb does not really stand unqualifiedly; it must be taken together with 'in (or into) the ships,' and then the phrase becomes analogous to 'to go down upon the sea' (xlii. 10, &c.) for 'to embark on a voyage.' 'The ships of their shouting' is one of those *équivoques* in which the prophets delight. It suggests that the very ships, which formerly resounded with shouts of exultation, now only echo with the cries of despair, and thus forms a condensed elegy on the strange *περιπέτεια* in the fortunes of the Chaldæans. [The Hebr. *rinnah*, in fact, will bear both meanings, 'cry of joy' and 'cry of grief,' though when used, as here, with a suffix, the latter meaning is the first which offers itself.¹ There is a singularly exact parallel in xvi. 9, 10, where 'the cry' (*hédād*) is used in a similarly double sense of the vintage-cheer and the battle-shout.] Either reference (to rejoicing or to lamentation) is equally appropriate in this context. Babylonia was famous for its ships in the very earliest period of its history.² It was also famous for its

¹ Dr. Weir remarks, '*rinnah* with suffixes never means "the cry of joy," always "the prayer cry," being found only in the Psalms, and in Jer. xiv. 12.'

² Mr. Boscawen states that the ships of Ur and other cities on the Persian

creator of Israel, your King. ¹⁶ Thus saith Jehovah, who giveth a road through the sea, and a path through mighty waters, ¹⁷ who bringeth forth chariot and horse, army and force—together they lie down, they cannot arise, they are quenched, they have gone out as a wick:—¹⁸ Remember ye not former things, and things of aforetime consider ye not. ¹⁹ Behold, I work out a new thing; already it is shooting forth; 'will ye not give heed to it?'^f Yea, I will set a road

^f So Hitz., Ew., Weir.—Shall ye not experience it, Ges., Del., Naeg.

music, and songs to the music of the cymbal (xiv. 11) may well have enlivened the voyages of its travelling merchants. The value of its ships as means of escape was seen by Merodach Baladan at one of the many crises of his history.¹ The Assyrian annalist mentions this in his usual dry way; the prophet is a poet as well, and hears the plaintive note of brave men 'crying aloud' (as xxxiii. 7).—The flight of the foreign merchants from the doomed city is referred to twice elsewhere; see xiii. 14, xlvii. 15.—The phraseology of the verse has struck so many critics as singular, that I hesitate to express a strong opinion in favour of the accuracy of the text. But why may not a poet express himself in an original manner? There is nothing contrary to usage in the disputed words, and Hitzig's and Ewald's attempts at correction are certainly un-Hebraic, not to add (with Del.) bombastic.—**Fugitives**] The Hebr. word (*bārikkim*) is uncommon, but occurs again in the same sense in xxvii. 1, xv. 5 (probably, but there is a similar doubt as to the reading), Job xxvi. 13. The reading *brikkim* 'bars' does not cohere well with the context, and involves a less natural construction. *v. 16-21.* A fresh prophecy of redemption, taking in a much wider field than Babylonia. The

prophecy itself begins at *v. 18*; it is introduced by a vivid representation of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.—**Who giveth a road**] Not 'who gave,' but 'who giveth' a road, as in the typical instance of old (so Del.). Comp. on li. 9, 10.

¹⁸ **Remember ye not . . .**] So Jeremiah (xxiii. 7, 8) points to a time when the great manifestation of the living God shall no longer be the deliverance from Egypt, but the restoration of Israel from 'the recesses of the earth.' (Comp. by all means Jer. iii. 16, 17.) Both to Jeremiah and to our prophet the chief glories of the second manifestation are spiritual. 'I will make a new covenant . . . I will put my law in their inward parts' (Jer. xxxii. 31, 33). 'They shall tell out my praise' (*v. 21*).—**Former things**] Jehovah's past interpositions (comp. xlv. 9).

¹⁹ **A new thing**] An unheard of thing; see on xlii. 9, and comp. Jer. xxxi. 22. Note the singular.—**It is shooting forth**] A stronger statement than in xlii. 9*b*. Either events were more advanced than when the prophet penned that verse, or he has become more clear-sighted, owing to an increase of faith. The latter alternative is preferable. Faith, like friendship,² gives intensified keenness of vision. Like other faculties, it grows by

Gulf are mentioned in the very earliest Babylonian legends (*Athenæum*, July 20, 1878).

¹ Schrader, *K. A. T.*, pp. 350, 351; *R. P.*, xi. pp. 51, 52. I am indebted to Dr. Weir for the illustration.

² Alluding to Leonora's bold reversal of a popular judgment:—'Die Freundschaft ist gerecht,' Goethe's *Tasso*, i. 1.

in the wilderness, rivers in the desert. ²⁰ The beasts of the field shall honour me, jackals and ostriches, because I gave waters in the wilderness, rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my elect. ²¹ The people which I have formed unto me, they shall tell out my praise.

exercise. Hence in the words, **Will ye not give heed to it?** the prophet calls upon his audience by a vigorous effort to see as he sees, and to recognise the roots of the future in the present. (In support of the rend. see xl. 21, xlviii. 6, 7, lviii. 3. The two former passages seem to me decisive. For alt. rend. comp. 'Are they not written?' i.e., 'Surely they are written.) **A road in the wilderness . . .**] A symbolical description of the blissful state of the restored exiles. All their wants are supplied. The wilderness has become like the garden of Eden. Life is one stately procession. (Comp. on xxxv. 8, xl. 11, xli. 18.)

²⁰ **The beasts of the field]** Even

the wild beasts shall put off their ferocity, and by their changed natures unconsciously do honour to Jehovah. The prophet's best commentator is St. Francis. See further on xi. 6-9.

²¹ But it is in Israel that this moral regeneration attains its climax. They alone have at once the physical power and the will to **tell out my praise** (comp. Ps. lxxix. 13). Thus Jehovah's purpose in 'forming' them shall be attained. By 'telling out' what God has done for them, and why He has done it, they shall overcome the inner opposition of the unconverted nations. Comp. the development of this in 1 Pet. ii. 9.

vv. 22-24. But the opposition between the ideal and the actual Israel forces itself upon the prophet's attention, and the tone of revelation, according to its wont, adapts itself to this altered mood. Jehovah now sums up the religious history of the Exile, portraying it as it appears from a distance. It is a black picture. No doubt there were redeeming points in this history, but not enough to lighten the prevailing hue to any appreciable extent. *These three verses are among the most disputed in II. Isaiah.* According to some (e.g., Hengst., Stier, Naeg., Kay), they furnish strong evidence that the author lived before the Babylonian Exile; according to others (e.g., Ew., Del.), they prove that his real or assumed 'standpoint' is among the exiles at Babylon. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the first part of *v.* 23, and the first part of *v.* 24. These two clauses *appear* to deny absolutely that sacrifices had been offered by Israel to Jehovah. Yet how, asks the former class of commentators, could the exiles be charged with this neglect as an offence, sacrifices being impossible in a foreign land (Hos. iii. 4, Ps. li. 18, 19)? Is it not the want of faith and love which is complained of, rather than the neglect of the outward form of sacrifice? May not the phrase, 'with thy sacrifices thou hast not honoured me,' be compared with 'he that slaughtereth an ox (for sacrifice) is (equal to) a man-slayer' (lxvi. 3), where we must apparently understand the words 'in a formal, unspiritual manner'? On this view of the passage the complaint will be equivalent to the indignant question in i. 11, 'Of what use is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? saith Jehovah?' I do not myself accept this interpretation, because it seems inconsistent with the latter part of *v.* 23, in which Jehovah declares

that the sacrificial system altogether was no part of his requirements (comp. Jer. vi. 20, vii. 21-23). The neglect of sacrifices does not appear to me to be charged against the people as an offence. The point of the complaint is, that the religious duties of the Jews being so very light, there was no possible excuse for neglecting them. Prayer was the only form of worship which Jehovah required. How this can have been said by a prophet who had before him an authoritative sacrificial code is, no doubt, a difficult question. Such passages as the present and as Jer. vii. 21, 23 indicate that the Levitical code, in its present form, was probably not known, and certainly not regarded as authoritative, by either of the prophetic writers. They may, however, perhaps be explained on the theory of oratorical exaggeration (see my *Jeremiah*, on vii. 21-23). But, at any rate, Ewald and Delitzsch are as mistaken as Hengstenberg in thinking that our passage is at all decisive as to the real or assumed 'standpoint' of the writer.

²² But ^g thou hast not called upon me, ^g O Jacob, ^h much less hast thou wearied thyself about me, ^h O Israel. ²³ Thou hast not brought me the sheep of thy burnt-offerings, and with thy sacrifices thou hast not honoured me; I have not made a slave of thee with offerings, nor wearied thee with

^g Upon me thou hast not called, Del., Kay, Weir.

^h Yea, thou hast been weary of me, Calv., Naeg., Weir.

²² **Thou hast not called upon me]** The Jews in exile are here charged with the neglect of prayer to Jehovah. That there was a faithful section of the nation, which poured out its heart before God, we know from the group of Exile-psalms, and perhaps from Isa. xxvi. 16. There is also a later passage in II. Isaiah (lviii. 2-4), which implies that, when the hope of deliverance dawned upon the Jews,¹ many of them put up at least formal petitions to Jehovah. But the statement of the revelation is doubtless true of the majority of the exiles during the greater part of the Captivity.—Alt. rend. is explained by Del. as meaning that 'Israel could exert itself to call upon other gods, but not upon Jehovah;' by Calv. and Vittr., that its prayers were purely formal, and therefore not accepted by God (comp. Zech. vii. 5). In the Hebr. 'me' is prefixed ('But not me,' &c.), but this

is probably for the sake of euphony; comp. I. Sam. ii. 3, *Q'ri*, Ps. vii. 14, lxiii. 9, cxxxix. 17, Jer. xxxi. 8, in the Hebrew. I do not think it can be emphatic, otherwise *v.* 22 *a* will not be parallel to *v.* 23 *a*.—**Hast thou wearied thyself]** Note the parallelism between the second halves of this and the two next verses.

²³ **Thou hast not brought me . . .]** This looks like an accusation, but must be taken as qualified by the second half of the verse.—**The sheep . . .]** Alluding to the daily morning and evening sacrifice.—The three kinds of sacrifices—burnt-offerings, peace- or thank-offerings, and meal-offerings, and the incense, are grouped as in Jer. xvii. 26 (Stier).—**I have not made a slave of thee with offerings]** Sacrifices fell through during the Exile (see above). But it is also possible to explain this passage on the analogy of Jer. vi. 20, vii. 21-23.

¹ I accept for the present the view which has become traditional, that the description in chap. lviii. relates to an episode in the life of the Jewish exiles.

incense. ²⁴ Thou hast not bought me sweet cane with money, and with the fat of thy sacrifices thou hast not sated me; thou hast altogether made a slave of me with thy sins, and wearied me with thine iniquities. ²⁵ I, even I, blot out thy rebellions for my own sake, and thy sins I will not remember. ²⁶ Call to my remembrance, let us plead together: recount thou, that thou mayest appear righteous. ²⁷ Thy first father

²⁴ **Sweet cane**] This was an ingredient in the holy anointing oil (Ex. xxx. 23).—**The fat** . . .] i.e. the fat pieces described in Lev.

iii.—**Wearied me**] The same expression is used in a similar context in Mal. ii. 17.

vv. 25-28. Here the connection becomes clear again. Jehovah is still the speaker; he offers Israel a free pardon. Israel, on his side, hesitates to admit his need of it. Jehovah replies by calling upon Israel to mention his supposed meritorious works. But Israel has no such works to mention. On the contrary, as Jehovah reminds him, he has been a sinner from the beginning. This is the true cause of Israel's present humiliation.

²⁶ **Call to my remembrance**] See last note. Dr. Weir suggests a new interpretation. 'Do not the words rather mean—Only put me in mind of thy relation to me, and of my promises to thee, my Servant, recount what I have already done for thee as my Servant, that through my grace thou mayest be justified and saved?' (Comp. the use of the same verb in lxii. 6, lxiii. 7.) He thus obtains a closer connection with the last verse: 'Thy sins I will not remember; only thou put me in mind of my promise, and plead with me on that ground.'

²⁷ **Thy first father** . . .] The general sense is that of Ps. li. 5, if the speaker there is a representative of the nation. 'Father' may (1) = founder of the nation, as Gen. x. 21, &c.; and the founder of the Jewish nation may be either (a) Abraham (Rashi, Stier, Del., Naeg.), comp. li. 2, lxiii. 16, Matt. iii. 9, or (b) Jacob (Ew., Seinecke, H. Schultz, Kay), comp. lviii. 14, and the common phrase, 'children of Israel.' Of the two, Jacob is much the more probable, for Abraham is too emphatically canonised by

the voice of prophecy (see xli. 8) to be described here as the first sinner, whereas certain events in Jacob's life were felt by the prophets to be spots on the fair fame of that patriarch; see Jer. ix. 4, and comp. John i. 47, 'in truth a guileless son of Israel' (spoken with a lofty irony). Or (2) 'father' may be a collective = 'fathers'; comp. Gen. xxxi. 29, 42, 53 (?), Ex. iii. 6, xv. 2, xviii. 4. In this case, the 'fathers' of Israel will be either their ancestors (Ges.), or the leaders of the nation in matters civil (xxii. 21) and religious¹ (Judges xvii. 10, 2 Kings ii. 12). The latter view is taken by Sept. ('your first fathers'), and among moderns by Hengst. and Henderson (the high priests collectively from Aaron onwards), but is opposed by the occurrence of a plural in the parallel line. Of less likely conjectures, I will only mention these three. Kimchi, followed by Hitz., Knob., Merx (*Hiob*, p. iv.), Pusey (*Daniel*, p. 407), thinks of Adam; Vit. of Uriah, the High Priest in the reign of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 10-16); Luz-zatto of the sons of Jeshua the

¹ Is it more than a mere coincidence that *āb*, which in Hebrew means (doubtless primarily) 'father,' in Egyptian has the ordinary sense of 'priest'? (See Pierret's *Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique*, s. v.)

sinned, and thy mediators rebelled against me; ²⁸ therefore I ¹ profaned consecrated princes, and delivered up ¹ Jacob to the ban, and Israel to reproaches.

¹ So Sept., Pesh., Vulg.—Will profane . . . will deliver up, Hebr. pointed text, Targ., Hengst, Stier, Naeg.

High Priest in Ezra's time, who offended by taking foreign wives (Ezra x. 18). The reader will have gathered that I myself agree with Ewald (see above 1 *δ*).—**Thy mediators**] The 'interpreters' (so literally), i.e., 'mediators' or 'ambassadors' (the rendering of A. V. in 2 Chron. xxxii. 31), are the prophets and the priests, especially the former. The intercession of a prophet is sometimes described as effectual in the greatest perils of the nation (Ps. cvi. 23, comp. Ex. xxxii. 10-14, 31, 32), though before the Exile, Jeremiah is told that the prayer of the greatest prophets could not then avert the punishment of Judah (xv. 1, comp. xi. 14). Both classes of passages prepare us for the announcement of a higher Mediator, in whom Jehovah is so

'well pleased' that he cannot refuse to accept his intercession (liii. 12). The word rendered 'mediator' (*mēlīq̄*) is also used of an angel of high rank specially friendly to man, Job xxxiii. 23.—**Rebelled against me**] See Jeremiah's denunciation of the deceitful prophets (Jer. xxiii).

²⁸ **I profaned**] i.e., 'treated as holding no relation to me' (Jehovah); so xlvii. 6. (The reading of the pointed text assumes that the profanation is future; comp. on lxiii. 3, 6. So the Targum. See, however, xlii. 25).—**Consecrated princes**] i.e., (1) the chief priests, who are called by this very title in 1 Chron. xxiv. 5; (2) the kings Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, who had received the 'holy oil' (Ps. lxxxix. 20).

CHAPTER XLIV.

Vv. 1-5. But let not the true Israel be discouraged. 'It is a light thing' that he shall pass uninjured through the judgments which are coming upon the world (xliii. 2), and even that the grievous dispersion caused by the various captivities shall have an end. A nobler object of ambition is to be placed before him—the introduction of the heathen nations within the circle of higher spiritual influences. Success is assured to him by one of the grandest Divine promises.

These verses ought to have formed part of the preceding chapter, with which the two first words connect it. The error in the current division of the chapters is owing to the analogy of the opening of chap. xliii. But though there is a similar transition, similarly introduced, at the head of both chapters, there is a manifest break in the discourse at the end of xlv. 5, which makes it entirely misleading to continue the chapter.

¹ But now hear, O Jacob my servant; and Israel, whom I have chosen. ² Thus saith Jehovah, thy creator, and he that

² **Jeshurun**] Rather *Yeshūrūn*. A synonym for Israel. Just as Jeru-

salem has a second name among her intimates—Ariel (xxix. 1, 2, 7),

formed thee ^a from the womb, who will help thee ^a; Fear not, my servant Jacob, and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen; ³ for I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and streams upon the dry ground; I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy offspring; ⁴ and they shall shoot up, ^o as grass between the waters, ^b as poplars by water-courses. ⁵ This one shall say, 'I am Jehovah's,' and that one ^c shall

^a (So accents.) Who helpeth thee from the womb, Targ., Vulg., Vitr., Ges.

^b So Sept., Lo., Ew.—Hebr. text, Amidst the grass.

^c So Symm., Lo., Bi. (pointing differently); shall celebrate, or, proclaim, TEXT.

so Israel has an alternative appellation with his Divine friend. In the earlier name—Israel—the militant character of Jehovah's people was brought prominently forward; in the new name it is the moral attribute of uprightness which is emphasised, corresponding to the new office of teacher conferred upon the spiritual Israel. Thus there are three names for Jehovah's people, Jacob—Israel—Jeshurun, and each represents a separate phase of moral progress.—The meaning of Jeshurun (a derivative of *yāshār*, 'upright') is the Upright One.¹ 'Uprightness,' indeed, is the constant burden of the Old Testament:—the ethical character of its religion is the source of its vitality. In Num. xxiii. 10, 'Israel' and 'the upright' are even used synonymously; and a collection of traditions and lyric poems relative to model Israelites received the appellation, 'The Book of the Righteous One' (Auth. Vers. 'the Book of Jasher').²—The name Jeshurun only occurs again in the 'Song of Moses' and the 'Blessing of Moses' (Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26).—**Whom I have chosen**] The addition illustrates the meaning of the word Jeshurun. It is an 'imputed righteousness (or, uprightness)' which is the ground of Israel's election

(Stier). Israel is regarded in the flower, and not in the bud.

³ **I will pour water**] See on xli. 17, 18, and comp. the transition in Joel ii. 23-28 from the gift of rain to the outpouring of the Spirit.—

I will pour my Spirit] What it is to have the Spirit of Jehovah we know from xi. 2, 3, and especially from xlii. 1-4. It is to be full of the knowledge and fear of God, and to make the world-wide spread of the true religion the chief object of life. After such a promise has been given in this half-verse, we are bound not to interpret the next verse too narrowly, as if it meant no more than Zech. ix. 17 (*Q. P. B.*).—**Upon thy seed**] And who are the 'seed' of Jacob? See v. 5 for the answer.

⁴ **As grass**] Grass is generally used as an image of what is transient and soon withers, but now and then of an abundant growth, as in Job v. 25, Ps. lxxii. 16.—The Sept. reading completes the parallelism, and restores symmetry to the paragraph.—**As poplars**] Not 'willows;' see Wetzstein in Del.'s commentary on the passage. The same word as in xv. 7.—**Water-courses**] Artificially conducted streams.

⁵ The stunted spiritual condition even of the few believers in Israel shall be remedied (*vv.* 3, 4). But

¹ Jeshurun is often stated to be a diminutive (e.g., by Ges., Hitz., Ew., Hendersou), but on very weak grounds. Are Zebulun and Jedithun diminutives? and would 'my pious little one' (Ewald renders it *Frömmchen*) be in harmony with the fatherly seriousness of Jehovah's language? It is simply a personal name, as Justus Olshausen, Delitzsch, and (in his academical lectures) Dr. Pusey, rightly regard it.

² Unless we should, with the Syriac (Josh. x. 13), read *sefer hash-shir*, 'the Song-book.'

be called by^c the name of Jacob, and that one shall^d mark on his hand,^d 'Jehovah's,' and^e be titled by^e the name of Israel.

^d So Sept., Lo., Hitz., Kn.—Write with his hand, Vitr., Ges., Ew., Del.

^e So Targ., Lo., Bi. (pointing differently); use for a title, TEXT.

how? This is explained in the next verse. It is not merely the 'seed' of believers in a natural sense to which the outpouring of the Spirit is guaranteed (*v.* 3), but the whole body of believers in the coming Messianic age. 'God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham' (Matt. iii. 9). Comp. on xlv. 25.—**This one shall say . . .**] (Obs., the first and the third clauses correspond, the second and the fourth.) The prophet is so full of the idea of a comprehensive Church of Jehovah, that without any warning he transports us into the midst of the thronging Jewish proselytes.¹ The description reminds us somewhat of Ps. lxxxvii. 4, 5 (already compared by Vitr.), where the representatives of the heathen nations are described as being born anew in Zion. Comp. also Zech. viii. 23 (referred to by 'many' in Ibn Ezra's time).—**Celebrate . . .**] See on xii. 4.—**Mark on his hand**] i.e., to express his devotion to his new-found God. Such sacred marks seem to have been once very prevalent in Palestine, and the Damascene ladies retain the habit of tattooing hands, feet, chin, forehead, and breast.² Such a prohibition as Lev. xix. 28 ('nor print any marks upon you') could never have been carried out absolutely, and probably referred merely to heathenish tat-

tooing (see the context, and Deut. xiv. 1). Our prophet, however, though he presupposes the custom of tattooing, of course does not mean to be taken literally. Similar phrases are used elsewhere. For instance, 'I bear the marks of Jesus in my body' (Gal. vi. 17). 'Mark a cross upon the foreheads of the men who sigh and groan over all the abominations which take place in their midst' (Ezek. ix. 4, so Rev. vii. 3, ix. 4, xiii. 16, xiv. 1, 9). 'And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes' (Ex. xiii. 9, which is not to be violently harmonized with Deut. vi. 8). 'Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands' (xlix. 16, see note). The rend. 'write with his hand' (i.e. subscribe to a solemn form of dedication to Jehovah, comp. Neh. ix., x.) is not without a theological bearing. It seems intended to exclude any favourable allusion to a custom of heathenish origin. That tattooing is such a custom cannot be doubted; see Herod. ii. 113, vii. 235, Lucian *de deâ syr.*, 59, and comp. the sacred marks on the Vishnavite sects in India, and Waitz's instructive remarks on Polynesian tattooing.³ But such Puritanism is unhistorical. The Biblical religion is not that 'exclusive and unsympathetic faith' which Positivists represent it to be. See further crit. note.

¹ It has been doubted whether Judaism can be called a proselytising religion. (See Prof. Max Müller's *Lectures on Missions*.) We should certainly expect it *à priori* to be so; such fervent monotheism could not help endeavouring to extend its sway. The words of the above revelation, moreover, certainly regard it as being such, for converts imply missionaries. Yet the evidence for the post-Captivity periods is, I admit, conflicting, and does not allow a generalisation. Wünsche says there is no evidence in the Talmud that the Pharisees were greedy of proselytes, but Matt. xxiii. 15, must have some foundation (the school of Hillel seems to have been more favourable to aspirants than that of Shammai). The Jews of the Dispersion certainly were proselytizers. In Damascus, in Arabia, on the shores of the Caspian, in Asia Minor, in Greece and Rome, the attraction exercised by Judaism is as certain a fact as any in history.

² Orelli, *Durch's Heilige Land*, p. 281.

³ *Anthropologie der Naurvölker*, vi. 36, 37.

vv. 6-28.—Contents.—Jehovah, the God of prophecy, contrasted with the manufactured gods of the deluded heathen. A fresh appeal to prophecy, culminating in the prediction of the rebuilding of Jerusalem through the favour of Cyrus.

⁶ Thus saith Jehovah, the King of Israel, and his Goel Jehovah Sabáoth; I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God. ⁷ And who calleth as I, (let him declare it and expound it unto me,) since I placed ^fthe people of antiquity ^f? and future things, and things that shall

^f The everlasting people, Ew., Naeg.

—**Be titled . . .**] ‘Israel’ or ‘Son of Israel’ shall be regarded henceforth as the most honourable title which a man can bear.—It is a peculiar kind of title which is referred to, analogous to the Roman *cognomen*, and still more closely to the *kunya* of men of distinction among the Arabs, which generally has a political or religious significance (e.g., Salákh-eddin, i.e., ‘salus religionis’). The verb used in the Hebrew (*kinnāh*) is radically the same; from it is derived in later Hebrew *kinnūy* (i.e., a cognomen or agnomen, though not specially in an honourable sense). It occurs again in the same sense in xlv. 4, and in Job xxxii. 21, 22, in that of ‘to flatter’ (Auth. Vers. ‘Give flattering titles’).¹

⁶ Here begins one of the principal sections of the prophecy. It is prefaced by a short and simple but majestic proclamation of Jehovah concerning His being. **I am the first and I am the last**] ‘I am before all things, and shall still endure though all creation pass away.’ So xlvi. 12; comp. the slightly different form of expression in xli. 4, and Rev. i. 8, 17, xxii. 13. ‘The last’ has here the same sense as in Job xix. 25 (see *Q. P. B.*)

⁷ The eternity of Jehovah involves his sole ability to foretell the future.—**And who calleth . . .**] Or, ‘who is wont to call’ (i.e., prophesy, xl. 2). ‘And’ is expla-

natory. The prophecies of Jehovah (i.e., inspired by Jehovah) reach back to the ‘placing’ of **the people of antiquity . . .** It is doubted whether the latter phrase means the Jews (Vitr., Ges., Kay, Weir), or the first inhabitants of the world (Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Hitz., Del.). Dr. Weir thinks that ‘the comparison of *v.* 8 shows that Jehovah is here appealing to the long-continued experience of his people in the past; and therefore the point indicated in “since I placed, &c.,” is the call of Abraham.’ In support of this view he very aptly quotes the expression in lxiii. 11, ‘The days of old (or of antiquity), of Moses.’ If, however, the Jews are to be brought in, it seems better to adopt Ewald’s rendering, ‘the everlasting people,’ with reference to the ‘everlasting covenant’ (Ex. xxxi. 16), the ‘everlasting priesthood’ (Ex. xl. 15), and the everlasting kingdom (2 Sam. vii. 13, 16), promised to the people of Israel. Such a description of the Jews is fine and poetical, and not out of harmony with the context (see Stier). It suggests the everlastingness of God’s people, in opposition to the proximate fall of the idolatrous nations, as arising naturally out of its relation to prophecy and to ‘the everlasting God’ (xl. 28). But I cannot help thinking with Del. that, if Israel had been meant, it would have been more directly mentioned. Our

¹ See, besides the late-Hebrew Lexicon of Buxtorf or Levy, Ewald’s *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, § 271, 273.

come, let them announce. ⁸ Shudder ye not, neither be ye terrified; have I not long since caused thee to hear it, and announced it? indeed ye are my witnesses; is there a God besides me? (Nay,) and there is no Rock; I know of none. ⁹ They who fashion images are all of them chaos, and their objects of delight cannot profit, and their witnesses are without sight and without knowledge, in order that they may be ashamed. ¹⁰ Who fashioneth a god, and casteth an image—to no profit? ¹¹ Behold, all its associates shall be ashamed, and as for the craftsmen—they are of men. Let them all of

prophet, as we have seen already, takes a singularly wide view of the course of history, and the comparison of a passage in the Book of Job (so rich in phraseological and doctrinal parallels), where the manner of life of the antediluvian men is called 'the way of antiquity' (A. V., 'the old way'), confirms the view adopted above. I suppose, then, the Divine speaker to affirm that the succession of prophets goes back to the creation of man—a statement which agrees with the Book of Genesis, and seems to be repeated in xlvi. 16 (see note).—**Placed** implies that the creation of man had a purpose, viz., the same to which all prophecy points—the conscious and intelligent glorification of God.—**People** is here used in the same sense as in xlii. 5.—**Things that shall come**] Not merely things pretended as future, but such as shall actually come to pass (Naeg.).

⁸ **Shudder ye not**] Viz., at the convulsions of the Asiatic nations.—**I know of none**] Elsewhere it is the insult to his glory which the Divine pleader emphasises; here the injury done by idolaters to themselves. If there were another Rock of Ages, Jehovah would not complain; but as his being is unique, it pains him that men will not have him for a God (Luther and Stier).

⁹ **Chaos**] See on xxiv. 10.—**Their objects of delight**] In a religious sense, as lxiv. 11, Lam. i. 10. Comp. i. 29.—**Their wit-**

nesses] i.e., the witnesses on behalf of the idols—the heathen, as opposed to Jehovah's witnesses—the Jews (*v. 8*).—**That they may be ashamed**] The consequence of the action is described as if it had formed part of the intention of the agent; comp. vi. 9, xxviii. 13, xxx. 1.

¹⁰ **Who fashioneth a God**] An image can doubtless be produced by art, but who can think of fashioning an image into a god? 'Quis nisi demens' (Grotius).

¹¹ **All its associates**] A *khābhēr* is a member of a *khēbher*, i.e., a company, guild, or society (e.g., as in the Mishna, of the guild of the Pharisees); comp. Hos. vi. 9, where the priests of the kingdom of Israel are called a *khēbher*. Here the prophet means the worshippers of the idol, who together formed a kind of guild, and by partaking of the sacrificial meals were brought into a mystical union with the god whom they worshipped: comp. Ps. cvi. 28, 'They yoked themselves to Baal-Peor'; Hos. iv. 17, 'Ephraim is (*khābhūr*) in association with idols'; 1 Cor. x. 20, 'I would not have you become associates with demons'; Mark i. 23, 'a man fastened to (*év* = the *Beth societatis*) an unclean spirit.' With regard to this mystical union, see further on i. 21.—**They are of men**] i.e., of human origin, and how should men make their maker?—**Let them . . . assemble**] Let the members of the guild combine to defend their head.

them assemble, come forward, shudder, be ashamed at once. ¹² ^g The smith sharpeneth an axe,^g and worketh in the coals, and with hammers he fashioneth it; he worketh it with his powerful arm; he is hungry also, and hath no strength; he drinketh no water, and is faint. ¹³ The carpenter stretcheth out a line, he sketcheth it with ^h a sharp tool ^h; he finisheth it with planes, and marketh it out with compasses; and maketh it like the human figure, like the beauty of man, to dwell in the house. ¹⁴ ¹ He heweth him down ¹ cedars, and taketh the ilex and the oak, and ^k fixeth his choice on ^k trees of the forest; he planteth a pine, and the rain maketh it grow; ¹⁵ and it serveth for men to burn, he taketh of them and warmeth himself; also he kindleth a fire, and baketh bread; also he worketh it into a god, and boweth down; he maketh it into an image, and worshippeth it. ¹⁶ Half thereof he burneth in the fire; with half thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, and is satisfied; also he warmeth himself, and saith, Aha! I am warm, I ¹ feel the flame; ¹⁷ and the remainder of it he maketh into a god, into his image: he

^g So Sept., Del., Weir.—Hebr. text, The smith an axe.

^h Red chalk, Kimchi, Vitr.

¹ So Ew. (changing a letter).—Hebr. text, To hew down (or, possibly, He prepareth to hew down, Del.).

^k Rearth him some, Ew.

¹ Lit. see.

^{12, 13} A specimen of the 'grim and caustic' Hebrew humour, describing the laborious process of 'making a god,' first of all of iron, and then of wood.

¹³ **Stretcheth out a line]** i.e., upon the block of wood.—**Like the human figure]** Foolishly forgetting that man was made in the image of the true God.—**In the house]** i.e., either in a temple or in a private house.

¹⁴ The prophet resumes the history of the wooden idol. The mode of production of the metal is a mystery; iron comes from 'a path which no eagle knoweth' (Job xxviii. 7). But the idol of wood can be traced further back. Nature itself has been visibly at work, or rather—strange irony of circumstance!—the true God Himself who 'sendeth his rain' equally upon believers

and misbelievers. The description 'moves retrogressively' (Del.); the mention of the trees suggests their selection, and this again their planting. Tastes may differ; but all agree in choosing good solid timber.—**Fixeth his choice]** Rendering as xli. 10.—**A pine]** The Heb. 'ōren obviously = Ass. *irin*, the cedar of Lebanon (see on xli. 19). Consequently the former must, at any rate, be some tree more akin to the cedar than to the ash.

¹⁶ One half of the wood the man uses to make a fire for cooking, and for warming himself.—**Half thereof,** in the second line, does not mean the other half of the wood (as is plain from v. 17; see also v. 19). The words (or rather, in the Hebr., word) are only repeated to make out a second member to the verse.

worshippeth it and boweth down; and he prayeth unto it and saith, Rescue me, for thou art my god. ¹⁸ They have no knowledge and no understanding, for their eyes are daubed so that they cannot see, and their hearts so that they cannot consider. ¹⁹ And he taketh it not to his heart, he hath neither knowledge nor understanding to say, Half of it I have burned in the fire, and I have also baked bread over the coals thereof, I roasted flesh and ate; and the residue thereof shall I make an abomination? the produce of a tree shall I worship? ²⁰ He followeth after ashes; a deluded heart hath turned him aside, and he cannot rescue himself, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?

²¹ Remember these things, O Jacob; and Israel, for thou art my servant: I have formed thee, thou art a servant unto me; O Israel, thou ^m canst not be forgotten of me. ^m ²² I have blotted out as a mist thy rebellions, and as clouds thy sins: return unto me, for I have released thee. ²³ Ring out, ye

^m Shalt (or, shouldst) not forget me, Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg., Rasbi, Hitz.

¹⁸ Whence does this folly proceed? From judicial hardness of heart. Metaphorically, **their eyes are daubed**; comp. on vi. 10.

²⁰ The idolater is so wrapped up in his delusion that he never thinks of examining the grounds of his hopes. — **He followeth after ashes**] Comp. 'Ephraim followeth after wind, and chaseth the east wind' (Hos. xii. 1).

²¹ A fresh section begins here, introduced by an admonition. Israel, attached by such special ties to Jehovah, should **remember these things** (i.e., the folly of idolatry, comp. xli. 8). — **And Israel**] i.e., 'and remember this, O Israel.' — **Canst not be forgotten** . . .] As Jehovah's people foolishly complains (xl. 27, xlix. 14). Against alt. rend. see Del.

²²⁻²³ Jehovah has already proved (or is on the point of proving) his fidelity to his covenant by pardoning and redeeming (or rather releasing) Israel. Pardon and release are but two sides of one and the same deliverance. 'There is no peace' (even externally) 'for the ungodly,' and those who would

return to Zion must first return to Jehovah. But it is Jehovah who makes the first advances. He calls for conversion, on the ground that **I have released thee**] 'The Israel of God' cannot perish; the only question which remains is one for man's free will to settle, viz., the numbers of those who shall constitute it.

²³ Appeal for sympathy to heaven and earth; comp. xlix. 13. — **Hath done nobly**] Lit., 'hath done.' Used pregnantly as in lxiv. 3 (4), Jer. iv. 17, and probably Ps. xxii. 32 (31). — **Ye depths of the earth**] Heaven above is contrasted with Sheól beneath (as in vii. 11). To have introduced the word Sheól would have marred the antithesis; hence the prophet used a synonymous phrase, the meaning of which was familiar to his readers. For a similar reason St. Paul says that Christ descended, not *eis ἄδην*, but *eis τὰ κάρωτερα τῆς γῆς* (Eph. iv. 9). A difficulty has been felt by some critics in admitting that Sheól could thus be called upon to rejoice; see Ps. vi. 5, lxxxviii. 12. Hence Calv. and Vit. suppose 'the depths (or,

heavens, for Jehovah hath done nobly; shout, ye depths of the earth; burst out, ye mountains, into a ringing sound; thou forest, and every tree therein! for Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob, and beautifieth himself with Israel. ²⁴ Thus saith Jehovah, thy Goel, and he that formed thee from the womb; I am Jehovah, the maker of everything, that stretched forth the heavens alone, that spread forth the earth—^u who was with me? ⁿ ²⁵ that bringeth to nought the signs of the praters, and maketh the diviners mad, that turneth wise men backward, and proveth their knowledge to be folly, ²⁶ that

^u Or, Who beside me? This is the reading of the letters of the text, and of Sept., Vulg. The vowel-points assume the reading, By myself.

lower parts) of the earth' are the valleys and plains, as opposed to the mountains; and Del. arbitrarily distinguishes Sheól from 'the interior of the earth, with its caves, its pits, and its deep abysses.' But there is one argument conclusive against these theories, viz., that wherever this and similar phrases occur (see crit. note) there is always an implied reference to Sheól: Vit. has in vain attempted to disprove this.—The difficulty of these critics may be met in two ways; either, with Stier and Hahn, by comparing xxvi. 19, where some, at least, of the dwellers in Sheól are called upon to rejoice, or, better (since this view is not favoured by the context, and is opposed by xlix. 13, where the appeal is made to the heavens, *the earth*, and the mountains,) by supposing that Sheól is not here referred to as the abode of the departed, but as a part of the material world. The passage is simply a poetical apostrophe, like 'Hear, O heavens! and give ear, O earth,' though I would not deny that there may be an allusion to the regeneration of which heaven and earth are to be the subjects (lxv. 17).—**Ye mountains**] The mountains are introduced to make a second antithesis with 'the depths of the earth.' In Ps. xcvi. 11 their place is taken by the sea. Comp. the striking apostrophe to the

mountains (by themselves) in Mic. vi. 2.—**Beautifieth himself**] So xlix. 3, lx. 21, lxi. 3. Comp. 'Thou shalt be a crown of beauty, in the hand of Jehovah, &c., lxii. 3.

²⁴ The prophet gathers up his strength for a fresh flight. The God of creation and of prophecy has already selected His instrument for Israel's liberation.—**Who was with me?**] As my counsellor (xl. 13). This, as the more peculiar reading, and the more easily altered, should have the preference. Comp. Job ix. 8, 'Who *alone* spread out the heavens.'

²⁵ **The signs of the praters**] i.e., the agencies of the heathen soothsayers, specially those of Babylon (xlvii. 13).

²⁶ **His servant**] The context shows that 'servant' is here a synonym for prophet; comp. Mic. iii. 7, 8, where the prophetic writer is opposed to the deceitful prophets (comp. *v.* 25). Isaiah is expressly called Jehovah's servant in xx. 3; the Egyptians, too, according to Brugsch, called their prophets by a term meaning 'servant of God' (*hon nyter*).¹ Calv. and Ges. think 'servant' is here used collectively for 'servants,' i.e., prophets. But in this case should we not expect 'messenger' in the parallel line, on the analogy of xlii. 19? It is, I

¹ Brugsch, *Hieroglyphische Grammatik*, p. 106.

maketh his servant's word to stand, and accomplisheth the counsel of his messengers, that saith of Jerusalem, Let her be inhabited, and of the cities of Judah, Let them be built, and her desolate places will I raise up; ²⁷ that saith to the flood, Be thou wasted, and thy streams will I dry up; ²⁸ that saith of Cyrus, ° My shepherd,° and all my pleasure shall he accom-

° My companion, Kuenen (see crit. note).

think, the prophetic writer who is meant (Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Vitri., Naeg., Kay); though Hitzig's reference of the phrase to Jeremiah (see Jer. xxx.-xxxiii., l., li.) is certainly ingenious.—**Counsel**] i.e., prediction (comp. xli. 28, 'counselor,' i.e., 'prophet').—**His messengers**] i.e., the prophets generally.

²⁷ **The flood**] i.e., the Euphrates. Similar predictions in xi. 15, Jer. l. 38, li. 36; comp. Rev. xvi. 12.

²⁸ **That saith of Cyrus**] 'The mention of Cyrus by name is here the seal to the truth and consistency of the whole message.' We may adopt these words of Prof. Birks, though not quite in the sense in which he uses them. The prophet does not say, 'Behold, a child shall be born, Cyrus by name, and he shall be my shepherd' (comp. the prediction of Josiah's birth, 1 Kings xiii. 2), but, assuming the existence of a person named Cyrus, predicts that he, and no scion of the Davidic house (as the Jews may well have supposed), was the chosen instrument of Israel's deliverance. Here, as in the greater part of chaps. xl.-xlv., the prophet incontrovertibly occupies the standing-ground of a Jewish exile in Babylon. It is not surprising that a Roman Catholic critic¹ (Dr. P. Schegg) should pronounce the whole verse to be a later explana-

tory addition, and the words (or rather word) 'to Cyrus' (*Ikōresh*) in xlv. 1 to have the same origin, or that Dr. Plumptre (following Hengstenberg) should have tried to show that the name of Cyrus may have come to Isaiah by natural means. The theory of the former critic seems to me as purely arbitrary as any fancy of the older rationalists; the attempt of the latter is perfectly justifiable, and I cannot but sympathise deeply with it, as it springs from a well-founded objection to the mechanical theory of prophetic revelations. Dr. Plumptre's explanation² is perfect, if only his facts are sound. If it can be shown (1) that Cyrus was an old titular name of the Persian kings (like Pharaoh for the kings of Egypt); (2) that it signifies 'the sun;' and (3) that there were communications between Judah and Persia in Isaiah's time, then it is a very probable supposition that Isaiah would hear of the name, and connect it with the Divine revelations. But I fear the two former positions (not to criticise the third) cannot any longer be maintained. The meaning of 'the sun' for Cyrus rests ultimately upon a statement of Plutarch³; it was long ago questioned by our countryman Gataker, and, as Lassen and Spiegel have argued, is philologically untenable.⁴ The

¹ Referred to in Strachey's *Jewish History and Politics*, pp. 358-9.

² *Biblical Studies*, (Lond, 1870), p. 195. The supposed analogy of Pharaoh, referred to by Dr. Plumptre, is untenable, since this title means, not 'the sun,' but 'Great House' (comp. 'the Court,' 'the Sublime Porte'). In Bp. Ellicott's *Bible*, vol. iv., Dr. Plumptre still advocates his old view on very weak grounds.

³ Plutarch mentions it at the beginning of his life of Artaxerxes. Most, after Gesenius, claim for it the authority of Ctisias, but this can only be done inferentially.

⁴ Gataker, *Adversaria*, ed. 1659, col. 659; Lassen, *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vi. 153; Spiegel, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, i. 33. I am sorry that Prof. Birks (2nd ed. of *Commentary*, 1878), and even Dr. Kay (1875), should have given their support to a thoroughly antiquated explanation.

plish, even in saying of Jerusalem, Let it be built, and of the temple, Let ^p its foundations be laid.

^p TEXT, thy.

recently discovered Cyrus-inscription shows that the name (which the Cyrus-cylinder gives as *kuras*) is not even Aryan at all, being of Elamitish origin. Prof. Sayce plausibly connects it with *kur* = 'mountain' (in proto-Medic and Accadian inscriptions), and remarks that we have thus a ready explanation of the old Herodotean legend of Cyrus's childhood (*Academy*, October 16, 1880, p. 277). — **Cyrus**] Hebr. *kōresh* (the last vowel pronounced very short; the word is a so-called 'segolate' in form. — **My Shepherd**] i.e., no mere ordinary ruler, but one appointed by me to shepherd my people Israel; comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 11, &c., and see above on xl. 11. — Josephus makes this interesting statement: — 'Now this became known to Cyrus by his reading the book which Esaias left behind him

of his prophecy; for this man said that God had spoken thus to him in secret: My will is that Cyrus, &c. This was prophesied by Esaias one hundred and forty years before the demolition of the temple. When therefore Cyrus had read this, and marvelled at the divinity, a kind of *impulse* (comp. on xlv. 13 *b*) and ambition seized upon him to fulfil what was so written' (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1, 2). May there not be an element of truth in this story? May not Isa. xlv. 24–xlv. 7 have been written, partly at least, with an apologetic purpose, and intended for Cyrus as well as for Jewish readers. The apologies for the Christians addressed to the Roman emperors missed their mark and were unread; it is perfectly conceivable that the apology for the Jews addressed to Cyrus was more fortunate.

Note on 'That saith of Cyrus' (xlv. 28), and 'when thou hast not known me' (xlv. 4).

Two illustrations of these passages from an Assyrian source seem worth noticing.¹

It has been observed above that the prophetic writer assumes, rather than predicts, the existence of Cyrus, that he omits to mention by how many years (if any) his announcement preceded the birth of the Deliverer. His interest is in fact wholly absorbed by the momentous enterprise which has been confided to Cyrus. The following quotation from the Annals of Assurbanipal (king of Assyria from 667 to 626 B.C.) supplies a contrast rather than a parallel to this studious reticence. It relates to an event of special interest, both on its own account and for its connection with the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, viz., the raid of the Elamitish king, Kudur-nankhundi, into Babylonia. Assurbanipal appears to state that his name, and the high religious duty committed to him, had been predicted more than a thousand years before. These are his words: — 'Nana, who 1635 years had been desecrated, had gone, and dwelt | in Elam, a place not appointed to her; | and in those days, she and the gods her fathers | proclaimed my name to the dominion of the earth. | The return of her divinity she entrusted to me thus: "Assurbanipal

¹ *History of Assurbanipal*, translated by George Smith (Lond. 1871), pp. 234–5 and p. 4.

from the midst of Elam (wicked), | bring me out, and cause me to enter into Bitanna." | The will commanded by their divinity, which from days remote | they had uttered, again they spoke to later people.'

This is a good specimen of the extravagance of fictitious prophecy, and illustrates the reasonable demand of the prophet in xliii. 9, 'Let them bring forth their witnesses, that they may be justified.'

The second is of value, as showing how familiar the idea of predestination was to another Semitic nation besides the Jewish. It illustrates, not only the passage quoted above (xlv. 4), but also xlix. 1, where of 'the Servant' it is said, 'from my mother's lap (or, womb) hath he made mention of my name.' The same king Assurbanipal states at the solemn opening of his Annals, that the gods '*in the body of his mother* have made (him) to rule Assyria.'

CHAPTER XLV.

Contents.—The achievements of Cyrus; the sinful murmurings of Israel rebuked; then, returning to the bright theme of restoration, the conversion of the southern nations and of those who escape in the judgment on the heathen world.

vv. 1-8.—Arrived at this culminating point of his first strain of prophecy, the writer lingers awhile on the motives of the Divine favour to Cyrus. Three of these are mentioned—(1) That he might be led to acknowledge the true God, (2) that Israel might be liberated, and (3) that the world might be converted from false religions. Then follows a short song of praise.

¹ Thus saith Jehovah to his anointed, to Cyrus, whom I have grasped by his right hand, to bring down before him nations, and to ungird the loins of kings, to open before him

¹ **To his anointed]** LXX. τῷ χριστῷ μου; Vulg., *christo meo*. Cyrus is the only non-Jewish king called Jehovah's 'anointed one' (Hebr. *māshīakh* = Messiah), the only non-Davidic ruler *Dei gratiā* (unless Nebuchadnezzar be thought an exception, see Jer. xxvii. 6, xliii. 10). It is a conjecture of Ewald's that the phrase involves a rebuke to those of the exiles who, on the ground of the ancient prophecies, were expecting an Israelitish deliverer. Against this it may be urged (1) That the ideal king of the future is nowhere in the prophetic canon called 'the Anointed One';

(2) That it is but the least important of the functions of him whom we, following the traditional interpretation of Dan. ix. 26, call the Messiah (or the Messianic king), which is here allotted to Cyrus (see *I. C. A.*, p. 166). It would be a more plausible conjecture that the prophet was looking forward to an independent Israelitish empire to be set up by Cyrus; for in *v. 14* he speaks of captives from neighbouring countries coming to Jerusalem, and later on of kings being the 'nursing-fathers' and humble vassals of Zion (xlix. 23). The prophet *may* have understood this; but

folding-doors, and that the gates may not be shut: ² I will go before thee, and will make swelling places plain; folding-doors of brass I will break in pieces, and bars of iron will I cut in sunder; ³ and I will give thee treasures of darkness, and hidden things of secret places, that thou mayest acknowledge that I am Jehovah, I that call thee by thy name, the God of Israel. ⁴ For the sake of Jacob my servant, and of Israel mine elect, I have called unto thee by thy name, I have titled thee, when thou hast not known me. ⁵ I am Jehovah, and there is none else; besides me there is no God; I girded thee when thou knewest me not; ⁶ that men might know

believers in revelation will not admit that the prophet's view of the meaning of this revelation is decisive.—**To ungird the loins . . .**] i.e., to disarm, the weapons being carried at the girdle or belt; comp. Ps. xlv. 3, Judges xviii. 11. So 'to gird,' *v.* 5, means 'to arm.'—**Folding-doors**] i.e., those of the cities which Cyrus attacks, and of the temples. Comp. Baruch vi. 18, 'the priests make fast their temples with folding-doors, with bolts and bars, lest these should be spoiled by robbers.'

² **Swelling places**] Milton's 'tunid hills.'—**Doors of brass**] Babylon had 'a hundred gates, all of brass, with brazen lintels and side-posts' (Herod. i. 179, comp. 180). 'The way in which the city was treated would lead us to suppose that its acquisition cannot have cost the conqueror either much time or much loss . . . it is certain that the vast walls and gates were left untouched' (Grote, *History of Greece*, iv. 287). This remark is fully borne out by the inscription relating to the capture of Babylon translated by Mr. Pinches. After the defeat of Nabonidus, Babylon opened its gates to the conqueror without a struggle (*T.S.B.A.*, vii. 184). Prosaic persons may, if they please, point to this as an instance of the non-fulfilment of prophecy. One of the psalmists thought differently (see Ps. cvii. 16).—**Treasures of darkness**] Comp. the description of Babylon

as 'abundant in treasures' (Jer. li. 13) and as πολύχρυσος (*Æsch. Persæ*, 53).—**That thou mayest acknowledge**] See on xli. 25-29.

⁴ **For the sake of Jacob . . .**] 'En magnam sententiam vatis! Fata imperiorum et regnorum mundi à Deo disponi cum respectu ad ecclesiam.' Vitranga. A true exposition, though the prophet clearly instructs us elsewhere, that not only is Cyrus for the sake of Israel, but Israel for the sake of those who are capable of 'faith' among the Gentiles.—**I have titled thee**] viz., with the honourable epithets, 'Myshepherd,' 'My anointed.' It is the same very peculiar verb which we met with in xlv. 5 (see note).—

When thou hast not known me] This might mean, 'When thou wast not a worshipper of mine, and hadst no special claim on my consideration.' (So Calv., Vitr., Knob.) But in that case, should we not expect the sequel to run 'that thou mayest know' (or acknowledge)? At any rate, it enriches the context to explain the phrase on the analogy of xlix. 1, 'From the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name.' (So Del., Naeg., Kay.) For Cyrus may in a manner be called the twin-brother of 'Jehovah's Servant.'

⁶ **That men might know . . .** 'Several important movements in the direction of monotheism (notably, the Pythagorean . . .) had their origin about the time of Cyrus'

from the rising of the sun and from the setting thereof, that there is none beside me—I am Jehovah and there is none else—⁷ that form light and create darkness, and make welfare and create calamity,—I am Jehovah, the maker of all these things.

⁸ Shower, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness; let the earth open, and let ^a them bear

^a So Naeg.—Salvation blossom, Hitz., Ew., Del., Weir.

(Kay). Let us frankly admit, however, that the prophet antedates the glorious prospect revealed to him. He would certainly not have been satisfied with 'monotheistic movements.'

⁷ **That form light . . .**] 'The alternation of day and night is Jehovah's ordinance; so also is the alternation of light and darkness in Providence, of peace and war, of success and misfortune, of good and evil. Comp. Lam. iii. 38' (Dr. Weir). See also liv. 16, Am. iii. 6.—Saadya (as reported by Kimchi) found in this passage a protest against Persian dualism,¹ and the view has been accepted without remonstrance by the latest critics. No doubt it harmonizes well with the prevalent fancy for 'tendencies,' and, if the prophecy were not of so early a date, it would be impossible to deny a degree of plausibility to the theory. If, however, dualism is referred to at all (which I doubt, the language of the prophet being so general), it is rather the primitive dualism of the Babylonian religion (on which see Lenormant's *Lamagie chez les Chaldéens*). As for the earlier Persian religion, the inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ (e.g., that of Darius at Nakshi Rostam)² are as guiltless of dualism as our prophet himself. But the form of the prophecy is rather chosen with regard to its application to Israel. The 'light' and the 'welfare' are that

happy state to which Israel was to be restored through (but not by) Cyrus; the 'darkness' and the 'calamity,' the misery and woe of the Exile (comp. xlii. 7).—**Welfare**] Or, peace (lit., wholeness).—**Calamity**] Lit., evil; comp. xlvi. 11, lvii. 1, and Jerome's note here. [One of the earliest Jewish 'Benedictions' is based upon this passage. It omits the word 'calamity,' however, because, according to the esoteric doctrine, nothing that God creates is evil.]—**All these things**] i.e., 'all that has been mentioned;' not, 'all this that thou seest' (comp. lxvi. 2).

⁸ The appearance of the Shepherd of Jehovah, and the thought of the blessings of which he is the medium, inspire the prophet with a joyous strain of psalmody.—**Shower, ye heavens from above . . .**] Parallels: Ps. lxxxv. 11, Hos. ii. 21, 22, x. 12. The form of expression is borrowed from the Eastern religions, according to which the fertility of the earth is owing to the impregnating influence of heaven. Comp. the Arabic phrases mentioned on iv. 2 (*Last Words*, vol. ii.).³—**Righteousness**] It is doubted whether 'righteousness' is here substantially the same as salvation (viewed in its relation to the covenant-God), or that human righteousness in which salvation, on its moral side, consists. The former is certainly

¹ See *R. P.*, v. 151-153.

² Lagarde and Gustave d'Eichthal have discovered a similar protest in Gen. i. 3-5. More tenable is the view that Mohammed contradicts Persian dualism in the opening words of the 6th Sura, which strikingly resembles this verse of our prophet.

³ See also Lagarde on Astarte, *Nachrichten der Götting. Gesellschaft*, 1881, p. 398; Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 172, 409.

the fruit of salvation,^a and ^b let righteousness shoot forth ^b at once: I, Jehovah, have created it.

^b So all versions.—Let it (the earth) cause righteousness to shoot forth, Hitz., Kay.

the case in xlvi. 13, and is in more complete accordance with the usage of the prophet; comp. also li. 5, 6, 8; lvi. 1, lix. 17, lxi. 10, 11, lxii. 1.

—Let them bear . . .] The suppressed subject is 'heaven and earth' (Naeg.).—Have created it] As xli. 20.

vv. 9-13. The sure promise of Jehovah is contrasted with the little faith of Israel, who murmurs, not at the nationality of the Deliverer (as Ewald represents), but at the tardy advent of the deliverance. The prophet rejoins, 'Woe unto him, who, though made of earth, and with no intrinsic superiority over others of his race, presumes to find fault with his Maker, and to criticise providential arrangements.' It is one of the most decisive Biblical assertions of the Divine sovereignty. For the image of the potter, comp. xxix. 16, lxiv. 8, and especially Jer. xviii. 1-6, xix. 1, 10, 11, Rom. ix. 20-24. It is extremely characteristic, and is evidently based on the account in Gen. ii. 7.—**A potsherd among potsherds of the ground**] 'Among,' or 'like'; lit., 'with.'—The rendering, however, is only probable. The ideas of 'among' and 'like' are but loosely expressed by the preposition 'with,' and there is the further difficulty (pointed out by Dr. Weir) of giving the same preposition (*eth*) a different sense in two successive clauses. Calvin remarks, 'Id est quod vulgò dicere solemus, *Que chacun se prenne à son pareil. Testa cum testis contendat.*' But this ellipsis of 'contendat' is very harsh.—**What makest thou?**] Implying, Thou makest me amiss.—**He hath no hands**] i.e., he has no power (comp. Josh. viii. 20, Ps. lxxvi. 5); or, better in this connection, no skill. Calvin compares the French phrase, *mettre la dernière main*.

⁹ Woe unto him that striveth with him that formed him, a potsherd among potsherds of the ground! Doth the clay say to him that formeth it, What makest thou? or thy work, He hath no hands? ¹⁰ Woe unto him that sayeth to a father, What begetteth thou? or to a woman, What bringest thou forth? ¹¹ Thus saith Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, and

¹⁰ Another figure expressing the discontent which fixes itself on 'second causes.' A child expostulates with its parents for having brought so weak, or deformed, or ugly a being into the world.—**What begetteth thou?**] It is not said Why begetteth thou? (as Job iii. 11, 12, x. 18,) but What, either as a question of anger, or an exclamation of scorn.—**To a woman**]

Perhaps to emphasize the speaker's want of natural affection (Stier).

¹¹ Jehovah here speaks without figure. 'Will ye be so presumptuous as to catechise me on the future, or to dictate to me on my providential arrangements for my people?' Stier mentions this view as Calvin's (though I do not find it in the 1551 edition of Calvin's Isaiah), but justly asks how it can

he that formed him, Concerning the things to come 'will ye question me?' concerning my sons and the work of my hands 'will ye lay commands upon me?'^d ¹² It was I that made the earth and created the men upon it; my hands that stretched out the heavens, and upon all their host do I lay commands. ¹³ It was I who stirred him up in righteousness, and all his ways will I make level; he shall build my city, and mine exiled ones shall he send home, not for price, and not for reward, saith Jehovah Sabáoth.

^c Text has, Ask (or, question) me. (See below.)

^d Most render (or paraphrase), Leave me to care. (See below.)

be reconciled with the imperative in the first clause. Certainly it cannot be, if the text-reading be correct. But is it possible to translate the text-reading in such a way as to satisfy at once the requirements of the context and those of linguistic usage? Wherever the Hebrew verb (*givvâh*) is used elsewhere in this construction, and with the sense ascribed to it of 'giving over to one's keeping and direction,' the subject of the verb is invariably Jehovah, or some superior (see, e.g., 1 Sam. xiii. 14, xxv. 30, &c.). It seems very doubtful whether the words before us can be used of man committing any object to the care of God. This seems an insurmountable difficulty, for it is clear from the context that we have no right to suppose the language of the prophet to be ironical (Dr. Weir).—A very slight alteration is required to reconcile the difference between sense and grammar, viz., to suppose, with Dr. Weir, that a letter (*Tāv*) which ought to have been repeated has dropped out—no uncommon phenomenon in the Masoretic text! The appropriateness of the rendering thus obtained is self-evident.—**Concerning my sons**] A deep saying. Jehovah implies at once that it must be well with those whom he regards as his sons (Hos. i. 10), and that those who murmur against him tacitly renounce the privilege of sonship.

¹² The absurdity of such presumptuous conduct, the subject of criticism being One who is the creator and commander of the universe.—**All their host**] i.e., the stars, not the angels (Baudissin); see on xl. 26.—**Do I lay commands**] Or, 'Did I lay commands' (i.e., 'I commanded them into existence;,' comp. xlvi. 5). This is not unsuitable to the context. But the analogy of xlvi. 13 favours the rendering adopted. Comp. Josh. x. 12, Ps. civ. 4.

¹³ **Who stirred him up . . .**] The same phrases occur in xli. 25, xlii. 6, xlv. 2.—**Not for price**] Not from earthly motives, but from an irresistible Divine impulse. So Josephus (see on xliv. 28) ascribes the action of Cyrus to *δρμή τις*.—It is quite conceivable that a lofty spirit like that of Cyrus may have at once obeyed the dictates of religious sympathy with the Jews. The baser earthly motives ('not for price' = 'not for money,' lii. 3) are at any rate excluded in his case. How far his resolution may have been confirmed by a consideration of the usefulness of such a faithful advanced guard at the border of Egypt, it is impossible to say. [I leave this note as it was written, referring for the necessary corrections to the note at the end of chap. xlvi., and to Essay xi. in Vol. II.]

vv. 14-17. The conversion of Cyrus, representing the north, is now balanced by that of Egypt and the neighbouring countries, representing

the south. In xliii. 3 these regions are said to be 'given' to Cyrus as a compensation for his liberality towards Israel. Here, however, their inhabitants are described as 'going over' to Israel of their own free will (comp. *προσήλυτοι*), and surrendering their wealth (impliedly for sacred uses, as xxiii. 18) to Israel:—it is the same prospect which is held out in Ps. lxxviii. 31. The inconsistency is only apparent, the later prophecy referring to the Messianic period, when Cyrus shall have given place to the Servant of Jehovah. According to Knobel, these Egyptians and Ethiopians are a part of the captives of Cyrus, who, the prophet anticipates, will present them to the Jews as slaves, to labour on the new building-works at Jerusalem (like the Canaanites in 1 Kings ix. 15–21). A prosaic and most unsuitable theory. What we have here is simply a restatement of the 'triple alliance' of believing nations spoken of in xix. 23–25.—**Men of stature**] Comp. xviii. 2, Herod. iii. 20.—**In chains**] With a primitive love of symbol, these 'proselytes' put chains upon themselves, to represent the new bonds of affectionate reverence which attach them henceforth to Israel.—**Unto thee shall they pray**] An unparalleled expression. It is not, however, to Israel as a collection of human beings, but as divinised by mystic union with Jehovah (comp. on xlv. 11), that prayer is to be offered. The prophet could not have said 'Unto you shall they pray,' but he can venture (for the conception of mystic union was familiar to his readers) on the unusual expression, 'Unto thee shall they pray' (comp. Rev. iii. 9 with xix. 10). Delitzsch most aptly compares 1 Cor. xii. 12, where Christ is used synonymously with the mystical body of Christ, i.e., the Church. See further *Last Words*, vol. ii.—**(Yet) surely**] As in liii. 4; Hebr. *'ākēn*.—**Thou art a God that hideth himself**] The Sept. paraphrases thus, 'For thou art God, and we knew it not. Following the hint thus thrown out, we may explain the passage as follows: 'Thou, O Jehovah, art indeed the Strong One, but until now thou hast concealed thy strength both from thy people and from us [or, simply, from us]. We in our ignorance thought that thou wast only the weak god of a prostrate, insignificant people. But now we are forced to acknowledge that Israel's God is the absolutely Strong One, able and willing to deliver (or, save) all who trust in him.' The nature of this deliverance (or, salvation) is indicated in *vz.* 16, 17.—This explanation seems to do the most justice to phraseological usage. The word for 'a God' in the Hebr. is not Elohim (the Godhead), but El (the Strong One); it is the same which is used in the phrase, 'in thee is God.' The expression 'who hideth himself' must be interpreted by the analogy of other passages where its meaning is quite clear (see viii. 17, liv. 8, Ps. lv. 1, and comp. Isa. xl. 27). Its signification, thus determined, is 'who seems unmoved by the sufferings and the prayers of his servants;' it is, in fact, equivalent to 'who holdeth his peace,' and the verb 'to hold one's peace' is used in xlii. 14, lvii. 11, of Jehovah's apparent neglect of his people during the Babylonian Exile. Hence it may occur to some to take *v.* 15 as an exclamation of the prophet, suddenly struck by the contrast between this bright vision and the glowing reality of the closing period of the Exile:—in the words of Calvin, 'Nunc exclamat

Isaias, longâ patientiâ opus esse.' This view is plausible, and if it were not for the phrase, 'O God of Israel,' which follows, and for the abruptness of the transition introduced, it would be worthy of adoption. But on these two accounts the verse must be a continuation of the speech of the converted heathen, and if so, the phrase 'who hideth himself' must receive a somewhat wider meaning than usual. This involves no violence to the fundamental notion, which is simply that Jehovah gives no sign of his operations, but whether from the point of view of Israelites or heathen, must be determined from the context. In the above paraphrase I have taken account of both points of view, but I am not sure that it was necessary to do this; hence the alternative words in parenthesis.—Delitzsch and Dr. Kay give the phrase 'who hideth himself' the sense of 'mysterious,' and regard the passage as a cry of admiration by the prophet or the church at the splendid and far-reaching consequences of the Babylonian Exile. St. Paul's 'O the depth of the riches' (Rom. xi. 33) would be the best commentary on the text thus interpreted. But, besides the objections mentioned above to a change of speakers, I fail to see the requisite points of contact for this view in the phraseology of the context.

¹⁴ Thus saith Jehovah, The labour of Egypt and the earnings of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall pass over unto thee and become thine: after thee shall they go, and in chains pass over; and unto thee shall they bow down, unto thee shall they pray: 'Of a truth in thee is God and there is none beside—no Godhead at all. ¹⁵ (Yet) surely thou art a God that hideth himself, O God of Israel, saviour!' ¹⁶ Ashamed and also confounded are they all; gone into confusion together are the artificers of images: ¹⁷ Israel is saved through Jehovah with an eternal salvation; ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded unto all eternity.

^{15, 17} The fate of the rest of the heathens contrasted with that of Israel and Israel's vassals (comp. *vv.* 24, 25). The tense, till the latter half of *v.* 17, is the perfect of prophetic certitude.—**Gone into confusion**] So 'gone into captivity' (xlvi. 2), and perhaps 'he entereth into peace' (lvii. 2), i.e., into a state of captivity, of peace. —**With an everlasting salvation**] The 'everlasting God' (xl. 28) cannot but give an 'everlasting salvation.' But if so, the redemption must be spiritual as well as temporal; otherwise Israel would infallibly incur the same penalty again.

vv. 18–25. The foregoing predictions are justified. The chosen people cannot be rejected for ever, nor can Israel dwell in the midst of a desolated world: 'Israel shall blossom and bud and fill the face of the world with fruit' (xxvii. 6). The prophet, however, takes his starting-point, not at the call of Israel, but at creation. Jehovah made the earth as a dwelling-place for man. He then chose Israel to 'seek his face,' and to this 'seeking' he attached certain promises, viz., the salvation of Israel, and

through Israel of the Gentile world. *Vv.* 20, 21 are parenthetical; they contain a renewal of the invitation in chap. xli. to a debate on the respective claims of Jehovah and the idol-gods. The digression was suggested by the reference to Israelitish prophecy in *v.* 19, but the connection is clearer without it.

¹⁸ For thus saith Jehovah, who created the heavens (*he* is the Godhead), who formed the earth and finished it (*he* arranged it, he created it not as a chaos, he formed it to be inhabited): I am Jehovah and there is none beside. ¹⁹ Not in secret have I spoken, in a place of ^fthe land of darkness ^f; I have not said unto the seed of Jacob, Seek ye me as chaos; I am Jehovah, who speak justly, who announce uprightly.

^e So Naeg.—Established, Ew., Del., &c.

^f So Del., Naeg.—A, Ges., Ew., &c.

¹⁸ **Thus saith Jehovah]** The contents of this revelation are at first given imperfectly. The main point is not merely 'I am Jehovah,' but 'Turn to me, who am the only true God, and ye shall be saved' (*v.* 22). **He is the Godhead]** i.e., the God of gods, the true God. Hebr. *hā-'elōhīm* (not *hā-'ēl*, as in xlii. 5). —**Arranged it]** Like a lodging for a friend. The sense of preparation is proved by Deut. xxxii. 6, and (Hifil conjugation) xiv. 21, Gen. xliii. 16, 1 Kings v. 32, vi. 19 (Naeg.)—**Created it not as a chaos]** i.e., not to continue a chaos (Hebr. *tōhū*; see on xxiv. 10). Neither here nor in Gen. i. 2 is any light thrown on the origin of *tōhū*.

¹⁹ **Not in secret]** So xlvi. 16. —**In a place of the land of darkness]** So in Deut. xxx. 11–14. Moses recommends 'this commandment' as being both plain and accessible:—'It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who will go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us . . . neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who will go over the sea for us, &c.' The prophet, as it were, supplements the words of Moses, and declares that Jehovah's *Torah*, or prophetic revelation, is not to be obtained by any occult arts from Sheol or the Underworld. For the phraseology, comp. Job x. 21, Ps. lxxxviii. 12.—The best commentary on alt.

rend. is Jer. ii. 31, where Jehovah pathetically exclaims, 'Have I been a wilderness unto Israel? a land of darkness?' i.e., Have I not been the source of light and happiness to my people, and all temporal blessings' (comp. Jer. ii. 6)? But it seems doubtful (to say the least) whether the context allows us to interpret the phrase in this sense. 'A land of darkness,' without further explanation, cannot mean 'the desert,' which is only 'dark' (i.e., miserable) to one who is not a Bedawi.—**Seek ye me as chaos]** God is as far from meaning the faithful 'seeking' of his people (comp. Ps. xxvii. 8) to end in barren 'chaos' as he was from permitting 'chaos' to be the ultimate destiny of the world. Comp. the passage quoted above from Jeremiah, where the 'wilderness' is an image of unremunerativeness.—**Who speak justly . . .]** The heathen oracles are as obscure in their origin as they are unvarnished and disappointing. Those who deliver them say, as it were, 'Seek ye me as chaos.' But the revelations of Jehovah are the embodiments of 'righteousness' and 'uprightness.' So in the Discourse of Wisdom, 'The opening of my lips (i.e., that which I utter) is uprightness' (Prov. viii. 6), i.e., never deviates from the straight line of truth and righteousness. 'Speak' = promise, as lii. 6,

²⁰ (Assemble yourselves and come; approach together, ye who are escaped of the nations:—they are without knowledge who carry the wood of their image and pray unto a god who cannot save. ²¹ Announce ye and produce it; let them also take counsel together: who hath declared this from aforetime, and long since announced it? have not I, Jehovah? there is no godhead beside me, a God that is righteous and a saviour; there is none beside me.) ²² Turn ye unto me, and be saved, all ye ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else. ²³ By myself have I sworn, ^ε a just word hath gone out of my mouth, a word that shall not return,^ε that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.

^ε So Sept. (virtually), Ges., Hitz., Knob., Ew. (virtually).—TEXT has a superfluous *Vav* which spoils the parallelism. Del., following the accents, renders it, A word has gone out of a mouth of righteousness; Targ., Kimchi, Calv., A. V., Naeg., Weir, better, A word has gone out of my mouth in righteousness; (then continue,) and it shall not return.

xxxviii. 15. 'Announce' = prophesy, as xlii. 9.

²⁰ **Assemble yourselves . . .**] See above on *vv.* 18–25.—The invitation is addressed to those 'who are escaped of the nations,' i.e., to the survivors of the great judgment on the heathen enemies of Jehovah which will immediately precede the final Messianic glory: comp. lxvi. 19, Zech. xiv. 16.—**They are without knowledge**] The truth to which those who had escaped could from their experience bear witness.—**Who carry the wood . . .**] viz., in religious processions; see xlv. 1, Jer. x. 5, Am. v. 26. The phrase 'to go after' (some god), i.e., to worship, Jer. ii. 8 and often, seems based on this primitive custom. Comp. the description of the procession of shrines of Egyptian gods in Wilkinson's note on Herod. ii. 58 (Rawlinson).

²¹ **Produce it**] viz., any argument in support of the divinity of the idols (see xli. 21).—**Righteous**] Not in the forensic sense, but = strictly faithful to His covenant, and therefore a saviour both of Israel, and ultimately of the Gentiles.

²² **Be saved**] i.e., ye shall be saved (comp. viii. 9, lv. 2).

²³ **By myself have I sworn**] Jehovah swears 'by himself' ('because he could swear by no greater,' Heb. vi. 13), when the accompanying revelation is specially grand, or specially hard to believe. The phrase occurs also in Gen. xxii. 16, Jer. xxii. 5, xlix. 13; comp. the cognate expression, 'As I live, (saith Jehovah,)' Num. xiv. 21, 28, Deut. xxxii. 40 (*Q.P.B.*). In the present case it introduces the abolition of the last vestige of nationalism in the true religion.—**A just word . . .**] Comp. 'who speak justly' (*v.* 19). The clause occurs again in Sept. after Prov. iii. 16, as the first half of a new verse.—**Shall not return**] i.e., shall not miss its aim (as lv. 11).—**Every knee shall bow**] i.e., in homage, as 1 Kings xix. 18, Phil. ii. 10. A similarly 'universalistic' prophecy is found in Dan. vii. 14. But though the submission is universal, the context shows that it takes place subsequently to the great judgment on Jehovah's obstinate enemies (see on *v.* 20).—**Every tongue shall swear**] Carry forward 'unto me,' and understand 'allegiance,' as in xix. 18; comp. Phil. ii. 11.

²⁴ Only in Jehovah, ^h it shall be said, ^h are righteousness and strength; unto him shall ⁱ they come, ⁱ and ashamed shall be all those who were incensed against him. ²⁵ In Jehovah shall all the seed of Israel be justified and boast themselves.

^h So Luz. (see crit. note).—TEXT, He (or, One) said unto me (Ew.); or, One saith of me, Ges., Hitz., Naeg., Weir.

ⁱ So some MSS., Sept. cod. Alex., Pesh., Vulg., Houb., Lo.; one come, TEXT.

²⁴ The submission of mankind shall be unreserved and unconstrained.—**Only**] Or, surely. The two meanings are closely connected; comp. in the Hebr. Ps. xxxix. 6, 7, lxxiii. 1, 13.—**It shall be said**] The text-reading (see above) is very harsh. Perhaps the easiest explanation of it is that a mysterious heavenly voice, like those mentioned at the beginning of the prophecy, is suddenly heard speaking to the prophet.—**Righteousness**] The Hebr. has the plural, 'righteousnesses,' to express abundance (comp. xl. 14), and especially abundant manifestation in act (as lxiv. 5).—**Unto him shall**

each one come, &c.] These are probably the words of the prophet, not of the converted heathen. Taken together with the next verse, they contrast the fates of the servants and the obstinate enemies of Jehovah.—**Each one**] i.e., each of the adversaries.

²⁵ **In Jehovah**] i.e., joined to Jehovah in mystic union (comp. on v. 14).—**All the seed of Israel**] Including those who have, according to vv. 6, 14, attached themselves to the true Israel. Comp. on xliv. 5.—**Be justified**] lit. 'be righteous,' i.e., be treated as such (comp. lxiii. 26 in the Hebr.).

CHAPTER XLVI.

Contents.—A picture of the fall of the Babylonian idols, on which a powerful appeal is based in favour of the true God. A further argument from prediction, and a warning to the unbelievers, conclude the chapter.

vv. 1-2. The scene of this first paragraph is laid in Babylon. The prophet is an imaginary spectator, whilst the most venerated idols are thrown down by the conqueror and carried away in triumph. This, no doubt, was in those times an ordinary event (comp. note on x. 10, and see Hos. x. 6, Jer. xliii. 12, xlvi. 7, xlix. 3, 2 Sam. v. 21), but Babylon had thought herself exempt from the common lot of Oriental empires (xlvi. 8)! (It is difficult not to think of the last strange journey of these desecrated images; comp. the picture of 'The Procession of the Bull beneath the Mound of Nimroud' in Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*.)

¹ Bel hath bowed down, Nebo hath crouched; their idols are given up to the beasts and to the cattle: your carried

¹ **Bel**] Hebraized from Bilu, lord. inscription quoted p. 305), or more It may either mean Bel (as in the probably Merodach (Hebraized from

things are borne as a load—a burden for the weary! ² They have crouched, they have bowed down together; they have not been able to rescue the burden, and their soul hath gone into captivity. ³ Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, who are borne as a load by me from the womb, who are carried from the lap;

Marduk); comp. Jer. i. 2, where the two names occur in synonymously parallel lines. The latter was the tutelary deity of Babylon, which Nebuchadnezzar calls 'the city of Marduk,' Originally a solar personification, Marduk was afterwards localised in the planet Jupiter,¹ and later still, when Babylon had grown in importance, identified with a member of the supreme divine triad—Bilu or Bel.—**Nebo**] The Hebraised form of Nabu, the Babylonian Mercury, and the patron-deity of Borsippa. Nebuchadnezzar calls himself once 'Nabu's darling.' The name undoubtedly means 'the revealer' (compare Hebr. *nābhī* 'prophet'); originally, perhaps, the revealer or precursor of the Sun-god (Sayce).—**Their idols**] i.e., not the images of Bel and Nebo, but the idols of the Chaldeans. 'This is according to usage. The suffix points always to the worshippers of the idols, and not to the divinities supposed to reside in them; as in Ps. cxv. 4, Mic. i. 7, Isa. x. 11, 1 Sam. xxxi. 9' (Dr. Weir).—**Your carried things**]

i.e., the images which used to be carried by priests and nobles in solemn procession (see on xlv. 20). These have now to be resigned to common beasts of burden; hence they are said to be, not 'carried,' but 'packed up as a load.' According to Herodotus (i. 183), the massive golden image of Bel (or, as he calls him, Zeus) was carried away by Xerxes.

² **They have not been able to rescue . . .**] For a moment the prophet assumes the point of view of the heathen, and distinguishes between the deity and his image. He means to say that if Bel and Nebo had been really gods, they would have interposed for the rescue of their images—for surely the massiveness of the 'load' would not constitute an obstacle! But no, they are not gods at all:—so the prophet adds, **their soul**, i.e., all that there was of a 'soul,' or a personality (iii. 9), in them, **hath gone into captivity**. Comp. Jer. xlvi. 7. 'Chemósh shall go forth into captivity;' so xliii. 12.

vv. 3-4. Jehovah's providential care of his people—what a contrast to the impotence of the idol-gods! Note the meaning repetition of the terms already used in *vv.* 1, 2.

³ **All the remnant . . .**] The 'house of Israel' is not to be identified with the ten tribes (Kimchī). Throughout II. Isaiah, the captives of Judah (not of course excluding the Judahites who had been left at home) appear as the heirs (conditionally on their loyalty to Jehovah) of the Divine promises to Israel. 'All' is prefixed to meet the case of some timid Israelite hesitating

to appropriate the words of comfort (Naeg.)—**Who are borne . . . from the womb**] The figure of the infant and the nurse recurs in lxiii. 9; comp. Deut. i. 31, Ex. xix. 4, Ps. xxviii. 9 (and perhaps lxviii. 19, where St. Jerome 'portabit nos'), Hos. xi. 3 ('I took him upon *mine* arms'). Tender as it seems, it is inadequate to represent Jehovah's affection. The devoted

¹ See Lenormant, *La magie chez les Chaldéens*, ed. 1, p. 121.

⁴ (and even to old age I am the same, and even to grey hairs I will bear; I have made, and I will carry, and I will bear, and will rescue.) ⁵ Unto whom will ye liken me, and make me equal, and match me, that we may be like? ⁶ Those who pour out gold from the bag, and weigh silver in the balance, they hire a goldsmith to make it a god; they fall down, yea, they worship. ⁷ They take it upon the shoulder, they bear it, and set it in its place, that it may stand and not remove from its place: yea, one crieth unto it, but it cannot answer, nor save him out of his trouble. ⁸ Remember this, and ^a be deeply ashamed ^a; take it, ye rebellious ones, to heart. ⁹ Remember former things of old; how that I am God, and there is none else—the Godhead, and there is none like me; ¹⁰ who announceth the future from the former time,

^a So Joseph Kimchi, Vulg. (see crit. note), Calv. (nominally on the ground of a bad etymology of text-reading, really from the true view of the context); so too Lagarde (on palæographical grounds).—Text-reading is very obscure. Strengthen yourselves, Targ., Rashi, Hitz., Del., Naeg.—Show yourselves men (?), David Kimchi, Auth. Vers., Ges., Ew., Stier.

watchfulness of the parent naturally dies away when his child has come to maturity, and the parent is commonly removed by death when his offspring has attained to old age. Not so with Israel and Jehovah. Israel is always the object of the *motherly* care and affection of his God (comp. xlii. 14, xlix. 15, lxvi. 9,

13). Hence the qualifying words in *v.* 4, **even to old age I am the same** (lit. I am He; see on xli. 4). See a striking parallel in Ps. lxxi. 18 (the speaker in the Psalm is the personified people; see *v.* 20, where Hebr. text reads 'us'), and cf. Hos. vii. 9.

vv. 5-7. The images of Bel and Nebo remind the prophet of those subtle Jewish idolaters (the 'rebellious ones' of *v.* 8), who thought to worship Jehovah under outward symbols. It is remarkable, says Naeg., that the prophet's controversy with idolatry both begins and ends with an attack upon its most refined form (see xl. 17, &c.).

⁷ **They take it upon the shoulder . . .**] The images of Jehovah are as powerless to help themselves and others as those of Bel and Nebo.

⁸ The argument for the sole divinity of Jehovah (as opposed to all idols, even those representing Jehovah) is about to pass into a new, a positive, phase. But first of all, the prophet emphatically commends the negative proof just given to the attention of his readers, especially of the idolatrous section (**rebellious ones**, as in i. 28). Then (*v.* 9) with a second 'Remember ye,'

he repeats the argument from prediction (comp. xli. 21-29, xlii. 9, xliii. 8-13, 19-21, xlv. 6-10, 24-28)

⁹ **Former things**] i.e., Jehovah's past mercies to Israel (comp. xliii. 18).—**I am God**] Or, developing the Hebr. name *El*, 'the absolutely strong' (comp. xlv. 14).—**The Godhead**] Hebr. *Elôhim*, 'the absolutely to be revered' (comp. Gen. xxxi. 42, 'the Elohim of my father . . . and the fear of Isaac.')

¹⁰ **Who announceth the future . . .**] Who, from the very beginning of a new period of history, announce the far-off issue, which

and from aforetime things that are not yet done ; that saith, My purpose shall stand, and all my pleasure will I perform ; ¹¹ who calleth a bird of prey from the sun-rising, the man of his purpose from a far country ; I have spoken, I will also bring it to pass ; I have formed, I will also accomplish it. ¹² Hearken unto me, ye obdurate ones, who are far from righteousness : ¹³ I bring near my righteousness, it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry ; and I appoint in Zion salvation, unto Israel (I give) my glory.

to human eyes is utterly incalculable (comp. on xli. 26).

¹¹ **A bird of prey**] So Nebuchadnezzar is called an eagle (Jer. xlix. 22, Ezek. xvii. 3). According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 1, 4; *Anab.* i. 10, 12), the ensign of Cyrus and his successors was a golden eagle.—**Formed**] i.e. purposed, as xxii. 11, xxxvii. 26.

¹² It is as if the 'house of Jacob' addressed in *z.* 3 had refused to listen to the Divine oracle. Jehovah, therefore, renews his address in another tone. 'Obstinate as ye are,' he says, 'ye shall not succeed in thwarting my purpose.'—**Ye obdurate ones**] Lit. 'strong-hearted,' which may mean either proud, courageous (as Ps. lxxvi. 5), or, as here, slow of understanding,

'stupid' (comp. vi. 10). 'Hard-hearted' is also used in a bad sense in Ezek. ii. 6 ; 'stiff-hearted' in Ezek. iii. 7. A similar figure occurs in xlvi. 4a. The paraphrase of Henderson and Delitzsch, *les esprits forts*, is too definite as well as too modern.—**Far from righteousness**] i.e., from the salvation which Israel's God has promised, 'righteousness' and 'salvation' being two aspects of one and the same blessing. The 'distance' lay in the unbelieving hearts of these Jews ; comp. liv. 14, 'be far from (the dread of) oppression.' Dr. Kay refers to xxix. 13.—**I bring near . . .**] 'For near is my salvation to come, and my righteousness to be revealed,' lvi. 1.

Note on 'Bel hath bowed down' (xlvi. 1), and 'not for price' (xlv. 13).

A long and important inscription in Babylonian cuneiform, about two-thirds of which is preserved, enables me to correct and supplement my notes on these passages. The clay cylinder on which it occurs was found (broken) in one of the Babylonian ruins in the summer of 1879, and is now in the British Museum. Sir Henry Rawlinson read a paper on the subject before the Royal Asiatic Society, and his brother, Professor Rawlinson, published an article upon it in the *Contemporary Review* for January 1880. From the latter I copy the portions which specially illustrate Isaiah. 'My wide-spreading rule was peacefully established throughout Dintir and the many districts of Sumir and Accad. Their good order was not disturbed. The high places of Babylon, and all its fortresses, I maintained in good preservation. . . . To the work of repairing the shrine of Merodach, the great lord, I addressed myself. To me (Cyrus the King) and to Cambyses, my son, the offspring of my heart, and to my faithful army [the God] auspiciously granted his favour,

so that we succeeded in restoring the shrine to its former perfect state. . . . Many of the kings dwelling in high places, who belonged to the various races inhabiting the country between the Upper Sea (i.e., the Mediterranean) and the Lower Sea (the Persian Gulf), together with the Kings of Syria and the unknown (?) regions beyond, brought to me their full tribute at Kal-anna (the central part of Babylon), and kissed my feet. . . . The Gods who dwelt among them to their places I restored and I assigned them a permanent habitation. All their people I assembled, and I increased their property; and the gods of Sumir and Accad, whom Nabonidus had introduced at the festivals (or processions) of the Lord of the Gods at Kal-anna, by the command of Merodach, the Great Lord, I assigned them an honourable seat in their sanctuaries, as was enjoyed by all the other gods in their own cities. And daily I prayed to Bel and Nebo, that they would lengthen my days and increase my good fortune, and would repeat to Merodach, my lord, that "Thy worshipper, Cyrus the King, and his son Cambyses. . . ." This is merely a state-document, and it leaves us uninformed as to the hidden springs of action of the great Persian monarch. It is therefore still possible, in Professor Rawlinson's opinion, that he was actuated to some extent by religious sympathy with the Jews, who certainly approached nearer to Zoroastrianism than any of the other nations. There is, however, no trace of this in the inscription, which contrasts strongly with the 'proclamation of Cyrus' in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, Ezra i. 1-4. How is this contrast to be accounted for? Shall we follow Ewald, who maintains¹ that this edict was 'coloured' by the compiler of Chronicles and Ezra, or Professor Rawlinson, who declares that no Oriental subject would dare to meddle with a royal decree? Both theories are built upon assumptions; Ewald's assumption being that the passages in 2 Chron. and Ezra are derived ultimately from the Persian archives, and Professor Rawlinson's that the Books of Chronicles and Ezra are of the age of Ezra.² The former assumption implies a moral backwardness on the part of the Chronicler which, though not incredible, is at least not to be admitted without necessity, while the latter compels us to a non-natural interpretation of the passage in chap. xlvi of Isaiah. The question is complicated with the 'higher criticism,' and is therefore not to be settled here, nor perhaps anywhere, unless indeed the original 'proclamation' of Cyrus respecting the Jews should one day come to light.

If the author of the inscription may be trusted, Cyrus was a thorough indifferentist in his religious policy. As Professor Rawlinson puts it, he was 'so "broad" in his views, as to be willing to identify his own Ahuramazda, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, the All-Wise, All-bounteous Spirit, alike with the One God of the Jews, and with the CHIEF god of any and every religious system with which he came into contact.' He goes even beyond the Assyrian kings in his universal toleration. Sargon, as we have seen (on x. 10), did not really undeify foreign gods, and even

¹ *History of Israel*, v. 48, 49. Ewald, however, evidently has strong doubts whether any part of the original edict has been preserved by the Chronicler.

² Professor Rawlinson, in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

arranged (under very special circumstances, see 2 Kings xvii. 16-28) for the propagation of the religion of Jehovah; but Ashur was to be acknowledged by all subject nations as supreme. Cyrus, too, is bound to admit that Ahura-mazda is 'chief of the gods,'¹ but he interprets this religious phrase in a most refined way. Every supreme god is Ahura-mazda under another name—Merodach is Ahura-mazda, and so, we might go on to infer in the spirit of the inscription, Chemosh is Ahura-mazda, and Jehovah is Ahura-mazda.

It was a natural result of such indifferentism that the idols of the conquered nations were left in their sanctuaries. Bel and Nebo are even admitted to a sort of inferior divinity in Cyrus's syncretistic religion (see the last sentence in his inscription). Yet the prophet evidently assumes that Bel and Nebo will be carted away as so much secular plunder. Professor Rawlinson, it is true, does not think this so evident. He takes the passage to mean simply that 'the old Babylonian and Assyrian creed had sunk from a dominant to a subject religion, had become one of many tolerated beliefs.' Is not this a non-natural interpretation of the very strong language of the prophecy? Why not admit that precisely as the prophet in x. 10 involuntarily makes Sargon to speak as an Israelite, so here, from the intensity of his faith, he fails to realise the possibility of religious indifferentism?

CHAPTER XLVII.

Contents.—Song on the fall of Babylon, in four strophes or stanzas—
I., vv. 1-4; II., vv. 5-7; III., vv. 8-11; IV., vv. 12-15.

HERE the thread of thought is broken (comp. xlvi. 11, 12 with xlviii. 1-8) by a lyric outburst, proceeding mainly from that chorus of celestial beings, traces of which are visible throughout the prophecy (see on xl. 3). It is a 'taunt-song' corresponding to the ode on the King of Babylon in chap. xiv., except that this has the imperative tone of higher beings, whereas that was the emotional vent of liberated slaves. Ewald, regarding the prophecy to which chap. xlvii. belongs as a production of the Exile, declares that 'though formed upon such models as Ezek. xxvi. xxxii., it ranks the highest poetically among all the similar voices of song which in chaps. xl.-xlvii. find utterance' (*Die Propheten*, iii. 63). Del. remarks, 'Isaiah's artistic style may be readily perceived both in the three clauses of v. 1, comparable to a long trumpet-blast (comp. xl. 9, xvi. 1); and also in the short, rugged, involuntarily excited clauses that follow.'

¹ Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin-daughter of Babylon; sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter

¹ **Come down and sit]** Parallel Hebr. has two monosyllabic im-
passage, Jer. xlviii. 18a. The pcratives, expressing a decided and

¹ *R. P.*, v. 151.

of Chaldæa, for thou shalt no more be called Delicate and Luxurious. ² Take the millstones and grind meal; remove thy veil, strip off the train; uncover the leg, wade through rivers. ³ Let thy nakedness be uncovered, yea, let thy shame be seen: I will take vengeance, neither ^a shall I meet any ^a. ⁴ ^b As for our Goel, Jehovah Sabáoth is his name, the Holy One of Israel.^b

⁵ Sit silent, and enter into darkness, O daughter of Chaldæa, for thou shalt no more be called Lady of kingdoms. ⁶ I was wroth with my people, I profaned mine inheritance, and gave

^a So Junius, Rosenmüller (Ges. regards this rend. as the second-best).—No man shall resist me, Symmachus, Vulg. (paraphrasing).—I will not attack (like) a man, Targ., Kimchi, Calv. Auth. Vers. (comp. xxxi. 8).—I will not spare any, Ges., Hitz., Ew., Del., Weir (lit. 'meet with friendly intentions').—I will not supplicate men (for help), Rashi, Naeg.

^b It is our Goel, whose name is, &c. (If it be a later insertion, see below.)

unrelenting determination. To 'sit in the dust' is here not, as in iii. 26, a sign of mourning (Ges.), but of humiliation (Hitz., Ew., Del., Naeg.). Comp. 'I raised thee from the dust' (1 Kings xvi. 2), parallel to 'I raised thee from the midst of the people' (1 Kings xiv. 7).

² The delicate virgin, emblematic of Babylon, is summoned to perform the duties of a bondmaid.—**Take the millstones**] The special work of female slaves. See Ex. xi. 5 (with Kalisch's note), Job xxxi. 10, Matt. xxiv. 41, *Odys.* vii. 104, and comp. Van Lenep's *Bible Lands*, vol. i. p. 87.—**Remove thy veil**] Laying aside all feminine modesty. First of all, however, she must **wade through rivers**, i.e., struggle as best she can to the scene of her servitude.

³ A common image for the lowest degradation; so iii. 17, Jer. xiii. 26, Nah. iii. 5, Ezek. xvi. 37, xxxiii. 10, 29, Lam. i. 8.—**I will take vengeance**] Here it is no longer the chorus, but Jehovah who speaks. These reverses of Babylon are a just retribution; they are the 'vengeance' of an offended God.—**Neither shall I meet any**] Any, that is, who can resist me. The ellipsis is harsh, but is more agreeable to the context than that assumed by the rendering of Gesenius. Comp. lix. 19, Jer. v. 1.

⁴ **As for our Goel . . .**] The joyous exclamation with which the earthly chorus of faithful Israelites greet the appearance of Jehovah. Babylon has no Goel; Israel's Goel is Jehovah Sabáoth. [This connection, however, seems a little forced. The song would rather gain than lose by the omission of the verse, which may possibly be a marginal note by a sympathetic scribe, which has made its way by accident into the text.]

⁵ **Sit silent . . .**] Another scene, drawing out a fresh contrast between the busy hum and brilliant variety of Babylon's former life and her present desolation.—**Enter into darkness**] The 'darkness' from which the Jews were just released, xlii. 7, 22 (Ew.).

⁶ **I was wroth . . .**] The first of two reasons for Babylon's reverses. She had exceeded the limits of her commission, 'for I was wroth a little, and they helped on misfortune' (Zech. i. 15). A similar charge is brought against Assyria (x. 6, 7).—**Upon him that was aged . . .**] Is this to be taken literally? The writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel do not suggest that the Jewish exiles were great sufferers. Perhaps the prophet may refer to the cruelties which disfigured the first days of the Babylonian triumph (comp.

them into thy hand: thou didst not show them compassion, upon him that was aged thou didst make thy yoke very heavy. ⁷ And thou saidst, I shall be ^e for ever, a lady perpetually: thou ^e wast not concerned about these things, neither didst thou remember the issue thereof.

⁸ And now hear this, thou voluptuous one, who art seated securely, who sayest in thy heart, I and none besides; I shall not sit as a widow, nor know the loss of children; ⁹ but there shall come to thee these two things in a moment in one day, loss of children and widowhood,—^d in their perfection ^d shall they come upon thee, ^e in spite of ^e the multitude of thine enchantments, in spite of the vast number of thy spells.

^e So Hitz., grouping the same words differently. The pointed text runs, For ever a lady, so that (or, whilst, Weir) thou.

^d Suddenly, Sept., Pesh., Lo., Gr. (an easy emendation).

^e Amidst, Kay.—Because of, Ew.—Through, Weir.

Lam. iv. 16, v. 12); or possibly the conduct of the Babylonians varied, according to the flexibility and submissiveness of the conquered; or, again, the description may be symbolical of the distress of the Jews, somewhat as xlii. 22. Against the un-Biblical view of Ges. and Hitz., that the 'old man' is the people of Israel, it is enough to refer to xl. 28, xlvi. 4 (with Del., Naeg.).

⁷ The guilt of Babylon is intensified by her reckless arrogance. She presumed that the colossus of her power would never be broken, forgetting the danger of provoking the God of gods.—**Perpetually**] Hitzig's rendering involves no change of the words, but only of the grouping. The construction of the Masoretic text is as awkward as in the parallel case of Gen. xlix. 26 (see *Q. P. B.*) See crit. note.—**These things**] viz., thy cruelties, or, the inevitable retribution attending them.

⁸ **I and none besides**] In form the utterance agrees with those of Jehovah (xlv. 5, 6, 18, 22), but the meaning is obviously very different. There it is, 'I am the only true God'; here, 'I am an irresponsible despot.' There is a parallel passage in Zeph. ii. 15, but it is questionable whether any

inference can be drawn as to the date of II. Isaiah.—**Sit as a widow**] i.e., in mournful solitude (comp. Lam. i. 1), deserted by the merchants, who once flocked to Babylon. It is a figure from polyandry. Comp. xxiii. 16, and the imitation in Rev. xviii. 7.—**The loss of children**] The people of Babylon are the 'sons of Babylon;' comp. li. 18-20, liv. 1, 4.

⁹ **In their perfection**] i.e., in the full extent of their bitterness.—**Thine enchantments**] Babylon was famous for its quasi-scientific development of astronomy, astrology, and all kinds of magic. See Lenormant, *La magie chez les Chaldéens* (Par. 1874), *Chaldean Magic* (Lond. 1878), *La divination et la science des présages chez le Chaldéens* (Par. 1875); Sayce, 'The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians' (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* iii. 145, &c.), 'Babylonian Augury by means of Geometrical Figures' (*op. cit.* iv. 302, &c.); *Babylonian Literature* (Lond., 1878).—**Spells**] Comp. Ps. lviii. 5 (6), 'the charmers, (even) him that is versed in spells and trained.' The root means binding; comp. *καταδεσμος*, though we need not suppose that 'magic knots' are expressly intended

¹⁰ And thou ^f hast been secure ^f in thine evil, and hast said, None seeth me; and thy wisdom and knowledge, they perverted thee, and thou hast said in thine heart, I and none besides: ¹¹ but there cometh an evil upon thee, ^g which thou hast not the knowledge to charm away,^g and there shall fall upon thee a mischief, which thou shalt not be able to appease, and there shall come upon thee suddenly crushing ruin, of which thou shalt not be aware.

¹² Persist, I pray, in thy spells, and in the multitude of thine enchantments, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; perchance thou wilt be able to profit, perchance thou wilt strike terror! ¹³ Thou hast wearied thyself with the mul-

^f So Alexander, Naeg.—Hast tru ted, Ges., Ew., Del., &c.

^g So Hitz., Ew., Del., Naeg., Weir.—Of which thou knowest no dawn, Vulg., Vitr., Ges., &c.

¹⁰ **Thou hast been secure in thine evil]** Obs. the prophet denies any restraining power to the religion of the Babylonians so far as relates to their conduct towards other nations. Among themselves, however, they were in one sense very religious,—*δαιδαμονέστεροι*. The hymns translated by Lenormant and Sayce prove the existence among both the Assyrians and the Babylonians of a genuine moral sentiment towards the gods.—Alt. rend. does not yield a good sense, for how could 'evil' or 'wickedness' as such be a source of confidence? And even if we take 'evil' as a synonym for tyranny or for magic, yet why should the Babylonians be represented as saying, 'None seeth us'? Surely 'he who relies upon his power or his cunning as a complete protection will be not so apt to say "None seeth me," as to feel indifferent whether he is seen or not' (Alexander).

¹¹ **An evil cometh]** In antithesis to the 'evil' of which Babylon had been guilty (v. 10).—**To charm away]** The Babylonians boasted of their knowledge—both mundane and supramundane, but 'knew not' a remedy against this unforeseen calamity. In the Hebr. this verb and that in the parallel line present a striking assonance (*shākhrah—kap-*

prāh).—Alt. rend. is, apart from the context, the more obvious one. But it is unnatural to say that the 'dawn' of a calamity means its end, nor is this objection removed by comparing viii. 20, lviii. 8. The parallelism suggests a word analogous to 'to appease,' and the Arabic actually has a word exactly corresponding to the Hebrew root (*sahara = shakhar*), and with the required meaning.

¹² The last strophe has a strongly ironical tinge, reminding us of Elijah's language to the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 21 &c.).—**Persist, I pray, in thy spells]**—if one does not succeed, another may; **perchance thou wilt strike terror,** viz., into the enemy.

¹³ **The multitude of thy consultations]** The 'consultations' here referred to are scarcely astrological ones, as Sayce (*T. S. B. A.* iii. 150) supposes. The construction of the sentence (comp. also xix. 11) seems to show that astrology is here the final resource of the despairing Babylonians.—The extent to which astronomy and astrology were cultivated by the early Babylonians and Assyrians has been of late revealed by cuneiform study. As early as the 16th century B.C. it had become necessary to construct a 'standard astro-

titude of thy consultations ; let them, I pray, stand forth and save thee—the dividers of the heavens, the star-gazers, who make known, at every new moon, things that shall come upon thee. ¹⁴ Behold, they are become as stubble, the fire hath burned them ; they cannot rescue their soul from the clutch of the flame : it is not a coal to give warmth, a fire to sit before. ¹⁵ Such are they become to thy loss about whom thou hast wearied thyself ; they that have been thy traffickers from thy youth—flee staggering every one to his quarter, there is none to save thee.

logical work,' which consisted of 70 clay tablets, and was deposited in the library of the reigning king Sargina or Sargon of Agane.—

The dividers of the heavens] Alluding to the signs of the zodiac (of primitive Babylonian origin), or to some other division of the sky for astrological purposes. — **Who make known, at every new moon]** The calendar of the Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians was borrowed by them from the primitive non-Semitic Accadians. The Accadian year 'contained 360 days and 12 months, each of which is noted as being lucky or unlucky for commencing a campaign, attacking a city, and expecting prosperity for a fortified country or city' (Sayce's paper, as above, p. 160). The prophet apparently refers to the reports which the official astronomers at the various observatories in the empire were required to send in, every month, to the king. We still possess many such Assyrian reports (Sayce, p. 229), and there can be no doubt that the later Babylonian empire

had the same astronomical and astrological arrangements as its predecessor (comp. Dan. ii. 2 &c.). Some of the reports confine themselves to the astronomical facts ; others expressly mention political occurrences which the appearance of the sun or the moon foreboded.

¹⁴ These wise astrologers cannot even save themselves from the fire of judgment.—**Not a coal to give warmth]** Not a moderate fire for comfort, but an all-devouring conflagration.

¹⁵ **Thy traffickers from thy youth]** The only other friends of Babylon, viz., the foreign merchants settled in her midst, flee in consternation to their native countries ; comp. xiii. 14. On the Babylonian commerce, see Prof. Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 15, 16, Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 598, 599. The prophet Ezekiel calls Chaldæa emphatically the 'land of traffic,' and Babylon the 'city of merchants' (xvi. 29, xvii. 4).

THE
PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH

VOL. II.

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*A NEW TRANSLATION
WITH COMMENTARY AND APPENDICES*

BY THE
REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A.
HONORARY D.D. EDINBURGH
ORIEL PROFESSOR OF EXEGESIS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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PREFACE.

WITH a kindly greeting to old friends and to new, I once more introduce the second volume with a preface adapted to the special nature of its contents. There are many improvements in detail, but the character of the book remains unchanged. It would be tedious to explain afresh how this *my* 'second Isaiah' came into existence, and why, with much reluctance and contrary to the leadings of the past, I confined myself throughout as much as possible to exegesis (broadly viewed), and in place of any constructive 'higher criticism' simply inserted in the series of essays one 'on the present state of the critical controversy.' So far as I can feel the pulse of English students (and for German reviewers I have a friendly word later on), the plan which I adopted corresponds to their requirements. Tired of the traditionalism of the older commentators, they seem to ask, not indeed to be kept in complete ignorance of critical problems and solutions, but to be enabled to study the text in a historical spirit, without (as they might express it) being under the dominion of a fixed critical theory. A different style of commentary, appealing to a smaller public, would have its justification; criticism is the only key to the inner

chamber of exegesis ; but I have the support of Prof. Davidson (in opposition to a German reviewer) for the opinion that the second Book of Isaiah loses less from the student's uncertainty as to its origin than many other parts of the Old Testament. There are some writers who seem only to care for 'the higher criticism ;' *I* am not one of those. Pure exegesis has a fascination of its own, and is a great liberalizer of the mind. Even small details connected with the text have to me their significance ; and hence, besides the 'critical and philological notes,' I have thought it worth while to offer my gleanings once more in the 'Last Words' which conclude this volume. The changes in both parts, partly in the way of addition, partly of rearrangement and condensation, will be at once apparent to the careful reader. I may indicate, for example, the fusion of two long notes into one (at pp. 296-9), relative to the Cherubim and the Seraphim, though I hope I may add that the more detailed discussions in the earlier editions still retain their value. With all respect to Mr. le Page Renouf, I think that he would find a few minutes well spent in glancing at this application of the comparative method. His remark (in the valuable paper mentioned on p. 298) as to the failure of etymologists up to the present time, must be due to the use of antiquated books of reference.

Let me now turn to the eleven essays which explain in some detail the general position of the work. The original fourth essay—that on 'The Royal Messiah in Genesis'—will not be found in this edition ; it seemed desirable that the earlier editions should have something distinctive of their own. It was not inserted

without an object; Isaiah, in his extant prophecies, is so reserved on the subject of the Messiah, that an early Messianic prophecy of the same type as those in Isa. ix., xi., has a special illustrative value.¹ The place of the omitted essay has been taken by one on 'The Suffering Messiah,' as a further application of that conciliatory method which cultured theologians may find so fruitful in results. I am not myself as fond of apologetics as of philology, but the need of reconstruction in this department of theology is so urgent that I could not withhold a few seeds of thought. I am thankful for the encouragement which Dr. Westcott has given to the honest recognition of Old Testament difficulties. By neglecting this heirloom of the Church on the ground of its difficulty (so largely caused by our own prejudices), we lose, not merely a part of the basis of Christianity, but, to apply Dr. Westcott's words, 'just those helps to knowing how God disciplines races, classes, individuals, who are most unlike ourselves, which we need sorest when we look on the sad spectacle of a disordered and divided world.'

The alterations in the remaining essays are mostly formal. I wish I could have inserted a discussion of the chronology of the age of Isaiah; but the whole question of the chronology of the pre-exile period awaits a comprehensive handling. Would that an English

¹ The rendering of Gen. xlix. 10 (which involves a change of reading) adopted in the essay is—

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor the staff (of authority) from between his feet,
Until he come for whom it (*i.e.* the dominion) is appointed,
And to him be the obedience of peoples,

the meaning of which will be, 'The dominion granted to Judah shall only give place to a far wider monarchy, viz. that of the Messiah.'

writer specially marked out for such a work could only find leisure to undertake it! For want of this chronological discussion, my reply to Prof. Robertson Smith on Sargon's invasion must remain in substantially its original form. It should be taken in connection with the revised introductions to x. 5—xii. 6 and xxi. 1—10 in vol. i. In the latter of these I have emphasized more the exegetical difficulties which make me hesitate to ascribe xxi. 1—10 to a writer at the close of the Exile. I think that these difficulties have been underestimated. It seems to me, too, that this prophecy and that in chap. xxii. ought in future to be considered together, since even in the case of chap. xxii. there are, not indeed exegetical, but Assyriological difficulties in admitting the authorship of Isaiah, I hope that no word of mine will be thought to indicate either obstinacy or partisanship in matters of criticism and philology. It is true, I cannot take up an attitude of suspicion and reserve with regard to cuneiform researches, but those who do so will admit that I am no blind follower of the Assyriologists. Like others, I have been sometimes shocked by their needlessly rash statements, such for instance as my friend Prof. Sayce's appeal to Cyrus for 'a most interesting testimony to the accuracy of the Old Testament records' (see vol. ii., pp. 304-5). There is surely no occasion for a philologist to supply doubtful arguments to the uncritical advocates of a mechanical theory of Inspiration. May I add an expression of regret that Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, who has thrown so much fresh light on the relations of Assyrian and Hebrew, should have challenged opposition and endangered results already attained by an

apparent want of modesty and by not recognising the various degrees of probability?

Having ventured on some certainly not aggressive criticisms, it is time to reply to one of which this volume is the subject; the reply may perhaps interest other than German readers. The 'friendly smiting' to which I refer is from Dr. H. Guthe in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of May 17, 1884. The reviewer thinks that I have in Essay III. partly neutralized my own endeavours as an exegete by mixing up the thought of the prophet with the meaning which his words came to bear in the light of certain events. That is precisely what many English commentators have seemed to me to do, and what I have sedulously and expressly avoided doing. Dr. Guthe supposes me to have said that a belief in the existence of references to doctrines of the Church in Isaiah is 'a mark of Christian exegesis to which every philologist could assent';¹ but the passage referred to simply says that 'with this striking confession' (viz. that Isa. liii. impresses an ordinary reader like a description of the life and death of Christ) 'nothing need prevent even a philologist from agreeing'; what has it, indeed, to do with philology? Vatke himself says, 'The intuition' (Mansel's rendering of *Anschauung*), 'of the sufferings and glorification of the Servant of Jehovah forms the most remarkable presentiment of Redemption in the Old Testament, and so is a prophecy, not a prediction, of Christ' (*Biblische Theologie des A. T.*, i. 531). Vatke was no *Vermittelungstheologe*, and thought that the Servant in Isa. liii.

¹ 'Jenem Merkmale der christlichen Exegese soll jeder Philologe zustimmen können, p. 195.'

meant the people of Israel. But he would not have joined Dr. Guthe in accusing me of having wilfully introduced the notion of a sin-offering into liii. 10, for he says on the same page, 'If the people was considered in its ideality . . . its suffering could be regarded as guiltless, and formed a voluntary guilt-offering.' I am aware, however, that my treatment of liii. 10 is incomplete, and freely admit (as stated on p. 307) that the 'simpler solution' mentioned on p. 51 (foot of col. 1) commends itself to my judgment. That there is a considerable element of truth—I cannot honestly say more—in Kuenen's (and Wellhausen's) Pentateuch-hypothesis has long seemed to me in the highest degree probable, but it would be unfair, in the present crude state of opinion in England, 'to import the huge difficulties which beset this question' into the exegesis of Isaiah. It is possible that many English students may soon advance as far as I have done, and then it will be time to revise my exegesis of chap. liii. It is perhaps worthy of remark that at the Church Congress of 1883 my attempt to show how unnecessary were certain semi-theological inferences from the recent Pentateuch-hypothesis was received without a word of protest. Before passing on to Dr. Guthe's objections to my treatment of 'the critical question,' let me observe that I have corrected a phrase to which he justly takes exception on p. 214 (p. 207 in ed. 2), which now runs thus—'the Servant of Jehovah *embodies a presentiment of* the historical Redeemer of Israel and the world.' I think there can be no fundamental difference between us; but I do fear that Dr. Guthe has forgotten his Lessing when he wishes me to address English theological students

as though they had enjoyed as much historico-theological culture as himself. After all, will any theological symbols be less subject to criticism than those which, though construed variously, satisfy most of us in England?

Dr. Guthe's objection to my treatment of those parts of 'Isaiah' where the standpoint of the writer is that of the exile or post-exile period, shows me how rare a thing 'self-denying and theory-denying exegesis' must be. To the theory of an assumed exile-standpoint which he imputes to me I have nowhere given my sanction, and English readers must know that I have only referred to it so often as a theory just conceivable in itself, and worthy of respectful treatment on educational grounds. Had Dr. Guthe read my earlier work on Isaiah (never recalled and not quite unknown in Germany), he would have felt that I could not have so sinned against light as to adopt such a weak compromise between the new and the old. Had he further glanced at the preface of the volume named at the head of his review (p. vii), he would have seen why no essay on the origin of the Book of Isaiah was inserted in the present work, and where such an essay from my pen, clear and precise, may be found.

The historical school, which, though in hearty sympathy with Biblical religion, scruples to be influenced in its examination of ancient writings by theological formulæ, is gaining strength in Germany; in England it is still painfully struggling for existence. It is therefore not out of place to express gratitude for Dr. Guthe's friendly criticism, and for his recognition of the 'independent work' bestowed on this edition of Isaiah.

'Independent' study in any other sense of the word is of course an impossibility; when popular writers of a certain class describe some unlucky scholar as a copyist of 'German criticism,' it is only a distortion of the truth that all scholars of the present day, *whether here or abroad*, are deeply indebted to their German predecessors. For all this, the history of our science will one day prove that the critical movement both has been and is an international one. Free and honest Biblical criticism is not confined to any one country, though all thorough students must cherish a warm but not an indiscriminating regard for the past and present representatives of Biblical science in Germany. May the Church in England, now that the decisive crisis is at hand, not refuse to cast in her lot with a criticism and an exegesis which have no party character, and simply aim at a progressive insight into the true meaning of the sources of our religion!

August 1884

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ISAIAH.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Contents.—A recapitulation of the heads of the preceding discourses, from chap. xl. onwards, closing with a summons to flee from Babylon, and a solemn declaration excluding the ungodly from a share in the promises.

¹ Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, who are called by the name of Israel, and have come forth from the waters of Judah; who swear by the name of Jehovah, and celebrate the God of Israel (not in truth and not in righteousness); ² for they call

¹ **O house of Jacob . . .]** The prophet, in the name of Jehovah (see *v.* 3), first addresses the Jews by their natural and as it were secular designation 'the house of Jacob,' and then subjoins their spiritual or covenant-name of Israel. But as both these titles would strictly speaking include the ten tribes, and the prophet is specially addressing the Judæan exiles at Babylon, he adds, **and have come forth from the waters of Judah** (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 27, 'ye that are of the fountain of Israel,' and the analogous figure in Isa. li. 1).—**Who swear by the name . . .]** One of the outward marks of an Israelite (Deut. vi. 13, x. 20). Both this and the next feature in the description are elsewhere characteristics of true believers (see xlv. 23, xlv. 5). Here the prophet introduces them ironically. In the case of the majority of Israelites, they are disconnected from a living faith. Hence the qualifying words

at the close of the verse, **not in truth and not in righteousness.** 'Truth,' literally 'continuance,' i.e., unwavering fidelity (so in xxxviii. 3). 'Righteousness,' i.e., the strict performance of their part in the national covenant with Jehovah, especially of the moral duties which this involved.¹ (The root-meaning is, 'to be stiff, tight.') The two qualities, 'truth' and 'righteousness,' are combined, as in Zech. viii. 8, 1 Kings iii. 6.

² **For they call themselves . . .]** There is a change of construction, but the tone and the tendency remain the same. In *v.* 1 the prophet seems to be full of praise, but the closing words make it but too manifest that the eulogy is ironical. So here. 'Who are called by the name of Israel' corresponds to 'for they call themselves of the holy city,' and 'not in truth and not in righteousness' is parallel to 'Jehovah Sabáoth is his name.' In *v.* 1 it is mainly formalism, in *v.* 2 a

¹ The sense of 'righteousness' for *çedeq* and *ç'dāqāh*, is almost always sufficient in II. Isaiah; indeed, it characterises the book.

themselves of the holy city, and on the God of Israel they lean—Jehovah Sabáoth is his name—³The former things long ago I announced; from my mouth they went forth, and I declared them; suddenly I wrought, and they came to pass. ⁴ Because I knew that thou wast hard, and an iron band thy

narrow 'particularism' or nationalism, which is censured. Formalism is reprehended by pointing to the moral requirements of the religion of Jehovah; nationalism by adducing that most comprehensive of the Divine titles, Jehovah Sabáoth (comp. vi. 3). In paraphrasing *v.* 2, we may, without injuring the sense, return to the construction of *v.* 1. It is equivalent to saying, 'who express the strongest regard for the city of the sanctuary, and attach the highest value to their hereditary religious privileges, not considering whom they have for a God, namely, Jehovah Sabáoth, who is thrice holy (vi. 3), and who "is exalted in (or, through) judgment, and sheweth himself holy through righteousness" *v.* 16).' [The 'for' at the beginning of the verse has been very variously explained. Some (e.g. Calv., Kay) regard it as explanatory of the preceding clause, 'not in truth' &c.; as if the prophet would say, 'for they take a pride in the so-called holy city, but where is their holiness?' According to others (Alexander, Birks), it introduces Jehovah's self-justification for still continuing to plead with his people:—'however much individuals have fallen away, the national privileges are still unrevoked by God.' Others again (Vitr., Ew., Del.) take 'for' in the sense of in fact, *immo, profecto*, which *kî* so often has in Hebrew.]—**The holy city**] So lii. 1; comp. lxiv. 9. This title of Jerusalem only occurs elsewhere in the later books; see Neh. xi. 1, 18, Dan. ix. 24, Matt. iv. 5, xxvii. 53, Rev. xi. 2, and comp. 'Jerusalem the holy,' a common inscription on Maccabean coins.—**They lean**] Comp. x. 20, 'but shall rely (lit. stay themselves) upon Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, *in truth*.'

³ **The former things . . .**] The appeal to prophecy is repeated for the seventh time.—To understand this and the two next verses, we must take them in connection with *vv.* 6, 7; there is an evident contrast intended. 'The former things' (see on xli. 22) were predicted to Israel in order to prevent him from committing fresh sin through ascribing Jehovah's wonders to false gods; it is an additional characteristic that they were foretold 'long since.' With regard to the 'new things,' it is stated that they have only been announced on the very eve of their accomplishment, for if they had been predicted centuries before, Israel would have forgotten the source of his knowledge, and would have said, 'It is a trite story, I know it already' (viz. through another than the true channel—either his idol-god, or his natural powers of calculating the future).—**Suddenly**] In both parts of Isaiah the unexpectedness of the events in which prophecy finds its fulfilment, is emphatically referred to (comp. xxix. 5, xlvi. 9). Men hear the prophecy, but it takes no hold of them; they do not practically believe in it. Still the prophecy has produced this negative result, that no one can ascribe the event predicted to any other agency but the true God.

⁴ **Hard**] i.e., hard of heart, slow of understanding (comp. 'obdurate,' xlv. 12). It is, in fact, a prophetic doctrine that all actual rebellion against Jehovah is preceded by a loss of spiritual sensibility. Thus we read that 'the heart of Pharaoh grew stiff, and he did not hearken unto them' (Ex. vii. 13); that, before all hope of Israel's conversion is given up, Jehovah must 'make the heart of this people fat' (Isa. vi. 10),

neck, and thy forehead brass, ⁵ therefore I announced it to thee long since, before it came to pass I showed it thee; lest thou shouldest say, Mine idol hath wrought them, and my graven image, and my molten image, hath commanded them. ⁶ Thou hast heard it; see it as a whole; (and as for you—should ye not announce it?) I declare to thee new things from this time, even hidden things, which thou knewest not. ⁷ They have been created now and not heretofore, and before to-day thou heardest them not, lest thou shouldest say, Behold, I knew

and that in Ezekiel's time 'all the house of Israel (were) stiff in the forehead, and hard of heart,' (Ezek. iii. 7). The 'heart,' as usual in the Old Testament, is here the organ of the understanding and of the conscience.—**Thy forehead brass]** i.e., thou wast defiant and unapproachable; comp. Ezek. iii. 8, 9. A similar figure in a good sense, l. 7.

⁵ **Therefore I announced it to thee]** Jehovah speaks as a loving father to his rebellious child. He takes the obstinacy of Israel very calmly; it is a reason, not for casting him off, but for showing more kindness. He will at least prevent him from committing fresh sin by ascribing Jehovah's mighty deeds to false gods.—**Hath commanded them]** i.e., 'called them into being;' comp. Ps. xxxiii. 9.

⁶ **See it as a whole]** Behold the prediction fully accomplished. Himpel makes the accusative here refer to the past history of Israel as witnessing to a God who fulfils His predictions.¹ This is surely inadmissible. 'Thou hast heard it &c.' can only mean 'See as a whole that which thou hast heard,' and the preceding verse shows that what the Jews had 'heard' was not their past history, but predictions relative to the achievements of Cyrus.—**And as for you . . .]** This is evidently addressed, not to the nation in general, but to the individuals actually around the prophet. It is thoroughly in the

style of Isaiah, and of the old prophets in general, who really uttered their prophecies before committing them to writing. On the whole, II. Isaiah is both in form and in style intensely literary; it is the more remarkable that the writer should involuntarily fall into oratorical turns of expression.—**Should ye not announce it?]** Ought ye not to make known such a striking proof of the unique divinity of Jehovah?—Hitzig, taking the word 'announce' in the sense of 'predict,' which it has in *v.* 5 and *xli.* 22, 23, explains, 'Will ye not predict something yourselves?' But the context seems rather to require an appeal to the conscience of the idolaters.—**New things]** See on *xlii.* 9.

⁷ **They have been created now]** i.e., they are now for the first time brought (or beginning to be brought) into actual existence—hitherto they have only had an ideal life, 'hid in God' (Eph. iii. 9), in the Divine counsels (comp. on *xxii.* 11). According to Naeg., however, (who does not mention that he is but following Kimchi), the word 'created' is equivalent to 'prophesied,' since a word of prophecy is in a sense creative (see on *ix.* 8), and converts the Divine counsel from a *λόγος ενδιάθετος* into a *λόγος προφορικός*. This is an unsuccessful attempt to preclude the inference which has been drawn from this passage in favour of a Babylonian origin of II. Isaiah.

¹ *Theologische Quartalschrift* (Rom. Cath.), Tübingen, 1878, pp. 306-7.

them. ⁸ Neither hast thou heard them, neither hast thou known them, neither did thine ear open heretofore; for I knew that thou wast indeed treacherous, and wast called Rebellious from the womb? ⁹ For my name's sake I defer mine anger, and for my praise I am temperate towards thee, not to cut thee off. ¹⁰ Behold, I have refined thee, but ^a not as silver^a; I have ^b tested thee in the furnace of affliction.

^a Not for silver, Ew.; not obtained any silver, Ges.

^b So Pesh., Targ., Ges., Hitz., Ew., Hend., Kr., Del., Naeg. (mentioned also by A.E. and Kimchi).—Chosen, Vulg., the Rabbis, Calv., Vit., Stier, Weir. (Rashi renders the clause, 'I chose for thee the furnace of affliction,' but against the parallelism.)

Dr. Rutgers, with the same object, attempts to show that there was nothing in the successes of Cyrus to justify such language in a prophet living at the close of the Exile. He refers to the (rather dubious) oracles which are said (e.g., by Dino, *Fragm.* 7, and by Herodotus, i. 53) to have announced the victories of Cyrus. Dr. Land replies, that it required an unusual intensity of faith to predict in such positive terms what we can now, perhaps, *à posteriori* see to be very natural. Was it not rather to be apprehended that the Jews would simply exchange a Chaldean oppressor for a Persian?¹—**Lest thou shouldst say . . .**] See note on 'The former things' (v. 3).

⁸ **Neither did thine ear open**] A synonym for 'didst thou hear' (i.e., with the natural, not the spiritual organ); comp. xlii. 19 (where, however, the verb is different).—**For I knew . . .**] Here the same reason is given for the postponement of the prediction of the 'new things' which has been urged for the early date of the announcement of 'the former things' (v. 4). There is no inconsistency, however. It is the 'newness,' the unheard-of grandeur, of the second cycle of predicted events, which causes the difference in Jehovah's procedure. Israel was equally 'hard' at both periods of prophecy, but his guilt would have

been greatly increased by denying the Divine origin of these wondrously 'new' facts.—**That thou wast indeed treacherous**] It is difficult to realise the closeness of the relation felt by primitive races to exist between them and their gods. This, however, is the basis on which the Biblical doctrines of the relation between Jehovah and Israel, and between God and the Church, are established. See Mic. iv. 5, and comp. Hos. v. 7, vi. 7, Jer. iii. 7, 10, Mal. ii. 11.—**Rebellious**] The allusion is primarily to the provocations of the Israelites in the wilderness (comp. Ps. cvi. 7-33).—**From the womb**] The accents link this with 'Rebellious' (in this case render 'art called'); it gives a better sense, however, to connect it with the verb.

⁹ But some objector may ask, Why has not Jehovah taken summary vengeance on such an impious race?—**For my name's sake**, &c., gives the answer. Because it would have compromised Jehovah in the eyes of the heathen, who are, in His own good time, to become subjects of the Divine King. Comp. Ezek. xx. 9, xxxvi. 21-23.—**I am temperate**] Or, I refrain (it). The Arabic cognate suggests the idea of muzzling.

¹⁰ **I have refined thee, but not as silver**] The precise meaning is obscure. We may, however, at

¹ Rutgers, *De echtheid*, enz., pp. 64-63; Land, 'Prof. Rutgers en de tweede Jesajas,' *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1867, p. 202.

¹¹ For mine own sake, for mine own sake will I do it; for how should it be desecrated? and my glory I will not give unto another.

¹² Hearken unto me, O Jacob; and Israel, my called one; I am He, I am the first, I also am the last. ¹³ It was my hand also that laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand that spread out the heavens; if I call unto them, they stand up together. ¹⁴ Assemble yourselves, all of you, and hear; who among ^e them announced these things? He whom Jehovah hath loved shall perform his pleasure on

^e You, not a few Hebr. MSS., Pesh.

once dismiss the explanation of Ewald ('my refining did not result in the production of pure metal'), which is here 'purposeless' (Del.). (It is not the so-called *Beth pretii*, but the *Beth essentia*, which we have here. For the latter, besides xl. 10, comp. Ezek. xx. 41, 'as a sweet savour I will accept you gladly.') But what does 'not as silver' mean? Not merely 'in a higher sense than the refining of silver' (Hitz., Del.), comp. xxix. 9; but rather 'not with such uncompromising severity as silver,' (so Calv., Vittr., Hengst.). To have tried Israel 'as silver,' which, as a Psalmist says, is 'purified seven times' (Ps. xiii. 6), would have been to 'cut off' the nation entirely (comp. v. 9); Jehovah, therefore, mindful of his covenant, 'reined in' or 'restrained' the anger due to its iniquity.—The beauty of the passage, thus explained, shines out the more by comparison with the application of the same figure in other prophecies; see i. 25, Ezek. xxii. 18–22, Mal. iii. 3; Zech. xiii. 9 is more nearly in harmony with it.—**In the furnace of affliction**] An allusion to the 'iron furnace' of the Egyptian bondage, Deut. iv. 20. The prophets regard Egypt as the type of all subsequent oppressors.

¹¹ **For how should it be desecrated?**] Understand 'my glory,' by a 'proleptic ellipsis'; comp. Judg. v. 20, 'They fought from heaven—the stars from their courses fought against Sisera.' So

Ges., and formerly, Del. (in his comment on Hab. i. 5). Or, though this is less obvious, supply my name from v. 9 (with Sept., Vittr., Hitz., Del., Naeg.). The verb will suit equally well with 'name' (comp. xxiii. 9), and 'glory' (comp. Lev. xviii. 21, xix. 12, Ezek. xx. 9, xxxvi. 22).—**Unto another**] i.e., to an idol-god. So xlii. 8.

¹²⁻¹⁵ A still more complete and more condensed summary of the chief contents of chaps. xl.–xlvii. The summons to attend to the new and grand revelation (comp. xlv. 1, xlv. 3). 'I am He,' (comp. xliii. 10, 13, 25, xli. 4, xlv. 4). 'The First and the Last' (xli. 4, xlv. 6). The Creator (comp. xl. 12, 22, 26, 28, xlii. 5, xlv. 24, xlv. 12, 18). Debate on prophecy (comp. xli. 1, 22–28, xliii. 9–12, xlv. 7, 8). Mission of Cyrus (xli. 2, 25, xlv. 28, xlv. 1–7, 13, xlv. 11).

¹⁴ **Assemble yourselves**] Addressed to the idolatrous nations (xliii. 9).—**He whom Jehovah hath loved**] Cyrus inherits the honour conferred on the child Solomon (comp. the Hebrew of 2 Sam. xii. 24, Del.). There is, it is true, no verbal parallel for such a phrase in the preceding discourses, but the personal regard of Jehovah for Cyrus has been clearly enough expressed (see xlv. 4).—**His arm**] The subject is uncertain. Is it Jehovah? is it Cyrus? Dr. Weir remarks, with perfect accuracy, that it is elsewhere God's arm which the prophet refers to. But

Babylon, and ^d his arm (shall be)^d ^e on Chaldæa.^e ¹⁵ I, even I, have spoken ; I have also called him ; I have brought him, and his way shall be prosperous.

¹⁶ Draw near unto me, hear ye this ; (from the beginning I have not spoken in secret, from the time that it came into being, there have I been : and now the Lord Jehovah hath

^d His arm (viz. Jehovah's). Hitz., Ew., Naeg.

^e TEXT, Chaldea (see crit. note).

surely he has not thereby debarred himself from speaking of the 'arm' of a human agent ! ('Arm' = power ; comp. Job xxxv. 9, 'they cry out by reason of the arm of the mighty.') The form of the phrase is no doubt peculiar. We should have expected something like 'and the lighting down of his arm shall be on Chaldæa' (comp. xxx. 30), but we can quite well supply the verb from the preceding line. Alt. rend. may indeed be supported by Ex. xiv. 31 ('the great hand which Jehovah did') but 'his arm' is not a satisfactory parallel to 'his pleasure.'

¹⁶ Here the recapitulation of the previous discourses is interrupted. The prophet, in the name of Jehovah, is about to put forth his good tidings in a more striking form than he has yet given them. But first he must prepare the minds of his readers by a pathetic appeal to their consciences.—**Draw near unto me**] Jehovah is still the speaker, but he addresses, no longer the heathen (as in v. 14), but the Israelites, especially those who are 'far from righteousness' (xlvi. 12). The main point of his address is in vv. 18, 19.—**From the beginning**] The passage thus introduced is open to various interpretations. The most probable seems to me to be this—that from the beginning of the world (comp. xl. 21, xli. 4) Jehovah has 'raised up a succession of prophets, each bearing his own unambiguous message ; "and now," as the prophetic writer subjoins, Jehovah has crowned his previous work with this grandest of revelations.'¹ Compare Calvin's note, 'Testatur

Deum illum qui ab initio loquutus est, per ipsum loqui. Itaque sic habendam esse fidem iis quæ nunc Deus per ipsum loquitur, ac si palam adesset.'—The phrase 'from the beginning' may, however, also be taken as meaning 'from the beginning of that historical period to which the fall of Babylon belongs.' Jehovah certainly claims, according to the prophet, to have foretold the future from primeval times, but he also insists repeatedly on the early date of his predictions respecting Cyrus.—**I have not spoken in secret**] 'My revelations have not been obscure and ambiguous like the heathen oracles' (see xlv. 19).—**From the time that it came into being . . .**] The subject of the verb is doubtful. Most expositors think it to be Jehovah's purpose respecting Cyrus. In this case, the Divine speaker declares that not only had He foretold the Persian victories (comp. xli. 26), but from the time that these announcements 'came into being' (i.e., began to be fulfilled), 'there (was) He,' as the director and controller of events. But is this view quite consistent with the latter half of the verse, which so distinctly refers to prophecy? Is it not more natural, with Ewald, to take the words 'there (was) He' as referring to the succession of prophetic messengers, and as the subject of the verb 'came into being' to understand 'the earth' (from v. 13)? 'From the beginning' will then mean 'from the beginning of the world.' It may be noticed in this connection that the word-group 'there

¹ I. C. A., p. 175.

sent me and 'his Spirit':) ¹⁷ thus saith Jehovah, thy Goel, the Holy One of Israel, I am Jehovah thy God, he who teacheth thee to profit, who leadeth thee by the way thou

' His Word, Targ.

I (have been)' occurs again in the description of the work of Wisdom at the creation (Prov. viii. 27). (For the ellipsis of 'the earth,' comp. viii. 21, Ps. lxxviii. 15 in the Hebr.)

—**And now the Lord Jehovah hath**] Here a fresh speaker is evidently introduced, though his speech only extends to the end of the verse. But who? According to Delitzsch, it is the servant of Jehovah, who has already been declared to be divinely 'sent,' and to be invested with the Divine Spirit. This is possible, but not, in my opinion, probable. A concise and incidental utterance of this kind seems hardly consistent with the dignity of this great personage, while an occasional brief reference to himself is characteristic of the prophetic writer (comp. xl. 6, xlv. 26, lvii. 21). So Targ., which interpolates 'the prophet saith:' so Calv. and Ges. There is a partly similar transition, pointed out by Del., from Jehovah as a speaker to the prophet in lxii. 6.—It is difficult to see how Hitzig, Knobel, and Naegelsbach can assign the whole verse to one person, and that person the prophet (in spite of xlv. 19). If the latter had only been sent 'now,' how could he have 'spoken from the beginning'?—**And his Spirit**] It has been much debated whether these words are the subject (with 'the Lord Jehovah') or the object of the verb, i.e., whether the Spirit is the sender or the sent. The Targ. (most probably), Sept. (see Dr. Kay's note), and Vulg., followed by the English and German versions and by Naeg., take the former view; Calv., Vitruv., Del. and indeed most moderns, the latter. Grammatically, both renderings are equally admissible,¹ though the for-

mer is somewhat more obvious. But as there is no analogy in the O. T. for the Spirit's being the sender of a prophet (in 1 Kings xxii. 21, 22, 'The Spirit' of prophecy is himself sent), and as the spirit is, elsewhere in II. Isaiah, distinctly subordinated to Jehovah (see xlv. 3, lxi. 1, lxiii. 10, 11) it seems to me safer to take the words 'and his Spirit' = 'with the Spirit' (for the idiom, see crit. note on vii. 1). Possibly this particular construction may have been chosen here to indicate the personality of the Spirit, for I cannot but think, with Kleinert (who, however, makes 'his Spirit' the subject), that we have both here and in Gen. i. 2 an early trace of what is known as the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit. If a parallel for the claim here put forward by the prophet be required, comp. Hos. ix. 7, 'the man of the Spirit' = *ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευματοφόρος*, Sept. (The whole subject of the O. T. doctrine of the Spirit is well treated by Dr. Paul Kleinert, in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1867, pp. 3-59.)

¹⁷⁻¹⁹ A tender complaint that Israel has not taken the straight road to peace and righteousness, but has obliged Jehovah to 'lead them round' (Ex. xiii. 18), as it were, by the rough road of chastisement.—**Who teacheth thee to profit**] Deep down in human nature lies the idea of a covenant between the worshipper and his god. In return for external service, the god gives help and protection. The prophets, with a generous freedom, retain so much of this primitive theory as matches with the truths revealed to them. Jehovah's protection is still conditional, but the conditions extend to

¹ So Origen (*Works*, ed. Lommatsch, iii. 244), though he decides on theological grounds for this latter view, explaining that 'the Father sent both, the Saviour and the Holy Spirit.'

shouldest go. ¹⁸ O that thou ^g hadst hearkened ^g unto my commandments! then would thy peace ^h have been ^h as the river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea; ¹⁹ and thy seed would have been as the sand, and the offspring of thy body as the ⁱ entrails thereof; his name would not be

^g Didst hearken, Hitz., Knob., Stier, Del.

^h Be, Hitz., Knob., Stier, Del. (the letters leave the point of time uncertain).

ⁱ So Rashi, A. E., Ges., Hitz., Naeg., Weir.—All the old versions agree substantially in rendering 'grams (of sand)'; so Vitruv., Ew., Del.

the inner as well as the outer man. His terms are therefore more severe than those of the idol-gods, but the result justifies their acceptance. For the idol-gods are, as Jeremiah puts it (ii. 11), 'the not-profitable,' and similar statements occur in II. Isaiah (xliv. 9, 10, comp. xlv. 19). Jehovah, on the other hand, teaches only what is 'profitable' (i.e., in a moral sense, comp. Mic. vi. 8), and leads in the right way (Ps. xxiii. 3).

—O that thou hadst hearkened

. . .] This is the literal rendering. Some critics, however, are of opinion that it does not suit the context, that it leads rather away from, than up to, the enlivening promise which underlies the concluding injunction. The same construction, they remind us, occurs in lxiv. 1, where all critics are agreed that the sense is a wish for the future, and not for the past, and that the perfect merely expresses the impatient eagerness of the wish. But, as Naeg. remarks, the two passages are not entirely parallel. The one refers to an action, the other to a state. A form of expression suitable enough in the one case would lead to ambiguity or worse in the other. It is safer to render as above, and the meaning, though more subtle, is not inappropriate.—There is a similar and an equally touching apostrophe in Ps. lxxx. 13-16, where, however, the construction is different, and we must certainly render, not as Auth. Vers. and (at least as regards vv. 13, 14) Vulg., 'had hearkened,' 'had walked,' 'should have subdued,' &c., but 'would hearken,' 'would walk,' 'would subdue,' &c.—**Tho**

River] i.e., the Euphrates (so Targ.).—**Thy righteousness]** 'Righteousness' here, as so often in II. Isaiah, means, not rectitude, but prosperity, not however prosperity *per se*, but as the manifestation of Jehovah's righteousness or fidelity to His promises.

¹⁹ **As the sand]** Thus the ancient promises to Abraham and to Jacob (Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 12), and indeed those recent ones to Israel himself (xliv. 3, 4), would have been realised, as it were, naturally.—**As the entrails thereof]** i.e., the fishes, which have their name in Hebr. from swarming (comp. Gen. i. 20). The subject in Hebr. is not always the noun last mentioned; it must in this case be supplied from the preceding line. The word for 'entrails' is the feminine form of that rendered 'body'; masculine and feminine forms standing together as in iii. 1.—This rend. seems to me now safer than that of Ew or of Del. (The phrase is Spenserian).—**His name would not be cut off]** Not only would these blessings have been attained, but Israel's name as a people would be secured against extinction for all time.—But is not this explanation against the spirit of Old Testament prophecy, which assumes, like St. Paul, that the *χαρίσματα* of God are irrevocable? Are we not therefore driven to Ewald's way of rendering the passage? No; for no people can be secured in existence beyond that Day of Jehovah which marks off one 'age' ('*ōlām* or *aiōn*) from another. It is only a moral bond of union which can so attach Israel

cut off, nor destroyed from before me. ²⁰ Go ye out from Babylon, flee ye from Chaldæa; with a ringing cry announce ye this and show it; cause it to go forth even to the end of the earth; say ye, Jehovah hath redeemed his servant Jacob. ²¹ And they thirsted not in the deserts through which he led them: water from the rock he caused to flow down unto them; he clave the rock, and water gushed out. ²² There is no peace, saith Jehovah, to the ungodly.

to Jehovah that his existence becomes absolutely illimitable. For 'the coming age' (to adopt the late Jewish phrase) a special promise is required (see lxvi. 22). 'Before me,' i.e., under my care and protection.—See crit. note.

²⁰ The prophet, 'becoming in the Spirit' (Rev. i. 10), sees the destruction of Babylon in the act of accomplishment.—**Flee ye . . .**] 'Escape for thy life' (Gen. xix. 17). At a later period, the prophetic injunction took a different form:—'ye shall not proceed in flight' (lii. 12).—**With a ringing cry**] The accents connect these words with 'announce, tell.' Vitringa, indeed, thinks this produces an improbable phrase—'announce with the voice of song.' But *rinnah* is not properly 'song,' and if the message were to reach 'the end of the earth,' a 'ringing cry' would indeed be necessary. The contents of the message are the redemption and return of Israel.—**Jehovah hath redeemed**] Not the prophetic perfect (as in xliii. 1, xlv. 22), but the historical. The Israelites have now escaped from the fallen city, and not only so, but received 'the earnest of their inheritance.' These great mercies they are to proclaim

far and wide (comp. xii. 4). In fact, as we know from xlv. 22, 'all the ends of the earth' are vitally interested in the salvation of Israel.

²¹ **And they thirsted not . . .**] Literalists will remark (as David Kimchi long ago, with naïve astonishment, remarked) that no miracle of bringing water out of the rock is mentioned in the Book of Ezra. But the picture is of course symbolical. Similar figures occur in xli. 17–19, xliii. 19, 20, xlv. 3, 4, but here the emphasis is laid more on the refreshment vouchsafed during the homeward journey, than on the blessedness reserved for the true Israel after their resettlement. The prophet aims at showing that the restoration from Babylon was as great a Divine interposition as the deliverance from Egypt (comp. Ex. xvii. 6, Num. xx. 11).—The last words of the verse reminds us of Ps. lxxviii. 20, cv. 41 (see Hebr.).

²² **There is no peace . . .**] 'Peace' (comp. v. 18) sums up all the promised blessings; from these the 'ungodly,' those who do not belong to the spiritual Israel, are self-excluded. The same words occur, in the manner of a refrain, in lvii. 21.

CHAPTER XLIX.

WE now enter upon a new section of the prophecy. This is admitted even by those who, denying the unity, deny also the division of II. Isaiah into three symmetrical books. In it, we hear no more of the antithesis between Israel and heathenism, no more except allusively of Babylon, no more even of Cyrus. Israel himself, in all his contradictory characteristics, becomes the engrossing subject of the prophet's meditations. His restoration, still future, but indubitable, is celebrated in Chap. lx. by an ode somewhat similar to that on the fall of Babylon in the preceding part. But the nearer the great event arrives, and the more the prophet realises the ideal Israel of the future, the more he is depressed by the low spiritual condition of the actual Israel. Strange to say, this combination of apparently inconsistent data—the splendour of the future and the misery of the present—supplies the material for a specimen of dramatic description surpassing anything in the rest of the Old Testament.

The scene with which the section opens is a singularly striking one. The Servant of Jehovah, wearied, as it seems, with the infatuated opposition of the majority of the Israelites, turns to the 'countries' and 'peoples afar off,' and unfolds at length, although not as yet in all its fulness, his origin and his high mission.

It is true that here, as in the case of the parallel prophecy xlii. 1-7, many critics deny that 'the Servant' is the speaker, and assign the soliloquy either to the prophet or to the spiritual Israel. Of these two theories the former is the more plausible, as it does fuller justice to the individualising features of the description. It is also confirmed by Jer. i. 5, where it is said of Jeremiah, that before he came out of the womb he was 'known,' 'consecrated,' and 'ordained' of Jehovah. The drawback, however, to this comparison is that Jeremiah does not, like the speaker in xlix. 1, presume to state this of himself; it is in 'the word of Jehovah' which 'came to him.' Besides, the greater part of what the speaker says is so grand and so self-assertive that no prophet, least of all such a reticent prophet as the author, can be imagined as uttering it. The latter theory has but one point in its favour—the second line of *v.* 3, and this no doubt is at first sight conclusive. It is opposed however by *vv.* 5, 6, which unmistakably refer to the spiritual Israel, and expressly distinguish it from the Servant of Jehovah. The only other theory worth mentioning is that which regards the speaker as that human yet superhuman personage

to whom the latter appellation belongs. All the conflicting data at once fall into their proper places when we accept this explanation. Our only reasonable doubt will be connected with the surprising statement in *v.* 2, 'Thou art my servant, (thou art) Israel with whom I will beautify myself.' How can this be? How can the speaker be destined to bring Israel back to Jehovah, &c., and at the same time himself be Israel?¹

It is perhaps a riddle of a kind not unrepresented elsewhere in the Old Testament—a riddle like the 'I AM' of Ex. iii. 14, and like the 'dwelling in the house of Jehovah all the days of my life' (Ps. xxvii. 4), and of which a satisfactory solution was early found, viz., that the speaker is called Israel as being the noblest and truest representative of the people of Israel. So Ibn Ezra, though the speaker, according to him, is not the prophet but the Servant; so too Delitzsch, who considers the personal Servant to be as it were the apex of a pyramid, of which Israel in its entirety forms the basis, and the ideal or spiritual Israel the centre. So too De Dieu, Vitringa, Naegelsbach, and Birks, who explain *v.* 3^b as an allusion to Gen. xxxii. 29, and as meaning, in the words of Vitringa, 'Tu es Israel, inter omnes veros Israelitas unus et solus, qui in te vere exhibiturus es characteres omnes patris tui Jacobi, qui cum Deo ipso luctatus vicit . . . hâc ipsâ de causâ meritis appellari Israel.' There is indeed no other instance of the antitypical use of the name Israel (like that of David and, in St. Paul, of Adam). But why should not this 'Israelite indeed' be 'honourably titled' by this name as well as Jacob's spiritual seed in *xliv.* 5?

Contents.—The Servant's declaration concerning his intercourse with Jehovah, his functions, and his experience (*vv.* 1-13); Zion comforted in her despondency (*vv.* 14-26).

¹Hearken, ye countries, unto me, and listen, ye far-off peoples: Jehovah hath called me from the womb, from my mother's lap hath he made mention of my name; ²and he

¹ **Hearken, ye countries, unto me . . .]** This is no mere rhetorical phrase. The 'countries' and the 'nations' fell within the scope of the Servant's original commission (*xliii.* 1, 4, 6).—**From the womb]** i.e., I was predestinated to my missionary office. Comp. Jer. i. 5, Gal. i. 15, and note at end of chap. *xlii.*

² **He made my mouth . . .]** i.e., he endowed my word with his own omnipotence, so that it puts down all opposition, just as his word. So in *li.* 16, 'the word of the LORD, which is put into the mouth of the Servant, is so living and powerful, so borne by omnipotence, that thereby the heavens are planted, and the foundations of the

¹ It is enough to chronicle the suggestion of Gesenius, in his note on *v.* 3, that the word 'Israel' may be an interpolation (like 'Israel' and 'Jacob' in the Sept. of *xlii.* 1). In the notes to his translation of Isaiah (2nd ed. 1829) he retracted this view.

made my mouth as a sharp sword, in the shadow of his hand he hid me; and he made me a polished shaft, in his quiver he covered me: ³and he said unto me, Thou art my servant; (even) Israel, with whom I will beautify myself. ⁴But I had said, I have laboured in vain, for nought and for a breath have I spent my strength; but surely my right is with Jehovah, and my recompence with my God. ⁵And

earth are laid.' So too in xi. 4 (see note) it is said of the Messianic king that 'he shall smite the tyrant with the sceptre of his mouth.' Comp. also Heb. iv. 12, Eph. vi. 17, and the passages in Revelation (i. 16, xix. 15) based upon this imaginative description of the Servant.—**He hid me**] The incisive preaching of the Servant was displeasing to the natural man, who therefore sought to parry the sword of the Spirit by the arm of flesh. Hence not only the 'mouth,' but the entire person of the preacher needed the Divine protection.—

And he made me a polished shaft] The whole soul of the prophet is absorbed in his message; he is all mouth—a 'mouth of God' (Ex. iv. 16, comp. vii. 1). 'Polished,' so as to penetrate easily; comp. Jer. li. 11.

³ **And he said . . .**] 'And' is explanatory. Jehovah tells His Servant why He watches over him with such solicitude. It is because he is His precious instrument, and because in and through him He designs to manifest His glory. The Servant will become the head of a regenerated and expanded Israel, which Jehovah will hold forth to the universe as His fairest prize (lxii. 3).—The phrase at the end of the verse is repeated from xlv. 23.

⁴ **But I had said . . .**] 'My thoughts were very different—ever ready to sink into dejection and despair. And if I struggle against this, the utmost I can reach and rise to is to cast myself upon God's judgment, and to leave all in His hands.' So Dr. Weir. But this is far from doing justice to the firm faith of the closing words. The

Servant of Jehovah may indeed give way to dejection, but only for a moment. His cry of pain and astonishment does but show that he is a man—a historical person, and is as consistent with a deeply-rooted faith as the 'Eli, Eli' of Ps. xxii. 1, Matt. xxvii. 46. Directly after relieving his feelings by the cry, 'I have laboured in vain,' he gives the lie, with a 'but surely,' to all delusive appearances, and with the bold declaration, 'my recompence is with my God,' appeals to the impending interposition of the Divine Judge (comp. xl. 10).—The scene of this seemingly resultless labour is evidently Israel, not the heathen world (see v. 6). In a subsequent chapter we find Zion giving utterance to a complaint corresponding to the exclamation of the Servant (see on li. 14).—

My right] The expression reminds us of xl. 27, where Israel complains, 'My right has been let slip by my God.' There, however, the 'right' is clearly that of an oppressed nation as against its oppressors; here it is the 'right' of an envoy from the King of Israel to be received with heartfelt submission. The work of the Servant is described under the same figure of a judicial pleading in l. 8.—**My recompence**] What this recompence is, will appear in liii. 10-12. The mention of a 'recompence' of itself shows that 'servant' in the phrase 'the Servant (literally slave) of Jehovah' has a special meaning of its own. A slave can have no recompence.

⁵ **And now Jehovah hath said . . .**] 'And' is again explanatory. Jehovah has rewarded

now Jehovah hath said, he who formed me from the womb to be a servant unto him, that I might bring back Jacob unto him, and that Israel might ^aunto him^a be gathered, (for I am honoured in the eyes of Jehovah, and my God is become my strength,) ⁶he hath said, It is too light a thing that thou art unto me a servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel; so I appoint thee the light of the nations, ^bto be my salvation^b unto the end of the earth.

⁷Thus saith Jehovah, the Goel of Israel, and his Holy

^a So Heb. marg. some MSS., Aquila, Pesh. (virtually), Targ., Lo., Vittr., Ges., Ew., Del., Naeg., Weir.—Not, Heb. Text, Vulg., Symm., Theod., Calv., De Dieu, Hend., Hitz., Hengst., Alexander, Kay. (The following verb is variously rendered; see crit. note.)

^b So Sept., Vulg., Vittr., Hengst., Del., Naeg., Weir.—That my salvation may be, Ges., Hitz., Ew. (Weir is uncertain).

the Servant's recent exercise of faith by a fresh revelation. But before announcing it, the Servant joyfully repeats the facts which have ever lain deep down in his consciousness, though obscured for a moment by despondency, viz. that he is Jehovah's predestined instrument for the restoration of the Chosen People. 'To bring back' (i.e., that I may bring back) at any rate includes a spiritual reference. See on xlii. 7, and comp. the use of 'to return' in I. Isaiah (i. 27, vi. 10, x. 20-22, xxx. 15).—Alt. rend. entirely spoils the symmetry of the verse (analogous cases in ix. 2, lxiii. 9).—**For I am honoured . . .**] Lit. 'and, &c.'; the 'and' is explanatory of the circumstance that a new Divine revelation has been accorded to the Servant. He now feels that he is honoured (the imperfect tense may be chosen as being the tense of emotion) in the eyes of God if not in those of men, and consequently his despondency gives place to a sense of an indwelling Divine strength.

⁶ This is what he has been longing to say, (for it concerns the far countries so much,) but seems to have feared to bring out too hastily—so wondrous is it! **It is too light a thing . . .**] Even the

restoration of Israel is a 'light thing' by comparison with the exalted privilege of bringing all mankind to the knowledge of the true God.—**The tribes of Jacob** (i.e., Israel)] The prophet retains the old-fashioned phrase, precisely as the New Testament writers (Matt. xix. 28, Rev. vii. 4). The parallel clause has simply **the preserved of Israel**, i.e., those who in I. Isaiah (e.g., x. 20) are called the 'remnant,' with reference to the great judgment upon Israel.—**The light . . .**] Comp. xlii. 6. —**To be my salvation**] i.e., the bearer of my salvation (as the Messiah is called 'peace,' i.e., 'the author of peace,' Mic. v. 5).—Alt. rend. is equally possible grammatically, and harmonizes better with the theory that the people of Israel is the speaker. But the parallelism favours the first rendering.

⁷⁻⁹ A further revelation of Jehovah, rewarding the revived faith of his Servant. It is a kind of prelude of chap. liii. Nowhere else, except in that famous chapter, are the humiliation and subsequent glorification of this great personage so emphatically dwelt upon.

⁷ **The Goel of Israel**] (See on xli. 14.) Israel and the greatest of Israel's saplings (liii. 2) are indissolubly united. Is the 'Servant'

One, unto him who is ^cdespised ^dof souls,^d abhorred of ^ethe people,^e a servant of rulers: kings shall see and rise up;

^c Despicable, Calv., Del. (Vulg., contemptibilem animam; Sept. τὸν φαυλίζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, i.e. *bōzēch.*)

^d (α) Of persons, Targ. (virtually), Auth. Vers., Ges., Hengst., Knobel. (β) In the soul, Calv., Vittr., Ew., Naeg., Weir. (γ) As to (his) soul, Hitz., Del. (see crit. note).

^e Peoples, Sept., Saadya, A.E., Kimchi, Luzzatto (as if a collective).

reduced to low estate? So, too, is Israel. Is the 'Servant' appointed for a glorious issue? Those who are mystically joined to him shall share his prosperity.—**His Holy One** 'Holiness' is closely related to the idea of strength, comp. xxix. 19.—**Who is despised of souls** i.e., whom men heartily despise. The obscurity of this expression is chiefly owing to the circumstance that the Hebr. has, not 'souls,' but 'soul' (*nēfesh*). 'Despised of soul' (if we interpret *nēfesh* as a singular) may be explained in two ways (see β and γ in note ^d), of which the first seems to me the more plausible—comp. the phrase 'desire of soul' = 'deep desire' (xxvi. 8), and 'my enemies in soul' = 'my deadly enemies' (as A. V. Ps. xvii. 9). The soul is in Biblical language the seat of the deepest feelings and affections (the *Gemüth*), of pleasure and pain, desire and disgust, love and hate, admiration and contempt; contempt, in particular, is again connected with the soul in Ezek. xxxvi. 5, 'with the joy of a full heart, with despite of the soul.' On the other hand, the rend. of those who take *nēfesh* collectively is recommended by its accordance with the parallel members of the verse ('. . . people . . . rulers'), and by the parallel passage in Ps. xxii. (a psalm so strikingly germane to this paragraph and to Isa. liii.), in which the pious sufferer is called 'a reproach of men and despised of the people' (v. 6); while the rend. 'persons' is justified by the common phrase 'every soul' for 'every person,' and by Gen. ii. 5, xiv. 21, Ezek. xxvii. 13 (where the singular is used, as here, collectively). Still, though the parallelism imperatively demands a collective reference,

'soul' in the sense of 'person' seems to me to belong specially to phrases and formulæ (see instances in Lexicon), and to be altogether too mean a word for those who are in the position of tyrants. I therefore agree grammatically with Gesenius, and exegetically with Ewald.—The rend. of Hitz. and Del. means 'whose life is deemed of little or no value'—the opposite of Ps. lxxii. 14b. (Obs. the commentators grouped together above do not always agree in their exegesis. Thus Knobel, while rendering as Gesenius, gives an exposition akin to my own, 'despised of men, who despise him in the soul, i.e., heartily.' Vitringa, too, though he translates as Ewald, explains substantially as I have done, 'Contempto fastiditque à cujusque desiderio; quem nemo cupiscit; quo nemo delectatur; qui cuique fastidio est.' Calvin, however, with the same version as Vittr. and Ew., gives a very different interpretation, 'Hoc autem miseriam populi auget,' he says (taking the promise to be addressed to the people), 'quod "in animâ" apud seipsum contemptibilem esse dicit.')

—**The people** Hebr. *gōy* (no article). The term is here used in its widest and primary meaning, 'a collection of people,' viz. all those with whom the Servant has to do, not merely Jews, and not merely Gentiles, but all mankind. Comp. the use of the synonym (*ām*) in xl. 7, xlii. 5, Num. xxi. 6, Ps. xviii. 28 (26), xxii. 7 (6), and perhaps lxii. 9 (8); also the phrase 'righteous people' (*gōy qādīq*), Gen. xx. 4.—The rendering 'peoples' may be supported by Job xvii. 6, where Job, the typical righteous man, complains that he is become 'a

princes—they shall bow down; because of Jehovah, in that he is faithful, and of the Holy One of Israel, in that he chose thee. ⁸ Thus saith Jehovah, In the season of favour do I answer thee, and in the day of salvation I help thee; and I ^f keep thee and appoint thee for a covenant of the people, to raise up the land, to assign the desolate heritages, ⁹ saying to the bondsmen, Go forth, and to those who are in darkness, Show yourselves. They shall pasture ^g on the ways, and on

^f Form, Ew., Del.

^g In all, Sept., Ew.

byword of peoples' (plural, *not* collective). The sense is of course the same, but the rend. adopted is simpler.—**Of rulers . . .**] Or, paraphrastically, 'of despots' (comp. xiv. 5), for the context shows that stern, irresponsible heathen lords are here intended. Obs. the skilful transition. He whom Jehovah has honoured with the title of 'Servant' and the authority of a vicegerent becomes the slave of Jehovah's enemies. Yet these very kings shall have to do obeisance to him whom they once 'heartily despised' (comp. Ps. lxxii. 11, and see on lii. 15).—**Because of Jehovah . . .**] These acts of reverence and homage are ultimately offered to Jehovah. It is Jehovah's promise and Jehovah's election which have been verified by his Servant's glorification.

⁸ **Thus saith Jehovah . . .**] The prophecy takes up the thread which has been dropped in *v.* 7. The new revelation refers to the mediatorial position of the Servant and his spiritual activity. In the fulness of time, when the 'season' has arrived for proving to the world the truth of the declaration in xlii. 1 (instead of 'favour' we might render 'good pleasure'), the Servant of Jehovah shall himself be 'helped,' or 'saved,' and, like the sufferer in Ps. xxii. (*vv.* 23-27), become the source of help and salvation to others.—**I answer thee**] The tense is the prophetic perfect.—**And I . . . the people**] Repeated verbally from xlii. 6 (see notes). The person addressed is obviously the same, and is distinct,

in some sense, from the people of Israel—distinct even from the 'spiritual Israel' which is to take the place of the unpurified race of the past.—**To raise up the land**] Comp. *v.* 19 'thy broken-down (or, ruined) land.'—**To assign**] viz. to the families to which the respective possessions belonged. Clearly this function belongs to a historical person, such as Joshua was in the past, and Zerubbabel was destined to be in the future. Here, as elsewhere, in his picture of the 'Messianic' future, the prophet combines events which the reality of history spreads over long stretches of time.

⁹ Obs. it is not the word of Cyrus (as in xlv. 28), but that of Jehovah through his Servant, which is the efficient cause of deliverance.—**To the bondsmen**] The 'bondsmen' are the Jews, or, more properly, the Israelites (from whichever section of the nation). Contrast xlii. 7 (see note). This portion of the prophecy (*vv.* 7-12) belongs specially to Israel: notice the significant omission in *v.* 8 of the words 'a light of the nations' (found in xlii. 6).—**Shall pasture on the ways**] Here follows a digression suggested by the mention of deliverance. (Obs. the deliverance is taken for granted; the Divine word 'Go forth' has a self-fulfilling power.) The digression describes not merely the comfort of the return-journey (though this is not excluded), but also the blissful condition of the restored exiles (comp. on xl. 11). The latter are

all bare hills there is pasture for them: ¹⁰ they shall not hunger nor thirst, the ^h mirage and the sun shall not smite them, for he that hath compassion upon them shall lead them, and unto springs of water shall he guide them. ¹¹ And I will make all my mountains a road, and my highways shall be exalted. ¹² Behold, these come from afar; and behold, these from the north and from the ⁱ south, and these from the land of Sinim. ¹³ Ring out, O heavens, and exult, O earth, and

^h Glowing heat, Lowth, Ges. (with the ancients).—But see xxxv. 7.

ⁱ West, Hebr. text.

compared to a well-tended flock, which has no temptation to scatter, as it finds pasture 'on the ways' (i.e., whichever way the sheep turn), and even on the 'bare hills' of the wilderness (comp. xli. 18, Jer. xii. 12).

¹⁰ The literal journey homeward, and the metaphorical journey of life, shall both be made easy to them. The misery of intense heat, and the phenomenon of the deluding *mirage* (see on xxxv. 7) which so often accompanies it, will be equally unknown in 'the coming age.' Neither the *mirage*, nor the sun, shall smite them. Comp the parallel passage, Ps. cxxi. 6 (where, however, the zeugmatic use of the verb is not absolutely necessary).

¹¹⁻¹² The prophet is always hovering between the near and the distant future. But as these two verses clearly show, his conception even of the near future is modified by his vision of what is really far off. He is thinking here of the return of the exiles, but the language which he uses is by no means exhausted by the return of the Jews from Babylon, though this event was all that a Jew of ordinary foresight living at the close of the Exile could anticipate.

¹¹ **My mountains**] Not merely the mountains of Canaan (as xiv. 25), but those of the whole earth; it is an assertion of Jehovah's universal lordship.—**My highways**] See on xl. 4.

¹² The return of the exiles.

Comp. xliii. 5, 6 (with note), where, however, the quarters are given in a different order. Jerusalem seems to be here regarded as the centre of the world (as Ezek. v. 5).—**Come from far**] The vagueness of this term, 'from far,' suggests that the writer did not originally intend a catalogue of the four quarters of the world. Taken in connection, however, with what follow, the 'far' region should be the west, which is favoured also by v. 12.—**From the south**] This rendering seems to be required by the context:—'from the north and from the west' would be an unnatural combination. And yet 'the sea,' which the Hebr. has instead of 'the south,' in definitions of place commonly means 'the west.' The same difficulty occurs in Ps. cvii. 3, where 'the redeemed' are said to be gathered 'from the east, and from the west, from the north, and from the sea':—here 'the sea' clearly cannot mean 'the west,' because that quarter has been already mentioned. Del. (on Ps. l.c.) thinks 'the sea' means the Mediterranean about Egypt, i.e., the south-west, but against the parallelism; Hitzig prefers the Erythrean, but against usage. For a justification of the rendering 'south' see crit. note.—**Sinim**] See appendix to this chapter.

¹³ **Ring out, O heavens**] In ecstatic transport, the prophet calls upon heaven and earth to sympathise. His language reminds us of the poetry of art, but it is really the

burst out, O mountains, into a ringing sound, for Jehovah doth comfort his people, and yearneth upon his afflicted ones.

¹⁴ And Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the Lord hath forgotten me! ¹⁵ Can a woman forget her suckling, so as not to yearn upon the son of her womb? Should even these forget, yet will I not forget thee! ¹⁶ Behold, I have portrayed thee upon the palms of the hands; thy walls are

soberest truth (see on xliv. 23). Too soon, alas! he is recalled from anticipations of the future to the miseries of the present (or, more correctly perhaps, from the distant to the near future). Zion and the Servant stand over against each other, without having been able to form an intimate relation. Hence the complaint of the Servant, 'I have laboured in vain' (xlix. 4), finds a responsive echo in the words of the personified Zion (*v.* 14).—**Jehovah hath forsaken me**] This is not an expression of absolute unbelief; it is the pain of seemingly unreturned affection which borrows the language of scepticism (comp. xl. 27). The highest act of faith is to see God with the heart when all outward tokens of His presence are removed. There are times when even the noblest of mankind are unequal to such an effort; even the 'Servant of Jehovah' gave way to dejection for a moment (see on xlix. 4).

¹⁵ **Can a woman . . .**] Jehovah meets this wounded heart, not with harsh censure, not even with a gentle remonstrance (comp. xl. 28), but with an assurance of uninterrupted affection. His loving-kindness surpasses that of a father (comp. on lxiii. 16); it is even more tender than that of a mother for her suckling (comp. lxvi. 13).—**Should even these forget**] For Lady Macbeth can say—

I would, while it was smiling in my face,
Have plucked my nipple from his boneless gums,
And dashed the brains out.

(*Macbeth*, Act I. Sc. 7.)

¹⁶ **I have portrayed thee**] Sept. *ἔζωγράφησά σε*. It is of course implied that the portraiture is indelible, like the sacred marks of devotees (see on xliv. 5). With touching condescension, Jehovah inverts the usual order. A worshipper needs a consecrating mark to remind him at all times of his relation to his God. Zion's God, though not in need of such a reminder, has condescended, as it were, to 'grave Jerusalem on the palms of his hands.'—Dr. Weir compares Ex. xiii. 9, 16.—**Thy walls**] This might mean 'thy ruined walls,' but as it is the ideal Jerusalem (see on xl. 9) which is addressed, it seems better to take the walls to be those 'great and high' walls, which exist ideally in the heavenly Jerusalem.—No better commentary on this verse can be given than a passage from the Apocalypse of Baruch, cap. iv. Baruch complains of the ruin which has befallen God's city. The Lord replies, 'Anne putas, quod ista sit urbs de qua dixi: super volas manuum descripsi te? Non ista ædificatio nunc ædificata in medio vestrum, illa est quæ revelabitur apud me, quæ hic præparata fuit ex quo cogitavi ut facerem paradysum, et ostendi eam Adamo priusquam peccaret, cum vero abjecit mandatum, sublata est ab eo, ut etiam paradysus . . . Et nunc ecce custodia est apud me, sicut est paradysus.' (Fritzsche, *Libri apocryphi Vet. Test.*, p. 655.) See also 4 Ezra x. 50, &c.

continually before me. ¹⁷ Thy ^k sons make haste ; those who laid thee in ruins, and those who wasted thee, begin to depart out of thee. ¹⁸ Lift up thine eyes round about, and see ; they are all gathered together, and are come that they may be thine. As I live, (it is the oracle of Jehovah,) thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all, as with ornaments, and bind them upon thee like a bride. ¹⁹ For thy ruined and desolate places, and thy broken-down land—yea, thou wilt now be too narrow for the inhabitants, and those who swallowed thee up will be far away. ²⁰ The children of thy bereavement shall yet say in thy ears, The place is too narrow for me ; make room for me that I may dwell. ²¹ And thou shalt say in thy heart, Who hath ¹ borne me these, seeing I was bereaved

^k Builders, Sept., Targ., Vulg., Saadya, ancient Babylonian MS. (*primâ manu*), Lo., La.—Ew., combining both readings (*bânâyîk* and *bônâyîk*), has, Soon shall thy children become (?) thy builders. (There may at least be a play upon words.)

¹ Begotten, Ges., Ew., Stier (taking the question as referring to the father).

¹⁷ **Thy sons make haste . . .**] The ideal Jerusalem is to be brought into the region of phenomena, not by descent from heaven (as in Rev. xxi.), but by the labours of her 'children.' First, Zion is told, in the verbal form appropriated to the objective statement of facts, that her children (comp. lx. 4), 'haste' (or 'have made haste') i.e., run swiftly to her side ; then, in the emotional or descriptive tense, that her destroyers 'go forth' (or 'begin to go forth') from her—as if they had been all those years engaged on the task, never able to sate their fury. The alternative reading, 'thy builders,' produces a good antithesis, and agrees well with *v.* 19, but not with *vv.* 20, 21.

¹⁸ **Lift up thine eyes**] The first half of the verse recurs in lx. 4.—**Thou shalt clothe thee . . .**] The new inhabitants are compared to ornaments on a dress (comp. Zech. ix. 16), and to the state-girdle worn by a bride over her robe (Jer. ii. 32, where A.V. has wrongly 'attire').

¹⁹ The prophet seems to observe gestures of incredulity. In reply, he is far from underrating the intrinsic improbability of the change (note the triple reference to the low

estate of Zion), and yet he emphatically maintains its certainty. The change is to be a Divine wonder. The desolate land of Canaan shall have such fertility restored to it as to support a teeming population.—**Will be far away**] The tense is the perfect of prophetic certitude.

²⁰ **The children of thy bereavement**] i.e., those born while Zion thought herself bereft of all her children. For the figure, comp. xlvi. 8.—The new inhabitants shall be heard to say, not to Jerusalem, as Naeg. strangely, but the one to the other, **The place is too narrow for me.** It is the complaint of an overpopulated country.—**Make room**] Lit., 'move further off ;' the same idiom as in Gen. ix. 9.

²¹ **Who hath borne me these?**] Supposing that the new children are applying to be adopted by her, Zion inquires who is their real mother (so Hitz., Del., Naeg.). Alt. rend. is in itself improbable, and is against the Hebrew usage (see Gen. xvi. 1).—**An exile and removed**] Here the prophet falls out of the figure. But he returns to it directly : 'I was left alone,' i.e., I was the sole survivor. The as-

and unfruitful, an exile and removed? and these, who hath brought them up? Behold, I was left alone; these, where have they been?

²² Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will lift up mine hand towards the nations, and set up my banner towards the peoples, and they shall bring thy sons in the bosom, and thy daughters shall be carried on the shoulder. ²³ And kings shall become thy foster-fathers, and their queens thy nursing-mothers; with their face to the earth shall they bow down unto thee, and the dust of thy feet shall they lick; and thou shalt know that I am Jehovah, those that hope in whom shall not be ashamed. ²⁴ Can the prey be taken from the mighty one, or the ^m captives of the terrible one ^m escape? ²⁵ For

^m So read by Pesh., Vulg., Lowth, Ew., Knob., Weir.—Hebr. text is variously rendered. Captives of the righteous one, Vittr., Kay; or, of him who has the right (of possession), Stær.—Captive band of righteous ones, Hitz., Del.—Righteous captives, Naeg.—Booty (?) taken from the righteous one, Ges.

tonishment of Zion is caused by the vast multiplication of the comparatively few who had gone into exile.

²² The explanation of the mystery. At Jehovah's bidding, but with hearty compliance on the part of the Gentiles, the exiled Jews shall be restored to their homes. There is evidently an allusion to xi. 11, 12. —**In the bosom**] The figure is suggested by *v.* 21, for it was the part of the foster-father to carry the child in the bosom (*sinus*) of his garment, Num. xi. 12 (where the word for 'bosom,' however, is different).

²³ **Thy foster-fathers**] 'Comp. Num. xi. 12, Esth. ii. 7, but especially 2 Kings x. 1, where we read of those who brought up the seventy sons of Ahab, which is explained at *v.* 6 by the statement that the king's sons were with the great men of the city who brought them up. So in this passage Zion is described as a sovereign with a numerous progeny, giving out her children to such foster-fathers, and to nurses.' Dr. Weir.—**Their queens**] So *sārōth* should be rendered, as will be clear from comparing 1 Kings xi. 3, with Cant. vi. 8. *Sarrat* = 'queen' in Assy-

rian (and Sarah, the proper name, in Hebrew). By 'queens' the prophet means principal wives — **Shall they bow down**] It is the worship due to God and to the Church in which God dwells; comp. xlv. 14, Rev. iii. 96. — **Lick the dust**] i.e., lie down in the dust (see Ps. lxxii. 9, and especially Mic. vii. 17), as a token of submission.

²⁴ But incredulous hearers put the question, Can the tyrant be made to disgorge his prey? — **The captives of the terrible one**] 'Our present reading gives no good sense. Vittr. explains *çaddiq* by "sævus ferox," but it is never found in this sense. Ges. and others prefer [see above], but besides that *sh'bhî* cannot well be rendered "booty," the mention of the righteousness of Israel is altogether foreign to the scope of the passage . . . However unwilling to alter the present text without manuscript authority, I must agree with those who read '*ariç*' instead of *çaddiq*. There can be no doubt it was a very old reading. It is, besides, greatly favoured by the next verse' (Dr. Weir). The correction is also palæographically a natural one. Dr. Kay (see above) takes

thus saith Jehovah: Even the captives of the mighty one shall be taken, and the prey of the terrible one shall escape, for with him that contendeth with thee *I* will contend, and thy children *I* will save. ²⁶ And I will cause those that oppress thee to eat their own flesh, and with their own blood, as with new wine, shall they be drunken; and all flesh shall know that I Jehovah am thy saviour, and that thy Goel is the Hero of Jacob.

the 'righteous one' to be Jehovah, whose instrument Zion's captor was.

²⁵ This almost incredible thing shall indeed take place; Israel shall be rescued.—*I will contend*] The pronoun is very emphatic. What hope could Zion have against the *gibbôr*, the '*arîç*,

but in God? (Dr. Weir).

²⁶ **To eat their own flesh**] Comp. 'they shall eat every one the flesh of his own arm' (ix. 20), a figure for disunion to the point of mutual hostility.—**The Hero of Jacob**] See on i. 24, where the same rare word ('*abhir*') occurs.

Appendix on 'The Land of Sinim' (Chap. xlix. v. 14).

From all the ends of the earth the scattered Israelites gather to their home. Among the centres of their dispersion is mentioned 'the land of Sinim (or, of the Sinim).' Who or what is Sinim? Referring for the views of the older commentators to a famous article by Gesenius,¹ and to the dictionaries of the Bible, I will simply state what seems to me the present state of the controversy.

It is probable, though not certain (considering the vagueness of the phrase 'from afar' in the first line), that the prophet intends to describe the Israelites as flocking from the four quarters of the earth. If so, the Sinim (for Sinim is obviously the name of a people) will represent the remote east or west, from the point of view of Babylonia. Hence we may at once dismiss the only people called Sinim elsewhere in the Old Testament, viz. the Phœnician Sinites of Gen. x. 17, for these (though westward of Babylonia) were too near at hand, as well as too unimportant a tribe, to be mentioned in this connection. The only claimants remaining (for the Pelusiot were not a nation, and are nowhere called Sinim) are the Chinese, who, though rejected with scorn by Vitringa, have, since the elaborate discussion by Gesenius, received the general adhesion of commentators. It must, however, be candidly admitted that the reasoning of Gesenius falls short of demonstration. His most plausible argument is based on the Chinese name Thsin, originally belonging to a powerful family which, from 246-206 B.C., united the various petty states of China under their sway, and then (as is supposed) further applied by foreign

¹ *Thesaurus lingu. Hebr. et Chald. Vet. Test.* ed. II., tom. ii. (1840), s. v. 'Sinim.'

nations to the country which this family governed. This, however, as well as the inference which has been drawn from the similar names of other much more ancient local dynasties, and from the Chinas of the Sanskrit Laws of Manu and the Mahâbhârata, is now known to be valueless (Strauss ; Richthofen). Still the case of the Chinese is not desperate. It is historically certain from the Chinese records that there were foreign merchants in China as early as the 10th cent. B.C., and Chinese merchants in foreign lands as early as the 12th, and it is probable that direct commercial relations existed between China and India, and consequently at any rate direct relations between China and Phœnicia, which will account for the presence of porcelain-ware with Chinese characters upon it in the Egyptian Thebes.¹

This is substantially the contention of Victor von Strauss-Torney.² Another eminent scholar, indeed, (Freiherr von Richthofen,) takes a somewhat different view. The theory of an early intercourse between the Chinese and the peoples of Western Asia does not commend itself to him as probable. If there was any such intercourse, he says, it must have been by sea, and not by land, for the vast highland of Tibet, with its wild nomadic population, put an effectual bar to all access from the west.³ A statement like this from such a competent authority puts an end to the hypothesis of Movers,⁴ that Chinese silk was imported to Babylon *by land* through Phœnician merchants. And yet is it not conceivable that roving Phœnician merchants may have reached China *in their coasting voyages*? That the Assyrians, at any rate, arrived in China by sea as far back as 2353 B.C., there is positive traditional evidence, if M. Pauthier's report may be trusted. In that year, he says, according to Chinese traditions, an envoy arrived from a far country bearing a wondrous gift. It was nothing less than 'a divine tortoise a thousand years old, on the back of which was an inscription in strange characters *like tadpoles*, comprising the history of the world from its origin.' A second embassy is said to have arrived in 1110 B.C., and the historians affirm that it took the envoys a whole year to return to their own country from Siam by the sea-coast. This, with the fact that they are called 'the people of the long trailing robes' (a description quite unsuitable to the costumes of the tropical countries south of China), and above all the tadpole-characters (which at once suggests cuneiform writing), leads M. Pauthier to the conclusion, that the nation

¹ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1st series (Lond. 1837), iii. 106-109.

² Excursus on 'The Land of Sinim,' in Delitzsch's *Jesaja*, 2 Aufl., S. 712-715 (3 Aufl., S. 688-692).

³ Col. H. Yule's review of Von Richthofen's *China*, in *Academy*, xiii. 339.

⁴ Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, ii. 3, p. 255.

to which the envoy belonged was the Assyrian, or the Babylonian.¹ It is worth noticing that the king of Assyria in 1110 would be the warlike and enterprising Tiglath-Pileser I.

As for the name Sinim, it has been plausibly accounted for by the frequent use of *sjin* (nearly = *chin*), literally 'man,' to describe persons according to their qualities, occupation, country, or locality. Hearing the Chinese so often call themselves *sjin*, it was natural for foreigners to call them by this name. The form Sinim is accounted for by the absence of the soft *g* in Hebrew. With reference to Gesenius's opinion that the name Σιν, *tchin*, &c., spread over the East from India, it has been pointed out to me² that, according to Rémusat, the Chinese first entered India, not by a direct route, but from the north-west, and were therefore actually known at any rate to the peoples dwelling on that side of India before they were known to the Hindus themselves.

In conclusion, I may remark that it is not necessary to assume that Jewish exiles actually lived in China when the prophet wrote; enough that he knew of (or, as the case may be, foresaw) the existence of a numerous and extensive Diaspora. As a matter of fact, however, Jewish immigrants from Persia do appear to have entered China before the Christian era. This is generally recognised as one result of the intercourse with the unfortunate Jews at Kai-fung-foo.³ Of the antiquity of this settlement there can be no doubt, and the inscribed marble tablets which were till lately accessible to all comers place the immigration at least as far back as the third century B.C. The synagogue with its tablets has disappeared, and the 'orphan colony' is in danger of passing away. Fortunately for us, we can appeal both to Roman Catholic and to Protestant testimony. The early Jesuit missionaries were the first discoverers of these Chinese Jews, and one of them, Father Gozani, took a copy of the inscriptions in the synagogue, which he sent to Rome. The very interesting *mémoire* of the Jesuits omits to give any direct account of the inscriptions; it contains, however, the following statement:—

Ces Juifs disent qu'ils entrèrent en Chine sous la dynastie des Han pendant le règne de Han-ming Ti, et qu'ils venaient de Si-yu, c'est-à-dire, du pays de l'Occident. Il paraît par tout ce qu'on a pu tirer d'eux que ce pays de l'Occident est la Perse, et qu'ils vinrent par le Corassan et Samarcande. Ils ont encore dans leur langue plusieurs mots persans,

¹ Pauthier, *Relations politiques de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales* (Paris, 1859), pp. 5-8. I am indebted for this reference, which I have of course verified, to the Rev. R. A. Armstrong, of Nottingham. M. Pauthier's authority as a critic has, I am aware, been challenged. His interpretation of the Chinese traditions seems to me very plausible, but is not absolutely essential to my argument.

² Mr. Armstrong will permit me again to mention his name.

³ Kai-fung-foo is the capital of Honan, the most central province of the Chinese Empire.

et ils ont conservé pendant longtemps de grands rapports avec cet état. Ils croient être les seuls qui se soient établis dans ce vaste continent.¹

Mr. Finn's statement is in complete accordance with the Jesuit report of the tradition of the date of the settlement. He says, 'According to the inscribed marble tablets upon the walls, there may have been several immigrations of this people into China at different epochs:—(1) In the Chow dynasty, between A.C. 1122 and A.C. 249; (2) In the Han dynasty, between A.C. 205 and A.D. 220; (3) In the LXV. cycle (A.D. 1163), when they brought a tribute of cotton cloth to the emperor. There was also their own oral statement to the Jesuit missionaries, referring their arrival [i.e., that of the ancestors of the then existing families] to a period shortly after the Roman dispersion from Jerusalem.'²

See further Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1029; L. Geiger, *Ursprung der Sprache*, p. 456; Egli, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, vi. 400, &c. (mainly a criticism upon Gesenius); and a paper by 'E.B.' (dated from Pekin), in *Ausland*, 1873, p. 267, &c. (this I only know through the third edition of Delitzsch's *Jesaia*; it comes to the purely negative result that the name *Tschina* is not at all Chinese). It may be noticed here, that our form China comes to us from the Malays, as the wise and adventurous Marco Polo already knew (*The Book of Ser Marco Polo* ed. Yule, Book iii, chap. 4).

CHAPTER L.

Contents.—Israel has been self-rejected; Jehovah, on his part, is willing and able to redeem, though no human champion answers to his call (*vv.* 1–3). Then the scene changes. The Servant describes his intimate relation to Jehovah, his gift of eloquence, his persecutions, and the steadfast faith with which he undergoes them (*vv.* 4–9). The chapter closes with a solemn contrast and warning (*vv.* 10, 11).

¹ Thus saith Jehovah, Where is your mother's bill of divorce with which I put her away? or which of my creditors

¹⁻³ Vitringa and Ewald regard these verses as an integral part of the discourse contained in chap. xlix. As long as we confine our view to *v.* 1, this theory of theirs seems highly plausible, for *v.* 1 certainly looks like a second reply on the

part of Jehovah to the complaint of Zion in xlix. 14. On the other hand, it should be observed (1) that chap. xlix falls into two equal parts, and that the conclusion of the second of these is, from its solemnity, perfectly adequate as a

¹ 'Mémoire sur les Juifs établis en Chine,' in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, tom. xxiv. (Toulouse, 1811), pp. 50, 51.

² Finn, *The Orphan Colony of Jews in China* (Lond. 1872), pp. 6, 7.

is it to whom I sold you? Behold, for your iniquities were ye sold, and for your rebellions was your mother put away.
 2 Wherefore, now that I am come, is there no man? now that I have called, is there none that answereth? Is my hand too *short* to deliver? or have I no power to rescue? Behold, by

close to the entire prophecy, and (2) that *vv.* 2 and 3 are very different in tone and purport from all that precedes. Is it not the more probable view that *v.* 1 contains a thought suggested by *xlix.* 14, subsequently to the final redaction of the prophecy? Not being able to work it into chap. *xlix.*, the prophet seems to have allowed himself to give it a new development (in *vv.* 2, 3) which would have been unsuitable to the original prophecy.—Obs. the Divine speaker here addresses the children of Zion; in *xlix.* 14–26, he confined himself to Zion the mother.—**Where is your mother's bill of divorce . . .**] In Jeremiah (*iii.* 8) it is said of the 'backsliding' kingdom of Samaria that Jehovah 'put her away, and gave her a bill of divorce,' though a hope is still held out of her ultimate restoration. Judah, however, may be still more easily restored to her full privileges, for—'where is her bill of divorce?' There is none; Jehovah in His mercy omitted this formality; consequently her dismissal has not the legal value of a divorce. Obs. marriage is here a figure of the mystic relation between the Deity and his worshippers (see *Hos.* *ii.* and my notes on *i.* 21, *xliv.* 11).—**Which of my creditors . . .**] Another figure condescendingly borrowed from the experience of human life. From *2 Kings* *iv.* 1, *Neh.* *v.* 5, it appears that Hebrew parents, when hopelessly in debt, were accustomed to sell their children to their creditors. Such an unqualified surrender of a man's flesh and blood is not expressly sanctioned in the Law (not even in *Ex.* *xxi.* 7), but it was a custom too strong to be eradicated. Jehovah admits *pro*

formâ that He may have creditors, but denies that, in pursuance of this old custom, He has sold the Jews to any of them:—consequently there is none but a moral bar to their restoration to His favour *Comp.* *lii.* 3, 'Ye were sold for nought, and ye shall not be redeemed with money.'—**For your iniquities were ye sold . . .**] Israel, then, (represented by Judah,) has really been 'sold,' has really been 'put away.' But this is not by Jehovah's will; the cause lies in Israel himself. It was a necessary punishment for Israel's sins, but only a temporary one, thanks to the 'unfailing loving-kindnesses of David' (*lv.* 3).

² Most commentators take the first part of this verse as mentioning some of the sins which had led to Israel's temporary rejection. But it rather expresses Jehovah's painful surprise that he is not seconded by any human champion.—**Now that I am come**] viz., with a call to repentance and an offer of deliverance. In what way, it may be asked, can Jehovah be said to have come? The Targum gives an answer, which has been largely adopted, by inserting the explanatory words 'in the prophets.' This view is not in itself inadmissible (*comp.* *lxv.* 1, 2, *Jer.* *xi.* 7), but is very unsuitable to the context. For the same person who has 'come,' and who has 'called,' goes on to declare that he can dry up the sea and clothe the heavens in mourning:—surely then he can be none other than Jehovah in all the plenitude of his personality. Obs. it is Jehovah immediately who 'comes,' not as represented by his Servant (*Del., Naeg.*). The passage is precisely parallel to *lix.* 16 (*comp.* *lxiii.* 3, 5),

my rebuke I can dry up the sea, I can make the rivers a wilderness, their fish stinking for lack of water and dying for thirst; ³I can clothe the heavens in mourning, and make sackcloth their covering.

⁴The Lord Jehovah hath given me the tongue of disciples, that I may ^aedify the weary by a word: he wakeneth morning by morning, wakeneth to me an ear to hearken as

^a So Klostermann (see crit. note).—TEXT, know how to sustain (?), (Aquila, Vulg., Ges., Del., Naeg., Weir), or, moisten (?), i.e., bedew, refresh (Ew., Knob.).

where Jehovah is represented as wondering that there was no one morally qualified to be the national champion, and as throwing himself unassisted into the breach on behalf of his people. The rendering 'I have come' is preferable to 'I came,' because the interposition of Jehovah is still future, or at any rate incomplete.—**Behold!** The usual word for introducing the description of a Divine judgment.—**By my rebuke**] 'Rebuke' is the term for the opposite of the creative word. Instead of calling into existence, it sends into non-existence, or at least confines within bounds (see xvii. 13, li. 20, lxvi. 15, Nah. i. 4, Ps. ix. 5, xviii. 15, civ. 7, cvi. 9, Matt. viii. 26, Luke iv. 39).—**I can dry up the sea**] Some, e.g., Calv., Kay (rendering in the present tense, 'I dry up'), see in this and in the next verse a direct reference to miracles like the dividing of the Red Sea and the Jordan, the changing of the Nile-water into blood, and the darkening of the heavens (Ex. x. 21). As, however, we find similar phrases elsewhere in descriptions of Divine interpositions (see Ps. xviii. 15, Nah. i. 4, Hab. iii. 8, 11, Isa. xiii. 10), it is allowable to interpret these two verses symbolically. A secondary reference to the ancient miracles may of course reasonably be admitted, God's wonders in the past being regarded by the prophets as typical (see x. 26, xi. 16, xliii. 16, 17).—**The rivers a wilderness**] Imitated in Ps. cvii. 33.

³ **Sackcloth their covering**]

Comp. Rev. vi. 12, 'the sun became black as sackcloth of hair' (the dress of mourners, Joel i. 8, &c.).

⁴ A fresh prophecy, chiefly in the form of a soliloquy. Its contents remind us of xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-9 (see especially xlix. 2, 7), except that there is no reference here to the evangelisation of the heathen. If the subject of those two prophecies is the Servant of Jehovah, it follows of necessity that the same personage is the speaker here. It would be strange indeed to suppose that the prophet is the speaker, 'blown in as it were by a snow-storm' (Hengstenberg). The section would then stand quite solitary, without connection either with the preceding or the following discourses. (Ewald, however, thinks that Israel is the speaker; Seinecke, the pious kernel of the nation; Gesenius, Hitzig, Knobel, the prophet).—**The Lord Jehovah**] Notice the solemnity of the introduction; the same double name (*Adonai Yahveh*) occurs three times afterwards (vv. 5, 7, 9).

—**The tongue of disciples**] i.e., a faculty like that of well-trained scholars (see viii. 16, liv. 13), full of their morning lesson, or, as Luther (ap. Naeg.) puts it, 'lingua discipulata, quæ nihil loquitur, nisi quod à Deo didicit.' From the occurrence of the plural ('disciples') Seinecke draws an argument in favour of his view mentioned above; he compares Job xix. 11, 'He accounteth me as His enemies' (Job, according to Seinecke, being also a collective personification). It seems to me a sufficient reply that the picture

disciples, ⁵ The Lord Jehovah hath opened to me an ear, and I have not been defiant; I have not turned back. ⁶ My back I have given to smiters, and my cheeks to those who plucked out the hair; my face I have not hidden from confusion and

which the prophet here gives us is that of a class of disciples, all with 'wakened ears,' and swift to reproduce their master's instruction, while in Job the hostility of God appears to the sufferer in his illusion great enough to be expended on a whole company of his enemies.—**The weary**] A comparison of lvii. 15 shows that here, as in Matt. xi. 28, it is an inward and spiritual as well as outward and physical weariness which is intended.

—**He wakeneth morning by morning**] The Servant does not receive revelations like ordinary prophets in ecstatic moments, in dreams and visions of the night, but in his waking hours, and not only so, but every morning—the spirit of prophecy abides constantly upon him (Del., Naeg.). The message is the same—peace and restoration, but it needs daily varying to meet daily needs. It is hardly necessary to point out the exquisite felicity of phrase in this verse. There are indeed similar expressions elsewhere (see 1 Sam. ix. 15, xx. 2, Job xxxiii. 16), but not equally poetical.—**An ear**] It is of course the inner ear which is meant, as in xlvi. 8. Comp. 1 Kings iii. 12 'a hearing heart.'

⁵ **Hath opened to me an ear**] The supposed reference to Ex. xxi. 5, 6, Deut. xv. 16, 17, has been deservedly set aside by recent commentators. It is obviously a particular command which is referred to. The piercing of a slave's ears made all commands binding for the rest of his life; 'defiance' was excluded; moral conflict was out of the question. Besides, the meaning of the phrase 'to open the ear' is determined by v. 4 (comp. xlvi. 8, xlii. 18, 19). The Servant was not a mechanical organ of revelation, but had a spiritual sympathy

with it, even when it told of suffering for himself.—**I have not been defiant**] I, weak and susceptible to pain and reproach as I am, have not stiffened my back in opposition to duty. (The root-meaning is *stringere*.) The declaration thus ascribed to the Servant is decisive against the 'collective' theory. It was the offence of Jonah, a type or symbol of Israel, that he pursued the very opposite line of conduct to that which is here described. Few even in the class of prophets could take up the words of the Servant. Jeremiah indeed does utter a like statement, but, both in his sufferings and in his deportment, Jeremiah was a striking type of the Servant of Jehovah. 'As for me, he says, 'I have not withdrawn from following lovingly after thee' (Jer xvii. 6). So, too, the Servant can declare, 'I have not been defiant, I have not turned back.' In both cases, the words are only appropriate in the mouth of an individual.

⁶ **My back I have given . . .**] He has patiently, willingly endured humiliation and scorn. So the type Jeremiah, 'I have been in derision continually, everyone mocking me' (Jer. xx. 7). So the pious sufferer, also (to say the least) a type, in Ps. xxii. 7, 'All they that see me laugh to scorn.' So the typical righteous man in the Book of Job (xxx. 10), 'They abhor me, they flee far from me, and withhold not spittle from my face.'—**To those who plucked out the hair**] Comp. Neh. xiii. 25, 'And I cursed them. . . and plucked the hair off them.' Of all such expressions in this section, as even Vittinga candidly admits, the primary sense not only may be, but must be, figurative, since there is no one in the religious history of Israel to whom they can be literally applied.

spitting. ⁷ But the Lord Jehovah will help me ; therefore am I not confounded ; therefore have I made my face as flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed. ⁸ Near is he that justifieth me ; who will contend with me ? let us stand forth together. Who is mine adversary ? let him come near unto me. ⁹ Behold, the Lord Jehovah will help me ; who is he that can condemn me ? behold, they shall all fall to pieces like a garment ; the moth shall eat them. ¹⁰ Who is there among you that feareth Jehovah, that hearkeneth to the voice of his servant ? He that walketh in darkness, and hath no light, let him trust in the Name of Jehovah, and rely upon his God. ¹¹ Behold, all ye that kindle a fire and ^b gird yourself with ^b ^c brands ; begone into the flame of your fire, and

^b Set a light to, Pesh., Secker, Hitz., Ew. (one letter different).

^c Sparks, Kimchi, Calv., Hengst., Hahn, Weir.

⁷ 'Against the crowd of mockers he places Adonai Jehovah' (Dr. Weir).—**As flint**] The same figure is applied in a bad sense, Jer. v. 3, Zech. vii. 12 ; in a good, Ezek. iii. 9.—**I shall not be ashamed**] i.e., not disappointed (see on liv. 4).

⁸ **He that justifieth me**] 'To justify' in the O. T. almost always (see on liii. 11) means to pronounce a man righteous, or to prove him so in act :—Job xxvii. 5 is not fundamentally an exception. The Servant of Jehovah speaks of the final stage of his career in figurative language as a trial, in which God is the judge. This is a fresh point in which he resembles Job. But whereas Job, the type of a *righteous* man, shrinks in terror from the issue, the Servant, human and yet superhuman in nature, has no doubt as to a favourable result.

^{10, 11} A short speech, addressed first to those who fear and obey Jehovah, and then to those who resist his will. It is not quite clear what is the meaning of the words **his servant**. In xlv. 26, they are a designation of the prophetic writer himself, and they may perhaps be so here. This view, it is true, isolates vv. 10, 11 from the rest of the chapter, but there is

nothing in these verses directly referring to the preceding paragraph. There are some very abrupt transitions in the prophecy before us, and this may be one of them. Otherwise we may understand 'his servant' to mean the servant of Jehovah specially so called. I incline to the former theory. The speech of the Servant in vv. 4-9 is, I think, a pure soliloquy, and belongs not to the present but to the future—it is given here by anticipation ; vv. 10, 11, on the other hand, are addressed to the Jews living in Babylon at the close of the Exile. V. 10 is spoken by the prophet (so Ibn Ezra), who, however, soon loses himself (see v. 11) in his Divine master.—**The name of Jehovah**] No mere synonym for 'the Divine character,' but a symbolic expression for a special aspect, not to say 'Person' of the Godhead ; see on xxx. 27.

¹¹ **All ye that kindle a fire**] The meaning of this figure is uncertain. I follow Hitz., Ew., Knob., Del., Naeg. in taking the 'fire' to represent either the rage of unrestrained passion (comp. ix. 18), or the destruction which the enemies of Jehovah prepare for his servants. Others (as Vitruv., Lowth, Ges.) re-

into the brands that ye have kindled. From mine hand this befalleth you ; in torment shall ye lie down.

gard it as a figurative expression for rebellion against the oppressors of the Jews. Others again (as Calv., Hahn, Birks, Weir) suppose it to be a domestic fire (xlvii. 14) which is meant, and take this to be a figure for all merely human comforts and supports, corresponding to the figure of darkness for distress and perplexity in *v.* 10. The last-mentioned view has but a precarious existence, as it depends on the dubious rendering 'sparks'; the second strikes me as too narrow for the wide symbolism of prophecy. The first produces a striking and natural antithesis (comp. xlii. 16, 17).—**With brands**] i.e., with 'fiery darts' (Eph. vi. 16, Ps. vii. 13). The deadly machinations of the enemy are meant. 'Gird' =

arm (see on xlv. 5). So 'facibus pubes accingitur,' Virg.—**Begone into the flame**] The destruction they have prepared for others shall overtake themselves.—**From mine hand**] Jehovah is evidently the speaker.—**In torment shall ye lie down**] An awful picture, the more impressive for its vagueness. To 'lie down' is not a phrase for dying (as A. E. takes it), but suggests the fate of the guilty souls in the underworld. 'To lie down' is often used of the rest of the grave (e.g., 1 Kings ii. 10, and Inscr. of Eshmunazar, l. 8). But the grave and the underworld are closely allied conceptions, and the tortures of the soul in Hades are ascribed in lvi. 24 (see note) to the dead body on earth.

CHAPTER LI.

Contents.—Instruction for the spiritual Israel (*vv.* 1-8); appeal to the self-revealing might of Jehovah (*vv.* 9-11); Divine expostulation with Israel for his unbelief (*vv.* 12-15); address of Jehovah to the Servant (*v.* 16); encouragement for down-trodden Jerusalem, mingled with a pathetic picture of her troubles (*vv.* 17-23).

¹ Harken unto me, ye that pursue righteousness, that seek Jehovah; look unto the rock whence ye have been hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye have been dug.

² Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare

¹ **Harken unto me . . .**] The prophet is drawing nearer and nearer to the great central revelation (chap. liii.), and summons to his side the spiritual Israel, for whom alone, as he has expressly said (see xlviii. 22), the future blessedness is reserved.—**Righteousness**] It is of course 'righteousness' in the objective sense of which he speaks—a way of life in accordance with the Divine commands, i.e., 'righteous dealing' (Rodwell).—**Look unto the rock . . .**] Unlikely as the fulfilment of such 'exceeding

great and precious promises' may seem, it is not more unlikely than the original wonder of a great nation being descended 'from one man, and him as good as dead' (Heb. xi. 12). The figure of the 'rock,' thus explained, is natural enough, without supposing a survival of a myth like that of Pyrrha.

² **By himself**] Lit., '(as) one.' There are two remarkable verbal parallels in Ezek. xxxiii. 24 and Mal. ii. 15. The latter indeed seems to me only a verbal one,

you, for by himself I called him, and I blessed him, and increased him. ³ For Jehovah doth comfort Zion, doth comfort all her ruined places, and maketh her wilderness as Eden, and her desert as the garden of Jehovah; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the sound of melody.

⁴ Listen unto me, ^a my people, and ^b my nation,^b give ear unto me; for instruction shall go forth from me, and my law will I fix for the light of the peoples. ⁵ Near is my righteousness; gone forth is my salvation; and mine arms shall judge the peoples; for me the countries shall wait, and upon mine

^a Ye peoples, very few MSS., Pesh., Lowth, Ges.

^b Ye nations, few Hebr. MSS., Pesh., Lowth, Ges. (Sept. has, Ye kings.)

but the former suggests one possible object of the prophet in adopting this form of words. It runs thus, 'Son of man, they that inhabit those ruined places on the soil of Israel say, Abraham was one, and he became possessor of the land: but we are many, the land hath been given to us for a possession'; i.e., 'if Abraham received the promise of Canaan, when he was but one, and when there were great nations already in possession, how much more shall we, who are many, and who are living on the land of our forefathers, retain a permanent and growing hold upon it!' No, the prophet replies; the true lesson of the solitariness of Abraham is different. The few genuine believers, who seek to do the will of God, are the representatives of Abraham, and the fresh starting-point for the promise.—

I blessed him, and increased him] The two principal features of the promises to Abraham (Gen. xii. 2, 3, xxii. 17 &c.).

³ **Doth comfort]** Lit., 'hath comforted.' The perfect expresses the self-fulfilling power of the Divine word.—**As Eden . . . as the garden of Jehovah]** The occurrence of these phrases is worth noticing, as it supplies a subsidiary argument in controversies as to the date of certain books. 'The garden of Jehovah' occurs only here and in Gen. xiii. 10; 'the garden of Elohim' (an-

other synonym for 'the garden of Eden') in Ezek. xxviii. 13, xxxi. 8, 9. The garden of Eden itself is mentioned Gen. ii. 15, iii. 23, 24, Ezek. xxxvi. 35, Joel ii. 3; 'the trees of Eden,' Ezek. xxxi. 9, 16, 18.

⁴ **Listen unto me . . .]** Not 'listen unto the instruction which proceeds from me'; this would be opposed to *v. 7a*. The prophet mentions a second attraction for Jehovah's true people. It is 'too light a thing' (xlix. 6) that Zion's wilderness shall be transformed; Jehovah, enthroned anew in Israel, shall send forth his light and his truth among the distant nations (comp. ii. 2). In xlii. 1-4 this function is ascribed to the personal Servant, in and by whom Jehovah works.

⁵ **My righteousness]** There is no occasion to paraphrase this into 'my grace' (Hitz.), or 'my salvation' (Ges.). Both expressions say too little. Jehovah's 'righteousness' means his consistent adherence to his revealed line of action, which involves deliverance to faithful or at least repentant Israel, and destruction to those who thwart his all-wise purposes. 'Mine arms shall judge the peoples' expresses, or at least includes, the darker side of Jehovah's righteousness.—**Shall wait]** Not 'wait' as Knobel; as if the judgment was simply to fall upon Babylon, and the oppressed nations were already longing for its coming. The pro-

arm shall they trust. ⁶ Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath ; for the heavens shall vanish like smoke, and the earth shall fall to pieces like a garment, and the dwellers therein shall die ^o like gnats ^e ; but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be annulled. ⁷ Hearken unto me, ye who know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my instruction ; fear ye not frail man's reproach, and at their revilings be ye not dismayed. ⁸ For as a garment shall the moth eat them, and as wool shall the worm eat them ; but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation to successive generations.

⁹ Awake, awake, put on strength, O Arm of Jehovah ; awake, as in the days of antiquity, the generations of old. Art thou not it that hewed Rahab in pieces, that pierced

^e So Weir.—A gnat (i.e., gnats, Ges., &c.), De Dieu, Vitr., Lo., Ges. Hitz., Ew. (see crit. note).—Even so, Versions and Rabbis, Kay, Naeg.—Thus (with a gesture of contempt), Del.

phet has forgotten Cyrus and Babylon, and is absorbed by the thought of the Messianic age.—**Mine arm]** i.e., my help, my protection (comp. xxxiii. 2).

⁶ **The heavens . . . like a garment]** The same figure as in Ps. cii. 26. Elsewhere the order of the world is described as everlasting (Gen. viii. 21, 22, ix. 9-11, xlix. 26, Ps. cxlviii. 6).—**Like gnats]** Like the mosquitos of the Euphrates and the Nile (but the word is applicable to insects both with and without wings). A simile which appears ignoble to us, but did not so appear to the more simple-minded Semites. So, in the first of the Babylonian 'Izdubar' legends (in the Assyrian version), we hear of the gods of Uruk (Erech), during a siege of that city, being overpowered with fear, and turning themselves into flies (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* iv. 268) ; and the Korán declares (Sura xiii. 24), 'Verily God is not ashamed to set forth as well the instance of a gnat as of any nobler object.' Del.'s explanation (comp., besides the passages quoted by him, Am. iv. 12, Jer. v. 13) is in keeping with the usages of Eastern conversation, but is less

suitable in a passage not designed for oral delivery. Besides, as De Dieu long ago pointed out, we desiderate a third simile to correspond to the smoke and the garment. Del.'s philological difficulty is obviated by Dr. Weir.

⁹ A fresh turn in the discourse.—**Awake, awake]** Who utters this splendid apostrophe!—Most commentators reply, Zion, or the prophet in Zion's name. There are two objections to this: (1) Wherever Zion or the Church is represented as uttering a cry, it is in the tone of complaint (see xlix. 14, lxiii. 11, &c., lxiv. 1), whereas this explanation is in the language of the boldest faith ; and (2) in *v.* 17, Jerusalem (which is here synonymous with Zion, see lii. 1) is represented as asleep. Two better theories are open to us. Looking at *v.* 9 alone, and comparing it with lii. 1, it seems natural to regard it, with Ges., as an exhortation of Jehovah to himself (comp. Judg. v. 12, 'Awake, awake, Deborah'), or, if we object to a rhetorical formula in so solemn a passage, as a fragment of a deliberation within the plurality of the Godhead (comp. Gen. i. 26, xi. 7). The latter is the form given

through the dragon? ¹⁰ Art thou not it that dried up the sea, the waters of the great flood, that made the depths of the sea a way for the released to pass over? ¹¹ [^a And the freed ones of Jehovah shall return and come to Zion with a ringing sound, and everlasting joy shall be upon their head; they shall overtake gladness and joy, sorrow and sighing shall flee away.^a]

^a Omitted by Ew. (See below.)

to the theory by Prof. Birks, who supposes God the Son to be pleading with God the Father for the renewal of His mighty works. This, however, is not only expressed in too theological a way, but is contrary to the analogy of Scripture; it is God the Son (if I may follow Prof. Birks on theological ground), and not God the Father, who corresponds to the Arm (as also to the Name and to the Face) of Jehovah, but a glance at *vv. 9b, 10*, suggests another theory in preference. The solemn appeal which we there find to God's wonders of old time is certainly more appropriate to one who is not a Divine being; in *lxiii. 11* a very similar form of words is put into the mouth of the people. Vitringa assigns the apostrophe to a chorus of doctors (prophets?) and saints, 'coetui doctorum sive choro sanctorum illustrium, ardentium zelo divinæ gloriæ et salutis ecclesiæ.' I should almost prefer regarding it as a specimen of the intercession of the angels called, in *lxii. 6*, Jehovah's 'remembrancers.' The interest of the celestial beings in the fortunes of Zion has been already repeatedly manifested (see on *xl. 3*).—**O Arm of Jehovah**] See on *xl. 10*.—**That hewed Rahab in pieces . . .**] Comp. *Ps. lxxxix. 10*, 'Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces as one that is slain; thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm.' In both these passages, the exegeti-

cal tradition from the Targum onwards has taken Rahab (with which the 'dragon' of the parallel line here is clearly synonymous) as a symbolic expression for Egypt. It has been pointed out (in note on *xxvii. 1*) that the phrase has a substratum in mythology. The great enemy of Jehovah's people on earth was described in expressions coined originally for the constantly recurring 'war in heaven' between the powers of light and darkness. In confirmation of this, see *chap. xv. of the Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Birch's transl. in *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. vi.), where the sun-god Ra is addressed thus:

'Hail! thou who hast cut in pieces the Scorners and strangled the Apophis' (i.e., the evil serpent).

This suggests the possibility that in the passage before us the prophet alludes not only to the fate of the earthly but to that of the heavenly Rahab (see on *xxvii. 1*). The strife between light and darkness, sunshine and storm, is always recommencing; in mythic language the sky-dragon, though killed, returns to life.¹ The Hebrew is not opposed to such a reference; it may equally well be rendered 'that heweth,' 'that pierceth' (comp. on *xl. 16*). The next verse, however, shows that if there was this reference, it lay quite in the background of the prophet's mind.²

¹¹ **And the freed ones . . .**] The verse occurs with one very

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 299.

² Steinthal, in his essay on Samson, remarks, 'It is clear how the prophet's consciousness passed imperceptibly from the myth into the legend, or, if you prefer to call it so' [and doubtless the prophet at least would have preferred this], 'history.' (Martineau's translation, appended to Goldziher's *Mythology among the Hebrews*, p. 425.)

¹² I, even I, am your comforter : who art thou that thou fearest frail man that dieth, and the son of the earth-born who is given up as grass ; ¹³ and hast forgotten Jehovah thy maker, who stretched out the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth, and hast been trembling continually all the day for the fury of the oppressor, according as he hath taken aim to destroy ? and where is the fury of the oppressor ? ¹⁴ He that was bent down is quickly released ; he shall not die unto the pit, neither shall his bread fail, ¹⁵ seeing that I Jehovah am

slight variation in xxxv. 10. Here it is clearly not original. Either it is a quotation by the author, or an interpolation from the margin. It seems to have been suggested by the closing word of v. 10 in the Hebrew, 'the released.' Such suggestions were more congenial to a copyist than to a prophet.

¹² **I, even I, am your comforter]** This is not, I venture to think, the answer of Jehovah to the appeal in v. 9, but a fresh starting point in the prophecy. The fault which the Divine speaker reprehends is unbelief, whereas vv. 9, 10 shine by the brightness of their faith.—'Your comforter' alludes to v. 3. Jehovah first of all addresses Israel in the plural, as an aggregate of individuals (2 plur. masc.), then in the singular as a living organism (the fem. gender in v. 12b personifies Zion as a matron, the masc. in v. 13 indicates Israel as Jehovah's son).—**Who art thou . . .]** 'Why wilt thou pay more respect to the futile menaces of man than to the promises of thy God?' Jehovah chides this unbelief as disobedience, but with what tenderness—'das freundlichste Schelten der Liebe' (Stier).—**Given up]** viz., into the hand of the mower, Death.

¹³ **Thy maker]** With reference to the nation, comp. xliii. 1.—**According as he hath taken aim . . .]** The Jews are always on the tenter-hooks of expectation. When the 'aiming' seems to fail, their spirits rise : when it promises to succeed, they fall ; instead of which they ought simply to 'rest in Jeho-

vah.'—**Where is the fury . . .]** Anticipating the sudden destruction of Babylon. Hence in the next verse we have the perfect of prophetic certitude. It seems strange to read of the 'fury' of the Babylonians ; see, however, on xlvii. 6.

¹⁴ **He that was bent down]** i.e., by the weight of his fetters, or by confinement in the stocks (Jer. xx. 2, xxix. 26). Comp. on xlii. 22.—**Unto the pit]** i.e., so as to be cast into the pit or grave.

¹⁵ **Who stirreth up . . . is Jehovah Sabáoth]** The same description is found in Jer. xxxi. 35.—Taking the opening words in connection with v. 9 and with Job xxvi. 12, 13 (see on Isa. xxvii. 1), it is tempting to suppose a primary reference to the upper ocean, the 'waters above the expanse,' which were the scene of the contest between Jehovah and the leviathan (or, sky-dragon). But the mention of the 'roaring' of the sea (which does not occur in Job *l.c.*) favours the ordinary view that it is the lower earthly ocean. Comp. Nah. i. 4, where this, among other signs of the theophany, is given, that 'he rebuketh the sea . . . and drieth up all the rivers.' The figure in lvii. 20 points in the same direction. The meaning will therefore be that He who raiseth storms, alike in the world of nature and of history, is able to still them, and that His friends have no cause to fear. The name 'Jehovah Sabáoth' enforces the same lesson. Israel's God has at his command all the forces, the potencies, the 'hosts,' of heaven and earth.

thy God, who stirreth up the sea, so that its waves roar, whose name is Jehovah Sabáoth.—¹⁶ And I put my words in thy mouth, and in the shadow of my hand I covered thee, to plant the heavens and lay the foundations of the earth, and to say unto Zion, Thou art my people.

¹⁷ Wake thee up, wake thee up, arise, O Jerusalem, who hast drunk at the hand of Jehovah the cup of his fury; the goblet-cup of reeling hast thou drunken and wrung out.

¹⁸ There was no guide for her of all the sons that she had borne, and none taking hold of her hand of all the sons that she had brought up. ¹⁹ Two are the things which befell thee:

¹⁶ **And I put my words . . .**] It is difficult to make out the connection here. The preceding verses are addressed to Zion or Israel, but this verse can hardly be so, on account of the closing words. Look at the passage by itself, however, and all the difficulty vanishes. 'I put my words in thy mouth' is precisely parallel to the speech of the Servant, 'he made my mouth as a sharp sword' (viz. by giving me his own self-realising words), and the next clause, 'in the shadow of my hand I covered thee,' is even verbally almost identical with the Servant's declaration, 'in the shadow of his hand he hid me' (xlix. 2). The Servant of Jehovah, then, must be the person addressed. The sudden change of object is no doubt surprising, and has to be accounted for. My conjecture is that the verse originally stood in some other context, and that the paragraph closed—very suitably, as it seems to me—with *v.* 15.—**To plant the heavens**] i.e., either 'that I may plant,' &c. (so Jerome, Ew., Del.), or 'that thou mayest plant' (Calv., Vit., Hengst., Naeg.). The analogy of xlix. 8*b* favours the second alternative, which is also more suitable both to the preceding and to the following statement, 'I put my words into thy mouth . . . to say unto Zion,' &c. The 'heavens' and the 'earth' are the new ones spoken of in lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22; certainly not 'the Israelitish state' (as Ges., following Ibn Ezra).

The production of this new world depends on the words of Jehovah committed to the Servant (comp. Jer. i. 9, 10).—For the use of the verb 'to plant,' comp. Dan. xi. 45. The figure is that of a tent with its stakes set firmly in the ground (comp. xl. 22).

¹⁷ **Wake thee up, wake thee up . . .**] The prophet, or the chorus of prophets (comp. on xl. 1), or of angelic 'remembrancers,' salutes Jerusalem with a cheering cry. In form it is parallel to the invocation in *v.* 9. With delicate thoughtfulness, the consolation is prefixed to the piteous description of Jerusalem's calamity ('Wake thee . . . hast drunken . . . hast drained').—**The goblet-cup . . . wrung out**] The combination 'goblet-cup' is not a pleonasm; it vividly represents the fulness of the measure of Jerusalem's punishment (comp. xl. 2). 'Reeling' means the horror and bewilderment caused by a great catastrophe (comp. Ps. lx. 3, Zech. xii. 2). Note the cadence of the two closing words in the Hebrew. The whole passage finds a parallel in Ezek. xxiii. 32-34, comp. Ps. lxxv. 8 (9).

¹⁸ Notice the elegiac rhythm in the Hebrew.

¹⁹ **Two are the things . . .**] i.e., two kinds of evils (comp. xlvii. 9), viz., desolation for the land, and death for the people. These are expanded into four, to express their depth of meaning ('and' = with—the Vav of association, see crit. note

who is there to condole with thee? desolation and destruction, famine and the sword: 'who is there to comfort thee?'
²⁰ Thy sons are in a swoon; they lie at the corners of all the streets, like an antelope in a net, full as they are of the fury of Jehovah, the rebuke of thy God. ²¹ Therefore hear now this, thou afflicted one, and drunken, but not with wine,
²² Thus saith thy Lord Jehovah, and thy God who is the advocate of his people, Behold, I take out of thy hand the cup of reeling; the goblet-cup of my fury, thou shalt not drink it again; ²³ and I put it into the hand of those who tormented thee, who said to thy soul, Bow down, that we may pass over; and thou madest thy back as the ground, and as the street for those that passed over.

^o Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg., L.o., La., Gr. (see crit note).—In what guise (or, character) shall I comfort thee? Hebr. text (?).

on vii. 1.) Or, we may explain with Stier, 'desolation without, and breaking (so literally) within—hunger within, and the sword without' (comp. Ezek. vii. 15). The elegiac passage which follows should be compared with Lam. ii. 11-13, 19, 21 (see also Jer. xv. 5). Jerusalem is represented as a mother, its inhabitants as sons: comp. xlix. 17, l. 1.

²⁰ **Like an antelope in a net]** A noble though a tragic figure, Israel, the mountain-people, is likened to a gazelle, which all its swiftness and grace has not saved from the hunter's snare.—**The fury of Jehovah]** What hope, when 'Jehovah thy God' is 'furious'

against thee? Comp. Rev. vi. 16 'the wrath of *the Lamb*' (Dr. Weir).

²¹ **Therefore]** Here, as often elsewhere (e.g., x. 24, xxvii. 9, xxx. 18) the transition from threatening to promise is marked by 'therefore.' Jehovah cannot bear to see his people suffer any longer than is necessary; 'therefore' he will interpose to help them. **Drunken, but not with wine]** So xxix. 9. See crit. note.

²³ **Who said to thy soul . . .]** A figurative application of a real custom (Josh. x. 24). There is a similar but still stronger image in Ps. cxxix. 3, 'ploughed upon my back.'

CHAPTER LII.

Contents.—Jerusalem can and must be redeemed (*vv.* 1-6); a dramatic picture of the redemption itself (*vv.* 7-12).

(The chapter should have been ended at *v.* 12).

'Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion! put on thy robes of adornment, O Jerusalem, holy city! for no more

¹ **Awake, awake]** Another bracing summons from the Divine representatives (see on li. 17). The

first was merely, Stand up; the second is, Put on thy strength and thy robes.—**Thy strength]**

shall there come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.
² Shake thyself from the dust; arise and sit down, O Jerusalem:
^a loose thyself from the bonds of thy neck,^a O captive daughter
of Zion! ³ For thus saith Jehovah, For nought were ye sold,
and not for money shall ye be redeemed. ⁴ For thus saith

^a So Hebr. marg. and most critics.—The bonds of thy neck are unloosed. Hebr. text, Targ., Kay, Naeg. (This form of the text would have to be put in a parenthesis.)

Strength returns to Zion when the Arm of Jehovah is mighty within her (see li. 9).—**Thy robes of adornment]** i.e., those which belong to the holy, priestly city. Dr. Kay aptly quotes the description of Aaron's robes, Ex. xxviii. 2.—**No more shall there come into thee . . .]** 'Then shall Jerusalem be holiness, and no strangers shall pass through her any more' (Joel iii. 17). 'Strangers' here = 'enemies,' those who do not acknowledge Jehovah for their king. The thronging of foreigners announced in chap. lx. is of quite a different kind.—Comp. xxxv. 8, Rev. xxi. 27.

² **Shake thyself . . . sit down]**
A striking contrast to Babylon, xlvi. 1.

³ It might seem as if Jehovah willed the perpetual captivity of his people. Not so. They may complain that they have been 'sold.' Jehovah accepts the word, but so qualifies it as to give it quite a new meaning.—**For nought** (*gratis*, Vulg.) **were ye sold]** Jehovah has received no equivalent for his property. It is therefore not a sale, but only a temporary transfer. Jehovah has accepted no other nation as his treasure, his *peculium* (Ex. xix. 3), his Servant, his agent in his world-wide purposes of grace. Your successive captivities have been a lamentable interruption in the progress of his work. But at least they do not prevent him from receiving you back to your old place. He took nothing for you from your so-called 'buyers,' and of his own free will he can renew your covenant. Thus the passage is a further development of l. 1. The verbally parallel passage Ps. xlv.

12 has quite a different meaning (see Del. *ad loc.*).

⁴ **To Egypt my people . . .]**

This verse seems to give, though only allusively, a historical explanation of the general statement in v. 3. Israel went down to Egypt 'to sojourn there' by invitation, but the sacred right of hospitality was basely violated (we must supply this from the second half-verse).

—**Assyria oppressed him]** Alluding not merely to the payment of tribute (Hitz.), but to the captivities of Israel, and the desolating invasions (comp. i. 7-9, xxxvii. 30) of Judah by Sargon and Sennacherib.

This seems the natural meaning; the expressions used in v. 5 make it plain that a new captivity is there intended. Vitruvius, however, thinks 'Assyria' includes Babylonia and the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, referring for the former to 2 Kings xxiii. 29, and for the latter to Zech. x. 11 (?). The literal interpretation of 'Assyria,' he says, renders it impossible to explain the next verse, and destroys the coherence of the paragraph with the following context (see, however, on next verse). Dr. Weir, too, is of the same opinion, so far as Babylonia is concerned, on the ground that 'history mentions no deliverance from Assyria, which can be at all compared with the deliverance from Egypt.' This statement, however, comes into direct collision with the prophecy in x. 26; and even were it not so, the question is of oppressions rather than of deliverances. Besides, it is contrary to the custom of this prophecy to use the name 'Assyria' in the comprehensive way supposed by Dr. Weir.—

the Lord Jehovah, To Egypt my people went down at the first to sojourn there, and Assyria oppressed him without cause. ⁵ And now what have I (to do) here? is the oracle of Jehovah; for my people have been taken away for nought; those who rule over him howl (the oracle of Jehovah); and continually, all the day, my name is reviled. ⁶ Therefore my people shall know my name: therefore (he shall know) in that day ^b that I am he that speaketh, 'Here am I.' ^b

^b For I, the same that promised, am here, Ges.

Without cause] Lit., 'for nothing.' This might mean 'without paying a price' (Knob., Naeg.), but the connection would be obscured.

⁵ **And now . . .**] The third great captivity was the Babylonian. Jehovah is represented, in anthropomorphic language, as enquiring what it was fitting for him, as the God of Israel, to do at Babylon; **here** implies that he had come down to see (as Gen. xviii. 21, Ex. iii. 8, Isa. xxxi. 4). The reply to his enquiry is involved in lii. 8, 12, 'Jehovah returneth,' 'Jehovah goeth before you.'—It is only fair to mention some divergent expositions of this important passage. 'What have I to do here?' might mean 'What sufficient cause is there for my remaining inactive in heaven?' So Hitzig, whom it is not fair to answer with a charge of paganizing (so Del.) in the face of Gen. xviii. 21, &c. It might also be taken in the same sense as *v.* 3. The Babylonians had paid no price to Jehovah for his people; of what is he the possessor 'here,' i.e., *in Jerusalem*, except a heap of stones and prowling wild beasts? So Naegelsbach. The same view of the meaning of 'here' is advocated by Himpel, who writes to this effect.¹ 'The words, What have I here? cannot possibly refer to the Babylonian Exile. God could not be said to be present with the Jews in the Exile; the misery of their con-

dition lay precisely in their sense of the Divine alienation. They refer rather to Jerusalem, which indeed forms the centre of the description. God must return to Jerusalem, otherwise His gracious purposes would be frustrated, but in its present state He cannot do so; therefore Jerusalem must rise from its humiliation.'² True, these words cannot refer to the Exile, but they can refer, as remarked above, to a (symbolic) descent of Jehovah to judgment. Still the question might possibly bear Naeg.'s interpretation, if the continuation of the sentence were, 'for Zion is despoiled of her children'; but as the words stand, Jehovah must, I think, be supposed to be in the place whither (or, where) his people had been 'taken away,' i.e., in Babylonia.—**Taken away**] viz., as a booty (so constantly); or it may mean 'destroyed' (see on liii. 8).—**For nought**] i.e., undeservedly. The same word as in *v.* 3, but in a different sense.—**Howl**] i.e., triumph brutally (it is the oppressors who are spoken of—see Del's note).

⁶ **Therefore**] i.e., because my people is oppressed, and because my name is reviled.—**Shall know my name**] i.e., shall know by experience the meaning of my name Jehovah (comp. on xlii. 8). 'The allusion to the Egyptian deliverance is still kept up. Then God revealed Himself most gloriously as Jehovah

¹ *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1878, p. 309. Dr. Himpel is a member of the Roman Catholic Theological faculty at Tübingen.

² Though the idiom 'what have I,' 'what hast thou,' is elsewhere a formula of disapproval (Gesenius on xxii. 1). See especially xxii. 16.

⁷ How comely upon the mountains are the feet of the bringer of tidings, the proclaimer of peace, the bringer of good tidings, the proclaimer of salvation, who saith unto Zion, Thy God hath become king! ⁸ Hark, thy watchers! they lift up

(Ex. iii. 15, &c.); now He will again do so' (Dr. Weir).—**He that speaketh, Here am I**] i.e., He who answereth their cry by coming in person to help them. Dr. Weir compares lviii. 9, 'Then . . . thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am.'

⁷ The prophet here passes into an ecstasy. What he sees with the inner eye, he expresses pictorially. He has told us already of the ideal Zion ascending a high mountain, and acting as herald of the Divine deliverer. Now he varies the picture. It is Zion to whom the herald is seen to come—bounding over the mountains 'like a roe or a young hart,' Cant. ii. 8, comp. 2 Sam. xviii. 24-27 Hebr. 'The feet already give a greeting of peace, before the mouth utters it' (Stier). The prophet's fondness for the mountains reminds us of Ezekiel's (see Ezek. vi. 1 and parallel passages).—**How comely . . . are the feet** of the messenger means 'how welcome is his arrival' (Lowth), or better still, 'his rapid approach' (Dr. Weir). Nahum, announcing the fall of Nineveh, has the same image in nearly the same words, 'Behold upon the mountains the feet of the bringer of tidings, the proclaimer of peace,' i. 15 (ii. 1 Hebr.). The one passage, or the other, is clearly an imitation. Comp. also Rom. x. 15, where the passage of Isaiah is applied dogmatically, and Eph. vi. 15, where it is alluded to with true poetic feeling.—**Who saith unto Zion . . .**] His tidings are that Zion's God has resumed the crown which he had laid aside (see on xxiv. 23).

⁸ **Hark, thy watchers!**] Because the prophets are sometimes called 'watchmen' (vi. 10), Jer. vi. 17, Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7), it has been supposed by Ges., Ew., Hitz., Knob., Del. that the prophets, i.e.,

those of the Exile (see on xl. 1), are here referred to. But (1) this greatly 'mars the unity and beauty of the scene presented' (Alexander), and (2) the prophets in question were (as few but Seinecke will doubt) in Babylonia, and not in Palestine (Naeg.). The 'watchers' are ideal, supersensible beings, like those whose voice has been already repeatedly heard (see on xl. 3), and will shortly be again in lii. 11, 12; they are also referred to in xlii. 6, 7 as Jehovah's 'remembrancers.' So too the Zion who is addressed is not the ruined and deserted Jerusalem, but belongs to the ideal, supersensible world; it is the Zion whose walls are 'continually before' Jehovah (xlix. 16, comp. on xl. 9). Faith has brought down the new Jerusalem to earth.—**Ring out a cry together**] i.e., lift up a 'long-toned cry,' like an Arab watchman of our day (Thomson).—**Eye to eye**] If Jehovah can be said to have 'eyes' (e.g., Zech. iv. 10, Prov. v. 21, xv. 3), why not the heavenly host? These friendly 'watchers' note every advance of the kingdom of God (comp. Luke xv. 10); they see it all 'eye to eye,' as a man looks into the eye of his friend—so near are the two worlds of sight and of faith. Comp. Num. xiv. 14, Ex. xxxiii. 11.—**The return of Jehovah to Zion**] This rend. is most favoured by the context, which speaks of the return of the exiles (*v.* 11, 12), and not of Zion (see *v.* 1). Jehovah is the leader of the exile-band (*v.* 12); without Him, what profit would there be in a change of abode? It is the spiritual banishment of which II. Isaiah so pathetically complains. Comp. lxiii. 17, 'Return, for thy servants' sake.' Alt. rend. is perfectly possible grammatically (comp. Ps. lxxxv. 5 Hebr.), but, with an eye to the context, seems to me only admissible if

the voice ; they ring out a cry together ; for they behold eye to eye ^e the return of Jehovah to Zion.^e ⁹ Burst out into a ringing cry together, ye ruined places of Jerusalem ; for Jehovah hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed ^d Jerusalem. ¹⁰ Jehovah hath bared his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations ; and all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God. ¹¹ Away ! away ! go ye out thence, touch not an unclean thing ; go ye out of the midst of her ; purify yourselves, ye ^e armour-bearers of Jehovah ! ¹² For not in trembling haste shall ye go out, and not in flight shall ye proceed ; for there proceedeth before you Jehovah, and your rear-guard is the God of Israel.

^e So Targ. ('bringeth back his Shekinah to Zion'), Kimchi, Hitz., Ew., Luzzatto, Kay, Naeg.—How Jehovah bringeth back Zion, Vulg., Pesh., Vit., Ges., Stier, Del., Weir.

^d Israel, 2 MSS., Lowth.

^e So A. E., Kimchi, Luz., Bunsen.—Most, That bear the vessels of.

'bringeth back Zion' be taken as shortened from 'bringeth back the prosperity of Zion' (see crit. note).

⁹ **Burst out . . .**] The Hebr. has two imperatives, 'a combination which occurs elsewhere only in Ps. xcvi. 4' (Alexander). Coincidences with Ps. xcvi. (see *vv.* 2, 3) are also found in the second half of *v.* 10; the author of that psalm must indeed have known II. Isaiah 'by heart.'

¹⁰ **Hath bared his holy arm]** viz., for action (comp. Ezek. iv. 7, Ps. lxxiv. 11); alluding to the sleeveless Eastern dress.

¹¹ **Away ! away ! . . .**] Almost the same language recurs in Lam. iv. 15, but the parallel is purely verbal—**Thence**] Because in this section (*vv.* 7-12) the prophet places himself in spirit at Jerusalem—**Purify yourselves . . .**] With a view to the re-establishment of the religion of Jehovah, the returning exiles must become legally 'pure' (comp. Ps. cx. 3, if the text there be correct), for which—see next verse—they will have ample time. By a striking poetic figure they are called **armour-bearers of Jehovah**—this is the meaning which the He-

brew phrase *constantly* has. A 'man of war' (and Jehovah is represented as such in *v.* 12) could not support his dignity without an armour-bearer, and a king, upon solemn occasions, appears to have had a troop of armour-bearers (1 Kings xiv. 28). Much more must Jehovah unto whom, as a Psalmist tells us, the shields of the whole earth belong (Ps. xlvii. 10), have a multitude of armour-bearers. So elsewhere (lxvi. 15, note) He is said to have (many) chariots. Still, alt. rend. is perfectly tenable; 'vessels of Jehovah' may exceptionally be used for 'vessels of the house of Jehovah' (Ezra i. 7). The 'bearers' will then be the Levites.

¹² The Exodus from Babylon was to resemble the first Exodus only in its nobler circumstances. Jehovah was again to be the guide and protector of his people (Ex. xii. 51, xiii. 21, 22, cf. Mic. ii. 13), but that **trembling haste** (Ex. xii. 11) in which the first Israelites departed was to be exchanged for a solemn deliberateness. The prophet thus modifies the earlier injunction, 'Flee ye from Chaldæa' (xlviii. 20).

CHAPTERS LII. 13—LIII.

WE have already seen (notes on xlii. 1-7, xlix. 1-9) that the author of II. Isaiah in his moments of highest inspiration conceived of the Servant of Jehovah as an individual, and that he ascribes to Him a nature which is (to judge from His acts) at once human and superhuman, though he has, of course, given no hint of anything like a theory to account for this. But no passage which we have as yet met with is so strongly individualising¹ in its account of the Servant as the famous chapter on which we are about to enter. So deep is the impression which it produced on Ewald that he felt compelled to assign it in its original form to an age of persecution (he thought of the reign of Manasseh), and to suppose that it described the martyrdom² of one of the leading champions of true or theistic religion (comp. on lvii. 1). The hypothesis possesses a high degree of plausibility; it is recommended, not only by the character of the contents, but by the singular linguistic phenomena. The style of II. Isaiah is in general full and flowing; the style of this chapter is 'hard, obscure, and awkward' (Delitzsch), and reminds us in this respect of another famous disputed passage, lvi. 9-lvii. 11*a* (which indeed Ewald ascribes to the same author). It is not within my present scope to discuss critical questions of this sort; the ordinary view which accepts the continuity of the composition is not to be too hastily rejected (comp. introduction to lvi. 9, &c.). The Servant of Jehovah, according to Bleek, is here described in essentially the same terms both with regard to his past and to his future, as in xlii. 1-7, xlix. 1-9. The statement is a biassed one, and hardly does justice to the *peculiarity* of some parts of the chapter. At any rate, one critical point may be regarded as almost certain, viz., that chap. liii. existed in some form in the time of the author of the Book of Job, who apparently alludes to it (see below on v. 9).

The importance of this chapter justifies a somewhat fuller commentary than usual. The ideas are well fitted to arrest the attention, especially that of Vicarious Atonement, which some have laboured hard to expel from the prophecy, but which still forces itself on the unbiassed reader: of this I shall have to speak in a subsequent essay. The style is obscure, but is sometimes relieved by an exquisite elegiac cadence, faintly perceptible even in the poorest translation. To elegance my own version makes no pretence; only to fidelity. One word as to the tenses. We ought clearly to carry either the perfect or the future (the latter would express the

¹ I agree with Oehler (see my crit. notes on liii. 8, 9) that 'the supposed traces of a collective meaning disappear when they are correctly interpreted' (*Old Testament Theology*. ii. 426).

² Saadya thought of Jeremiah, 'and this interpretation is attractive,' remarks Ibn Ezra, whose development of the comparison is worth reading (see Neubauer and Driver, *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah*, &c., pp. 43-44). Grotius (note on liii. 1) remarks, 'Hæ notæ in Ieremiam quidem congruunt prius, sed potius sublimiusque, sæpe et magis κατά λέξιν, in Christum.' Bunsen unreservedly adopts the same hypothesis in his *Bibelwerk*. But of what martyr, be he a Jeremiah or an Ignatius, could it be said that he was 'a guilt-offering' (liii. 10)?

ideality, the prophetic imaginativeness, of the point of view) throughout *vv.* 2-10a. The inconsistent future of the Auth. Vers. in *v.* 2 comes from the Vulgate (though in *v.* 2b this version has the perfect). The Septuagint mostly has aorists (presents twice in *v.* 4, twice in *v.* 7, once in *v.* 10). Both Sept. and Vulg. strangely give the future in *v.* 9.

The New Lectionary has familiarised many English readers with the fact that lii. 13-15 belongs together with chap. liii. The traditional arrangement is a 'divulsio' (as Calvin well calls it), which leads the untutored reader astray. It separates the theme from its commentary, and above all prevents the student from getting the right point of view from which to examine the sequel (see below on *vv.* 13-16).

Of monographs on this chapter, six have a claim to be mentioned:—

Chr. Dav. Ant. Martini, *Commentatio philologico-critica in locum Jesaia*, lii. 13-liii. 12; Rostochiæ, 1791.

Franz Delitzsch, 'Die Stellung der Weissagung Jes. lii. 13-liii.' u.s.w. in *Zeitschr. für luth. Theologie*, 1850, pp. 29-42 (an able defence, since retracted, of the view that the subject of the chapter is the spiritual Israel).

Friedrich Bleek, 'Auslegung des Abschnittes Jes. lii. 13 ff.' in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1861, pp. 171-218.

Paul Kleinert, 'Ueber das Subject der Weissagung Jes. lii. 12-liii. 12,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1862, pp. 699-752.

William Urwick, *The Servant of Jehovah. A Commentary, Grammatical and Critical, upon Isaiah lii. 13-liii. 12.* Edinburgh, 1877.

The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters. Vol. I. Text. By Ad. Neubauer. Vol. II. Translations. By Ad. Neubauer and S. R. Driver. With an Introduction to the Translations, by E. B. Pusey, Regius Prof. of Hebrew. Oxford, 1877.

vv. 13-15. Jehovah delivers a short but comprehensive oracle on the wonderful course of his Servant. The predominant idea is that of his complete success in his mission, arising from that 'calm, deep wisdom' which willingly accepted the vast but inevitable sufferings which lay on his road to glory. A prospect is held out at the close of the admission of the Gentiles to a share in his mediatorial gains.

¹³ Behold, my servant shall *deal wisely*^a; he shall be

^a Prosper, Targ., Lowth, Vitr., Ges., Hitz.

¹³ **Shall deal wisely**] We might add 'and prosperously,' for this idea is connoted; in Josh. i. 8, Jer. x. 21, it even predominates over the original idea of wisdom. Ewald, not amiss, 'wird geschick haben.' The rend. 'shall prosper' is, however, a mistake; the Divine wisdom of the Servant is the source of his world-conquering faith, and the secret of his success (comp. liii. 11b, and note the connection be-

tween xlii. 1b and 4). The same verb is applied to the 'righteous Branch' (i.e., probably, the Messiah) in Jer. xxiii. 5. We cannot, however, infer from this the identity of the two personages. The description 'he shall deal wisely' belongs to any who are endued with the Divine Spirit for practical ends.—**He shall be high** . . .] Notice the accumulation of kindred verbs. No single expression seemed

high and exalted, and lofty exceedingly. ¹⁴ According as many were appalled at thee, (so disfigured was his visage from that of a man, and his form from that of the sons of men,) ¹⁵ ^b so shall he ✕ many nations ^b; kings shall shut their

^b So shall many nations marvel (exult Ges.; start up, Ew.) at him, Sept.—Aquila and Theodotion, Vulg., A. E., Calv., Vitruv., Hengst., Kay, Pusey, Weir, render the doubtful verb, 'sprinkle'; Pesh., 'purify'; Symmachus, 'fling away'; Targ., Saadya, Rashi, 'scatter'; Hitz., Del., Naeg., 'make to start up.'

strong enough, for Jehovah had decreed to 'super-exalt' him (Phil. ii. 9). This suggests another parallel with the Messiah, of whom Jehovah says, 'I also will make him First-born, supreme above the kings of the earth' (Ps. lxxxix. 27, Weir). The first and second verbs occur in combination again in ii. 12, 13, vi. 1, lvii. 15; the second and third in lvii. 7 (all passages relating to God or to worship).

^{14, 15} The exaltation of the Servant is proportionate to his humiliation.—**Were appalled]** The word expresses a stupefied surprise, as of one who beholds a strange reverse of fortune (1 Kings ix. 8, Lev. xxvi. 32). Here, however, as the following parenthesis shows, the comparison of the spectators is not between what the Servant was and what he is, but between the ordinary aspect of a man and the degraded appearance of the Servant. Who the spectators are, will be seen from liii. 1-4.—**So disfigured . . .]** The phrase is a compound one. 'To such a degree was his appearance disfigured; it was in fact removed thereby from being that of a man, and his form from being that of the sons of men.' The parenthesis contains a remark of the prophet's; hence the change of person (comp. xlii. 20), which continues naturally, though illogically, in the next verse. For striking parallels see i. 6, Ps. xxii. 6a, Job ii. 12 (Job being a type of the righteous sufferer).

¹⁵ **So shall he ✕ many nations]** A most difficult passage. The received text has 'So shall he sprinkle,' &c., which, with due regard to Hebrew usage, can only have the meaning which is thus expressed by a Rabbi ¹ '(So shall he) expel and scatter them from his land, like a man sprinkling water, without one drop touching another.' But a reference to the dispossession of the Gentiles by the Israelites (comp. perhaps liv. 3) is not at all in harmony with the context. I see no resource left but to alter the text, which is at any rate sounder policy than to impose unphilological meanings on the traditional reading. Two courses are open to us: to supply words which may have fallen out, or to emend the untranslatable verb. If after 'sprinkle' and before 'many nations' we might insert the words 'pure water upon,' or 'his blood upon' (alluding to the sprinkling of the blood of the sin-offering—see on liii. 10), we should obtain a really fine sense, viz., either that the Servant of Jehovah by a sacerdotal act of purification (Pesh. even renders the text 'he shall purify') should remove the distinction between the true Israel and the Gentiles (comp. Ezek. xxxvi. 25), or else that he should, by the offering of himself, make atonement for the sins of 'many nations.' (Compare Jerome, below.²) The context, however, is decidedly against this view of the sense; for it contains nothing to

¹ R. Y'sha'yah ben Mali, translated in *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters*, by Neubauer and Driver, vol. ii. p. 75. Similarly R. Yoseph Qara (p. 41), the older Nizzakhon (p. 90), and R. Mosheh Kohen (p. 105).

² Jerome: 'ipse asperget gentes multas, mundans eas sanguine suo, et in baptismate Dei consecrans servituti.'

mouths because of him; for that which had not been told them shall they see, and that which they had not heard shall they perceive.

suggest that the Servant is invested with the sacerdotal office. Besides the sacrificing function of the priest is nowhere distinctly brought into relation to a Messianic personage (see Essay III). The easiest course, then, seems to be to suppose a corruption of the text. It is not improbable that the verb between 'so' and 'many nations' became partly obliterated, and was then (as such half-effaced words often were) misread and miscopied. It is clear to me that the sense requires a word (such as *yattēr*) expressing the shock of joyful surprise

with which the nations shall greet the turn in the Servant's fortunes, as an antithesis to the shock of horror in *v.* 14. (See further crit. note.)—**Kings shall shut their mouths . . .**] in reverential acknowledgment of his superior dignity (see Job xxix. 9, xl. 4). Strange paradox! The humble Servant has become a conqueror (see Essay V., near end). Parallel passage, *xlix.* 7.—**That which had not been told them . . .**] i.e., events such as it had never entered the heart of man to conceive, much less to talk about.

(CHAPTER LIII.)

Vv. 1-3. The expansion of the preceding sketch begins. 'The commentary upon "they were appalled" is given in *v.* 1: a large portion of the Jews do not believe in the salvation which has appeared. The enlargement of "so disfigured" &c., is given in *vv.* 2, 3. The cause of the unbelief is, that the glory of the Servant of God is concealed behind humiliation, misery, and shame' (Hengstenberg). The paragraph has this peculiarity that in each verse one word of the first half is repeated in the second 'who'—'and not'—'despised'.

¹ Who believed ^e that which we heard ^e? and the Arm of

^e Our preaching, Luther, Del.—Our prophecy, Ew.—Most, Our tidings; or, Our message.

¹ **Who believed**] Before completing his portrait-sketch of the Servant, the prophet expresses his painful sense of the incredulity with which his revelation will be received. He does not, however, say, 'Quis credet auditui nostro?' as Calvin represents him, but 'Quis credidit?' He takes his stand among the Israelites of a later age (not among the Gentiles, as Rosenmüller, following the Rabbis), and hears their penitent musings on the national rejection of the prophecies respecting the Servant, all of which were in

course of coming true. The Gentiles believed as soon as they had heard (*lii.* 15): Israel had heard the voice of prophecy, but 'who believed?' Hitzig, indeed, objects that on this view of the passage we should expect, not 'Who believed,' but 'Which of us believed,' but the reference is clear enough from the pronoun in 'that which we heard.' He would explain the clause, 'Who, whether Jew or Gentile, believed that which we, the prophets, heard (and announced) from God?' Nothing, however, has been said about the prophets in the context, and

Jehovah, unto whom did it become manifest? ² For he grew up ^d before us ^d as a sapling, and as a root out of a parched ground; he had no form nor majesty, ^e and if we looked at him, there was ^e no sightliness that we should delight in him.

^d So Ew.—Before him, Hebr. text.

^e That we should look at him, and . . . Symmachus, Lowth, Vitruvius, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ew.

this explanation compels us to ascribe a different meaning to the pronoun 'we' in successive verses. On the other hand, the view adopted suits the context, and is favoured by the analogy of xlii. 24, lxiv. 5, both passages embodying the confessions of the people. The 'we,' as I understand it, is dramatic.—The confession, involves, of course, an unconscious exaggeration (comp. Ps. xiv. 3, quoted by Hengst.). St. Paul well interprets, 'Not all hearkened to the good tidings' (Rom. x. 16), '*mitissima interpretatio, menti prophetae conformis*' (Vitr.). — **That which we heard**] Lit., 'our hearsay,' or 'our tidings.' The noun is occasionally used technically for a prophetic revelation (xxviii. 9, 19, Ob. v. 1, Jer. xlix. 14); we might therefore render 'our revelation,' i.e., either, 'the revelation communicated to us by the prophet,' or 'the revelation respecting us, the Israelites' (comp. xxiii. 5, 2 Sam. iv. 4). In either case the speakers refer to the prophecies relating to the Servant. [The other possible explanation, 'that which we, the prophets heard,' has been rejected above. It has been adopted, indeed, by Calvin, Vitruvius, Gesenius, Stier, Urwick, but not by Hengst., Ew., Del., Naeg.]. — **The Arm of Jehovah**] For a commentary, see lii. 10 (and comp. note on xl. 10). — **Unto whom**] Lit., 'over whom.' The 'Arm' must be 'made bare' in heaven (comp. xxxiv. 5), and only a few have eyes to see such supramundane sights, when nothing on earth seems to suggest them.

² The explanation of this unbelief.—**For he grew up . . .**] Lit., And . . . ('and' is here, as often, explanatory). The tense is

the perfect of prophetic certitude; all has been finished 'before the foundation of the world' in the Divine counsels. The metaphors of v. 2 are often explained of the pious kernel of the Jewish nation, called 'the poor' and 'the needy' in the Book of Psalms (e.g., xxxvii. 14), and it is clear enough from II. Isaiah (whatever be its date), that the faithful were reduced to great straits among their unbelieving neighbours. Still the prophecy as a whole is far from favourable to this view—it refers not to the type (the pious kernel of the nation), but to the antitype (the personal Servant). — **Before us**] 'We had the evidence of our senses to justify our contempt of his person.' The traditional reading does not at all suit the context. In vv. 2, 3 we have a picture of the unfavourable impression made by the appearance of the Servant upon his contemporaries. The suggestion of a contrast between Jehovah's constant good pleasure in His representative and the people's misapprehension of him produces a strangely inconsistent feature in the picture, and the more so if we understand 'before him' in the sense which the phrase usually has elsewhere (see Gen. xvii. 18, Hos. vi. 2, Jer. xxx. 20), viz., 'under the fostering and prospering care of Jehovah.' In fact, we have only to paraphrase the sentence to see how impossible it is—'he grew up in contempt under the fostering care of Jehovah.' Feeling this more or less distinctly, Lowth, Henderson, Alexander, and Hahn explain 'him' in the received reading, of the Jewish people collectively. This, however, is extremely harsh.—**As a sapling**]

³ Despised, and ^f deserted of men, ^f a man of pains and familiar with sickness! and ^g as one from whom there is a hiding of

^f Ceasing to be of men, Symmachus, Vulg., A. E., Kay, Naeg.

^g As one that hid his face from us, Sept., Vulg., Rashi, Lowth, Hengst.

For the implied figure, comp. Ps. lxxx. 8, 14, 16, 'Thou didst bring a vine out of Egypt . . . Behold and visit this vine . . . It is burned with fire, it is cut down.' But from the root or stock of this outraged vine (the people), a slender, unattractive plant grew up.—**A root**] i.e., a sprout from the root, as xi. 10. Those who understand the Servant to be the Jewish nation compare xxvii. 6, 'Hereafter Jacob shall take root; Israel shall blossom and bud.' The same metaphor is used of the Messiah in chap. xi., but we must not be too hasty in our deductions from this coincidence.—

No form nor majesty] None of that winning grace or imposing majesty which we should have expected in a representative of Jehovah. The context implies that the Servant made claims which his contemporaries rejected.—**And if we looked at him**] 'If we vouchsafed him a glance, our eye found nothing to tempt us to cultivate his society.' For the rend. 'looked at him,' Dr. Weir well compares Prov. xxiii. 31. (Against alt. rend., consider (1) the word-play in the Hebr. in *nir'ēhū* and *mar'eh*, as if 'when we sighted him, there was no sightliness,' and (2) the apt remark of Hengstenberg, 'How could they have such views of the condition of the Servant of God, if they overlooked him?')

³ A series of short clauses in the style of exclamations. **Despised**] See on xlix. 7.—**Deserted of men**] More literally, 'one from whom men held themselves aloof.' The Book of Job (a fund of parallels for II. Isaiah) supplies us with the best justification of this rendering. Job, who partly represents the same conception as the Servant, mentions this as the crown of his troubles, 'My intimates hold themselves aloof' (Job xix. 14; the

verbal root is the same). See crit. note.—Obs. Job's troubles are given as those of a historical person, the presumption is that the similar sufferings of the Servant are described with the same intention.—**A man of pains**] i.e., a man of many pains (comp. 'a man of reproofs,' i.e., 'one often reproved,' Prov. xxix. 1). Auth. Vers. has, 'a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,' for which comp. Ex. iii. 7 'For I know their sorrows' (lit. pains), Eccles. vi. 2 'this is vanity and a sore grief' (lit. sickness). But it seems better here to keep the literal rendering, on account of the next verse (and so, too, in Lam. i. 13, where Jerusalem exclaims, 'Consider and see if there be pain like my pain'). Our translators were probably influenced by Jewish objections to the received Christian application, such as those of Abarbanel (see Neubauer and Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 160). 'Sickness,' no doubt, includes 'sorrow,' but it means something more, viz., the punishment of sin, just as outward as well as inward sufferings are implied in Ps. xxxviii. 3-7.—**Familiar with sickness**] Here, again, the Book of Job and a psalm of cognate purport supply our best commentary: 'Lover and friend hast thou put far from me; mine acquaintance—(they are) darkness,' Ps. lxxxviii. 18; comp. Job xvii. 14.—**As one from whom there is a hiding of the face**] Men avoided him with as much disgust as if he had a disease like the leprosy. Comp. Job's complaint, 'They abhor me, they flee far from me,' Job xxx. 10 (see also xix. 13-19); and the lamentation of the Jewish exiles, 'Men cried unto them, Go aside! unclean! go aside! go aside!' (Lam. iv. 15); also the allusion or parallel in Wisdom (ii. 15). Against alt. rend., besides

the face ^B! despised, and we regarded him not! ⁴ But surely our sicknesses *he* bore, and as for our pains, he carried them, and *we* regarded him as stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. ⁵ But *he* was pierced because of our rebellions, crushed be-

the philological objection urged by Del., consider that it directly contradicts a passage in the parallel description of the Servant's suf-

ferings (l. 6b).—**Despised**] A pathetic repetition in the manner of Isaiah (Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, ii. 134). Comp. v. 7.

Vv. 4-6. 'The second subdivision furnishes us with the key to the sufferings of the Servant of God described previously, by pointing to their vicarious character' (Hengstenberg). Note the significant emphasis on the pronouns 'he' and 'we,' and the elegiac rhythm in the Hebrew.

⁴ **But surely**] Hebr., 'ākēn; at once affirmative and adversative (see xlix. 4).—**Our sicknesses he bore**] (The meaning of 'sicknesses he bore' has been explained above, on 'a man of pains.') The meaning is, first of all, that the consequences of the sins of his people fell upon him the innocent (comp. Lam. v. 7, 'Our fathers have sinned, and are not; and we have borne (*sābhal*) their iniquities'); but next and chiefly, that he bore his undeserved sufferings as a sacrifice on behalf of his people (see v. 5b 'the punishment which was for our 'welfare'; v. 10b, 'if he were to lay down his soul as an offering for guilt'; v. 12b, 'and for the rebellious made intercession'). The pronoun 'he' is expressed not merely to point the contrast between the Servant's deserts and his fate, but to draw attention to his person, as in the cases of Jehovah (xli. 4) and 'Branch' (Zech. vi. 13).—This is the first of twelve distinct assertions in this one chapter of the vicarious character of the sufferings of the Servant. The verb (*nāsā*) may also be rendered 'he took away' (as Mic. ii. 2), and Del. thinks this meaning is included here, but the parallel verb (*sābhal*), which is quite unambiguous, is against this view. That the primary meaning is 'he took up, bore,' Del. himself

admits, the verb *nāsā* (but not the verb *sābhal*) being a technical term in the Law for bearing the penalty of sin. There is apparently an allusion to this passage in John i. 29, where δ ἄρῳν should probably be rendered 'that taketh up (and expiateth) the sin of the world.'¹ Obs. too that the Baptist gives the statement a wider scope than the prophet—'the world's sin,' not merely the people's—**Stricken, smitten of God**] The phrases evidently allude to the disease of leprosy, which was called pre-eminently a 'stroke' (Auth. Vers. 'plague,' e.g., Lev. xiii. 3, 9, 20), and regarded as a punishment for grievous sin (Num. xii. 9, 10, 2 Kings xv. 5). An Arabic phrase for a leper is *mukātal-ullah* 'antagonist of Allah.' (See Wetzstein's note in Delitzsch's *Job*, E. T., i. 347.) Here we are again reminded of the typical sufferer Job; only the account of Job's leprosy is meant to be taken literally, whereas here leprosy is a figure for the sufferings entailed by sin. In Ps. li. 7, leprosy is a type of sin itself.—**Of God**] belongs logically to all three participles.

⁵ **But he . . .**] In emphatic contrast to 'and we' in v. 4, which again is the antithesis to 'he' in 'he bare':—a regular chain of contrasts.—**Pierced . . . crushed**]

¹ I am glad to notice that Bishop Lightfoot has given his high authority to this view (*On Revision*, &c., pp. 141-2).

cause of our iniquities; the ^h punishment of our peace was upon him, and through his stripes *we* have been healed. ⁶ All we like a flock did go astray, we turned every one to his own way; and Jehovah made to light upon him the iniquity of us all.

^h So Vitr., Hitz., Hävernick, Del., Naeg. (note).—Most, chastisement; Vulg., disciplina.

Both words are passive participles, and imply that the sufferings voluntarily undergone by the Servant ended in death. Literal wounds are not necessarily referred to. The same verbs are used by psalmists in quite a general sense: Ps. lxi. 27 (26), xciv. 5, comp. also Isa. i. 5. The meaning of the statement, 'He was pierced . . . for our transgressions,' is perfectly clear if the Servant is a person who devoted his life 'for the many.' If, however, he be only a personification of the pious kernel of the people of Israel, we must make the rather far-fetched supposition that the violent deaths of some individuals were imputed, as it were, to the whole of the believing community, and that they operated towards the conversion of the rest of the nation. Whilst, if 'the Servant' be interpreted to mean the whole of the people of Israel, no rational explanation of this passage seems possible (see Don Isaac Abarbanel's comment in Neubauer and Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 177).—**The punishment**] Alt. rend. is decidedly to be rejected, for though Hebrew cannot distinguish clearly between τιμωρία and κόλασις (Arist. *Rhet.*, i. 10), the notion of punishment is the primary one in this word (*mūsār*); in its synonym (*toká-khath*) it is only secondary.—**Of our peace**] i.e., which led to our 'peace' (or welfare); comp. 'a re-

proof of my shame' = a reproof putting me to shame.—**We have been healed**] Jerome: 'suo vulnere vulnera nostra curavit.' Vitringa: 'venustissimum δέξύμωρον.'

⁶ **All we . . .**] Consequently 'the Servant' can hardly be a mere personification either of the whole people of Israel, or of its pious kernel, or even of the body of prophets.—**Did go astray**] The figure is used by Ezekiel of the Babylonian Exile (chap. xxxiv.), but here (as in Ps. cxix. 176) it is the wilderness of sin into which the whole nation has 'strayed.'

Made to light upon him . . .] Symmachus: *κατανήσαι ἐποίησεν*. As the avenger of blood pursues the murderer, so punishment by an inner necessity overtakes the sinner (Ps. xl. 12, Num. xxxii. 23, comp. Deut. xxvii. 15); and inasmuch as the Servant, by Jehovah's will, has made himself the substitute of the Jewish nation, it follows that the punishment of the latter must fall upon him. We have no right, with Mr. Urwick (p. 131), to find a reference to the imposition of hands on the Sin-offering.—**The iniquity**] Observe the singular; it is the collective iniquity of the people. We might also render the 'punishment,' since the Hebr. *'āḏōn* includes both sin and punishment (see Lam. iv. 6, Zech. xiv. 19).

Vv. 7-9. The cruel treatment of the Servant, and his patient endurance of it, form the contrast of this paragraph. Meantime his persecutors 'know not what they do.' Comp. the striking parallel in l. 5-9, which is like a prelude of our prophecy.—Obs., *v.* 7 and *v.* 9 each close with the words 'and not . . . in his mouth'; it is a mark of artistic composition.

⁷ He was treated rigorously, but *he* let himself be humbled, and opened not his mouth: as the sheep that is led to the slaughter, and as an ewe that before her shearers is dumb; and opened not his mouth. ⁸ ⁱ Through oppression and through a judgment he was taken away, and ^k as for his generation who considered that ^k 'he was cut off out of the land of

ⁱ Out of, Vittr., Ges. (in his note, but not his translation), Ew., Hengst., Del., Naeg.

^k So substantially Ges., Ew., Del.—Who considereth his life-time, Calv., Vittr., Kay, Weir; or, his dwelling, Knob.—Who can think out his generation, Hengst., Seinecke, Riehm, Naeg.

⁷ **Treated rigorously]** Treated as slave-drivers (Ex. iii. 7, Job iii. 18), or petulant upstarts (iii. 12), or hypocritical religionists (lviii. 3), treat those who have the misfortune to be under them.—**Let himself be humbled]** i.e., suffered willingly; see crit. note.—**And opened not his mouth]** So in two psalms of cognate purport it is said of one who, like the Servant, sums up and yet transcends the finest qualities of Israel's character, '(I was) as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth' (Ps. xxxviii. 14), 'I opened not my mouth because thou didst it' (Ps. xxxix. 9).—**As the sheep]** 'But I was like a tame lamb (*agnus mansuetus*, Vulg.) that is led to the slaughter.' So Jeremiah speaks of himself (xi. 19), though he adds (which militates against Saadya's and Bunsen's view that *he* is the subject of Isa. liii.), 'and I knew not that they had devised devices against me.' There is nothing to indicate an allusion to the paschal lamb (a premature introduction of the typical point of view).—Delitzsch remarks that 'everything that is said of the Lamb of God in the New Testament has its origin in this prophecy.'—**And opened not . . .]** Repetition, as in *v.* 3.

⁸ A continuation of the description of the Servant's sufferings. He drank his cup to the dregs. No ignominy was spared. The forms of justice were indeed observed, but the judgment or sentence was really an act of oppression.—**Through oppression and through**

a judgment] i.e., through a judgment accompanied with oppression, through an oppressive judgment (the *Vāv* is that of association). So Job iv. 16 'stillness and a voice' = a still voice, Jer. xxix. 11 'a future and a hope' = a hopeful future.—'Through' (as in *v.* 5), not 'out of,' which fails to emphasize the sufferings sufficiently. 'Oppression,' lit., 'restraint'—the shutting up of the forces of life. The same Hebr. word occurs again in Ps. cvii. 39, 'And they were diminished and bowed down through the oppression of calamity and (through) misery.' 'Judgment' = sentence, as in 'judgment of death,' Deut. xxi. 22.—**He was taken away]** i.e., by a violent death; parallel to 'cut off' in the second half-verse. Comp. 'If the sword come, and take him away' (Ezek. xxxiii. 4). Or, 'taken away' might mean 'released' (Jerome, Rashi, A. E., Kimchi, Calv., Vittr., Stier, Hengst., Ges. Commentary, but not The-saurus). But in many of these cases the rendering seems dictated by a preconceived notion respecting 'the Servant.'—**And as for his generation . . .]** A difficult passage. First, with regard to the concluding words, To whom does the pronoun in 'my people' refer? The same pronoun occurs thrice again in this prophecy, viz., lii. 13, liii. 11, 12. In these verses the speaker is clearly Jehovah. They contain respectively the promise which strengthens the Servant for his trying mission (lii. 13), and the promise which rewards its success-

the living, for the rebellion of my people ¹ *he* was stricken? ¹
⁹ And one appointed his grave with the ungodly, and with the

¹ They were stricken, (virtually) Targ., Ges., Hitz., Knob.—(And) for the stroke due unto them, Ew., Kleinert.—To whom a stroke was due, Martini, Hengst.—He was led away unto death, Sept. (see crit. note) similarly Houb., Lo.

ful accomplishment (liii. 11, 12). The intermediate portion is the soliloquy either of the people, or of some individual Israelite, whether the prophet or another. Which of these is the speaker in *v.* 8? According to some (e.g., Knob. and Naeg.) the prophet; according to Del., any one of the contemporaries of the Servant. The latter view seems preferable. The absoluteness of the self-condemnation of the Israelites is confirmed by the statement that not one of the Servant's generation 'meditated' on the truth that that Divine envoy's thread of life was cut short, and that the 'stroke' of God came upon him, for the sins of 'my people' (i.e., of the people to which the supposed speaker belongs). The same frivolous inconsiderateness is pointed to in a subsequent chapter (lvii. 1*b*, see note) as marking the height which the national depravity had reached. In each case, it is noticed with surprise that, in looking back upon the career of the early deceased righteous, men did not perceive the lesson of these premature removals. The lesson, it is true, is different; here it is this—that such a visitation (the awfulness of which the Servant's contemporaries do not underrate, as they call it 'a stroke' from Jehovah's hand) cannot have been caused by the sins of the Servant himself, but must have had a mystic reference to the wickedness of the people. It is one result of the general inconsiderateness that, as the next verse tells us, the grave of this benefactor of Israel was assigned among the most profligate of men. [For the rend. 'generation,' compare, with Del., Jer. ii. 31, 'O (men of) this generation! observe ye the word of Jehovah.'] The latest explanation—'Who can think

out and declare the nature and sort of his posterity?'—is supported (Naeg.) by Ps. xxii. 30 (31), 'A seed (=posterity) shall serve him, it shall be recounted of the Lord to the (next) generation,' also by a similar passage in Ps. lxxi. 18, and by Lev. xxiii. 21, 'throughout your (successive) generations.' Obs. however, that in all these passages there is something which suggests the reference to the following generation. See further crit. note.—

For the rebellion of my people]

The people, then, is distinct from the suffering Servant. The only way to avoid this inference is to read 'peoples' for 'my people' (comp. on xlix. 1), with Luzzatto, and render 'for the rebellion of the peoples (to whom the stroke was due).' Four places, it is true, are mentioned in the Massora in which the proposed substitution is possible, but this passage is not one of them.—**He was stricken]** Of the alternative renderings, that of Ges. is grammatically the easiest, but it is against the context. It may be said, indeed, that the prophet forgets himself for once, and writes as if the Servant were merely an aggregate of individuals, but this is not very plausible. Throughout this chapter the individuality of the sufferer is rigidly adhered to; is it likely that there should be one exception to the rule? (See crit. note.)

⁹ **And one appointed his grave** . . .] i.e., 'and his grave was appointed' (see Del.'s note). Even 'after his death' (for these words qualify both members of the first half-verse) the people pursued its benefactor with insults (comp. Jer. xxvi. 23). He was buried, not with his family, but with the open deniers of God, and with the rich. Why 'with the rich'? Dr. Weir points out in reply, that the verse

^m rich "after his death," although he had done no injustice,

^m Oppressor, Ew. (a slight emendation), Rodwell.—Ungodly, Kr. (substituting 'transgressors' for 'ungodly' before).

ⁿ In (i. e., after) his deaths, TEXT.—His grave-mound (lit., 'his mounds'), 3 Hebr. MSS., Zwingli, Lowth, Martini, Ges. (both in Thesaurus and in Transl. of Isaiah), Ew. Kr., Bötcher, Rodwell. (A. E. also mentions this rendering.)

consists of four clauses, of which the first and third correspond, and the second and fourth. It might be read thus, 'And they assigned him his grave with the wicked | though he had done no violence | And with the rich in his death | though there was no guile in his mouth.]]' He concludes, therefore, that by 'the rich' we are to understand 'those who acquired wealth by guile and other unlawful means,' and reminds us that 'the poor' and 'the humble' not unfrequently in the Psalms stand for 'the righteous' and 'the upright.'—This, in fact, seems to have become the traditional interpretation of the verse, it being assumed that, according to the experience of the Old Testament writers, riches and wickedness, poverty and piety, most commonly went together. But the interpretation is not, perhaps, quite satisfactory. The use of 'the poor' synonymously with 'the righteous' is no doubt established by passages like Ps. xiv. 5, 6, cxl. 12, 13. But no such passages can, I think, be adduced to prove the synonymy of riches and wickedness. In Job xxvii. 13-19, the description of the wicked man (as such) which is clearly misplaced in our present text has a special reference to Job's case; and the parallelism of 'the noble' and 'the wicked' in Job xxi. 28 has no doubt a similar ground. The difficulty may, it is true, be removed by supposing that 'the rich' here referred to are the Babylonians among whom the personified people of Israel dwelt during the Exile. 'By the rich,' says Yefeth ben 'Ali the Karaite, 'are meant the powerful men among the Gentiles who are rich, while Israel in exile is spoken of as poor and needy' (Neubauer and Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 27). But, on the hypo-

thesis adopted above, this account of the Servant has reference to his treatment by his own people, and not by the Gentiles, who, indeed, as lii. 15 shows, were ignorant of him until his exaltation. I see no alternative, but either (with Ewald) to suppose a corruption in the text, or to conclude that the prophet had been led to form a more ascetic view of life (if the phrase may be used) than the other Old Testament writers, a view reminding us of one or two passages which have as peculiar a note in the sayings of Christ; see Luke vi. 24, Matt. xix. 23. (Knobel thinks there is an implied contrast between the rich Babylonians and the poor Jewish exiles; Ibn Ezra had preceded him in this suggestion. This implies the theory that the Servant = the pious kernel of the Jewish people, which cannot hold in face of v. 6; besides, were the Jewish exiles literally *poor*? Gesenius points out that there is an assonance in *rāshā'*, ungodly, and *'āshīr*, rich. This does not explain the difficulty, but is at any rate against Ewald's emendation.)—**After his death**] Comp., for rendering, Lev. xi. 31, 1 Kings xiii. 31. The plural 'deaths' in text-reading is commonly supposed to be intensive = a violent death, or to express the state of death, as 'lives' for 'the state of life,' or to indicate that the subject of the description is a collective. See however *crit. note.*—**Although he had done no injustice**] So Job xvi. 17, 'Although there is no injustice in my hands'; Job vi. 30 (comp. xxvii. 4), 'Is there iniquity in my tongue?' It is of some slight importance for ascertaining the date of Isa. liii. that Job xvi. 17 contains (probably) an allusion to this passage, and consequently that it was written later;

and there was no deceit in his mouth. ¹⁰ But it pleased Jehovah to crush him—^o he dealt grievously ^o: ^p if he were to lay down his soul ^p as an offering for guilt, he would see a

^o So Bleek, Hofmann.—Most, He made (him) sick; or, To make (him) sick.

^p So Vulg., Ew. (changing one letter).—Thou (O Jehovah!) wert, &c., Auth. Vers., De Dieu, Hitz. (substantially), Hofmann, Naeg., Weir.—Most, His soul were to make an offering for guilt. (The verb in received text may be either 2 masc. or 3 fem.)

vv. 10-12. The Divine purpose in permitting these sufferings of the innocent Servant, and the Divine decree concerning his recompence.—The three verses of this paragraph are very skilfully connected. First, each of them has the word 'his soul' in the first half-verse. Next, *vv.* 10 and 11 have each of them the word 'he shall see' immediately after 'his soul.' Finally, both *v.* 11 and *v.* 12 enforce the limitation implied in 'the many.' There is a further connection both in contents and in phraseology between this and the second paragraph, which the student can work out for himself.

at any rate the words in Isa. liii. 9 flow more easily and naturally than in Job xvi. 17.

¹⁰ **It pleased Jehovah . . .]** This was the thought with which the second paragraph closed. It was no mere accident, but the deliberate will of God that the Servant should suffer innocently. (Comp. Ps. xxii. 15 *b*, 'Thou placest me in the dust of death.') The deepest wisdom underlay this apparent contradiction. 'If he were thus to suffer for the guilty, he would become the author of a new and better race.' *v.* 10 is not a continuation of the soliloquy of the people, but a reflection of the prophet's. See *Last Words*, at end of this vol.—**If he were to lay down his soul . . .]** (The phrase parallel to *τιθέναι τὴν ψυχὴν*, John x. 11.) The passage cannot merely mean that Jehovah would spare the people of Israel for the sake of its few pious members (though this is in itself an unobjectionable idea; comp. Gen. xviii. 24, Jer. v. 1, Ezek. xxii. 30). The Servant is a person, not a personification of the pious kernel of Israel. His sufferings are

vicarious and voluntary. Hence he who offers the Servant's 'soul,' or 'life,' as a sacrifice, must be the Servant himself, and not Jehovah, as the common reading (see note^p) implies. Jehovah sends the Servant, and the Servant joyfully accepts the mission. He smites, and the Servant bends willingly to the blow, 'pours out his soul unto death,' 'lays it down as an offering for guilt.' But why is it added, 'as an offering for guilt'? Dr. Ritschl, in his great work on the doctrine of Justification,¹ finds it hard to say. Yet may it not be one object of the prophet to show that in the death of the Servant various forms of sacrifice find their highest fulfilment? 'As in verse 5 the Divine Servant is represented as a *sin-offering*, His death being an *expiation*, so here He is described as a *guilt-offering*, His death being a *satisfaction*.² Guilt-offerings, or trespass-offerings (as Auth. Vers. calls them), 'were enjoined in all cases where the sins which had been committed allowed of restitution in kind'³; in other words, in infractions of the rights of property.

¹ *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und der Versöhnung*, ii. 64.

² Urwick, *The Servant of Jehovah*, p. 151.

³ Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, p. 478. (On the subject of the 'āshām, or guilt-offering, see especially Kalisch, *Leviticus*, ii. 272-5; Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel*, pp. 55-56; Riehm, 'Ueber das Schuldopfer,' in *Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1854, p. 93 &c.; Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, ii. 28-34; Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, i. 75-77.)

seed, he would prolong days, and the pleasure of Jehovah would prosper in his hand; ¹¹ ⁹ after the travail of his soul he

⁹ On account of, Vittr., Del., Bleek, Urwick; free from, Ges., Hitz.

The people of Israel was theoretically 'holy,' i.e., dedicated to God, but in fact was altogether unholy. It had therefore fallen under the Divine displeasure, and its life was legally forfeited. But, in wrath remembering mercy, Jehovah sent the Servant, who offered his own life as a restitution in kind, and a 'satisfaction' for the broken covenant of holiness. There is, however, a difficulty in the statement that the servant became a guilt-offering, which ought to be mentioned. According to the Law, the guilt-offering was only an atonement for the individual presenting it, never for other people (Luzzatto): the sin-offering, of course, might be offered for others (on the Day of Atonement). This can only be met by the hypothesis that the Servant is in some mystic and yet real sense identified with Israel; that he embodies all that is high and noble in the Israelitish character, and yet transcends it. The prophet himself, too, gives us a plain hint that his language is symbolic, and that more is meant than meets the ear. For he proceeds to tell us that the Servant shall live long and receive a glorious reward. (It would be a still simpler solution to suppose that the distinction between sin-offering and guilt-offering was not very clearly drawn when the prophet wrote; but this would require us to adopt the Grafian hypothesis as to the date of the Levitical legislation. It would be unfair to import the huge difficulties which beset this question into the comparatively simple subject of the exegesis of Isaiah. Against Wellhausen, see below, *Last Words*)—**He would see a seed . . .**] It is said in

a psalm closely allied to our prophecy, that, after the deliverance of the Sufferer, 'A seed shall serve him' (viz., Jehovah), Ps. xxii. 30. In this case, the 'seed' means the children of the converts from heathenism mentioned in the preceding verse (see Hupfeld *ad loc.*). Our prophet too evidently uses 'seed' in a spiritual sense of those who are mystically united to the Servant (or, more prosaically, his disciples).¹ Obs., the Servant is not merely to leave a seed behind him, but to 'see it,' which harmonizes admirably with the next clause. — **He would prolong days**] i.e., he would live long. This again is of course not to be taken quite literally. 'Length of days' is no doubt frequently mentioned as a reward of piety (Deut. vi. 2, Ps. xci. 16, Prov. iii. 2), but as the Servant has already passed through death once without injury to his personality, we may presume that, like the Messiah in ix. 6 (see note), 'death hath no more dominion over him.' — **The pleasure of Jehovah . . .**] The Servant is not to retire henceforth from the scene of his sufferings; he has a work to do in and for his spiritual posterity and for mankind in general, and the appellation given to it supplies a good example of the interlacing of the parts of this prophecy, 'pleasure' in the sense of 'purpose' occurring no less than eight times in II. Isaiah.

¹¹ **After the travail of his soul**] It is not easy to choose between the different meanings of the preposition. I have rendered 'after' on the analogy of Ps. lxxiii. 20, 'As a dream, after one hath awaked,' but the local meaning 'away from'

¹ David Kimchi alludes to this interpretation as current among the Christians in his time, but rejects it because 'his (Jesus) disciples are nowhere spoken of as either sons or seeds' (Neubauer and Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 55); Mosheh Kohen (*ibid.*, p. 123) with at least an attempt at philology, on the ground that 'seed is only used (in the Old Testament) in its literal and primary signification.' But, as Dr. Pusey remarks (*ibid.*, p. lviii.), 'Isaiah himself uses the word in a bad sense' (he quotes i. 4, lvii. 4).

would see satisfyingly ; by † his knowledge † would the righteous one, my servant, make the many righteous, and of their

† The knowledge of him, Vittr., Hengst., Stier, Naeg.

(Num. xv. 24), and the causal 'on account of,' 'in consequence of' (v. 5), are both grammatically possible. To adopt the last, however, seems to involve an anticipation of the 'therefore' in v. 12. 'The travail of his soul' = the pain which he felt in his inmost soul, his spiritual agony.—**He would see satisfyingly**] i.e., would enjoy a satisfying, refreshing view of the progress of the Divine work of salvation (Del.). So in Ps. xvii. 15 we find 'to see God's face' and 'to be satisfied,' in parallel lines.—**By his knowledge**] There is a doubt (which Calvin himself recognises) as to whether this means 'by the knowledge of him' or 'by the knowledge which he possesses.' Vittr., Hengst., Stier, Naeg., adopt the former ; Ges., Ew., Hitz., Bleek, Del., Kay, Birks, Urwick, the latter. Of course, 'knowledge' (in the deep Biblical sense of the word) was necessary for the 'justified' persons spoken of (comp. Jer. xxxi. 34), but it is more obvious, considering the prophetic functions assigned to the Servant (comp. xlii. 1, xlix. 6, l. 4), to suppose that 'knowledge' means his insight into the dealings and purposes of Jehovah. It is clear, too, from other passages (referred to by Del.), that 'knowledge,' in this sense, was reckoned as essential for the national regeneration (see Mal. ii. 7, 'The priest's lips should keep knowledge ;' Dan. xii. 3, where faithful teachers are described as 'making righteous (or, justifying) the many' ; and Isa. xi. 2, where among the seven spirits bestowed on the Messiah we find 'the spirit of knowledge'). The contents of the Servant's knowledge are, no doubt, the purpose of God to **make the many righteous** by his means. There are two possible meanings of the phrase 'to make righteous,' the forensic one of ac-

quittal (v. 23, Ex. xxiii. 7), and the ethical one of imparting or producing righteousness. The latter is the less common one, the only other passage which Ges. quotes for it being Dan. xii. 3. There, however, the meaning is quite certain, for the 'understanding ones' who 'make the many righteous' are in Dan. xi. 33 said to 'instruct the many.' In the passage before us, too, the sense of 'making righteous' or 'turning to righteousness' (the felicitous rendering of Auth. Vers. in Dan. xii. 3) seems the only suitable one, for the Servant is not himself a judge or justifier, but a sin-bearer and intercessor (v. 12). He is called 'the righteous one,' as a guarantee of his ability for 'making righteous.'—**The many**] It is not absolutely certain whether this phrase (emphatically repeated in v. 12) points to the Jews or to the heathen. As the foregoing prophecy refers to the Jews, and as the same phrase is used of the Jews in Dan. ix. 27, xi. 33, 39, xii. 3, it is safer to interpret it so here. This will not exclude the incorporation of more or fewer of the Gentiles among the true Israelites (see on xlv. 3-5), and in fact an enlargement of the limits of Israel seems required by the magnificent language of v. 12 a. Besides, was not the Servant to be 'the light of the nations' as well as 'a covenant of the people' (xlii. 6)? The phrase 'the many' seems intended to imply that not the whole of the community is benefited by the saving work of the Servant. Comp. the use of 'many' in similar contexts in Matt. xx. 28, xxvi. 28, Heb. ix. 28.—**And of their iniquities . . .**] This cannot mean (for the explanation involves New Testament presuppositions) that the Servant should continue to be a sin-bearer after his sacrifice of himself. It is rather an emphatic

iniquities *he* would take up the load. ¹² Therefore will I give him ^a a portion among the great,^a and with the powerful shall he divide spoil, because he poured out his soul unto death, and let himself be numbered with the rebellious, but *he* had borne the sin of many, and for the rebellious made intercession.

^a So Ew., Hitz., Del. As a portion the many, Sept., Targ., Vulg., Vittr., Lowth, Hengst., Bleek, Kay, Naeg., Weir, Urwick, Rodwell.

reassertion of the vicarious atonement as the foundation of his righteous-making work.

¹² Jehovah himself holds out the victor's crown with the words—**Therefore will I give him a portion among the great**] This is clearly metaphorical, and as such is not to be pressed too far. For who can be 'great' or 'powerful' enough to share spoil with Jehovah's Well-beloved? It is impossible to think of the persons just described as 'made righteous' through the Servant, for this 'making righteous,' together with the preceding atonement, was the very fight which the Servant fought and won. The idea is, no doubt, this, that, without striking a blow, the Servant of Jehovah has reached the same results which others (e.g., Cyrus) have reached by sword and bow; that, 'through his sacrificial death, the kingdom of God enters

into the rank of world-conquering powers' (Hengst.). Thus the Servant of Jehovah becomes at last practically identical with the Messianic king.—Alt. rend. is opposed by the parallel line; otherwise it would not be unacceptable (comp. lii. 15, xlix. 7).—**Poured out his soul**] i.e., his life-blood (comp. Ps. cxli. 8). The prophet again emphasises the voluntary nature of the Servant's sufferings. **Made intercession**] Or, 'kept making intercession' (but as the preceding and synchronising verb expresses a single past act, the rend. 'made intercession' seems preferable); certainly not 'shall make intercession' (Hengst.), which is against syntax. The participle of the same verb occurs in a different context in lix. 16. Notice the emphatic repetition of 'the rebellious,' those who had merited death by their apostasy.

CHAPTER LIV.

A RECENT critic (Wellhausen, *Gesch. Israels*, i. 417 note) has stated that liv. 1–liv. 8 is 'to some extent a sermon on the text lii. 13–liii. 12;' but he obviously does so in the interests of a theory—viz., that chap. liii does not refer to an individual. It is more natural to suppose that chap. liii. (including lii. 13–15) was inserted by an afterthought, chap. liv. being the natural sequel of xlix. 17–lii. 12 (just as xlix. 13 follows upon the prediction of the return of the exiles in xlix. 12). It cannot be shown that any of the characteristic ideas of chap. liii. are clearly referred to in chap. liv. The connection seems the closest with chap. xlix. (see xlix. 6, 8, 18–20, 21, comp. also l. 1), though there is a phraseological parallel in lii. 9, and the use of the term 'righteousness' in v. 17 accords with its use in xlv. 24, 25, l. 8, but not at all with the sense of 'righteous' and 'make righteous' in liii. 11.—The person addressed is not the ruined city of Jerusalem, but the ideal Zion (see on xlix. 14), who is practically identical with the ideal or spiritual Israel. In v. 17 the promises made to Zion are

expressly confirmed to the 'servants of Jehovah,' just as in chap. li. the prophet addresses alternately the aggregate of believers and the transcendental person called Zion.

¹ Ring out, O barren, thou that hast not borne; burst forth into a ringing shout, and cry aloud, thou that hast not travailed; for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married woman, saith Jehovah. ² Widen the place of thy tent, and the curtains of thy habitation let them stretch forth—hinder it not; lengthen thy cords, and thy tent-pegs make strong. ³ For on the right and on the left shalt thou break through; and thy seed shall ^atake possession of ^a nations, and make desolate cities to be inhabited. ⁴ Fear not, for thou needest not be ashamed: neither be confounded, for thou needest not blush; nay, thou shalt forget the shame of thy maidenhood, and the reproach of thy widowhood thou shalt

^a Dispossess, Ges., Hitz.

¹ **O barren, thou that hast not borne]** It is like a continuation of xlix. 21.—**More are the children . . .]** Parallel passage, 1 Sam. ii. 5. The 'children' referred to are, mainly at any rate, the restored exiles (as xlix. 17). These were at once children of Zion and not children. They were physically and to some extent spiritually Israelites, but as long as they were on a foreign soil, and unbaptized with the Spirit (xliv. 3), their union with the ideal Zion could not be regarded as complete. After their restoration, the spiritual and the literal Zion or Israel became identical.

² **The curtains]** i.e., the tent-covering. **Lengthen thy cords . . .]** The same figure is applied to the literal Jerusalem, xxxiii. 20. The point of both passages is that the 'tent should no longer be moved about, but become a permanent habitation. Dr. Weir well compares Jer. x. 20, 'My tent is destroyed, and all my tent-pins are plucked up; my children are gone away from me, and are not; and there is none to spread out my tent any more, or to set up my tent-curtains.'

³ **On the right and on the left]** Not merely = 'on the south

and on the north' (Targ.), but 'on all hands'; comp. the parallel passage in the promise to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 14.—**Take possession of nations]** i.e., take possession [of their land. There is no occasion, with Knobel, to restrict the reference to the heathen colonists who had replaced the Israelites. On the other hand, I doubt whether it is equivalent to 'inherit the earth' (so Del.). Comparing xlix. 19, 20, I suppose it to mean that the area covered by the Jewish race shall be much larger than of yore, and that the former lords of the soil (or their survivors, see next note) shall (of their own free-will—see lxi. 4) descend to the rank of subjects. —**Desolate cities]** Primarily those of Palestine, comp. xlix. 8, lviii. 12, lxi. 4, but possibly including cities outside Palestine, which had suffered from the Babylonian invasions (comp. x. 7, Hab. i. 17), and been converted into 'heaps' (xiv. 21, corrected text).

⁴ **Needest not]** Or, 'oughtest not.' It is the potential imperfect in the Hebrew.—**Be ashamed]** viz., of thy faith in thy God; comp. xlv. 16, 17.—**Thy maidenhood]** i.e., the time before the Sinaitic covenant, by which Israel became the

remember no more. ⁵ For thy husband is thy maker—Jehovah Sabáoth is his name; and thy Goel is the Holy One of Israel, God of the whole earth is he called. ⁶ For as an out-cast and downcast woman Jehovah hath recalled thee, and a wife of youth—^b can she be rejected ^b? saith thy God. ⁷ For a little moment did I cast thee out, but with great compassion will I gather thee; ⁸ in a gush of wrath I hid my face a moment from thee, but with everlasting loving-kindness will I have compassion upon thee, saith thy Goel, Jehovah. ⁹ ^c For a Noah's flood ^c is this unto me; whereas I sware that Noah's

^b So Kimchi, Ew., Luz.—When she is (or, is being) rejected, Targ., Vit., Ges., Del.

^c As in the days of Noah, Pesh., Targ., Vulg., Saad., some Hebr. MSS., Lowth. (See crit. note.)

'bride' of Jehovah, Jer. ii. 2. The **shame** of this period will be the Egyptian bondage; the **reproach** in the next line, the Babylonian captivity.

⁵ **Thy maker**] The Hebr. has the plural form, 'thy makers,' on the analogy of Elohim for the one God (similarly in x. 15; comp. Job xxxv. 10, Ps. cxlix. 2).—**Thy Goel**] i.e., the vindicator of thy family-rights (see on xli. 14). Zion being of the family of Jehovah (comp. Eph. ii. 19), her nearest kinsman (viz., her husband) must interpose for her rescue.—**The Holy One of Israel**] Comp. on xlix. 7. **God of the whole earth** . . .] 'Jehovah Sabáoth,' according to our prophet, means not only the God of the heavenly hosts, but the God whose glory fills all creation, including the earth (comp. appendix to chap. i.). Hence the name is a warrant for the restoration of Zion, Jehovah Sabáoth's bride.

⁶ **For as an outcast and downcast woman** . . .] (There is a characteristic assonance in the Hebrew.) Zion is not only Jehovah's bride (Jer. iii. 14), but in one sense 'a wife of youth;' see Jer. ii. 2. Even many an earthly husband (how much more, then, Jehovah!) cannot bear to see the misery of his divorced wife, and therefore, at length recalls her; 'and when his wife is one who has been wooed and won in youth (comp. Mal. ii. 14), how impossible

is it for her to be absolutely dismissed!' The second line is hard, but such appears to be its meaning. So interpreted, it involves a break in the parallelism, but only formally, not logically. (It is equivalent to 'cannot be rejected,' and is therefore parallel to 'hath recalled thee.')

There is a very similar way of expressing incredulity with regard to the absolute rejection of Israel in Lam. v. 22, 'Except [which is impossible] thou hast indeed rejected us, and art wroth against us very exceedingly!' For the idea of such declarations, see note on lv. 2 (end). Alt. rend would be grammatically easier, if the tense were the perfect (which indeed, the Targum substitutes).

⁷ **For a little moment**] The same phrase in xxvi. 20, comp. Ps. xxx. 5, and Isa. lxi. 2 (note).—**Gather thee**] i.e., the persons of thy 'storm-tost' members (*v.* 11).

⁸ **In a gush of wrath**] It was a 'gush,' not a flood, for this takes time to rise and fall; a momentary 'gush,' in contrast to the sea-like (Ps. xxxvi. 6) righteousness, one side of which is God's 'everlasting loving-kindness' for his people. The assonance in the Heb. phrase is here inimitable.

⁹ **For**] Justifying the promise just given. Yes, it is indeed true, for the 'calamity' which is 'overpast' *is* in one sense a flood to its Divine author,—a **Noah's flood**, inasmuch as He has sworn that

flood should no more pass over the earth, so I swear that I will not be wrath with thee, nor rebuke thee. ¹⁰ For though the mountains should remove, and the hills should totter, my loving-kindness from thee shall not remove, neither shall my covenant of peace totter, saith he that hath compassion upon thee, Jehovah.

¹¹ Thou afflicted, storm-tost, comfortless one! behold, I will set thy stones in antimony, and will found thee with sapphires; ¹² and I will make thy battlements rubies, and thy gates to be carbuncles, and all thy border to be precious

neither the type nor the antitype shall be repeated.—Critics have been unnecessarily perplexed because neither the Elohist nor the Jehovistic portion of the narrative of the Flood mentions an oath.¹ But, as Del. on Ps. lxxxix. 31–38 well points out, there is no oath recorded in 2 Sam. vii. 12–16, yet no one doubts that the oath mentioned in *v.* 35 means the promises therein contained. I conclude therefore that the prophet refers either to Gen. viii. 21, or to ix. 11, and not to a lost portion of the Jehovistic record, as Kayser conjectures.²

¹⁰ **Though the mountains . . .**] Mountains are elsewhere the emblem of the unchangeable, Ps. xxxvi. 6, lxv. 6. Job, however, knows of the uncommon phenomenon of a mountain falling and crumbling away (Job xiv. 18), and our prophet has already applied a similar contradiction of ordinary experience to glorify the immutable love of God (xlix. 15). Stier thinks there is an allusion to the final destruction of the earth (li. 6); but is not the image more forcible as explained above? The striking parallels, Ps. xlvi. 3, Jer. xxxi. 36, 37 (quoted by Dr. Weir), point in the same direction.—**My covenant of peace**] ‘Peace’ is a very comprehensive expression (see on

liii. 5), though, when in conjunction with ‘covenant,’ its primary meaning seems to be ‘friendship’; comp. Ps. xli. 9, ‘the man of my peace’ (Auth. Vers. ‘mine own familiar friend’). The phrase ‘my covenant of peace’ occurs again in Num. xxv. 12 (comp. Mal. ii. 5), Ezek. xxxiv. 25, xxxvii. 26.—**Saith . . . Jehovah**] A fourth emphatic assertion of the Divine origin of the revelation.

¹¹ ¹² The glory of the new Jerusalem. Comp. Tobit xiii. 16, 17, Rev. xxi. 18–21.

¹¹ **Thy stones in antimony**] A dark cement would set off the brilliant stones mentioned directly afterwards. Antimony (Hebr. *pūk*, Arab. *kuhl* or *koht*) supplied the black mineral powder sometimes called alcohol, with which the Jewish women stained the edges of the eyelids. See 2 Kings ix. 30, Jer. iv. 30, 1 Chron. xxix. 2 (*Q. P. B.*), and comp. Qerenhappūk (i.e., ‘horn of eye-paint’), Job xlii. 14. There is a *pyūku* or *puka* mentioned in Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions as a product of the land of Canaan. M. Chabas, it is true, says it meant, in the Egyptian text, articles of furniture made of carved wood³; but there is no doubt, I believe, of its meaning antimony in Assyrian.⁴

¹² **Border**] i.e., either ‘domain’ (Del.), or ‘outer wall’ (Knob).

¹ See Gen. viii. 21, 22 (Jehovistic), and ix. 11 (Elohist).

² Kayser, *Das voreriliche Buch der Urgeschichte Israels* (Strassburg, 1874), p. 168.

³ Chabas, *Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, p. 274.

⁴ Sayce, *R. P.*, v. 42; Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, ii. 349.

stones; ¹³ and all thy children shall be disciples of Jehovah, and great shall be the peace of thy children. ¹⁴ Through righteousness shalt thou be established; be far from ^d oppression, for thou needest not fear, and from ^e destruction, for it shall not come nigh thee. ¹⁵ Behold, should (any) ^f stir up strife, ^f (it is) not of me, whosoever ^g stirreth up strife ^g against thee, shall ^h fall because of ^h thee. ¹⁶ Behold, it is I that created the smith, who bloweth upon the fire of coals, and produceth a weapon ⁱ for its work ⁱ; and I that created the waster to destroy. ¹⁷ No weapon that is formed against thee

^d Anxiety, Ges., Hitz., Ew., Del.

^e So virtually, Knobel.—Terror, Ges., Ew., Del., &c.

^f So Ew., Kay (as an alt. rend.).—Gather together, A. E., Kimchi, Vit., Ges., Del., Naeg.

^g Gathereth together, A. E., &c.

^h So Knob., Del., Naeg.—Fall away unto thee, Sept., Vulg., Ges., Hitz., Ew.

ⁱ As his work, Ew., Weir.—According to his work (or, craft), Vit., Ges., Hitz., Del., Naeg.

The latter seems more probable, as we have had the battlements and the gates mentioned.

¹³ The spiritual glory of which these costly buildings are the symbol.—**Disciples of Jehovah**] i.e., prophets in the wider sense (comp. l. 4). The same idea as in Num. xi. 29, Joel ii. 28, 29.

¹⁴ Jerusalem will then be impregnable.—**Through righteousness**] i.e., through fidelity to thy covenant with thy God; comp. i. 27.—**Shalt thou be established**] A return to the figure of building, comp. Prov. xxiv. 3, Num. xxi. 27 (Weir).—**Be far**] i.e., either 'be far even in thy thoughts,' comp. xlvi. 12 'ye who are far from (the thought of Jehovah's) righteousness'; or = 'thou shalt be far,' the imperative for the future (see on xxxiii. 20).—**Oppression**] This is the sense of the word 'ōsheq everywhere else, and also as I believe, of the feminine form 'āsh'qah' (xxxvii. 14, see note), generally quoted for the sense of 'anxiety.' It also suits the parallel line best.—**Destruction**] The well-known sense of *n'khittah* in Proverbs (e.g., x. 14); see also Jer. xvii. 17. The ordinary rend. 'terror' does not agree well with 'come to thee.'

¹⁵ **Should (any) stir up strife** . . .] 'Should any one presume to molest God's people, he shall be like a blind traveller, who falls headlong over an obstacle.' See crit. note.

¹⁶ The secret of Israel's invincibility; all things are the creatures of Jehovah, and dependent upon him.—**That created the smith**] Similarly Sirach says (xxxviii. 1) of the physician, 'The Lord hath created him.'—**For its work**] viz., destruction. This rend. is grammatically as good as any other, and suits the parallel line best (comp. 'to destroy').—**The waster**] i.e., each of the great conquering kings, of Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, &c. In the same spirit of unreserved faith, Job says (xii. 16), 'He that erreth and he that causeth to err are Jehovah's.'

¹⁷ **Every tongue . . . shalt thou show to be guilty**] War is here viewed as a 'judgment of God'; comp. xli. 11 *b*. I doubt if 1 Sam. xiv. 47 is parallel; we should probably read, 'he was delivered' (i.e., was victorious), with Sept., Ewald, &c. (see *Q. P. B.*).—**This is the inheritance** . . .] 'This,' viz., all the blessings which have been assured to Zion. The form of this second half of the

shall prosper, and every tongue that shall rise against thee for the judgment shalt thou show to be guilty. This is the inheritance of the servants of Jehovah, and their righteousness given by me; the oracle of Jehovah.

verse is evidently designed to close the prophecy.—**The servants of Jehovah**] The members of the spiritual Israel have now been fully baptized into the Spirit of their Head. Each of them is now an Israel in miniature, and can claim the promise-laden title of 'Servant of Jehovah.' (See above, opening

remarks.) — **Their righteousness**] i.e., primarily, as the context shows, their justification in the eyes of the world, their success (comp. xlv. 24, 25, l. 8, lviii. 8, lxii. 1, 2), though it is also implied that this outward success is due to Jehovah's 'righteousness.'

CHAPTER LV.

Contents.—An affectionate invitation to the Messianic blessings (*vv.* 1-5); an exhortation to put aside all inward obstacles to their enjoyment (*vv.* 6, 7); and a renewed confident assurance of the indescribable glory and felicity which awaits the true Israel (*vv.* 8-13).

¹ Ah! every one that thirsteth—come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money! come ye, buy and eat, yea, come, buy wine and milk for that which is not money and for that which

¹ **Ah! every one that thirsteth** . . .] A cry of pity (see on xvii. 12) wrung from Jehovah by the indifference of his people to the promised blessings. Dry as they are, they are indisposed to come to the only source from which their thirst can be quenched. In this respect they differ from the 'thirsty one' of xlv. 3, who opposes no inward bar to the relief of his necessity. The prophet's invitation is addressed to all who are conscious of their need.—**Buy wine and milk**] 'Wine and milk' are not to be understood merely in a material sense, as representatives of temporal blessings (Ges., Hitz., Knob.); this is altogether against the context, as the following notes will show. At present it may be enough to point out the very peculiar word for 'buy' (*shābhar*), which, alike by etymology and by usage, can in strict propriety only be used of

'corn.' Its use here shows that the food referred to can be called equally well 'bread' and 'wine and milk,' i.e., that it belongs to the supernatural order of things.—It was this passage which led to the custom of the Latin churches (but not the African) of giving wine and milk to the newly baptized (Jerome, *ad loc.*). See note on xxv. 6, and comp. Jer. xxi. 12, Ps. xxxvi. 8, John vii. 37-39, 1 Pet. ii. 2, Rev. xxi. 6, xxii. 17.—**For that which is not money** . . .] To guard against a literalism similar to that of the disciples in Matt. xvi. 7. Jehovah being not merely (as some of the Jews probably supposed) a magnified man, his blessings can only be obtained for 'that which is not (i.e., which is different in kind from) money.' Comp. xxxi. 8, where Jehovah is called 'one who is not (i.e., who is specifically different from) a man.' This 'not-money'

is not a price. ² Why will ye spend money for that which is not bread, and your earnings for that which cannot satisfy? Hearken, hearken unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. ³ Incline your ear,

is, as *v.* 3 instructs us, the hearing of the inner ear.

² **Not bread]** i.e., even less satisfying than bread. Among other oxymora, comp. Deut. xxxii. 21, where Auth. Vers. rightly has, 'that which is not God . . . which are not a people,' i.e., which is (are) conspicuously unworthy of the name. — **Eat ye]** i.e., ye shall eat. — **Delight itself]** i.e., luxuriate; comp. lxvi. 11, Ps. xxxvii. 4, 11 (same word), and see on lvii. 4.

³ **And I will make an everlasting covenant with you]** The new 'covenant' between Jehovah and Israel is referred to no less than seven times in II. Isaiah: nowhere, expressly at least, in the rest of the book, and nowhere in the works of Isaiah's contemporaries, Amos and Hosea. The idea of the original covenant, broken by Israel, and renewed by Jehovah, is specially characteristic of Jeremiah. In the pre-Jeremian period, it seems as if the phrase 'covenant of Jehovah' had been avoided by the great author-prophets on account of its associations with heathenism, for the Canaanites used the phrase largely (comp. 'Baal-b'rith,' Judg. viii. 33, ix. 4; 'El-b'rith,' Judg. ix. 46). The occurrence of the phrase in Isa. xl.-lxvi. is certainly difficult to explain on the assumption that Isaiah was the author of these chapters. Can we venture to suppose that Isaiah foresaw that a time would come when the phrase 'the covenant of Jehovah' would lose its original mythic flavour? It would seem a rather forced hypothesis. — 'An everlasting covenant' occurs again in lxi. 8, and in a different sense in xxiv. 5; also in Jer. xxxii. 40, l. 5, Ezek. xvi. 60. It is of course the 'new covenant' of Jer. xxxi. 31-33 that is intended, that 'covenant' which Jehovah promised to 'put

in Israel's inward parts,' and to 'write it in their hearts.' — **The loving-kindnesses of David]** Not 'the mercies of David' (Auth. Vers.), for David, representing the Davidic race, is not a 'stranger and foreigner,' but a member of Jehovah's household, his own 'son' (2 Sam. vii. 14, Ps. ii. 7, lxxix. 26). 'Of David' means 'promised to David;' 'the loving-kindnesses of Jehovah' is the more natural phrase, comp. lxiii. 7, Ps. lxxxix. 49, cvii. 43, Lam. iii. 22 ('the loving-kindnesses of David' occurs elsewhere only in 2 Chron. vi. 42). It is not necessary to suppose a zeugma, though a Pauline speech in the Acts (xiii. 24), in quoting the passage, inserts the words—not found in Sept.—*δῶσω ὑμῖν (τὸ ὄσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά)*; the 'covenant' consists in the 'loving-kindnesses.' — **Of David]** 'In what sense can Jehovah's 'loving-kindnesses' be said to belong to David. Three answers may be given: (1) The most obvious explanation (Ewald, Delitzsch) is, to understand by 'David' the founder of the Davidic family. The only difficulty is that the statements of the following verse are incongruous with the character of the historical David. (2) Not a few interpreters, both ancient and modern (among the latter are Rosenmüller, Stier, G. F. Oehler, and Dr. Kay) interpret the phrase of the Messianic king, who is mentioned in Jer. xxx. 9, Ezek. xxxiv. 24, 25 (Hos. iii. 5?) under the name of David. This, however, seems to be contradicted (a) by the parallel passage, Ps. lxxxix. 49 (which clearly refers to the 'oath' to the historical David in 2 Sam. vii.), and (b) by the perfect tenses in *v.* 4, which (considering that futures follow in *v.* 5) ought not to be interpreted as 'prophetic perfects.' (3) According to Heng-

and come unto me ; hear, and your soul shall revive : and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, the loving-kindnesses of David—the unfailing ones. ⁴ Behold, for a witness

stenberg (*Christology*, iii. 346), David here means the family of David, 'who, in Ps. xviii., and in a series of other psalms, speaks in the name of his whole family.' Hengstenberg thus admits that the historical covenant with David is primarily referred to, but, as the covenant extended to David's seed, he maintains that it only attained complete fulfilment in the Messiah. Our choice lies, I think, between this and the first theory. Only, if we adopt the view that David means the founder of the Davidic family, we must assume that it is not of the historical David that the prophet is thinking, so much as of an idealized David radiant with the reflected light and spirituality of the Messianic age. This assumption (which, considering the phenomena of the Book of Psalms, we have a perfect right to make) seems to be required by the statements made respecting 'David' in the next verse. The attempt of Del. to apply them literally to the David of history is most unsatisfactory. On the whole, however, I prefer Hengstenberg's view. There seems to me to be an evident allusion to 2 Sam. vii. 12-16, where the promises refer to David's posterity (v. 13, which interrupts the context, is probably a later insertion). The same point of view is still more clearly adopted in Ps. lxxxix., of which Köster (ap. Stier, p. 548) says, 'Fere commentarii instar est ad locum nostrum—similitudo tanta est, ut prophetam nostrum psalmi hujus auctorem esse conjicere liceat.' — **The unailing ones**] See Ps. lxxxix. 28, 'My loving-kindness will I keep for him for ever, and my covenant shall be unfailing (or faithful) with him ;' and v. 33, 'Nevertheless my loving-kindness—will I not annul (and take) from

him ; neither will I be untrue to my faithfulness ;' and comp. in the Hebr. 2 Sam. vii. 16. And why thus faithful, thus unfailing? 1. Because Jehovah's word cannot be broken (v. 11), and 2. because, whereas vengeance for sin ends at the fourth generation, the recompence of piety extends to a man's latest posterity (Ex. xx. 5, 6).

⁴ **For a witness to the peoples I appointed him**] 'I appointed him' is a historical perfect ; we have no right (note the difference of tense) to regard vv. 4, 5, as 'a looking forward to the enlargement and completion of the Church through [the] Christ' (Stier). Of course, it was not in any high degree true of David that he was 'a witness to the peoples,' i.e., a preacher of the true religion. That was the proper work, first of the personal Servant of Jehovah, and then through him (liii. 11) of Jehovah's national Servant, the regenerate Israel (xliii. 10). But David, and far more Hezekiah and Josiah, at any rate made a beginning, even though at the best it was a 'day of small things.' And the peculiarity of 11. Isaiah is that the promises, so imperfectly realised hitherto, are transferred from the Messianic king to what we may call the Messianic people, not indeed to the people working in its own strength, but in conjunction with and in dependence on a personal representative of Jehovah, who unites in himself the leading characteristics of king, high priest, and prophet.¹ There seems to be an allusion to our passage in Rev. i. 5 (comp. iii. 14), 'from Jesus Christ the faithful witness'; Hengst. compares John xviii. 37, where, precisely as here, 'witnessing' is mentioned as the principal function of Israel's King.—**A ruler**] Or,

¹ Comp. Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy* (Lond. 1876), pp. 130, 131, who however denies the personal character of the Servant in the most important passages.

to the peoples I appointed him, a ruler and commander of the peoples. ⁵ Behold, people that thou knowest not shalt thou call, and people that have not known thee shall run unto thee, because of Jehovah thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, inasmuch as he hath glorified thee.

⁶ Seek ye Jehovah, while he may be found; call ye upon him, while he is near. ⁷ Let the ungodly forsake his way and the man of iniquity his thoughts; and let him return unto Jehovah, and he will have compassion upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon. ⁸ For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, is Jehovah's oracle. ⁹ For (as) the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. ¹⁰ For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and thither returneth not, except it hath watered the earth, and made it bring forth and sprout, and given seed to the sower, and bread to the eater; ¹¹ so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me empty, except it hath accomplished that which I please, and made to prosper the thing for which

'a prince' (*nāgīd*, the same word as in 2 Sam. vi. 21, Dan. ix. 25).

⁵ **People that thou knowest not . . .**] Almost the same words are put into the mouth of a personage who embodies a very similar conception to the Servant of Jehovah, in Ps. xviii. 43 (45 Hebr.).—**Because of Jehovah . . .**] Repeated almost word for word in lx. 9.

⁶ The prophet returns to the more neutral-tinted present, and urges his people to make sure that they are of the true Israel.—**While he may be found**] Comp. Ps. xxxii. 6. For the 'day of Jehovah' will be a bitter one for those who are outwardly or inwardly his foes (lxv. 6, 7).—**Call ye upon him**] First for pardon, and then for a share in the promises; comp. Jer. xix. 12-14.

⁷ **His way**] The 'way' and the 'thoughts,' or purposes, of the ungodly, mean the polytheism and immorality which marked a large

section of the Jewish exiles. Such 'ways' and 'thoughts' tend only to destruction, but those of Jehovah (as *vv.* 8, 9 suggest) to a blessedness passing the finite understanding (comp. Ps. xxxvi. 5, 6). 'For I know the thoughts which I have towards you, saith Jehovah, thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give you a future and a hope' (Jer. xxix. 11).

¹⁰ But can such a high ideal as Jehovah's be realised? Surely. For God's purposes, whether for inanimate nature or for man, fulfil themselves. The new figure is suggested by 'the heavens' in *v.* 9.—**Thither returneth not**] i.e., as vapour (Gen. ii. 6, Job xxxvi. 27 Del.). Obs. rain and snow are treated as God's angels (similarly Ps. cxlviii. 8, civ. 4), and so Jehovah's 'word' in *v.* 11 (see on ix. 8).

¹¹ **It shall not . . .**] A mixture of two statements—'it shall not return empty,' and 'it shall not return till it has done its work.'

I sent it. ¹² For with joy shall ye go forth, and with peace shall ye be led, the mountains and the hills shall burst out before you into a ringing sound, and all the trees of the field shall clap the hand. ¹³ Instead of the thorn-bush shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the nettle shall come up the myrtle-tree: and it shall be unto Jehovah for a monument, for an everlasting sign which shall not be cut off.

^{12, 13} **For**] is explanatory (= 'in fact').—**Shall ye go forth . . .**] The passage is generally taken as a description of the Exodus from Babylon. But there is no reason for so limiting the meaning, and the analogy of chap. xxxv., xl. 11, and xli. 18, points in another direction. It is the glorious condition of Israel after the Return which is here described (see on chap. xxxv.) The change is compared to the transition from the wilderness (i.e., the misery of the Exile) with its monotonous dwarf-shrubs to a park of beautiful trees (comp. xli. 18, 19),

in the midst of which Israel is to walk 'in solemn troops and sweet societies' (as in xxxv. 9). Who the leaders are to be, is not stated. Perhaps the priests, or perhaps Jehovah's angels (Ps. xci. 11).

¹³ This sympathy of nature (comp. xxxv. 1, 2, xlv. 23) is no mere poetical figure, for the prophet continues, **And it shall be unto Jehovah . . . for an everlasting sign**: all poetical figures, like Virgil's 'Ipsi lætitiâ voces ad sidera jactant Intonsi montes,' are presentiments of the Messianic reality.

CHAPTER LVI. 1-8.

These eight verses form a prophecy in themselves, directed against the Jewish pride of race. They are primarily addressed to certain foreign converts and (probably) Israelitish eunuchs, who are warmly commended for their observance of the Sabbath (comp. lviii. 13, 14), and promised an appropriate reward. Like chap. lviii., this prophecy stands out by its practical tone; as a rule, II. Isaiah confines itself to correcting the general tone and spirit of the Jews. It is moreover worthy of remark that the circumstances which it refers to are those of a period long subsequent to the age of Hezekiah. The Sabbath was not indeed (as some have supposed) a late adoption from Babylonia, but it certainly did become much more strictly observed in the Babylonian and Persian periods—comp. Jer. xvii. 19-27 (with Graf's note), Ezek. xx. 11-21, xxii. 8, 26, Neh. xiii. 15-22, and contrast the narrative in 2 Kings xi. 1-16, with that in 1 Macc. ii. 32-38. This growing strictness evidently marks a fresh stage in the religious history of the Israelites. As the sense of the value of prayer increased (a lasting monument of which is the Psalter), it was natural that the Sabbath should rise in the estimation of the pious, and that the highest title they could give to the temple should be 'the house of prayer' (see on v. 7). The latter phrase is unique, and reminds us of the later *proseuchai*, which existed wherever Jews and Jewish proselytes were to be found in the Roman empire. Prayer in

fact took the place of the sacrifices, and the Sabbath (instead of being a day for sacrificing, comp. i. 13) became a day of prayer. In a certain sense, Hosea's anticipation (ii. 13) was verified;¹ the old, popular Sabbath passed away, but only to reappear, animated with a fresh spirit. As Shylock's 'by our holy Sabbath' attests, the Sabbath became the great bond of the dispersed Jewish people.

All this should be duly considered in determining the date of this prophecy and that of chap. lviii. The problem is a complicated one, and a solution must be sought elsewhere. The same difficulty has been felt by some in admitting Jeremiah's authorship of Jer. xvii. 19-27, which 'stands in absolutely no connection with the preceding and the following prophecies.'²

NOTE. The remark made above on the growing strictness of the observance of the Jewish Sabbath acquires special importance in view of the recent discovery of an Assyrian Sabbath—a 'dies nefastus,' on which the king at any rate was closely restrained from almost every form of activity. We do not as yet know how far this severe rule extended in Assyria, but may fairly conjecture that the sacerdotal influence was more extensive there than either in Israel or in the Judah of the pre-Babylonian periods. In the time of the Prophet Hosea, the Sabbath was, at any rate in Israel, a bright and cheerful day (Hos. ii. 11). On the Assyrian and Babylonian Sabbath, see Sayce, *An Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes*, 1872, p. 140, and comp. letter in *Academy*, Nov. 27, 1875, p. 554; *R. P.*, i. 164, vii. 157 &c., where Sayce produces ample authority for the statement that the word Sabbath itself, under the form *sabattu*, was at least not unknown to the Assyrians; also F. Brown, 'The Sabbath in the Cuneiform Records,' *Presbyterian Review*, Oct. 1882; Lotz, *Quæstionum de Historiâ Sabbati Libri Duo*, Lips. 1813.

¹ Thus saith Jehovah, keep the law, and practise righteousness; for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness

¹ **Keep the law**] 'The law,' i.e., the objective rule of life, the law of Jehovah (as in xlii. 1 b). The other possible rendering, 'justice,' seems unsuitable here, as the moral duties specified in *v.* 2 have a much wider range than mere 'justice,' and in fact cover both the tables of the Decalogue. The verb, too, with which the noun is here joined (*shimrâ mishpāt*) is usually followed, as Dr. Weir remarks, by 'statutes,' 'testimony,' 'covenant,' &c.—**Righteousness**] i.e., objectively, whatever God commands.—**My salvation . . . my right-**

eousness] Comp. li. 5. 'This passage makes it quite evident that "righteousness" in connection with "salvation" still retains its proper force of righteousness. God's salvation is righteous, not indiscriminate. And the grounds on which he distinguishes His people from His enemies are not external but internal. It is the Israel within Israel, the spiritual circumcision, the "holy seed," that He acknowledges, vindicates, rescues, glorifies . . . "There is no peace to the ungodly.'" (Dr. Weir.) See also note on xli. 2. Sept. here has τὸ

¹ Wellhausen refers to Lam. ii. 6 as expressing the same view as Hosea, but overlooks 'in Zion.' *Gesch. Israels*, i. 118.

² See note on this passage, by the present writer, in the Pulpit Commentary on Jeremiah.

to become manifest. ² Happy the mortal who practises this, and the son of man who taketh hold thereon; who keepeth the Sabbath so as not to pollute it, and keepeth his hand, that it do no evil! ³ And let not the foreigner, who hath

ἑλεός μου.—**To become manifest**] God's gifts are 'reserved in heaven' till at the fit moment the veil of partition is rent in twain. The same verb as in liii. 1.—**This . . . thereon**] i.e., 'the law,' and 'righteousness,' a further explanation of which follows.—**The Sabbath**] Sabbath-keeping is the representative of the duties of 'the first table' (as in Ezek. xx. 11-21). Contrary to etymology (see Del.'s note), and contrary to popular usage (who does not remember Heine's *Prinzessin Sabbath?*), the prophet treats 'Sabbath' as if it were of the masc. gender (so lviii. 13).—**Keepeth his hand . . .**] A negative description, suggested by the parallelism of the Sabbath-observance. It reminds us of xxxiii. 15, only that there a positive description precedes, which has here to be supplied mentally.

³ The prophet now devotes himself to remove a misunderstanding. He insists that the beatitude of the preceding verse is universally applicable to those who keep God's commandments.—**And let not the foreigner . . .**] The anxiety of these proselytes seems rather unreasonable, if we remember only the moderation of the law in Deut. xxiii. 4-7. It becomes less so, if we take into consideration the severe spirit of the restored exiles (comp. Neh. xiii.), which doubtless began to show itself during the Captivity. The foreigners seem to have apprehended (such is the point of view at which the prophet places himself) that in consequence of this severity the Deuteronomic law would be so altered as to exclude many who were formerly admissible into the community. With

the glories of the Messianic age in prospect, it must have been miserable indeed for these earnest converts to feel themselves in danger of exclusion.—**And let not the eunuch say . . .**] The complaint of the eunuch is different from that of the proselyte; it is that he is 'a dry tree,' i.e., that he is without that hope of a quasi-immortality in offspring, which had, it would seem, not yet given way to the brighter hope of personal continuance. Apparently he takes his exclusion from the religious community as a matter of course; the law in Deut. xxiii. 2 was clear, and there seemed no probability of its being mitigated. But an answer is vouchsafed to his silent as well as to his spoken complaint. (I infer from the omission of the clause, found in *v.* 3, respecting voluntary adhesion to Jehovah that the prophet alludes to Israelitish eunuchs, made such against their will by heathen tyrants—'eunuchs were generally foreigners,'¹ as Dr. Weir remarks.) The case of the eunuchs is dealt with first. The decision is: 1. that they shall be admitted to religious communion, and 2. that, as a compensation for their childlessness, they shall receive an extraordinary **trophy and monument** in the temple itself. What sort of distinction is intended by this? Some (e.g., Knobel) suppose that it is a material record. We might think either of a memorial column, or of a tablet such as in very ancient synagogues commemorated the munificence of individuals.² But there is a swing about the passage which rather commends the view that the memorial is a spiritual one (as in Rev. iii. 12). The prophet's

¹ Comp. xxxix. 7, Jer. xxxviii. 7, Acts viii. 27 (Dr. Weir thinks the Ethiopian eunuch in the last passage may have been a Jew; comp. Acts xi. 20).

² See Löw's *Beitrag zur jüdischen Alterthumskunde* (Leipz. 1870-71, i. 28).

joined himself to Jehovah, speak, saying, Surely Jehovah will separate me from his people; and let not the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree. ⁴ For thus saith Jehovah of the eunuchs who keep my Sabbaths, and choose the things which please me, and take hold on my covenant,—⁵ I give unto them in my house and within my walls a trophy and a monument better than sons and daughters, I will give to each an everlasting monument, which shall not be cut off. ⁶ And as for the foreigners that have joined themselves unto Jehovah, to minister unto him, and to love the name of Jehovah, becoming his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath so as not to pollute it, and taketh hold on my covenant: ⁷ I will bring them to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be acceptable upon mine altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all the peoples. ⁸ The oracle of

real meaning is probably closely analogous to that of another New Testament passage (Matt. xxvi. 13), 'Whosoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.'

⁴ **Take hold on my covenant]** Whether circumcision or Sabbath-observance is the outward sign of this 'taking hold,' cannot be absolutely determined. Here, as in Ezek. xx. 12, the Sabbath *seems* to have stepped into the place of circumcision; yet in lii. 1, Ezek. xlv. 9, circumcision is again referred to with honour.—**An everlasting monument . . .]** Closely parallel to xlv. 13 b.

⁶ **And as for the foreigners]** The proselytes too shall not be left outside in heathendom; the joy of the Shekinah shall be theirs. Comp. 1 Kings viii. 41-43, where Solomon prays that God would 'do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for,' and Ps. cxxxv. 19, 20 (where, after the house of Israel, of Aaron, and of Levi, 'those that fear Jehovah'—i.e., the proselytes—are called upon to bless him).—**To minister unto him]** Hitz. and Knobel think servile ministrations

are referred to, such as were performed by the Nethinim slaves (comp. Ezra ii. 43). Usage, however, confines the verb to honourable functions, especially those of the priests and Levites; comp. lxi. 6. Dr. Weir appositely refers to lxi. 21, where the addition of some of the Gentiles to the number of the priests is spoken of.—**His servants]** A lower term than 'ministers,' but joyfully accepted by the proselytes out of 'love' to the 'name of Jehovah.'

⁷ **Make them joyful]** A hint perhaps of the feast described in xxv. 6. — **In my house of prayer]** Parallel passage, 1 Kings viii. 29, comp. 43, 60. Sacrifices continue, but prayer takes the precedence of them as the distinctive purpose of the temple. Only the circumcised could take part in the sacrifices, but all who 'called upon the name of Jehovah,' of whatever nation or country, could offer the 'spiritual sacrifice' of prayer. Thus in a certain sense the 'court of the Gentiles' became the holiest part of the temple, and could be called at a later period 'Jehovah's house' (John ii. 16, comp. Matt. xxi. 13).

⁸ **The oracle of the Lord, Jehovah]** It is not common to

the Lord, Jehovah, who gathereth the outcasts of Israel: Yet more will I gather unto him, besides his own gathered ones.

place such a phrase at the beginning of a sentence; see, however, i. 24, Ps. cx. 1, Zech. xii. 1, where this or an almost identical expression is used as an introduction. The combination 'the Lord (Hebr. Adonai) Jehovah' prepares us to expect some great and new revelation. The addition of Gentile members to the community of the true Israel is, however, though a great, not by any means a new announcement (see xlv. 5, lv. 5). This, along with other peculiarities, has to be taken into consideration in the discussion of the unity of chaps. xl.-lxvi.—**Who gathereth the outcasts of Israel**] The phra-

seology reminds us of xi. 12. Comp. also xlix. 5, 6.—**Yet more will I gather . . .**] Those who are to be gathered are evidently Gentiles, of whom the proselytes mentioned in the preceding verses are the first-fruits—'other sheep which are not of this flock' (John x. 16). Del. compares Ps. xlvii. 9 (10), which, if the text-reading be correct, is even strikingly parallel. The reading of Sept. and Pesh. ('with the people'), however, strikes me as intrinsically more probable; in this case the passage should be compared with Isa. xix. 24.—**Unto him**] viz., unto Israel.

CHAPTER LVI. 9—LVII.

A SUDDEN change in the style warns us that we are about to enter on a new prophecy, complete in itself, and with no connection (at any rate in the mind of the original writer of lvi. 9 &c.) with the preceding discourse. Hengstenberg,¹ indeed, has tried to evolve a connection ('gathering'—see lvi. 8—must, he remarks, be preceded by 'scattering'), but few writers will regard his attempt as satisfactory. 'It is absolutely incredible,' in the opinion of Bleek, 'that the prophet, after the promises that no evil of any kind should again hurt the people (ch. lv.), that the time of salvation was quite near, in which even the foreigners among the people should partake (ch. lvi. 1), should now suddenly summon up foreign nations to devour his people.'

The new prophecy falls into two parts. In the first half (lvi. 9-lvii. 2) the writer chastises the neglect of duty for profane and extravagant luxury on the part of Israel's spiritual 'shepherds,' while no one observes how the righteous are one by one gathered in from a generation fast ripening for a Divine judgment. In the second half (lvii. 3-21) he turns to the mass of the people, who mock at the few servants of Jehovah in their midst. He draws a vivid and appalling sketch of the sombre and licentious idolatry into which they and their fathers, the *pre-Exile* Israelites, have fallen:—on the state of religion among the exiles in Babylon he preserves a deep silence. At v. 11 a change in the prophet's tone is observable. In the name of Jehovah, he remonstrates with his people, and even partly excuses it. He promises a Divine interposition in its behalf; and then it will be seen whether the idols can deliver in the judgment which will overtake all but true believers. The prophecy closes

¹ *Christology of the Old Testament*, ii. 176.

with that honied rhetoric of which only Hosea and the writer of II. Isaiah possess the secret.

According to Ewald,¹ Bleek,² and Grätz,³ the whole of this discourse, down to lvii. 11 *a* (or 13 *a*, Grätz), is a quotation from an older prophet of the time of Manasseh, or soon after. The strikingly Palestinian character of the scenery in lvii. 5, 6, the presumed reference to persecution in lvii. 1, and the correspondence of the sins imputed to the people with pre-Exile circumstances, give a strong plausibility to this hypothesis. Even Luzzatto⁴ (who ascribes all the rest of the book to Isaiah) considers the author of this section to have lived during the reign of Manasseh—*v. v.* 1, 2 he considers to be a funeral song in memory of Isaiah, who, according to the legend, was sawn asunder by order of Manasseh.

In my former work (*J. C. A.*, p. 201) I attempted to diminish the force of Ewald's reasoning, and I may now add (1) that it seems to me rather doubtful (see below) whether lvii. 1 refers to a violent death by persecution, (2) that the persecution of Manasseh is not directly affirmed in the Old Testament—it is an inference from a combination of passages, (3) that, even granting its historical reality, Manasseh's is not the only persecution which might be alluded to—Gesenius refers to the narratives of Daniel and his three friends (*Dan.* iii. vi.). But it does not fall within the scope of this work to decide questions relative to the higher criticism; and I merely mention these conjectures because they embody impressions which have been felt by most students of Isaiah, whatever be their attitude towards the tradition of the Synagogue. The style of the former part of the prophecy by its 'harshness and lapidary brevity' reminds Delitzsch of that other most peculiar and isolated passage, lii. 13–liii. It is doubly remarkable following upon the facile oratory of chaps. lv. lvi. 1–8, and not less surprising is the sudden change in the latter part to rhythmic simplicity and ease.

⁹ All ye wild beasts of the field, come to devour; all ye wild beasts in the forest! ¹⁰ His watchmen are blind, they

⁹ **All ye wild beasts]** 'My flock become food for every wild beast of the field, because there was no shepherd' (*Ezek.* xxxiv. 8, comp. xxxix. 4). 'Thy prophets, O Israel, are become like the foxes in the deserts' (*Ezek.* xiii. 4). A closer verbal parallel is *Jer.* xii. 9 (comp. *v.* 7): 'Assemble ye all the wild beasts of the field; bring them hither to devour.' Comp., too, the

imitation in *Rev.* xix. 17, 18.—The 'wild beasts' are evidently the enemy, and Israel is the flock. The prophet adopts the strongest way of expressing that Israel, utterly bereft of his natural defenders, lies at the mercy of the great heathen empire (Assyria or Babylonia).

¹⁰ **His watchmen are blind** . . .] i.e., the leaders of the people

¹ *Die Propheten*, iii. 102, 103; comp. Ewald's account of the persecution of Manasseh in *History of Israel*, iv. 211, 212.

² *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii. 48.

³ *Monatsschrift*, 1883, p. 112. Grätz ascribes the prophecy to Jeremiah, and attaches it to *Jer.* xi.; Ewald too remarks upon its great similarity to the earlier prophecies of Jeremiah.

⁴ *Il profeta Isaia* (Padova 1867), p. 573.

are all of them undiscerning; they are all of them dumb dogs, they cannot bark, ^a raving, lying down, ^a loving to slumber. ¹¹ But the dogs are greedy, they know not how to be satisfied, and these, ^b the pastors, ^b know not understanding; they all of them turn their own way, each after his gain, without exception. ¹² 'Come ye, let me fetch wine, and let us carouse with strong drink; and to-morrow shall be as this day, beyond all measure great.'

LVII. ¹ The righteous perisheth, and no man taketh it to heart, and pious men are gathered, none considering that ^c be-

^a Seers that lie down, some MSS., Symmachus, Vulg. (?), Kohut (another reading).

^b Shepherds, Hebr. text.

^c Before, Del.—Out of the way of, Kay.

generally, but especially the prophets (Ezek. iii. 17, comp. Isa. xxi. 11—different word), who are compared to 'dumb dogs,' as opposed to the faithful shepherd's dogs (Job xxx. 1). We must suppose that the prophets referred to were no better than the ancient soothsayers, who gave oracles respecting the difficulties of every-day life, but were silent on the great moral questions. Besides their 'dumbness,' three other points are mentioned to the discredit of the writer's fellow-'watchmen':—1, they are not 'seers' (*khōzīm*), but 'ravers' or 'dreamers' (*hōzīm*)—they depend on a mere natural, and sometimes fallacious, faculty (Jer. xxiii. 25–28); 2, they keep up the old custom, rejected by the higher prophets as an abuse, of taking fees, Num. xxii. 7, 1 Sam. ix. 7, Neh. vi. 12, comp. Mic. iii. 3, Ezek. xiii. 19, xxii. 25; and, 3, they spend their gains in revelry, comp. xxviii. 7, Mic. ii. 11.—Obs., no inference can be safely drawn from this passage as to the date of the prophecy, since prophets and elders continued to exist during the Exile, see Jer. xxix., Ezek. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1, xxxiii. 1–9.

¹¹ **These, the pastors]** Or, 'these, pastors as they are.' Some, rendering 'shepherds,' think we have here a second figure; but this would come in limpingly after the highly developed simile of the

dogs. It is better to render 'pastors,' and regard it as an official title of the rulers of the people (comp. Assyrian *ri'u* 'shepherd,' 'prince').—**Without exception]** On the rend., see De Dieu on Ezek. xxxiii. 2. Same idiom in Gen. xix. 4.

¹² **Come ye . . .]** A speech of one of the self-indulgent 'pastors,' who invites his fellows to a two days' banquet. Comp. v. 11, 12, and especially xxviii. 1, 3, 7, which, by the similarity of its details, somewhat confirms the theory of Ewald and Bleek.

¹ **The righteous perisheth]** A concise and vigorous expression, fitted to stimulate thought. That the bad pastors should live long and see good days, while the righteous (especially among the pastors or prophets) are prematurely cut off, is a contradiction peculiarly great from the Old Testament point of view (comp. Eccles. vii. 15). 'The righteous,' in the singular, indicates the fewness and isolation of these Abdiels. 'Perisheth'—whether by natural or by violent means, the word does not expressly state. 'To perish' (Hebr. *'ābhadh*) properly means 'to lose oneself,' in other words, 'to pass out of sight'; every one remembers Ps. cxix. 176, where 'lost' = Hebr. *'ōbhadh*. The same vague expression is used in the parallel

cause of^c the evil the righteous is gathered. ² He entereth into Peace ; they rest upon their beds, whosoever hath walked

passage, Mic. vii. 2 (comp. Ps. xii. 1).—**Pious men**] Lit., ‘men of piety.’ The Hebr. word here rendered ‘piety’ (*khésedh*) includes both love to God and love to man ; the context must decide whether ‘piety’ or ‘mercy’ is the better English equivalent. Here the parallel word ‘the righteous’ is decisive, in spite of the fact (which warns us against a mechanical use of the Concordance) that in the only other place where the precise Hebrew phrase occurs (Prov. xi. 17, in the singular) it means, not ‘the pious,’ but ‘the merciful.’—**Are gathered**] Again a *vox media*, which includes the notions of taking away (comp. xvi. 10) and gathering in (as Jacob ‘was gathered to his kinsmen,’ Gen. xlix. 33). It is difficult to decide which of these two notions is predominant here. A comparison of liii. 8 seems to suggest the former ; it is natural that the ‘servants of Jehovah’ (liv. 17) should suffer with the Servant, the members with the Head. There might conceivably be an allusion to a religious persecution, such as that of Manassah (see introduction, above). But the context seems to me to favour the notion of ‘gathering in.’ How could the ungodly, if the deaths of the righteous were owing to them, be expected to ‘consider’ the Divine purpose in permitting their evil deeds? and does not the tender, elegiac tone of *v.* 2 suit a natural better than a violent death?—**None considering that**] The form of expression reminds us of liii. 8. In both passages, the rend. ‘for’ seems awkward (see, however, Naeg.).—**Because of the evil**] This premature removal of the righteous seemed but an ill reward for such faithful service ; and yet it was dictated by mercy—as well towards the godly as towards the

wicked. It delivered the former (1) from the sights of horror which ‘vexed’ and might have polluted their ‘righteous souls,’ comp. Wisd. iv. 14, Dante, *Purgat.* xiv. 111–113, and (2) from sharing in the retributive calamities impending over the nation (comp. Gen. xv. 15, 2 Kings xxii. 20). It warned the latter that their wickedness was great to be so punished (for even a few righteous men can save a city, Gen. xviii. 23–32), and that a still more severe punishment was at the door. (Thus ‘evil’ has a double meaning.)—For the Hebr. idiom, comp. x. 27, Jer. xlii. 17, li. 64.¹

² The prophet continues in a lyric strain. **He entereth into Peace**] The grave, or rather the Underworld, is here styled Peace, as elsewhere Stillness (Ps. xciv. 17, cxv. 17). Comp. Job iii. 17. We might also render ‘into a state of peace’ (comp. on xlv. 16). There is a contrast to the awful troubles which the survivors have to encounter (Hengst.).—**Upon their beds**] i.e., primarily their graves ; comp. the Phœnician inscription of King Eshmunazar (ed. Schlottmann, iv. 1 &c.), ‘the lid of this bed’ (i.e., sarcophagus) ; the word is the same as here. See also Job xvii. 13 (a different word for bed), and especially Ezek. xxxii. 25. The phraseology of the latter passage implies a popular notion of a duplicate grave in the Underworld, corresponding to the double quasi-consciousness of the dead body and the soul or shade (respecting this see note on lxvi. 24). It may be the ‘beds’ in the Underworld to which the prophet refers, and which (whatever the popular belief was) he, at any rate, would hardly make contingent on the possession by these righteous confessors of separate graves. Such

¹ Comp. Dr. Land’s discussion of this clause in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1867, p. 203. To support the Isaianic authorship of this chapter Dr. Rutgers had rendered ‘before the calamity’ ; against this, Dr. Land refers to the above-mentioned passages.

straight before him. ³ But as for you, approach hither, ye sons of a sorceress! seed of an adulterer ^d and of a harlot. ^d ⁴ Of whom do ye make sport? Against whom do ye draw a wide mouth, do ye make a long tongue? Are ye not children of rebellion, a seed of falsehood? ^e Ye who inflame yourselves ^e by the terebinths, ^e under every green tree; who slay the children in the torrent-valleys under the rents of the

^d So Kr., Gr.—TEXT, and of her who committeth whoredom; or, and thou who (thyself) committest who edom.

^e With gods, Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg., Vit., Stier.

an honour was not always granted to faithful prophets (Jer. xxvi. 23).—**Straight before him**] A phrase quite in the style of the Book of Proverbs (comp. Prov. iv. 25-27).

³ **Approach hither**] viz., to hear your sentence.—**Ye sons of a sorceress . . .**] i.e., having an innate inclination (comp. Ps. li. 5) to break the mystic marriage-tie between Jehovah and his people. Comp. Ezek. xvi. 44, 45, Matt. xii. 39, xvi. 4.

⁴ **Of whom do ye make sport?** . . .] 'Who are they that ye find a luxurious pleasure in tormenting? Men of whom "the world is not worthy"! Judge if ye are not yourselves fitter objects of scorn.' 'Make sport' is an unexampled rendering (see lv. 2, lviii. 14, lxvi. 11), but is required by the context.

⁵ **Ye who inflame yourselves . . .**] Referring to the orgiastic cults in the sacred groves of Palestinian heathenism ¹ (i. 29, Ezek. vi. 13). We must not, however, press the details of the description which follows too far; there is an 'adultery' of the heart (see on i. 21).—**Terebinths**] Comp. Hos. iv. 13, '(They sacrifice) under oaks and poplars and terebinths, because the shade thereof is good.' For the rend. see *Notes and Criticisms*, p. 38.

—**Under every green tree**]

A common formula in the later books (see 1 Kings xiv. 23, 2 Kings xvi. 4, xvii. 10, Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6, 13, Ezek. vi. 13), also once in the disputed Book of Deuteronomy (xii. 2).—**Who slay the children**]

'Slay' here = 'sacrifice,' as Ezek. xvi. 21 (in a similar context).—

In the torrent-valleys]

The dry channels of winter-torrents (wādys), especially that of Hinnom, were the scenes of the child-sacrifices to the cruel god Moloch (xx. 33).²

The wildness of the landscape perhaps suited such stern acts, and the action of the torrents produced an abundance of large rounded stones (such as are so often in Ezekiel contemptuously called *gillūlim*, 'lumps,' i.e., shapeless masses) for Moloch's altars.—Conservative critics have with much reason pointed out that the topographical references in this verse suggest that the prophecy was written in Palestine rather than in Babylonia. 'I need scarcely say,' observes Dr. Payne Smith, 'that as there are no torrents, but only canals, in the flat alluvial soil of Babylonia, so there are no torrent-beds there, but that these form a common feature of the landscape in Palestine and all mountainous countries.'³ See, however, note on xli. 19.

¹ See Graf von Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft II., A' handlung 2.

² See Kalisch's *Leviticus*, i. 365-7, and comp. W. R. S. in *Encycl. Brit.*, art. 'Moloch.'

³ Payne Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, p. 319; comp. Rutgers, *De echtheid*, enz. p. 90.

crags! ⁶ In the smooth stones of the valley are thy portion; they, they are thy lot; even to them hast thou poured out drink-offerings, offered meal-offerings. Should I quiet myself in spite of these things?

⁷ Upon a mountain lofty and raised up hast thou placed thy bed: even thither hast thou gone up to offer sacrifice.

⁸ And behind the door and the post hast thou placed thy

⁶ **The smooth stones]** The large smooth stones referred to above were the fetishes of the primitive Semitic races, and anointed with oil, according to a widely-spread custom (comp. λίθοι λιπαροί, lapides uncti, lubricati). It was such a stone which Jacob took for a pillow, and afterwards consecrated by pouring oil upon it (Gen. xxviii. 11, 18). The early Semites and reactionary, idolatrous Israelites called such stones Bethels (βαίτυλοι, βαιτύλια, is the Phœnician form of Bethel with a Greek termination), i.e., houses of El (the early Semitic word for God); the 'Jehovist' in Gen. *l. c.* implies that Jacob transferred the name from the stone to the place where the Divine being appeared to him. In spite of the efforts of the 'Jehovist,' who desired to convert these ancient fetishes into memorials of patriarchal history (comp. Gen. xxxi. 45-52), the old heathenish use of them seems to have continued, especially in secluded places (comp. Kuenen's fact-full appendix, *Religion of Israel*, i. 390-395).—

Thy portion] Here we begin to meet with the 2nd pers. fem., Israel being regarded as the bride of her God, but at the same time as having a right of property over him (it is the idea of the 'covenant' under another form). With deep irony, the speaker unfolds how Israel has exchanged her property in the Almighty for smooth, polished blocks of stone. 'Portion,' see Jer. x. 16, Ps. xvi. 5, lxxiii. 26, cxix. 57, cxlii. 5 (in all these passages the term is used of Jeho-

vah), and comp. Deut. xxix. 26 (25), 'gods whom they had not known, and whom he had not apportioned unto them.'—**Hast thou poured out . . .]** Here begins a survey of Jewish idolatry before the Exile. —**Should I quiet myself . . . ?]** It is an outbreak of Jehovah's grieved love or 'jealousy.' Comp. Jer. v. 2 (similar phrase in similar context).

⁷ The heights as well as the depths are profaned by debasing rites: the country is 'wholly given to idolatry.' Beware of taking the description too literally. It is not so much the licentious character of some of the heathen rites which is referred to, as the debased moral and spiritual condition connected with idolatry.—**Upon a mountain]** Shrines were erected by preference upon hills; comp. 2 Kings xvi. 4, Hos. iv. 13, Jer. ii. 20, Ezek. vi. 13. The extent of the ancient hill-religion may be estimated by the number of *mazârs* or tomb-houses, which surmount almost every conspicuous hill in Palestine. They are generally shaded by a great tree, which, like the *mazâr* itself, is held sacred; 'rags and threads hang from its branches as votive offerings, and the name of a saint or prophet is often connected with the spot.'¹ —**Thy bed]** Comp. Jer. iii. 2, Ezek. xvi. xxiii.

⁸ **And behind the door . . . thy memorial]** The expressions are dark. Most recent commentators (except Ewald) take 'memorial' to be the formula 'Jehovah is our God, Jehovah is one,' which, ac-

¹ Conder, *Quarterly Statements of Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1875, p. 39; Gau-neau, *La Palestine inconnue* (Paris, 1876), pp. 49-52.

memorial, for apart from me hast thou uncovered, and gone up ; thou hast enlarged thy bed, and made a contract ^f with them ^f ; thou hast loved their bed ; ^g thou hast beheld the phallus.^g ⁹ And thou hast travelled to the king with oil, and hast multiplied thy perfumes, and hast sent thy messengers afar off, and humbled thyself even to Sheól. ¹⁰ With the length of thy journey thou hast wearied thyself ; yet thou hast not said, It is without result : thou didst get ^h renewal of thy

^f So Gr. ; TEXT, from them.

^g (Wherever) thou hast beheld an (idolatrous) monument, Vitr. —Thou hast chosen a place, Pesh., Targ., Kimchi, Lowth, Ges.

^h Refreshing sufficient for thee, La., Klostermann, Gr.

ording to Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20, was to be written on the posts of the house and on the gates ; comp. the use of ' memorial ' in Hos. xii. 5. Putting this ' memorial ' *behind* the door is thought to have been a sign of contempt. But surely this is very doubtful : the new position of this object would make it all the more conspicuous to the inmates of the house. Besides, is it quite certain that the direction in Deuteronomy was so carefully carried out, or even perhaps intended to be literally carried out? (I waive questions of date.) It is safer to return to the view of the Targum and of Jerome, viz., that ' memorial ' = idol (or rather idolatrous symbol—the phallus). So too Vitr., Lowth, Ewald, Grätz (comparing the Hebr. of Ezek. xvi. 17).—**Hast beheld the phallus**] i.e., ' didst look at it with pleasure ' (see Del.'s note). The first alt. rend. will bear the same meaning (comp. ' thy memorial ' in the first verse-half).

⁹ **And thou hast travelled to the king**] There is the same point in dispute as in viii. 21, xxx. 23, viz., whether ' king ' designates the heavenly or the earthly ruler. Dr. Payne Smith (*Bampton Lectures for 1869*, p. 323) would settle the question by reading *pmōlek*, ' to Molech (or Moloch) ' but the phrase ' travelling to Molech ' has no parallel, and a comparison of *v.*

11, where it is certainly the fear of man which is rebuked, and of Ezek. xxiii. 40, where we read of a messenger being sent for men from afar, favours the view that ' king ' here means king of Assyria. It is that coquetting with heathen powers which is here, as so often elsewhere, denounced.—**With oil**] So Hos. xii. 1 (2).—**Thy messengers afar off**] Comp. the negotiations with Egypt denounced by Isaiah and Hosea, the Assyrian alliance of Ahaz, and the coalition formed by Azariah against Tiglath-Pileser.¹—**Hast humbled thyself even to Sheól**] ' No servility was too great for thee. ' Sheól is here used metaphorically, as in vii. 11 *b* (see note). A reference to the infernal deities (Ew.) seems less appropriate.

¹⁰ **With the length of thy journey**] i.e., not merely ' with the long journey to Assyria, ' but ' with thy ceaseless quest for help and protection, ' including of course embassies to foreign kings, but also every other specimen of untheocratic policy.—**It is without result**] Lit., ' it is desperate. ' Sept. *πᾶσομαι*. The word is the same as in Jer. ii. 25, xviii. 12, but in a different context.—**Renewal of thy strength**] Vulg., ' vitam manūs tuæ. ' The Hebr. idiom is similar to that in Gen. xviii. 10, 14, ' when this season liveth (again), ' i.e., a

¹ See Smith *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 117-8, Schrader, *K. A. T.*, pp. 217-223, and especially the same writer's *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878), pp. 395-421.

strength^h, therefore thou feltest not weak. ¹¹ And at whom hast thou been alarmed so as to fear, that thou hast played the traitor, and me hast not remembered, neither hast taken it to thy heart? Truly I have been silent, yea, ¹ from of old,¹ and therefore thou fearest not me. ¹² I will make known ^k my righteousness, and as for thy works—they cannot profit

¹ Hiding (mine eyes), Sept., Vulg., some Hebr. MSS., Lo., Kr. (omitting one letter, and pointing differently).

^k So Pesh., Lo., Weir.—Thy, TEXT.

year hence.—**Thou feltest not weak**] Dathe (ap. Stier), 'non sentis morbum tuum.' So Jer. v. 3, 'Thou hast smitten them, and they did not feel weak.'

¹¹ **And at whom hast thou been alarmed . . .**] The verse is not ironical, as De Dieu and others (misled by the text-reading of v. 12 a), but contains a kindly remonstrance (comp. li. 12, 13). 'Who is there so strong and so terrible as to justify thee in thy infidelity towards Jehovah? No one. But is there no excuse for the behaviour of the Jews? There is, viz., Jehovah's long "silence" (comp. xlii. 14), the cessation of his interpositions in behalf of his people.' This seems to me the easiest way to explain the connection, which is certainly rather loose, between the two halves of the verse. Jehovah admits,¹ in other words, that the calamities of the Israelites have increased their alienation from him (comp. lxiii. 17, lxiv. 5). In the next verse he announces that he will try a new argument with these walkers 'by sight' and not 'by faith.'—Ewald thinks the prophet here resumes in his own language, dropping that of the more ancient writer to whom he ascribes lvi. 9–lvii. 11 a. There is at any rate a very noticeable change in the prophet's tone, which all at once becomes soft and encouraging.—**Truly I have been silent . . .**] 'Truly it is because I have been silent, that thou accordest me no fear.' Notice the prominent position of 'me' in the

Hebrew, corresponding to the emphatic (because otherwise unnecessary) expression of the pronoun 'I' in this and the next verse. 'Truly,' lit., 'have not . . .' (prefixed to whole sentence as xxviii. 25). 'I have been silent,' &c.; comp. xlii. 14 (note). The participial clause in the Hebr. is causal.

¹² **I will make known . . .**] Jehovah will try a fresh argument. If 'silence' has taught no lessons, the speech of mingled mercy and judgment may work more effectually on the heart. Precisely so, in xlvi. 13, the same Divine speaker says to those who are 'far from righteousness,' 'I bring near my righteousness.' (Dr. Weir compares Ps. xxii. 31, xcvi. 2.)—Those who retain the text-reading generally explain it as a piece of irony—'I will show thy righteousness in its true colours—as "filthy rags"' (lxiv. 6, Auth. Vers.). I doubt if this can be shown to suit the context; in the next chapter, which expressly deals with the self-righteous, it might perhaps pass, but the persons addressed here are not even acknowledged as worshippers of Jehovah. Add to this, that the word rendered 'will make known' is constantly used in II. Isaiah of the prophetic revelation of the deliverance of Israel. Rashi, Hitzig, and Knobel avoid a part of the objections to the text-reading by taking the words literally—'I will show thee how to obtain righteousness,' Rashi supposing internal righteousness to be

¹ *Per questo la Scrittura condiscende | A vostra facultate, ecc.* Dante, *Paradiso*, iv. 43, 44.

thee. ¹³ When thou criest, let thy ¹ medley of gods ¹ deliver thee! but the whole of them the wind shall carry off, a breath shall take away, while he that taketh refuge in me shall inherit the land, and take my holy mountain in possession. ¹⁴ And one said, Cast up, cast up, prepare the way; take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.

¹⁵ For thus saith the high and exalted One, who dwelleth for ever, whose name is Holy One: I dwell in the high and

¹ Abominations, Weir (emendation).

intended, the other two external righteousness,' i.e., deliverance, success in the sight of men (comp. liv. 17). But Rashi's view presupposes a misinterpretation of 'thy works' in the second verse-half, while Hitzig's and Knobel's is not quite suitable in this connection, for, as v. 13 shows, there must be a great sifting of Israel before Jehovah's righteousness can become Israel's. Even in liv. 17 (which Hitz., Knob. ought to have compared), it is only of 'the servants of Jehovah' that the phrase 'their righteousness,' (i.e., their 'outward justification') is used, and it is immediately qualified by the addition '(which is) of me.'—**Thy works**] i.e., thy idols (xli. 29, comp. i. 31).—**They cannot profit thee**] A phrase specially belonging to idols (see on xliv. 10).

¹³ **When thou criest**] Under the rod of chastisement. The speaker does not mean to emphasize the terrors of the judgment, but, assuming its near approach, shows that no help but Jehovah's will be of any avail.—**Thy medley of gods**] Lit., thy collections. The idea is not merely that of number (comp. Jer. ii. 28), but of variety. Jehovah says ironically that the Jews had set up a kind of Pantheon, open to all religions. Comp. Mic. i. 7, 'she collected them (viz., the idols) together out of the hire of a harlot.' The Hebr. is peculiar, but not so peculiar as to necessitate Dr. Weir's ingenious correction.—**shall inherit the land**] viz., Judah

(xlix. 8). The familiar promise attached sometimes to fulfilment of the Law (Deut. iv. 1, comp. 40, v. 33), sometimes to moral qualities, such as humility (Ps. xxxvii. 11), righteousness (Ps. xxxvii. 29), and, as here, trust in Jehovah (Ps. xxxvii. 9). Comp. lvi. 7.

¹⁴ **And one said . . .**] Another of those mysterious voices which fill the air round about the prophet. It conveys a summons to prepare the way for the people of Jehovah (comp. xl. 3, lxii. 10), and to remove the 'stumbling-blocks' which Jehovah himself (Jer. vi. 21 Weir) had placed in Israel's path. Comp. xxvi. 7.

¹⁵ Here a new paragraph begins—the concluding one of the section. The ground of Israel's hope of salvation is the combined highness and humbleness (*anāvāh* Ps. xviii. 36) of Jehovah (comp. lxvi. 2, Ps. cxxxviii. 6). As an old Jewish writer says, 'Wherever the Scripture bears witness to the Divine mightiness, it brings out side by side with it the Divine humbleness, e.g., Deut. x. 17, comp. 18; Isa. lvii. 15 a, comp. 15 b; Ps. lxviii. 4, 5.' ¹ Jehovah cannot direct the affairs of his people from without; he desires to be enthroned in their hearts. When they turn away from him, he punishes them; but by gentle, spiritual means he moves them to return to him as penitent sinners.—**Who dwelleth for ever**] i.e., the eternal, the unchangeable (like 'the First and the Last,' xliv. 6).—**Whose name is**

¹ *Megilla*, 31 a, quoted by Del. on Ps. xviii. 36.

holy place, with him also that is crushed and lowly in spirit, to revive the spirit of the lowly, and to revive the heart of those who are crushed. ¹⁶ For I will not contend for ever, nor will I be wrathful continually, for the spirit would faint before me, and the souls which I have made. ¹⁷ For his unjust gain I

Holy One] i.e., who reveal myself as the Holy One. See on xl. 25.—

The high and holy place] i.e., the heavenly temple (vi. 1).—**With him also that is crushed . . .**] 'With,' i.e., in close proximity to. The prophet implicitly contradicts the Epicureans of his day, who denied what the psalmist (above) calls the 'humbleness' of God, and said, 'Is not God in the height of heaven? how can he perceive?' (Job xxii. 12, 13). 'Crushed,' not 'contrite' (Auth. Vers. after Vulg.), which is a misleading rendering. 'Crushed in spirit' is almost synonymous with lowly, hills being the emblem of pride, and level land of humility; it implies, in addition, that the lowly state of mind has been produced by affliction—in the present case, the affliction of Zion; comp. lxi. 1, 2, lxxv. 14, lxxvi. 2, Ps. xxxiv. 18 (19), cxlvii. 2, 3.

¹⁶ Jehovah is 'a wise and faithful Creator.'—**For I will not contend . . .**] To 'contend' = to send adversity, to punish (as xxvii. 8). The idea of this verse is very characteristic of the tender-hearted author; see xlii. 3, and comp. Ps. ciii. 9, lxxviii. 38, 39 (post-Exile psalms).—**The souls which I have made**] The expression is noteworthy, as implying the separate personality of man (comp. Zech. xii. 1, Jer. xxxviii. 16); the Old Testament writers are not always equally explicit (see Ps. civ. 29, Job xxxiv. 14). The choice of the word for 'soul' (*nēshāmāh*, lit., 'breath') is itself significant; it means the principle of life breathed immediately by God into the human body (Gen. ii. 7), the self-conscious personal spirit.

¹⁷ **For his unjust gain**] Lit., 'for the iniquity of his gain.' Del. renders 'for the guilt of his self-

seeking,' i.e., for his desire for worldly possessions. I doubt if we have a right to introduce such a paraphrase into the text; the more so, as it is perhaps not strictly accurate. The fact is, that 'unjust gain' is used by the prophets and psalmists, precisely in the same way as 'bloodshed,' as a representative of the besetting sins of the Jews. Jeremiah, for instance, says (vi. 13), 'For from the least unto the greatest of them every one gaineth unjust gain': elsewhere (v. 1) he even denies that there is a single man of probity and justice left. Similarly, Ezekiel says (xxxiii. 31), 'Their heart goeth after their unjust gain,' and the typical righteous man in Ps. cxix. (v. 36) prays, 'Incline my heart to thy testimonies and not to unjust gain,' and the very prophecy before us singles out the passion for money as the chief sin of the spiritual shepherds of the Jews. It is just the same with the sin of murder (including doubtless judicial murder), which is laid at the door of the Jews with a really surprising persistency; comp. i. 15, v. 7, xxxiii. 15, lix. 3, Jer. ii. 34, Ezek. vii. 23, Hos. iv. 2, Mic. iii. 10, vii. 2, Prov. i. 11. We are, therefore, abundantly justified in supposing that where a prophet or a psalmist seems to lay a disproportionate emphasis on a single sin, such as murder or unjust gain, he means to include all the other besetting sins of the Jews under this head, especially, of course, those sins of violence, to which the upper classes (chiefly addressed by the prophets) were peculiarly prone. Only thus can we understand a passage like the present, which seems to ascribe the Exile to simple 'covetousness,' and like Ps. li. 14, where the typical

was wrathful and smote him ; I hid my face, and was wrathful, because he went on perversely in the way of his own heart. ¹⁸ His ways have I seen, ^m and I will heal him ; and I will lead him, and give a requital of comfort to him and to his mournful ones. ¹⁹ ⁿ He createth ⁿ the fruit of the lips ; ' Peace, peace to the far off and to the near,' saith Jehovah, ' for I will heal him.' ²⁰ But the ungodly are like the sea that is

^m But. Ges., Naeg.

ⁿ So Kay.—I create, Rashi, Kimchi, Calv., Vitruvius.—I have created, Vulg.—He who createth, Naeg. ; or, created, Ew.—Creating, Sept., Ges., Hitz., Del.—I who created, Targ. (connected with *v.* 18 ; so also Ges.).

Israelite, who makes no other individualising reference, and elsewhere lays the chief stress on his sinful nature, prays, ' Deliver me from (the guilt of) bloodshed . . . and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.' I may add, that there is perhaps a special reason here for the selection of ' unjust gain ' as a representative sin in the Divine law of the correspondence of punishment to guilt. Land being the object of a high-born Jew's covetousness, expulsion from his land was to be his punishment ; see *v.* 8, 9, Jer. vi. 12, 13.

¹⁸ **His ways have I seen**] Jehovah has seen the thorny ways in which His people has been wandering ; He will heal his wounds (xxx. 26), and guide him by an easier path (lviii. 11), or, as Ew., ' I have seen the amendment of his ways.'

—**A requital of comfort**] As a compensation for his long sufferings (comp. on xl. 2).—**And to his mournful ones**] (' And ' = namely.) So lxi. 2, 3 ; comp. the fuller phrase in lxvi. 10.

¹⁹ **He createth . . .**] It is an exclamation of the prophet (Kay) ; a participial clause, as in xl. 22, 23.

—**The fruit of the lips**] This may mean (1) praise and thanksgiving (as Ges., Ew., Del., Kay) ; comp. Hos. xiv. 2, Heb. xiii. 15. On this view of the passage, it contains a second argument (the first being drawn from Jehovah's mercifulness) for the ' healing ' or restoration of Israel, viz., that praise is one of God's ' creations ' or appointments,

and that Israel, having been ' formed ' to ' tell out His praise ' (xliii. 21), must not be hindered from his mission. Or (2) with Jerome, the Rabbis, Calv., Hitz., Henderson, we may take ' the fruit of the lips ' to refer to the word of Jehovah which follows. In any case it is not ordinary speech which is thus described, but some happy and happy-making communication, worthy to be called a ' fruit ' (as in Prov. x. 31), comp. Mohammed's saying of the garden of Eden, ' No vain discourse shall they hear therein, but only " peace " ' (*Kordn*, Sur. xix. 63). But the first way is surely the preferable one. Hitherto the lips of faithful Israelites (' his mournful ones ') have been sealed by sorrow ; now Jehovah, by his creative word, causes them to blossom with praise.—**Peace, peace**] i.e., perfect peace (as xxvi. 3).—**To the far off and to the near**] i.e., either ' to the Gentile and to the Jew ' (Stier, Naeg., after Eph. ii. 17, comp. xlii. 6), or, which suits the context better, ' to him who is far from Jerusalem and to him who is near to it ' (Kimchi, Calv., Ew., Del.), see Dan. ix. 7, and comp. xliii. 5-7, xlix. 12. No degree of remoteness was to disqualify true Israelites for the enjoyment of the promise.

²⁰, ²¹ **A moving contrast. The ungodly**] those who are, whether only inwardly or also outwardly, in a state of alienation from Jehovah, shall never ' enter into peace.' Comp. Jer. xlix. 23 (*Q.P.B.*), Jude 13, ' wild

° tost up,° for it cannot rest, and its waters toss up mire and mud. ²¹ There is no peace, saith ^p my God,^p to the ungodly.

° Lit, driven. See crit. note.

^p Jehovah, many Hebr. MSS.—God, Sept. (Vatican MS.), Targ.—Jehovah my God, a very few Hebr. MSS.—The Lord [Jehovah] Elohim, Sept. (Alex. MS.), Vulg.

waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame.' This closing sentence of the second portion of prophecy agrees with xlvi. 22, except that 'my God' (comp. vii. 13) is substituted for 'Jehovah,' as if the speaker

would thus put his seal to the Divine oracle. The phrase is self-assertive; the prophet magnifies his office. Jehovah *is* in a special sense the God of 'his servants the prophets' (Am. iii. 7).

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE Jewish nation is first rebuked for its formal religion, and especially for its unspiritual mode of fasting, which deprives its prayers for deliverance of all efficacy (*vv.* 1-4); after this, the true mode of fasting is held up for imitation (*vv.* 5-12); and finally, the duty of Sabbath-observance is inculcated, and a promise of 'inheriting the land' attached to it. The practical tone here adopted reminds us of lvi. 1-8 (see introduction there). The priests are not referred to; only the laity—a point in which this prophecy contrasts with the undoubted prophecies of Isaiah. The Levitical code seems to be also presupposed, at any rate in some form (see on *v.* 3), though I would not go so far as Michael Sachs and D. Hoffmann, and regard the prophecy as a discourse delivered on the Day of Atonement.¹

¹ Call with the throat, hold not back; like a trumpet raise thy voice, and declare unto my people their rebellion, and unto the house of Jacob their sins. ² And (yet) me they con-

¹ **Call with the throat]** Not merely with the lips, i.e., softly (1 Sam. i. 13), but 'à plein gosier,' as Calvin puts it. Comp. Ps. cxlix. 16, 'Lofty hymns divine in their throat.'—**Like a trumpet]** or, 'like the trumpet,' viz., that of Jubilee, which had perhaps just resounded. So D. Hoffmann, but unnecessarily. — **Declare unto my people . . .]** A reminiscence of Mic. iii. 8. Obs., the priests are

not mentioned in this homily; the laity alone are addressed.

² **And (yet) . . .]** Rebellious and sinful as they are. Or else understand, 'For they deem themselves to be righteous,' and continue 'and (= consequently) they consult me,' &c.—**Me they consult]** 'Me' is put emphatically at the beginning of the verse—'me, the All-holy and the All-just.' 'Consult' is the usual word for applying to

¹ Hoffmann in particular uses this chapter as evidence of Isaiah's authorship. But all that it could be held to prove, from his point of view, would be that the Jews then lived in their own land; whether in Isaiah's, in Jeremiah's, or in Ezra's time would be still undetermined. See Sachs, *Kerem Chemed*, vii. 124, &c.; Hoffmann, in Berliner's *Magazin*, 1876, pp. 5, 6.

sult daily, and to know my ways they desire: as a nation that hath done righteousness, and hath not forsaken the law of its God, they ask of me judgments of righteousness, ^a the approach of God they desire.^a ³ Wherefore have we fasted, and thou seest not—humbled our soul, and thou takest no notice? Behold, in your fasting ye pursue business, and all your ^b tasks ye exact.^b ⁴ Behold, it is for strife and conten-

^a So most moderns.—In approaching to God they delight, Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg., Calv., Vittr., Kay.

^b So Ges. (Thesaurus), Hitz., Naeg., Weir.—Workmen ye drive, Ges. (Commentary), Ew., Del.

an oracle or a prophet, and no doubt consultations of the prophet are included (see Ezek. xx. 1), but direct prayer to God is also meant (see *v.* 4 and comp. *lv.* 6).—**My ways**] i.e., my dealings with my people.—**The law**] Hebr. *mishpāt* (see on *xlii.* 1).—**Judgments of righteousness**] i.e., manifestations in act of Jehovah's fidelity to his covenant-engagements with Israel. Comp. on *lix.* 9.—**The approach of God**] i.e., his approach to judgment. Alt. rend. spoils the parallelism.

³ **Wherefore have we fasted**] The reproofs in this part of the prophecy remind us of Zech. vii. 5, 6 (comp. viii. 19), Joel ii. 12, 13. Fasting, both public and private, appears to have become more and more prevalent in and after the Babylonian period; the passage before us may refer equally to special private fasts and to those required by the ecclesiastical authorities (comp. Matt. ix. 14, Luke xviii. 12). The effect of the prophetic exhortations was peculiar (see on *v.* 7); it was not till after the last siege of Jerusalem that the evil of formal fasting began to be at all generally felt. That great calamity, however, did open the eyes of the Jewish people. The short homily on the fasting of the heart, which, according to *Taanith*, ii. 1, was pronounced at public fasts, is quite in the spirit of the prophetic exhortations; comp. also quotations from Talmud (*Nedarim babli*, p. 10 a, *Kiddushin jerush.*, end), in Grätz's *Kohélet*,

pp. 33, 34.—**Humbled our soul**] A characteristic phrase of the Levitical legislation, which almost (I must not say 'entirely,' for in Ps. xxxv. 13, the two forms of expression are combined) supplanted the word 'to fast;' see Lev. xvi. 29, 31, xxiii. 27, 32, Num. xxix. 7, xxx. 13. It was evidently a well-known technical phrase when our prophet wrote, for in *v.* 5 he uses it as such, simply deepening its meaning.—**Ye pursue business**] (The rend. 'business' seems absolutely necessary here, as also in Ecclesiastes, where Sept. renders *πράγμα*. It is doubtful, however, in spite of Ges., whether this meaning can be established elsewhere.) Unlike the Sabbath, the fast-days (except the great Day of Atonement) appear not to have involved the cessation of business. Hence the prophet continues, **All your tasks ye exact**] Ye are specially anxious at such times that the service of God should not interfere with that of mammon. Ye 'exact' the full tale of works, like slave-drivers (the participle of the verb has this meaning, see Ex. v. 6, Job iii. 18). 'The prophet paints throughout from the life,' observes Delitzsch in his first edition, 'and we cannot be persuaded by Stier's false zeal for Isaiah's authorship to give up the opinion that we have here a figure drawn from the experience of the exiles in Babylon.' That the prophet paints from the life is certain, but no more than this.

⁴ **Behold, it is for strife . . .**]

tion ye fast, and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye do not so fast at this time as to make your voice to be heard in the height. ⁵ Can such be the fast that I choose, the day when a man humbleth his soul? Is it to bow down one's head like a bulrush, and to make sackcloth and ashes his couch? Wilt thou call this a fast, and a day acceptable to Jehovah? ⁶ Is not this the fast that I choose—to loose the bands of wickedness, to untie the thongs of the yoke, and to set them that are crushed at liberty, and that ye burst in sunder every yoke? ⁷ Is it not to break thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring miserable outcasts to their home? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh? ⁸ Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, thy new flesh shall quickly shoot forth, and thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of Jeho-

The only result of this formal fasting is strife and violence.—**Ye do not so fast . . .**] This glaring inconsistency prevents your prayers for a Divine interposition (*v.* 2) from rising to the pure 'height,' where Jehovah dwelleth (*lvii.* 15 *Hebr.*). Comp. *Lam.* *iii.* 44, 'Thou hast covered thyself with clouds, so that prayer may not pass through.'—**When a man humbleth his soul**] viz., according to the intention of the legislator.—**Like a bulrush**] 'With a merely physical inclination of the head' (*Kay*).—**Wilt thou call**] From this point the prophet addresses personified Israel (*see v.* 14).

⁵ **To untie the thongs of the yoke**] Metaphorically, of course. The elaborate and merciful legislation for the protection of Hebrew slaves (found in *Ex.* *xxi.* 2 &c., *Deut.* *xv.* 12 &c., no less than in *Lev.* *xxv.* 39 &c.) appears to have been long a dead letter (*see Jer.* *xxxiv.* 8-22)—a warning, be it observed, not to attach too much importance to the *argumentum e silentio* with regard to the date of Hebrew laws.—As to the Jewish yoke, *see Del.*'s note on *x.* 27.—**To set them that are crushed . . .**] In the spirit of him who cherishes the 'crushed reed' (*xlii.* 3, same word).

⁷ The same duties are enforced by the great Exile-prophet Ezekiel (*xviii.* 7, 16). These and similar exhortations seem to have had great effect in the post-Exile period; in fact, a new formalism appears to have arisen out of them (*Matt.* *vi.* 1-4). Comp. the *Sept.* rendering of *i.* 27 *b*, and the Rabbinic use of 'righteousness' (*q' dākak*) for alms-giving—a fore-announcement of which is found as early as *Dan.* *iv.* 27, 'redeem thy sins by beneficence' (lit., 'righteousness,' *see Q. P. B.*).—**To break thy bread**] Alluding to the oval cakes which formed the Jewish bread.—**Miserable outcasts**] Referring probably to Jews in foreign slavery; comp. *Joel.* *iii.* 2-8, and especially *Neh.* *v.* 8.—**To their home**] i.e., to their native land (*as xiv.* 17).—**Hide not thyself**] = turn not coldly away (*Deut.* *xxii.* 1).—**Thine own flesh**] not merely thine own kindred (*Gen.* *xxix.* 14, *xxxvii.* 27), but, more broadly, thine own countrymen; *see the close parallel in Neh.* *v.* 5.

⁸⁻¹⁴ A series of glorious promises to the obedient.—**Thy righteousness**] i.e., thy justification in the eyes of all the world (*liv.* 17); or, perhaps more suitably, thy inward, personal righteousness

vah shall be thy rearward. ⁹ Then shalt thou call, and Jehovah shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou remove from the midst of thee the yoke, the stretching out of the finger, and speaking wickedness, ¹⁰ and minister thy sustenance to the hungry, and satisfy the humbled soul; then shall thy light rise in darkness, and thy thick darkness be as the noon, ¹¹ and Jehovah shall lead thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in dry places, and thy bones shall he make supple; and thou shalt be like a well-watered garden, and like a fountain whose waters disappoint not. ¹² And ^e thy children shall build up ^e the ancient ruins; thou shalt raise up the foundations of past generations, and men shall call thee Repairer of the breach, Restorer of roads for habitation.

^e So Weir (emendation).—Through thee shall be built up. Sept., Vulg., Ew., Böttcher (so too *nonnulli*, mentioned by Calvin).—(They that shall spring) from thee shall build up, Hebr. text, according to most.

(i. 27, xxxiii. 5, 6).—**The glory of Jehovah . . .**] Almost word for word as in lii. 12.

⁹ **Then shalt thou call . . .**] A contrast to the unacceptable and unanswered prayers of the past (*vii.* 2, 4).—**The stretching out of the finger**] The middle finger, the 'infamis digitus,' Pers. ii. 33. The objects of contempt are not mentioned, but can be easily supplied from the context. I doubt if we have a right to compare lvii. 4, lxvi. 5:—there is no mention in this chapter of a party entirely hostile to belief in Jehovah.—**Speaking wickedness**] or 'naughtiness' (a more complete equivalent), i.e., as the context shows, plotting evil against others.

¹⁰ **And minister thy sustenance . . .**] Surely not 'thy dainties' (as Knob.). The noun literally means 'thy soul,' i.e., that in which thy life consisteth (Deut. xxiv. 6), not 'dainties,' but bread. [This verse shows how unsafe is the common argument that such and such a Hebrew word must have a particular meaning, because it has this meaning somewhere else in the same section. Here is 'soul'

used in two senses close together.]
—**The humbled soul**] 'Humbled,' not by formal fasting, but by misery.

¹¹ **Shall lead thee continually**] For it was not enough to be guided (or to have been guided) back to Palestine: see on xl. 11.—**In dry places**] The Messianic age seems to have receded for a time into the dim distance. There are still 'dry places' to apprehend, but a foretaste of the expected blessings shall be granted to the faithful.—**Like a well-watered garden**] So Jer. xxxi. 12 (nowhere else); for the idea, comp. xlv. 3, 4.

¹² **Shall build up . . .**] Closely parallel with lxi. 4.—**The ancient ruins**] Lit., the ruins of an æon ('*olam*'), referring to the long period of the Exile (comp. on xlii. 14).—**The breach**] i.e., the broken down walls.—**Roads for habitation**] We should have expected 'roads for travelling,' but Job xxiv. 13 proves that 'to inhabit roads' is an idiomatic Hebrew phrase. It seems to have come from a time when a large part of the country was uninhabitable, because devoid of roads.

¹³ If thou turn thy foot from the Sabbath, so as not to do thy business on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy thing of Jehovah honourable, and honour it, so as not to do after thy wont, nor pursue thy business, nor speak words; ¹⁴ then shalt thou delight thyself in Jehovah, and I will make thee to ride over the heights of the land, and to eat the inheritance of Jacob thy father; for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it.

^{13, 14} The prophet evidently regards the fast-days as mere forms without authority or significance. All the more strict is his view of the claims of the Sabbath (comp. lvi. 1-8).—**Turn thy foot from the Sabbath**] As if it were holy ground (Ex. iii. 5).—**A delight**] The delight would consist partly in sympathy with the tired labourers, enjoying their weekly rest (Sabbath means 'rest'). The prophet is far from anticipating the Sabbath-law of later times, which was no 'delight.' He would be more in sympathy with an explanation of the Assyrian *sabbatu*, found in a list of synonyms—'day of rest of heart' (*umi nuh libbi*).—**Thy wont**] Lit., thy ways, i.e., thy wonted round of occupations.—**Nor speak words**] Not that either now or at any later time absolute silence was a part of the unwritten Sabbath-law (see Del.'s note), but that 'in the multitude of words there wanteth not

transgression' (Prov. x. 19, comp. Eccles. v. 3). So 'a man of tongue' = a malicious speaker, Ps. cxl. 11 (comp. *v.* 9 above). The phrase will also cover false or unfounded statements (Hos. x. 4, Job xv. 13?), 'words of the lips' (xxxvi. 5). Observe the emphasis laid on *words*, both human and divine, as well in the Old as in the New Test. (comp. on ix. 8).

¹⁴ **Then shalt thou delight thyself . . .**] The condition being, 'If thou call the Sabbath a delight, we should expect the apodosis to run, 'Then shall Jehovah delight himself in thee,' and this is evidently the meaning.—**To ride over . . .**] i.e., to take triumphal possession of Palestine with its hills and fortresses (Deut. xxxii. 13, comp. xxxiii. 29). Comp. for the idea lxx. 9; also Ezek. xxxiv. 13, 14, xxxvi. 1-12 (obs. Ezekiel's passion for 'the mountains of Israel').

CHAPTER LIX.

Contents.—This chapter continues the subject of chap. lviii. With all its observance of the outward forms of religion, the prophet's contemporaries (unless we suppose his point of view to be ideal, that is, prophetically imaginative, and not historical) are guilty of open violations of the moral law (*vv.* 1-8). But soon the prophet assumes that his admonitions have borne fruit. The Jews penitently confess their sins, and their breach of the covenant with Jehovah; they lament their unhappy state, and own that they have no claim upon their God for assistance (*vv.* 9-15 *a*). Then follows a splendid theophany. As there is no other champion, Jehovah interposes. The last verse communicates a special word of promise to the true Israel.—The first part of the chapter presents affinities to

Proverbs (see especially on *vv.* 7, 8), and to Ps. lviii. (see Kay, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 181).

¹ Behold, the hand of Jehovah is not too short to deliver, nor his ear too heavy to hear; ² but your iniquities have been separating between you and your God, and your sins have hidden the Face from you, so that he heareth not. ³ For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips speak lies, and your tongue muttereth depravity. ⁴ None ^a preferreth his suit ^a with truthfulness, and none pleadeth with honesty; they trust in chaos, and speak emptiness; they conceive trouble, and bring forth iniquity. ⁵ Eggs of the great viper do they hatch, and spiders' webs do they

^a Similarly Lowth, Ges., Knob., Naeg., Weir.—Speaketh in public, Hitz., Ew., Del.

¹ The prophet meets some implied objections of the Jews.—**The hand of Jehovah . . .]** Comp. l. 2, Num. xi. 23.

² **Your iniquities . . .]** 'For a long time past your acts have been belying your professions, and precluding an answer to your prayers' (lviii. 2-4).—**Have hidden the Face . . .]** 'The Face' means much the same as 'the Name of Jehovah,' i.e., the self-manifesting side of the Divine nature (see on lxiii. 9, i. 12, xl. 10). Notice the absence both of article and of suffix (in the Hebrew). 'Face' (*pānim*) has almost become a proper name.¹

³ **Your hands]** 'The very hands ye stretch out in prayer, i. 15' (Dr. Weir).—**Are defiled with blood]** On this accusation, the strangeness of which is only not felt because of its frequency, see notes on i. 15, lvii. 17. I entirely coincide with Dr. Weir, that 'the description in this and the following verses can scarcely [cannot possibly] apply to Israel in exile.'

⁴ **None preferreth his suit]** In *vv.* 1-3 grace was seeking and pleading; hence the second person. At this point the remonstrance

passes into a denunciation—The sense 'to prefer a suit' (= *in jus vocare*, καλέειν ἐπὶ δίκην) is justified by Job ix. 16, xiii. 22; it accords well with *vv.* 14, 15. Dr. Weir remarks, 'Perhaps *qōrē* is here the person who appeals to the judge for vindication and assistance. If so, he will be *qōrē* in relation to the judge, *nishpāt* in relation to his adversary.' A different view was taken in *I. C. A.* p. 210.—**They trust in chaos]** The basis of society (if it can be said to have one) is, not faith in God and goodness, but falsehood and deceit, in other words, a lifeless, unproductive chaos (see on xl. 17).—**Emptiness]** That which has no moral content.—**Conceive trouble . . .]** The same image in Job xv. 35, Ps. vii. 14 (15); comp. Isa. xxxiii. 11.

⁵ **Eggs of the great viper do they hatch]** The large yellow viper is perhaps thought of (xi. 8). They brood over purposes as deadly as such vipers' eggs (comp. Job xx. 14, 16), as ingeniously malicious as spiders' webs (contrast Job viii. 14).—**He that eateth . . .]** When any of their plans are opposed, they take a cunning and

¹ The only other passages in which *hstir* ('to hide') and *pānim* ('face') without a suffix occur together are, according to Dr. Weir, liii. 3, Job xxxiv. 29. In the former passage there is no occasion for a suffix; in the latter, it is 'the Face' of Jehovah, as here, which is spoken of.

weave; he that eateth of their eggs will die, and, if one be crushed, it breaketh out into a viper. ⁶ Their webs will not serve for clothing, neither can men cover themselves with their works; their works are works of mischief, and the deed of violence is in their hands. ⁷ Their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; desolation and destruction are in their highways. ⁸ The way of peace they know not, and there is no justice in their tracks; their paths they have made for themselves crooked; whosoever treadeth thereon knoweth not peace.

⁹ Therefore hath justice been far from us, and righteousness doth not overtake us; we wait for light, but behold dark-

a cruel revenge. For the mixture of images in the last clause, comp. Deut. xxxii. 32, 33.

^{6, 7} They are not always content with subtle schemes for the ruin of their neighbours; coarser 'webs'—deeds of violence and blood—are equally congenial to them. —**Their feet run . . . in their highways**] The first half of the verse, with the omission of 'innocent,' occurs again as Prov. i. 16 (a verse wanting in Sept.); the second reminds us of Prov. xvi. 17, 'The highway of the upright is to avoid evil' (i.e., he bestows as much care on avoiding evil as the pioneer does on constructing a road). These demoralised Jews, however, build up their highways with 'desolation and destruction' (an assonance in the original).

⁸ Note the four words for 'way' in this and the preceding verse, all found in the Book of Proverbs. In *v.* 7 we have the laboriously constructed 'highway': in *v.* 8, first, the most general word for 'way,' next, the waggon-track, and lastly, the path made by the constant treading of wayfarers. —**For themselves**] i.e., in their interest. —**Crooked**] reminds us of Prov. x. 9, xxviii. 18, ii. 15. —**Knoweth not peace**] Note the suggestive variation on the opening clause of the verse.

^{9-15 a} Here the prophet speaks in

the name of his penitent people. Contrast the self-righteous language of lviii. 3.—**Therefore**] i.e., because of our sins; not because Jehovah cannot or will not help us (comp. *v.* 12). —**Hath justice been far from us**] 'Justice' or 'judgment'—either rendering is admissible. 'Judgment' would mean a judicial interposition of Jehovah on behalf of his people; this would suit the immediate context, including *v.* 11, but would not fit *v.* 14, and hardly *v.* 15. 'Justice' or 'right' will suit all the passages; only we must distinguish (with Naeg.) between theocratic and civil 'justice.' The theocratic covenant entitled Israel to expect the help of Jehovah in time of need. Israel, however, complained (as xl. 27), or at least lamented (as here), that its 'right' was withheld, and the claims of 'justice' disallowed. There is no essential difference between the two renderings; it is on account of *v.* 15 that I prefer 'justice.' In *v.* 14 it is of course civil 'justice' which is meant; it is implied that the absence of theocratic is conditioned by that of civil 'justice.' The former is called, in the parallel line, 'righteousness,' still alluding to the covenant between Jehovah and Israel.—Knobel suggests that the despondency of the Jews may have arisen from Cyrus's temporary

ness, for gleams of light, but we walk in thick darkness. ¹⁰ We grope like blind men along the wall; and as eyeless men we grope; we have stumbled at noonday as in the twilight; amidst ^b those full of life (?)^b as dead men. ¹¹ We growl, all of us, like bears, and mourn sore like doves; we wait for justice, but there is none, for deliverance, but it is far from us. ¹² For our rebellions are manifold before thee, and our sins each testify against us; for our rebellions are with us, and as for our iniquities, we know them,—¹³ treason and unfaithfulness to Jehovah, and drawing back from after our God, speaking ^c perverseness and transgression, conceiving and uttering from the heart lying words. ¹⁴ And justice hath

^b So Ew., Del., Naeg.—Dark places, Targ., Vulg., D. Kimchi, Rödiger, Knob.

^c So Graetz (see on xxx. 12).—Oppression, TEXT.

transference of the seat of war from Babylonia to Asia Minor (he quotes Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2, 9, Justin i. 7): and Delitzsch too thinks that this is conceivably right. I doubt it greatly: it is Jehovah, and not Cyrus, or any human champion, of whom the Jews here complain. All that is certain is that the prophet is painting from the life; it is no rhetorical phrasemonger that we have before us. But the historical reference of the section is wrapt in obscurity.

¹⁰ **We grope like blind men . . .]** Comp. Deut. xxviii. 29: it is not clear at first sight which passage is the original, and which the imitation.—**Amidst those full of life]** On Knobel's theory, this will refer to the arrogance of the Babylonians, who, according to the story, ventured to hold a revel at the very height of the siege of Babylon. But reading, rendering, and interpretation are perhaps all rather doubtful.

¹¹ **Like bears . . . like doves]** The 'dove' is a well-known symbol of lamentation (comp. xxxviii. 14, Ezek. vii. 16, Nah. ii. 7); Horace and Ovid (quoted by Bochart), but no other Biblical writer, speak of the bear as 'groaning' (*gemere, gemitus*).

¹² **Before thee]** implying that they are well known to Jehovah;

comp. Ps. xc. 8, Prov. xv. 11.—**With us]** i.e., in our consciousness; so, in the Hebr., Job xii. 3 (*'eth*), xv. 9 (*'im*).

¹³ A threefold description of apostasy opens the verse—**Treason** (lit., 'diruptio' *sc. fœderis*), **unfaithfulness** (lit., 'belying,' i.e., atheism, Jer. v. 12), and **drawing back** (i.e., the overt act of apostasy). Evidently the prophet refers to a paganising movement of special intensity, of which we would gladly have received more ample information.—Then follow sins of the lips (comp. on vi. 5).—**Transgression]** Lit., 'deviation' (Hebr. *sarâh*). Naeg. remarks that this phrase ('speaking deviation') is elsewhere used only of the false teaching of 'pseudo-prophets' (Deut. xiii. 5 = Hebr. 6, Jer. xxviii. 16, xxix. 32), and that the writer is probably alluding to the seductive discourses of such persons. This is possible indeed, but far from certain, as sins of the lips are ascribed to the whole nation in *v.* 3, and 'deviation' from moral and spiritual truth was not peculiar to prophets (comp. i. 5. Hebr.).

¹⁴ The confession passes on to public sins, especially the crying Jewish sin of injustice.—**Justice hath been driven back]** If this passage refers to the Babylonian exiles (which is in my opinion very

been driven back, and righteousness standeth afar off; for truth hath stumbled in the broad place, and rectitude cannot enter; ¹⁵ and truth hath been left behind, and he that avoideth evil, maketh himself a prey.

doubtful), it supplies a valuable confirmation of the continuance of Jewish institutions during the Captivity (comp. Ezek. viii. 1, &c.).

Hath stumbled in the broad place] 'Broad places' was a name specially given to the recesses on each side of the city-gate 'used as places of assembly during the day, and as places of rest for guests [say rather for strangers, Judg. xix. 20] during the night.'¹ Here, during the continuance of the Jewish state, the 'elders' and 'princes' sat and judged (comp. Jer. v. 1, Zech. viii. 16, 2 Chron. xxxii. 6). The question cannot be avoided, Has the prophet in view the circumstances of the pre-Exile period? or may we venture to conjecture that the Babylonian cities, like those of mediæval Europe, contained separate 'Jewries' or Jewish quarters, each with its own 'broad place' or 'forum'?

—**For truth . . .**] Justice has perished, because truth and rectitude, its essential presuppositions, have previously been overthrown.

—**Cannot enter**] i.e., cannot find admittance to the tribunal, to give evidence for the right.—**Hath been left behind**] Or (for the phrase leaves it open whether the absence spoken of is self-caused or due to others), 'hath become an absentee'—'terras Astræa reliquit.'

—**Maketh himself a prey**] So excellently Auth. Vers.; 'muss Jedermanns Raub sein,' Luther. The word sums up vv. 3-7. Comp. Ps. lxxvi. 6 a (same verb in Hebr.).

¹⁵ b Here a new verse ought to begin. This mistake of our present arrangement of the verses is specially unfortunate, as the words which follow evidently introduce a new stanza or strophe of the prophecy. For other instances of faulty and confusing verse-divisions,

see i. 16; lxiii. 19, Hebr.: lxvi. 3; Gen. xlix. 24; 1 Kings ii. 46—iii. 1; iii. 4, 5; Jer. ii. 23; Neh. vii. 73; xii. 23.—**And Jehovah saw it . . .**]

But had not Jehovah seen it from the first? Yes (comp. xviii. 4, Ps. x. 14); but he had not shown this in act. It was Israel's penitent confession which drew forth the Divine love-tokens. It was a genuine 'fast' (contrast lviii. 2-4), 'a rending of the heart and not [merely] the garments' (Joel ii. 13), the germs of a new life.—The tenses in vv. 15 b-17 are at first sight difficult to explain. Del. thinks that they are historical perfects; that Jehovah has already equipped himself for judgment, and seen with surprise that no man takes his side, but not as yet obtained satisfaction for his dishonoured holiness. To me it appears that to divide the description of the theophany between the past and the future seriously injures its poetical effect, nor can I see that it is necessary to do. The case seems to me to be analogous to that of Joel ii. 18, 19. The Jews in the time of Joel were in great trouble, and had been called to repentance. The prophet foresees that Jehovah will pity and grant relief, and describes this in prophetic perfects ('Then was Jehovah jealous . . . pitied . . . answered and said'). Precisely so here. All is still future, though described as past in the language of prophetic certitude.—**That there was no man**] The apparent parallelism of Jer. v. 1 is delusive; 'no man' does not here mean 'no man of honesty and integrity,' but 'no champion.' It corresponds to the phrase in the next line, 'none to interpose.' Comp. Ezek. xxii. 30, 'And I sought for a man among them who should make up the

¹ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 57.

And Jehovah saw it, and it was evil in his eyes that there was no justice; ¹⁶ and he saw that there was no man, and was stupefied that there was none to interpose; therefore his own arm wrought salvation for him, and his own righteousness upheld him. ¹⁷ And he put on righteousness as a coat of mail, and the helmet of deliverance upon his head; and he put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and clad himself with jealousy as a mantle. ¹⁸ According to their deserts, accordingly he will repay, wrath to his adversaries, retribution to his enemies; to the countries he will repay retribution. ¹⁹ And they shall fear the Name of Jehovah from the sun's

fence . . . but I found none.' In the parallel passage, lxiii. 5, we find 'none to help,' and 'none to uphold.' It is only the necessities of parallelism which have separated the substantive from its participial adjective. — **Was stupefied]** 'Durior est metaphora de Deo usurpata, quæ, nisi fallor, alibi non occurrit. Sed Jesaias passim valde est ἐπερηγῆς in omni suâ dictione, et figuras orationis ex alto petit. In re ipsâ significat summum ejus rei de quâ agitur παράδοξον. A parte Dei ipsius docet metaphora, Deum instar stupentis aliquamdiu tacitum expectasse, hoc est, moram aliquam traxisse antequam ecclesiæ laboranti succurreret.' Vitringa comparing Ps. l. 21, 'These things thou doest, and I am silent.' If the precise word 'was stupefied' is not again applied to Jehovah (except in lxiii. 5), an equally forcible one is in Jer. xiv. 9, 'Why shouldst thou be as a man *in consternation* (*nidhâm*), as a mighty man that cannot deliver?' The painful astonishment spoken of here is apparently inconsistent with other passages, in which deliverance from trouble is ascribed to God alone. But we have no right to strain a bold, poetical phrase in a dogmatic interest. — **None to interpose]** viz., in battle; elsewhere in prayer (liii. 12). — **Therefore his own arm . . .]** Sword and bow are unnecessary: 'with battles of swinging will he fight against them' (xxx. 32). — The words recur in lxiii.

5, with the changes of 'my' and 'me' for 'his' and 'him,' and 'fury' for 'righteousness'; comp. Job xl. 14, Ps. xxviii. 1. — **Deliverance]** Here and in v. 17 in the common sense of victory (as 1 Sam. xiv. 45).

¹⁸ **To the countries he will repay retribution]** The fate of the rebel Israelites is merged in that of the heathen. By 'the countries,' the prophet means, not merely the peoples of Asia Minor who, under the leadership of Cræsus, had helped the Babylonians against Cyrus (Knob.), but all the nations of the heathen world, banded together for a final struggle against Jehovah. It is as an act in the great drama of the world judgment that the prophet regards the impending deliverance of the Jews (comp. on chap. xxiv.).

¹⁹ Those Gentiles who are spared are imagined as hastening from their distant abodes in tremulous anxiety to meet Jehovah. — **Fear the name of Jehovah]** A striking amplification of the common phrase 'fear Jehovah,' found also in Deut. xxviii. 58, Mic. vi. 9 (probably: see *Q. P. B.*), Neh. i. 11, Ps. lxxxvi. 11, and especially cii. 15 (which is clearly a quotation from our passage). 'Name'; see on xxx. 27, lxiii. 9. — **He shall come]** i.e., Jehovah, or, more correctly, the Name of Jehovah. Comp. '(the Face) heareth,' lix. 2; 'the Name of Jehovah cometh,' xxx. 27. — **Like a rushing stream . . . driveth]** So, in xxx. 27, 28, after men-

setting, and his glory from the sun's rising; ^d for he shall come like a rushing stream, ^d ^e which the breath of Jehovah driveth, ^e ²⁰ but as a Goel shall he come to Zion, and unto those that have turned from rebellion in Jacob: the oracle of Jehovah. ²¹ And I—this is my covenant with them, saith Jehovah, My spirit which is upon thee, and my words which

^d So Sept., Vulg., Symmachus, Saadya, Ew., Knob.—For . . . like a straitened (i.e., dammed-up) stream, Lowth, Ges., Del., Naeg.—For adversity shall come in like a stream, Hitz.—When the adversary (or, adversary, Targ.) shall come in like the (or a) river, Hebr. accents, Targ., Pesh., Calv., Vittr., Hend., Kay.

^e So Vulg., Lowth, Ges., Hitz., Ew., Knob., Del., Naeg.—The spirit of Jehovah shall lift up a banner against him, Targ., Vittr., Hend., Kay.

tioning the coming of the Name of Jehovah, the prophet continues, 'And his breath is as an overflowing stream.' Alt. rend is in itself noble and poetical; comp. Jer. xlvi. 7, 8, where the hostile movement of Egypt is compared to a flood. It has been vigorously supported by Dr. Kay, but is contrary to the connection, which requires a continuous description of the theophany. I feel uncertain, however, whether the words rendered 'rushing' and 'driveth' are not corrupt.

²⁰ **But as a Goel shall he come]** This prediction differs rather in tone from xli. 14, xliii. 1, and similar passages in which Jehovah is referred to as Israel's Goel. It wants the usual setting of kindly encouragement, and reminds us rather of less evangelical prophecies, such as chap. i.—**To Zion]** i.e., to the remnant of Israel—'those that have turned from rebellion' (comp. i. 27), as the parallel line tells us. This limitation is one which English students of the prophecies would do well to remember: it shows that the Messianic promises to Israel are only meant for a converted and regenerate people.

²¹ **And I—this is my covenant with them]** There are several remarkable points about this closing verse, (1) its change of number and person ('with them . . . upon thee'); (2) its tone of promise and encouragement; (3) the difficulty of connecting it with the preceding

verses. The first point is slight; changes almost as striking occur elsewhere. The plural probably refers, not to the converts spoken of in v. 20 (as V. F. Oehler), but to the person addressed in the second person together with his descendants. The second and third points seem to me to indicate that the verse has been removed hither from some other position. The recipient of the 'covenant' (or, appointment, see footnote on xlii. 7) is the spiritual Israel, to whom a similar promise has already been given in xlv. 3. Klostermann indeed has a strange theory that the recipient is the prophetic writer, and that his prophetic gifts are to descend to his sons and grandsons. But the promise is too high for an ordinary man, and its validity is not confined to 'sons and grandsons'; it is to last 'from henceforth even for ever.'¹ To whom can such words apply, but to the imperishable people of Jehovah? Israel, according to II. Isaiah, is destined to be the religious centre, from which the words of truth radiate in all directions.—**My words . . . in thy mouth]** The 'words' referred to are not the message of the true God which Israel is to carry to the Gentiles (Knob.), but all God's revelations, whether declaratory of his character or predictive of the future of the world, of all which Israel is the depository (comp. li. 16?).

¹ Klostermann supposes the author of this verse to be a student of Isaiah who has assumed his master's mantle (*Zeitschr. f. luther. Theologie*, 1876, p. 46).

I have put in thy mouth, shall not withdraw from thy mouth, nor from the mouth of thy seed, nor from the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith Jehovah, from henceforth even for ever.

CHAPTER LX.

Contents.—Song upon glorified Zion, in five stanzas—*I. vv. 1-4* ; *II. vv. 5-9* ; *III. vv. 10-14* ; *IV. vv. 15-18* ; *V. vv. 19-22*. The leading idea of the first stanza is the return of the exiles ; of the second, the rebuilding of the temple ; of the third, the glory of the new Jerusalem ; of the fourth, the prosperity of the state ; while the fifth and last exhausts the powers of language in describing the favour which Jehovah will extend to his righteous people.

The song looks as if it were a designed counterpart to the magnificent ode in chap. xlvii. The one described Babylon's fall ; the other glorifies Jerusalem's rising again. It further resembles its lyric predecessor in the looseness of its connection with the prophecies among which it is inserted, and it is not an unreasonable conjecture that both songs originally existed in a separate form.

¹ Arise, be lightsome, for thy light hath come, and the glory of Jehovah hath dawned upon thee. ² For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and a deep gloom the nations, but upon thee shall Jehovah dawn, and his glory shall appear upon thee ; ³ and nations shall set forth unto thy light, and kings to the brilliance of thy dawning. ⁴ Lift up thine eyes round about and see : they are all gathered together and come unto thee : thy sons come from far, and thy daughters

^{1, 2} The ideal Zion (see on xl. 9) is personified as a woman lying on the ground in mental and bodily prostration—it is the same figure as in li. 23, lii. 1. Thick darkness enfolds the earth, the darkness which typifies alienation from God. But Jehovah has begun to reveal himself anew—not as yet to the whole earth, but to its central, one may almost say its mediatorial people, Israel. As 'the children of Israel had light in their dwellings,' when there was 'thick darkness in all the land of Egypt,' so now there are beaming over Israel the first rays of a newly risen sun (comp. ix. 2). Zion, however, is still held by the stupor of captivity ; she is therefore

bidden to arise and drink in the transfiguring brightness. Contrast the summons to Babylon in xlvii. 1.

¹ **The glory of Jehovah]** Jehovah is a 'sun' as well as a 'shield' (Ps. lxxxiv. 11), the 'sun of righteousness' (Mal. iv. 2). The same figure is implied in Ps. xviii. 12 (13), Hab. iii. 4, where the same word (*nōgah*, 'brilliance') is used for the appearance of the Divine glory as in *v.* 3.

⁴ **Lift up . . . and come unto thee]** Repeated from xlix. 18.—**Thy sons . . . thy daughters]** See on xlix. 22.—**Supported on the side]** i.e., on the hip (so lxvi. 12), the arm of the mother 'supporting' the child's back, a custom

are supported on the side. ⁵ Then shalt thou ^a see and be radiant; and thy heart shall throb and be enlarged ^b; for the abundance of the sea shall turn unto thee, the riches of the nations shall come unto thee. ⁶ A swarm of camels shall cover thee—young camels of Midian and Ephah, from Sheba shall they all come, bearing gold and incense, and heralding the praises of Jehovah. ⁷ All the flocks of Kedar shall gather unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee: they shall go up mine altar acceptably, and my glorious house will I glorify. ⁸ Who are these that fly as the clouds, and

^a Fear. Many Hebr. MSS., Lo., Vitruv., Ges. (another reading). The Massoretic reading is undoubtedly 'thou shalt see,' though the alternative reading has much authority, including that of A. E.

^b Tremble. Some MSS., Sept. (another reading). But *rahah*, 'to tremble,' is a Syriasm.

still kept up both in the Semitic and the non-Semitic East. Older children would be carried on the shoulder (xliv. 22).

⁵ **Then shalt thou see**] If the former summons has been neglected, then (when the prophecy has been fulfilled) thou shalt perforce take notice. Alt. reading involves a tautology.—**Be radiant**] viz., with joy; the same word occurs in Ps. xxxiv. 6 (5).—**Shall throb**] 'As a man shudders at an unexpected deliverance' (Ibn Ezra). Comp. Jer. xxxiii. 9, 'They shall fear and shudder (the same word as here) for all the goodness,' &c.—**Be enlarged**] i.e., have a sense of freedom and happiness (so Ps. cxix. 32). The opposite is 'to be straitened' (so Lam. i. 20, comp. Jer. iv. 19, *Q. P. B.*).—**The abundance of the sea**] i.e., the wealth of the maritime countries of the West (in Hebrew, 'the sea').

^{6, 7} This passage has perhaps a bearing on the question as to the date of II. Isaiah. As Prof. A. S. Wilkins remarks, 'the country with which the historic Isaiah was especially familiar would lie somewhat out of the direct line of this commerce.'¹ Still, the tradition connecting these nations with Abraham (comp. Gen. xxv. 2-4, 13) can hardly have been unknown to Isaiah, and this would sufficiently

account for his giving them so honourable a mention. On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether the names Kedar and Nebaioth (in *v.* 7) were still tribal appellations in the time of the Exile. If, therefore, we assign a Babylonian origin to II. Isaiah, we must probably assume that the names in question are used with poetical liberty.—On the commerce of Arabia, see Alexander's notes, and comp. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. 3, p. 293.

⁶ **Ephah**] A 'son' of Midian (Gen. xxv. 4); mentioned (under the form Khayappa) in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II. in company with Massa and Tema, tribes of N. Arabia.²—**Sheba**] The caravans of the Midianites, especially those of Ephah (Gen. xxv. 4), appear to have gone to Sheba (or Yemen) for gold and spices.—**The praises**] i.e., the praiseworthy deeds (as lxiii. 7).

⁷ **Kedar . . . Nebaioth**] The Kidrai (see on xxii. 16) and the Nabaitai are mentioned in the Ass. inscriptions side by side. These Arabian Nabaitai are distinct from the Aramæan Nabatu of the inscriptions (*K. A. T.*, p. 147).

⁸ **Who are these . . .**] The predictive tone gives place for a moment to the descriptive. It is a vision of the sea which we have be-

¹ Wilkins, *Phœnicia and Israel* (Lond. 1871), p. 110.

² Schrader, *K. G. F.*, pp. 261-2; comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 304.

as doves to their lattices? ⁹ Yea, ° for me the countries wait ° and the ships of Tarshish are the foremost, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, to the name of Jehovah thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, inasmuch as he hath glorified thee.

¹⁰ And strangers shall build thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee, for in my wrath I smote thee, and in my favour I will have compassion upon thee: ¹¹ and thy gates shall stand open continually, day and night they shall not be shut, that men may bring unto thee the riches of the nations, and their kings led along: ¹² for the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish, and those nations shall surely be laid waste. ¹³ The glory of Lebanon shall come

° Unto me the countries shall assemble, Luz., Geiger (changing vowel-points).

fore us—of the sea covered by ships, which with their outspread sails resemble the clouds, or flights of home-sick doves (comp. Hos. xi. 11).

⁹ **The countries wait**] The 'countries' (i.e., the 'far-off peoples,' xlix. 1) 'wait' in believing expectancy for the blessings which belong to them too, at least in the second rank. This is one motive for their haste. Another is regard for the children of Zion, who are impatient to be restored to their home.—**Ships of Tarshish**] Or, 'Tarshish-ships' (ships of the first class, suitable for long voyages, comp. 1 Kings x. 22).—**Their silver**] i.e., the silver of the Gentiles (*vv.* 6, 11), not of the Israelites.—**To the name**] i.e., to the place of the name (xviii. 7). The clause is almost a verbal repetition of *lv.* 5 *b*.

¹⁰ **And strangers . . .**] 'The walls of Zion are raised with the willing co-operation of converted foreigners (*lvi.* 6, 7),' thinks Delitzsch. But does not the context (see *vv.* 11, 12, 14) point rather to the mass of the heathen world than to willing proselytes? Is not the submission of these foreigners rather a consequence of the recent judgment (comp. *lix.* 19*a*) than the result of spiritual affinities? See *lxi.* 5, 6, where the assignment of

menial services to 'strangers' is evidently intended as a retribution (comp. *xiv.* 2). This passage illustrates *lxi.* 4 (see note).

¹¹ **Thy gates shall stand open**] Because there will be 'no night there' (comp. *v.* 20, Rev. *xxi.* 25), and no foes seeking entrance, but an endless stream of caravans.—**And their kings led along**] i.e., not 'accompanied by a large retinue' (Kimchi, *Vitr., Lo., Ges.* in Commentary), but (as the verb always means) 'led captive' (same word in *xx.* 4), or at least 'led against their will.' All eager to minister to Israel, the 'far-off nations' force their reluctant chiefs to join them. The reason is given in the next verse.

¹² The prosperity of Gentile nations shall depend on their relations to Israel (comp. *Zech.* *xiv.* 17, 18).—**Nations . . . laid waste**] 'Nation' and 'territory' being convertible terms in Hebrew, whatever is predicted of the one may also be predicted of the other (comp. *xxxvii.* 18, 2 Kings *iii.* 23, *Hebr.*).

¹³ The barren hills of Jerusalem shall henceforth be decked with the most beautiful forest-trees (see on *xli.* 19 *b*).—**The place of my sanctuary**] What sanctuary? It is natural to think first of the temple. The trees which have been men-

unto thee, the pine and the plane and the sherbin together, that I may glorify the place of my sanctuary, and make the place of my feet honourable. ¹⁴ And the sons of them that afflicted thee shall go unto thee crouching, and all they that spurned thee shall bow down to the soles of thy feet, and they shall call thee, City of Jehovah, Zion of the Holy One of Israel.

¹⁵ Instead of thy being forsaken and hated, and with none passing through, I will make thee an everlasting pride, the delight of successive generations. ¹⁶ And thou shalt suck the milk of nations, and the breast of kings shalt thou suck, and thou shalt know that I Jehovah am thy saviour, and that thy Goel is the Hero of Jacob. ¹⁷ Instead of copper I will bring gold, and instead of iron I will bring silver, and instead of wood copper, and instead of stones iron; and I will make ^d peace thy government, and righteousness thy magistrates.^d

^d Thy government peace (i.e., peace-loving) . . . Sept., Saad., Hitz., Knob., Henderson.

tioned might be required, either, if felled, for the temple-buildings (so Vitr.), or, if unfelled, for decorating the temple-courts, comp. Ps. lii. 8, xcii. 13 (so Del.). But the Shekinah is no longer confined to a single house: all Jerusalem has become the 'sanctuary' of Jehovah (so too, perhaps, iv. 5).

¹⁴ **The sons of them that afflicted thee]** 'The sons,' apparently because the 'afflictors' themselves will have perished in the Divine judgment.—**Zion of the Holy One . . .]** A combination like 'Bethlehem (of) Judah.'

¹⁵ **Forsaken and hated]** Zion is again imagined as Jehovah's bride (comp. l. 1, liv. 6). But the figure is not carried out consistently.—The word 'hated' is used in Gen. xxix. 31, Deut. xxi. 15, of a less beloved wife.

¹⁶ **And thou shalt suck . . .]** Perhaps a reminiscence of Deut. xxxiii. 19, 'They shall suck the abundance of the seas.'—**The breast of kings]** 'Of kings;' perhaps to exclude a realistic interpretation. The phrase strikingly indicates the new feeling of tenderness towards Zion which shall animate the kings of the earth

(comp. xlix. 23).—**That I Jehovah . . .]** Repeated from xlix. 26 *b*.

¹⁷ **Instead of copper . . .]** Evidently an allusion to the account of Solomon in 1 Kings x. 21, 27. The language is of course figurative, and means that the new Jerusalem shall be at the height of splendour and security (metal taking the place of stone).—**Will make peace thy government]** For the prosopopœia, comp. xxxii. 16, 17, lix. 14.—It has been questioned whether 'peace' and 'righteousness' are accusatives of the object or of the predicate. But, as Naeg. well remarks, it would be comparatively little to say that Jerusalem's governors should be men of peace and righteousness, for this would not exclude much unhappiness and unrighteousness among the governed. But if Peace and Righteousness themselves are the governors, it is as much as to say that government in the ordinary sense has become superfluous.—This passage evidently implies that those for whom our prophet wrote only had the Messianic belief in its wider sense, Jehovah alone being Israel's king.

¹⁸ Violence shall no more be heard of in thy land, desolation nor destruction in thy borders ; and thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Renown.

¹⁹ No more shalt thou have the sun for a light by day, and as for brightness, the moon shall not enlighten thee ; but thou shalt have Jehovah for an everlasting light, and thy God for thy glory. ²⁰ No more shall thy sun go down, and thy moon shall not withdraw itself, for thou shalt have Jehovah for an everlasting light, and thy days of mourning are fulfilled. ²¹ And thy people shall be all righteous, they shall possess the land for ever ; the shoots of my plantation, the work of my hands, for showing myself glorious. ²² The smallest shall become a thousand, and the least a great nation ; I Jehovah in its time will hasten it.

¹⁸ **Shalt call thy walls Salvation . . .**] There is the same doubt as to whether the abstract nouns are objects or predicates as in *v.* 17. Such names as 'Salvation' and 'Renown' would not be impossible ; Naeg. (on xxvi. 1) reminds us that the walls of Babylon were named.¹ But it is more forcible to take 'Salvation' and 'Renown' as accusatives of the object. The meaning of the passage will then be 'Thou shalt need no walls nor gates, for Jehovah shall be a constant source of salvation, and of a renown which shall keep all foes at a distance.' Comp. xxvi. 1, xxxiii. 21. We need not mind the obvious inconsistency with *vv.* 10, 11, for we are in the region of symbol and metaphor.

¹⁹ **The sun for a light**] See note on xxx. 26.

²⁰ **Go down**] Lit., 'go in,' viz., into his chamber (Ps. xix. 5).—**Itself**] Lit. 'himself.' Both sun and moon are masc. in the Semitic languages, and have male divinities corresponding to them.

²¹ **Thy people . . . for ever**] Now that Israel is righteous, there will be no reason for the stern discipline of exile ; comp. lix. 13, 14.—**The shoots of my plantation**] and therefore flourishing ; comp. Ps. lxxx. 9, 10.

²² **The smallest**] i.e., he who has few or no children.—**A thousand**, i.e., probably, a chiliad, or part of a tribe (so Del.) ; comp. Mic. v. 2 (Hebr. 1), which makes a fine contrast with 'nation' in the next line.

CHAPTER LXI.

A SOLILOQUY of the Servant² concerning the message of grace, comfort, and prosperity committed to him for Zion by Jehovah.—But is it really 'the Servant' who is the speaker? The title itself does not occur once throughout the soliloquy. Hence it is not surprising that several modern critics (Hitz., Ew., Knob., Diestel) question this view, and assign the

¹ See *R. P.*, v. 124 ; Schrader, *K. I. T.*, p. 185 (on 1 Kings vii. 21).

² So Hengst., Stier, Del., Seinecke, Kay, Naeg., and so *I. C. A.*, p. 216. Deitzsch, therefore, is not so comparatively isolated as he supposes. (*Jesaja*, 3te Ausg. p. 620.)

speech to the prophet who writes these chapters ; the Targum, too, dogmatically asserts, '(Thus) saith the prophet.' Our conclusion will depend mainly on that which we have adopted with regard to l. 4-9—a passage in some respects closely parallel to the present. There, as well as here, the title of the speaker is withheld ; there, as well as here, the opening verse declares the mission of the speaker to be pre-eminently one of consolation. It is true that in l. 5 the speaker suddenly turns aside to describe his patience under persecution ; but this is all the more reason why in the present chapter he should compensate us for our disappointment by resuming the strain so abruptly cut short. Diestel¹ urges two objections against assigning this soliloquy to the Servant, viz., 1. that the personification of the Servant ceases with chap. liii., and 2. that as the prophet is himself a member of the organism of the Servant, whatever can be predicated of the one both can and must be true of the other. The answer to 1. is, that it is an assumption based on a too exclusive view of chaps. liv., lv., and the very loosely connected discourses which follow ; to 2., that precisely as in xliv. 26 we find the prophetic writer described as 'his (Jehovah's) servant,' without precluding the higher acceptance of the term in lii. 13, so the occurrence of the phrase 'the servants of Jehovah' in liv. 17 does not destroy the superior right of Him who is pre-eminently the Servant of Jehovah. True, the speaker in chap. lxi. does not expressly assume the title ; but is it necessary that he should ? Having been introduced as the Servant in xlii. 1-4, why should he not sometimes speak in his own name ? It may safely be affirmed that, but for the absence of the title 'the Servant,' no one could fail to be struck by the appropriateness of *vv.* 1-3 (especially) to the personal Servant of Jehovah :—the great things which the speaker volunteers to do are so far beyond the range of a mere prophet like our author. This need not, however, hinder us from admitting that *vv.* 4-9 have nothing to mark them out as belonging to the Servant. Just as here and there in St. John's Gospel the speeches of our Lord suddenly pass into reflexions of the Evangelist, so it may here be that the prophet for a time takes the place of the Servant ; comp. l. 10, 11.

¹ The Spirit of ^a [the Lord] ^a Jehovah is upon me, because Jehovah hath anointed me to bring good tidings to the afflicted, hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to pro-

^a Omitted in Sept., Vulg., one MS. (Kennicott), two early editions.

¹ **The Spirit . . . is upon me]** Precisely the same statement is made respecting the Servant in xlii. 1. — **Hath anointed me]** Anointing was the rite with which both priests (Ex. xxix. 7, Lev. vii. 36) and kings (1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 1, xvi. 13) were consecrated. But the phrase 'to anoint' seems to be also

used metaphorically for 'to appoint to a sacred office.' Thus in 1 Kings xix. 16 Elijah is directed to anoint¹ Elisha, though, as the sequel shows, Elisha was never actually anointed. So, too, in xlv. 1 Cyrus is called 'Jehovah's Anointed One,' i.e., His chosen instrument ; and in 1 John ii. 20 (comp. v. 27) the 'unction

¹ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, erklärt von Dr. A. Knobel. Vierte Auflage, herausgeg. von Dr. L. Diestel, p. 487.

claim liberty to the captives, and ^b opening (of the prison) ^b to the bound; ² to proclaim an acceptable year of Jehovah, and a day of vengeance of our God; ³ to comfort ^c the mournful ones of Zion, to give them a coronet instead of ashes, oil of joy ^d for the raiment of mourning, a song of praise ^d for a failing spirit, so that men shall call them oaks of righteousness, the plantation of Jehovah for showing

^b Opening (of the eyes), TEXT (see crit. note).

^c So Bi.; to comfort all mournful ones,—to set upon, TEXT.

^d So Bi.; for mourning, a garment of praise (or, renown), TEXT.

from the Holy One' is also clearly metaphorical.—**To bring good tidings**] Hebr. *ḥbassēr*, happily rendered by Sept. *εὐαγγελισαῶθαι* (similarly throughout II. Isaiah, where verb and participle occur five times, except xli. 27).—**To proclaim liberty . . .**] The speaker feels impelled to preach a deliverance on a grander scale than that of the year of Jubilee. He probably copies the phraseology of the law of Jubilee (comp. Jer. xxxiv. 8, Ezek. xlvi. 17, Lev. xxv. 10), but applies it with poetical freedom; the law of Jubilee says nothing about the release of prisoners or the remission of debts.¹—**To the captives**] See on xlii. 7.

² **An acceptable year**] Obs. the antithesis between the 'year' of grace and the 'day of vengeance' (so lxiii. 4, whereas xxxiv. 8 is only partly parallel). It reminds us of the contrast in Ex. xx. 5, 6 (comp. Deut. vii. 9), where retribution is declared to descend to the third and fourth generation, but mercy to the thousandth; comp. also liv. 8 (note). 'Year' is of course used rhetorically, though, strange to say, this passage gave rise to the theory of some of the Christian Fathers that the public ministry of our Lord lasted but a single year.—**All mournful ones**] Zion occupies the foreground of the speaker's thoughts (comp. next verse and lvii. 18 *b*), but the marks of susceptibility of the Divine promises are in the two opening verses perhaps designedly left free from national

limitations (comp. lvii. 15). See above, on 'to the captives,' and below on 'a failing spirit.'

³ The prophet, as it were, reverses the sad picture in iii. 24. On the text, see crit. note.—**A coronet instead of ashes**] In *v.* 10 we read of the bridegroom's 'coronet'; by using the same word here the prophet may imply that the penitents were newly espoused to their Divine Lord. The Hebrew expresses the change in their state by a striking assonance (*šē'ēr takhath 'ēfer*), which Ewald strives to represent by 'schmuck statt schmutz.' 'Ashes,' i.e., ashes strewn upon the head, were a sign of mourning; comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 19.—**Oil of joy**] The phrase only occurs again in Ps. xlv. (*v.* 7 = Hebr. 8), the royal nuptial song.—**A failing spirit**] The word is the same as in xlii. 3, 'a dimly burning wick' (comp. xlii. 4, and Ezek. xxi. 7 = Hebr. 12), a phrase which, be it remarked, refers, at any rate, partly to the Gentiles.—**Oaks of righteousness**] i.e., strong and enduring, because 'rooted and grounded' in righteousness. Whose righteousness? we may ask; that of man or of God? The former, is certainly the most natural reply: 'righteousness' in a phrase of this construction ought to mean an intrinsic quality of the 'oaks'; comp. liv. 14. It is no counter-argument that in *v.* 10 'righteousness' means God's righteousness as exhibited in the prosperity of his own, for we have the two senses of righteousness equally

¹ Mr. Fenton has explained the institution of the Jubilee as a relic of the 'Village Community' system of land tenure (*Hebrew Social Life*, 1880).

himself glorious. ⁴ And they shall build up the ruins of antiquity, the desolations of the forefathers shall they raise up, and shall renew the ruined cities, the desolations of past generations. ⁵ And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your ploughmen and your vine-dressers, ⁶ but ye—the priests of Jehovah shall ye be called; men shall name you the ministers of our God; the riches of the nation shall ye eat, and ⁷ of their glory shall ye make your boast. ⁸ ⁷ [Instead of your shame ye shall have

⁸ To their glory shall ye succeed, Saadya, Rashi, Ges. (Thesaurus), Hitz., Ew., Knob.

⁷ The text is tautological, and may be incorrect. At any rate this verse falls much below the rest.

close together in liv. 14, 17. The next words, **the plantation of Jehovah, &c.**, are repeated almost verbally from lx. 21 b.

⁴ **And they shall build up . . .**] The implied subject is 'strangers' (see v. 5). We have thus a variation from the parallel passage, lviii. 12. Obs., the speaker's attention is concentrated on the first act of the great drama of Israel's regeneration. He presently passes on to the more splendid second act, which he describes as if it synchronised with the first. The first act is the return of the exiles and the rebuilding of the desolate cities of Judah; the second, the union of Jews and Gentiles in one great and glorious religious community.

⁵ **Shall stand and feed**] The description is still true to life. (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 599).—**Your ploughmen . . .**] No brilliant prospect for the 'aliens,' if the peasants of the Messianic period were to be as miserable and downtrodden a race as the Fellahs of Palestine are now! But we must evidently suppose that all classes in the 'coming age' were to partake in their several degrees of the Messianic blessing. A relative difference between classes would remain, but it would be accepted thankfully even by those lowest in the scale (comp. xlv. 14). The highest place

would naturally be reserved for the Israelites. These would be called **the priests of Jehovah**, for they would have realised the ideal set forth in Ex. xix. 6, and be able to dispense with a separate sacerdotal order (see, however, lxvi. 21). The priests, as Hermann Schultz justly remarks,¹ were only an official representation of Israel's national idea, viz., that those, with whom their God had entered into covenant-relations, should be both outwardly and inwardly worthy of their high position. The existence of the priesthood did not by any means imply that the rest of the people were profane; it was only provisional. But when the Israelites had become a 'kingdom of priests' (Ex. l. c.), who were to occupy the place out of which the faithful portion of the people had just been raised? The Gentile world (comp. Zech. viii. 23). This 'natural and surely not unlovely touch of national complacency' was never quite lost by any of the Old Testament writers.

—**Shall ye make your boast**] It is a strong argument for this reading that the same verb in the same conjugation occurs in this sense in Ps. xciv. 4, which forms part of the deutero-Isaianic section of the Psalter (Ps. xci.-c).²

⁷ **Ye shall have double**] i.e., double compensation. Comp. Zech. ix. 12, 'Yea, to-day do I foretell

¹ *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 1st ed., i. 183-4.

² See Canon Elliott's comparative list of passages in the *Speaker's Commentary*, iv. 506, &c.

double, and (instead of) reproach they shall exult for their portion; therefore in their land they shall possess double, everlasting joy shall be unto them.]⁸ For I Jehovah love justice, I hate unjust rapine, and I will give them their recompence faithfully, and an everlasting covenant will I make with them; so that their seed shall be known among the nations, and their offspring in the midst of the peoples—all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are a seed which Jehovah hath blessed.

¹⁰ I will greatly rejoice in Jehovah; let my soul exult in my God, for he hath clothed me with garments of salvation, in a robe of righteousness hath he arrayed me, like a bride-

that I will recompense double unto thee'; also Jer. xvi. 14-18, 'where the unparalleled grandeur of the second restoration of the Jews is justified by the extreme severity of their previous chastisement.'¹ It is not, however, double compensation in honour which is intended (Naeg., and partly Knob.), for this would not be concrete enough for the prophets. 'The land' was the one blessing which included all others. Hence the prophecy continues, **therefore** (i.e., the result will be that—see on xxvi. 14) **in their land they shall possess double**, i.e., their ancient land (= 'their portion' in the former half of the verse) shall be restored in more than its old fertility and with extended boundaries. Thus the idea of this passage is the counterpart of that in xl. 2; the peculiarity of Jer. xvi. 14-18 is that it unites both ideas (see above).

⁸ **For I Jehovah love justice . . .**] The speaker quotes a confirmatory utterance of Jehovah. The 'right' of the Israelites has been violently 'torn away' (comp. x. 2, same word); Jehovah, who hates injustice, will compensate them for their sufferings. Klostermann's interpretation (now adopted by Del.) is over-subtle: 'the Israelites shall not return as conquerors, as their ancestors entered Canaan, by the right of the strong-

est, but with the free-will of their former enemies.'—**Their recompence**] i.e., compensation for their sufferings (comp. on v. 7).—**Faithfully**] i.e., without curtailment, in exact accordance with his promise.—**An everlasting covenant**] See on lv. 3.

⁹ **Known**] i.e., renowned.

¹⁰ **I will greatly rejoice . . .**] According to the Targum, Jerusalem is here the speaker, appropriating and rejoicing in the foregoing promises. This is certainly plausible, for the speaker clearly implies that he looks forward to a share in the promised blessings, and how can the Servant, himself the mediator of these blessings, feel this longing?—How? by his sympathy; for though he has not literally shared in the sin of his people, he has 'taken it upon him' (liii. 4, 11) out of sympathy, and must be both able and desirous, through the same fellow-feeling, to share in the coming blessedness. It is the Servant of Jehovah, then, who continues to speak.—**Garments of salvation**] The figure reminds us of lix. 17.—**Righteousness**] i.e., the prosperity which a righteous God will give (comp. on lv. 17).—**Like a bridegroom . . .**] The simile is very loosely attached, but it is evidently the Servant, and not Jehovah, who is the subject of comparison. The Israelitish bridegroom

¹ *I. C. A.*, p. 147.

groom that maketh his coronet priestly, and like a bride that putteth on her jewels. ¹¹ For like the earth which bringeth forth its sprouting, and like a garden which causeth the things sown in it to sprout, so [the Lord] Jehovah shall cause righteousness to sprout, even renown before all the nations.

appears, from Cant. iii. 11, to have been crowned 'on the day of his espousals,' and so, at least in later times, was the bride. A well-known passage in the Mishna (*Sota*, ix. 14) states that during the war of Vespasian bridegrooms were forbidden to wear crowns (*'atârôth*), and that during that of Titus (Grätz corrects 'Quietus') the prohibition was extended to brides—a sign of the passionate grief of the Jews at the ruin of the nation. The promise of Jehovah, realised by faith, is compared by the Servant to such a headdress. From the expression 'maketh priestly,' it would seem

that the style of this headdress resembled that of the priests' tiara (Ex. xxix. 9, comp. Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7, 3). To suppose that this resemblance was symbolical of the priestly character of the head of the household, seems to me farfetched. It is well known that archaic forms and fashions linger longest in ritual and ceremonial observances.

¹¹ **Cause . . . to sprout**] Another allusion (comp. xlii. 9, xliii. 19, lviii. 8) to the self-fulfilling power of the Divine word.—**Renown**] Lit., 'praise.' The prophet means events stirring up men to praise Israel and Israel's God.

CHAPTER LXII.

Contents.—A continuation of the bright promises of the last chapter, concluding with the welcome summons to depart from Babylon.—Most modern critics regard this chapter as the soliloquy of the prophet; Vit. alone gives it to a chorus of prophets and other servants of God, while Henderson, Stier, Kay, Naeg., assign it to the Servant of Jehovah, or the Messiah. If there is nothing in the chapter specially suggestive of the Servant, and as the opening words 'I will not be silent' are elsewhere uttered by Jehovah, it is safer to follow Targ., Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Luzzatto, Del., and suppose Jehovah himself to be the speaker. See also note on v. 6.

¹ For Zion's sake I will not be silent, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her righteousness go forth as the shining light, even her salvation as a torch that burneth.

¹ But will these great promises be realised? Will Jehovah indeed 'cause righteousness to sprout'? The 'deep gloom' with which Zion as well as the other nations is still oppressed may well excuse a moment of despondency. But Jehovah will not let such despondency

pass unchecked.—**I will not be silent**, he says, I will not for ever hold back that restoring and reviving word for which my people are longing. Comp. xlii. 14, lvii. 11, lxiv. 12, lxv. 6.—**The shining light**] Lit., 'the brilliance'; Ewald has 'der Sonnenstrahl.' The word

² And the nations shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory, and men shall call thee by a new name which the mouth of Jehovah shall appoint; ³ and thou shalt be a crown of adorning in the hand of Jehovah, and a diadem of royalty in the open hand of thy God. ⁴ No more shalt thou be named Forsaken, neither shall thy land any more be named Desolation; for thou shalt be called ^a Well-pleasing, and thy land Married; for Jehovah delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married. ⁵ For (as) a young man marryeth a virgin, thy sons shall marry thee, and with the joy of the bridegroom over the bride shall thy God joy over thee.

^a Most render, My delight (is) in her; comp., however, Oholibah, 'there is a tent in her,' Ezek. xxiii. 4, and Smend, *ad loc.*

is used of the dawn (the *Eastern* dawn) in ix. 2, lx. 3, Dan. vi. 20, and especially Prov. iv. 18. Luzzatto is alone in thinking of the planet Venus.

² **By a new name]** So in lxx. 15, 'he shall call his servants by another name.' It is a title of honour which is meant, such for instance as that in Jer. xxxiii. 16, 'Jehovah (is) our righteousness.' This prophet however goes beyond Jeremiah, for he speaks of a 'new name,' one past human imagining, and which, like the new heaven and the new earth, depends upon the appointment of the Creator; compare Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12 (in the greek).

³ **A crown of adorning]** Not 'the crown;' Jehovah has 'many crowns.' The regeneration of Israel constitutes a fresh claim on the part of Jehovah to the reverence and admiration of the universe (comp. *v.* 2 *a*); this appears to be the meaning of the prophecy. Knobel, indeed, supposes the expression to be a figurative description of the situation of Jerusalem (comp. on xxviii. 1), and the following phrase, 'in the hand,' to be a metaphor = 'under the Divine protection' (comp. xlix. 2). But this is farfetched, nor is there any allusion in the context to the dangers of the new Jerusalem. Jehovah is pictured as holding

the crown in his hand to exhibit it to the admiring world (Ew., Del.). — **In the open hand]** Comp. Bonomi, *Nineveh*, p. 191, where the guests at a banquet hold their drinking-vessels in the deeply hollowed palms of their hands.

⁴ For the present Jehovah reserves the mystic name of the new Jerusalem to himself. But the prophet is allowed to mention two inferior, every-day names which may appropriately be used, the one for Jerusalem, the other for the land of Israel. By an odd coincidence, the name which is now repudiated for Jerusalem—**Forsaken** (Hebr. *Azubah*)—is also the name of the mother of the pious Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii. 42), while that which is adopted in its place—**Well-pleasing** (Hebr. *Hephzibah*)—is that of the mother of the idolatrous Manasseh (2 Kings xxi. 1).

⁵ **For as a young man . . .]** An explanation of the new names in *v.* 4. As a young man marries a virgin, so shall the restored Jewish exiles take possession of their territory; and as a bridegroom rejoices over his bride, so shall Jehovah rejoice over his erring but repentant people (comp. l. 1). The expression **thy sons shall marry thee**, is less strange in Hebrew than in English, the word for 'to marry' being properly 'to be lord over.'

⁶ Upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, I have set watchers; all day and all night they are never silent: ye that are Jehovah's remembrancers, take ye no rest; ⁷ and give no rest to him, until he establish and until he make Jerusalem a renown in the earth. ⁸ Sworn hath Jehovah by his right hand, and by his strong arm, Surely I will no more give thy corn for food to thy enemies, and strangers shall not drink thy grapes, for which thou hast laboured; ⁹ for they who have garnered it shall eat it and praise Jehovah, and they that gathered it together shall drink it in my holy courts.

¹⁰ Pass ye, pass ye through the gates; clear ye the way of

⁶ **Upon thy walls]** The walls are those of which we have heard in xlix. 16 as being 'continually before' Jehovah; the Jerusalem is the ideal or supersensible one (not the less real because ideal)—see on xl. 9. The 'watchers' therefore are not prophets (Knob., Del.), but angelic beings (Targ., Ew., Hahn, Seinecke). Their function is to 'remind' Jehovah, not of human sin (1 Kings xvii. 18) and infirmity (Job i. 11, ii. 5), but of his covenant-promise to protect his people, and we have perhaps a sample of their intercession in li. 9, 10 (see note on 'Awake, awake'). They are thus analogous to that 'angel of Jehovah' in Zech. i. 12, who intercedes for mercy for Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, and perhaps to the friendly angel-mediator in Job xxxiii. 23. We have met with these 'watchers' before (a synonymous word is used) in lii. 8 (see note), where they give notice of the approach of Jehovah with the returning exiles. In Daniel, too (e.g., iv. 13), and in Enoch (e.g., i. 5), the angels are called 'watchers' (Hebr. *'irim*, Æthiop. *ʾġūhān*, i.e. *vigiles*), and there is a special class of angels called *εγγήγοροι* in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. More distant, but not the less genuine, is the relation of the phrase to the *παράκλητος* of the Johannine Gospel.—But who is it that declares, **I have set watchers!** Surely not the prophet, even granting that the 'watchers' themselves

are prophets (Knob.). Who but Jehovah could commission either angelic or prophetic watchers? (So Del.)

^{8, 9} Perhaps Jehovah's reply to the intercession of the 'remembrancers'; at the same time a special supplement to the promise in *vv.* 2-5. The prophet is thinking of those many disturbed periods in Israel's history, from the times of the Judges onwards, when the harvest and the vintage were pillaged by foreign hordes (comp. Judg. vi. 4, 11, Isa. i. 7, xvi. 9).

⁹ **In my holy courts]** Lowth and Ges. see here a reference to the rules about the tithes and firstfruits, which were to be eaten 'before Jehovah' (Deut. xii. 17, 18, xiv. 23-26). But the whole of the harvest *could not* be eaten in the courts of the temple! The expression is figurative, like 'to dwell, to worship, in Jehovah's house' (Ps. v. 7, xv. 1, &c.), for 'to hold communion with Jehovah,' and simply means 'shall eat and drink praising Jehovah,' which indeed is the very phrase used in the parallel line. (So Diestel.)

¹⁰⁻¹² The prophet returns to the exiles in Babylon, and urges them not to delay their homeward march. It is the same call which sounded in the two former divisions of the prophecy (xlvi. 20, lii. 11).—**Clear ye the way]** An imaginative direction to Jehovah's invisible servants (so xl. 3, lvii. 14). It is tantamount to a prophecy such as xi. 16.—

the people; cast ye up, cast ye up the highway; take ye out the stones; lift ye up a banner over the peoples. ¹¹ Behold, Jehovah causeth it to be heard unto the end of the earth; say ye unto the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy Salvation cometh; behold, his wage is with him, and his recompence before him. ¹² And men shall call them, The holy people, Jehovah's released ones; and thou shalt be called Sought out, City not forsaken.

Over the peoples] i.e., high above them, so as to be seen far and wide. The 'peoples' are the Gentiles who are to escort the Jewish exiles; comp. xlix. 22, xi. 10, 12.

¹¹ **Causeth it to be heard]** viz., as appears from the sequel, the news of the imminent deliverance of Israel (as xlvi. 20).—**Say ye . . .]** This is a fresh summons, and is not to be included in the utterance to 'the end of the earth'—for what object could there be in enlisting the most remote nations in the service of Zion? No; the 'daughter of Zion' is in captivity in Babylonia. Her heralds are

either supersensible beings (comp. lii. 7, 8) or the prophets addressed in xl. 1. The misunderstanding of the critics is caused by the crowding of thoughts in the prophet's joyfully excited mind.—**Behold, his wage . . .]** Repeated from xl. 10.—**The holy** (i.e., consecrated) **people]** Such they were destined to be (Ex. xix. 6), though the ideal was but most imperfectly realised. But now the real and the ideal are one.—**Sought out]** i.e., eagerly cared for. A contrast to Jer. xxx. 17, 'She is Zion; no man seeketh her out.'

CHAPTER LXIII. 1-6.

THESE six verses are entirely detached both from the foregoing and from the following prophecy, and ought to have formed a chapter by themselves. They contain a lyrico-dramatic dialogue (which reminds us of that in Ps. xxiv. 7-10) between the prophet as a bystander and a victorious warrior (i.e. Jehovah) returning from the field of battle in Idumæa.

'This highly dramatic description,' according to Ewald,¹ 'unites depth of emotion with artistic perfection, and reproduces a genuine prophetic vision.' Certainly there is a wonderful forcefulness of phrase, and pictorial power, in this brief prophecy, though it is impossible to read it without shuddering (with reverence be it said) at the vehement indignation which it expresses. No wonder that it drew the attention of the seer of Patmos, who interwove some of its striking phrases in one of the sublimest but most awful passages of the Apocalypse (xix. 13, 15), Ewald then goes on to state one of his bold critical conjectures, viz., that lxiii. 1-6, together with chap. lviii. and lix. 1-20, is the work of a fresh writer, distinct from the prophet who composed the greater part of II. Isaiah. I do not here discuss this view as a critical hypothesis, and

¹ *Die Propheten*, iii. 119.

merely mention it as a symbol of the striking impression made upon Ewald by the literary affinities of these prophecies, especially lxiii. 1-6 and the imaginative description in lix. 15 b-20.¹ These affinities exist, and are of some importance to exegesis, as it follows from them—1. that at any rate chap. lix. and lxiii. 1-6 were occasioned by the same contemporary circumstances, and 2. that the subject of the latter prophecy is the same as that of the description in lix. 15 b-20, viz., a theophany, i.e., a divinely ordained turn in the fortunes of Israel. When, therefore, Mr. Row (refining upon the well-known patristic interpretation) supposes² that the mysterious warrior in lxiii. 1-6 is Israel—not indeed Israel as he is, but idealised into a being of a nature chiefly divine but partly human, he can be at once refuted by pointing to lix. 15, where the warrior is expressly affirmed to be Jehovah. Mr. Row's mistake is probably caused by his unquestioning acceptance of the division into chapters. For in the first six verses Israel is completely in the background; it is only at v. 7 that the hopes and fears of God's covenant-people begin to find expression. It may not be superfluous to add, that there is this marked difference between Jehovah, as described in the prophecies, and Jehovah's Servant, that the one can employ violent means, when he thinks it necessary or expedient, while the other is throughout represented as employing moral means, and as being rewarded by Jehovah for his self-sacrifice.

Modern critics in general, both Roman Catholic³ and Protestant, deny at any rate that the primary reference of the prophecy is to the personal Servant of Jehovah. Calvin long ago put this view with a clearness and a force which leave nothing to be desired; he calls the traditional Christian interpretation a violent wresting of the prophecy, which simply declares in figurative terms that God will interpose for His people. The only doubt is whether Edom is to be taken literally or symbolically; whether, that is, the calamity described means only the general judgment upon the world, or (which is equally probable, comp. Mal. i. 3) a special visitation of Edom; or whether, again, we may combine these views. Our conclusion upon this point will depend on the opinion we have formed of the parallel prophecy in chap. xxxiv.

It is certainly a strange phenomenon, this reference to a great battle-field in Edom, when the grand object of II. Isaiah is to help the Jews to realise their coming deliverance from Babylon. It creates a serious difficulty for those who maintain that II. Isaiah was written at one time and under one set of impressions. The complications of the problems of Biblical criticism are only beginning to be adequately realised.

¹ 'Who is this that cometh from Edom, in bright-red garments from Bozrah? this that is splendid in his raiment, that

That cometh from Edom] battle which chiefly excites the From this it would appear that the writer's interest has been in Edom.

¹ Observe that one verse is almost identical in both prophecies (comp. lxiii. 5 with lix. 16).

² *The Jesus of the Evangelists*, p. 163.

³ E.g., the two recent Rom. Cath. commentators, Rohling and Neteler see Naeg.'s introduction to lxiii. 1-6).

“ marcheth along ” in the fulness of his strength ? ’ ‘ I am one that speak in righteousness, that am mighty to save.’
 2 ‘ Why is there red on thy raiment, and thy garments like his that treadeth in the wine-press ? ’ 3 ‘ The wine-trough I have

* So Vulg., Lo., Kr., Gr. (easy emendation).—TEXT, Tossing (his head), Ges., Naeg. ; or, bending to and fro, Del. ; or, stretching himself out, Ew.

In *vv.* 3, 6, however, a subsequent encounter is referred to, in which ‘ the peoples ’ (or ‘ peoples,’ for the article is not expressed), i.e., the mass of the Gentile world, feel the weight of the mighty warrior’s hand. They are cursed, like Meroz (*Judg.* v. 23), because ‘ they came not to the help of Jehovah.’ Thus the national judgment upon Edom is presented as an earlier stage of the great world-judgment (see *introd.* to *chaps.* xxiv.—xxvii.).—

In bright-red garments] There is a doubt whether red is mentioned as the proper colour of a soldier’s dress (*comp.* *Nah.* ii. 3), or as indicating the slaughter in which the hero has been engaged (*v.* 3). Some have felt that there would be an incongruity in the description if a blood-stained robe were called ‘ splendid.’ Yet the second is the more natural view (*comp.* *Rev.* xix. 13). It represents the warrior as ‘ *con segno di vittoria incoronato,*’ as Dante has it in a partly parallel passage ;¹ and the stress laid upon the shedding of blood in *v.* 3 suggests that the writer himself saw nothing discreditable in the circumstances.—**That marcheth along**] I cannot agree with Dr. Weir that Del.’s explanation is absurd ; the emotional expressions of more primitive races may appear strange, but we ought to take account of them in interpreting ancient writers. The *rend.* of Gesenius, however, is preferable, if we do not accept the emendation. The tone of this passage reminds us of *xlii.* 13, 14 ; *comp.* also *Ps.* lxxiv. 3, *Lift up thy steps (O Jehovah !)* to the everlasting ruins,’ i.e., advance in long, swift steps.—**I am one that speak . . .**] The warrior

himself answers with far-echoing voice (for he is seen at a distance, as Del. subtly remarks). ‘ Speaking ’ is mentioned, to recall the numerous prophecies which had announced this great display of righteous wrath and equally righteous love: Jehovah is as mighty in word as in act. ‘ Righteousness ’ is not synonymous with ‘ truth,’ ‘ veracity,’ but, as so often in II. Isaiah, the fidelity of God to His revealed principles of action.—**Why is there red . . .**] The speaker is evidently surprised at this red appearance ; it is accidental, and not the proper colour of the dress (see above). The Hebr. word for ‘ red ’ (*‘ādōm*) suggests the thought of Edom, and from the sequel we may infer that the name of Bozrah suggested the figure of the vintage (*bāqīr*), the names of countries or cities being regarded as emblematic of their fortunes. The wine-press, too, as De Saulcy shows, appears as an emblem on the coins of Bostra during the Roman rule. Seir was a vine-country.

³ **The wine-trough I have trodden**] The warrior accepts the metaphor, which indeed is a standing equivalent for the carnage of battle (*Joel* iii. 13, *Lam.* i. 15, *Rev.* xiv. 18–20).—**Of the peoples there was no man . . .**] The nations of the world (at any rate, those in the neighbourhood of Israel) are regarded as a single body ; they are in fact united by a common fear and hatred of Jehovah (*Ps.* ii. 2). Hence ‘ no man.’—**So I trode them . . .**] The ‘ wine-trough ’ was meant for Jehovah’s enemies and those of his faithful people ; but there was no

¹ *Inferno*, iv. 54.

trodden alone, and of the peoples there was no man with me; so I^b trode them in mine anger, and trampled them in my fury; and their life-stream besprinkled^b my garments, and all my raiment have I defiled. ⁴ For a day of vengeance was in my heart, and ^c my year of release ^c was come. ⁵ And I looked, but there was no helper, and was stupefied, but there was no supporter; therefore mine arm wrought salvation for me, and my fury—it supported me; ⁶ and I^d stamped upon the peoples in mine anger, and ^e broke them to pieces ^e in my fury, and ^f spilled their life-stream on the ground.'

^b Will tread . . . will trample . . . shall besprinkle, Vowel-points, Targ., Calv., Auth. Vers., Kay, Naeg. (see crit. note).

^c So Sept. (omitting 'my'), Pesh., Vulg., Ges., Hitz., Del., Naeg.—The year of my released ones, Ew., &c. (But see lxi. 2.)

^d Will stamp, Vowel-points, Targ., Calv., &c.—Stamp, Ew.

^e So Cappel, Lowth, Hitz., Knob.—Will break them in pieces, Many Hebr. MSS., Targ.—Break them in pieces, Ew.—Will make them drunk, Received text, Calv., &c.—Made them drunk, Sept., Vulg., Vittr., Ges., Luzatto, Del. (The letters, which alone properly form the text, leave the tense of the rendering open.)

^f Will spill, Vowel-points, Targ., Calv., &c.

fatal decree binding the Gentile nations to persist in their hostility. Any one of them might have separated itself from the rest. But, as no such separation occurred, the Divine warrior took summary vengeance upon them all. **Their life-stream**] Lit., 'their juice' (Kimchi, less suitably, 'their vigour'). Comp. Ps. xxxii. 4, 'my sap (a synonymous word) was turned into the drought of summer.'—Obs., it is his enemies' blood, and not his own, with which the dress of the hero is stained. For it is 'a more than man' (*lō'ish*, xxxi. 8) who goes to war, and a heavenly sword (xxxiv. 5) which cuts down the foe.

⁴ **A day of vengeance . . . my year of release**] Comp. on lxi. 2. 'Vengeance'; as lix. 17, xxxv. 4.—**Was in my heart**] i.e., was in my intention (as x. 7).—Obs., v. 4 places us at the moment preceding the act of vengeance; v. 5 describes the internal debate of

the hero; v. 6, the deed which followed, contemporaneous evidently with v. 3. 'Release' suggests the object of the Divine intervention; it was to procure the release of Jehovah's people. Alt. rend. is equally admissible, and in fact more obvious, but does not make such a good parallel to 'a year of vengeance.'

⁵ **And I looked . . .**] See note on l. 2. The first part of the verse is a free variation on lix. 16 a, Ezek. xxii. 30; the second is a repetition of lix. 16 b, with the change of 'righteousness' into 'fury,' and the third into the first person.

⁶ **I stamped**] Auth. Vers., 'I will tread down.' But the verb is different from either of those used in v. 2. There is the less wonder, then, that in the next verb, **broke them to pieces**, the figure of the vintage is altogether deserted. The common reading, 'will make (or made) drunk,' is against the parallelism.

CHAPTERS LXIII. 7-LXIV.

Contents.—A thanksgiving, confession of sin, and supplication, which ‘the prophet puts into the mouth of the Church of the Exile, or rather prays out of their heart’ (Del.), for he thoroughly identifies himself with his people.—The chapter (for such it virtually is—see on lxiv. 1) falls naturally into a number of short paragraphs. In the first (lxiii. 7-9), the tone is that of thanksgiving, in accordance with the beautiful custom of the Psalmists to interlace supplication and praise; in the second (*vv.* 10-14) the prophet turns to Israel’s ingratitude and rebellion, but forgets not to record his people’s ‘remembrance’ of Jehovah’s past mercies, a remembrance which is the first step to the recovery of prosperity (on this characteristic retrospect see note on *v.* 11); in the third (*vv.* 15-19) the Church supplicates Jehovah, as being still the ‘father’ of his people, to ‘look upon’ its distress; in the fourth (lxiv. 1-5 *a*) it ventures further, and utters a deep longing for a theophany, nothing short of which will touch the root of its misery; in the fifth and last (*vv.* 5 *b*-11) it puts forth a humble confession of its utter unworthiness, and again bases its plea for help on the fatherly relation of Jehovah, and on the desolate condition of his chosen land and habitation. The manner is that of a liturgical psalm; the prophet, as it were, leads the devotions of the assembled Church. The tone reminds us strongly of the Lamentations; the desolation of the temple and of the Jewish cities (lxiii. 18, lxiv. 10, 11) are described with all the emotion of a contemporary. Shall we refer this to the mighty force of an ecstatic vision? Or is the prophet a contemporary of the Jewish exiles? And if so, when and where did he write? Such are the difficult questions which meet the interpreter, but which, as interpreter, it is not his function to answer. He has indeed difficulties enough of his own in this chapter, the style of which is unusually abrupt, and the text not always handed down with perfect accuracy.

⁷ Jehovah’s loving-kindnesses will I celebrate, Jehovah’s deeds of renown, according to that which is due for all that Jehovah hath bestowed upon us, and the abundant goodness toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed upon them, according to his compassion and according to his abundant loving-kindnesses. ⁸ He said, Surely they are my people, sons that will not play the liar, and he became unto

⁷ **Loving-kindnesses**] See on lv. 3.—**Deeds of renown**] Lit., ‘renowns; as in *v.* 15, ‘mights’ = ‘acts of might (or, of heroism),’ and, in lxiv. 6 ‘righteousnesses’ = ‘righteous deeds.’

⁸ **He said** . . .] The retrospect

of the prophet or the Church begins with the original covenant between Jehovah and Israel, and the first great deliverance from Egypt (comp. Ex. ii. 24, iii. 7).—**Sons**] Reminding us of i. 2, 4.

them a saviour. ⁹ In all their distress ^a *he* was distressed ^a, and the angel of his Face saved them; in his love and in his clemency he himself released them; and he took them up and carried them all the days of old. ¹⁰ But *they* defied and grieved his Spirit of holiness; so he changed for them into

^a So Hebr. marg. and most moderns.—There was no (real) affliction, Ges.; he was not an adversary, De Dieu, Daihe, Kay (both possible renderings of the text-reading).—The versions agree with the Hebr. text in reading the negative particle.

⁹ **In all their distress]** The wanderings in the desert are referred to.—*He was distressed* i.e., he himself sympathised with them. Comp. Judg. x. 16, 'His (Jehovah's) soul was impatient for the misery of Israel. Against the alternative reading (which is difficult to construe), see Ps. cvi. 44, 'He regarded (them) in their distress.' Occurring as this does in a context closely related to II. Isaiah, it may not unfairly be viewed in the light of an interpretation. The early critics stumbled (but see St. Jerome's note) at the somewhat unusual position of *lō* (regarded as a preposition and suffix).—**The angel of his Face]** No doubt this is a synonymous phrase for 'the angel of Jehovah,' and there may be an allusion to the promise in Ex. xxxiii. 20-23, 'Behold, I send an angel before thee,' &c. But the novelty of the phrase invites further inquiry. Ewald¹ considers it to be a metaphorical equivalent for the angel constantly in waiting for the commands of the heavenly King. But it seems to be certain that the expression 'the Face (or, the Name) of God' is not merely metaphorical, but a common mythic phrase of the early Semites for the self-manifesting aspect of the Divine nature (comp. on xxx. 27, lix. 19), and that when the later Old Testament writers discarded mythic phraseology, they gave a similar content to the term 'angel.' In the phrase, 'the angel of his Face,' we seem to have a confusion of two forms of expression incident to a midway stage of revelation.—**His clemency]** Indicating that Jehovah had

much to forgive.—**He took them up]** Comp. xl. 11, xlvi. 3, 4 (note).

¹⁰ **But they defied and grieved . . .]** The contrast involved in the pronouns 'he' and 'they' reminds us of the similar antithesis in chap. liii.—It is probably the religious and political decline of Israel, as represented in the Book of Judges, to which the prophet refers in this clause—comp. the familiar phrase, 'And the children of Israel again did evil in the eyes of Jehovah' (Judg. ii. 11, iii. 7, &c.). The same combination of verbs ('defied' and 'grieved' occurs again in Ps. lxxviii. 40; and the former of these verbs, in conjunction with 'his Spirit' (i.e., the Spirit of Jehovah, not that of Moses), in Ps. cvi. 33 (comp. *v.* 43).—**His Spirit of holiness]** It would be dangerous to attempt a 'Theology of II. Isaiah,' but there is evidently a tendency in this book to hypostatise the Divine Spirit (which it mentions no less than seven times) with special distinctness. The author has already claimed to have been sent in personal union with the Spirit of Jehovah (see on xlvi. 16); he now employs another phrase (comp. *v.* 14) which could not have been used, except of a person. From the connection of this verse with the preceding we may, I think, infer that 'his Spirit (of holiness)' is virtually equivalent to 'the Angel' or 'the Face' of Jehovah; and the same conclusion may be reached (see below) by comparing the last clause of the next verse with Ex. xxxiii. 14. Another slight coincidence may confirm this view. The word in Ex. xxxiii. 21 rendered in

¹ *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, ii. 289.

an enemy, he himself fought against them. ¹¹ Then ^b he remembered the days of old ^b; 'Where is he that ^c brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds ^c of his flock?

^b His people remembered the ancient days of Moses, Saadya, Rashi, Ges., Hitz., Ew., Del., Naeg.—He (Israel) remembered the days of old (and) the deliverer of his people (viz. Jehovah), Horst, Stier. (This rend. is mentioned by A. E., and approved, though not adopted, by Ges.)

^c So, many Hebr. MSS. (including two of great value at St. Petersburg and two at Erfurt) and editions, Vulg., Kimchi, Vit., Del.—Brought them up . . . with the shepherd, Received text.—Brought up out of the sea the shepherd, Sept., Pesh., Targ., three Hebr. MSS. (two of some importance), Naeg.

Auth. Vers. 'provoke' is cognate with the word here rendered 'defied,' and the accusative to the verb in Ex. *I. c.* is the 'Angel' of whom it is said, 'My Name (= Face) is in him.' Comp. also iii. 8 'to defy the eyes of his glory' (= 'to defy his Face').—The phrase 'Spirit of holiness' is particularly appropriate here, as the 'defiance' of the Jews consisted in their transgressing that religious covenant, fidelity to which constituted Israel's 'holiness.' In fact, the phrase was not improbably coined for *vv.* 10, 11, as it only occurs again in Ps. li. (see *v.* 11, or in the Hebr. 12), a psalm probably written by one already acquainted with II. Isaiah. — **So he changed** . . .] For 'his name is Jealous,' Ex. xxxiv. 14.—**He himself**] Although their Father, full of 'love and clemency.'

¹¹ The pressure of a calamity excites a longing for the return of the good old days.—**He remembered**] viz., the people; comp. 'within him.' This 'remembering' is a characteristic feature of the later Psalms; see Ps. lxxviii. 35, lxxvii. 11, cv. 5, cxliii. 5 (and so Deut. xxxii. 7). When man 'remembers,' a corresponding 'change of mind' seems, to human experience, to be wrought in God; comp. Ps. lxxviii. 39, cvi. 45 (and the parallel in Lev. xxvi. 45). It may also be remarked that the point of view of edification predominates in Hebrew historical literature from the time of the Captivity onwards; in their studies as well as in their prayers these earnest Jewish believers 'remembered.'—Of the text-reading it seems to me

impossible to give a natural translation. I must still, however, agree with Gesenius (in a note appended to his translation of Isaiah, and very generally overlooked) that 'if the text is correct, the explanation of Horst (1823) deserves particular attention, according to which *mōsheh* is taken appellatively' (see above). In this case there is perhaps an allusion to the Hebrew etymology of Moses (Ex. ii. 10), and we might render (as in *I. C. A.*, p. 221), 'the (true) Moses of his people.' I confess, however, that this now appears to me too abstruse an expression and too subtle a thought for such a context. In his Commentary, Gesenius suggests that 'Moses' (*mōsheh*) is a marginal gloss which has intruded into the text. But this is not an adequate remedy; we have still to account for the unnatural position of 'his people' (*'ammō*). The Sept. *omits both words*, and Dr. Weir remarks, 'It would almost seem as if they were a marginal gloss, afterwards introduced into the text, "Moses" perhaps explanatory of "shepherd of his flock," and "his people" of "his flock" or "within him" [or, perhaps still better, as a subject to the verb 'remembered'].—**Where is he** . . .] Here begins a series of questions, reminding us of those in li. 9, 10.—**With the shepherds of his flock**] ('With' = 'under the conduct of'). These additional words seem to follow rather awkwardly, and I can understand Naeg.'s preference for a simpler reading (see above). Still the parallel of Ps. lxxvii. 20, 'who leddest thy people like sheep by the

where is he that placed within him his Spirit of holiness? ¹² He that caused his Arm of splendour to go forward at the right hand of Moses, that cleft the waters before them, to make unto himself an everlasting monument? ¹³ He that made them to go through the deeps, like horses through the wilderness, without stumbling? ¹⁴ Like the beast that goeth down into the highland plain, the Spirit of Jehovah ^d brought them to rest ^d; thus didst thou guide thy people, to make unto thyself a monument of splendour. ¹⁵ Look from heaven

^d Led them, Sept., Pesh., Vulg., Targ., Lo., Ew. (another reading).

hand of Moses and Aaron,' seems to justify an adherence to the received text (comp. also Num. xxxiii. 1). From Mic. vi. 4 it may perhaps be inferred that popular tradition gave a place to Miriam (called 'the prophetess,' Ex. xv. 20) among the divinely appointed chiefs.—

Where is he that placed . . . his Spirit . . .] That the Spirit of Jehovah was specially present among the Israelites in their wanderings, was the constant belief of the Biblical writers. But what is more particularly involved in this belief? A Levitical prayer in Neh. ix. (see *v.* 20) represents the operations of the Spirit as didactic, but the aim of the speaker or writer is here evidently, not truthfulness of historic colouring, but edification. Providential guidance and sagacious government seem to be the benefits primarily associated with the presence of the Spirit, or, as we may also say (see above), the Face of Jehovah. Hence we read in *v.* 14 'the Spirit of Jehovah brought them to rest,' followed by 'so didst thou lead thy people'; hence Jehovah declares to Moses, 'My Face shall go (with thee), and I will give thee rest' (Ex. xxxiii. 14, comp. Hag. ii. 4, 5, *Q. P. B.*); and hence the narrative in Num. xi. 10-30 ascribes the endowment of the seventy elders with the Spirit of Jehovah to the inadequate provision for the functions of government. The qualifying term 'of holiness' is neither otiose nor vague. It recalls to mind (see on the same phrase in

v. 10) that the external prosperity of the Israelites was due to the fidelity of their God, and implies a rebuke for their own infidelity.—**Within him]** viz., Israel, not merely Moses (as Ges.), see last note.

¹² **His Arm of splendour]** Another symbolic phrase nearly equivalent to 'the Face of Jehovah' (see on xl. 10).—**To go forward at the right hand of Moses]** Ready to grasp him when he stumbled, xli. 13 (Dr. Weir).—**Who cleft the waters . . .]** Referring still, not to the Jordan, nor to the rock in Horeb, but to the Red Sea; comp. Ps. cvi. 9, lxxvii. 16 (17), where 'the deeps' are mentioned, as in *v.* 13.—**The wilderness]** i.e., the uncultivated pasture-land.

¹³ **That goeth down]** viz., from the bare mountain-side.—**Brought them to rest]** 'Rest' is a favourite phrase for the state of the Israelites in the land of Canaan after their weary wanderings; comp. Ex. xxxiii. 14, Deut. iii. 20, xii. 9, Josh. i. 13, xxii. 4, Ps. xcvi. 11, and the applications in Jer. xxxi. 2 (*Q. P. B.*), Heb. iv. 1, 3, 9.—**Thus]** Summing up the several stages of the history.

¹⁵ Here, strictly speaking, chap. lxiv. ought to begin: *vv.* 15-19 are parallel to lxiv. 1-3.—It is difficult to overrate the spiritual beauty of the prayer contained in the former passage. We may admit that the most prominent motive urged by the speaker has a nationalistic air, but behind this, and strengthening it, is his sense of the infiniteness of

and behold, from thy height of holiness and splendour. Where are thy jealousy and thine acts of might? the sounding of thy heart and thy compassions—^e are they restrained towards us^e? ¹⁶ For thou art our Father, for Abraham taketh

^e So I.o., Gr.; Sept., Pesh., also have (me).—TEXT, are restrained towards me

the Divine mercy, and of the strong vitality of the union between Jehovah and his people.—**Look from heaven**] As if Jehovah had given up caring for his people, and withdrawn into his heavenly palace. This bold apostrophe reminds us of a similar outburst of the prophet-poet of the middle ages:—

E se licito m' è, o sommo Giove,
Che fosti in terra per noi crucifisso,
Son li giusti occhi tuoi rivolti altrove?

The peculiar Hebr. original occurs again in Ps. lxxx. 15 (A. V. 14), and nowhere else. Dr. Weir adds, that the whole of the psalm may be compared with this section of the prophecy.—**From thy height**] It is not *mārôm*, the usual word for 'height,' but *z'bhûl*. The rendering seems to be established from Assyrian (see crit. note).—**Where (is) thy jealousy**] Jehovah seems to have become callous to his people's need; his 'jealousy' (see on ix. 7 *b*) slumbers, and needs to be 'stirred up' (xlii. 13, where, as in this passage, it is combined with the expression 'heroism' or 'manifestation of might').—**The sounding of thy heart . . .**] A figure for 'sympathy'; comp. xvi. 11 (note), Jer. xxxi. 20, xlvi. 36.

¹⁶ The Church's warrant for her appeal.—**For thou (only) art our Father**] 'Our father,' as in lxiv. 8, and perhaps 1 Chron. xxix. 10.—Not in the wide, spiritual sense of the New Testament, but as the founder and preserver of the Israelitish nation (see Deut. xxxii. 6), which henceforth (carrying out primitive legal concep-

tions) is under the *patria potestas*. This is the constant meaning of the title 'Father' as applied to Jehovah; see e.g. Ex. iv. 22, Hos. xi. 1, Isa. i. 2, Jer. iii. 4, 19, xxxi. 9, 20, Mal. i. 6, ii. 10. The first example of the individualising use of the term is in Sirach xxiii. 1-4, 'O Lord, Father and Governor of my whole life . . . O Lord, Father and God of my life.'¹)—

For Abraham taketh no notice of us . . .] Two explanations are open to us: 1. 'Abraham and Jacob, fathers according to the flesh, are long since dead, and know us no more, and cannot help us. But Jehovah is the everlasting Father and Redeemer of his people.' So Dr. Weir, expressing (I believe) the general view of commentators. But let the reader ask himself, Does this really explain the passage? Why should Abraham and Israel be introduced in this connection? Is it not a platitude to say that the remote ancestors of the Jews cannot help them, unless—and this is the second of our theories—there was some chance, from the popular point of view (and obs., *the prophet is speaking in the name of the people*), that they might both sympathise and powerfully co-operate with their descendants—unless, in short, they were regarded somewhat as demigods (comp. the Homeric poems), or patron-saints, or the angelic 'holy ones' in a speech of Eliphaz the Temanite (Job v. 1)²? It was Ewald who first pointed out some traces of such a popular belief in the Old Testament writings, though

¹ Comp. Wittichen, *Die Idee Gottes als des Vaters*, Göttingen, 1865; Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John* (add. note on 1 John i. 2).

² Of course it was only the patriarchs and great men who were expected thus to sympathise across the gulf of death. The popular belief as to the relation of the common dead to their descendants is shown in Job. xiv. 21, 22 (see Dillmann's note).

no notice of us, and Israel doth not recognise us; thou, O Jehovah, art our Father; 'our Goel' hath been thy name from of old. ¹⁷ Why dost thou make us to stray, O Jehovah,

he does not call attention to it in the present passage. The instances which he quotes (not all of them, I think, of equal value) are Jer. xxxi. 15 ('Rachel weeping for her children'), Hos. xii. 4, 5 (A. V. 3, 4), Isa. xxix. 22, 23, Luke i. 54, 55, 73, xvi. 22.¹ Of these the first and the last are the most striking; the passage from Hosea seems merely to embody a typical interpretation of the history of Jacob, and instead of 'with us' we should, with some ancient versions, read 'with him'; on Isa. xxix. 22, 23, I may refer to my own note; Luke i. 54 probably alludes to Isa. xlv. 2, while *vv.* 55, 73, expressly refer to the past. But if there are only a few passages alluding to this popular belief, we need hardly be surprised; it was not the object of the sacred writers to preserve material for archaeologists. These few passages, however, seem to me sufficiently conclusive. They enable us moreover to account for some remarkable statements in later Jewish writings—statements, be it said in passing, which render it *à priori* probable that germs of the belief expressed in them would be found in the earlier literature. Among these may be mentioned the vision of Jeremiah 'who prayeth much for the dead' (2 Macc. xv. 13, 14), and the Talmudic assumption that the Messianic redemption would be the recompence of the merits of the patriarchs (especially Jacob and Joseph), or of the prayers of 'ancient Rachel.'² I trust no reader will suppose that there is anything derogatory to the prophet in this view of his meaning. The fearless security with which the sacred writers employ popular language is only adverse to a mechanical theory of inspiration, and adds greatly to the interest of Bib-

lical studies. [The above stands, with slight alterations, as it was written several years ago. Since then Dr. Goldziher has arrived independently at a similar view.³ His opinion, however, is that the prophet aims at overthrowing the popular belief. This seems to me an arbitrary conjecture. No evidence in support of it can be gained from the passage itself. The prophet speaks in the name of the people, and the analogy of passages (see above) in which a controversial intention cannot be supposed, seems to me to be unfavourable to Dr. Goldziher's view. Indeed, on reconsidering my note, it appears to me that the prophet is not merely speaking dramatically for the people, but expressing his own beliefs. See *Last Words* on this passage.] — **Israel**] Sometimes used as a synonym for 'Jacob' in the more solemn style; see 1 Kings xviii. 36 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel.' — **Our Goel . . . from of old**] The history of Israel presented a continual succession of 'captivities' and deliverances (see on xli. 14).

¹⁷ **Why dost thou make us to stray . . .**] (Comp. lxiv. 5, 7.) It is as if the Jews would throw the responsibility of their errors upon Jehovah; and this in spite of the encouraging invitations contained in this very book. They speak as if it is not they who need to return to Jehovah (lv. 7), but Jehovah who is reluctant to return to them; as if, instead of 'feeding his flock like a shepherd' (xl. 11), he has driven it out of the safe fold into the 'howling wilderness.' But it is only a temporary gloom which has settled upon the Jewish believers. Depressed by melancholy, they give way for the moment to

¹ *History of Israel*, i. 296. We might add Mic. vii. 20.

² See Rashi on lxii. 6 and comp. Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, pp. 184-5. See also below, on v. 17 b, and quotation from Targum, at end of note on lxiv. 5.

³ *Hebrew Mythology*, translated by Russell Martineau, p. 229.

from thy ways, and harden our hearts so as not to fear thee? Return, for thy servants' sake, the tribes of thine inheritance.
 18 ^f For (but) a little while have they had possession of thy holy mountain ^f: our adversaries have trampled upon thy sanctuary. 19 ^g We are become (like) those over whom thou

^f ('Mountain' is the reading of Sept., Lowth, Klostermann.) For a little while have thy holy people possessed (the land, Vittr., Del., &c., or, thy sanctuary, Hitz., Knob.), Hebr. text, according to most.—They have been within a little (?) of dispossessing thy holy people, Hebr. text, according to Luther, L., Kr., Seinecke, Riehm.—For a little while have they (viz., thy servants, or, the enemies of Israel) had possession of thy holy city, Weir (emendation)

^g We are become as of old, when thou ruledst not over us, neither was thy name called upon us, Sept., Vulg.—We were of old, before thou ruledst over them, &c. Pesh.—We are thy people from of old, &c., Targ. (Dr. Weir doubtfully suggests that these renderings approach the truth.)

those human 'thoughts' which are not as 'My thoughts' (lv. 8). Their question is a bold one, and in other lips would be even blasphemous. But an ardent affection to their God underlies it. It is because the Divine power and helpfulness has been so often proved of old (v. 16), that Israel's present degradation seems so unintelligible. The sense of sin, too, has deepened during the Exile, and with it has arisen a painful feeling of the inconsistency of evil with the beneficent character of the Deity.¹ Fundamentally opposed to Dualism, the Jewish believers are involved in a speculative problem which, from the side of the intellect, they are utterly powerless to explain (comp. Rom. ix. 17–22). How can Jehovah have rejected his people?—this was their first difficulty, and that which beset even the less religious minds among the exiles. How can God be the author of sin? this is the added sting to true believers.—**From thy ways**] i.e., from thy righteous rules of life (lxiv. 5).—**And harden our hearts**] See on vi. 10.—**Return**] Jehovah had turned away in displeasure; comp. Ps. lxxx. 14 (quoted by Dr. Weir).—**For thy servants' sake**] 'Thy servants' are not Israel's 'fathers' or forefathers (Ibn Ezra and Kimchi,

following the Targum,² in the face of v. 16), but those Jews who are still worthy of the title of 'Jehovah's servants' and are therefore competent to receive the promised blessings. In the parallel line they are called **the tribes of thine inheritance**. This is not merely a consecrated phrase, but the language of faith. Jehovah knows his own, however widely the tribes of Israel may be dispersed.

¹⁸ **For (but) a little while**] It is a 'pathetic fallacy.' The tediousness of the Exile (see on xlii. 14) made the preceding period of national independence seem but too short.—**Thy holy mountain**] (Same phrase in lvii. 13.) This phrase considerably diminishes the harshness of the received text, as it provides the verb in the first line with an accusative. (The subject of the verb is, of course, 'thy servants,' v. 17.) Alt. rend., it is true, does even more than this, for it brings the verb in the first line into parallelism with that in the second. But the rend. 'within a little' has no analogy, and besides it is difficult to think of the pre-Exile Israelites as a 'holy people,' which would seem to be a title specially reserved for the regenerate Israel (lxii. 12, comp. iv. 3).
¹⁹ **We have become (like) those . . .**] The meaning of this

¹ Comp. *I. C. A.*, p. 224.

² It is a favourite idea of the Targum (see Ps. lx. 6, 7, lxxxiv. 11), and of the Talmud, that the redemption of Israel will be accorded to the merits of 'the fathers.'

hast never ruled, upon whom thy name hath never been called.^g

LXIV. ¹ Oh that thou didst rend the heavens, that thou didst come down, that the mountains ^h shook at thy presence, ² as when a fire of brushwood kindleth,ⁱ to make thy name known to thine adversaries, so that nations trembled before thee, ³ while thou didst terrible things which we hoped not for: [that thou didst come down, that the mountains ^h shook

^h Flowed, Sept., Vulg., Ew., Stier, Weir, Naeg.

ⁱ TEXT inserts, (as when) fire causeth water to boil. (Evidently a gloss.)

half-verse is very uncertain. The omission of 'like' constitutes a serious difficulty in the ordinary rendering.—**Thou hast never ruled**] (Comp. the complaint of the Church in xxvi. 13 *a*.) The theocratic covenant was regarded as a pledge of the indestructibility of the Jewish state. Other nations may have Baal, Chemosh, Asshur, for their king; Israel alone can say 'Jehovah is our King' (xxxiii. 22). The prophets admit the justice of the popular belief; only they emphasise the moral conditions on which alone security and deliverance can be enjoyed.—**Thy name**] The 'calling' of the 'name' of Jehovah upon Israel gave a mystic union to the two parties; comp. xliii. 7, lxv. 1, Deut. xxviii. 10, Jer. xiv. 9.

¹⁻³ These verses are parallel to lxiii. 15, but grander and bolder. There the prophet in the name of the Church petitioned that Jehovah would look down on the misery of his people. Here, a look is felt to be sufficient, so widely yawns the gulf between Israel and his God. A revelation on the largest possible scale is necessary to smite down unbelief and annihilate opposition; God Himself must appear (Naeg.).—In the modern editions of the Hebrew Bible, the verse which, in the printed editions of the ancient as well as in the modern versions, stands as lxiv. 1, forms the second half of lxiii. 19. The context is obviously against separating this

verse from the two following (our lxiv. 2, 3), but the arrangement in the Hebrew Bible may also perhaps be taken as an unconscious protest against the interruption of a prophecy which is really a connected whole (lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12).—**That thou didst rend the heavens**] God seems, in time of trouble, to be separated by thick clouds (Job xxii. 13, 14). But the Church firmly believes that he will show Himself again, and only wishes that this most certain event had already taken place. Hence the perfect tense, 'O that thou hadst rent . . . hadst come down' (so literally).—**Mountains shook**] A frequent feature in the Biblical theophanies; comp. Judg. v. 5, Mic. i. 4, Hab. iii. 6, and especially Ex. xix. 18.—**As when fire . . .**] To emphasise the foregoing statement. Solid as the mountains seem, they shall be as powerless as so much brushwood or water to resist the destructive influences of Jehovah.—**To make thy name known . . .**] Name is not merely character, but one special aspect of the Deity (see on xxx. 27).

³ **Terrible things**] A standing phrase (see Deut. x. 21, 2 Sam. vii. 23, Ps. cvi. 22) for the wonders of the Exodus, to which later deliverances are compared.—**Which we hoped not for**] Exceeding our wildest dreams, although, as the next verse says, we had a right to expect great things, on account of the mighty exploits of Jehovah in

(see above, on v. 16). Vitringa compares the first of the eighteen Benedictions, but *hshadê* there means, not 'pious deeds' (of the fathers), but 'promises' (as lv. 3 *b*).

at thy presence:] ⁴ yea, from of old men have not heard, nor perceived with the ear, (and) eye hath not seen, a God beside thee, who doeth (so great things) for him that waiteth for him! ⁵ ^k Thou meetest ^k him who joyfully worketh righteousness; in thy ways they remember thee. Behold, thou wast wroth, ¹ and we sinned ¹; ^{m * * * m n} and we went astray ¹. ⁶ And we all became as one who is unclean, and all our righteous deeds as a menstruous garment, and we all faded away as the leaves, and our iniquities like the wind have carried us away: ⁷ and there is none that calleth on thy name,

^k O that thou wouldst meet, Ew. (similarly Stier).

¹ So Hitz., Ew., Knob., Naeg.—And we stood forth as sinners, Del.

^m Therein (i.e., in our sins, or, in the tokens of thine anger) [have we been] a long time, Ges., Del.—(Thou wast wroth) with them (i.e., the people) a long time, Vitr., Ew.

ⁿ So Ew.—We fell away, Lowth (both Ew. and Lowth follow Sept.).—Hebr. text, And shall we be delivered? Hitz., Del., Naeg.

the past. The concluding words are probably, as Prof. Robertson Smith has pointed out, repeated by accident from *v.* 1; the passage gains greatly by their removal.

⁴ **From of old men have not heard.**] The only living God who, from the beginning of the world, has proved himself to be such by acts, is Jehovah.—**Who doeth**] The construction, 'the things which he prepareth' (comp. 1 Cor. ii. 9) is too elliptical, and the sense thus obtained does not fit in well with the context, which points to the present and not to any future age, i.e. to God's 'doings' in history. That these 'doings' are great, is understood of itself (see on xlv. 23).

⁵ **Thou meetest**] Comp. Ps. ci. 2 a. 'Meetest' in such a way as to leave no doubt of a Divine visit (etymologically, strike against).

—**Behold, thou wast wroth.** . . .] Instead of this desired harmony, Jehovah has manifested his displeasure, and the only consequence has been (comp. *v.* 7 end, and lxiii. 17 a) that we sinned (or, perhaps, went on sinning). For Del.'s rend., comp. Gen. xliii. 9 Hebr.; 'and' = 'so that,' the 'vāv consecutive' here expressing the sequence of fact, and not of logic. . . . **and we went astray**] This

portion of the verse is difficult in the extreme (see crit. note); Del.'s rend. is grammatically the safest, but it is harsh, and interrupts the parallelism. The paraphrase of the Targum is interesting, as illustrative of the Jewish doctrine of merit, referred to on lxiii. 16. It runs, 'because of the works of our righteous fathers which have been from of old, we are delivered.'

⁶ **And we all became**] With an emphasis on 'all,' even more marked in the Hebr. than in liii. 6.—**As one who is unclean**] Like the leper, who is excluded from society (Lev. xiii. 44-46). The people is personified as one man (as i. 6).—**Our iniquities**] The word ('*avôn*) includes the idea of punishment (see on liii. 6 b).—**Have carried us away**] Into a region where Jehovah's presence is not felt.

⁷ **Who stirreth up himself**] From the lethargy of the conscience (same word in li. 17).—**Hast delivered us**] The low ebb of religion being ascribed (comp. *v.* 5 and xliii. 17) to Jehovah's withdrawal of his felt presence.—**Hand**] i.e., 'power,' 'sins' being personified as a tyrant seeking to destroy. Comp. the whole passage with Ezek. xxxiii. 10, 'Thus ye speak, saying, If our transgressions

that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee; for thou hast hid thy face from us, and hast ° delivered us ° into the hand of our iniquities.

⁸ And now, Jehovah, thou art our father; we are the clay, and thou our fashioner, and the work of thy hands are we all. ⁹ Be not wroth, Jehovah, to the uttermost, and remember not iniquity for ever: lo, do but look, we are all thy people. ¹⁰ Thy holy cities have become a desert; Zion hath become a desert, Jerusalem a desolation. ¹¹ Our house of holiness and splendour, where our fathers praised thee, is burned up with fire, and all our delectable things are laid waste. ¹² Wilt thou, in spite of these things, restrain thyself, Jehovah, keeping silence, and afflicting us to the uttermost?

° So Sept., Pesh., Targ., Lowth. Ew., Knob.—Made us to melt away (by means of, or, into the hand of), Hebr. text, Vulg., &c. (unusual transitive use of the verb).

and our sins be upon us, and we pine in them, how should we then live?

⁸ The Church, in the boldness of faith, has held up the mirror to Jehovah. She has pointed out the disastrous consequences of his present inactivity, and sums up all her longings in the pleading ejaculation, **And now** (bad as our state is), **Jehovah, thou art our father**; this is the hope, which will bear the full weight of our reliance. The Church had indeed already expressed this great truth (lxiii. 16). She now couples with it an appeal to Jehovah's reasonableness. Will the potter lightly break a vessel on which he has lavished his utmost skill?—The same combination of figures occurs in xlv. 9 (note).—**We all**] Unworthy as we are (see *vv.* 6, 9).

¹⁰ Another motive for Jehovah's interference.—**Thy holy cities**] The phrase is remarkable; elsewhere Jerusalem is 'the holy city' (xlvi. 2, lii. 1): Sept. and Vulg. read 'thy holy city.' We find however 'his holy border' (Ps. lxxviii. 54), and 'the holy land' (Zech. ii. 12, Hebr. 16).

¹¹ **Our house of holiness . . .**] 'Our house,' i.e., that of which we are so proud (comp. Matt. xxiii. 38). Not 'the house of our holiness,' &c., for the 'holiness' and the 'splendour' are Jehovah's (lvii. 15, lx. 7, comp. lxiii. 15). Obs. the emphasis on praise; comp. 'who inhabitest (not the cherubim, but) the praises of Israel' (Ps. xxii. 3). Praise indeed includes prayer, Ps. lxxv. 1, 2.—**All our delectable things**] The parallelism shows that this is to be taken in a religious sense (comp. xlv. 9), and the phrase 'are laid waste,' or 'are laid low in ruin' (*'khorbāh*, elsewhere only in Jer., Ezek., and Lev. xxvi. 31, 33), suggests that buildings are meant—probably the temple and its contents (hence 'all . . .'). This is confirmed by Joel iii. 5 ('my goodly delectable things' parallel to 'my silver and my gold'). In 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19 the phrase is used, in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem, of all artistic or precious objects, sacred or otherwise.—To illustrate this verse see introd. to chap. lxvi.

¹² **Restrain thyself**] See lxiii. 15, xlii. 14 (note).

CHAPTER LXV.

Contents.—Alternate threatening and promise, the one addressed to a polytheistic party, the other to true believers.

Most commentators regard this prophecy as the answer of Jehovah to the foregoing prayer of the Church. This view is certainly plausible; such deep penitence and such earnest though struggling faith ought surely to strike a responsive chord in the divine-human heart. Unfortunately, it will not stand a critical examination; at least, there are objections to it, which have not yet been answered. The most serious one is this—that the Divine speaker not only makes no recognition of the advances of his penitent servants, but passes by without notice the grave religious problem by which they were harassed. The Church had complained that Israel's continuance in sin was itself a consequence of the withdrawal of the Divine favour (see on lxiv. 5). It is difficult to understand that the only reply of Jehovah should be that he had always been ready to renew his intercourse with his people (lxv. 1). It would appear to follow from this inconsistency that chap. lxv. was not originally intended to be the sequel of chaps. lxiii., lxiv. There are also some other difficulties in the way of admitting the ordinary view of commentators, though they touch too closely on the domain of 'the higher criticism' to receive a thorough treatment here. They are such as these—that, while some passages appear to presuppose the Exile as past, others refer to circumstances characteristic of Jewish life in Canaan. The former are to be found in *vv.* 11-25, 'But as for you . . . that forsake my holy mountain' (*v.* 11), and 'They shall not build, and another inhabit,' &c. (*v.* 22); the latter in *vv.* 3-5, 11, where some at least of the sins referred to belong distinctly to Palestinian idolatry, and in *v.* 8, which appears to contain a quotation from a vintage-song. It is for criticism to say how these apparently conflicting phenomena are to be accounted for; but exegesis has a right to point out that a chapter with such pronounced Palestinian features can hardly have been intended as the sequel of lxiii. 7-lxiv., of which the real or assumed standing-point is in the Babylonian exile.

¹ I have offered answers to those who have not asked; I have been at hand to those who have not sought me: I have

¹ **I have offered answers]** Lit., 'I allowed myself to be consulted' (same idiom as in liii. 7, on which see crit. note). The expression is vague, and may mean either that Jehovah was actually consulted (it is the word for consulting an oracle), or merely that He might have been. The vowel-points (which are no part of the text, but embody an ancient interpretation) in the se-

cond half of the verse imply that the Gentiles are the people referred to, and consequently favour the former view of the meaning. St. Paul, too, following perhaps the tradition of Gamaliel, applies the passage to the conversion of the Gentiles (Rom. x. 20), and most Christian commentators have done the same. The context, however, is very decidedly against such a

said, Here I am, here I am, unto a nation which hath not ^a called upon ^a my name. ² I have spread out my hands all the day unto an unruly people, who walk in a way which is not good, after their own thoughts. ³ The people who irritate me to my face continually, who sacrifice ^b in the gardens ^b, and burn incense upon the bricks; ⁴ who tarry in the graves

^a So Sept., Pesh., Targ., Vulg., Lowth, Ew., Diestel.—Been called by, Vowel-points, Ges., Del., &c. (unusual use of the conjugation).

^b On (?) the roofs, Ew.

reference. There is no indication that the prospects of the Gentiles occupied the mind of the prophet at this time. The sins of the Jews, committed against light and knowledge, must bring down upon them a proportionately heavy punishment—this is the burden of the section.—**Hath not called upon my name**] Comp. lxiv. 7, xlili. 22. The difficulties of alt. rend. are well brought out by Del. (who however adheres to it.)

² **I have spread out my hands**] The gesture of prayer—what a condescension!—**Who walk**] The nation is not here personified—it is the plural number in the Hebrew.

³ **Who sacrifice in the gardens**] This was a characteristic sin of the pre-Exile period (lvii. 5, i. 29). Ew.'s correction (*baggag-gōth* for *baggannōth*), anticipated but rejected by Vittr., is against Hebr. usage, which requires the preposition 'al.—**Upon the bricks**] i.e., upon the tilings of the houses (2 Kings xxiii. 12, Zeph. i. 5, Jer. xix. 13). Or, upon altars made of bricks, which were contrary to the Law (Ex. xx. 24, 25); but this seems rather less probable, 1. because it implies an ellipsis, and 2. because it points to Babylonia or Egypt as the scene of the transgression. The former view, implying Palestine as the locality, is more in harmony with the context.

⁴ **In the graves**] The rock-graves of Palestine with their distinct chambers, supplied, and still supply,¹ a comfortable resting-place on

emergencies. Of course, to lodge in the houses of the dead involved ceremonial impurity, but the context shows that the persons spoken of had cut themselves adrift from the religion of Jehovah.—What was the object of these visits to the graves? Vittr. and Ges. think of propitiatory sacrifices to the dead, but the parallel passages (viii. 19, xxix. 4) rather suggest necromancy. Sept. already adopts this view, inserting the words *διὰ ἐνύπνια* (the revelations being expected in dreams). But the graves were, in popular estimation, not only the abodes of the dead, but those of demons, or infernal deities or demigods (comp. Matt. viii. 28, Mark v. 3). The revelations might therefore be looked for from these, and the offence against Jehovah would be the greater. So Jerome, who renders the next line, 'et in delubris (?) idolorum dormiunt,' commenting thus, 'ubi stratis pellibus hostiarum incubare soliti erant, ut somniis futura cognoscerent. Quod in fano Æsculapii usque hodie error celebrat ethnicorum multorumque aliorum.' Comp. Virg. *Æn.* vii. 87, &c.—

In secret places] i.e., either in any remote corner (Del., Naeg.), or in the graves already spoken of, comp. Job xl. 13, where 'in the hidden (place)' is parallel to 'in the dust (of Sheól).'²—**Who eat swine's flesh**] That is, in sacrificial meals, as the context shows (comp. lxvi. 17). The flesh of the swine was forbidden by the Law (Deut. xiv. 8, Lev. xi. 7), not merely for dietetic reasons, but presumably

¹ E. von Orelli, *Durth's Heilige Land* (Basel, 1879), p. 178.

and ^c in secret places ^c take up their lodging, who eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominations is in their vessels; ⁵ who say, Keep by thyself, do not come near me, for I ^d am holy unto thee^d! These are a smoke in my nose, a fire burning all the day long. ⁶ Behold, it is written before me; I will not keep

^c In the caves, Sept.

^d Make thee holy, Geiger.

from its connection with the myth of Adonis, who was said to have been killed by a wild boar in the forests of Lebanon; an additional reason for the prophet's indignation is mentioned in the note on lxvi. 3. How loathsome swine's flesh was to pious Jews may be seen from the narratives in 2 Macc. vi., vii. The charge of eating it points on the whole to Palestine rather than to Babylonia as the country of the offenders, for not even an allusion to the swine has yet been found in the cuneiform inscriptions. It is true that, as Bochart remarks,¹ 'there were no swine in Judæa, as long as the commonwealth of the Jews stood:' it was in a 'far country' that the prodigal son was sent into the fields to feed swine (Luke xv. 13-15). But we know that there were swine in Galilee in our Lord's time (Matt. viii. 30), and that some at least of the Phœnicians sacrificed swine (Lucian, *de deâ Syriâ*, c. 54). Ewald points to the mention of eating swine as confirming his view that these chapters were written in Egypt; but though the swine does appear to have been sacrificed in Egypt (Herod. ii. 47, 48), its flesh was 'forbidden to all initiated in the mysteries, and only allowed to others once a year.'² — **Broth of abominations**] i.e., broth made of the unclean animals offered to heathen deities. 'Abominations' (*shiqqûçim*) occurs only in this and the next chapter (lxvi. 3, comp. v. 17) in Isaiah; it is specially characteristic of Jeremiah and the writers who followed him. We find it, however, once in Hosea (ix.

10), once in the disputed Book of Deuteronomy (xxix. 17, Hebr. 16), and often in the disputed Book of Leviticus. For the construction of the phrase of which these words form part, comp. v. 12 a.

⁵ **Who say, Keep by thyself**] An allusion to some heathen mysteries, into which the Jewish renegades had been initiated (comp. lxvi. 17). Idolatry was bad enough itself, but that idolaters should assume a superiority over Jehovah's 'holy ones' (comp. lxvi. 5) was still worse.—**I am holy unto thee**] i.e., by implication, unapproachable, tabooed, *sacrosanctus* (comp. on iv. 3). So of the priests it is said, 'Thou shalt sanctify him therefore, for the food of thy God doth he present: he shall be holy unto thee' (Lev. xxi. 8, quoted by Baudissin). Geiger's reading is plausible (comp. Ezek. xliv. 19 end, Hag. ii. 12, 13).³ But a warning not to run the risk of becoming 'sanctified' (and therefore disqualified for ordinary work) by contact, does not sufficiently bring out the pride of these pagan 'Pharisees.' — **These are**] i.e., these supply the material of. **A smoke in my nose**] The indignation of the speaker makes his breath issue forth like smoke. Comp. *nasus proflat iras*.

⁶ **It is written before me**] The subject may be either the sin of the Jews (Calv., Hitz., Knob., Del.), which is 'written,' as Jeremiah says (xvii. 1), 'with a pen of iron,' or the Divine decree for its punishment (Vitr., Ges., Stier, Naeg., Kay). The fortunes of men, past, present,

¹ *Hierozoicon*, i. 696.

² Sir Gardner Wilkinson, note on Herod. ii. 47 (Rawlinson).

³ See Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, pp. 56. 172. 493

silence, except I have requited, and requited into their bosom. ⁷Your iniquities, and the iniquities of your fathers together, saith Jehovah, who burned incense upon the mountains, and reproached me upon the hills! And I will measure their recompence first into their bosom.

⁸Thus saith Jehovah, As when grapes are found in the cluster, and one saith, 'Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it,' so will I do for my servants' sake, that I destroy not the whole: ⁹and I will bring out from Jacob a seed, and from Judah possessors of my mountains, and my chosen ones shall take it in possession, and my servants shall dwell there: ¹⁰And Sharon shall become a pasture for flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for oxen to lie down in, for my people who have enquired of me.

¹¹And as for you that forsake Jehovah, that forget my

and future, are all noted in the heavenly books or registers (iv. 3, Ps. lvi. 8, Dan. vii. 10), but in this passage it is rather the past than the future which is recorded, as appears from the emphatic 'before me.' Comp. Mal. iii. 16, 'Jehovah hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was *written before him.*'

⁷ **Your iniquities . . .**] Some take this as the accusative to the verb at the end of the last verse. But the change of pronoun is harsh in the extreme, and it is more natural to suppose that *v. 7 a* has been left imperfect (the verb 'I will requite' being omitted), owing to the excitement of the speaker—that it is, in fact, an exclamation.—**Upon the mountains**] Again a Palestinian feature; comp. lvii. 7, Hos. iv. 13.—**And I will measure . . .**] The most pressing act which Jehovah as Judge has to perform is to punish these evil-doers, both fathers and sons. See the parallel, Jer. xvi. 18 (which passage is the original?).

⁸ Transition from threatening to promise marked by a figure from the vintage. Jehovah will not reject all Israel because of its many bad members. His dealings will be like those of vintagers, who, if

they find even a few good grapes on a cluster, say to each other, **Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it!** ('A blessing' = a source of blessing, as xix. 24, Gen. xii. 2). Probably, as the swing of the rhythm has led several to infer, these are the opening words of a vintage-song, though it is unwise to speculate as to their connexion with the words 'Destroy not' (*Al tashkēthi*) at the head of certain psalms.

⁹ **My mountains**] This is one of Isaiah's striking phrases, though not confined to him (see on xiv. 24),—**Sharon . . . Achor**] i.e., the whole land from east to west; see on xxxiii. 9, and Josh. vii. 24-26. The same prominence is given to agriculture in an earlier ideal picture of the future (xxx. 23, 24).

¹¹ The tone of threatening is resumed (as so often).—**That forget my holy mountain**] This need not, as most commentators suppose, imply that the persons addressed are the Jewish exiles in Babylon. It may simply mean, 'that keep aloof from the rites and ceremonies of the temple.' A similar phrase, 'to forget Jerusalem,' occurs in Ps. cxxxvii., which all will probably admit to be a post-Exile work.—**That set in order, a table**] Alluding to the 'lectister-

holy mountain, that set in order a table for Gad, and fill up mixed drink for M'ni—¹² I destine you for the sword, and ye all to the slaughter shall bow down, because I called and

nia,' or meals prepared for divine beings. This feature will suit Babylonia as well as (probably) Palestine. See the second calendar translated by Sayce in *Records of the Past*, vii. 159-168 (every day of the month Ebul is marked by a royal offering); and comp. Herod. i. 181, Bel and Drag. v. 11, Ep. of Jer. vi. 26, 27. The only other allusions to 'lectisternia' in the canonical books are Jer. vii. 18, li. 44. It is a remarkable fact that a similar practice in honour of Gad survived in certain Jewish families even down to the time of Rashi (11th cent.).¹—**For Gad**] i.e., for Good Fortune; Sept., τῶ δαιμονίῳ Gad is probably the star-god Jupiter (called by the Arabs 'the greater fortune'). His cultus exemplifies the closeness with which polytheistic rites cling to their native soil. Its origin (see, however, below) was Canaanitish; comp. Baal-gad (i.e., Baal in the character of the god of good fortune), the name of a place to the south of Hermon, mentioned in Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7. Some have also traced the name of Gad in the proper name Azgad (which occurs four times in Ezra and Nehemiah), but this is rather the Aramaic *izgad* 'a messenger.' In Phœnician inscriptions we find the names Gad-astoreth and Gad-moloch (de Vogüé). The prevalence of the worship of the deity called Gad in Syria has been abundantly shown by Mordtmann,² who quotes *inter alia* a remarkable passage from the Christian writer, Jacob of Serug: 'Henceforth, on the summit of the mountains, they

build monasteries, instead of Beith-gadé' (*gadé*, the plural of *gad* in Syriac, means generally both 'the good fortunes', viz. Jupiter and Venus, though in the Peshito version of our passage it is the equivalent of Gad and M'ni conjointly). [It is possible, however, that Gad has a Babylonian origin. 'Jupiter,' according to Mr. Sayce,³ 'was properly termed Lubat-Guttav; possibly this Gad (in Isa. lxv. 11) is derived from Guttav, with a change of the dental to assimilate the word to the Semitic *gad*, luck.' Of course, the existence of a Babylonian analogue would not prove that the worshippers spoken of lived in Babylonia. The analogy might go back (as in other cases) to a remote antiquity.]—**For M'ni**] i.e., for Destiny; Sept. τῆ τύχῃ. M'ni is probably Venus, called in Arabic 'the lesser fortune.' M'ni, like Gad, was a Syrian deity, though the evidence for this only belongs to the post-Exile period. De Luynes and Levy have found the name in compound proper names on Aramaean coins of the Achæmenidæ; the latter has also found it on a Sinaitic inscription.⁴ Delitzsch remarks that there is no Babylonian analogue for M'ni. Finzi and Lenormant, however, have both found a Babylonian god of the second order called 'great Manu.'⁵ M'ni may very possibly be a Semitised form of Manu.—M'ni appears to be a masculine form; we know that among the Babylonians at least there was a masculine as well as a feminine Venus (see on xiv. 12). It seems probable that the Arabic

¹ See the Talmudic and Rabbinic authorities in Chwolson, *Die Ssabier*, ii. 226. The Arabic writer en-Nadim also mentions lectisternia in honour of 'the lord of fortune' (i.e., Jupiter); these were given by the heathen population of Harrân (Chwolson, *op. cit.* 32).

² *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, xxxi. 99-101.

³ *Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*, iii. 170-1.

⁴ Levy, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, xiv. 410; Rödiger, in *Addenda to Gesenius' Thesaurus*, p. 97.

⁵ They refer to the Brit. Mus. collection of cuneiform inscriptions, iii. 66.

ye did not answer, I spoke, and ye did not hearken, but did that which was evil in mine eyes, and that in which I had no pleasure ye chose. ¹³ Therefore thus saith the Lord, Jehovah: Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall hunger; behold my servants shall drink, but ye shall thirst; behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed; ¹⁴ behold, my servants shall sing aloud for gladness of heart, but ye shall cry out for anguish of heart, and for breaking of spirit shall ye howl. ¹⁵ And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen ones—^e 'Then may the Lord Jehovah slay thee^e', but his servants shall he call by another name, ¹⁶ so that he who blesseth himself on earth shall bless himself by the God of ^f the Amen ^f; and he who sweareth on earth shall swear by the God of ^f the Amen ^f; because the former distresses are forgotten, and because they are hidden from mine eyes.

^e So Ew.—Most, And the Lord Jehovah shall slay thee.

^f Faithfulness, Weir (see below).

Manât represents a collateral feminine form of the name.¹ If so, we have an interesting link between Syrian and pre-Mohammedan Arabian religion, Manât being the name of one of the three chief deities of Arabia, who were recognised for a time by Mohammed as mediators with Allah (*Korân*, Sur. liii. 19–23).

¹⁵ **For a curse**] i.e., as the centre of a formula of imprecation. Comp. Num. v. 21, Zech. viii. 13, Ps. cii. 8 (*Q. P. B.*), and especially Jer. xxix. 22, 'And from thee shall be taken a curse . . . saying, Jehovah make thee like Zedekiah and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon wasted in the fire.' The formula is quoted imperfectly, like the first words of a song. Alt. rend. seems to me to interrupt the flow of the sentence, and involves a harsh change of number. Del., who, on supposed grammatical grounds (see crit. note), adopts it, yet assumes that 'the prophet has in his mind the words of this imprecatory formula (hence the singular ". . . kill thee"), though he does not express them.'—**By another**

name] It is implied that the name 'Israel' has become debased by the lapse of so many of the Israelites. Comp. the 'new name' in lxxii. 2 b.

¹⁶ **Shall bless himself by**] i.e., shall wish himself the blessings which proceed from. So Gen. xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, Jer. iv. 2, Ps. lxxii. 17. —**The God of the Amen**] Comp. Rev. iii. 14, 'The Amen, the faithful and truthful witness.' The expression is generally derived from the custom of saying Amen (i.e., 'It is sure') in a solemn covenant (comp. Deut. xxvii. 15 &c.): Targ. renders 'the God of the oath'—at any rate a plausible paraphrase. I confess, however, that I can hardly believe that our prophet would have coined such a phrase, which seems to me to belong to a more liturgical age, when 'Amen' had become a common formula in the temple-services. One is tempted to alter the vowel points, and read 'ōmen or 'ēmūn 'faithfulness' (xxv. 1) instead of 'āmēn; comp. Sept., τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν. [A similar suggestion by Dr. Weir.]—**Hidden from mine eyes**] One chapter of the

¹ Comp. Sprenger, *Leben Mohammads*, ii. 16.

¹⁷ For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered, nor come up into the mind. ¹⁸ Rejoice ye rather, and exult for ever on account of that which I create; for behold, I create Jerusalem (anew) as exultation and her people as joy; ¹⁹ and I will exult in Jerusalem, and rejoice in my people, and no more shall there be heard in her the sound of weeping, nor the sound of a cry. ²⁰ And no more shall there proceed thence an infant of

heavenly book (see on *v.* 6) is cancelled; its contents are as though they had never been. The continuity of Israel's development is restored.

¹⁷⁻²⁵ The new creation (as *lxvi.* 22). Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 81) quotes these verses as a prediction of the millennium. In fact, our prophet combines the conceptions of the millennium and the cosmos, which in the Apocalypse are held asunder. As a consequence, the descriptions in our prophecy may be interpreted more materialistically than those in *Rev.* *xxi.*

¹⁷ **I create new heavens and a new earth . . .**] This is no mere poetical figure for the return of prosperity (as, e.g., Albert Barnes would have it). The prophet does his utmost to exclude this view by his twofold emphatic statement.—'new heavens shall be *created*, and the old shall pass away.' The fundamental idea is that nature itself must be transformed to be in harmony with regenerate Israel; we have met with it in more than the germ already (see *xi.* 6-9 with note *xxx.* 26, *xliv.* 19, *li.* 16). The supposition of Dr. Kohut,¹ that we have here a loan from Zoroastrianism is altogether gratuitous, 1. because such a conception arises naturally out of the fundamental Biblical idea of the perpetual creatorship of God (comp. *John* *v.* 17), and 2. because the regeneration of nature expected by the prophet differs from that taught in the Bundeshesh in several essential

particulars—e.g., he looks forward to the continuance of births and deaths (*vv.* 20, 22) and of the ordinary process of nourishment (*v.* 21), and he makes no mention of the resurrection of the dead (comp. on *xxvi.* 19).²—**The former things**] Some understand by this phrase 'the former troubles' (comp. *liv.* 4); others 'the former heaven and earth' (comp. *Jer.* *iii.* 16). But why may we not, as Naeg. suggests, combine both references?

¹⁸ **On account of . . .**] Lit., in respect of . . . (comp. *xxxii.* 6 Hebr.).—**I create Jerusalem**] The 'new creation' will still have its Jerusalem! It is not a creation *de nihilo*, but a transformation.—**As exultation**] i.e., with an abounding sense of joy as the basis of the new nature (like 'I am prayer,' *Ps.* *cix.* 4).

²⁰ **The youth shall die . . .**] i.e., he who dies at the age of a hundred shall be regarded as early lost, and even the wicked, supposing such to exist, shall not be cut off by the curse which pursues them before their hundredth year. Our prophet has not so glorious a view of the future as that which is embodied in *xxv.* 8. It is not eternal life which he here anticipates, but patriarchal longevity (as *Zech.* *viii.* 4). Comp. the picture in the apocryphal Book of Enoch (*v.* 9), 'And they shall not be punished all their life long, neither shall they die by plagues and judgments; but the number of their days shall they complete, and they shall grow old in peace, and the years of their

¹ *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, *xxx.* 716, 717.

² Matthes, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1877, p. 585.

(a few) days, nor an old man who cannot fill up his days ; for the youth shall die when a hundred years old, and the sinner, when a hundred years old, shall come under the curse. ²¹ And they shall build houses, and inhabit them, and shall plant vineyards, and eat their fruit : ²² 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 the work of their hands mine elect shall use to the full. ²³ They shall not labour for vanity, nor bring forth for sudden trouble, for they are a seed of the blessed of Jehovah, and their offspring (shall remain) with them. ²⁴ And it shall come to pass that before they call, I will answer : while they are yet speaking, I will hear. ²⁵ The wolf and the lamb shall graze together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox ; and the serpent—dust shall be his food : they shall not harm nor destroy in all my holy mountain, hath Jehovah said.

§ The tree of Life, Sept., Targ. (Gloss.)

happiness shall be many, in everlasting bliss and peace, their whole life long.' (This reminds us of the Paradise of the Avesta, in which a year was equal to a day, *Vendidad*, ii. 133.)

²¹ **And they shall build houses** . . .] Alluding perhaps to the curse in Deut. xxviii. 30, the exact opposite of which forms the basis of the promise. Comp. also lxii. 8, 9, Am. ix. 14.

²² **As the days of a tree**] Instances enough of long-lived trees can be found in Palestine, without referring to the baobab-tree of Senegal ! Comp. in lxi. 3 'oaks of righteousness,' and Ps. xcii. 14, 'They shall still shoot forth in old age.'—**Shall use to the full**] Lit., wear out. Comp. Job xxi. 13, 'They wear out their days (i.e., live out their full term) in prosperity.'

²³ **Nor bring forth** . . .] i.e., their children shall not perish by any of God's 'four sore judgments.' Comp. Ps. lxxviii. 33, 'and (he consumed) their years by a sudden trouble.'—**(Shall remain) with them**] It is a part of the 'blessing'

that their children grow up and enjoy life with them. Comp. Job xxi. 8.

²⁵ The picture of the new creation is completed by a reference to the animal world. It would be inconsistent to leave the lower animals with untransformed natures. But it is only a single feature which is given, and that in the form, mainly, of a condensed quotation from xi. 6-9. One original clause, however, is added, **And the serpent—dust shall be his food**] i.e., the serpent shall content himself with the food assigned him in the primeval Divine decree (there is a manifest allusion to Gen. iii. 14). This, if I am not mistaken, is meant literally ; 'much dust' is the food of the shades in the Assyrio-Babylonian Hades.¹—**They shall not harm** . . .] The subject is, of course, the wild animals mentioned in the original passage, xi. 6, 7. Hence a strong presumption (whatever be the date of chap. lxxv.) in favour of interpreting xi. 9 (see note) literally, and not allegorically.

¹ Legend of Ishtar, line 8 (back side) :—all the translations agree. Comp. Ps. xxii. 15, 'and thou layest me in the dust of Death' (i.e., of Sheól).

CHAPTER LXVI.

Contents.—A declaration by Jehovah that he requires no earthly habitation, and is displeased with the service of unspiritual worshippers; this is followed by a solemn antithesis between the fate of the persecutors and the persecuted (*vv.* 1–5). Next, a renewal of the alternate threats and promises of chap. lxxv. (*vv.* 6–24). The former are mainly addressed to the hostile Gentiles, but partly also to the idolatrous Jews, and the idolatrous practices denounced (*v.* 17) are the same as those mentioned in lxxv. 4, 5, viz., initiation into heathen mysteries, and eating ‘unclean’ food. The prophecy closes gloomily with an awful glance at the punishment of the guilty souls (*v.* 24).

In deference to custom, I have treated these two parts as rightly united in a single chapter, though not entirely convinced that this view is correct. The most obvious interpretation of *vv.* 1–3 is that, at the real or assumed standing-point of the writer, the temple was no longer standing, and that the Divine speaker reprobates any attempt to rebuild it and to restore the sacrificial system. On the other hand, *v.* 6, and perhaps also *vv.* 20, 21, seem at least as clearly to imply that the temple is in existence. I have endeavoured to remove this apparent inconsistency in my note on *v.* 1 *b*; still I cannot think it *à priori* probable that passages apparently so inconsistent should have been intended to form part of one and the same chapter.

¹ Thus saith Jehovah, The heavens are my throne, and the earth is my footstool; what manner of house would ye build

¹ **The heavens are my throne** . . .] For parallels, see Ps. xi. 4, ciii. 19; comp. also the words of Jesus in Matt. v. 34, xxiii. 22.—

What manner of house . . .]

Many consider this to be a reprobation of a plan for rebuilding the temple, whether, with Hitzig, we suppose this to have proceeded from the Jews who remained behind in Chaldæa (the reprobation applying, according to him, to a Chaldæan and not to a Judæan temple), or whether, with Lowth and Vitringa, we assume a reference to the temple of Herod the Great. The words need not, however, be more than an emphatic declaration that Jehovah ‘dwelleth not in

houses made with hands.’ It may, in fact, be another example of ‘the Gospel before the Gospel’ (see Acts vii. 48, xvii. 24), for a similar statement of equal distinctness will be looked for in vain in the Old Testament. The ‘Light which lighteth every man’ in this instance shone earlier on the banks of the Nile. An Egyptian hymn to the Nile, dating from the 19th dynasty (14th cent. B.C.), contains these words, ‘His abode is not known: no shrine is found with painted figures: there is no building that can contain him.’¹ It is also a Persian sentiment; comp. Herod. i. 131, ‘They have no images of the gods, no temples,’ &c.

¹ Canon Cook’s translation, *R. P.*, iv. 109. The hymn has also been translated by M. Maspero (1868).

for me? and what manner of place for my rest? ²For all these things did my hand make; [^a I spoke^a,] and all these came into being (the oracle of Jehovah); but this is the man upon whom I look, even he who is afflicted, and crushed in spirit, and trembleth on account of my word. ³He that

^a So Grätz, *Monatschrift*, 1878, p. 293.

² **All these things**] viz., heaven and earth, and all things therein; comp. xl. 26, Job xii. 9.—**I spoke**] These words seem necessary to complete the clause; comp. Ps. xxxiii. 6, 'By a word of Jehovah were the heavens made,' and v. 9, 'He spake and it came into being' (also Gen. i. 3).—**This is the man upon whom . . .**] Comp. lvii. 15.—**Trembleth on account of my word**] Not in alarm, but in a filial awe, which does not exclude the transports of delight (comp. Ps. cxix. 161 with v. 111). The 'word' is that delivered in the name of Jehovah by the prophets. The phrase is only found again in Ezra (ix. 4, x. 3).

³ **He that slaughtereth . . .**] i.e., he that would slaughter . . . The sacrifice (contemptuously called the slaughter) of an ox, when offered by unspiritual worshippers, is as displeasing to God as the sin of murder (comp. i. 11-15). So at least we must interpret, if this paragraph comes from the same writer as the next; and in any case, such must have been the exegesis of the editor of the chapter in its present form.—It is tempting to compare lv. 3-5, but though the several parts of the prophetic book beginning at chap. xl. have many points of connection, we must be on our guard against illusory affinities. The persons spoken of here are evidently worshippers of Jehovah, and are therefore distinct from those in lv. 3-5.—**Breaketh a dog's neck**] Why this feature? It seems farfetched to suppose a covert polemical reference to the religious reverence for the dog in Persia and Egypt (comp. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. 691-2), and better to explain the

expression from the uncleanness and despicableness of this animal among the Jews. Taking this passage, however, in connection with v. 17, and with lv. 4, one feels that some very peculiar sin of the contemporaries of the prophet is referred to, and the researches of a Scottish scholar have thrown an unexpected light upon it. In short, it is totem-worship (see above, on xv. 6) against which the prophet lifts up his voice; the unclean animals referred to were, most probably, the totems, or animal-fetishes, of certain Jewish families. The survival of this low form of religion (if the word may be used in this connection), is presupposed even more certainly by a passage in Ezekiel (viii. 10, 11), hitherto wrapt in obscurity, 'where we find seventy of the elders of Israel—that is, the heads of houses—worshipping in a chamber which had on its walls the figures of all manner of unclean creeping things and quadrupeds, "even all the idols of the house of Israel,"' and in the midst of the worshippers Jaazaniah, the son of Shaphan, i.e., the son of the rock-badger (the 'coney' of Auth. Vers.), which is one of the unclean quadrupeds, according to Deut. xiv. 7, Lev. xi. 5. In fact, the proper names of the Israelites give evidence which is, I think, conclusive to a philological eye, in favour of the survival of this archaic worship. In Isa. lxxv., lxxvi., the swine, the dog, and the mouse are specially mentioned in connection with an illegal cultus, and all of them are found in the Old Testament as names of persons—the swine (Auth. Vers., Hezer, rather *khēzīr*) in 1 Chron. xxiv. 15, Neh. x. 21; the dog (Caleb = *kalib* = Arab *kalb* or Hebr.

slaughtereth an ox is a man-slayer; he that sacrificeth a sheep, breaketh a dog's neck; he that bringeth a meal-offering—(it is) swine's blood; he that maketh a memorial of incense, blesseth an idol. As *they* have chosen their own ways, and their soul hath pleasure in their abominations, ⁴ so will I choose freaks of fortune for them, and their terrors will I bring unto them, because I called, and there was none that answered, I spoke, and they did not hearken, but did that which was evil in mine eyes, and that in which I had no pleasure they chose. ⁵ Hear the word of Jehovah, ye that tremble at his word: Your brethren that hate you, that put you away for my name's sake, say, 'Let Jehovah show himself glorious, that we may look upon your joy,' but they themselves shall be ashamed.

keleb) in Num. xiii. 6, &c.—hence the dog-tribe (Hebr. *kālībī*) to which Nabal belonged, 1 Sam. xxv. 3; the mouse (Achbor) in Gen. xxxvi. 38, 2 Kings xxii. 12, 14, Jer. xxvi. 22, xxxvi. 12. (A panther-totem is presupposed in Isa. xv. 6; see above.) Of course the prophet regarded this worship as a superstition dishonouring to the one true God. The tenacity with which a section (probably a large section) of the Israelites clung to it throws a bright light on the repeated assertions of the prophets that their people was not chosen by Jehovah for any merits of its own. On this whole subject, see 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament,' by Prof. Robertson Smith, in *Journal of Philology*, where abundant parallels to the totemism of the Israelites are adduced from Arabia.—**Swine's blood**] See on lxx. 4.—**That maketh a memorial . . .**] 'Memorial' is a technical term in the sacrificial ritual for the burning of a part of the *minkhāh* or meal-offering with incense upon the altar (see Lev. ii. 2, *Q. B. P.*).—**Blesseth**] i.e., worshippeth. .

⁴ **So will I choose . . .**] 'The Orientals are fond of such antitheses,' remarks Gesenius. It is,

however, more than a verbal antithesis which we have here; it is Jehovah's fundamental law of retribution (see on v. 8). So in the Korán (as Gesenius points out), ' . . . they say, We are with you, we have only mocked at them: God shall mock at them' (Sur. ii. 13, 14); 'The hypocrites would deceive God, but he will deceive them' (Sur. iv. 141).—**Freaks of fortune**] The word is very peculiar: it represents calamity under the figure of a petulant child (comp. iii. 4 Hebr.).

⁵ The prophet turns abruptly to those who in holy reverence wait upon Jehovah. They have suffered for Jehovah, and He will work mightily for them.—**That put you away**] i.e., that refuse to associate with you (comp. lxx. 5). In later Hebr. the word (*niddāh*) is used of 'putting out of the synagogue' (comp. the use of ἀφορίζω in Luke vi. 22); *niddāy* is the lightest of the three grades of excommunication.—**Let Jehovah show himself glorious . . .**] An ironical speech, reminding us of v. 19. Dr. Kay renders the verb ' . . . be glorious'; but 'become glorious' seems better, or the equivalent given above. (Kal is used, as in Mal. i. 5, though we should expect Nifal.)

⁶ A sound of uproar from the city, a sound from the temple; the sound of Jehovah who rendereth their deserts to his enemies! ⁷ 'Before she travailed, she brought forth; before pangs came unto her, she was delivered of a man-child. ⁸ Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen things like these? Can a country be travailed with in a day, or a nation be brought forth at once? for Zion hath travailed, and also brought forth her sons.' ⁹ Should I bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth, saith Jehovah? or should I, who cause to bring forth, restrain it? saith thy God.

⁶⁻²⁴ Alternate threats and promises; the glorious return of the believing Jews contrasting with the terrible and endless punishment of their enemies.

⁶ **A sound of uproar . . .**] The form of the verse reminds us of xiii. 4. There, however, the 'uproar is caused by the assembling of Jehovah's human agents; here it is that symbolic thunder which marks a theophany. There the primary object is the destruction of Babylon; here the sole end is the last act of the drama of the judgment, in which all Jehovah's enemies bear a passive part. The catastrophe is to take place before Jerusalem (as in Joel and Zechariah); hence it is added, **From the city . . . from the temple**] No doubt the latter words come in rather strangely after the seeming disparagement of temples in v. 1. But the inconsistency is probably merely superficial (see above). The precise meaning, however, of the words 'from the temple' will depend on our view of the origin of this prophecy. If written from the point of view of the Babylonian Exile, we must suppose Jehovah to have (in a sense) taken up his abode again on the site of the destroyed and for a long time God-forsaken temple. If from the point of view of the restored exiles, then we may suppose that the temple has been rebuilt, and that Jehovah (in a sense) issues from it to take vengeance on his own and Israel's enemies. However this

may be, vv. 7, 8 are written from a new point of view. They represent the other side of the doctrine of the judgment (comp. a similar transition in lxxv. 8). Israel has been restored and an imaginary spectator bursts out into a wondering exclamation. The subject of v. 6 is resumed in v. 15.

⁷ **Before she travailed . . .**] The same figure has been used before (see xlix. 17-21, liv. 1), but with less drastic energy. A child is born, a man-child, but swiftly and without pain. The 'child' is the Israel of the latter days, the concluding stages of Israel's history being fused in the dim prophetic light. Grotius (who had philological instincts) explained of the achievements of Judas Maccabeus. He rightly felt that the age of Zerubbabel presented no fulfilment of the prophet's burning words.—The mention of a 'man-child' is significant. 'Sweeter than the birth of a boy,' says an Arabic proverb quoted by Gesenius. Till Mohammed interfered, the Arabs had a cruel custom of burying female infants alive.

⁹ **Should I bring to the birth . . .**] 'Should I arrange all the preliminary circumstances for the restoration of my people, and stop there?' 'Restrain it' implies that the expansiveness of Zion is such that naught but Omnipotence will be able to check it, and as Omnipotence has no motive for checking it, Zion has nothing to fear either in heaven or on earth.

¹⁰ Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and dance for joy because of her, all ye who love her; exult together with her, all ye who mourned inwardly over her; ¹¹ that ye may suck, and be satisfied, from the breast of her consolations; that ye may press out, and delight yourselves, from the ^b bosom of her glory. ¹² For thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I will direct peace unto her like a river, and the glory of the nations like an overflowing torrent, and ye shall suck therefrom; upon the side shall ye be borne, and upon the knees shall ye be caressed. ¹³ As a man whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you; yea, in Jerusalem shall ye be comforted. ¹⁴ And ye shall behold, and your heart shall exult, and your bones shall spring up like young grass, and the hand of Jehovah shall make himself known towards his servants, but he shall deal indignantly to his enemies.

¹⁵ For behold, Jehovah shall come in fire, and his chariots are like the whirlwind, to return his anger in fury, and his rebuke in flames of fire. ¹⁶ For by fire will Jehovah hold judgment, and by his sword with all flesh, and many shall be the slain of Jehovah. ¹⁷ Those that consecrate and purify

^b So (lit. udder) Luz.; most moderns, abundance. See crit. note.

^{10, 11} The prospect is so near that the friends of Jerusalem should at once give expression to their joy, if they wish to be rewarded by a share in her bliss.—**Mourned inwardly**] For the rend., see 1 Sam. xv. 35 Hebr.

¹¹ **That ye may suck . . .**] The blessings which Jerusalem has received are compared to a mother's milk. Comp. a different use of the figure in *v.* 12 and *lx.* 16.

¹² **I will direct peace**] So Gen. xxxix. 21 '(Jehovah) directed kindness unto him.'—**Upon the side**] See on *lx.* 4. Obs., those who 'bear' and 'caress' are the Gentiles.

¹³ **As a man . . .**] As a mother comforts, not merely her child, but her grown-up son.

¹⁴ **Your bones shall spring up . . .**] The body is likened to a tree of which the bones are the branches (Job xviii. 13 Hebr.). During the anger of Jehovah, the latter had been dried up and sapless (comp.

Ps. xxxii. 4).—**The hand of Jehovah**] No mere figure of speech (Ges. renders, 'Jehovah's might'), but God under His self-revealing aspect (see on viii. 11).

¹⁵ The theophany. There is no occasion, with Dr. Kohut, to connect this with the Zoroastrian doctrine of the end of the world by fire, even if this doctrine be really ancient, and not rather due to Semitic influences. 'He cometh with fire' is the natural description of a theophany in Biblical language; comp. xxix. 6 (note), xxx. 27, 28.—**His chariots**] In Ps. xviii. 10 Jehovah rides upon 'a cherub'; here, as in Hab. iii. 8, the single chariot is multiplied, to symbolise the 'hosts' of natural and supernatural forces at his command.

¹⁶ **His sword**] See on xxxiv. 5, 6.—**All flesh**] See on *v.* 18.

¹⁷ A fresh denunciation of the sins mentioned in *lxv.* 3, 4 (see notes). Those Jews who are guilty

themselves for the gardens [° after One in the midst°], that eat swine's flesh, and the abominations, and the mouse, to-

° So Hebr. text ('One' is masc.).—Behind one (viz., one image of a goddess, 'one' being fem.), Hebr. marg., Vulg. (see Del.'s note).—One after the other, Pesh., Targ., Symmachus, Theodotus. Sept. omits the words.

of them will share the punishment of the hostile Gentiles.—**That consecrate and purify themselves**] As a preparation for the heathen mysteries in the gardens (i. 29, lxv. 3).—**After One in the midst**] An obscure, enigmatical phrase, and possibly corrupt. The prevalent explanation (a) is (Ges., Hitz., Knob., Del., Naeg., Baudissin) that it describes the way in which the rites of the mysteries were performed, viz., standing behind, or perhaps rather with close adherence to ('after' = 'according to') the directions of the hierophant or leader (who would naturally stand in the centre of the ring of celebrants). This is no doubt plausible, but requires a great deal to be supplied, unless (*per impossibile*) we suppose that the initial rite of purification was so complicated that it needed a special superintendent even more than the mysteries themselves. It is surprising that those critics who, one after another, have adopted it, have not felt obliged to go further, and put a blank space in their translation between the words 'garden' and 'after,' to indicate that some words have fallen out. This is at any rate a possible solution. (b) Another view of the meaning is embodied in alt. read., but is adaptable

to the ordinary reading. Early Jewish critics felt that some reference was required to the deity in whose honour the mysteries were celebrated, and appear to have thought of the Syrian goddess Asherah, whose licentious rites were doubtless performed in groves. Hence their conjectural emendation (for such alt. read. most certainly is), 'akhath for 'ekhādth (the feminine for the masculine). Their general view seems confirmed by the common use of 'after' in technical religious phrases, e.g., 'to walk after other gods' (Jer. vii. 9), 'to walk after Jehovah' (Hos. xi. 10), 'to lament after Jehovah' (1 Sam. vii. 2), 'to fulfil after (= wholly to follow) Jehovah' (Deut. i. 36). But the mention of swine's flesh just afterwards suggests the worship of Tammuz or Adonis (see below, *Last Words, ad loc.*) rather than of Asherah, and the reference to 'the gardens' suits this equally well (see on xvii. 10). This view was the prevalent one among the post-Reformation scholars,¹ and has been advocated with much force by Prof. de Lagarde (in spite of a faulty inference from a passage in Macrobius).² It may now be confirmed from the cuneiform account of the Assyrian or Babylonian festival of Istar and Tammuz

¹ Scaliger. Seldenus. Drusius, Vossius, Grotius, Bochartus, Marshamus, magna in literis nomina et appellari digna, huic conjecturæ faverunt; estque summè probabilis.' Vitringa.

² *Hieronymi questiones hebraicae*, &c., ed. Lagarde, p. 121. The words of Macrobius referred to are—' (Assyrii) deo quem summum maximumque venerantur Adad nomen dederunt' (*Satur.* i. 23). Lagarde conjectures that Macrobius found in his Greek authority Α Δ Δ miswritten for Λ Α Δ (= Hebr. 'ekhādth). But no such name of a deity as 'ekhādth has yet been found. Macrobius evidently uses 'Assyrians' synonymously with 'Syrians,' and wrongly derives the Syrian divine name Hadad (he calls it Adad) from the Syriac khadhkhad (lit., 'unus unus,' but in usage 'unusquisque'). Lagarde's appeal to the Old Test. phrase, 'mourning for an (or, the) only-begotten son' (Am. viii. 10, Jer. vi. 26, Zech. xii. 10) is more plausible (see the writer's observations in *Academy*, x. 524 note), but our text reads 'ekhādth 'one,' not yakhidh 'only-begotten.' See further Vitringa's *Comment.*, ii. 941, note A; E. Meyer, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, 1877, p. 734; and Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, i. 315.

gether shall they be consumed—the oracle of Jehovah. ¹⁸ But ^d‘I [will punish^d] their words and their thoughts; [behold the time] is come that I gather all nations and tongues, and they

^d So Maurer, Del.—I know, Pesh., Targ., some MSS. and early editions of Sept., Saadya, Auth. Vers., Vitr., Ges.—I have seen, Grätz.

(strictly, Dum-zi or Tam-zi), on which occasion we are told that ‘the figure of the goddess is carried in procession, adorned with jewels and robes of rich material, attended by her maids of honour, *Samkhat* or Pleasure, and *Harimatu* or Lust; and they go in procession to meet the mourners bearing the body of the dead Tammuz.’¹ But why should Adonis be called ‘One’? Prof. de Lagarde would apparently take ‘*ekhād̄h* (here rendered ‘One’) in the sense of *yakhīdh* ‘unique’ (as Job xxiii. 13), for he compares the remarkable phrase, ‘mourning for an only-begotten son’ (*‘ēbhel yākhīdh*). But this seems hazardous (see note ²). The only alternative is to take the word in question as a contemptuous or evasive appellation. Maurer comments thus: ‘Hebr. *‘ekhād̄h*, nescio quis, per contemptum.’ It is rather more natural to regard it as a piously evasive phrase, somewhat like that employed by the Rajah of Burdwan, in speaking to Weitbrecht the missionary, ‘O yes, I have no objection, if you do not mention *one name*’ (meaning the name of Jesus).² (c) And yet, plausible as both the above views are, especially the latter, the combination of letters which the received text presents, impresses me by a family-likeness to other passages of indubitable corruptness. May it not be a mutilated fragment of a clause parallel to, though somewhat shorter than, ‘those that consecrate themselves,’ &c.? The conjecture seems to be confirmed by the evident defectiveness of a part of the next verse.

—**The abominations**] A technical expression in Leviticus, used synonymously with ‘swarming things.’ Among ‘the uncleanest’ of these animals are mentioned (Lev. xi. 29) the lizard, the snail, and **the mouse**, or rather, perhaps, the jerboa, which is still eaten by the Arabs.

¹⁸ In this verse the prophet resumes the subject opened in v. 6, viz., the overthrow of Jehovah’s enemies. Comp. the striking parallels in Joel iii. 2, Zeph. iii. 8, Zech. xiv. 2.—**But I (will punish)**] Some word or words have evidently dropped out of the text; an aposiopesis is not at all probable, as there is no trace of passion or excitement in the context, and a parallel to the Virgilian *Quos ego*—³ is not adducible in Hebrew. Maurer’s suggestion, adopted above, is at any rate forcible.—**(Behold, the time is come)**] It is not absolutely necessary to suppose that the bracketed words have dropped out of the text (see Ezek. xxxix. 8), but the lacuna in the opening words makes it a not unreasonable conjecture. Otherwise, we must assume an ellipsis.—**All nations**] This must be understood with a limitation (see next verse).—**And tongues**] This supplement is remarkable. Though not inconsistent with the authorship of Isaiah, it agrees still better with a Captivity date, and reminds us forcibly of the frequent references in Daniel to ‘peoples, nations, and tongues’ (Dan. iii. 4, 7, 29, iv. 1, v. 19, vi. 25, vii. 14). The same use of the word ‘tongues’ occurs in

¹ St. Chad Boscawen, in *Academy*, xiv. 91 (July 27, 1878). The basis of the festival is demonstrably a nature-myth, leading up to the union of the new moon (Istar) and the summer sun (Tam-zi or Tammuz).

² *Memoir of the Rev. John James Weitbrecht*, p. 543.

³ Quoted by Del. in his first and second editions but not in his third. He now agrees with Naeg. that the passage is probably corrupt.

shall come and see my glory. ¹⁹ And I will work a sign upon them, and will send the escaped of them unto the nations, to Tarshish, ^e Put and Lud, ^f that draw the bow ^f, to Tubal and Javan, to the distant countries which have not heard the

^e So Sept., Knob., Gratz, Stade. (Del. inclines to this reading; as to Hitz. and Ew., see note below.)—Pun, Wetzstein—Pul, Hebr. text.

^f To Meshech, Sept., Stade. (Lowth approves in his note.)

Zech. viii. 23 (of post-Captivity origin), and in *vv.* 5, 20, 31 of Gen. x. (based probably on a Phœnician document).—**My glory**] as displayed in judicial rewards and punishments.

¹⁹ **Work a sign upon them**] viz., upon the assembled Gentile hosts. The precise meaning of 'work a sign' is obscure. It is an emphatic phrase (*sûm*—not *nāthan* or '*āsāh* *'ōth*); a strict rendering would be 'set a sign,' i.e., as a permanent memorial. Elsewhere we find it used of wonders which, by a modern distinction, we call supernatural (Ex. x. 2, Ps. lxxviii. 43, cv. 27), but 'sign' has a wide meaning in the Old Test., and can be used of any markedly providential occurrence (see 1 Sam. x. 7 with the context). Hence it may here mean the wonderful escape of some of the Gentile host (Ew., Del.), or the all but total destruction of Jehovah's enemies ('it is a vague but suggestive expression, and well calculated to prepare the mind of the reader for the awful description with which the prophetic volume closes').¹ The latter was my first view, but the eschatological parallel in Zech. xiv. seems to me now to suggest some mysterious event, which the prophet leaves his awestruck readers to imagine.—**Unto the nations**] The nations which have had no relation to Israel, nor, consciously at least, to Jehovah, form a kind of outer world, with which Jehovah has no controversy.—**Put and Lud**] Put is either the Egyptian Put (nasalised into Punt), i.e., according to Brugsch,

the Somali country on the east coast of Africa, opposite to Arabia, or it comes from the Egyptian Puti, another name for the people commonly called Thehennu, i.e., the Marmaridæ, who lived west of the Delta.² Pul, the reading of the received text, occurs *nowhere else as an ethnic name*; Put, however, occurs in combination with Lud in Ezek. xxvii. 10, xxx. 5 (comp. Jer. xlvi. 9). Hence Hitz. and Ew. suppose Pul to be a collateral form of Put, but the interchange of *teth* and *lamedh* does not seem to be established. It is better therefore to adopt the read. of Sept. Wetzstein's correction, however, is on several accounts plausible. The letters *l* and *n* (*lamedh* and *nun*) might be easily confounded in the Hebrew writing. Pun and Lud, Punians (Carthaginians) and Lydians, might naturally be mentioned together in 'the period subsequent to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, in which this part of Isaiah places us.'³ The Lydians, too, are actually called Ludi in Assyrian inscriptions of the reign of Assurbanipal. The objection, raised in my first edition, 'that the Lydians had already learned by experience the might of Jehovah,' is only of weight if chaps. lxx., lxxvi. were written with an eye to the same circumstances as chap. xl. &c. Lud (as is shown by the reference to it in Ezek. xxx., comp. Gen. x. 13) must be a N.-African people, though one may hesitate to adopt Ebers' precarious combination of Lud and Rut (the name for the native-born Egyptians in the hiero-

¹ *I. C. A.*, p. 234.

² So Brugsch-Bey, *History of Egypt*, second ed., ii. 404.

³ Wetzstein, as reported by Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, third ed., p. 720.

report of me, nor seen my glory, and they shall make known my glory among the nations. ²⁰ And they shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations as an offering unto Jehovah upon horses and in chariots and in litters, and upon mules and dromedaries, to my holy mountain, to Jerusalem, saith Jehovah, as the children of Israel bring [or, used to bring] the meal-offering in a clean vessel to the house of

glyphic inscriptions).¹ See further *Last Words*.—**That draw the bow**] A similar characterisation of the Ludim in Jer. xlv. 9. The reading of Sept. has the air of a conjectural emendation, and is unnecessary, but certainly plausible. Meshech and Tubal are several times mentioned together; the Muskai of the Assyrian inscriptions lived to the north-east of the Tablai.—**Tubal**] The Tablai of the inscriptions dwelt to the west of the northern arm of the Euphrates, in a part of Armenia Minor.² They are mentioned in the table of nations (Gen. x. 2), also in Ezekiel (three times).—**Javan**] Javan, like Tubal and Meshech, was famous for its traffic in slaves (Ezek. xxvii. 13). It is obviously the same as Ἰάφου-ες, and was successively applied to the countries where Ionian Greeks dwelt, as they became known to the Phœnicians, and even (Zech. ix. 13, Dan. viii. 21, x. 20) to Greece in general. Here, however, it certainly designates some particular nation, and most probably the Ionians on the west coast of Asia Minor, though Mr. Sayce prefers to identify it with Cyprus, which he thinks suits the geographical order better. Cyprus certainly bears a name in the Assyrian inscriptions which is simply Javan without the ‘digamma.’ Most cuneiform scholars have read this name Yatnan, but it is rather Yānan (one of the Assyrian characters having the value ā as well as at or ad). **The distant countries**] i.e.,

the coast-lands and islands of the Mediterranean Sea.

²⁰ **And they shall bring . . .**] Not only shall the Gentiles ‘stream’ to the holy city themselves (ii. 2, lx. 4), but they shall escort the Israelitish exiles to Jerusalem with the tender care and reverence belonging to holy things and persons (comp. Zeph. iii. 10 with Keil’s note). Note the emphasis on ‘all your brethren,’ &c.—**As an offering**] Or, ‘as a present’ (comp. xxxix. 1). Probably, however, the Hebr. word (*minkhāh*) is here used in its technical sense. Without absolutely denying the acceptableness of the ordinary meal-offering, the prophet asserts that the honour thus shown to the chosen people will be fully equal to that paid to the traditional *minkhāh*. Comp. Rom. xv. 16, ἡ προσφορά τῶν ἐθνῶν, where the genitive is that of apposition.—**Upon horses . . . mules and dromedaries**] The variety in the mode of transport corresponds to the wide extent of the Jewish dispersion. A similar catalogue is given in Zech. xiv. 15, to indicate the multitude of hostile nations assembled round Jerusalem.—**Litters**] The word only occurs elsewhere in Num. vii. 3 (in Lev. xi. 29 it is the name of an animal).—**Bring**] Whether we render in the present or the imperfect tense (to keep the familiar terms) depends on our view of the date of the prophecy. If we think that it was written during the Babylonian Exile, we shall adopt the latter tense; if otherwise, the former.

¹ *Aegypten und die Bücher Mosis*, i. 96–98; comp. Schrader, *K. A. T.*, ed. 2, p. 114.

² Schrader, *K. G. F.*, p. 156.

Jehovah; ²¹ and some of them also will I take unto the priests [¶] and unto the Levites [¶], saith Jehovah. ²² For like as the new heavens and the new earth, which I make, stand perpetually before me (the oracle of Jehovah), so shall your seed and your name stand. ²³ And it shall come to pass: from new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh

[¶] So many Hebr. MSS. (including almost all the oldest), and all the versions (see Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests*, pp. 205-213, and comp. Del.'s note, *Jesaja*, 3rd ed., p. 684).—Unto the Levites, Received Hebr. text.

²¹ **And some of them also . . .**] The language used leaves it quite uncertain whether the Gentiles are referred to (so Vitr., Ges., Ew., Alexander, Del., Kay, Naeg.), or the Jews of the dispersion (so Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Hitz., Herzfeld, Knob., Henderson, Seinecke, H. Schultz). The advocates of the latter view refer to lvi. 6, 7 as showing the utmost hopes held out to the Gentile proselytes; to lxi. 6, where the restored Jews are distinguished from the Gentiles by the title 'priests of Jehovah;' and to lxvi. 22, where the permanence of the Jewish race appears to be guaranteed. On the other hand, it may fairly be urged that a special privilege granted to a select few does not affect the general inferiority of the Gentile to the Jew. The spirit of the context points decidedly to a throwing open of the gates as widely as possible. When the Gentiles are converted, a larger number of temple-officers will become necessary, and the same divine mercy which accepted the converts will select those of them who are suitable to minister in holy things, even at the cost of breaking through the exclusive Levitical system. This seems to be confirmed by the parallel passage at the end of Zechariah. See also on lxi. 6.—**And unto the Levites**] Both this and alt. read. presuppose that a distinction in rank between the Aaronite priests and the ordinary Levites continues; this is marked by the repeated preposition in the Hebr. (comp. Deut. xviii. 1,

Jer xxxiii. 18, where the preposition is not repeated). The prophet in this respect occupies the point of view of the Levitical legislation. It is important therefore to determine the time when he lived.

²² **I make**] Strictly, 'I am about to make.'—**Your name**] Perhaps alluding to the 'new name' which was to supersede Israel (lxii. 2, lxv. 15).

²³ **From new moon to new moon**] The old forms of worship have been reduced to the utmost; new moons and sabbaths alone remain. 'All flesh' attends in the temple on these hallowed occasions (comp. the similar anticipation in Zech. xiv. 16).—Is all this to be taken literally? Does the prophet mean that the old conditions of time and space will have ceased? Or is the language figurative? The latter view is certainly nearer the truth than the former. 'It is already the revelation which our Lord makes to the Samaritan woman (John iv. 21). The literal meaning was physically impossible; and so it was plain that he (Isaiah) spoke of a worship other than that at any given place' (Dr. Pusey¹). Still the prophet has but a confused vision of this great spiritual change. He cannot give up the idea of the religious supremacy of Jerusalem; at the same time, he cannot exclude any from communion with God merely on the ground of their local distance from the temple. Hence the strange inconsistencies in his picture.

¹ *Prophecy of Jesus, &c.*, a sermon (1879), p. 39.

shall come to worship before me, saith Jehovah. ²⁴ And they shall go out and look upon the carcasses of the men who

²¹ **And they shall go out**] viz., to the hills and valleys around Jerusalem, where the Divine judgment has taken place. It is, of course, the old and not the new Jerusalem of which the prophet is thinking.—**And look upon**] i.e., look with awful interest upon. (Comp. Ps. xci. 8, and for the idiom, Isa. lxvi. 5, Gen. xxi. 16, xlv. 34.)—

For their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched] Three questions arise in considering this passage: 1. Is it the world of men or of souls which is the scene of the torments? 2. if the latter, how far are we to interpret the description in a material sense? and 3. in what sense is everlastingness here predicated of the fire and the worm? 1. As to the scene of the torments. The context naturally leads us to suppose that the reference is to the bodies of the slain, lying unburied upon the ground; and this view is partly confirmed by the parallel passage in Zechariah (xiv. 12). On the other hand, the details of the description suggest, by their obvious inconsistency, that the terms are symbolic of the tortures of the souls in Hades. This is the view embodied in the Targum, which renders the second half of the verse thus: 'Because their souls shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and the ungodly shall be judged in Gehenna, until the righteous say concerning them, 'We have seen enough;' it also underlies the solemn warning of Jesus, 'It is better for thee to enter into Life maimed, than having two hands to go into Gehenna, into the fire that never shall be quenched; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched' (Mark ix. 43, 44, comp. 45-48).¹ Both views being so strongly supported, we must, I

think, endeavour to combine them, and the study of primitive beliefs may suggest a way. The eschatology of the Bible is symbolic, and its symbols are borrowed (with that large-hearted tolerance which we have so often had to notice) from the popular forms of belief respecting the unseen world. Now it is one of the most primitive and most tenacious of these forms of belief that the soul itself has a kind of body, without which indeed those phantom-visions in which all races have believed would be impossibilities. As soon as men begin to reflect, however rudely, upon this belief, the theory arises that there are different kinds of spirit, or soul. Some primitive races say that man has three souls; some, that he has four; but a simpler and more natural idea is that he has two. This is said to be the belief of the Algonquins, a tribe of North American Indians;² it also appears to have been current upon the banks of the Nile and of the Jordan. The Egyptian priests, who were never ashamed of the archaic basis of their theology, taught this doctrine—that after the separation of soul and body in death, the soul went through a series of trials in Amenti or Hades, not however as a pure spirit, but accompanied by an *eidolon* of the cast-off body; meantime the body remained in the upper world, seemingly inanimate, but really still possessing a kind of soul, the pale reflection of the soul in Amenti. The Book of Job, so full of references to popular beliefs, and so abundant in illustrations of II. Isaiah, contains a passage which presupposes a closely analogous belief among the Jews. After expressing an earnest desire for a second life upon earth, the suffering patriarch falls back into despond-

¹ Gehenna, according to Jesus (see Matt. x. 28) as well as according to the Targum, is a place where both soul and body undergo punishment. Comp. Luke xvi. 24.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 392.

rebelled against me, for their worm shall not die, and their fire

ency, as he recalls to mind the melancholy consequences of death. 'Thou overpowerest him for ever, and he goeth; changing his face, and thou sendest him away. His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not; they become mean, and he observeth them not. Nevertheless, his flesh upon him feeleth pain, and his soul upon him mourneth' (xiv. 22). In the Book of Isaiah itself we have met with one doubtful trace of the belief in a duplicate body (see on lvii. 2), and the Book of Ezekiel has, in a highly imaginative passage, a sufficiently distinct reference to it (Ezek. xxxii. 25). A kindred belief is presupposed in the passage before us. The delivered Israelites are represented as going out to behold a signal instance of righteous retribution. What they see can be only the corpses of their enemies. But the prophet continues in terms which properly can only belong to the souls in Hades. How is this? It is because of the supposed double consciousness of soul and body.¹ Just as, according to primitive belief, 'the mutilation of the body will have a corresponding effect upon the soul,'² so the tortures of the soul in Hades will be felt in some degree by the corpse on earth. The emphasis in the prophetic statement is of course not on the sympathy of soul and body, but on the sense of punishment which the personalities of the guilty ones shall never lose (comp. l. 11 end). 2. As to the materiality of the torments of the guilty souls. By the inconsistency of the description, the prophet clearly warns us not to understand it literally. The Egyptian authors of the Book of the Dead would have equally

depreciated a literal interpretation of the torments of the condemned. The eschatology of the Bible, as has been already stated, is symbolic; the prophet, like the other men of God, speaks in figures. His symbols are borrowed partly from the valley of Hinnom, which had formerly been the scene of the burnt sacrifices to Moloch (comp. on lvii. 5), and afterwards became the receptacle of the filth of Jerusalem, and partly (as we have seen) from the popular imaginations respecting the soul. We must be on our guard, however, against supposing that the kernel of his symbols is a mere abstraction. This would be high treason against his Semitic origin and his prophetic calling. There is no reasonable doubt that material torments form a very definite part of his eschatology. In one essential point, however, our prophet is distinguished from later non-prophetic writers, viz., his self-restraint in referring to the unseen world. He refrains as much from elaborate pictorial descriptions as from dogmatizing. 3. As to the everlastingness of the torments. Did the prophet merely mean 'that nothing should put the fire out, while any portion of the carcasses remained to be devoured—that it should be unquenchable *until* it had done its work, and all was entirely consumed?' And in the application of the figure to the soul, that pangs of conscience should continue to afflict the guilty ones until they were purified thereby? This at any rate does not seem to have been the interpretation of the early readers of the prophecy. Not to quote again the words of our Lord, the proverbial use of the

¹ Compare the Aramaic and Talmudic use of *nefesh* in the sense of a funerary stele, which has even a point of contact in the Old Testament. See Deut. xxvi. 14, which proves, if we follow the Septuagint, that just as the Egyptians brought oblations to the *ka*, or 'double,' resident in the statue of the dead, so the Jews did to the *nefesh* ('soul') of the dead. Comp. also the Arab belief in the *saddû* of the dead, the owl which haunts the grave (*Hamâsa*, p. 400 Freytag, *Schol.* ii. 72). See W. R. Smith, *Academy*, March 18, 1883, p. 189.

² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 407.

shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abomination unto all flesh.

fire and the worm in Sirach vii. 17, Judith xvi. 17,¹ would hardly have arisen, if the Jewish people had given the phrases so mild a meaning. But the theory mentioned may I think be refuted out of the Book of Isaiah itself, where we read (xxxiv. 10) respecting the fire with which guilty Edom is threatened, that it shall be quenchless, and that its smoke shall go up for ever, so that 'none shall pass through' Edom 'for ever and ever.' There is no *arrière pensée* here; the everlastingness spoken of is absolute and without qualification. The phrase 'perpetual burnings' (xxxiii. 14, see note) has quite another reference.—**An abomination]** The Hebr. word (*dērāōn*)

only occurs again in Dan. xii. 2 (which, from the context, appears to be an allusion to our passage).—Such is the awful picture with which the Book of Israel's Consolation closes. Is there not an incongruity in this? The early Jewish critics appear to have thought so. They directed that when this chapter (or the last chapter of the Minor Prophets, the Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes) was read, the last verse but one should be repeated to correct the sad impression of the last. One cannot but sympathise with them. But how should there not be a difference between the Old Testament and the New?

¹ Mr. E. White is carried too far by his controversial bias, when he accuses the post-Christian writer of Judith of 'going beyond prophecy, and yielding to the influence of a philosophical doctrine of an immortality learned from Greece and Egypt, and not found in his national Scriptures' (*Life in Christ*, 3rd ed., p. 170).

CRITICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. 7. זרים, the reading of the text, may be either the gen. of the subject or of the object. If of the subject, the whole phrase will mean 'like a subversion in which strangers (or, enemies) are the agents.' If of the object, 'like a subversion of strangers' land.' The former meaning is natural in itself, but there are three objections to it: (a) that a gen. standing alone after an infinitive or a noun used infinitivally is, according to usage, a gen. of the object (see Deut. xxix. 22, Jer. xlix. 18), (b) that מהפכה is the standing term for the catastrophe of Sodom and Gomorrah (which is also an objection to Dr. Neubauer's suggestion זרים), and (c) that the context shows that Sodom is in the mind of Isaiah here. The latter meaning has only one argument against it, viz. that it is forced, and requires us to take זרים in different senses in two successive lines. It is better therefore to suppose that זרים was written either carelessly (the word having occurred just before) or by design, from a patriotic motive, instead of סרום. Against Lowth's conjecture זרם, see my *Notes and Criticisms, ad loc.* (Ibn Ezra supposed זרים to be a collateral form of זרם.) Prof. Robertson Smith also accepts סרום.

1. 9. כמעט. To attach this word to the first half of the verse makes this disproportionately long. Geiger¹ has shown that the old Jewish students of Scripture (represented by the Versions) were startled by some of the hard things said of Israel, and substituted milder expressions. He even thinks that the text was sometimes gently touched from the same patriotic motive. Certainly in this verse, if anywhere, we may assume a softening interpolation; that the judges should be called 'judges of Sodom' might be tolerated, but that the entire people should, even in a hypothesis, be likened to Sodom, was too great a shock. Three of the versions (Sept., Pesh., Vulg.) omit the word, and the fourth (Targ.) gives a rendering which clearly reveals a dissatisfaction with the text, even in its mitigated form: the offence remained, to the author of this rendering, even after the insertion of the gloss. It seems to me possible that a similar feeling of national complacency dictated the change of סרום into זרים in v. 7.

1. 12. לראות פני. Read לראות פ', and see note in *I.C.A.*, p. 39.

¹ *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (Breslau 1857), p. 346, &c.

Geiger¹ has shown by a number of passages that the authors of the points and the early translators took great offence at the expression 'to see God.' Hence, they frequently modify this phrase; but as where one modifies it another sometimes does not, we are now and then able to produce documentary evidence that the original reading has been changed. It was enough (or seemed enough) to change the vowels; the letters of the text were allowed to remain. Yet it is doubtful whether the reading of the points in the present case is even grammatically admissible, not so much on account of the assumed syncope of ה, which Böttcher and Stade in their grammars call in question (for even if the Massoretic pointing in the four other supposed cases of syncopated infin. Nifal be erroneous, yet the principle of such a syncope is assured by the admitted examples of syncopated Hifil—see, e.g., iii. 8, xxiii. 11), as because of the prepositional use of פני, which only occurs elsewhere in two passages precisely analogous to the present (Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20). Del. in his 3rd ed. admits the plausibility of this argument ('vielleicht aber eben nur vielleicht richtig').—The same offence at the anthropomorphism, 'to see God,' dictated the Sept. version of xxxviii. 11 (see vol. i., p. 229, note ^h).

1. 13 *ב*. און ועצרה. The rendering adopted has been objected to as giving the Vâv a kind of sarcastic value. But the Vâv of association, though commoner in Arabic, is not unknown in Hebrew (see below on vii. 1). Auth. Vers. is grammatically less probable. For the principle of the Hebrew idiom, see Driver (*Hebrew Tenses*, § 197, obs. 2), who compares Jer. xiii. 27.

1. 24. אביר ישראל. Possibly the pointing is due to a wish on the part of the Massorettes to exclude the translation 'steer of Israel' as too suggestive of idolatry. 'אביר יש' might, in fact, have been so translated; comp. the figurative 'bulls of Bashan,' and the title of bull frequently applied to the Egyptian sun-god Amen, to express divine youth and strength (*T. S. B. A.*, ii. 252).

1. 29. Read תבשו. Errors in the pronominal affixes were so easy that there is no merit in retaining the harsh transition of the text. Comp. xlii. 20, xlv. 28, liii. 10.

II. 6. Sept. renders the first part, *ὅτι ἐνεπλήσθη ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* [so all the old versions] *ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν κληδονισμῶν*. Hence Lowth and Roorda would restore מִקְסָם מִקְסָם. This is very plausible (or we might read קָסָם), but perhaps it makes the clause a trifle heavy; it was not sorcery alone that came 'from the East,' and the last clause has probably no connection with religion. (The simplest correction of all is Krochmal's קִסְמִים יִשְׁפִּיקוּ. יִשְׁפִּיקוּ is hard. דַּפֵּק, 'to strike,' is only

¹ *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, pp. 337-9.

used of indignation or scorn, Num. xxiv. 10, Job xxvii. 3, but Arab. *ḡafqa* means to strike hands in a bargain (whence *ḡafqa*, 'a bargain'). Another plausible rendering is 'applaud,' the sense of the Arabic *aḡfaqa* (= השפיק). See further my *Notes and Criticisms*.

II. 16. משכיות החמרה. 'ש' is evidently the same as משכיות, which occurs in Num. xxxiii. 52 (comp. Lev. xxvi. 1), in the sense of 'carved idolatrous obelisks,' and in Prov. xxv. 11 of 'chased (silver) vessels.' The (Aramaic) root is שכה 'to pierce through,' 'to distinguish,' and hence 'to look at.' The Vulgate and Saadya have understood the phrase to mean all kinds of ornaments; but the usage of the word משכית (comp. also Ezek. viii. 12) favours the view that some sort of imagery was represented on the foreign works of art referred to. The wider meaning 'objects which attract the gaze' is, however, amply defensible on the analogy of the Aramaic *khezvā* and Assyrian *tamartu*, both used of costly things, and both from roots meaning 'to see.' Ewald's 'watch-towers of pleasure' is derived from the Peshito, and confirmed by the Aramaic סכות 'watch-tower,' but has the Hebrew usage against it, and is scarcely suitable at the close of the catalogue.

III. 10. אמרו. The present reading is no doubt grammatically defensible (cf. Gen. i. 4, vi. 2), but it is weak. Correct, with Duham, אמרו אשרי (comp. xxxii. 20), thus completing the parallelism between v. 10 and v. 11. Lowth suggested אמרו אשרי.

III. 12. ננשיו here without connoting oppression; comp. lx. 17, Zech. x. 4. The plural is to be explained as a construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν*. The thought of the prophet was, 'My people's governors are a petulant child and the court women.' He began to write this down and then broke up the clause into two, to produce a rhythmic parallelism (comp. xli. 27, Zeph. iii. 10).

III. 25. מתוך. A poetic archaism (see *Notes and Criticisms, ad loc.*). The Assyrian cognate *mut*, and the Ethiopic *met*, are both used for 'husband' (properly 'man'). In Hebrew usage מתים always implies dependence or weakness (the former even in Job xix. 19, Job being described as a kind of emir). It does not appear to connote fewness; else there would be no occasion for the familiar compound phrase מתי מספר (Gen. xxxiv. 30, &c.). Hence in xli. 14, we should render 'petty folk' (Sept. wrongly *ὀλιγοσστός*). 'Dependents' would probably be the best general rendering; this will include warriors (implied here) and household servants (see Job xxxi. 31).

IV. 3-6. Several questions arise out of this difficult passage. First is v. 4 the protasis of v. 3 (Delitzsch), or of v. 5 (Ewald, rendering v. 5, 'then Yahveh shall make,' &c.)? Its position favours the latter view, but the sense imperiously requires the former. According to Stade, vv. 2, 3, 4 have been misplaced, and the right order is 4, 3, 2, and with v. 2 he closes the prophecy, vv. 5, 6 being,

he thinks, the addition of an editor during the Exile (*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1884, pp. 149-151). Certainly the last two verses of the chapter are in harmony with the tone of thought of the exile-prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. viii. 6, x. 19, xi. 23, xliii. 1-4), not to mention II. Isa. lii. 8, lxiii. 17. They also contain a word unique in this part of the book, and specially characteristic of II. Isaiah (see commentary on xl. 26). But may we *on this account alone* deny that Isaiah wrote ברא (so Wellhausen, *Gesch. Israels*, i. 350 note)? Granting that ברא is an Aramaism, does it follow that every Aramaism in Isaiah is a corruption? Ryssel has already pointed out how growing an influence was exerted by Aramaic from the times of Ahaz onwards (*De Elohista Pentateuchi sermone*, Lips. 1878, p. 25), and the period of Ahaz is suitable for the date of chap. iv. That ברא is of Aryan origin is a purely personal hypothesis of Lagarde's and Wellhausen's. We find the Assyrian cognate (in the Shafel form) in the Assyrian deluge-story, used of the divine causation of a dream (Haupt in *K.A.T.*, ed. 2, pp. 60, 500).

On iv. 5, 6. There is only one alternative to the supposition in the commentary, and that is to let v. 5 run on into v. 6 (so Hitz., Naeg., and virtually Del.), rendering, 'For over all that is glorious shall a canopy and a pavilion arise.' But the figure seems more striking with סָפָה alone. Is סָפָה genuine?

v. 1. שִׁירַת רוּרִי. For the objection to the ordinary view, see my note *ad loc.* The phrase should probably be explained, on the analogy of מִשְׁבֵּב רוּרִים 'bed of love' (Ezek. xxiii. 17), 'a song of love,' i.e. 'a lovely song.' Two ways of explaining the רוּרִי of the text are open to us. (a) It may be an example of the popular apocoped plural (*i* for *im*), recognised by Ewald in 2 Sam. xxii. 44 (Ps. cxlv. 2), Lam. iii. 14, Cant. viii. 2, and perhaps Ps. xlv. 9 (*Lehrbuch*, § 177 a). If Ewald (*Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, ii. 425) may be followed, we have another instance of רוּרִי for רוּרִים in Cant. vii. 10, but this is very doubtful. But although the Himyaritic plural of tens is formed by *i* without the *n* which should follow, I question whether the second mode of explanation (b) is not better, not only for Isa. v. 1 (which is *not* included by Ewald in his instances of the apocoped plural), but for the other passages quoted above. Bishop Lowth writes, '[There is in all such cases] a mistake of the transcribers, by not observing a small stroke, which in many MSS. is made to supply the ם of the plural, thus 'דְּרוּרִי.' See below, on liii. 8.

v. 13. For מתי read מי with Hitz. &c. ; comp. Deut. xxxii. 24. An error of the ear rather than of the eye.

v. 17. I have quoted Sept. as reading נרים 'kids,' following Ewald. But it is quite possible that Sept. read כרים. Dr. Weir

retains גָּרִים 'sojourners,' i.e. nomad shepherds, comparing 2 Sam. iv. 3, Jer. xxxv. 7. But גָּרִים really hangs together with the untenable Jewish view of the verse as a promise to the faithful (Targ., Pesh., Kimchi, and so Calv., Vitr.). See Buhl, *Zeitschr. f. kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 1883, pp. 231-2. קָהִים is more obstinate than גָּרִים. In eds. 1 and 2 I assumed a twofold meaning of the phrase, in which it occurs—'the ruins of the rich' (Ps. xxii. 29, lxxviii. 31), and 'the ruins of (destined for) the fatlings' (Ps. lxxvi. 15). But this is too subtle for Isaiah, and I now follow an anonymous writer (in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, n.s., vol. iv., pp. 328-343) in supposing a clerical error. The *codex primarius*, from which all extant Hebrew MSS. ultimately spring, may have had הרבתםיהם—a combination of two readings with different suffixes. Not understanding this, a scribe would easily alter מיהם into מהים. The remaining correction מרברם needs no defence.

v. 30. צַר וְאֹר. Del. claims the authority of the points for his rendering, but the Massorettes (as Buhl has pointed out) meant us to understand 'moon and sun,' as Saadya and other Jewish scholars after them (see Rashi and A.E.).

For the ἄπ. λεγ. עריפים Friedr. Del. compares the Assyr. *êrputu* 'cloud' (*Hebrew and Assyrian*, pp. 15, 20).

vi. 6. רִצְפָה Ges., Hitz., Knob., Luzzatto, render 'hot stone' (*Glühstein*, *pietra infuocata*), and refer to the Eastern custom of cooking food on stones heated in a fire (comp. 1 Kings xix. 6, רִצְפָה). But רִצְפָה is not necessarily a 'hot stone,' see Esth. i. 6, &c., and for post-Biblical Hebrew, *Joma*, i. 7.¹ (Vulg. *calculus*; Ewald, *Stückstein*.)

vii. 1. וְלֹא יִכַּל. The singular is used, because Pekah is only an appendage to his more powerful neighbour. The Vâv before his name is that of association (= 'together with'); see i. 13 b, xiii. 9, xlii. 5, xlvi. 16 b, li. 19, and, for other examples, Ewald, *Lehrbuch d. h. Spr.*, § 339 a (or see Kennedy's transl. of Ewald's *Syntax*).

On vii. 8, 9. (See end of note.) The corruption of אַסְנַפֵּר (Asnapper) from אַסְנַרְבַּנְפַּל (Assurbanipal) is easy. Two letters only had become effaced in the manuscript from which Ezra iv. 9, 10 was copied. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 329, in adopting this identification (due to Dr. Haigh?), remarks that Assurbanipal was the conqueror of Susa, and that the Susanchites are among the nations which Asnapper transported to N. Israel (Ezra iv. 9, 10).

vii. 14. הַעֲלָמָה.—Dr. Pusey has published his view of the rendering and etymology of עֲלָמָה in a learned note to a university sermon. See *Prophecy of Jesus*, &c., Oxford, 1879, pp. 48-51. With characteristic independence, he boldly defends the rendering 'virgin,' and the connection of עֲלָמָה with עָלַם 'to hide.' His argu-

¹ Siegfried, review of *I.C.A.*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 179.

ments are drawn partly from the Biblical usage of *עלמה*, partly from the superior suitability which he attributes to the native Hebrew root. He remarks incidentally that the rendering 'young woman' deprives the prophecy of its emphasis—a criticism which I do not understand, for would not the article prefixed render any noun emphatic? On the latter, he is really suggestive; at any rate, one or two of the facts which he has adduced from the Arabic lexicon throw some valuable light on the *synonymik* of the Semitic languages. For instance, *bint* in Arabic (like *בת* in Hebrew) is used in the sense of 'girl'; and a synonym for *bint* is *ḥabāt*, evidently derived from the root *ḥabaa*, 'to hide,' and meaning 'a girl kept in the tent,' i.e. 'not yet married' (Lane, pp. 692–3). Dr. Pusey, however, does not go so far as to include *ḥabaa* among the four roots from which, he remarks, as many distinct groups of words signifying 'virginity' are derived; and he will hardly deny that the Arabic *ḡulām*, 'a young man, youth, boy, or male child' (Lane), is derived from the root *ḡalima*, commonly rendered 'coëundi cupidus esse,' but more accurately (for the Arabic lexicon only gives the coarsened Arabic usage, not the fundamental meaning) 'maturus esse.' Dr. Pusey infers that *עלמה* might have the same meaning as *ḥabāt*; I follow the majority in inferring that it might be synonymous with *ḡulāmat* (fem. of *ḡulām*). There would be no objection to his theory of the etymology, if *עלמה* stood alone in the Semitic vocabulary, if *עלם* and *עלומים*, and the analogues of *עלם* and *עלמה* in Arabic and Aramaic, were non-existent—if, that is, *עלמה* were not a member of a widely-spread family of words which require to be accounted for in the same way. When it can be shown that Aramaic and Arabic had a root *עלם* 'to hide,' Dr. Pusey's argument will gain greatly in cogency. I admit, of course, that the etymology does not necessarily agree with the usage of a word (Dr. Pusey well refers to the Arabic *bikr*, 'a virgin,' but etymologically only 'a young woman'), but I urge that in the case of *עלם* and *עלומים* it does so agree, and that the context of Isa. vii. 14 does not compel us to decide that *העלמה* has any but the etymologically correct rendering 'the young woman.' May I, in conclusion, suggest that the *nuance* which *ḡalima* has acquired in Arabic should not be confounded with the fundamental meaning? It seems to me as if Dr. Pusey's natural aversion to Arabian coarseness has impeded him in the critical use of the Arabic vocabulary.

On the Biblical usage I have spoken at length elsewhere. It so happens that the context of the other passages where *עלמה* occurs (Ps. lxxviii. 26, 1 Chr. xv. 20 are hardly exceptions) favours a reference to an unmarried woman. But this proves nothing with regard to our passage, the context being indecisive. With regard to the versions,

we have no ground for pressing the Sept. rendering ἡ παρθένος (comp. Pesh. *ḅ'thūlta*), which may of course be used loosely like *virgo* (comp. Gen. xxiv. 55, where it is the Sept. rend. of הַנְּעָרָה). The ἀπόκρυφος of Aquila, Gen. xxiv. 43, may be safely disregarded. Critical etymologies were not the *forte* of the Jews or their pupils. Delitzsch remarks with laconic positiveness, 'The assertion of Jerome, *Hebraicum nunquam nisi de virgine scribitur, significat enim puellam virginem absconditam*, defended by Vercellone in a lengthy lecture, is untenable' (*Jesaja*, ed. 3, p. 115, note 3).

vii. 15. לְדַעְתּוֹ. Lit. 'towards his knowing,' i.e., about the time of his knowing. Comp. Judg. xx. 10 לְבוֹאֵם 'when they shall come.' No other rendering suits the context.

vii. 25. לֹא־תִבּוֹא שִׁמְהָ יִרְאַת וְגו'. The rendering of Vit. and Ew. is variously explained (according to Ew., 'there is not even the fear of thorns, for they are allowed to grow up anywhere undisturbed, which is very unnatural); but in any case the contrast between the present renunciation of agriculture and the past careful pursuance of it is entirely lost. The construction preferred is not indeed free from awkwardness (מִיִּרְאַת would have been simpler); but it is the fault, not of Isaiah, but of the early editor of chap. vii. (see vol. i. p. 42).

viii. 2. Read הָעֵיִדָּה. Comp. Ezek. v. 2, אַרְיִק for קָרַק.

viii. 9. וְהָתָן has been repeated accidentally from the second verse-half (Grätz).

viii. 15. בָּם. Most critics render בָּם 'among them,' which is weak in itself, and leaves the verse rather isolated. I prefer, with Ges. and Hitz., to attach the word to the verb (comp. Jer. vi. 21, xlvi. 12). The plural is however less natural than the singular (for the 'stone' and the 'rock' are but one), and I therefore adopt Prof. de Goeje's suggestion (*Revue critique*, May 8, 1875) to point בָּם, and explain on the analogy of liii. 8 (see below), *em* being in all probability a Phœnicio-Hebrew pronominal suffix form for the 3rd pers. masc. sing.

viii. 19. Sept. renders the last clause of this verse, τί ἐκζητοῦσι περὶ τῶν ζώσαντων τοὺς νεκρούς; Did Sept. read מִהַיִּדִּישׁ? or are the first two words simply an interpretation?

viii. 19 *b*. We might also bridge over the two parts of the verse by supplying mentally, 'then answer ye,' comp. Ps. viii. 3, 4. In *I. C. A.* the difficult phrase 'their gods' was explained, 'the spirits of the departed national heroes,' comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 13. According to this view, endorsed by Prof. J. E. Carpenter (*Modern Review*, Jan. 1881, p. 13), and proposed afresh by Dr. Buhl, 'the necromancers and wizards had their eager crowds of followers, who proclaimed that nothing was more natural than that the people should

have resort to their Elohim, the living consult the dead.' The prophet attempts to open their eyes by placing their words in a context which reveals their absurdity. I find in my own copy of *I. C. A.* this manuscript criticism upon myself, 'But would the ghosts be called "their gods"? Elohim they might be, but the personal pronoun surely makes the relation too intimate.' In any case, we must not illustrate the passage by xxviii. 15.

viii. 21. Dean Perowne, a little differently, 'If they shall not speak according to this word, when they have no dawn of light, [if they shall still refuse God's revelation,] then (*v.* 21) they shall pass along,' &c. (*Sermons*, p. 376.) But *v.* 21 reads rather like a continuation than as the apodosis of a sentence.

viii. 22. וואפלה מנרה. The sense 'spread abroad,' based only upon Arab. *nadaha*, seems precarious; but 'driven (upon him)' is fairly supported by 2 Sam. xv. 14, Deut. xx. 19 (Naeg.). מנרה must be explained as in apposition, 'caligo—propulsum.' The alternative rend., 'he is thrust into darkness' (comp., with Rashi, Jer. xxiii. 12) spoils the parallelism. Sept. renders by guess, καὶ σκοτός ὥστε μὴ βλέπειν. The text seems doubtful.

viii. 21, 22. The transposition of these verses is made (on the analogy of many similar cases in the Sept. and elsewhere) in order to soften the transition to ix. 1. The mere difficulty of the proleptic clipsis of the noun to which the pronoun in בָּהּ refers, is not great; comp. (with Del. on Hab. i. 5) xiii. 2, למקרישי=לָהֶם; Job vi. 29, בלשוני=בָּהּ; Ps. ix. 13, אֹתָם, viz. עֲנוּיִם.

On viii. 22, ix. 1-7 comp. Selwyn's *Horæ Hebraicæ* (Cambr. 1860), pp. 5-130.

ix. 1. צלמות. Most recent critics (not however Hitzig and Nöldeke¹) have followed Ewald and Olshausen in abandoning the traditional interpretation 'shadow of death.' It is certainly plausible to point צלמות, thus assimilating the word to a large class of abstract nouns. On the other hand, let it be remembered (1) that Hebrew does possess both real and virtual compounds (comp. the proper names הצרְקָנוֹת 'death's court' and עֲזֻקְנוֹת 'strong is death,' also בְּלִיעַל 'naughtiness,' מַאֲפְלֵיהָ 'Jah's darkness,' שֵׁלֶה־בְּתִיהָ 'Jah's flame'²), and (2) that in Job xxxviii. 17 צלמות is undoubtedly used as a parallel to Death or Hades. My own view is that the original pronunciation was צלְמוֹת, and the original meaning 'blackness' or 'darkness,' but that, as no other offshoot of the same stem had sur-

¹ See Hitzig on Isa. ix. 1, Ps. xxiii. 4, Job iii. 5, and Nöldeke in *Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1867, Bd. i., p. 456. It is worth adding that Prof. Nöldeke has seen no reason to change his opinion.

² On Semitic compounds, see Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, p. 232 &c., Philippi, *Wesen u. Ursprung des St. Constr. im Hebr.*, p. 49 &c., and on the two last named (which are contested by Ewald and Olshausen), comp. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 276.

vived in Hebrew, the word passed into disuse, till Amos (v. 8) and Isaiah (ix. 1) revived it. They and other religious writers needed this fresh word to express 'deep gloom,' and assumed a didactic etymology (as was done for other words, e.g., אָרָם, יָרֵי, and probably אָנוּשׁ) from צָל and קִנְיָה. The author or authors of Job had a special predilection for the word; ten of the seventeen passages in which the word is found occur in that poem. I argue upwards from Job xxxviii. 17, where the sense 'deadly shade' seems required, but I think that several other passages gain by supposing an allusion to the darkness of Hades. I do not include among these Ps. xxiii. 4, where 'the valley' referred to seems to me Hades itself. The stem צָלַם 'to be dark' is proved to be an old Semitic root by its occurrence in Assyrian; see Schrader, *K. A. T.*, ed. 2, pp. 515, 581; Sayce, *T. S. B. A.*, iii. 169. The view adopted in Mühlau and Volck's Gesenius, according to which צָלְמוֹת and צָלָם 'shade' are connected together, must be erroneous, as צָלָם never means 'shade,' but always (even Ps. xxxix. 7, lxxiii. 20) 'an image,' from צָלַם 'to cut out.'

ix. 3 [2]. הַגִּיל לֹא [לֹא וְגו'.] Selwyn conjectures הַגִּיל, Krochmal better הַגִּילָה (lxv. 18). If we follow the K'ri, we must explain the position of the pronoun, not as emphatic (as perhaps in lxiii. 9), but as euphonic (as xl. 22, see commentary).

ix. 4. סִאֵן סִאֵן. סִ is an Aramaism adopted into Hebrew and Ethiopic. The Syriac denominative verb in Pael is the rend. of ὑποδέομαι in Pesh. Acts xii. 8, but the Hebrew of course may mean 'to go about shod,' or (to suit the context) 'to stamp.' The Pesh. translator confounded סִאֵן with שִׂאֵן (comp. Rashi). The Sept. thought of Syr. *zainā* 'armour' (στολή); 'shoe' seems due to R. Joseph Kimchi (see his son's *Book of Roots*). The Targ. and Vulg. have still worse guesses.

—— ברעש. Most render 'in the tumult (of battle),' but the parallelism leads us to expect a qualification of the participle, and this produces a grander description.

ix. 6. לְסִרְבָּה. Lagarde (*Semitica*, i. 17) regards the לָם as a fragment of a half-illegible word in the MS. from which the scribe was copying. Why should it not be a case of *διπτογραφία*, שְׁלוּם having been first of all written 'defectively' שְׁלָם? The verse would then run more smoothly. 'Increased (pointing, רִבְּה) is the government, and peace hath no end,' &c. (So Grätz, *Geschichte*, ii. 1, p. 223.) (הַרְבָּה is no doubt an Isaianic word, see xxxiii. 23, but we have to account for the ס *clausum*.)

ix. 8. דָּבָר might also be taken in the sense of 'a thing' as 1 Sam. xiv. 12, i.e., in this case, an evil thing. So Nestle (*Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1878).

ix. 10. צרי. Hitzig (on Job xxx. 13) conjectures עֲזָרָי 'helpers.'

ix. 16. Read לא יפסח with Lagarde. פסח is an Isaianic word (xxxii. 5). True, the litotes in the text may be supported by Eccles.

iv. 16. But it gives a poor parallel to לא ירחם.

ix. 18. נעתם ארץ. The sense is clearly given by *συγκέκωνται* (Sept.); whether the Arab. *'āma* 'to glow with heat,' *'atm* 'stifling heat,' may be compared, is a question [which Prof. R. Smith has finally settled in the negative]. Comp. below, on xi. 15. Krochmal corrects נצתה הארץ.

ix. 19. גזר. 1. to cut up (meat); 2. to devour: cf. Arab. *jaraza*.

x. 4. Prof. de Lagarde (letter in *Academy*, Dec. 15, 1870) proposes to read בִּלְתִּי כַעֲשֵׂת חַת אֲסִיר 'Beltis stoops, Osiris is con-founded;' comp. xlvi. 1, Jer. l. 2. Lagarde thinks that Beltis (בִּלְתִּי) and Osiris were worshipped by some of the Judahites. There is, it is true, abundant evidence¹ of the worship of Beltis in Syria at a later time; but early testimony seems to be wholly wanting, unless with Geiger we point לְבִלְתִּי in 2 Kings. xxiii. 10 (comp. v. 7 בתים לאִשְׁרָה).² The form again is doubtful. If the deity intended be the Babylonian Bilit, the form (as Mr. Sayce points out to me) should be בִּלְתִּי. In later Phœnician, the form was certainly בעֵלְתִּי (see de Vogüé's *Stèle de Yehawmelek*, p. 8), and the Græcised Βααλτίς is from בעֵלְתִּי, not בעֵלְתִּי (Schlottmann; Schröder). Still less is there any evidence that Osiris was ever a popular deity in Palestine. True, Usir (Osiris) has been found in one Phœnician and in one Cyprio-Phœnician proper name (see *Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, i. 68, inscr. 46). It may perhaps be that Assir, in Ex. vi. 24, should be Osir (comp. Hur, Ex. xvii. 10, probably=Horus), and that Anon, the son of king Manasseh, is the same as the Egyptian Amen (=Ra, the sun-god). Mosheh is no doubt Mesa ('child' or 'son,' a common proper name under the Middle Empire); Pinehas may be 'the negro' (so Lauth and Brugsch); Ahi-ra (Num. i. 15) and Putiel (Ex. vi. 25) may be half-Egyptian; for the last comp. the Pet-Baal mentioned by Brugsch.³ Still the general result of Old Testament study is to reduce Egyptian influence on the Israelites within very narrow dimensions. A sporadic reverence for either Osiris or Beltis would surely not have been referred to in this context and in these terms.—The case is not much improved if with Geiger⁴ we take the Beltis in Lagarde's proposed reading as a symbol of Babylon, and Osiris of Egypt. The fugitive Judahites would never think of taking refuge in

¹ See Lagarde's note in *Semitica*, Heft 1; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, p. 519 (Bilati or Belati = the planet Venus in Syriae).

² *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, ii. 259. This view is very questionable; Jer. xxxii. 35 entitles us to expect Baal and not Beltis.

³ Putiel is thus explained by Mr. Tomkins, in 'Biblical Proper Names Illustrated,' &c., *Victoria Institute Transactions*, vol. xvi. 1882.

⁴ *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, ix. 119.

Assyria, when the Assyrians had but just ravaged Gilead and Naphtali (ix. 1, 2 Kings xv. 29).¹ Prof. de Lagarde's ingenious conjecture must therefore on various grounds be decidedly rejected. Gladly would we learn more of the popular religion of Palestine, but we must not read our own fancies into the scanty records at our disposal. (Sept. seems to have had a mutilated Hebrew text; it renders by τοῦ μὴ ἐμπροσθεν εἰς ἀπαγωγῆς.)

x. 5 b. Prof. Driver's note on this passage (*Hebrew Tenses*, § 201, 1 obs.) should be consulted; he understands הוּא as an imperfect anticipation of the subject, comp. Ezek. xi. 15 end. So Del. This is possible, though the construction is, I think, a blot on a fine passage. There is no various reading of moment in the MSS., but Sept. omits הוּא מַטָּה. Hitz., Ew. (ed. 1), and Diestel omit הוּא בִּירָם as an intrusive marginal gloss (comp. v. 24), but this leaves the clause too short. Secker (in Lowth) plausibly corrects בְּיוֹם.

x. 13. וְאֹרִיר . . . וְאֹסִיר. Hitzig and Dr. Kay regard this as the imperfect of habit ('I am wont to . . .'), but this hardly suits the context; Ewald (so Prof. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, §§ 83, 84), as a vivid way of representing past events as in course of happening, but yet without implying at the same time the idea of sequence or causation. The 'tense' is singularly appropriate here, as it is the one which the Assyrian kings, for the same reason as Isaiah here, habitually use in their inscriptions. Comp. on xii. 1.

x. 18. בְּמַסֵּס נִסְס. A singular phrase; can it be correct? מַסֵּס occurs nowhere else in Kal, and though נִסְס and הִתְנַסֵּס are found in three other places (lix. 19, Zech. ix. 16, Ps. lx. 6), none of them seem to illustrate our passage. 'It is easier,' as Dr. Weir remarks, 'to find objections to all the various renderings which have been proposed, than to say which is the true one. The ancient versions give very little assistance.' He suggests, however (in which I do not agree), that some light is thrown upon the passage by xxxi. 8, 9.

x. 22. I take הַרְוִין as qualifying כְּלִיִּין.

x. 25. Luzzatto and Krochmal read עַל-תְּבִל יָתֵם; but, as Diestel remarks, the next stage was to be, not the cessation of Jehovah's anger against Assyria, but its manifestation on a larger scale. The 'indignation' spoken of in the opening words was the judgment upon Judah (comp. v. 12).

On x. 27, 28. Prof. Robertson Smith offers a very tempting emendation of the four corrupt words which close v. 27, viz. וְיַחְרֵל : עֲלָה מִצְפּוֹן שָׂרָד. (See below.) His argument is elaborate, and is connected with an interesting explanation of the mention of Migron, which has puzzled some critics.

¹ Hitzig in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, xv. 228.

From his article in the *Journal of Philology*, 1884, I venture to quote the following interesting suggestions. 'There is a good reason why the description should begin here, for in the 8th century, as in the time of Saul, the pass of Michmash was no doubt the frontier of the land of Benjamin. An advance upon this pass must necessarily take place by the road leading down from Dêr Diwân (Ai, or Aiath); and . . . the arrival at Ai and the formation of the army on the rolling plateau between that point and the village of Michmash would be the first thing visible to watchmen at Geba or Gibeah. The exact nature of the operations described depends on the localisation of Migron. I think it easiest to suppose that this is the same place as the Migron which appears in 1 Sam. xiv. 2 as the furthest outpost of Saul's position at Gibeah. . . . Saul held Migron to check a further southward advance of the Philistines. It lay south of the pass; but this is the situation which fits our text best. The Assyrians would not attempt so dangerous an operation as the crossing the pass of Michmash with their whole army without first seizing a point on the other side, and Migron . . . would be the very point to secure. Moreover the advance from Ai to the village of Michmash is a mere promenade of two or three miles by an easy road through country not held by the Judæans, so that to place Migron on this line and say "He has passed by Migron" would have little force. I take עבר על=עבר ב with ב in its frequent usage after verbs of attacking, and explain, "He has arrived at Aiath, he has fallen on Migron," i.e. has taken Migron by a *coup-de-main*. The passage thus secured, the heavy baggage is left on the northern side of the pass at the village of Michmash, and the army defiles through the ravine.' Prof. Smith confirms his emendation 'עלה ונו' by the remark, 'No small place on the road beyond Ai would be visible from the Judæan watch-towers, or could properly come into the prophet's vivid description. Beyond Ai the description must fall into generalities,' and he compares for מצפון xiv. 31, Jer. i. 14, &c.

With regard to the reading of v. 27, a second verb in the second clause is certainly wanted, and the comparison of xiv. 25 is greatly in point. The Septuagint version evidently contains duplicate renderings, and the better one is *καὶ καταφθαρήσεται ὁ ζυγὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ὑμῶν*. For Prof. Smith's correction יחַרל he compares Job vii. 16. The whole passage now runs, והיה ביום ההוא יסור סבלו מעל שכמך ועלו מעל ציוארך יחַרל:

x. 33. פִּאֲרָה. Gesenius's explanation, adopted in my translation and also by Del., 'foliage, lit. glory,' seems not to suit the passages (six in Ezekiel), in which פִּאֲרָה occurs in the plural. The several branches would not naturally each be called the 'glory' of a tree. Better, therefore, to derive the word from the root *par* 'to break

forth,' and render 'bough' (see Ezek. xvii. 6), or collectively 'boughs.'

10. 3. והריחו ב'. The phrase is without a parallel, and, as Bickell has pointed out, has arisen out of a corrupt repetition of the preceding words.

10. 4. For the second ארץ read עריץ with Krochmal and Lagarde.

10. 7. Lagarde would read תתקענה.

10. 10. ומאיי הים. The fact that איי הים and איים are specially characteristic of chaps. xl.-lxvi., renders it a little doubtful whether Isaiah himself wrote the latter phrase in this verse, which, indeed, seems complete without it. It is possibly due to one of the Soferim or Scripturists (see Essay vi.), who have so often supplemented the records of prophecy. The earliest absolutely certain occurrences of איים are in Jer. ii. 10, xxxi. 10. Would Isaiah have used איי הים as a technical phrase in but one passage of his 'occasional prophecies'?

— ומחמת. May we go further still, and regard this, too, as a later addition, taking המת as = אחמתא (Ecbatana), a form which only occurs once (Ezra vi. 2)?

10. 15. בעים. Read בעצם with Ges. (*Thesaurus*), Luz., and Kr., י and צ being easily confounded in the earlier stages of the alphabetic characters. So perhaps Sept., Pesh., Vulg., though their renderings may be mere guesswork (comp. Kimchi). To call in the aid of the Arabic in this exceedingly plain piece of Hebrew seems very dubious.

10. 1. ותנחמני ישב. Prof. Driver suggests¹ that this may be taken as a prayer ('May thine anger turn,' &c.), comp. Ps. lxxxv. 5 with 2-4, and cxxvi. 4 with 1-3. To me this does not seem natural, as the next verse is entirely in the strain of thanksgiving. I would not, however, assert that י is to be understood, but rather that the construction with the imperfect, in poetic Hebrew as in epigraphic Assyrian, is a vivid, emotional way of representing even past events as in course of happening (comp. on x. 13). Whether another imperfect with simple Vâv follows, makes no difference (see on the other hand Delitzsch, whose references, however, scarcely prove his case).

10. 2. וזמרת יה יהוה. The termination ת, is not here a poetic or archaic form, but a flexional form of the feminine ה, ; in fact, it stands for תי, by an Aramaizing apocope of the suffix, and so also in Ex. xv. 2, Ps. cxviii. 14. Why this apocopated form was preferred, is a question variously answered. 'It is possible,' thinks Prof. Driver (following Böttcher, i. 241), 'that the older language, dispensing with superfluous letters, intended the י of the next word to do double

¹ *Hebrew Tenses*, ed. 2, p. 261, note 1.

duty, so that the whole would read *וְיִמְרָתָהּ*? Geiger, however, gives a bolder and a more satisfactory explanation.¹ It is well known that the later Jews (even in the times of the Septuagint) scrupled to pronounce the Tetragrammaton, and it is natural that the same scruple (I speak of pre-Massoretic times) should have prevented the pronunciation of the shorter form also. How could this be avoided? By connecting the syllable *יָה* (wherever the sense appeared to allow it) very closely with the preceding word, and slurring it over, so that the hearer was not conscious of hearing the Divine name. Hence in Ex. xv. 2, the Samaritan Pentateuch reads *וְיִמְרָתָהּ* as one word, and Sept. translates or paraphrases there *βοηθὸς καὶ σκεπασσῆς ἐγένετο*. The later versions, however, express the *יָה*, and it is in accordance with this later abatement of scrupulousness that the Massoretic text of Isa. xii. 2 introduces *יְהוָה*. It was apparently still the custom among some public readers of the Scriptures to let the *יָה* be slurred over and absorbed in the preceding word, and to make the true sense quite clear the Massoretic critics inserted the full name *יְהוָה* (only here however, not in Ex. xv. 2, nor in Ps. cxviii. 14). (The case is much stronger than can be shown in this condensed note. Nor can inconsistencies on the part of the Massorettes be pleaded against Geiger's view; perfect consistency is not a virtue even of those laborious critics.)

XIII. 6. *יָה*. I now see from Friedr. Del. (*The Hebrew Language*, &c. p. 48) that in an Assyrian list of synonyms (*W. A. I.*, v. 28, 82 h) *sadû* is explained as a synonym of *sakû*, 'to be high,' and the next line contains the equation of *sadû* and *gablum*, 'mountain.' Del. also quotes the phrase, *Bil sadû rabû*, 'Bel the great rock,' and '*Ilu-sadû'a*, 'God (is) my rock.' If Shaddai once meant 'rock,' it must have been forgotten when the proper name *Çurishaddai* (Num. i. 6, &c.) was framed. More probably it meant 'high,' or 'high as a rock' (intensive form from *יָה*.) These are not too bold conjectures (comp. Gen. xlix. 24, Deut. xxxii. 18, 30, &c.) When the origin had been forgotten, it was natural for the prophetic writers to invent a connection with *יָה*. Comp. Ass. *sadû* with Ar. *saddu* and *suddu*, both meaning 'a mountain.'

XIII. 21, 22. *אֵיִם* . . *צִיִּים*. Bochart compares for the former Arab. *daiwan*, 'a wild cat,' and for the latter *ibn âwâ*, 'a jackal.' But if the latter word is strictly 'a howler,' it will equally well suit the hyæna (elsewhere called *צְבוֹנָה* or *צְבוֹנֵץ*).

XIII. 21. *אֵיִם* 'jackals.' The oldest Babylonian texts refer to an animal called *lik-barra*, who 'goes forth to seize the sheep,' and this word *lik-barra* (literally, evil or wild dog) is translated in the bilingual lists by the Assyrian *a-khu*. Mr. Houghton acutely combined this *a-khu* with the Hebrew *'ōkhlîm* (plur.), only he mistrans-

¹ *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, pp. 274-8.

lated the Accadian 'striped dog,' as if = 'hyæna.' See Friedr. Del., *The Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian Research*, p. 34. Hommel, *Die semitischen Völker*, p. 404, Houghton, *T. S. B. A.*, v. 328.

xiii. 22. תנים 'wolves'? Cf. Arab. *tinān*, 'a wolf.'

xiv. 6. Read קָרַדְתָּ (ק and ת confounded, as in 2 Kings x 32, where read, with Targ., Hitz., לקצוף).

xiv. 21. ערים. To the question, 'Why should cities be denounced so unqualifiedly?' (vol. i. p. 93), Dr. Weir replies by referring to the view of the antitheistic origin of Babylon given in Gen. xi.; how ingenious, but how far-fetched! Ibn Ezra, adopting Targ.'s rendering 'enemies,' compares 1 Sam. xxviii. 16, where, however, Sept.'s reading is now generally adopted. (See *Q. P. B.*) With some hesitation I read עַיִים; a similar correction is necessary in xxiv. 15, Ps. lxxii. 9, Jer. xlix. 3. (For other slight errors in this section, see xiii. 22, xiv. 4, 6.)

xiv. 22. נין. Comp. Assyrian *ninu* 'family' (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, i. 20). So perhaps Ps. lxxiv. 8, נִיָּנָם = 'their family.'

xiv. 23. קָפַר. This name probably came to the bittern from its habit of erecting or bristling out the long feathers of the neck, reminding one of the spines of the porcupine or hedgehog. In Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic, the cognates actually mean the hedgehog; in Talmudic the usage is uncertain. The variety of meaning reminds one of parallel cases in the Semitic zoological vocabulary (see on xxxiv. 7, and above on xxxv. 1).

xiv. 30. בְּכוּרֵי. Hupfeld, on Ps. xxxvii. 20, suggests בְּקָרִי, comp. הָרִי, z. 25. כַּר is an Isaianic word (see xxx. 23).

יהרג. 'Shall he slay.' From a Semitic point of view, a verb is never used impersonally. If there is no other subject, the 'nomen agentis' of the verb is always either expressed or, as here, implied. But who is 'the slayer' in this passage? Not Jehovah, for he is the speaker, but the enemy who is Jehovah's 'rod' (x. 5). (Comp. Hos. vi. 11, and Wünsche's note, to which I am indebted.)

xv. 1. לָלֵל. If the pointing is correct, this must be a collateral form of לָלֵל (it occurs again in xxi. 11, but in pause). It is interesting that it should occur in a *Moabite* inscription (on the stele of Mesha, l. 15, we have בַּלְלָה *ballalah*). Comp. on xxiii. 11.

xv. 5. Sept. and Targ. both read לֵב לְמוֹאָב 'the heart of Moab.'

בריהיה. In eds. 1 and 2 I ventured on a general expression of doubt as to the correctness of this word, which is wanting in the parallel passage, Jer. xlvi. 34. Sept. in Isaiah has *עַד אֲדָנָה*. This (בַּקְרָבָה) may conceivably be the genuine reading, but the view of the passage taken by Sept. rather suggests 'from (some

place unknown)'; comp. Jer. xlvi. 34, where the verse runs 'from . . unto . . from . . unto . .'

xv. 5. יַעֲרֶוּ for יַעֲרֶוּ, the only example of the dissolution of a repeated consonant in a verb. The analogy of חֲצַרְרָה for חֲצַרְרָה may justify it, 'but it is very possible that the text has been injured' (Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, § 253). Read יַרְעֶנּוּ with Lagarde and some earlier scholars (see Ges.). רַעַע in two senses (see xvi. 10) like הַיָּרֵד. Comp. יַעֲלֶעוּ Job xxxix. 29, where Ges. and Olsh. correct יַעֲלֶעוּ.

xvi. 1. Grätz (*Geschichte*, ii. 1. 258), reads אֲשַׁכֵּר מוֹשֵׁלִי. He excises *v.* 2, and connects *vs.* 1 and 3.

xvi. 4. Lagarde's edition of Targ. reads נַרְחִים=מַטְלָמַיָּא; but this is probably not the original reading—see Geiger's *Urschrift*, p. 300 note. I therefore adhere to the statement in vol. i. Comp. the mispointing in Gen. xlix. 26.

xvi. 10. כַּרְמֵל 'planted or garden land,' distinct from כַּרְמִים 'vineyards.' The two senses are united in the Assyr. *karmu*.

xvi. 14. לֹא כִבִּיר Read לֹא אֶכְבִּיד; comp. viii. 23. Hoffmann in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 116.

xvii. 1. Omit מַעֵי with Lagarde. The scribe had מַעֵר in his head, and began to write it over again. He would not spoil his manuscript by excising it, and so it remained a non-word. See on xxviii. 25, xliii. 12, and *Q. P. B.* (2nd ed.) on Zech. ii. 2, Mal. ii. 11.

xvii. 9. הַחֲרָשׁ וְהָאֲמִיר. In spite of 2 Chr. xxvii. 4 (cited in Commentary) it is fair to ask whether 'forests' are natural places for fortresses? Even if (which is, I think, justifiable) we accept a second meaning, 'mountain-ridge,' for חֲרָשׁ on Assyriological grounds,¹ yet is it at all likely that אֲמִיר would have been used in the sense of 'the summit of a hill' so near to *v.* 6, where it means 'the top of a tree'? Sept. renders ὃν τρόπον κατέλιπον οἱ Ἀμορρᾶιτοι καὶ οἱ Εὐαῖτοι, which suggests הַחֲרָשׁ וְהָאֲמִיר (Sept. has transposed the names). As Lagarde points out (*Semitica*, i., p. 31) רֶשׁ וְיֵי look very similar in old Hebrew characters, and might easily be confounded by a scribe. Hitzig strangely renders 'like the desolation of Horesh and Amir,' comparing Harosheth (Judg. iv. 2). A resource of despair! though Pesh., Thcod., Saad., and (for Amir) Aq., Symm., are his predecessors. Kocher and others explain, 'like the few trees left when a wood has been felled, or the very top of a tree when the boughs have been stripped'; this might do, if 'which they deserted' &c., could be ex-

¹ Tiglath-Pileser gives the epithet of *sakūtī* 'high' to *kharsāni* (plur. of *kharsu*), which certainly suits 'mountain-top' better than 'forest' (see passage in Norris's *Ass. Dict.* s. v.). Friedr. Del. maintains that 'mountain-ridge' is the invariable meaning of *kharsu*, and claims it as a second meaning for חֲרָשׁ (*The Hebr. Language* &c., p. 17).

ciscd. Is it possible that the strange story in Procopius and the Jerusalem Talmud of Canaanitish fugitives in Africa (see Ewald, *History*, ii. 229, 230) may have some connection with this passage of Isaiah?

On xvii. 13. גלגל properly a whirl (Germ. *Wirbel*); then either (1) a wheel (v. 28), or (2) a whirlwind (Ps. lxxvii. 19, cf. Assyr. *guggûlu*, Syr. *galgôlâ*), or (3) that which is whirled, such as stubble (cf. Chald. גלגל, Syr. *gelâ*) and any globe-like parts of plants, such as the branches of the wild artichoke (Dr. Thomson), or the 'rose of Jericho' (letters in *Guardian*, March 1884), both which have struck travellers as natural emblems of impotency, when chased by the wind. The third sense applies here and in Ps. lxxxiii. 14. For the Chaldee usage, cf. Targ. Ex. v. 12, and for the Assyrian cognate, Haupt in *K. A. T.*, p. 500.

xviii. 1. For צלצל comp. Arabic *şarşaru*, the 'creaking' insect (Lane), also found in Assyrian ('the cricket,' Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, i. 26). It is noteworthy, however, that both here and in Job xl. 31 the Sept. rendering of צלצל is *πλοῖον*. On the whole phrase, see *Notes and Criticisms*, p. 20 (where, on l. 23, for 'day' read 'year', and Stade, *De Isaie Vaticiniis Æthiopicis*, who comes to the same conclusion.

xviii. 2. Read with Stade קיני. The Metheg of the received text no doubt indicates that they understood the word (or words) somewhat as M'Gill or Delitzsch, against whom see commentary. קיני might be an adjective (like ערער), but is more probably a substantive meaning 'great strength'; comp. Arab. *kuwwat*, 1 'robur,' 2 'pars quædam funis.'

xviii. 7. Read מעם (comp. parallel clause), with Sept., Targ., Vulg., Lowth, Knobel, Stade. Ges. renders as I have done, but thinks the second מ is retroactive. This, however, is not proved by Job xxxiii. 17, where a מ has dropped out of the text (see Dillmann, *ad loc.*). Ewald reads עם מעם. I observe that Del., in his 3rd ed., thinks the text-reading is established by 'parallels like Zeph. iii. 10.' But עתרי, there, should be taken in the sense of 'sweet odours' (comp. Ezek. viii. 11), parallel to מנחתי; for the form of the sentence, comp. on iii. 12.

xix. 7. על-פי יאור. Del. (on Prov. viii. 29) denies that פה ever means the shore, whether of the sea, or of a river, and in the third edition of his *Jesaja* renders the above words 'at the mouth (*Mündung*) of the Nile,' i.e. where the stream approaches the sea. But the ordinary view seems more appropriate. Dr. Weir has "by the brink of the river," i.e. where the last vestige of green might be sure to be found.'

xix. 10. In the second half of this verse there are two difficulties.

1. אָנַם everywhere else, even Jer. li. 32, like Assy. *agammu*, means 'pond,' 'marsh' (see especially Ex. vii. 19, viii. 1, where it is used in this sense in connection with the Nile); אָנַם or עָנַם 'to be sad' is a post-Biblical word (=Assyr. *agammu*). 2. עֲשֵׂי שִׁבְרֵי is an unnatural way of expressing 'hired workmen'; the usual term is שְׂכִירִים, after עֲשֵׂי we should have expected מְלֵאכֶה (Dr. Weir). The שִׁבְרֵי read by Sept., Pesh. (*ξύθος, shakrà*) is plausible (Dr. Weir compares xxiv. 9); these versions suppose an allusion to the barley-wine of Egypt (Herod. ii. 77). But this hardly suits the context. Lastly, there is the view of Targ., Saad., Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Grätz (*Monatsschrift*, 1877, p. 376), מַת שִׁבְרֵי meant 'dams,' comp. סָבַר 'to stop up,' Arab. *sakara* 'to dam up a river.' This harmonises admirably with the preceding verses, but not so well with the first half of this verse.

xix. 18. עֵיר הָהָרִים. So most MSS. and editions, the Massora (see however Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 79), and the Peshito. The other reading עֵיר הָחָרִים is supported by 15 MSS. in the text and one in the margin (Kennicott and de Rossi); also by Symmachus, the Vulgate, Saadya, the Talmud ('*Menachoth*, 110 a'), Rashi, Vitruv., Ges. (*Thesaurus*, but not *Commentary*), Hitz., Naeg. Aquila and Theodotion have Ἄρες, which leaves the reading doubtful. Sept. has πόλις ἀσεδέκ, i.e. עֵיר הָצָדֵק (cf. i. 26), which Geiger boldly maintains to be the true reading, הָרִים (deliberately altered, he thinks, into עֵיר הָרִים by the Egyptian Jews) being a disparaging corruption of this. To me the Sept. reading looks more like a retort upon the Palestinian Jews for expounding עֵיר הָהָרִים in a manner uncomplimentary to Onias. Very possibly the Book of Isaiah was translated into Greek at Leontopolis.

xx. 1. סַרְגִּינֹן. On the transliteration of this Assyrian name see below on xxii. 15. The meaning is explained by Sargon himself in the cylinder inscription (line 50), 'the gods gave him this name that he might keep justice and righteousness,' implying that Sargon himself is the 'faithful king.'

xxi. 11, 12. On Grätz's hypothesis (*Geschichte der Juden*, ii. 1, p. 485) the passage runs thus:—

The fugitives (הַנּוֹדֵדִים) call unto me from Seir ;
 'Watchman, what of the night?
 Watchman, what of the night of distress?'
 The watchman saith,
 'The morning cometh, the night fleeth (וְנֹם הַלַּיְלָה);
 O that ye would ask ! Ask ye ;
 Return, come.'

xxii. 3. מְקִישָׁת 'without the bows being strung' either on their side or the enemy's.

xxii. 5. שִׁוְעָה. The word stands so close to Elam, that it seems inevitable to take it as the name of the tribe referred to in the commentary. Added to this, the other שִׁוְעָה means, not 'a cry of despair'

(which the ordinary rendering presupposes), but 'a cry for help.' The remark is Luzzatto's.

XXII. 14. For the construction כּפּר לִי, Riehm (*Der Begriff der Sühne im A. T.*, p. 9) well compares Ezek. xvi. 63.

XXII. 15. סַכְנִי. *Saknu* in Assyrian means 'a high officer,' from *sakin* 'to set up, place' (comp. מִסְכְּנוֹת 'store-cities'); *saknu* and סַכְנִי alike descend from the period of 'undivided' Semitic speech. As a rule, no doubt, organic *s* in Assyrian remains so in the corresponding word in Hebrew; but there are exceptions, e.g., *bislu* = פּסֵל, *isid* = יסֵד. At a later time, the Babylonian form of this word (*sagnu*) became the Hebrew *s'agan* (see comm. on xli. 25). In this case, the sibilant is just what we should expect, since Assyrian proper names, when transferred into Hebrew, usually change their sibilants, e.g., Sarrukin becomes סַרְרֻקִין, and S'amirina שְׁמִירוֹן. Obviously, the Jews were not conscious that they already had the same word under the form סַכְנִי. M. Ganneau has found the title 'the סַכְנִי of Qarthadachat' applied to a person dedicating a vase to Baal-Lebanon in a Phœnician inscription (*Athenæum*, Apr. 17, 1880, pp. 502-4).

XXIII. 7. הַזֹּאת לָכֶם עֲלֵיזָה. Del. (see commentary) regards עַ as the vocative, remarking that 'the omission of the article is not surprising (xxii. 2, Ewald § 327 a), whereas, on the other view, though possible (see xxxii. 13), it is still harsh (comp. xiv. 16).' The phrase *is* harshly constructed, on any view of it; but עֲלֵיזָה as epexegetical of לָכֶם seems to me peculiarly harsh, and considering that a plurality of persons (viz. the Phœnicians in general) has been addressed just before (v. 6), it is rather unlikely that a fresh company (viz. the Tyrians) should be referred to now.

XXIII. 11. כְּעֻזֵינָה. Is this an intentional Phœnicism parallel to the Moabitism in the prophecy on Moab (see above on xv. 1)? At any rate, there is an affinity with Phœnician in the suffix with ן (comp. on liii. 8). See Euting, *Sechs phöniz. Inschriften aus Idalion*, p. 15 (also referred to by Del. in his 3rd ed.).

XXIII. 13. כְּשָׂרִים. The Hebrew represents the Babylonian form *Kasdû*, the Greek Χαλδαῖοι, the Assyrian Kaldû. A sibilant generally, though not necessarily, becomes *l* before a dental in Assyrian, e.g., *khamistu* and *khamiltu* 'five,' *lubustu* and *lubultu* 'clothing.'

———— Saadya's version deserves recording. 'Console thyself (by reflecting) that against this very country of the Chaldeans there hath come the people to whom it did not belong—the Assyrians, and that they have made it into deserts.' In *I. C. A.* I adopted Ewald's אַרְצֵי הַבְּנַעֲנִים, to which Kuenen objects, 1. that usage requires אַרְצֵי הַבְּנַעֲנִים, and 2. that it is natural to expect a reference to a fresh people rather than to the Phœnicians, who have been addressed all along

(*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1871, pp. 74, 75). The first objection is not very important; the phrase quoted by Dr. Kuenen only occurs in catalogues of nations. We can as well say ארץ פלשתיים as ארץ כנענים. The second is really strong. (Comp. a long discussion of the passage in my *Notes and Criticisms*.)

xxiv. 15. בארים. 'May it not be בקארץ יבברו, somewhat as xxv. 3? Comp. Esth. x. 1, the only other passage, except xi. 11, in which חיי אי is found.' Dr. Weir.

xxiv. 19. 'For רעה read ריע inf. abs. with ה being without example, and the ה being taken from next word: so read ארץ (ה repeated from last word).' Dr. Weir after Maurer, Hitzig, Knobel.

xxiv. 22. Dr. Weir reads אסף האסיר; comp. אסף ההסיל xxxiii. 4.

xxvi. 4. Ges. suggests that יהוה may be a gloss on the uncommon יה; so too Knobel. But though Aquila already has εν τῷ κυριῷ αὐτος, it is possible that the text is imperfect.

xxvii. 6. Has not הימים fallen out (comp. Eccles. ii. 16)? There is a similar doubt in lxvi. 18.

xxviii. 11. לעני. See Hupfeld or Perowne on Ps. xxxv. 16.

xxviii. 16. The construction 'I am he that have founded' is most unnatural; read יקר. (I am glad to find myself supported by Dr. Weir, who also suggests קיטר, and by Stade, *Hebr. Grammatik*, § 214 b.) יקר is not a genuine parallel. There is no occasion to take it as 3 s. m. imperf. Hif.; it can equally well be partic. Kal (comp. Arab. *qātil*).

——— Read ימיש; I forget to whom the suggestion is due. The Hifil is used absolutely, as Nah. iii. 1. The letters מ and ה are easily confounded in the square character. The Sept. translator either reads גבוש, or (since Targ. has an equivalent rend.) falls into paraphrase. Pesh. follows Sept., Targ.

xxviii. 18. וקבר. This is the only passage in which the Pual of כפר is used in the sense of 'cancelling,' and ברית is feminine. The conjecture וקפר is confirmed by Jer. xxxiii. 21. I find that Dr. Weir accepted it.

xxviii. 25. The difficult words שורה and נסמן are simply miswritten for שערת and כסמת. The scribe did not like to spoil his manuscript by excising the faulty letters (as in xvii. 1, xlvi. 12, see notes): Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, i. 409 (the conjecture had already been made, so far as שורה is concerned). Sept. gives a duplicate rend. of ובסמת.

xxviii. 29. הפלא... תושיה. Comp. Job xi. 6, where read with Dr. Robertson Smith and (partly) Merx, בי פלאים לתושיה. Another sign of the gnomic affinities of this paragraph.

xxix. 1. אריאל. Del. and Hitzig (*Jesaja*, but not *Gesch. d. V.*

Israel) explain, 'God's-hearth ;' comp. Ezek. xliii. 15, 16. But this meaning is very dubious, even in Ezekiel (see *Notes and Criticisms*, pp. 31, 32, and comp. Smend on Ezek. *l. c.*), whereas that adopted has the support of usage, requires no comparison of Arabic, and suits the context.

xxix. 9. Read הַתְּבִישָׁנוּ. See the parallel passage Hab. i. 5, and comp. for the form of the phrase Zeph. ii. 1 (where read הַתְּבִישָׁנוּ וְבוֹשָׁנוּ for the unintelligible 'התק').

xxix. 10. אשר את־הניאים seems to be a gloss inserted from a misunderstanding of החיים, as Mr. G. W. Collins, of Keble College, suggests.

xxix. 22. אשר פדה את־אברהם. Wellhausen regards these words as a gloss based on the late legend of the deliverance of Abraham from the furnace of the Chaldeans (*Geschichte Israels*, i. 373, note ¹). But is not the expression too forcible for a mere gloss, and may not Abraham's deliverance from his idolatrous kinsmen (see my note, vol. i., p. 174) be typical of the deliverance of the faithful Israel from the tyrant, the scorner, and the unrighteous (xxix. 20)? I admit, however, that the clause comes in very unexpectedly ; it does not fall in quite naturally with the context ; and if we approach the passage with the presuppositions (*a*) that Abraham is a legendary or mythical personage, and (*b*) that this personage only attained importance at a late period of Hebrew literature compared with Isaac ('Abraham first appears in Isa. xl.-lxvi.' [xli. 8, li. 2], says Wellhausen), it becomes natural to excise the words, as this talented though hypercritical scholar has proposed. My objection to admitting his view is not that he supposes a gloss to have intruded into the received text. Considering the large number of glosses which intruded into the Hebrew text reproduced by the Sept., it would be no wonder if, with all the care bestowed by the Palestinian Jewish critics, a fair number of glosses should have lingered in the Masoretic text. It is rather this : that in the present position of inquiry a commentator on the prophets, whether of orthodox or rationalistic leanings, cannot allow himself to take the mythical theory of the early Jewish narratives into account. I have thought it, however, only fair to warn the student of the rocks which may be hidden even in a passage so simple grammatically as the present. No book of the Bible can be fully understood by itself ; a future commentator on Isaiah will be able to assume positive critical results which are yet far from having been attained.

xxx. 12. בעשק. Read, with Grätz, בעקש, and so also Ps. lxii. 11. Comp. Prov. ii. 15, iv. 24.

xxx. 18. ירים. This, the text-reading, does not give a suitable sense. ירים with a gerund following can only mean 'to arise for

action' (so Ges. in *Thesaurus*); we have no right to import the meaning of 'desire' from the Arabic. Rashi indeed explains by יתרחק, and similarly Delitzsch ('God will withdraw Himself from Israel's history to His royal and judicial throne in heaven'). But how forced a view, and how opposed to the context! Yet the view of Ges., though supported by the usage of the Psalms (see Ps. xviii. 47, xxi. 14, &c.), does not suit the parallelism. לְחַכֵּה means 'to expect with longing' (as may also be urged against Del.'s rendering); ירום ought, it would seem, to have a similar meaning. It is best therefore to adopt the reading of two MSS. ירום, not in the artificial sense 'stirreth not' given to it by Ewald, 'but in that which it undoubtedly bears in Ps. xxxvii. 7'¹ (where note the parallelism). The difficulty of the passage partly arises from the fusion of two distinct prophecies (see Commentary).

xxx. 32. Read קָם, with Q'ri, Targ., Vulg., and many MSS., including the Babylonian Codex;² so Naegelsbach. Chap. xxiii. 13 must not be quoted in favour of קָה, for there both land and people of Chaldæa are referred to—here only the Assyrian army.

xxx. 33. תַּפְתָּה. From תַּפַּת, 1. an object spat upon; 2. the 'abominable' place where children were sacrificed to Baal as Moloch, comes תַּפְתָּה (as אִשָּׁה from אִישׁ). The word is masculine; and the feminine suffixes at the end of the verse are to be referred (as Del. points out) to the בִּמָּה, or 'high place' on which any sacrifice had to be offered. The Jewish derivation from תָּהָה 'a drum,' has only an imaginative, 'Haggadic' value; though in Egypt, as well as, according to the legend, in Palestine, the tambourine was possibly associated with Baal-worship. (So Mr. Tomkins, referring to *Revue Egyptienne*, i. 43.)

xxx. 8. Sept., Vulg., and the Babylonian Codex read לָא for לוֹ; comp. xxii. 3 (see above).

xxx. 1. Read וּשְׂרִים. The scribe began to write לְמִשְׁפַּח, which the parallel line led him to expect here. A similar error in Ps. lxxv. 14 (end).

xxx. 1. Read כְּבִלְוֹתָךְ; the argument of Ges. (in *Thesaurus*, s. v. נָלָה) is conclusive. נ and כ confounded, as Ex. xvii. 16, Josh. viii. 13 (comp. v. 9 וַיִּלֶּן). So, too, Cappel, Lowth, Ewald, Krochmal.

xxx. 11. Notice the rhyme. Assonance and even rhyme are more frequently and deliberately employed in Hebrew poetry than is observed at first sight.—'The last clause,' remarks Dr. Weir, 'is difficult. The present reading seems to have been that of the copy

¹ *Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah* (Macmillan, 1868), pp. 32, 33.

² By this title I designate a Codex of the prophets (i.e. the so-called later prophets), with the Babylonian punctuation, dated A.D. 916-17, and now preserved at St. Petersburg. It was edited for the Russian Government in a superb photo-lithographic facsimile by Dr. Hermann Strack in 1876.

from which Sept. was translated ; so of the other old versions, except Pesh., which puts **ב** before **רוחכם**, and joins it to the preceding clause (as Sept. also does), and the Targ. which gives, "My word shall destroy you as the whirlwind chaff." A conjectural reading is **רוחי כמו** for **רוחכם**, which seems borne out by other passages of Isaiah, as iv. 4, xi. 4, and especially xxx. 27, 28.' The conjecture is that of Secker and Lowth.

xxxiii. 14 *b*. Dr. Weir proposes to render, 'Who will abide for us the devouring fire?' i.e., on our behalf, for the salvation of the people.

xxxiii. 23. **בל-יחזקו כן-חרנם**. A hard passage. The subject of the verb is clearly the ropes which have just been mentioned (not the sailors, as A. E., Kimchi, Drechsler) ; hence 'their mast,' i.e., the mast which it is their function (according to the ancient Greek and doubtless also the Phœnicio-Hebrew system) to bind to the *ιστοπέδη* (a piece of wood set in the keel). Now arises a difficulty with **כן**. To render, with most since Cocceius, 'the stand' (i.e., the *ιστοπ.*) seems to contradict these primitive naval arrangements ; so that I have preferred, with Luzzatto, the Jewish commentator, and Naegelsbach, to recur to the original sense of 'firm,' or rather 'upright.' It is true (as remarked in the review of vol. i. in the *Dublin*) that **כן** does not occur as an adjective elsewhere in the sense of physical, but only in that of moral uprightness, but there is no reason whatever why the physical sense (guaranteed by the use of **כן** the substantive for 'pedestal') should not occur—comp. **צִרְקָה** (1) straightness, (2) righteousness. On the whole passage, comp. the beautiful ode of Horace : 'O navis, referent' (i. 14).

xxxiv. 12. I formerly read **חרי המלוכה יקראו ואין שם** with Dr. Weir ; comp. xli. 12, l. 2. Bickell is partly supported by Sept.

xxxv. 1. **יששום מרבר**. The final **ן** of the verb is assimilated to the following **ם** ; comp. **פריים**, Num. iii. 49 (Ibn Ezra). Apparent orthographical errors may now and then indicate phonetic laws. So Ezek. xxxiii. 26, 'עשיתן ת' (*m* before *t* becomes *n*).

— **הבצלת**. Friedr. Del. rejects the usual renderings of this word, partly because they imply that it is connected with **בציל** 'onion,' partly because of his discovery of the Assyrian cognate of 'ה in the bilingual tablets.¹ There can be no doubt that the Assy. *khabaçillatu* is identical by origin with the Hebrew *khabaççalt* (so the early form may have been), and the Accadian word of which the former is the equivalent is ideographically written 'reed seed-making' (Sayce), and explained by the Assy. *lubsu sa kânê* 'clothing (or garment) of the reed (or reeds)' (*W. A. I.*, v. 32, lines 60–63). What this

¹ *The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research*, p. 34.

phrase means is not obvious. It may refer to the 'husk of the reed' (Friedr. Del.), or to the uses to which this plant was applied (Houghton). But I hesitate to conclude that by *khabaḡḡalt* the Hebrew poets meant either 'the reed' in general (so Friedr. Del.), or the kind of reed (*cyperus syriacus*) found in Sharon and elsewhere at present. Identical names of plants and animals in cognate languages do not always designate the same species (take דָּםֶן and the Arab. *rim* for instances).—The objection to the current renderings based on the doubtfulness of a preformative כ is plausible, but not decisive. The plant intended by *khabaḡḡalt* may have only an apparent connection with *baḡl*, and yet it may be of the bulbous class. Tristram and Conder were both struck by the beautiful white narcissus of the Plain of Sharon, and graceful as both the *cyperus papyrus* and the *cyperus syriacus* may be, they can hardly compete in poetic appropriateness with the narcissus. (Nor do they flower at the right time to satisfy Cant. ii. 1, 11, 12, viz. the spring.) 'If we ask how does a word in Assyrian similar to the Hebrew כ come to denote a reed, I think we can without any stretch of the imagination give a reason. The Accadian name of "reed-making seed" will apply to the large tufts of heads at the extremity of which the flowers and seeds appear in both the above-named species.' (Mr. Houghton, M.S. communication.)

xxxv. 8. The first רָךְ has obviously got its ו from the second. As to וְהוּא לְמִן , no one doubts that it *can* be construed; and ingenuity can always devise a point of connection with the context. Mr. Wordsworth suggests that 'for them' may refer to the blind, deaf, and lame of *vs.* 5, 6 (*Bampton Lectures*, 1881). If some one of the current renderings must be chosen, that of Ewald seems preferable, but the words may perhaps be a duplicate corrupt reading of the opening words of the verse.

xxxv. 10. Read as in *lv.* 11, and see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 14 γ note¹.

xxxvii. 16. $\text{יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִּים}$. It is debated whether this should be rendered 'who sitteth between,' or, 'upon the cherubim.' It is best to adhere to the undeniable usage, and render 'who inhabiteth the cherubim.' So Ewald, though he does not mean anything substantially different from the alternative rendering (see his Commentary on Ps. xxii. 4). Riehm, however (rendering, like Ewald, 'inhabitest'), thinks the Hebrew phrase meant that Jehovah in the temple was altogether inclosed by the cherubs and their wings. See also Kusters, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1879, p. 468.

xxxvii. 28. Are we to read שְׂרָמָה or (with 2 Kings) שְׂרָפָה ? The latter would be a unique form for שְׂרָפִין ('blasting' i.e., 'blasted corn'); the former (in the plural) is well known. The saying 'præstat lectio

ardua' is not axiomatic in the O. T. ; so that שרמה is preferable. It means a field with the corn that grows upon it (see Hab. iii. 17, and comp. שָׂרְהָה Ex. xxii. 4). The Isaiah Septuagint however renders as if a special kind of grass were meant—*ἀγρωστίς* (the *cynodon dactylon*, anglicised as creeping dog's tooth grass, universally found in the south of Europe, and the grass of the streets in north Italy. (Wellhausen's conjecture that לפני קמה is a corruption of לפני קמדה, Bleek's *Einleitung*, 4th ed., p. 257, is plausible, but scarcely necessary.)

xxxviii. 8. Read השמש, for the sake of simplicity and 'concord.'

xxxviii. 12. רורי 'my dwelling.' Kimchi well compares Ps. lxxxiv. 11, where the verb רור occurs in this sense. Still I doubt if it be a part of the proper Hebrew vocabulary ; in the Targums it is the constant rendering of גור. The Assyrian *dūru* means rather 'castle.'

——— Read קפרת with Fürst ; the Chaldaising sense suits best.

xxxviii. 14. עשקה. Pointing עשקה, Klostermann takes this for another form of עסקה from Chald. עסק to occupy oneself, or (Ithpaal) to strive together. Comp. עשק Gen. xxvi. 20, עשוק a v. l. of Prov. xxviii. 17, and for the unusual preposition which follows Targ. 2 Kings iv. 13.

xxxviii. 16. עליהם יחיו ונו'. Grätz (*Geschichte*, ii. 1, p. 478) conjectures this to be a prayer of the king that his life might be spared for his people's sake. Comp. Lam. iv. 20, 'The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of Jehovah.' The sense would then be, 'O Lord ! [mayest thou recover me] for their sakes, that they may live ; indeed, for every one of them is the breath of my life.'

xxxix. 1. וישמע. Read כי ישמע (after 2 Kings xx. 12). So Sept., Pesh. For instances of the confusion of ו and כ see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 75 a, note.

xl. 4. רכסים. There is no doubt that *riksu* (same sibilant) in Assyrian means a rope or bond, so that, using this analogy, 'ר should mean 'bonds.' This agrees with the meaning of the Hebrew verb. But in this connection ? Yes, comp. Assyrian *birūti* 'hills' from *barū* 'to bind' (Friedr. Del., *The Heb. Language* &c., p. 23, note). So *jugum* from *jungere*.

xl. 11. ינהל. Friedr. Del. (*The Hebrew Language* &c., pp. 5, 6) produces a new meaning for נהל from the Babylonian bilingual texts, where *na'ālu*, *nākhu*, and *rabāḥu* are the equivalents of the same ideograph. He would render 'cause to rest,' 'satisfy,' 'place in safety,' according to the context, the root-meaning being 'to rest, or lie down.' This suits Gen. xlvii. 17, 2 Chr. xxxii. 22, Ps. xxiii. 2, but a careful examination of the twelve passages in which the word

occurs may lead the reader to doubt whether the verb has quite the same sense in Hebrew as in Assyrian. In the three passages of Isaiah (xl. 11, xlix. 10, li. 18) the context or the parallelism is against the new meaning proposed. The notion of 'leading' seems, whether by accretion, or by nature, to be now inherent in the Hebrew verb. Besides, two of the three places referred to above are doubtful. In 2 Chr. xxxii. 22 a corruption of the text has long ago been surmised (see *Q. P. B.*), and in Ps. xxiii. 2 a slight difference of meaning between the two verbs heightens the effect. Del. also quotes Ex. xv. 13, but the preposition אֶל is adverse to his view.

XL. 21. מוֹסְרוֹת. We may either supply the prep. from מְרִאֵשׁ, comp. xlvi. 9 (see however Commentary), or read מִמֵּ, and suppose that the first מ dropped out, owing to the מ preceding and the מ following. Vitr. thinks that the Massorettes accented off מוֹסְרוֹת הָאֵרִיץ to show that it was the common object of all the three verbs. More probably they assumed an ellipsis of מ.

XL. 24. אֵף בֶּל. The phrase only occurs here. But we find אֵף אֵין repeated three times in xli. 26, and אֵף repeated without a negative in xli. 10, xlv. 15, xlvi. 11; for the repetition of בֶּל comp. xxxiii. 20. There is, therefore, no occasion for Dr. Weir's conjecture אֵךְ הֵבֵל.

— — — נִטְעוּי . . . זָרְעוּ. Sept., Pesh., זָרְעוּ . . . נִטְעוּי. 'A good deal may be said in favour of this reading. (1) נִטְעוּי is not found elsewhere in Nifal, nor זָרְעוּ in Piel or Pual. (2) The meaning is good (comp. xvii. 10, 11). "Before they have planted or sown, i.e., propagated themselves in any way; nay, before they have themselves taken root." זָרְעוּ may be used of the plant, Gen. i. 29, and perhaps נִטְעוּי may also of the נִטְעוּי, for "to shoot forth fresh plants." Dr. Weir.

XL. 31. יַעֲלֵי אֲבָר. My own rend. is that of Sept., Targ., Pesh., Vulg., Saad., Bochart, Lo., Ew., Nacq. It seems to be required by the parallelism with הַחֲלִיף (for which word Dr. Pusey compares Arab. *akhlafa*, 'to put forth fresh feathers after moulting'). Hitz. indeed objects (1) that though עָלָה = 'to grow up' in v. 6, there is no instance of such a sense of הַעֲלָה, and (2) that instead of אֲבָר we should, on the view opposed to his own, expect נִוְצָה. But as to (1), the observation, though adopted by Del., seems incorrect; for in Ezek. xxxvii. 6, הַעֲלָה is used of bringing flesh upon the bones. And with regard to (2), let me simply ask, Why? Are not the pinion-feathers renewed?—As to the form אֲבָרָה, it is, strictly speaking, a *nomen unitatis* (see Ewald, *Gramm. arab.*, § 295, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, § 176 a), but the distinction is not always present to the Hebrew writers.

XL. 8. אֲהֵבִי. Dr. Weir, while admitting that the pronominal

suffix of אהב elsewhere always denotes the object ('my lover' = 'he who loveth, or loved, me') thinks that in this passage it marks the subject, and renders 'whom I have loved' (comp. Deut. iv. 37). Comp. Vitranga.

XLi. 10. אִמְצַחֵךְ. For the sense adopted, comp. Ruth i. 18 (partic. Hithp. = 'steadfastly purposing'), and especially Ps. lxxx. 16, 18 (Piel used precisely as here); also (with Naeg.) Matt. xii. 18, where the אִמְצַחֵךְ of Isa. xlii. 1 is rendered ἠρέτωσα.

XLi. 18. שפי is not quite synonymous with הר נשפה (xlii. 2). It means those slight elevations which are drier than the surrounding land, though in Palestine at least they yield pasture (Jer. xiv. 6). The Syriac *sh'fāyā* denotes simply 'a plain'; *shafyā* is the equivalent of מישור in Pesh. Isa. xl. 4, and (virtually) of בקעה in the Harclean Syriac of Luke iii. 5. De Dieu would have שפי, too, rendered everywhere 'plain,' though Pesh. nowhere, I think, gives *sh'fāyā* as the equivalent of שפי, but most commonly *shabilā*, 'a way.'

XLi. 25. Read בָּם.

XLi. 27. It is a pleasure to transcribe Louis de Dieu's acute note in his *Animadversions* (1648):—

'Interpretas duas hęc faciunt enunciationes, quarum primam duris satis ellipsisibus supplent. Mihi videtur hęc mera esse vocum transpositio, in hęc linguā mirē elegans, sed aliis linguis inimitabilis. Sic explico, *Primus ego dabo Sioni et Hierosolymis lætē annunciantem ecce ecce illa.* Provocaverat omnes Gentium deos, ut quę futura sunt prædicarent; quumque eos nihil tale posse gloriatus esset, Ego, inquit, et ego primus dabo Sioni et Hierosolymis qui lætum nuncium afferentes dicant, Ecce ecce illa, præsto sunt quę Deus prædixit.' De Dieu, however, had no idea of Hebrew parallelism, which seems to me to require us to render ראשון 'a precursor' (or, in Wiclif's language, 'a prior'), like אהרון 'a successor,' in Job xix. 25. Perhaps we may say that the former receives a fuller meaning from the parallel word מבשר, as the latter is coloured or defined by the corresponding word נאלי (as if 'the future defender of my right').

XLii. 2. ישא. Reifmann's conjecture יִשְׂאָה (Del., *Jesaia*, p. 440) is very plausible; it brings out with much force the contrast between the old and the new dispensation; comp. Am. i. 2, iii. 8. Still, נשא without קול occurs again in v. 11 (comp. iii. 7).

XLii. 4. ירין. The pronunciation of common life for ירין, as in neo-Punic and west Aramaic. Buhl, comparing Stade, *Lehrbuch d. h. Spr.*, § 95, Nöldeke, *Kurzgef. syr. Gr.*, § 48.

XLii. 6. יִאָחֶזְקֵךְ. The presence of the jussive is a great difficulty. I cannot bring myself, with my friend Dr. Driver, to render 'that I may take hold' (*Hebrew Tenses*, § 176 *Obs.*), and would rather

suppose a laxity of pronunciation, which has found expression here and there in the punctuation. What the sense requires seems to me clearly 'ג'.

XLII. 6. ברית. Taking 'appointment,' 'decision,' for the primary sense, we require a root meaning 'to decide.' There is in Assyrian a verb *barû*, 'to decide.' See passage quoted by Friedr. Del., who agrees on the sense of ברית, *The Hebrew Language*, &c., p. 49.

XLII. 15. איים. This passage is strongly against the view that איים can mean 'islands.' The sense required and established by etymology (it is cognate with Arab. *awâ*, 'he sojourned') is 'habitable land.' Hence elsewhere 'countries' (see Commentary on xl. 15).

XLII. 21. Note the construction, which, though thoroughly Hebrew (Job xxxii. 22, Lam. iv. 14, Ewald), reminds us still more of Arabic.

XLII. 25. חמה. The adverbial accusative is doubtless used for the sake of the assonance with מלחמה (Del.).

XLIII. 9. נקצו. Of the three ways of understanding this word—(1) as an ordinary perfect, (2) as a precativ perfect, and (3) as an imperative—the second and third are alone suitable to the context. A precativ perfect, however, seems too much of an Arabism to be easily admitted, especially as the evidence for it in Hebrew is not by any means strong (see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 20). There is no choice, therefore, but to accept the form as an imperative. One can hardly suppose a corruption of the text (as Lowth), for the same form occurs in a similar context in Joel iv. 11; comp. נלוו Jer. l. 5.

XLIII. 12. והושעתו. The view proposed in my commentary is supported by the parallel of xxviii. 25 (see above).

XLIII. 22. On the force of כי here, see Ewald, *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, § 354 *b* (= *Hebrew Syntax*, by Kennedy, p. 269).

XLIV. 5. Read יכתב בירו, with Klostermann. A repeated letter here, as so often, was dropped. כתב 'to write upon,' as Neh. vii. 5, viii. 14, xiii. 1. 'Write with his hand' is surely a very harsh expression, though I see it has the authority of Dr. Kay.

XLIV. 12. 'Unstreitig ist ein Wort ausgefallen' (Del.). Read, as the first word of the verse, with Sept., Pesh., either הדר (Del.), or הדר (comp. Prov. xxvii. 17), which would easily fall out, owing to the preceding יהר. Prof. Driver (*Hebrew Tenses*, § 123 β), prefers יהר (jussive form) or יהר; but the analogy of v. 13 favours the perfect.

XLIV. 14. לברת. Read יברת. י or ו and ל might possibly be confounded in the square character; but more probably the first ל is produced by the vicinity of another word beginning with ל (comp. Ps. lxxiv. 14). This is infinitely easier than to suppose an isolated example of an imperfect in ל (on which see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*,

§ 204, Obs. 1), and more so even than to assume a 'periphrastic future,' the instances of which given by Del. on Hab. i. 10 may perhaps require sifting. The three other supposed instances in Isaiah all seem to me very doubtful. In xxi. 1 the construction is rather gerundial; in xxxvii. 26 the phrase is לְהִיָּה, 'to serve for'; and in xxxviii. 20, though there is no הִיָּה expressed, the לְ is still that of tendency (see translation).

XLIV. 15. לָמוּ. It is not very natural in this individualising description (contrast xlii. 17, where it is a *class* of persons who say אָתָּם to regard this as a collective. The suffix is amply defensible as a singular (see on liii. 8). Sept., however (not Pesh.), takes it as a plural.

XLIV. 23. תַּחֲתֵיךָ אֶרֶץ. This and similar phrases always have an at least implied reference to Sheól. It is Sheól, as the context shows, which is called אֶרֶץ תַּחֲתֵיךָ in Ezek. xxxi. 14, 16, 18, אֶרֶץ תַּחֲתֵיךָ in Ezek. xxvi. 20, xxxii. 18, 24; בּוֹר תַּחֲתֵיךָ in Ps. lxxxviii. 7, Lam. iii. 55, and, more explicitly still, שְׂאוֹל תַּחֲתֵיךָ in Ps. lxxxvi. 13 (comp. שְׂאוֹל מִתַּחַת, Isa. xiv. 9). In Ps. cxxxix. 15 the context is obscure, but even there we have no right, I think, to depart from the universal meaning of the phrase elsewhere. Possibly, as Hupfeld suggests, Sheól is there used as an image of an utterly dark, mysterious place.

XLIV. 28. Dr. Kuenen proposes (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 132) to pronounce, not רֹעִי 'my shepherd,' but רֵעִי 'my companion,' comparing Zech. xiii. 7, where, as he truly says, this correction is required to match the parallel line ('the man who is my neighbour'). The mistake would be a natural one; in Jer. iii. 1, Sept. and Pesh. misread רֹעִי instead of רֵעִי. But the received pronunciation gives a good sense here ('my shepherd' = 'the shepherd appointed by me,' comp. 'his king,' Ps. xviii. 50, Heb. 51), and produces a parallelism with 'his anointed' in the next verse. If, however, we accept the correction, it is the highest title which Cyrus has received from the prophet.

XLV. 11. 'Or should we not read תְּשַׁלֵּי?' (Pencil note of Dr. Weir's). See Commentary.

XLV. 24. לִי אֱמֹר. Read יֵאמֶר with Luzzatto. The ל probably arose out of the mark put by the scribe to separate the name of God from the following word. Comp. the use of P'siq in the Massoretic text of Ex. xvii. 15, Jer. xxiii. 6, xxxiii. 16. For a parallel to such an interruption of the speech, see lvii. 19.

XLVI. 4. עָשִׂיתִי. Klostermann would read עָמַסְתִּי (*Zeitschr. f. luther Theologie*, 1876, p. 18). But the received text gives a finer meaning: 'I have made,' or begotten; paternal love impels me to 'carry.'

XLVI. 8. Read הַתְּבַשְׁטוּ (א and ב may be confounded in several

older forms of the characters). Comp. above on xxix. 9. The commentaries cite the Vulgate as reading 'confundamini'; but the Codex Amiatinus has 'fundamini' (Heyse), and this is the rendering of St. Jerome in his Commentary ('imò fundamini, ne rursum subitus idolatriæ vos turbo subvertat'). In any case, 'fundamini,' and not 'fundemini,' seems to be established.

XLVII. 7. עַד 'for ever.' See Commentary, and compare the form of *v.* 6. Hitzig goes so far as to deny that עַד ever means 'usque' or 'adeo ut,' and certainly the passages generally quoted require revision. In 1 Sam. ii. 5, עַד may very well = 'for ever,' as here; in 1 Sam. xx. 41, it probably has the prepositional meaning 'unto' (see Sept.); in Job viii. 21, Ewald, Dillmann, Merx, and Hitzig point עַד, and the connection seems to require this; in Job xiv. 6, 'until' yields a perfectly satisfactory sense. In Josh. xvii. 14 (where what Ges. calls the fuller form עַד אִשֶׁר stands at present) we should probably rather read עַל אִשֶׁר—notice that a second עַד follows; and Grätz proposes to read עַל 'because' in our passage (*Monatsschrift*, 1881, p. 228).

XLVII. 11. שְׁחָרָה. Not 'its dawn' (Dr. Weir remarks that שְׁחָרָה occurs nowhere else with a suffix), but 'to charm away.' How does the word obtain this meaning? Through the root-meaning of 'darkness.' שָׁחַר is properly 'to be dark' (whence שְׁחָר 'the morning-grey'). To 'charm' is to bring something about by dark, mysterious means (see Wünsche on Hos. vi. 3); comp. our own phrase 'the black art.' It is not therefore (as might be supposed by the oft-repeated reference to the Arabic *sahara*) a sense not thoroughly native to Hebrew.

XLVII. 14. Read לְחַמֵּם with Luzzatto, and so Job xxx. 4.

XLVIII. 6. נַצְרוֹת. Very possibly we should read בַּצְרוֹת 'ardua intellectu,' as in the parallel passage, Jer. xxxiii. 3.

XLVIII. 14. Read בְּכַשְׂדִּים with Del. (ed. 3, p. 720). In spite of *v.* 9, it does not seem very natural to make the preposition in the preceding line operate prospectively.

XLVIII. 18, 19. Ewald's view of the construction, alluded to in the Commentary, is peculiar. He puts 'O that thou hadst' down to 'as the *grains* thereof' into a parenthesis, and continues 'his (Israel's) name shall not be cut off nor destroyed before me,' thus making the last clause a categorical affirmation of Israel's indestructibility. Against this see my note. The slight change in the construction is simply due to the fact that the consequence expressed in לֹא-יִכָּרֵת is still future. On וְיָהִי see Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, §§ 127 γ, 140. His alternative rendering is one of those subtleties in which able grammarians delight. The version of Hitz., Del. (see above, p. 8, note ^h)

seems almost to require ויהי (comp. Deut. xxxii. 29) or יהיה (as Mic. ii. 11), as Del. himself frankly admits; comp. also Ps. lxxxi. 14-16 (אבניע).

XLIX. 5. לֹא יֵאָסֶף (Q'ri, לו). The reading of the text is harder than that of the margin, but is not on that account (comp. ix. 2) to be preferred. The latter is evidently required by the context. The division among the ancient interpreters was partly occasioned by their party prejudices. Thus St. Jerome objects to the rendering of Sept., because it gives up 'a very strong testimony against the perfidy of the Jews.' He himself renders 'et Israel non congregabitur' (the exact opposite of Aquila).

XLIX. 7. בָּזָה. Most explain this as either an infinitival substantive or an uncommon adjective. But it is more natural (comp. next phrase) either to point בָּזָה (Aram. partic. Peil) with Luzzatto, or (as this would be unique in Hebr.) to read נבזה (comp. liii. 3) with Lagarde.

— מְחַעֵב. According to Ew., Hitz., Del., a participial substantive in Piel = 'object of abhorrence' (Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, § 160 e, compares מְחַעֵר in liii. 3). Ges., however, remarks that the easiest explanation is to take the Piel as 'poetically intransitive' = מְחַעֵב. But how much more natural to read מְחַעֵב with Luzzatto (pointing, however, מְחַעֵב)! It really seems as if the authors of the points made a desperate, though partial, attempt to efface a meaning which was offensive to the national pride.

XLIX. 8. Ewald would insert לְאֹרֵי נְיִים from Sept., and supports this by Just. Mart. *c. Tryph.* c. 122 (but wrongly, for Justin quotes from chap. xlii.). Against this, see Commentary.

XLIX. 12. מְיָיִן. Clericus and Hupfeld (on Ps. cvii. 3) conjecture מְיָיִן for the Psalm-passage, and this seems to be absolutely necessary there, since the West has been already mentioned in the parallel line.¹ It is, I think, but little less necessary here. It is clear from the mistakes of Sept. that abbreviations were of frequent occurrence in the most ancient Hebrew MSS. See the instances in Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, pp. 214-6 (a notable one is εἰς θάνατον = לָמוּ, as if this were abbreviated from לְמִנְתּוֹ, liii. 8; see also Jer. iii. 19, Judg. xix. 18, and below on li. 6).

XLIX. 17. One of the few occasions on which Saadya deviates from the Massoretic text, not without the ancient versions. See on liv. 9.

L. 4. לְעִיָּה. If it is undesirable in any case to appeal solely to the superabundant Arabic vocabulary, it is specially so in a section so plain and natural in its phraseology. I incline to agree with Kloster-

¹ Auth. Vers., too, boldly renders in Ps. *l.c.* 'from the south,' though perhaps by a guess; see Poole, *Synopsis ad loc.*

mann, that both לעות and לרעת are only variants for the one true reading לרעות. Comp. the use of רעה for 'to teach' in Prov. x. 21. Perhaps 'to edify' (suggested by Del. on Prov.) would be the best rendering.

LI. 6. כמו-כן ימ'. There are two objections to rendering בן 'an insect:' 1. that the singular (as Talmudic Hebrew shows) would be כבה (comp. ביצים from ביצה); 2. that a single gnat would hardly be referred to in so elevated a passage (contrast 1 Sam. xxiv. 14). The force of both objections is destroyed by Dr. Weir's very easy correction. 'Is not,' he asks, 'the right reading בניים, the next word beginning with ים?' It seems natural to make the same emendation in Num. xiii. 33, 'We became in our eyes as locusts, and vermin became we in theirs.' The mark of abbreviation may have been overlooked; thus בנ became כן. There is an Egyptian word which Brugsch and Canon Cook identify with the כ' of Exodus, viz., *chenemms*, the mosquito.

LI. 19. מי אנחמך. This would mean 'Who am I that I should comfort you?' which does not suit the passage. Probably there is an error of the ear, and we should read ינחמך. Comp. the false reading באר for ביאר, Am. viii. 8; יש for איש, 2 Sam. xiv. 9; ויאמר for ואמר, Zech. iv. 2, &c.; ה'אוצר for ה'יוצר, Zech. xi. 13.

LII. 5. מנאץ. As Del. (3rd ed.) remarks, the pointing is very strange; we should expect the Paul partic., or, if a reflexive at all (which, however, seems out of place), Hithpoel and not Hiithpoal. Luzzatto's view is very plausible, and in harmony with the phenomena brought out so fully (perhaps too fully) by Geiger in his *Urschrift*. He would point מנאץ, and accounts for the actual pointing from an aversion on the part of the Massoretes to speak of Jehovah's name as 'reviled.' All that they succeeded in doing, however, was to shroud the passage in obscurity.

LII. 8 (end). On the view of the text adopted, Del. thinks we should expect לציון; but the *accus. loci* is amply justified (see 2 Sam. xv. 34). At the end of my note (p. 38), I have suggested that שוב might be taken as the short for שבות; comp. Ps. lxxxv. 5, where שובגני corresponds to שבת שבות יעקב, v. 2 (Q'ri). One of the best discussions of שבות שוב is by Dr. Kuenen, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1873, pp. 520-21. *A priori*, it certainly seems probable that שבות and שוב should be of cognate origin (comp. 'to rejoice with a great joy,' &c.); and, as a matter of fact, the meaning 'to restore the restoration of' suits all the passages in which the phrase occurs, whereas the alternative meaning does not. שבות from שוב, as רמות from רום (Ezek. xxxii. 5), לוח from לוין=לוין (Prov. iv. 24).

LII. 15. ינה. No word in the whole of the Old Testament so

forcibly exemplifies the urgent necessity for keeping the philological department in exegesis separate from the theological. Through an unfortunate failure in this respect, even Dr. Pusey is unable (be it said with all respect) to state the facts of Hebrew usage accurately.¹ The truth is, as Dr. Taylor remarks, that 'הזה does not mean *besprinkle* (a person *with* a liquid), but *sprinkle* (a liquid *upon* a person)';² Mr. Urwick wholly misses the point when, after Reinke, he quotes Lev. iv. 6, 17, in favour of the old rendering.³ In one point I entirely agree with Dr. Pusey, viz. that the reference of many of the moderns to the Arabic *nazâ*, 'to leap,' is out of place. The case is parallel to that of עות in l. 6. There are so many undoubtedly Hebrew words both for 'to help' and 'to leap,' that it is quite unnecessary to resort to the Arabic Lexicon. It is also worth noticing (though the objection is not absolutely fatal) that *nazâ* is rare in grave and classical literature, being used properly of animals, and mostly in an obscene sense.⁴ If a conjecture is to be ventured upon (for Dr. Taylor's new interpretation of יזה—see note on Essay X.—seems the effort of despair), I would suggest יתר (if no one has offered it before). The word occurs in Hab. iii. 6 (comp. Job xxxvii. 1) with an implication of fear; but in another context it might be used differently. A reference to Stade's comparative table of the forms of the Hebrew characters will show that the confusion between יתר and יזה might easily have occurred.

Dr. Weir's comment on this word and its context is peculiar. He sees no difficulty in the omission of על or לָאֵל after יזה, which he regards as a justifiable poetical licence (as if a licence of this kind were credible, when so much depended on intelligibility—consider the position of this prophecy!); nor yet in the context, which he considers to be in perfect harmony with the meaning 'sprinkle.' He explains the connection thus:—'As many shrank back in horror from him, as one unclean or accursed, . . . so shall he sprinkle many. Many who looked upon him as unclean, and avoided and loathed him as such, shall themselves be cleansed by him.' But where is the Servant said to be a priest?

LIII. 3. הָרַל אִישִׁים. Dr. Kay explains, 'ceasing to be of men'; of so mean appearance that he 'was no longer reckoned with men' (A. Ezra). But Job xix. 14, and the analogy of the Arabic *khaḍilu* 'abstaining from aiding' or 'holding back from going with' (Lane), justifies the rendering adopted (so Del.).

¹ *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Translators*, Introduction to the English Translation, by Rev. E. B. Pusey, p. xxxviii.

² Review of *The Fifty-third Chapter*, &c., in the *Academy*, May 19, 1877, p. 441.

³ Urwick, *The Servant of Jehovah*, p. 102.

⁴ See Taylor Lewis, 'The Purifying Messiah; Interpretation of Isa. lii. 13'; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1873, pp. 166-177.

LIII. 4. Many MSS., Pesh., Vulg., insert הוּא before שְׁבַלִּים. This adds force, and Lowth and Bleek incline to accept it.

LIII. 5. שְׁלוֹמֵינוּ. 32 MSS. read שְׁלוֹמֵינוּ, and Dr. Weir suggests שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ 'our retribution.'

LIII. 7. נִפְלָה. *Nifal tolerativum*; comp. *v.* 12, lv. 6, lxxv. 1, Ps. ii. 10, Gen. xiii. 16. We need not therefore quote Ex. x. 3 (with Del.); the syncope of ה in Nifal is questionable (see on i. 12). On the syntax of the clause, see Del.'s note in his 3rd ed.

LIII. 8. וְאֶת־רוּחוֹ. For the view of the construction, see Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, § 277 *d* (= *Hebr. Syntax*, by Kennedy, p. 38), where Ew. compares, not indeed our passage, but lvii. 15, Ezek. xvii. 21, xliv. 3, Neh. ix. 19, and refers to the demonstrative force of אֵת in the Hebrew of the Mishna.—To revert to the exegesis. Dr. Weir thinks that liii. 8*a* is precisely parallel to xxxviii. 12, 'my age (i.e. my full life-circle, my lifetime) is cut off like a weaver's web'; but the meaning thus ascribed to רוּחַ is arbitrary. רוּחַ can only have one of these three meanings—(a) 'his contemporaries,' (b) 'those like-minded with him' (רוּחַ = a class of characters,¹ comp. Ps. xii. 8, xiv. 5, cxii. 2, Prov. xxx. 11–14), or (c) 'his dwelling,' i.e. his grave (comp. xxxviii. 12). Both (b) and (c) anticipate unnaturally the statements of subsequent verses; Seincke (approved by Riehm) thinks that (b) is supported by the plural suffix in לָמֹו, but see next note. (a) is favoured by the parallel passage, lvii. 1.

—— לָמֹו. I had already, in 1870, explained this mysterious form (*J. C. A.*, p. 192) by a reference to the Phœnician suffix *ê* or *êm* for the 3rd pers. sing., following Schröder (*Die phönizische Sprache*, p. 153) and Bickell (*Theologisches Literaturblatt*, Bonn, 1869, p. 366).² Dr. Pusey, in 1877, notices the same linguistic fact (*Jewish Interpreters*, &c., p. liii.), but overlooks his English predecessor. The suffix *ê* reminds us of course of Aramaic; the appended *m* is doubtless 'a remnant of the primitive Semitic "nunnation" or "mim-mation"; in other words, the pronoun of the third person singular, like the noun, was terminated by *n* or *m*.' The same explanation in all probability applies to the suffix in *em* in vii. 15 (see note above), and those in *âmō* or *êmō* in xliv. 15, Job xx. 23, xxii. 2, xxvii. 23, Ps. xi. 7, but not to Gen. ix. 26, 27, Ps. xxviii. 8,³ lxxiii. 10 (where the reference is collective). The *o* in the Hebrew form seems to point to a marginal note, to the effect that *ō* or *āv* was to be read, and not *âmō* or *êmō*. The correct pronunciation would therefore seem to be

¹ Or, as Del. untranslatably expresses it, 'Einem Zeitgeist huldigende Zeitgenossenschaft' (on Ps. xii. 8).

² See also Stade in *Morgenländische Forschungen* (1875), p. 202, &c.; *Lehrbuch der hebr. Gramm.* (1870), p. 205.

³ But here we should probably read, with Sept., לְעַמּוֹ.

bēm, lēm, pānēm, &c.—It is quite true, as my late friend Dr. Diestel observed,¹ that the above merely proves the possibility that לָמוֹ may be singular; but when the remainder of this paragraph (putting aside the dubious בְּמִתּוֹי) is so strikingly individualising in its phraseology, have we not a right to demand that of two possible meanings that one should be chosen which harmonises with this cast of phraseology? Dr. Diestel certainly misses the mark when he maintains that my view is against the usage of II. Isaiah, referring to לָמוֹ in xlv. 15, as ‘also collective.’ It is noteworthy that both Pesh. and Vulg. understand the suffix to be singular; Targ., however, to be plural. Sept. read לָמוֹ i.e. לָמוֹת. In support of this, see Kennicott’s note in Lowth, Geiger (*Nachgelassene Schriften*, iv. 80), and above, on xlix. 12.

LIII. 9. עֲשִׂיר. To the difficulty urged in my note (p. 49), I may add that to use עֲנִי synonymously with חָסִיד or צָרִיק is quite natural, for עֲנִי is etymologically ‘humble,’ and ‘humility’ is the fundamental note of Biblical piety. But עֲשִׂיר has not the parallel root-meaning of ‘proud.’ It is therefore not without some reason that Del. has abandoned the view which he held as lately as 1864 (*Hiob*, 1^{te} Ausg., note on xxi. 28), viz. that ‘rich’ here = ‘ungodly,’ and now maintains that there is an antithesis between the first clause and the second—‘He was appointed to be buried with deceased malefactors, but when dead he was appointed to lie in a rich man’s grave.’ But this (equally with the traditional orthodox explanation) requires an inversion of the prophet’s words.—Ewald (and so *I. C. A.*) conjectures עֲשִׂוֹק (comp. Jer. xxii. 3); Krochmal emends רָשָׁעִים into פְּשָׁעִים, and עֲשִׂיר into רָשָׁעִים.

— בְּמִתּוֹי. There is no evidence that מִתּוֹיִם was used for ‘the state of death,’ on the analogy of חַיִּים; nor yet for ‘violent death,’ which is rather קְמוּחָהִים, Ezek. xxviii. 8 (which determines the reading of *v.* 10), and even קְמוּחָהִים is only used in construction with a *collective* noun. The alternatives are either to read בְּמִתּוֹי or בְּמִתּוֹ. The former, which is the reading of three of De Rossi’s MSS.,² is rendered either ‘his tombs’ or ‘his tomb,’ according as we suppose the subject of the prophecy to be a collective term or a real person: in the latter case the plural will be honorific (comp. מִשְׁכְּנוֹת, Isa. liv. 2, Ps. cxxxii. 5). I much doubt, however, whether בְּמִתּוֹ will bear the rendering ‘tomb.’ It is true there is the analogy of נְדִישׁ in Job xxi. 32, but the very definite use of בְּמִתּוֹ, both in Biblical and in Rabbinic Hebrew, for ‘high place’ or ‘altar,’ makes this wider use highly improbable. Ezek. xliii. 7 has been quoted in its favour, but in that

¹ Knobel’s *Yesaiā*, 4te Aufl., von Dr. L. Diestel (1872), p. 444.

² Ibn Ezra keeps the reading בְּמִתּוֹי, but gives בְּ the sense of ‘tomb,’ and says that it has two constructforms of the plural, like סְרִים.

passage we ought, with the Babylonian Codex, to point בְּמוֹתָם. On the whole, I prefer בְּמֹתוֹ; an intrusive ' is no novelty in the O. T. text. 'In his death' = after his death (Lev. xi. 31, &c.); cf. Shakespeare's 'Speak me fair in death.'

LIII. 10. הִתְחַלִּי. I understand this as referring to רָכָאוּ (comp. Mic. vi. 13, Nah. iii. 19), but not as grammatically in combination with it. This seems the most natural view.

—— תִּשִׁים. The difficulty of rendering the text-reading *naturally* is obvious, whether we prefer to make יהוה or נִפְשׁוֹ the subject. A similar error in Ps. xlix. 19.

LIII. 12. כְּרָבִים. The rendering adopted is the only one fully in harmony with the parallel line. The alternative is to take the preposition distributively, as serving to specialise the contents of the הִלָּק; comp. e.g. Gen. xxiii. 18 (Job xxxix. 17, often referred to, is an unfortunate example, for it would suggest that the הִלָּק only included a part, and not the whole, of the רָבִים). Del.'s note on this passage is obscurely expressed, and *seems* inconsistent with his translation.

LIV. 9. The Babylonian Codex has בְּיָמֵי; so also Saad., who deviates but rarely from the Mas. text (see on xlix. 17). Sept. read מְיָ, a corruption, thinks Del., of בְּיָמֵי.

LIV. 15. יָגוּר. The renderings 'sojourn,' 'congregate,' do not suit the context. As Ewald rightly holds, יָגוּר borrows its meaning here from נָגַד (comp. שָׂרָה—שׂוּר. בִּזְהָ—בִּזְהָ—בִּזְהָ—צוּר. יָגוּר), as in Ps. cxl. 3.

—— עָלֶיךָ יִפּוּל. Alt. rend., which brings before us Israel's moral conquest of his enemies, is not in harmony with the context, which speaks only of the failure of their hostile enterprises. Besides, as Dr. Kay points out, the preposition here precedes the verb; where the phrase עַל נִפַּל or לְ נִפַּל means 'to join the opposite party,' the preposition follows. Perhaps, however, this is too subtle a distinction.

LIV. 17. תִּרְשִׁיעַ. Comp. Syriac *khōb* 'to be defeated,' *z'kā* 'to conquer.'

LV. 13. יָשָׁם. This is one of the passages which seem to require the rendering 'monument' (note אֹזוֹת in the parallel clause). See also especially lvi. 5, Ps. cxxxviii. 2 (observe כָּל, which hardly suits the rend. 'name'), (2 Sam. iii. 13, Gen. xi. 4). In fact, if Ges.'s etymology be accepted, this should be the primary meaning of the word.

LVI. 11. Read הִפָּה הָרָעִים הָרָעִים.

LVII. 3 end. נִתְּנָה. Ewald explains the whole phrase, 'seed of him who broke wedlock, and she consequently (Vav consecutive) committed whoredom' (*Lehrbuch*, § 351 b); he compares Dan. viii.

22. But the construction does not suit the style of our passage. Klostermann reads *מנאפת וזנה*, simplifying the construction at the expense of a tautology.

LVII. 8. *מָהֶם*. Graetz restores *עֲמָהֶם* (*Monatsschrift*, 1883, p. 114).

LVII. 13. *קבוּצִיךְ*. Sept. *ἐν τῇ θλίψει σου*, 'probably reading *כהצוקך* or *בצוקתך*, an indication that there was some different arrangement of the letters of the text, and apparently favouring *ישקוציך*.' Dr. Weir.

LVII. 20. G. Hoffmann's corrections *ננרש* and *וינרשו* (cf. *נדיש*) do not improve the sense. (Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 122.) For the *nuance* acquired by *ננרש* comp. Am. viii. 8, where the sense of *ננרשה* is defined by the preceding *עלתה*, as well as by the following *נשקה* (read *נשקעה*). 'Heaping up' gives the notion rather of immobility than of unrest.

LVIII. 6. 'The ancient versions seem to have had a different text.' Dr. Weir.

LVIII. 7. *מְרִוּיִם*. Read *מְרִוּרִים*. An accidental transposition, as in 2 Kings xi. 2, where the k'thibh is, by an obvious error, *ממותים*. Ewald apparently supposes a peculiarity of pronunciation in both cases (*Lehrbuch*, § 131 d); but surely this is improbable. Del. assumes a secondary formation from *רור*, viz. *רור*, of which the form in the text would be a passive participle.

LVIII. 11. *יחליץ*. The ancient versions stumbled at this word, and it is possible that we have here a very ancient corruption of *יחליף*, 'he shall renew.' But we need not in this case read *עֲצִמְתֶּךָ*, 'thy strength' (as Secker and Lowth); Hupfeld (on Ps. vi. 3) well compares Ps. xxxii. 3, 'my bones waxed old.'

LVIII. 12. *ממך*. 'Should we not read *בניך*?' Dr. Weir. The text-reading is, of course, not untranslatable, but there is no obvious reason here for such a construction. The case is different in Ps. lxxviii. 27, Job xviii. 15.

LIX. 3. *נְגַאֲלוּ*. The same form (the passive of the Arabic seventh verbal stem) occurs in Lam. iv. 14. It is odd that it should only occur as a derivation of *גאל*. Luzzatto suspects that the authors of the points wished to avoid a confusion with *ננאלו*, from *גאל*, 'to redeem.'

LIX. 18. *בעל*. The versions seem to have found this grammatical anomaly unintelligible; so too Bp. Lowth, who adopts *בעל* for *כעל* from Targ. (see his note).

LXI. 1. The difficulty of the closing words lies in the fact that *פקח* is elsewhere only used of the eyes or (once, viz. xlii. 20) of the ears. We should therefore expect *ולעורים פקחוקו*. It is tempting to suppose that we have in the Massoretic text a combination of two

readings—one, that just quoted (favoured by Sept.), and the other פתחתוהו ולאסורים (favoured by Pesh., Vulg.). This is the view of Dr. Neubauer, who remarks that a combination of this sort, where manuscript authorities were equally divided, would be quite in the spirit of the Massoretic critics (*Academy*, June 11, 1870). Comp. a plausible explanation of the famous δευτεροπρώτῳ in Luke vi. 1, as a combination of two readings δευτέρῳ and πρώτῳ.

LXI. 2, 3. The text is evidently in disorder. Bickell's corrections (see vol. i. *ad loc.*) explain themselves.

LXIII. 3. ואררכם. Point this, and the corresponding verbs in this and the following verses, according to the rule of 'vāv consecutive.' So Luzzatto. It is only those who are unaware of the numerous instances in which, from exegetical or theological peculiarities, or from some obscure causes, the Massoretic punctuation is entirely or probably erroneous, who will accuse such a proceeding of uncritical rashness. Here the cause of the wrong pointing is patent—it is the theory, embalmed in that other record (the Massoretic punctuation being also one) of early Jewish exegetical traditions, the Targum, that this section of prophecy relates to the future (comp. on xliii. 28). It is singular that in v. 5 the authors of the points should have allowed themselves to write וְהוֹשִׁיעַ, mechanically following lix. 16. This is one of those inconsistencies which occasionally puzzle us in the Massoretic punctuation.—Comp. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 84 a, 176, Obs. 1 (he inclines to agree as to וְיִי).

——— אַנְאֵלְתִי. The initial א is miswritten by an Aramaism for ה; comp. Jer. xxv. 3, and perhaps Mic. vii. 15.

LXIII. 9. Dr. Kay objects that לוֹ צַר can only mean 'he was reduced to a strait,' 'which, of course, is not suitable here.' But it is as suitable as any other anthropomorphic expression (see, e.g., lix. 16). For the position of לוֹ see comm. on xliii. 22.

LXIII. 11. The reason why the accents unite מִיִּשָׁה עִמּוֹ appears from Targ., which paraphrases 'the mighty deeds which he had done through Moses to his people.'

——— The Babylonian Codex has רָעִי; Baer, too, adopts this as the Massoretic reading. This determines the subject of בְּקִרְבוֹ.

LXIII. 15. The meaning 'habitation' has been generally acquiesced in, but seems very uncertain, and has no philological foundation. The verb זָבַל is found only in Gen. xxx. 20, where it is commonly rendered 'dwell (with me),' not to suit the context, but in obedience to a prejudice as to the meaning of זָבֹל (although Sept. renders ἀιρεται με). The writer himself seems to have felt that the root זָבַל was unfamiliar to his readers, and he therefore selects an alternative root זָבַר to illustrate זָבֹלָן. We are evidently justified in

expecting some light from the allied languages, especially from Assyrian. In Chaldee, בָּבֵל and the cognate words have no connection with the idea of 'dwelling,' but with that of 'manure.' In Arabic, too, according to Lane, *zabala* means—1. to dung, manure; 2. to bear, carry. The latter meaning is important for us, for M. Stanislas Guyard has lately pointed out¹ that Assyrian also possesses the root *zabâlu* = *nasû* (נִשָּׂא) in the sense of 'bearing' (whence *zabil kudurri*,² 'crown-bearer' = Arab. *wazîr* [vizier], a title of the kings tributary to Assyria), and hence of 'elevating.' My friend Mr. Sayce corroborates the meaning of 'elevation' for *zabal* by a reference to bilingual tablets (see, e.g., the *British Museum Inscriptions*, vol. ii. p. 15, l. 45), where the Accadian *sag-il*, or *sag-gâ* (Haupt), lit. 'high head,'³ is explained by the Assyrian *zabal*. It cannot be denied that several passages of the Old Testament gain in force if we explain זָבַל on the analogy of *zabal*. How suitably, for instance, does Solomon, after alluding to Jehovah's dwelling in 'thick clouds,' refer to the newly built temple as a בַּיִת זָבַל 'a house of height' (1 Kings xii. 12, 13, comp. ix. 8a), a house which by its elevation pointed men upwards to the heavenly temple (comp. Isa. vi. 1)! How apposite is the same sense of 'elevation' in a description of the sun and moon (Hab. iii. 11)! How finely does the Psalmist (Ps. xlix. 15) suggest the contrast between the palaces (אַרְמוֹן from the idea of height) of the worldly-minded rich and the 'castle'⁴ of Sheól (comp. Job xxxviii. 17)! In Gen. xxx. 20, where the verb occurs, the rendering 'extol,' 'honour' (closely approached by Sept.), is certainly appropriate, and, as M. Guyard remarks, avoids the necessity of understanding a preposition. In the passage of Isaiah before us, the gain in force by substituting 'height' for 'habitation' is obvious. Of course, a vague sense like 'habitation' may just suffice for the passages in which זָבַל occurs. But what *greater* claim has it than 'elevation'? The supposed tradition in its favour seems really to be based on a guess. On the other hand, the proposed rendering is supported by indisputable evidence from a north Semitic vocabulary.

LXIII. 15. We might take the second part of the verse as a question, with Dr. Grätz, who also reads אֱלִינוּ (comp. Sept.).

¹ 'Remarques sur le mot assyrien *zabal*,' &c., in *Journal asiatique*, août-sept., 1878, pp. 220-5; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian* (1883), pp. 38, 39, Schrader, *K. A. T.*, ed. 2, pp. 185-6. A part of M. Guyard's evidence, however, seems doubtful.

² Mr. Norris, with exemplary self-restraint, left this title untranslated in 1868 (*Assyrian Dictionary*, i. 310).

³ Comp. 130 and 227a in the Syllabary in Sayce's *Elementary Assyrian Grammar*.

⁴ In Ps. *l.c.* the least we can do is to point (with Ew., Hitz.) מִצְבֵּל ; more probably the מ is a fragment of לְעוֹלָם (Bickell). But the old rend. 'glory' (Sept., Vulg., but not St. Jerome's version, and virtually Targ.) can be used as a testimony for the true meaning of the root.

LXIII. 19. The versions (see p. 110) certainly favour the supposition of corruptness, though II. Isaiah does contain rather extreme cases of constructions in which the logical syntax is not expressed, e.g. xli. 2 *a*, 24, xlvi. 14 *b*. Prof. Driver compares Gen. xxxi. 40, Job xii. 4.

LXIV. 4 (5). אתה. Grätz (*Monatsschrift*, 1880, p. 52) reads עתה; 'formerly thou wast favourable, but *now* thou art wroth.' But there is an emphasis in the אתה (how often the personal pronoun is used when Jehovah speaks!). 'It was because *thou*, whose nature is to be gracious, becamest angry,' &c.

—— ונחטא. The rend. adopted seems called for (as against Del.'s) by the statement at the end of *v.* 6 (7).

—— בהם עולם. To illustrate Ew.'s view of the passage, comp. iii. 12 (note above). It is against it, however, that קצף is never elsewhere constructed with ב. Del. takes בהם in a neuter sense (so St. Jerome, 'in ipsis,' sc. peccatis); comp. xxx. 6, xxxviii. 16, xliv. 15, Ezek. xxxiii. 18. Possible; but probable here?

LXV. 15. והמיתך ונו. The suffix seems to me to prove that this is a fragment of a formula of imprecation. Not, however, the opening words. Hence the perfect need not be the precativè, the existence of which is doubtful (see on xliii. 9), nor need we be surprised by the omission of בָּהֶם or בְּאֵלֶיהָ.

LXVI. 11. זיו. The sense 'udder' seems required by the parallelism, and may be justified by Assy. *zuz*, 'to come forth' (references in Schrader, *K. A. T.*, ed. 2, p. 550). Rödiger mentions a vulgar Arabic word *ziza*, 'udder;' and Judah ben Karish (Koreish), in his *Risâlet* or letter to the Jews of Fez, quotes a similar 'barbarous' word with the same meaning (on the latter, see Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung*, i. 118). Lagarde would read ביו; ביוא is the equivalent of שר in the Targum of the first line of *v.* 11 and in lx. 16. The sense of 'abundance' ordinarily given has not been well made out; the transition from radiation or from offspring to plenty is unnatural. The ancient versions only guess.

ESSAYS
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE COMMENTARY
ON ISAIAH.

I. THE OCCASIONAL PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

I.

THE editor of a modern classic of the interest and importance of the Book of Isaiah would naturally preface his illustrations with a life of his author. But of Isaiah what has the editor to tell? Later legend, indeed, hovered busily about the prophet;¹ but, except as giving evidence of his posthumous influence, its imaginative creations are of no interest to the student of Isaiah. The prophet is not, however, a mere name, *vox et præterea nihil*, for his works are the monuments of a widely-reaching activity; and through his teaching, and probably through a scanty but enthusiastic band of disciples,² he was the means of beginning, or at any rate of greatly strengthening, that remarkable phase of belief which we may call, in the literal sense of the word, the Messianic. Of the latter I shall say more in a subsequent essay; my immediate subject is the place of Isaiah in the history of his times, and the chronological arrangement of his extant³ prophecies.

By thus limiting my subject, I do not intend to deny that Isaiah, by some of his prophecies, was an important factor in the history of later times—that he foretold, and by foretelling contributed to bring about (for such is the Biblical doctrine of prophecy⁴), events long subsequent to his own age; but I am equally far from affirming it. Either course would require me to carry my researches into the domain of the 'higher criticism,' whereas at present, in the interests of the student, I have limited myself to the functions of an exegete, and only pretend to set before the reader the facts (sometimes the conflicting facts) supplied by the text itself.

¹ One Rabbinic authority makes Amoz, the father of Isaiah, a brother of King Amaziah, and there is a general agreement that Isaiah himself was martyred by being sawn asunder at the order of Manasseh. (See references in Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaja*, i. 3-15.) The former story is evidently based on an etymological fancy; the latter may have been occasioned by Isa. lii. 13-liii. 12. (So Fürst, *Geschichte der biblischen Literatur*, ii. 393.)

² Comp. viii. 12-16, xxviii. 23-29; both passages presuppose such a band of disciples.

³ For of course we have no reason to assume that all Isaiah's prophetic writings have been preserved.

⁴ Comp. notes on ix. 8, lv. 11. This doctrine of the self-fulfilling power of prophecy explains the imprisonments of Micaiah and Jeremiah, and a similar belief is presupposed in the narrative of Balaam (Num. xxii. 6).

The prophecies with which I am now concerned are the occasional ones—that is, those which were called forth by passing events, and are at any rate based on public discourses of Isaiah. A difference of opinion in specifying these is hardly possible, except in the case of xxi. 1–10, but critics are very much divided as to the time when the prophecies were composed. Nor can this be greatly wondered at. In the first place, Israelitish history has only come down to us in fragments. If even the plays of Aristophanes contain numerous obscure allusions, though the author lived subsequently to the rise of history (*ιστορίη*), how much more should we expect this to be the case with the religious literature of a nation with no gift for scientific research! In the second place, it is evident from the form of not a few prophecies that they are summaries of discourses delivered at various times; and even when it is not so, the cultivated style of the oracles sufficiently proves that they have been much altered since the time of delivery; we cannot, therefore, be sure that they give an absolutely faithful picture of the prophet's original feelings and circumstances. Hence a distinction must be drawn between two entirely separate objects of inquiry—viz. 1. the date of Isaiah's original discourse or discourses, and 2. that of the final editing of the discourse or summarising of the discourses.¹

But it may be asked, Have we not already in the Book of Isaiah itself an authoritative chronological arrangement? This is the view of Hengstenberg. 'In the first six chapters,' remarks this celebrated critic, 'we obtain a survey of the prophet's ministry under Uzziah and Jotham. Chap. vii. to x. 4 belongs to the time of Ahaz. From x. 4 to the end of chap. xxxv. everything belongs to the time of the Assyrian invasion in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; in the face of which invasion the prophetic gift of Isaiah was displayed as it had never been before. The section, chap. xxxvi.–xxxix., furnishes us with the historical commentary on the preceding prophecies from the Assyrian period, and forms, at the same time, the transition to the second part, which still belongs to the same period.'² The faults of this theory are, 1. that it implies the infallibility of the later Jewish editors of Isaiah, and 2. that it regards the prophecies of Isaiah, or at any rate those in the first part, as if they had been sent out into the world singly, whereas internal evidence strongly favours the view that underlying our present book there are several partial collections, made either by Isaiah, or by Isaiah's dis-

¹ See *I. C. A.*, introduction, p. xii.

² *Christology of the Old Testament*, ii. 2, 3.

ciples, or perhaps some by the former, and others by the latter. If we accept this position, it will be extremely unlikely that after the combination of these small collections the prophecies should turn out to be in exact chronological order. In fact, before the recent Assyrian discoveries it seemed easy to show that this was no less improbable than the similar view that the Minor Prophets, as they stand, are in chronological order; for how could the section x. 5-xii. 6, evidently written in the crisis of an invasion, be rightly placed so far from chaps. xxviii.-xxxii., which only express an increasing confidence that an invasion was inevitable? The discovery of the large part played by Sargon in the affairs of Palestine has, it is true, made Hengstenberg's position a more tenable one. The prophecy in x. 5-xii. 6 may conceivably refer to the invasion of Sargon, and those in xxviii.-xxxii. to that of Sennacherib.¹ Hence it is less surprising that, after being abandoned by scholars in general, Hengstenberg's view should again be independently maintained by Mr. George Smith the Assyriologist.² Still, some of the old objections to it remain in full force. Some prophecies (*e.g.* chap. i. and chap. xvii. 1-11) cannot be in their right chronological order, unless the remarks in the preceding commentary are very far wrong indeed. The evidence for the existence of groups of prophecies is, moreover, too strong to be disregarded; and it would argue a mean estimate of the intellect of those who formed these groups to suppose that chronology was their only guide, and that affinity of subjects had no influence on their selection of prophecies.

I assume, then, that the actual order of the prophecies in the Book of Isaiah is not strictly chronological. The results of the present work, however, tend to show that the deviations from chronological accuracy are not considerable. A brief summary will make this at once clear, and serve as a table of contents to the introductions in the preceding commentary.

Isaiah came forward as a young prophet (vi. 1) in the year of the death of Azariah,³ that warlike and enterprising monarch, who ventured to defy Assyria by heading a confederacy of discontented Syrian powers. Jotham, the next

¹ This is certainly conceivable, but far from probable, as the phraseological points of contact between the prophecy in x. 5-xii. 6 and chaps. xxviii. xxix. (see vol. i. p. 67) naturally suggest a contemporary origin.

² *T. S. B. A.*, ii. (1873), 328-9.

³ The text of Isa. vi. 1 calls him Uzziab, and so 2 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chr. xxvi.; but the name is given as Azariah in 2 Kings xiv. 21, and in the contemporary Assyrian inscriptions as Azriyâu. On the Syrian coalition, see vol. i. p. 41, and note the reference to Schrader.

king, was as secular in tastes as his father, and the denunciations in chap. ii. and in ix. 8-x. 4 may well have been delivered in substance during his reign. In these sterner passages our prophet reminds us of his predecessor Amos. But as soon as a real calamity draws near, the tone of his discourses begins to soften, and the passages which we naturally turn to as typical of his genius are centred in the three invasions of Judah by Rezin, Sargon, and Sennacherib. Rezin and his Israelitish vassal were already at the gates of Jerusalem when Isaiah delivered the substance of the prophecies in vii. 1-ix. 7, famous as containing the first distinct predictions of the Messiah. Chap. xvii. 1-11 evidently belongs to the same period, but is probably a little earlier than vii. 1-ix. 7. In 724 (?) Shalmaneser opened that siege of Samaria which was so soon brought to its fatal end by Sargon,¹ and we may presume that chap. xxviii. embodies the discourses of Isaiah on that striking occasion; but Shalmaneser has left but little impression on the Israelitish literature compared with Sargon, his successor. It is to this king's interference with the affairs of Judah² that we are, as I believe, indebted for the following important group of prophecies:—

Chap. xiv. 29-32, a prophecy on Philistia.

Chap. xix. 1-16, a prophecy on Egypt.

Chap. xx., a prophecy on Egypt and Ethiopia.

Chap. xxix.-xxxii., a prophecy on the Egyptian alliance and the Assyrian invasion.

Chap. x. 5-xi. 16, a prophecy on the Assyrian invasion and the times following.

Chap. xvii., a prophecy on the siege of Jerusalem.

Chap. i., a prophecy on the spiritual lessons of the invasion.

(Perhaps also chap. xvi. 13, 14, the epilogue attached to an older prophecy on Moab, and chap. xxi. 11-17, containing short prophecies on Dumah and Kedar.)

The Philistines, destined to suffer so much from Assyria, were already hankering after independence, when Isaiah wrote the short prophecy in xiv. 29-32: 'The rod which smote them' (*i.e.* Shalmaneser) was 'broken,' but the prophet warned them that the new king (Sargon) would dart upon them like a basilisk, and punish them for their disobedience. The unfavourable 'oracle of Egypt' (xix. 1-16) probably comes from the same period. The 'hard lord' into whose

¹ There is some doubt respecting the chronological limits of the siege of Samaria; it is safest, however, to follow Sargon's express statement, that he captured Samaria in the beginning of his reign. See further Schrader, *K. G. F.*, pp. 314-15; Smith, *The Eponym Canon*, p. 175.

² See introd. to x. 5-xii. 6 (vol. i. pp. 67-69).

hand the Egyptians are to be delivered (xix. 4) is Sargon, and the event pointed to is the defeat of Shabaka, King of Egypt and Ethiopia, B.C. 720, near the Philistine town of Raphia. It does not appear that Sargon interfered with Judah on this occasion. Hezekiah had probably refrained from assisting Shabaka, so that the Assyrian army would naturally keep to the coast-road. The security of Judah will also perhaps account for the falling off in style which has been noticed in chap. xix. When the danger was nearer home, the prophet's voice became trumpet-toned.

The woes denounced on Egypt in chap. xix. were not immediately realised, and in chap. xx. Isaiah renews his warning. Still, the results of the battle of Raphia were by no means insignificant. To Rahab, 'the arrogant one' (such was the symbolic name of Egypt in Hebrew : see on xxx. 7), the acknowledgment of Assyrian supremacy was galling in the extreme ; a still greater national calamity was the dismemberment of the country (see introduction to chap. xx.). That Hezekiah should have thought it worth while after this to seek Egyptian assistance is a fact so improbable that nothing short of Isaiah's authority (see chaps. xxx. xxxi.) could establish it. Chap. xxix. also belongs in substance to this period ; it declares that Jerusalem itself is in imminent peril. Shortly after, in xxxii. 9-20, the prophet repeats his denunciation to the frivolous ladies of Jerusalem.

Nor are these the only words spoken by the great prophet at this dark period. The two prophecies on the Egyptian alliance contain some passages which clearly refer to this later stage in the history. Thus chap. xxx. 18-33 evidently assumes that the people of Judah are actually suffering from an Assyrian invasion, and xxxi. 4 announces that Jehovah will, as it were, personally descend, and fight for Jerusalem. We are, in fact, in the midst of the first of the two invasions under Hezekiah, when Sargon (*i.e.* probably his Tartan, or commander-in-chief) took 'all the fenced cities of Judah.'¹ Hezekiah had probably followed the example of Yavan, King of Ashdod, and refused the usual tribute to the King of Assyria ; so, at least, we may infer from the statement of Sargon that the Judahites who used to bring tribute were 'speaking treason.'² The fate of Ashdod seemed likely to become that of Jerusalem, and Isaiah (who had already pointed out the danger, xx. 6) felt the urgency of the call for prophetic admonition. Of his discourses during this critical period at least three appear to have been preserved—chap. x.

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 13 (= Isa. xxxvi. 1). On this passage, see vol. i. p. 202.

² See introd. to chap. xx. (vol. i. pp. 122-3).

5-xii. 6, chap. xiv. 24-27, and chap. xxii. The date of the first two is absolutely certain (see introd.), and even Dr. Robertson Smith admits that they were written in the time of Sargon.¹ The only reasonable doubt can be with regard to chap. xxii., the explanation of which, as the student will have seen, requires a more than ordinary degree of exegetical tact.

At length the tide of invasion turned, and very soon afterwards, if I am not mistaken, in a case which again especially calls for tact, Isaiah wrote (not spoke) one of his most beautiful prophecies, chap. i. The generality of its contents (which marks it out as composed for an introduction) makes it unusually difficult to pronounce upon its date; yet there is some internal evidence which points to the time of Sargon's invasion. It would, in fact, be an incongruity if a prophet like Isaiah had been able to compose a purely literary work.

Three years after the subjugation of Judah occurred an event second only in importance for Palestine to the battle of Raphia—the conquest of Babylonia by Sargon (710). From a narrative certainly based on an early tradition (2 Kings xx. 12, &c. = Isa. xxxix. 1, &c.), we may probably infer that Hezekiah had had some thoughts of a Babylonian alliance. Isaiah would, of course, be opposed to this, but the fall of Babylon must have profoundly shocked him as an evidence of the (humanly speaking) irresistible progress of Assyria. The prophecy in xxi. 1-10, which, taken by itself, is so obscure,² seems in most respects easier of explanation if we refer its origin to the siege of Babylon in 710. I say 'in most respects,' for I do not deny the striking plausibility of some of the arguments for a Captivity origin.

Isaiah took no narrow view of his prophetic mission, and the fall of Babylon was, according to him, a warning to other nations besides his own. 'Behold the land of Chaldea,' he cried to the proud merchant people of Phœnicia; 'this people is no more' (xxiii. 13). Indeed, Tyre was nearer to the common foe, and had a still better reason for alarm (in proportion to its greater power) than the second-rate or third-rate kingdom of Judah. So sure is Jehovah's prophet of the catastrophe that he bursts into an elegiac ode on the ruin of Zidon's greatest daughter. The concluding verses of the chapter, however, which form no part of the elegy, and seem

¹ *The Prophets of Israel* (1882), pp. 297-8.

² The obscurity consists in the depression into which the writer apparently falls at the news of the fall of Babylon. In *I. C. A.*, p. xxvii, I conjectured that he was 'almost unmanned by affection for his adopted home.' But this is not very probable in a pious Jewish exile, and the theory of a Babylonian origin is also opposed (though not, of course, absolutely disproved) by the numerous points of contact with Isaiah (see vol. i. p. 123).

to have been added by an afterthought, prophesy a revival of Tyre at the end of 'seventy years.'¹

The third event which called forth the energies of the prophet was the invasion of Sennacherib ; the attendant circumstances have been described already (vol. i. pp. 206-7). Great as the war was—greater even than the invasion of Sargon—only four of the extant prophecies appear to have been originated by it. These are chap. xviii., chap. xvii. 12-14, chap. xxxiii., and chap. xxxvii. 22-35 (or 32). The first of the four was evidently produced by the news of the approach of the Assyrians, and the consequent excitement of the warlike Ethiopians. The second and third were (according to the historical sketch referred to above) probably composed during the march of the Assyrian general, who, after capturing forty-six fortified towns, was so wonderfully and providentially checked beneath the walls of Jerusalem. The fourth has all the incisive energy which we should expect from the circumstances under which the Book of Isaiah itself declares it to have been delivered.

2.

Such now appears to me, upon a reconsideration of the subject, to be a more probable chronological arrangement of these prophecies than I was able to offer in 1870—it is at any rate more personal and independent. My endeavour has been to avoid arbitrary conjecture, and, whenever practicable, to explain the prophet's allusions from the contemporary Assyrian inscriptions. I confess, therefore, to some disappointment when that excellent scholar, Dr. Robertson Smith, expresses the opinion that one of the historical bases of the preceding sketch is unsound, and that 'the mere statement of this hypothesis is sufficient to show its extreme improbability.'² A page or two in reply to Dr. Robertson Smith's leading objections is indispensable to complete this essay.

Did Sargon invade Judah, and threaten, or even capture Jerusalem, or not? The grounds for maintaining that he did have been already given; the documentary evidence is, no doubt, scanty, still it exists, and historical probability is strongly in favour of this view. Dr. Robertson Smith's counter argument has not yet been put in a complete form; but appearances rather indicate that he has been biassed by a partiality for a distinguished recent critic.

¹ Hence one of the arguments for the view that the epilogue, as we may call these verses, is the work of some unknown writer at the close of the Babylonian exile. Against it see my note on xxiii. 15-18.

² *The Prophets of Israel* (1882), p. 206.

In admiration for Julius Wellhausen's brilliant genius I hardly yield to Dr. Robertson Smith. But I cannot help adding that his insight is sometimes marred by excessive self-assertion. His personal dislikes are indeed painfully visible in some of his critiques in the Göttingen *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, and his bias against Assyriology (shared, it is true, by others in Germany) comes out very strongly in an article in vol. xx. of the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* (1875), replied to with exemplary calmness by Schrader, in vol. ii. of the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* (1876), in his article on 'The Azriyâhu of the cuneiform inscriptions, and the Azaryah of the Bible.' I am the more confirmed in my opinion that Dr. Robertson Smith has been 'misled' by German influences, when I notice his own insufficient estimate of the value of the Assyriologists' work in p. 377 of *The Prophets of Israel*, where Gutschmid's extravagant attack on Assyriology is characterised as setting forth the state of things 'very forcibly, though perhaps (!) with an extreme of scepticism,' and no mention is made of Schrader's reply, so impressive from its honesty and documentary completeness, in the *K. G. F.*

Dr. Robertson Smith objects to the view which I have advocated, that it represents Judah as suffering 'precisely in the same way, and to the same extent,' both from Sargon and Sennacherib, that 'history does not repeat itself exactly,' and that 'we must conclude that Isaiah held precisely similar language in the two cases, and that he did this in the second invasion without making any reference back to the events of the siege which has called forth similar predictions two years before' (p. 295). 'Precisely' and 'exactly' are words that shoot beyond the mark. It has not been asserted that history 'repeated itself exactly,' nor that Isaiah used 'precisely similar language' in the two cases. History may surely have repeated itself in the career of Hezekiah, as it did in that of Merodach-Baladan, but the repetition need not have been 'exact'; all that is claimed by Mr. Sayce and myself is a *parallelism* between the two invasions. Next, with regard to the language of Isaiah. It is true that, in both groups of prophecies (those referring to Sargon as well as those to Sennacherib), Isaiah is well assured that Jehovah will interpose for Mount Zion; but is there not a variety amidst the similarity? In Sargon's reign Isaiah says that the chief men of the city have been captured, and that many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall be slain (xxii. 3, 14); in Sennacherib's, he implies that all shall escape (xxxvii. 22). In Sargon's he declares that Jerusalem shall be reduced to extremities (xxix.

1-6); in Sennacherib's, that the Assyrian shall not come before the city, nor raise a bank against it (xxxvii. 33; see vol. i. p. 207). In Sargon's, his tone towards his countrymen is most severe (xxii. 1-14; see vol. i. p. 132); in Sennacherib's, it is one of consolation and hope. Surely, if Sargon's invasion be denied, there is no choice but to follow a recent German critic¹ who, on the ground of the inconsistently severe tone of xxii. 1-14, expresses a grave doubt of its authenticity.

But why, asks Dr. Robertson Smith, did Isaiah make no reference during Sennacherib's invasion to the events of the former crisis? The question could only be answered with certainty from the contemporary Jewish annals, which we do not possess. It may be that there were circumstances connected with Sargon's siege of Jerusalem, which it was no unmixed pleasure to remember (comp. chap. xxii.), but I do not care to reconstruct history speculatively. Dr. Robertson Smith thinks it also 'highly improbable that [Hezekiah] would have been allowed to restore the Judæan fortresses' (p. 296). But Sargon, in his latter years, was enfeebled by age; and Sennacherib, on his accession, had work enough on his hands nearer home, on his southern and eastern frontier. Next, my friendly critic is surprised at the non-mention of any punishment of Judah in the Annals of Sargon, and questions whether the Book of Kings would have ignored an invasion of Sargon had it really taken place. I have already answered these objections² (vol. i. pp. 68-9), but I feel that I should not be doing justice to this acute scholar if I assumed that he attached special importance to such arguments. His sceptical attitude is surely dictated by his chronological theory, and the discussion of his and Wellhausen's chronology would lead me into digressions for which I am not now prepared. I will agree to leave it an open question whether Sargon really invaded Judah or not, provided it be admitted that there is at least some evidence for it, and that to accept the view throws a bright light on some very important prophecies. Of course, all opinions on ancient history must be held with a certain amount of reserve, and be liable to modification or correction from more thorough criticism, or the discovery of more complete evidence. Dr. Robertson Smith is well able to contribute to this desirable result. Let me add that if I have, in the foregoing commentary or elsewhere, expressed myself too positively, I regret it, as it may perhaps have encouraged his own too positive contradiction. At any

¹ Dr. C. H. Cornill, in *Stade's Zeitschrift*, 1884, p. 96.

² The absence of any reference to Assurbanipal, except under the mutilated form *Asnapper* (Ezra iv. 10), may also be mentioned in this connection.

rate, he will, I know, echo the words with which I concluded this essay in the first edition, that 'the prophecies have surely become more vivid through being read in this new light, and the character of Isaiah as a "watcher" of the political as well as spiritual horizon does but shine with a steadier and more enlivening glow.'

II. THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROPHECIES.

I.

THAT there is some principle (or, that there are some principles) of arrangement in the Book of Isaiah, is now universally acknowledged. The book is no mere anthology of single prophecies; this cannot be even said of chaps. i.-xxxix., where a continuous thread of thought is undoubtedly wanting. But the plan of the book is by no means easy to grasp. It seems simple enough to suppose with Hengstenberg that the prophecies in chaps. i.-xxxix. are arranged chronologically, or with Vitranga that similarity of contents was the guiding principle of the collector and editor. But neither theory can be carried out without violence to facts. The suggestion has therefore been offered to divide the book into four smaller books or parts, viz. chaps. i.-xii., chaps. xiii.-xxiii., chaps. xxiv.-xxxv. (with its appendix, chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix.), and chaps. xl.-lxvi.; and this view has been adopted by Gesenius, Hävernack, and (in 1856) Dr. S. Davidson. When, however, we come to analyse these groups, we find that they are by no means homogenous, and that there are several breaks in the continuity. Hence Ewald and Delitzsch seem fully justified in subdividing the book still further. These eminent scholars differ widely, it is true; the reason being that while Delitzsch regards the prophet Isaiah as himself the sole author and editor, Ewald postulates a variety of authors and several editors. Controversy, however, is not my object. Those who wish to see the thoughtful and only too ingenious arrangement of Delitzsch can easily refer to his widely-known commentary (Introduction, section 2). My own view on the subject of this essay continues to be based on that of Ewald, and, in offering it anew for acceptance, I would merely remark that it is in no way bound up with any preconceived opinion as to the unity or plurality of the authorship of the book.¹

¹ Dr. C. H. Cornill, in *Stade's Zeitschrift*, 1884, p. 83, &c., has offered an explanation of the order of the prophecies, which he thinks was to a great extent

It was stated in the present writer's former edition of Isaiah,¹ that at any rate that part of the book which contains occasional prophecies 'appears to be composed of several smaller books or prophetic collections.' This view, I repeat, will still be the most probable one, even if we should admit the Isaianic authorship of the entire book. Let us see what it is that it involves. 'The chapter which opens the book in the traditional arrangement is evidently intended as a general introduction to a large group of prophecies. It is impossible, however, to trace any distinct connection between that chapter and the three following ones, which certainly constitute a single homogeneous prophecy. Equally difficult is it to trace a connection between chap. i. and chaps. vi.-x. 4; the latter chapters, with the exception of ix. 8-x. 4' (see vol. i. p. 63), 'are as distinct and homogeneous as the prophecy already mentioned.' But there is a general agreement between the historical circumstances of chap. i., of chaps. x. 5-xi. 16, and of most of the minor prophecies on foreign nations, all of which were probably written under the shadow of the first Assyrian invasion by Sargon. It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that, after the retirement of Sargon, Isaiah prepared 'a new and enlarged edition of his works,' consisting of the two prophetic writings mentioned above (ii.-v., and vi. 1-ix. 7), supplemented by x. 5-xii. 6² (which once doubtless had an independent existence, and which was now inserted as a pendant to the prophecy of Immanuel), and by most of the prophecies on foreign nations.³ Later still, Isaiah, or some of his disciples availing themselves of his literary material, made several insertions in his already extant works, and added a new one to their number. The insertions are xiv. 24-27, originally an appendix to x. 5-xii. 6 (compare vol. i. p. 94), but displaced, xvii. 1-11, xvii. 12-xviii. 7, and, according to conservative critics, xiii. 1-xiv. 23, the last three of which were included among the oracles on foreign nations.⁴ The only one of these insertions which requires any special explanation is the last-mentioned, and to this I will return presently. The

suggested by the recurrence of certain words (*Stichworte*, 'cues') in pairs of prophecies. This had already been noticed here and there, e.g. in chap. xxi., and it seems doubtful whether Dr. Cornill's extension of the principle will stand.

¹ *I. C. A.*, Introduction, pp. xii-xiv. The reader will at once notice the points in which I have modified my views.

² I am aware that Ewald considers chap. xii. to be an insertion of post-Exile origin. The time of this lyric passage, and its imitative character, seem to have suggested this view, which is certainly attractive.

³ Amos had already given a series of short decisive oracles on the neighbouring peoples (i. 3-ii. 3). Zephaniah (ii. 4-15), Jeremiah (xlvi.-li.), and Ezekiel (xxv.-xxxii.) did so afterwards.

⁴ Whenever xiii. 1-xiv. 23 was inserted, whether in Isaiah's time or during the Exile, it had the unfortunate effect of separating x. 5-xii. 6 from its appendix.

new prophetic work consists of chaps. xxviii.—xxxiii.; it seems chiefly intended as a memorial of the state of the Jews during Sargon's intervention in the affairs of Palestine, though a prophecy of a later period (xxxiii.) was added as an appendix. Four groups of chapters still remain, viz. xxiv.—xxvii., xxxiv. and xxxv., xxxvi.—xxxix., and xl.—lxvi. Let me begin with the third. It consists of an historical narrative in which two prophecies (xxxvii. 21—35 and xxxix. 5—7) and a poem (xxxviii. 9—20), the latter ascribed, not to Isaiah, but to Hezekiah, are imbedded. By whom the narrative was written, and when, is much disputed (see vol. i. p. 209); but that the first of the two prophecies is the work of Isaiah is admitted on all hands, and the analogy of chaps. vii. and xx. shows that the narrative, long as it is, exists for the sake of the prophecies, and not the prophecies for the narrative. The parallel of Jer. lii. suggests further that Isa. xxxvi.—xxxix. were originally intended as a conclusion or appendix to the Book of Isaiah.

As to the three other groups, we must first of all separate chaps. xl.—lxvi., the difficulty with regard to which is, not so much its position, as the arrangement of its contents. Not, I say, its position, for supposing Isaiah to have written these chapters, he or his disciple-editor could not well have placed them anywhere else.¹ To its internal arrangement I return presently. There remain chaps. xxiv.—xxvii. and xxxiv., xxxv., which must be taken in connection with xiii. 1—xiv. 23. Why these groups of prophecies received their present position is certainly not clear at first sight; plausible reasons are all that can be given. The last-mentioned not unnaturally heads the series of foreign oracles with its emphatic description of the day of Jehovah—that day which is always coming anew, whether Babylon or Assyria, Moab or Philistia, be its most prominent victim; while the group, chaps. xxiv.—xxvii., not unsuitably closes it, since the restoration of Israel in which these prophecies culminate is, in fact, the object of history as viewed by Jehovah's prophets. There is also a striking similarity between the closing verse (xxvii. 13) and the passage (xi. 11—16) which concludes the predictive portion of the group x. 5—xii. 6. As to chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., their wide and comprehensive character fully explains their present position at the end of what we may call the first book or volume of Isaiah (chaps. xxxvi.—xxxix. being regarded as an appendix). Chap. xxxv., in particular, would commend itself as a finale to one of the most characteristic feelings of a Jew. We have

¹ Chap. xxxix. 6, with its reference to a 'carrying to Babylon,' forms a natural link between the two halves of the book.

already seen how distressed the Rabbis were by the gloomy tone of the last verse of chap. lxvi. On the other hand, such a comforting word as 'They shall overtake gladness and joy, trouble and sighing shall flee away,' would appear a most appropriate epilogue to the works of so great a prophet.

2.

With regard to the second part of Isaiah, the writer has already stated that he cannot see his way to adopt any of the current arrangements (vol. i. p. 242). The discourse no doubt makes a fair show of continuity. There are none of those headings which in the first part so rudely dispel the dream of homogeneousness, and one can read on for a considerable way without any striking break in the thread of thought. Besides this, there occurs at equal intervals in the volume an expression which looks as if it were intended to mark the close of a book, in the manner of a chorus or refrain—'There is no peace to the ungodly' (xlvi. 22, lvii. 21), and the closing verse of the last chapter may be regarded as repeating the idea of this refrain in a new and more striking form. On this ground, Friedrich Rückert, scholar as well as poet, suggested in 1831 a division of the prophecy into three parts, each consisting of nine chapters; and Ruettschi, a Swiss scholar, attempted, on this basis, to draw out the design of the book, and to show that there was a unity, not only of form, but of subject and of time.¹ This view has met with a large measure of acceptance; it flatters the natural love of symmetry, and appears to accord with the supposed fondness of the Jews for the number three (it gives three books with three times three subdivisions). Voices on the other side, however, have not been wanting, and chief among these is Ewald's, who declares the popularity of Rückert's view to be inconceivably perverse.² It is, in fact, too simple, too mechanical. Had it really the support of the contents, Rückert, a *dilettante* student of the prophets, would hardly have been the first to discover it. Nor are the writers who hold with him at all at one among themselves as to the arrangement of the prophecies within the three books. Naegelsbach, for instance, the latest commentator on Isaiah, only admits five discourses in the last book, and Prof. Birks prefers a sevenfold to a ninefold subdivision. Approaching the book with disenchanted eyes, we see that there is a much

¹ *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, p. 261, &c.

² So I suppose I may paraphrase the characteristic 'es ist im guten sinne unbegreiflich' (Ewald, *Die Propheten*, iii. 29, note 2).

larger number of interruptions of continuity than Rückert's division supposes; and, while granting the importance of the division at xlvi. 22, we can attach comparatively little weight to that at lvii. 21, chap. lvi. 1-8 being closely akin to chap. lviii., and even chap. lvii. not so violently separated from the next chapter by its subject-matter as, for instance, lvi. 8 from lvi. 9, and chap. lxii. from chap. lxiii. We cannot, indeed, suppose that the occurrence of the same striking verse at equal intervals is purely accidental. But may it not be that the two verses at the end of chap. lvii. were added by an after-thought to gratify a fondness for external symmetry? that the original prophecy ended at xlvi. 22,¹ and that the remainder of the book grew up by degrees under a less persistent flame of inspiration? This view clearly involves no disparagement to the spiritual importance of the latter prophecies, the significance of which stands in no relation to their technical perfection.

It is the frequency with which the thread of thought is broken which makes it, in my opinion, so difficult to offer a satisfactory division of the latter part of Isaiah. Even in chaps. xl.-xlviii., which are tolerably coherent, there are several points at which it is quite uncertain whether or not we ought to begin a new chapter: this is particularly the case in chaps. xlii.-xlv. To me, indeed, it is tolerably clear that xliii. 1-xlv. 5 forms one section in itself, and xlv. 6-xlv. 25 another. But when I find Delitzsch connecting xliii. 1-13 with chap. xlii., and Ewald, not only accepting chap. xlv. as an independent section, but even forming xlv. 1-9 into a single paragraph, I am obliged to distrust my own insight. In the portion beginning at chap. xlix., however, the difficulties of distribution are much increased. The opening chapter, no doubt, connects itself with the preceding part by the obvious parallelism of verses 1-6 with xlii. 1-7, and down to lii. 12 (see note below) there is no unusual break in the continuity. But from lii. 13 to liii. 12 both style and ideas become strikingly different (see p. 39). It seems to me clear that, though not discordant with the other passages relative to the Servant, this obscure and difficult section cannot have been originally intended to follow chaps. xlix. 1-lii. 12. Let any plain, untheological reader be called upon to arbitrate; I have no doubt as to his decision. And this section does but introduce a series of still more strikingly disconnected passages which occur at intervals in the remainder of the book—

¹ Chap. lii. 12 has equally the appearance of having been designed as the close of a book. It would be a plausible conjecture that xlix. 1-lii. 12 was originally meant as an epilogue.

viz. lvi. 1-8; lvi. 9-lvii. 21; ¹ lviii. 1-lix. 21; lxiii. 1-6; lxiii. 7-lxiv.; lxv.; lxvi.² The preceding commentary will, I hope, have proved that these opinions are not thrown out loosely and at random. But a mere glance is sufficient to show the wide discordance of tone between chaps. lx.-lxii. and the passages to which I have just referred.

III. THE CHRISTIAN ELEMENT IN THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

I.

AN essay in apologetic theology is foredoomed to much adverse criticism: as Herder long ago said, 'the witness of the Old Testament for Christ is no simple and overpowering demonstration; it is based on composite and convergent evidence, and so delicate and obscure, that to him who doubts and denies it can prove nothing.' Still, the effort to express this witness anew must now be made; it is useless to repeat what is no longer in harmony with the best knowledge of the age. Apologetic theology must be reformed, and Biblical criticism and exegesis have to aid in preparing the ground. This is the reason why these seeds of thought on the Christian element in prophecy are once again published, not without some reluctance, in a philological work. May I add that the treatment of the Psalms in this essay supplies what some may have desiderated in my recent literary edition of the Psalter in the *Parchment Library*?

An influential modern writer upon the Old Testament, whose name is now at least as often heard as that of Ewald, has thought it necessary in the preface to his most considerable work to defend himself against the charge of arguing points of criticism upon concealed metaphysical premisses. He observes in reply³ that, if he were to introduce his researches by an explicit statement of his theory of the universe, he would make it appear that his critical method and results are the outcome of his views on theology, and consequently

¹ The tone of lvii. 11 b-21 is more in harmony with that of xl.-lii. 12 than the earlier part of the chapter (see on lvii. 11 a).

² I cannot bring myself to believe that chaps. lxv., lxvi., in spite of their undeniable points of contact, were written continuously, much less (see on lxv. 1) that they were intended as a sequel to chap. lxiv. Even chap. lxvi. is not as a whole very coherent; compare vv. 1-5 with vv. 6-24.

³ Dr. A. Kuenen, *Historisch-kritisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan . . . van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (Leiden, 1861), vol. i. pp. vii, viii, of the preface.

of no value to those who do not belong to his own school of thought. The object of the present work, as has been stated already, is mainly exegetical, and only indirectly critical ; but it is, perhaps, for that very reason important to meet the expectations of any section of its readers with more than usual frankness. For it is emphatically not a party book, but designed to help as many students as possible to a philologically sound view of the text, from which they may proceed, if they are so disposed, to the fruitful investigation of the ulterior critical problems. Most English books on Isaiah carry their theological origin on their forefront ; this one can hardly be said to do so. The same reason which weighed with Dr. Kuenen has influenced the writer. But as he has not thought it right to express himself fully in the main body of the work, he hastens to repair the omission in the supplementary portion.

‘There is a philological exegesis, and there is a Christian’ (Preface, vol. i.). In what sense this laconic aphorism is intended, the present essay will show. Its scope, then, is not polemical. The ‘strife of tongues’ too often leads to the ‘darkening of counsel,’ and the essays on Biblical subjects called forth by controversy have seldom been those which have permanently advanced the sacred interests of truth. After spending even a short time in the heavy air of controversial theology, the student is forced to exclaim with a kindred spirit among the prophets,¹ ‘Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfaring men!’ And if in these days of toleration he cannot join in the same prophet’s watchword, ‘Fear is on every side,’² yet the misunderstanding and suspicion which from opposite sides meet the Biblical investigator may well render him as reluctant to publish on questions of the day as Jeremiah was to prophesy. Still there is a worse fate than being misunderstood, and that is to be ‘to truth a timid friend ;’ and if the conclusions of this essay should incur the reproach of triteness, yet there may be something a little new and suggestive in the road by which they have been reached. For they were certainly as great a surprise to the writer as any of his results in the critical or exegetical field, and, as the preceding commentary will have shown, he belongs to a school of interpretation mainly, at

¹ See Jer. ix. 2. Jeremiah was evidently a profound student of the writings of inspired men, and has, I think, a better title than Ezra to be regarded as the father of the Soferim (students of Scripture : A. V. ‘scribes’).

² Jer. vi. 25, xx. 3, 10, xlvi. 5, xlix. 29, comp. Ps. xxxi. 14. (Hitzig and Ewald ascribe Ps. xxxi. to Jeremiah. It would, however, be too bold to assert that all passages with affinities to Jeremiah were actually written by that prophet, who seems, in fact, to have been the founder of a school of writers.)

any rate, composed of rationalists. It is true he has come to believe in a definitely Christian interpretation of the Old Testament, but this he thinks should be based entirely upon the obvious grammatical meaning. To give even the slightest stretch to a word or construction in deference to theological presuppositions, is a fault of which he has an unfeigned horror. Believing personally in the Virgin-born, he dares not render a certain famous text in Isaiah, 'The virgin shall conceive;' and while accepting the narrative in Matt. xxvii. 57-60, he scruples to translate another celebrated passage, 'He was with the rich in his death.'

It will perhaps be said that all Biblical expositors are now agreed in admitting the full supremacy of the grammar and the lexicon. They are doubtless agreed in theory, but their practice does not always correspond. I may seem to be unnecessarily earnest, and even, I fear, discourteous, and I am eager to proceed to still more interesting matters. But even this point has a degree of importance, and the evidence for it cannot be relegated to a footnote. Let me refer, then, to the two passages quoted above—Isa. vii. 14, liii. 9.¹ It is a fact which I have myself emphatically stated, that the word '*almah*' is used everywhere else of an unmarried woman. But it is also a fact that this is only inferred from the context, and there is nothing in Isa. vii. 14-16 to enable us to determine positively whether the mother of Immanuel was a married or simply a marriageable woman. We may, indeed, suspect from the somewhat remarkable word selected that Isaiah meant to call attention to the mother; but we cannot venture to go an inch further. Just as '*elem*' might legitimately be used of a young man who happened also to be married, so might '*almah*' be used of a young woman who was also a wife. It is stretching language unduly, and converting translation into exegesis, to exclude this full possibility with such a meagre context as the prophecy of Immanuel.

With regard to the second passage referred to, a protest is perhaps still more necessary, because two eminent scholars (Dr. Delitzsch and Dr. Kay), while rejecting the ungrammatical rendering of Vitringa (and Auth. Vers.), continue to illustrate the passage by quoting Matt. xxvii. 57-60. How this can be done without a violation of the rules of parallelism, and an injury to the harmony of the style, it is difficult to understand (see note p. 49). This, then, appears to be a case of the involuntary nullification of a rendering by the exegesis, and reminds us forcibly of the words of Scaliger, 'Non

¹ On the Christian interpretation of these passages, see below.

aliunde dissidia in religione pendent, quàm ab ignoratione grammaticæ.'

I have ventured to use the phrase 'a definitely Christian interpretation of the Old Testament.' I do not thoroughly like it, any more than I like the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. Both expressions, however convenient and for purposes of classification indispensable, are but provisional to those who have learned 'to sum up all things in Christ' (words which have happily not yet become a Shibboleth, and which have as profound a philosophical as religious significance). Everything in the Old Testament stands in some relation to Christ, whether 'definitely' or not. Nor is this all. Every revolution of the ancient heathen world, whether in politics or in thought, is a stage in its journey towards that central event, which is the fulfilment of its highest aspirations. Plato speaks almost as if he foresaw the crucifixion,¹ and Seneca insists on the historic character of the ideal wise man, 'even though within long periods one only may be found.'² As an accomplished historical theologian has well said :

'The fact that such a character [as Jesus Christ], so unique, so divine, should have come into the world, leads us to feel that there surely must have been in earlier times some shadows at least, or images, to represent, dimly it may be, to former generations that great thing which they were not actually to witness. It would lead us to believe that there must have been some prophetic voice to announce the future coming of the Lord, or else the very stones would have cried out.'³

But provisionally one must draw a distinction between some foreshadowings, some prophecies, and others. There are not, indeed, two Spirits of prophecy, the one for the Gentile, the other for the Jewish world ; but in our present condition of ignorance it is at least not irrational to maintain that the 'prophetic voices' which announce the Messiah in the Old Testament are so definite and distinct, and in such agreement with history, as to prove that God has in very deed revealed himself to Israel (not for Israel's sake alone) in a fuller sense than to other nations.

It is not, however, everyone who is honestly able to come

¹ Plato, *De republ.*, ii. pp. 361-2. It is just possible that Plato's imaginative picture of the sufferings of the righteous man was inspired by the story of Osiris (though the important detail of the resurrection is wanting) ; but from a Christian point of view this most touching story is, in its post-mythic or spiritualised form, an unconscious prophecy of the Gospel. Tertullian, I think, calls our Lord 'alter Osiris.'

² Seneca, *De constant.*, c. 7, § 1.

³ Sermon preached in Westminster Abbey by the Very Rev. Dr. Stanley, Christmas Day, 1879. (Abstract in *Daily Telegraph*, Dec. 26.) On revising my work, I cannot help adding, *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus Tam cari capitis?*

to this conclusion. It depends on one's moral attitude towards the two great Biblical doctrines summed up in the expressions 'the Living God,' and 'the God-man Jesus Christ.' If you believe heartily in the God of Revelation and of Providence, you are irresistibly impelled to a view of the Scriptures, which, though it may be difficult to demonstrate, is none the less in the highest degree reasonable. It is only half of your belief that the Biblical writers saw deeper into spiritual things and spoke more forcibly of what they had seen than ordinary men. It seems to you the most natural thing in the world that, at important moments in the history of God's people, and at the high-water marks of the inspiration of His prophets, typical personages should have been raised up, and specially definite prophecies have been uttered. Not that the laws of human nature were violated, nor that Christian interpreters are to explain the prophets unphilologically, but that God overruled the actions and words of His servants, so as to cast a shadow of the coming Christ. If, again, you believe in the true though 'veiled' Divinity of Jesus Christ, and humbly accept His decrees on all points essentially connected with His Messiahship, you will feel loyally anxious to interpret the Old Testament as He beyond question interpreted it.¹ You will believe His words when He says (and I attach no special importance to the accuracy of this particular report of His words, for the idea of it pervades all the four Gospels): 'The Scriptures are they which testify of me.' You will reply to non-Christian critics, 'In spite of modern criticism and exegesis, there must be some sense in which the words of my Lord are true. He cannot have mistaken the meaning of His own Bible, the book on which in His youth and early manhood He nourished His spiritual life. He who received not the Spirit by measure, cannot have been fundamentally mistaken in the Messianic character of psalms and prophecies.'

In short, there are two fixed points with the class of students here represented: 1. that in order to prepare susceptible minds for the Saviour, a special providential guidance may be presumed to have been given to the course of certain selected lives and the utterances of certain inspired personages; and 2. that this presumption is converted into a certainty by our Lord's authoritative interpretation of the Old Testament. To accept these two fixed points is to many persons

¹ Prof. J. E. Carpenter remarks, 'This position betrays a confident assurance concerning the views entertained by Jesus upon these passages which we cannot share' (*Modern Review*, 1881, p. 250). But allowing for errors as to this or that detail of Messianic interpretation ascribed to Jesus, can we really be mistaken in assuming that He did interpret psalms and prophecies Messianically?

a very real 'cross.' The torrents of ridicule which have been poured out upon 'circumstantial fulfilments' have left a general impression that they can only be admitted by doing violence to grammar and context, which to a modern student is nothing short of 'plucking out' his 'right eye.' Hence many 'liberal' theologians¹ have been fain to stunt their religion in favour, as they suppose, of their philology, and their example has been followed with less excuse by many who are guiltless of special study. But must there not be some mistake both on the side of the cross-bearers and of the cross-rejecters? Can it be that human nature is 'divided against itself,' and left to choose between intellectual and religious mutilation? Here at least scepticism is the truest piety. It is the conviction of the writer that there is a 'more excellent way,' and that the philological and the Christian interpretation can be honestly combined, without any unworthy compromise.

2.

The definitely Christian elements in the Old Testament are mainly (not by any means entirely) of two kinds: 1. foreshadowings of special circumstances in the life of Christ, occurring *as it were* casually in the midst of *apparently* rhetorical descriptions; and 2. distinct pictures of Jesus Christ, the suffering Messiah. It is of the former that I speak at present. We have a right to expect them, and we, as a matter of fact, find them. But it must be remembered, in deference to common sense, that the passages in which they occur admit of another but a perfectly combinable interpretation. The object of special or circumstantial features in an Old Testament description is primarily to symbolise the character of the person or work referred to, and the literal fulfilment of the clause or verse containing them in some event of the life of Jesus Christ is a superabundant favour to those who believe in the Providence of a 'Living God.'² For prophecy has in the first place to do with principles and broad general characteristics, and only in the second with

¹ It is a pleasure to be able to except F. D. Maurice. Speaking of the attractiveness to the Rabbis of the time of Christ of 'merely incidental' statements, such as Mic. v. 2, he observes, 'I do not see that it was any disparagement to their wisdom that they recognised a divine order and contrivance even in such circumstances as these. . . . Devout men welcome such coincidences and recurrences as proofs that they are under a divine education. Why should the like be wanting in a national story? Why should they not be noted in a book which traces all the parts of it as the fulfilment of a divine purpose?' (*Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, p. 341.)

² It has been well said that 'the prophecy [of Zech. ix. 9] would have been as truly and really fulfilled if the triumphal procession of Palm Sunday had never taken place' (Dr. C. Wright, *Bampton Lectures on Zechariah*, p. 239).

details. This caution should be borne in mind to avoid misunderstanding the sequel.—The special foreshadowings spoken of are exemplified in no portion of the Old Testament to the same extent as in the Psalms ; they relate especially in this book to scenes or features of the Passion. The following references have already been given in the New Testament :—

- Ps. xxxiv. 20, in John xix. 36 ;
 Ps. xli. 9, in John xiii. 18 ;
 Ps. xxii. 18,¹ in John xix. 24 (*not* Matt. xxvii. 35) ;
 Ps. lxix. 10, in Rom. xv. 3 ;
 Ps. lxix. 21, in John xix. 28.

But the Biblical writers have only given us specimens—the parallelisms are both more numerous and more striking than might be supposed from these few instances. In Ps. xxxv. 11, we have a foreshadowing of the false testimony against Jesus ; in Ps. xxii. 7, 8, lxix. 12, of the revilings ; in Ps. xxii. 16, of the piercing of the hands and the feet (or, if the other reading be adopted, the cruel, 'lion-like' worrying of the helpless prey) ; in Ps. lxix. 21, of the offering of the gall and vinegar. It should be observed that these parallels are not such as can be disputed (like some of the Old Testament references in the Epistles) on the ground of far-fetched Rabbinic exegesis ; they are taken from psalms which, with one exception,² are, as we shall see presently, in a very strict sense Messianic, and, in fact, also supply instances of our second class of prophecies—viz. distinct pictures of the suffering Messiah. It is of course possible to maintain³ that the whole of the narrative of our Lord's Passion was suggested by reminiscences of these passages of the Psalms ; but the conjecture would not be a plausible one, 1. because of the extreme casualness of the Psalm-parallels,⁴ and 2. because the whole of the Gospel-narrative, from the beginning of Matthew to the end of John, is pervaded by a parallelism to the Old Testament. Yet Strauss himself did not suppose that the whole narrative was a conscious or unconscious fiction on the basis of Old Testament reminiscences. It may be con-

¹ Our Lord Himself regarded the whole psalm as prophetic of Himself, as we must infer from His utterance of the opening words (Matt. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34).

² The exception is of course Ps. xxxiv., which is only Messianic in so far as any characteristic utterance of a pious sufferer is in the highest degree true of Christ. But the overruling of Providence is as manifest in the literal fulfilment of John xix. 36 as in any other passage of the group.

³ Strauss did in fact hold that Psalms xxii. and lxix., 'together with the extract from Isa. liii.,' form, as it were, the programme according to which the whole history of the Crucifixion in our Gospels is drawn up' (*New Life of Jesus*, Eng. Transl., ii. 369).

⁴ I mean that except in the light of the Gospel-narratives no one would have thought of regarding these incidental phrases in the Psalms as anticipations of scenes in the Passion.

tended, therefore, that the existence of these circumstantial prophecies in the Book of Psalms confirms the view that there are similar circumstantial prophecies in the Book of Isaiah. That they were conscious prophecies the writer does not suppose, and to many they will only seem accidental coincidences. It is their amount and quality which give them significance; and the full Christian explanation of them as due to Providential overruling (a 'pre-established harmony') is therefore in sole possession of the field.¹

I have ventured to state my belief that the psalms to which these circumstantial foreshadowings belong are Messianic. Let me briefly explain my position. There is much haziness in the minds of most persons as to the meaning of the words Messiah and Messianic. I have, therefore, first of all to state in what sense I use these expressions. I think I am in harmony with the Biblical writers if I define the word Messiah as meaning one who has received some direct commission from God determining his life's work, with the single limitation that the commission must be unique, and must have a religious character. Thus Cyrus will not be a Messiah, because 'his function was merely preparatory; he was to be instrumental in the removal of obstacles to the realisation of [God's kingdom]' (*J. C. A.*, p. 166). An individual priest will not be a Messiah, because he has received no unique personal commission; even the High Priest Joshua is only represented as typical of Him who was to be pre-eminently the Messiah (*Zech.* iii. 8). David was a Messiah (compare *Ps.* xviii. 50), because he was God's vicegerent in the government of His people Israel; the laws which David was to carry out were not merely secular, but religious, and of Divine appointment. Each of David's successors was in like manner theoretically a Messiah. The people of Israel was theoretically a Messiah, because specially chosen to show forth an example of obedience to God's laws (*Ex.* xix. 5, 6), and to preach His religion to the Gentiles (*Isa.* ii. 3, lv. 5). Above all, a descendant of David who should take up the ill-performed functions of his royal ancestors was to be, both in theory and in fact, the Messiah (*Isa.* ix. 6, 7, &c.); and so, too, was the personal Servant of Jehovah (*Isa.* lxi. 1), who was both to redeem His people from their sins, and to lead them in the performance of their commission.

Hence we may reckon five groups of Messianic psalms:—
I. Psalms which refer to a contemporary Davidic king, setting him, either directly or by implication, in the light of

¹ See Delitzsch, 'Der Messias als Versöhner,' *Saat auf Hoffnung*, 1866, pp. 116-138, especially p. 136.

his Messianic mission. II. Those relating to the future ideal Davidic sovereign, or to a contemporary king idealized into a Messiah. III. Those which refer to the future glories of the kingdom of God, but without expressly mentioning any Messiah. IV. Those which, though seemingly spoken by an individual, in reality describe the experiences of the Jewish nation in their unsteady performance of their Messianic commission. V. Those in which, with more or less consistency, the psalmist dramatically introduces the personal and ideally perfect 'Servant of Jehovah' (to adopt the phrase in Isa. xlii. &c.) as the speaker.

On the first group there cannot be much difference of opinion. It contains Psalms xx., xxi., xlv., ci., cxxxii. The interest of the interpreter is more awakened by the second group, containing Psalms ii., lxxii., cx. In Ps. ii. we are presented first with a picture of the whole world subject to an Israelitish king, and vainly plotting to throw off the yoke; then with the Divine decree assuring universal dominion to this particular king; then with an exhortation to the kings of the earth to submit to Jehovah's Son.¹ It is, I know, commonly supposed that the psalm has a primary reference to circumstances in the life of David, but the ordinary Christian instinct seems to me much nearer the truth. Even granting for the moment that the chiefs of the Syrians and the Ammonites could be dignified in liturgical poetry with the title 'kings of the earth,' there is not the slightest indication in 2 Sam. vii. or elsewhere, that a prophet ever conveyed an offer to David of the sovereignty of the whole world. Even Jewish tradition, so zealous for the honour of the Davidic lyre, has not ascribed this psalm to David. Who, then, can the Son of Jehovah and Lord of the whole earth be but the future Messiah, whom the prophets describe in such extraordinary terms? Why should we expect the psalms always to have a contemporary political reference? If one psalmist (see below) takes for his theme the Messianic glories of Jerusalem, why may not another adopt for his the glories of the Messiah himself?

The same arguments apply to Ps. lxxii., which a Unitarian divine pronounces 'the most Messianic in the collection,' adding that it 'is applied by Bible readers in general, without hesitation or conscious difficulty, to the Messiah of Nazareth, as beautifully describing the spirit of his reign.'² The judgment of the plain reader is not to be lightly dis-

¹ The Aramaic *bar*, not admitting the article, suited the unique position of the personage spoken of. Comp. note in the *Parchment Series Psalms*, ed. 2.

² Higginson, *Eccle Messias*, p. 30.

regarded, and though Mr. Higginson goes on to speak of 'its true historic marks, which assign it distinctly to the accession of Solomon,' other critics (*e.g.* Hupfeld) altogether deny these, and the Messianic interpretation has not yet been altogether refuted. The psalm is not, indeed, a prediction (as King James's Bible makes it), but is at any rate a prayer for the advent of the Prince of peace and of the world, whom the psalmist in the ardour of hope identified with some Israelitish king. Ps. cx., again, is as a whole only obscure to those who will not admit directly Messianic psalms.¹ How significantly the first of the two Divine oracles opens, with an invitation to sit on the throne, 'high and lifted up' (Isa. vi. 1), where the Lord Himself is seated! Can we help thinking of the '*El gibbor*' in Isaiah (ix. 6), and still more of the 'one like a son of man' who 'came with the clouds of heaven,' and was 'brought near before the Ancient of days' (Dan. vii. 13)? True, that 'son of man' is not said to be a priest, but he agrees with the personage in the psalm in that he is conceived of as in heaven, and as waging war and exercising sovereignty on earth from heaven. Neither in Daniel nor in the psalm is anything said about the Davidic origin of the high potentate, but his nature and functions are clearly those of the Davidic Messiah. The priestly character of the 'lord' in Ps. cx. 1 can be fully explained from Zech. iii. 8, vi. 11-13, where a priestly element in the Messianic functions is distinctly recognised; not, however, in a sacrificial sense, but with regard to a not less characteristic function of the priest, as the spiritual head and representative of God's people.²

Over the third group I may pass lightly. It contains some late psalms, such as xcvi.-c., in which the happiness of being under Jehovah's personal government is celebrated, and also Ps. lxxxvii., in which, chief among the Messianic privileges of Jerusalem, the conversion of the heathen is represented as their being 'born again in Zion' (comp. Isa. xlv. 5).

The fourth contains a number of psalms commonly regarded as Davidic, and as typically Messianic, and some which are merely supposed to describe the sufferings of a pious individual. In both subdivisions the language is often hyperbolic, which is explained in the case of the former by the typical character of the writer, and the overruling influence of the Spirit. A similar explanation might plausibly be offered for the seeming hyperboles of the latter subdivision, for every pious sufferer is in a true sense a type of Jesus

¹ Comp. vol. i., p. 62, n. 2.

² Richm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 202.

Christ. But it is much simpler to suppose that these psalms really describe the experiences of the Jewish nation in the pursuit of its Messianic ideal: the supposed speaker is a personification. This is no arbitrary conjecture. The Jewish nation and its divinely appointed ideal were, in fact, to the later prophets and students of Scripture a familiar subject of meditation. I need hardly remind the reader of the 'Servant of Jehovah' in some parts of II. Isaiah, and of the striking monologue of the true Israel in Mic. vii., but may be allowed to state my opinion that one principal object of the Book of Jonah was to typify the spiritual career of Israel, and that the so-called Song of Solomon was admitted into the Canon on the ground that the Bride of the poem symbolised the chosen people. Can we wonder that some of the psalmists (as also the author of the third Lamentation) adopted a similar imaginative figure?

One of the most remarkable of these psalms is the eighteenth. It is probable enough that the psalmist in writing it had the life of David in his mind's eye; but it would be unreasonable to suppose that he merely wished to idealise a deceased king, or even the Davidic family. The world-wide empire claimed by the supposed speaker, and the analogy of cognate psalms, are totally opposed to such a hypothesis. But when we consider that the filial relation to God predicated of David as king in 2 Sam. vii. is also asserted of the Israelitish nation (Ex. iv. 22, Hos. xi. 1, Ps. lxxx. 15), and that in Isa. lv. 3-5 the blessings promised to David are assured in perpetuity to the faithful Israel, it becomes difficult to deny that David may have been regarded as typical of the nation of Israel.—Another of these psalms is the eighty-ninth, which supplies further evidence of the typological use of David. The psalmist has been describing the ruin which has overtaken the Davidic family, but insensibly passes into a picture of the ruin of the state, and identifies 'the reproach of the heels of thine anointed' (*v.* 51) with 'the reproach of thy servants' (*v.* 50).—Ps. lxxi. is another important member of this group, as anyone must admit who will candidly apply this key; see especially *v.* 20, where the reading of the Hebrew text is not 'me,' but 'us.' Perhaps also Ps. cii. may be added. The expressions in *vv.* 3-9 are, some of them at least, far too strong for an individual, whereas in the mouth of the personified people they are not inappropriate. The words in *v.* 23 'he hath shortened my days' (virtually retracted in *v.* 28) remind us of Ps. lxxxix. 45; and those in the parallel clause, 'he hath weakened my strength in the way,' are perhaps an allusion to the 'travail in the way' of the Israelites in the

wilderness (Ex. xviii. 8). There are some reasons, however, for rather placing this psalm in the next group.

The remaining members of the fourth group are the so-called imprecatory psalms¹ (e.g. v., xxxv., xl., lv., lviii., lxix., cix.). As long as these are interpreted of an individual Israelite, they seem strangely inconsistent with the injunctions to benevolence with which the Old Testament is interspersed.² If, however, they are spoken in the name of the nation—'Jehovah's Son,' their intensity of feeling becomes intelligible. Certainly it was not 'obstinate virulence and morbid moroseness' which inspired them, for 'each of the psalms in which the strongest imprecatory passages are found contains also gentle undertones, breathings of beneficent love. Thus, "When they were sick, I humbled my soul with fasting; I behaved myself as though it had been my friend or brother." "When I wept and chastened my soul with fasting, that was to my reproach." "They have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love!"'³ And, 'finally in the most awful of these psalms, the denunciations die away into a strain which, in the original, falls upon a modern ear with something of the cadence of pathetic rhyme (*v'libbēē khaldl b'kirbēē*, "and my heart is pierced through within me").'⁴

Among the psalms not ascribed to David which belong to this group is the forty-first, from which a quotation is made in a Messianic sense in John xiii. 18. It is only the people of Israel which can at once confess its former sins (v. 4), and appeal to its present 'integrity' (v. 12).—The fifth and last group marks the highest level attained by the inspired poets. It contains (see note¹ below), Ps. xxii., xxxv., xl., lv., lxix., cii. I cannot think that the persistency of the traditional interpretation, at any rate as regards the two first of these psalms, is wholly due to theological prepossessions. In some of its details, the traditional Christian interpretation is no doubt critically untenable, but in essentials it seems to me truer than any of the current literary theories. Let me briefly refer to the twenty-second psalm, which presents such striking affinities with II. Isaiah. In two respects it is distinguished from most others of the same group; it contains no imprecations and no confession of sinfulness. It falls into two parts. The first and longer of these is a pathetic appeal

¹ Some of these psalms, however (xxxv., xl., lv., lxix.), belong more properly to the fifth group.

² Ex. xxiii. 4, 5; Lev. xix. 18; Prov. xx. 22, xxiv. 17, 18, 29, xxv. 21, 22, comp. Job xxxi. 29, 30.

³ Bishop Alexander, *Bampton Lectures on the Psalms*, 1876, p. 53 (Ps. xxxv. 13, lxix. 10, 11; cix. 4, 5).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57. (It is not necessary to assume that the faithless friends in Ps. xxxv., lv., are mere figures of speech.)

to Jehovah from the lowest depth of affliction. The speaker has been God's servant from the beginning (*vv.* 9, 10), yet he is now conscious of being God-forsaken (*v.* 1). Not only are his physical sufferings extreme (*vv.* 14-17), but he is the butt of scoffers and a public laughing-stock (*vv.* 6, 7). Who his enemies are—whether heathen oppressors or unbelieving Israelites—is not here stated; but from a parallel passage (*Ps.* lxxix. 8) it is clear that the hostility arises, partly at least, from the sufferer's fellow-countrymen. Only after long wrestling with God does the psalmist attain the confidence that he has been heard of Him (*v.* 21). At this point the tone suddenly changes. The prayer becomes a joyous declaration of the answer which has been vouchsafed, and a promise of thank-offerings. 'But he does not end there. He treats his deliverance as a matter of national congratulation, and a cause of more than national blessings. He not only calls upon his fellow-countrymen to join him in his thanksgiving (*v.* 23), but breaks out into an announcement which draws the whole world within the sphere of his triumph (*vv.* 27, 28, 31).'¹ I need not stay to point out how unsuitable is language of this description to any of the Israelites mentioned in the Old Testament, and how unnatural it is that the establishment of God's universal kingdom should be placed in sequence to the deliverance of an individual sufferer.² The difficulties are strikingly analogous to those which meet us in II. Isaiah.³ There, as here, some features of the description seem to compel us to explain them of an individual Israelite, while others remain unintelligible unless referred in some way to the people of Israel, with its Messianic,⁴ missionary functions. There, as here, the deliverance of the sufferer has a vital influence on the spiritual life, first of all of his own people, and then of all mankind. There, as here, the newly-acquired spiritual blessings are described under the figure of a feast. Is it so very bold to explain *Ps.* xxii. and the psalms like it as utterances of that ideal and yet most real personage,

¹ Maitland, *The Argument from Prophecy* (S.P.C.K.), pp. 95, 96.

² Hupfeld, I know, denies that the anticipations expressed in *vv.* 27-31 stand in any relation to the deliverance of the speaker. But by this denial he destroys the unity of plan of the poem; it is certain, too, that the later O. T. writers often connect the conversion of the heathen with the sight of the wonderful deliverance of Israel. And the very connection which Hupfeld denies in *Ps.* xxii., he grants in the parallel passage in *Ps.* cii. (*vv.* 15-17).

³ It would be instructive to make out a list of the numerous parallels in these psalms to II. Isaiah and the Book of Job (for the author of Job, as we have seen, is not without flashes of Gospel light). Comp. for instance, *Ps.* xxii. 6, 'I am a worm,' with *Isa.* xli. 14, *Job* xxv. 6; *ibid.* 'and no man,' with *Isa.* lii. 14, *liii.* 2; *ibid.* 'despised of people,' with *Isa.* xlix. 7; *vv.* 16, 17, with Job's descriptions of his sickness; *vv.* 26, 28 with *Isa.* lv. 1, 21. *Vv.* 27-29 also find their best commentary in *Isa.* lii. 14, 15.

⁴ On the sense of the word Messianic, see above, p. 198.

who in II. Isaiah is the fruit, from one point of view, no doubt, of special revelation, but from another equally justified and perfectly consistent with the former, of an intense longing for the fulfilment of Israel's ideal? To assume that both the sacred poets and the poet-prophet are feeling their way (not, however, at random) to the presence of the Redeemer? That they have abandoned the hope of an earthly King of Israel, and are conscious, too, that even the noblest members of the nation are inadequate to the Messianic functions? And that hence they throw out in colossal outlines an indistinct because imaginatively expressed conception of One who shall perfectly fulfil these functions for and with his people?

The above is but a bare statement of results, which, whatever be their intrinsic value, may claim a certain degree of attention on account of the process by which they were gained. It is not often that a Saul, in searching for his father's asses, finds a kingdom. The object of the special study, of which these results are the principal fruit, was the composition of a chapter in a literary history of the Old Testament. It now appears to the author that they supply a sound basis for the 'Christian interpretation' at any rate of the Psalter; but this is entirely an after-thought. That there is a mysterious x in this wonderful book became clear to the author from a purely literary point of view. Applying the key furnished by the Christian theory, he then found himself in a position to explain this mystery, and was further enabled to rediscover those peculiar, circumstantial prophecies which are so natural and intelligible upon the Christian presuppositions.

3.

Such being the case with the Psalter, are we not justified in expecting corresponding phenomena in the Book of Isaiah, viz. 1. foreshadowings of special circumstances in the life of our Saviour; and 2. distinct pictures of Jesus Christ, the suffering Messiah? We may for our present purpose leave on one side the question whether or not this book is of composite origin. It is at any rate a very comprehensive work, by no means limited to the thoughts and prospects of the age of Isaiah. Indeed, it may be called a text-book of prophetic religion, and strange would it be if belief in the Messiah were the only dumb note in its scale.

The foreshadowings of special events in the life of Christ pointed out in the Book of Isaiah by New Testament writers, are even fewer in number than those in the Psalms. I pass

over the general reference in Acts viii. 27-35, and confine myself to the following:—

Isa. vii. 14, Matt. i. 23 ;
 Isa. ix. 1, 2, Matt. iv. 15, 16 ;
 Isa. liii. 4, Matt. viii. 17 ;
 Isa. liii. 12 (fourth clause), Luke xxii. 37.

To these are added by the higher exegesis¹ l. 6, liii. 5 (first clause), liii. 9, and the last clause of liii. 12—added, we can hardly doubt, in the spirit of the apostolic age, which, as the use of *παῖς* in Acts iii. 13, 26, iv. 27, 30, shows, interpreted the ‘Servant’ to mean Jesus Christ. Let me touch upon each of these passages.

(a) Isa. vii. 14.—It is true that the sign given to Aház consists chiefly in the name and fortunes of the child Immanuel, but the mother is not to be left entirely out of account² (see note *ad loc.*). Isaiah’s ‘dim intuition’ of something remarkable in the circumstances of the mother may, from a Christian point of view, be ascribed to the ‘Spirit of Christ which was in’ the prophet (1 Pet. i. 11). This, to many minds, will be one part of the unexpected ‘pre-established harmony’ between the verbal form of the prophecy and its fulfilment. Another part, less open of course to objection, is the prophetic significance of the child’s name. Isaiah and Ahaz may have understood it to mean simply ‘God is on our side;’ but the fulfilment in the Person of Jesus Christ revealed a depth of meaning which Isaiah (though with *‘El gibbōr*, ‘God-the-Mighty-One,’ before us in Isa. ix. 6, we should speak hesitatingly) did not probably suspect.

(b) Isa. ix. 1, 2.—It is most remarkable (and might at first sight justify a suspicion of interpolation) that Isaiah, a man of Judah, should have delivered this exuberant promise to the border-districts of Israel, especially as their inhabitants had most likely approximated more to heathenism than those of the rest of Israel. The coincidence with the circumstances of Jesus Christ is too remarkable to be explained away. The Jews certainly inferred from this passage of Isaiah that the Messiah would appear in Galilee.³

(c) Isa. liii. 4.—This is applied by the evangelist to the healing ministry of our Lord. It is a purely verbal applica-

¹ If we admit the phrases ‘higher’ and ‘lower criticism,’ why not also ‘higher’ and ‘lower exegesis’? By ‘higher exegesis’ I understand one which ‘interprets prophecy in the light of fulfilment, and develops the germs of doctrine in a New Testament sense’ (Preface to vol. i.).

² I admit an error of judgment in *I. C. A.*, p. 31.

³ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 747. Delitzsch also refers to *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1843, col. 776.

tion, with no support in the context, of the prophecy (comp. Weiss on Matt. *l. c.*), and therefore stands far below the other evangelical interpretations referred to.

(*d*) Isa. liii. 12 (fourth clause).—The prophet merely meant that the Servant of Jehovah was regarded as a transgressor; but by a providentially 'pre-established harmony' the coincidence with facts is even literally exact. I do not, however, claim the authority of our Lord for the application of the prophecy; the whole context in St. Luke is uncertain, see Mark xiv. 26.

(*e*) Isa. i. 6.—There is surely an unsought parallelism between prophecy and gospel-narrative.

(*f*) Isa. liii. 5 (first clause).—The context shows that by 'pierced' the prophet intended to signify a violent death accompanied by torture. As Vitranga remarks, 'there is no word in Hebrew which can more appropriately be referred to the torture of the cross of Christ.'

(*g*) Isa. liii. 9.—The evangelical narrative corresponds with the prophecy, however we interpret some words of this verse. But there is absolutely no philological ground for applying the second clause to the burial of Christ in the tomb of Joseph. As Dr. Weir remarks, 'It would, indeed, be scarcely consistent with the spirit of the Bible, which makes little account of the mere possession of riches, to give prominence in the prophetic page to the circumstance of Christ's being buried in a rich man's grave. Surely it added nothing to the glory of the Saviour to have his body entombed in Joseph's sepulchre; it was a high honour to Joseph that he was privileged to supply a resting-place for the body of Jesus; but surely it did not add to the honour of Jesus to lie in the rich man's tomb.' I need not repeat what I have said above on the inconsistency into which some eminent expositors appear to have fallen. Those who, like Stier, appeal to the singular 'rich man' in the second clause, as indicating Joseph of Arimathea, forget that the alternation of numbers is a characteristic Hebrew idiom (comp. Isa. x. 4).

(*h*) Isa. liii. 12 (last clause).—This is one of the passages which, from an evangelical point of view, place Isa. liii. as much above Ps. xxii., as that psalm, owing to its complete freedom from imprecations, is (as it may seem to us in some of our moods) above Ps. lxix. It received a fulfilment of which the prophet could never have dreamed in Luke xxiii. 33.

Let us now turn to the other group of passages in Isaiah, containing a distinctly Christian element, viz. the portraits of the teaching, suffering, but in and through his suffering trium-

phant Messiah (xlii. 1-7, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13-1iii. 12). No greater problem, whether we regard its intrinsic difficulty or the importance of its issues, is presented to the Old Testament interpreter than that of explaining these wonderful passages. Their difficulty arises partly from the abruptness with which they are introduced, partly from the apparent inconsistency of some of the expressions, partly (if we may judge from the efforts of some to explain it away) from the extraordinary distinctness with which the most striking of them at any rate prefigure the life of Jesus Christ. Let us first of all clearly understand the alternatives set before us. (a) It is one source of difficulty, that the portrait-passages are introduced abruptly. (There is an analogy for this, however, in the abruptness of the two earliest Messianic prophecies in chaps. vii. and ix.). The alternatives in this case are to suppose (1) that these passages are based on extracts from a separate work, which, perhaps, contained a spiritualised biography of the great martyr-prophet, Jeremiah; and (2) that the prophetic writer is carried beyond himself by a specially strong inspiration of the 'Spirit of Christ.' The former alternative is proposed by Dr. Duhm, of Göttingen.¹ The theory partly agrees with that of Ewald, according to whom xl. 1, 2, lii. 13-liv. 12, lvi. 9-lvii. 11, were taken from an earlier prophet, but the difference is sufficient to allow us to quote Ewald's authority as opposed to the view of Dr. Duhm. The objections to the latter are (1) stylistic (how, *e.g.*, can xlii. 1-6 be ascribed to a different author from the rest of the prophecy?); and (2) that the theory makes the prophet responsible for gratuitously misleading his readers. (b) It is also said that some of the expressions used of the Servant are inconsistent. This may be explained, 1. on the quotation-theory just mentioned; 2. as due to a haziness in the author's conception of the Servant (a view unfavourable to his poetic vigour, and not to be adopted without compulsion), or 3. on a subtle but beautiful and (as it seems to me) well-supported theory to be mentioned presently. (c) Another source of difficulty to some minds is the extraordinary resemblance of the description to the Person of Jesus Christ. Here, again, we have our choice of alternatives. (1) We may say with Mr. Matthew Arnold, that this harmony between II. Isaiah and the Gospels is perfectly natural. 'To a delicate and penetrating criticism it has long been manifest that the chief literal fulfilment by Christ of things said by the prophets was the fulfilment such as would naturally be given by one who nourished his spirit on the prophets and on living and acting

¹ Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (Bonn, 1875), p. 289.

their words.¹ Or (2) we may hold that the Divine Spirit overruled in such a way the mental process of the prophet that he chose expressions which, while completely conveying his own meaning, also corresponded to a future fact in the life of Jesus Christ. This does not exclude us from searching for a point of contact in the prophet's consciousness, and such, I think, it will be possible to find.² Nor does it prevent us from accepting thankfully the element of truth in Mr. Matthew Arnold's too self-eulogistic observation. The harmony between Isaiah and the Gospels is, in fact, perfectly natural. But it is also perfectly unique, and what is unique may in one very good sense be called supernatural. And so we come round again to the judgment of the plain reader, that the hand of God is in this extraordinary correspondence, and as we read the chapter afresh we are conscious of something of the impression which it produced upon the Earl of Rochester, whose vivid language is traceable in his biographer's report. 'He said to me,' says Bishop Burnet, 'that, as he heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did so enlighten his mind, and convince him, that he could resist it no longer: for the words had an authority, which did shoot like rays or beams, in his mind; so that he was convinced, not only by the reasonings he had about it, which satisfied his understanding, but by a power which did so effectually constrain him, that he did, ever after, as firmly believe in his Saviour, as if he had seen him in the clouds.'³

4.

With this striking confession, with which nothing need prevent even a philologist from agreeing, it would be natural to close this essay. Definitely Christian elements of the two principal kinds mentioned above have, it is believed, been found, without any injury either to common sense or to literary exegesis, in the noblest of all the prophetic books. But a few remarks seem at any rate expedient on what may be called the secondary Christian elements in the book of Isaiah—secondary, only so far as they relate to doctrines, and not to material, objective facts in the life of the Saviour. To treat these fully would require a peculiar spiritual *χάρισμα*, not to mention the heavy demand which it would make on the remaining space. Stier, with all his faults, still deserves a most honourable place among Christian interpreters for the

¹ Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* (Lond., 1873), p. 114.

² Some suggestions in aid of this are given in the Essay on the Servant of Jehovah.

³ Burnet's life of John Earl of Rochester (*Lives and Characters*, ed. Jebb, p. 229).

spiritual insight with which he has treated this department of exegesis, and to his important work I provisionally refer the reader. Two of these 'secondary' Christian elements, however, imperatively require to be noticed.

(a) First, the divinity of the Messiah (I take the word Messiah in an enlarged sense, thus including the truths embodied in the Messianic king, and in the personal 'Servant of Jehovah'). Both parts of Isaiah give us to understand clearly (and not as a mere *ὑπόνοια*) that the agent of Jehovah in the work of government and redemption is himself divine. Not, indeed, the much-vexed passage in iv. 2, where, even if the date of this prophecy allowed us to suppose an allusion to the Messiah, 'sprout of Jehovah' is much too vague a phrase to be a synonym for 'God's Only-begotten Son.' But the not less famous '*El gibbōr*' in ix. 6 may and must still be quoted. As Hengstenberg remarks, it 'can only signify God-Hero, a Hero who is infinitely exalted above all human heroes by the circumstance that he is *God*. To the attempts at weakening the import of the name, the passage x. 21' [where '*El gibbōr*' is used of Jehovah] 'appears a very inconvenient obstacle.'¹ And who can doubt that, granting the subject of chap. liii. to be an individual, he must be an incarnation of the Divine? That such a conception—such a revelation—was not opposed to primitive religious beliefs has been already pointed out in the notes on ix. 6, xiv. 14.

(b) Next, Vicarious Atonement. It is not surprising that most of those who deny the personal Servant are unwilling to allow the presence of this doctrine in Isa. liii.² Yet in itself it cannot be regarded as an unexpected phenomenon, nor ought it to be described as a 'heathenish idea.' As Oehler has well observed, 'That the intercession of the righteous for a sinful nation is effectual, is a thought running through the entire Old Testament, from Gen. xviii. 23 *sqq.* and Ex. xxxii. 32 *sqq.* (comp. Ps. cvi. 23, and subsequently Amos vii. 1 *sqq.*) onwards.'³ And though no doubt it is also stated 'that guilt may reach a height at which God will no longer accept the intercession of His servants' (Jer. xv. 1, comp. xi. 14), yet this is not inconsistent with the idea of Vicarious Atonement, as even Christians understand it, and in chap. liii., the blessings promised by the Servant (whatever we understand

¹ *Christology of the Old Testament*, iii. 88.

² In *I. C. A.*, p. 191, I fully admitted this idea, but my inadequate explanation of 'the Servant' compelled me to give the vicariousness an artificial turn. For a survey of the interpretations opposed to the full Christian one, see V. F. Oehler, *Der Knecht Jehova's im Deuteroseptua*, ii. 66-136. To the list might now be added Riehm's, in his *Messianic Prophecy* (Eng. Transl.), p. 147, and Albrecht Ritschl's, in his *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, &c., ii. 64, 65.

³ Oehler, *Old Testament Theology* (Eng. Transl.), ii. 425.

them to be) are not promised unconditionally to every member of the community.¹ Now, intercession is one form of substitution. But there was another and a more striking form of it constantly before the eyes of the Israelites in their sacrifices, whether the taking of life was involved in them or not, for the offerer was represented² by his offering. And so the way was prepared for the revelation (comp. Isa. liii.) of One to whom a prohibition like that addressed to Jeremiah could not apply, because He was not only perfectly righteous Himself, but able, by uniting them mystically to Himself, to 'make the many righteous;' of One whose sacrifice of Himself was so precious that it could be accepted even for a people which had deliberately broken its covenant with Jehovah, and which therefore was legally liable to the punishment of extermination. (Here the conception implied, as it would seem, by the prophet passes, strictly speaking, beyond the range of the sacrificial ideas of the Old Testament. For the law recognised no sacrifice for deliberate violations of the covenant. Be it remembered, however, that even chap. liii. and the leading New Testament writers make a distinction among those who are equally liable to the legal sentence of death; some, though rebels, are at least susceptible of penitence.) It is true that none of the other foreshadowings of Christ contain this characteristically (though not exclusively) Christian element of Vicarious Atonement. But that constitutes no reason why it should not occur once. In fact, it is really necessary that it should occur somewhere, to explain that wonderful psalm which, next to Isa. liii., contains the clearest anticipation of Jesus Christ in the Old Testament, for there is a gap between the former and the latter part of Ps. xxii., which can only be filled up by assuming the Vicarious Atonement from Isa. liii. The writer of the psalm foresaw, as it were in a vision, the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow, but it was not revealed to him how those sufferings produced so immense a result. His spiritual intuitions were true, but

¹ See commentary on liii. 11 ('the many').

² In every case of a sacrifice (whether with or without shedding of blood) there is representation (or, using the word loosely, 'substitution'). But we must carefully guard against an error of the older divines, viz. that when a victim was put to death, it was as a substitute for the penal death of the sacrificer. This view is now generally abandoned by Old Testament scholars. The truth is that the blood, according to the Hebrew conception, is the vehicle of the 'soul' (Lev. xvii. 11), and the shedding of the blood of the victim signifies the offering of its life in place of the life of him who offers it. The pure 'soul' of the victim 'covers' (כִּפֶּר) or atones for the impure 'soul' of the offerer; the innocence of the one neutralises the sin of the other. (It must be remembered, however, that the verb in question sometimes has for its subject Jehovah, especially in the Psalms; God 'covers' or cancels sin, without our being told how this is possible.)

limited. But the prophet of the Servant of Jehovah saw further, and it is upon this ground especially that he has been rightly called an Evangelist before the Gospel.

IV. THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

I.

WHO has not heard of 'one of the great results of German criticism' that the personage called the 'Servant of Jehovah' is not really an individual at all, but a collective term for the Jewish people? And that the view which formerly prevailed was due to a theological prejudice in favour of orthodox Christianity? Such at least is the form in which popular writers set forth this 'result,' though their teachers at any rate are too learned to maintain the second, contrary to the notorious facts of early Jewish exegesis.¹ Now Strauss and Dr. Kuenen (whose names may in the present context without offence be combined) are both extremely able critics, but both, as it seems to me, more skilful in the analysis of composite literary works than in fellow-feeling (*Nachempfindung*, to borrow an expressive German word) for the imaginative conceptions of great poets. The facts, in the language of a Review not usually favourable to orthodoxy, may be briefly stated thus:—"The Servant of Yahveh" is, at least sometimes, a collective term for the people of Israel. He is, however, at other times described in language quite unsuitable to a body of persons. The Christian view' [in its crudest form, which rejects points of contact for revelation in the consciousness of the prophets] 'is opposed to the analogy of Hebrew prophecy. What third theory is open?'² The 'Westminster Reviewer' here complains of 'liberal critics' for 'not having given enough attention to the phenomena which partly prevent a more general acceptance of their own views.' He charitably conjectures that there is something in the opposition of conservative critics besides theological repulsion, viz. a sense that the 'collective' theory does not do justice to the most salient and impressive passages devoted to 'the Servant.' And does not this suggest the real point of difference between the two sides, viz. that Dr. Kuenen starts from the passages in which the conception of 'the Servant'

¹ Strauss, *New Life of Jesus*, Eng. Transl., i. 314-8; Kuenen, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, pp. 221-2. Comp. Neubauer and Driver, *The Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah liii.*

² *Westminster Review*, Oct. 1875, p. 475.

is least developed, and conservative critics from the highest points which the prophet's poetic intuition (not to speak theologically) has reached? And is it not fairer to estimate a poet's ideas rather by their strongest than by their weakest expression—rather by the passages in which he has fully found his voice, than by those in which he is still labouring after fitting accents?

The exegetical facts have been sufficiently laid before the reader in the preceding commentary. It has, I hope, been shown that 'the Servant' is neither exclusively the people of Israel as a whole, nor the pious portion of it, nor the class of prophets, nor any single individual, but that some form of conception must be found which does justice to the elements of truth contained in all these theories. In my earlier work¹ I was captivated by an extremely tempting theory of Ewald, which has hardly met with the attention which it deserves. 'Sometimes,' I said, 'the prophet views the people of Israel from an ideal, sometimes from an historical point of view. Hence in several important sections the "Servant of Jehovah" (like the Zion of xl. 9, &c.) is a purely poetical figure, personifying the ideal character of the pious Israelite, and decorated by the prophet with all the noblest achievements of faith, whether actually realised in the past, or merely hoped for from the future' (*J. C. A.*, p. 155). This theory does not exclude the possibility that some features in the description may have been taken from individual righteous men (such as Jeremiah), just as Dante in his pilgrimage through the unseen world is at once a banished Florentine and the representative of humanity; and as Calderon's Philotea is said to be sometimes the ideal of the Church, and sometimes a single soul. But I erred, and Ewald erred, in regarding this personage as a 'purely poetical figure.' The truth in the theory is, that 'the Servant' does in reality embody the highest qualities of the Israelite—he is not merely a collective term. But the truth which it has entirely missed is, that the prophet actually sees as it were in vision (such is the strength of his faith) the advent of such an ideal Israelite. And one whole side of the difficulty connected with the Servant it has left out of view, viz. the application of the very same term to the actual people of Israel. Well may the 'Westminster Reviewer' call out for some fresh theory to reconcile the apparently conflicting phenomena!

¹ A complete retraction of the writer's former opinions might justly expose him to the charge of instability. But in his present view he hopes to retain the element of truth in his former position. The most widely known living commentator on Isaiah (Dr. Delitzsch) has himself not always held his present theory. See above, p. 40.

I believe myself that the theory of Delitzsch and Oehler (see vol. i. p. 264) meets the requirements of the case; but that it admits of a fuller and more complete justification than those eminent scholars have supplied. I reached it myself from the starting-point of the fragment of truth taught me by Ewald. Let me attempt to explain the course of my thought.—1. The truth in Ewald's theory (as I ventured to state above) is, that 'the Servant' in the finest and therefore regulative passages does really embody the highest Israelitish ideal. We Aryans of the West are accustomed to draw a hard and fast line between the ideal and the real; but the unphilosophical Israelite made no such distinction. The kingdom of God he regarded as really in heaven, waiting to be revealed; and so the ideal of Israel was to an Israelite really in heaven, in the super-sensible world, waiting for its manifestation. But in order to be real, this ideal must at the same time be personal. This is one important element in the solution of our question. 2. Next let us consider the state of mind of the Jewish exiles, for whom (as all agree) chaps. xl.–lxvi. of Isaiah were (mainly, at any rate) written. During the interruption of the ceremonial system they felt the want of a more spiritual type of religion, and above all of a new ideal, high enough for veneration, but not too high to be imitated. They belonged, as we have seen, to an imaginative race, prone to symbolism, and averse to abstract conceptions. One of their number, less absorbed than some in the national traditions,¹ and not without some flashes of the light of the Gospel, produced a wonderfully striking type of character, divested of everything Israelitish in appearance, into which he flung in profuse abundance the new divinely-inspired thoughts which were craving for utterance. The result (as after long thought I have satisfied myself) was the poem of Job, in which Job is the type of the ideal righteous man, 'made perfect through suffering.' But there were others who, with all their admiration for Job, retained an overpowering interest in the national institutions. One of these was a prophet, for the author of the 40th and following chapters of the Book of Isaiah, as all will agree, either is one of the Jewish exiles, or (to use the language of Delitzsch) 'leads a life in the spirit among the exiles,' reaching in the power of the Spirit across the centuries to the contemporaries of the author of Job. Others were psalmists; for it must, as we have seen, be admitted, that some at least of the psalms refer, not to an

¹ That the publication of the 'Book of the Law' by Ezra presupposes a long study of the Pentateuchal (or Hexateuchal) narratives and laws, and a band of patient students, all critics will probably agree.

historical individual, but (in different shades of the conception) to an ideal and yet (in the psalmist's mind) real representative of the people of Israel. 3. Here I come to the point where I have felt obliged to diverge from Ewald. These devout and inspired men were acutely sensible of the incompetency of the actual Israel for the embodiment of the newly revealed ideal. They felt that, if expressed at all, it must be through a person; and the longings which they felt for the appearance of such a person, and their faith that Jehovah had not deserted his people, prepared their minds for a special revelation that such a Person would appear. Only it was not in a definite prediction that their newly attained conviction found expression. Theirs was rather a presentiment (*ahnung*) than a clear view of the future, and hence a certain vagueness in it, which, however, almost if not quite disappears at the two highest points of the Old Testament revelation, Psalm xxii. and Isaiah liii. It was not, therefore (as I once thought), the ideal and yet real Genius of Israel, who preached to an unbelieving generation, who was slain but not given up to the power of Hades, and for whom an endless life and a posterity were reserved—but a literal human being perfectly righteous himself, and able therefore to 'make the many righteous.'

Thus much to account for the assertion that in the more salient and elaborate passages (xlii. 1-7, xlix. 1-9, l. 4-10, lii. 13-liii. 12) the 'Servant of Jehovah' embodies a presentiment of the historical Redeemer of Israel and the world. I am not without hope that the difficulty felt by some in conceiving of such a surpassing revelation may have been relieved by showing the point of contact for it in the mind of the prophet. The remaining portion of the theory of Delitzsch and Oehler does not seem to require a lengthened justification. In xlii. 19 and xliii. 10 the 'Servant' is evidently the people of Israel as a whole; while in xli. 8, 9, xlv. 1, 2, 21, xlv. 4, and xlvi. 20, it is the kernel of the nation, the spiritual Israel.¹ No doubt 'Servant of Jehovah' was a common prophetic title for the people of Israel, and the sublime interpretation given to it sometimes in chaps. xlii.-liii. is superimposed upon this. It was the fact that Israel did not act up to his title 'Servant of Jehovah,' which filled the pious exiles with a longing for a person² who

¹ Dr. A. B. Davidson objects to this way of stating the case (*Expositor*, 1884, p. 93), but how else can the difference in the prophet's language be accounted for? Besides, there is a mass of evidence in the Psalms that religious writers did abstract from the notion of the phenomenal Israel, and form the new idea of the Israel according to the Spirit—Jeshurun—the 'assembly of the upright' (Ps. cxi. 1).

² Elsewhere Dr. Davidson remarks that 'it may be safely said that if this prophet was himself a contemporary of the Exile, he cannot have meant by the Servant an individual' (*Academy*, Aug. 25, 1883, p. 125). But this is pure dogmatism. The

should realise it, and by redeeming the Israelites from their sins enable them to realise it likewise. Difficult it was of course to imagine how such a redeemer could arise. 'Oh for a clean among the unclean!' cried mournfully one of the inspired writers among the exiles (Job xiv. 4). Yet he must be 'bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh;' else how can he offer himself a sacrifice for us, and be our teacher? The prophet in Isa. liii. leaves the solution of the problem to God; he trusts Him who cannot abandon His people to produce such an Israelite. And here is the point of contact between the personal and the national 'Servant of Jchovah,' viz. that the person is, strange as it seems, the mature product, the flower and fruit, of the Jewish nation. If all this has a New Testament sound,—if Jesus Christ, *der grosse Jude*, as Zinzendorf calls him,¹ answers to this description,—so much the better! But the present writer, at any rate, started from a point of view—viz. that of Ewald—which is not in the faintest degree theological. Is not the theological prejudice rather on the side of our liberal critics? Why should they grant the personality of the Messiah (who might surely be a 'collective term'; comp. Isa. xxxii. 1, 2), but not that of the Servant? May not one of their motives unconsciously be that the Servant, as described in Isa. xlii.—liii., is more distinctly superhuman than the Messiah?

2.

I have spoken in the preceding section of the need felt by the Jewish exiles (among whom the author of II. Isaiah, to say the least, moves in spirit) of a new ideal, a new object of hope, and tried to show how this want was actually supplied. It must not, however, be supposed that there was no point of contact between the new ideal and the old. New phases of prophecy are as carefully adapted to the old, as to the moral and social state of the persons for whom they are primarily designed. Thus the 'one increasing purpose' becomes more and more manifest, and no past phase can be set aside as useless or un instructive. The connection of the new ideal with the old is the subject of the conclusion of this essay.²

nation might not be rich in great personalities, and yet the pious might cherish the longings described above.

¹ 'Wann, grosser Jude, wann kommt deine Stunde?' A line in a metrical prayer sung by Zinzendorf before the Moravian Church on the Jewish Day of Atonement, Oct. 12, 1739.

² The bearings of this section will perhaps be more fully apparent in the next essay.

The Old Testament is pervaded by a longing for the 'kingdom of God' to be set up on earth. Jehovah no doubt was Israel's heavenly king—a conception, the roots of which run far back into Semitic antiquity—but the prophets and other holy men yearned for a time, when He whom with more and more intensity they believed to be the rightful Lord of the world should be universally acknowledged by his liege subjects. The universal and (for the Semitic king was not an arbitrary despot) spontaneous obedience of mankind to the will of Jehovah is the kernel of the conception of 'the kingdom of God.' There is, however, a certain variety in the way of expressing this conception. According to some Old Testament passages, Jehovah himself, after an act of swift and sure judgment, is to undertake the personal government of the world; according to others, a wonderfully endowed descendant of David is to be enthroned as his representative. The former type of expression is particularly prominent in the later psalms, but is also found in the prophets (see Isa. iv. 5, 6, xxiv. 23, Joel iii. 21, Zech. xiv. 3-11); the latter became current in the prophetic literature through the splendid revelations of Isaiah, but is far from unrepresented in the Book of Psalms, though to what extent is a matter of much controversy.— These two forms of the conception are never entirely fused in the Old Testament, though an incipient union, pointing in a New Testament direction, cannot (see pp. 200, 209) fairly be denied.

It is one of the great peculiarities of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah that they contain no distinct reference to the royal Messiah. The 'David' in lv. 3, 4 is not the second David predicted in Hos. iii. 5, Jer. xxx. 9, Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24, but the David of the historical books and the Psalms. Still we must not conclude too hastily that the older Messianic belief has left no traces in the second part of Isaiah. This would be a strange result indeed—a dumb note in the scale of prophetic harmony! Even if the author of the prophecies of 'the Servant' be not Isaiah, he has certainly formed himself, to say the least, in no slight degree on his predecessor; and in limning the portrait of Jehovah's ideal Servant, he was in a manner bound to preserve some at least of the features of the Messianic king. And this is what we actually find in the prophetic description of the Servant. In the statement that 'kings shall shut their mouths because of him' (lii. 15), and that 'he shall divide spoil with the powerful' (liii. 12), it is clear that for the moment the humble-minded Servant is represented as a conqueror in the midst of a victorious host.

This is not without analogy,¹ nor is it so anomalous as it may seem: It was natural and necessary that the die, from which the coins with the royal stamp had proceeded, should be broken, the royalistic form of the Messianic conception having become antiquated with the hopeless downfall of the kingdom of Judah; but equally so that fragments of the die should be gathered up and fused with other elements into a new whole. The ideal and yet real Israelite of the future has therefore some points in common with a king, but withal he is much more than an earthly king. He is a prophet, for it is written that 'he shall bring forth (God's) law to the Gentiles' (xlii. 1); a priest, for 'he shall make . . . an offering for guilt' (liii. 10): and yet he is more than a prophet, for he is in his own person 'a covenant of the people and a light of the Gentiles' (xlii. 6); and more than a priest, for the victim which he lays down is his own life (liii. 10). Exclusively, he is neither king nor prophet nor priest, but all of them together, and more.² These are but words 'thrown out' (to adopt a phrase from Mr. Matthew Arnold) at an object beyond the power of language to describe. Of the Servant of Jehovah, as well as of the earlier Messiah, it may be said, 'His name is called Wonderful.'

V. THE SUFFERING MESSIAH.

I.

'WE,' says St. Paul, 'proclaim Christ crucified'—in other words, the suffering Messiah—'unto the Jews a stumbling-block.' The Christian student may fairly ask, 'Is this text a legitimate inference from the Old Testament, or is it an altogether new phenomenon, and inconsistent with the elder Scriptures?' The question is important, for to say that the Old Testament is contrary to the New would destroy one of the historical foundations of Christianity. Perfect honesty is essential in replying; the truth is often different from what either of the parties to a controversy imagine.

It is held by many orthodox writers that the presence of the doctrine of a suffering Messiah in the Talmuds implies that it was found by the Talmudists in the Old Testament. However this may be, the Talmudic doctrine of the Messiah is in itself sufficiently remarkable to deserve special attention.

¹ There is, in fact, a parallel for it in Zech. ix. 9 (see next essay).

² Delitzsch, *Zeitschr. f. lutherische Theologie*, 1850, p. 34.

The common statement is that the Jewish divines, being unable to deny the prophetic Old Testament references to the sufferings of the Messiah, assumed that there were two Messiahs, one the suffering Messiah, the son of Joseph, the other the triumphant Messiah, the son of David. This does not, however, appear to be correct. In the first place, the very title 'Messiah the son of Joseph' is opposed to this view, for it was probably suggested by the Deuteronomic blessing of Joseph, where it is said that with horns like the wild bull's he shall push the people to the ends of the earth.¹ In the second, it appears that in many places he is called the Messiah of war, from which it is to be inferred that his principal office is to do battle with the enemies of Israel. This is still more evident when it is said that the kings of the earth shall go against him; that he is destined to conquer the kingdom of Edom, or, according to others, Gog and Magog; or again, according to a third opinion, that wonderful king, the Antichrist of the Jews, who by a corruption of the Zoroastrian Ahriman is called Armîlûs.²

So much, however, is true, and it is this which gives colour to the prevalent view of this so-called Messiah, that after a certain time other adversaries are, according to the Aggada, to rise up against the Messiah and his people, viz., either the enemies for a time subdued, or else the Arabs, who shall conquer the Jews, and slay the Messiah the son of Joseph. And then the Jews shall mourn exceeding bitterly, as the prophet Zechariah (xii. 12) foretold, for he who they hoped would deliver them with an everlasting deliverance is dead. But when Elijah shall come with Messiah Ben-David, and shall perform great wonders, and raise the son of Joseph from the dead, then they shall believe in Ben-David as the Messiah, and recognise him as their full deliverer.

But if we reject the view that the Messiah called the son of Joseph was invented to correspond to the prophecies of a suffering Messiah, we are bound to offer some account of the origin of the conception. Because, on the view that has just now been given, the Josephite Messiah is entirely provisional, and might, it would seem, have been dispensed with. Various explanations have, in fact, been given. Some have thought

¹ Deut. xxxiii. 17.

² See references in Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei* (Firenze, 1874), pp. 230-1, and the translation from the Midrash Vayosha in app. xi. See also Targum on Cant. iv. 5, where the two Messiahs are both called 'redeemers,' and compared to Moses and Aaron. This, which is given at the head of the article Armîlûs in the Targumic and Talmudic Lexicon called the Aruch (7th cent.), seems to me a much more satisfactory explanation than those discussed by Castelli, which connect the word either with Romulus (= the Romans) or with Armillatus (the epithet given by Suetonius to Caligula), or than that adopted by Gfrörer from the Aruch (ἱρημόλαος).

that the proper function of the son of Joseph was to re-assemble the ten tribes, the final redemption of all the Israelites being reserved for the true Messiah, the son of David. This does not seem in accordance with the Jewish statements, and it is better to suppose¹ that the Josephite Messiah is a fanciful embodiment of the prophetic word, that in the Messianic times Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim (Isa. xi. 13). To show how unavailing an irregular Messiah, corresponding to the irregular northern kingdom, would be to effect a permanent deliverance, the Aggadic writers, with their characteristic propensity to romance, invented the idea of a provisional Messiah springing from the greatest of the northern tribes, whose early successes did but heighten the gloom of his premature and decisive catastrophe.

In spite of this error (as it would seem to be) on the part of Christian controversialists, it was not without reason that they drew the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah within the range of their argument. The truth is that there are two suffering and two victorious Messiahs; Ben-David and Ben-Joseph have each of them a claim to both these epithets. It is evidently the Messiah Ben-David of whom a beautiful apologue is related in one of the Talmudic treatises.² Let me quote a few lines from it, as it is instructive in more respects than one. 'Rabbi Joshua Ben-Levi found Elijah (the precursor of the second Messiah, the son of David) standing at the gate of Paradise; and he asked him, When will the Messiah come? Elijah answered him, As soon as it is the Lord's good pleasure. Then said Joshua Ben-Levi again, When will the Messiah come? Elijah answered, Go and ask him thyself. And where doth he tarry? At the gate of the city (that is, Rome). And by what sign may he be distinguished? He sitteth among the poor who are laden with sickness, and he unbindeth one wound after another, and bindeth it up again.' It is again the Messiah Ben-David of whom it is said in a Midrash³ that while the Messiah was yet in heaven, Elijah embraced his head, and exhorted him to suffer, because it had been prophesied by Isaiah that he should be pained for our transgressions, and oppressed for our iniquities. Here and in other places there is no suspicion of a Messiah Ben-Joseph. Let us drop the distinction therefore as unimportant for our present purpose,

¹ Following Castelli, p. 235. Of course, the division of the Messiahship could only be provisional (comp. Hos. i. 11).

² Sanhedrin, 98 a; see the passage in full in Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias* (Leipz., 1870).

³ Castelli, p. 209.

and briefly examine the significance of the doctrine of the suffering Messiah in general. First, however, let me quote one or two more passages from traditional sources, without inquiring to which Messiah they refer. It is said in one place that at the creation God told the Messiah that the very same men whose iniquities he atones for would place him under a yoke of iron, and so afflict him that his tongue should cleave to the roof of his mouth ; and that God asked him if he was willing to undergo such tortures. The Messiah asked how many years they should last, and being told not more than seven years, he replied that he underwent them with joy and gladness, on condition that not a single soul of Israel should be lost.¹ Elsewhere we read (it is in a commentary on Zech. ix. 9²), “Righteous and having salvation,” *i.e.*, the Messiah, who has justified his judgment upon Israel, when they laughed at him as he sat in the house of bondmen. Therefore he is called “righteous.” And why is he called “having salvation”? For no other reason than that he has justified his judgment upon them. He said unto them, “Ye are all my children, for shall ye not all be delivered by the mercy of the Holy One?” “Humble and riding upon an ass,” *i.e.*, the Messiah. Why is he called humble? Because the whole of the time he was humiliated in the house of bondmen, and the transgressors of Israel derided him when they saw that because of the ungodly, who have no merits, he rode upon an ass. But the Holy One will remember the fathers, because of the merits of the Messiah.’ Here the Messiah is evidently represented as at once atoning for the sins of his people, and acquiring merit which ensures eternal felicity to all mankind.

2.

And now the question arises, did this remarkable parallel to the Christian doctrine arise from the exegetical study of the Old Testament, or in some other way? Let us first of all remark that it is not enough to prove to our own satisfaction that the doctrine of the suffering Messiah is, at least germinally, in the Old Testament ; we have to show that there is reasonable ground for supposing that the Jews were led to it simply by the exegetical study of the Old Testament. Such a ground will be produced if we can prove beyond contradiction that at the Christian era the Jews already believed in it. Unfortunately this is not the case. Many critics deny that Jesus Christ looked forward from the

¹ *Yalkut Simconi*, Isa. lx. (Castelli, p. 337).

² Quoted by Wünsche.

first to the possibility of a violent death, and refer to the undeniable fact that Josephus and Philo are only acquainted with a Messiah who shall follow the road of material conquests. And on their side they offer the conjecture that the Jewish notion of a suffering Messiah was the result of the action of two combined forces—first, the suffering condition of the Jews before and after the Roman war; and secondly, the Christian atmosphere which more and more surrounded them. It cannot be denied that this conjecture is in the highest degree a reasonable one. Even granting that other forces were at work, it would seem that those forces must at least be included. The mutual influence of Jewish and Christian theology, and especially that of Christian upon Jewish theology, is no secret to anyone who is acquainted with Church history and recent Jewish researches; while the longing of the Jews for a sympathetic Messiah, who should go in and out among themselves, and have experience of suffering, is eloquently depicted in that exquisite apologue already quoted from the Talmud.

I say, 'even granting that other forces were at work'; for I believe that the suffering Messiah is, at least germinally, in the Old Testament. Only I would ask to be allowed to draw a distinction. The Jews and the Christian rationalists are perfectly correct in their statement that there is no Old Testament reference to the sufferings of the Messiah, if only it be granted that the definition of Messiah is 'a victorious King of Israel of the house of David.' Such a pedantic definition, however, plain students of the Scriptures are not likely to accept. It cannot, or at least it ought not to be denied that there are two classes of Old Testament passages relative to the ideal future of the people of God—one in which the agent of the happy change in their fortunes is a royal personage of the line of David, and the other in which he is on the whole rather a persuasive teacher than a king or a warrior, deeply tried by affliction, and in and through this affliction the author of a higher salvation than the most powerful and most warlike king could effect. It cannot be denied that the functions of these personages (I use the plural simply provisionally) present manifest points of affinity. In a word, the object of both is to bring the people of Israel into accord with its high ideal and mission. It cannot be denied, further, that there are here and there points in the prophetic descriptions connecting the ideal Davidic king with the lofty sufferer and spiritual redeemer. One of the most famous prophecies of the Messianic king was in these remarkable words:—'Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion;

shout, O daughter of Jerusalem ; behold, thy king cometh unto thee ; he is righteous, and hath been delivered ; humble, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass.'¹ There is nothing, I admit, to put by the side of this among the other prophecies of the Messianic king. But we have no right on the ground of its uniqueness to explain this one away. There is no question that the Hebrew *עני* means 'humble,' or 'humiliated by sufferings,' *i.e.* 'afflicted.' By having this epithet applied to him, the ideal king of Israel is identified with that large class of persons in the Book of Psalms, of whose sufferings so heart-rending a description is given.² It is clear that when the Psalms were written, and when this passage of the Book of Zechariah was written, the people of Israel were, nationally, far from prosperous, and sighed and groaned for a powerful deliverer. But it was not enough for the prophet from whom I quote, and for those to whom he prophesied, that the deliverer should be a just judge and a virtuous warrior ; he must also be one with his people in experience of suffering, and one who could be touched with the feeling of their infirmities.

And in like manner there are undeniable points of contact between the principal of the prophetic pictures of the teacher, sufferer, and redeemer, and the descriptions of the ideal King. I do not refer to Isa. lv. 3, 4, 'And I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David,' because the view that the word 'David' there used is a synonym for the Messianic king is the least probable interpretation. But why should I not refer to the great culminating passage of the Book of the Servant of Jehovah, in which it is said that 'he shall be exalted, and lifted up, and be very high,' that kings shall see his deeds, and shut their mouths in reverential awe ; and that he shall be given a portion among the great, and divide the spoil with the strong (Isa. lii. 13-15, liii. 12)? Surely an open-minded reader must allow that the writer of these words identifies the Messianic king with the afflicted teacher and redeemer ; that, in a word, *both are Messianic*, and that we have to look out for a wider definition of the word Messiah than the pedantry begotten of controversy would allow. That, in fact, the progress of revelation or (if rationalists will not allow this) the progress of religious thought has introduced new elements into the conception of the Messiah, so that he is no longer 'anointed,' *i.e.* commissioned of God, principally to overthrow material obstacles to the establishment of the

¹ Zech. ix. 9.

² Dr. Grätz (*Psalmen*, Bd. i.) strangely identifies these with the *evites*.

Divine kingdom, but rather to work from within outwards, conquering the heart of the rebellious by his perfect sacrifice of himself, and regenerating Israel for the good of the world.

Let it be granted, then—1. That the Jews and the rationalists are in the main correct in their denial of the suffering Messiah, but only according to their own unnaturally restricted definition of that word. 2. That those who carry on the orthodox, *i.e.* definite Christian, tradition have enlarged the meaning of the word Messiah, but in full accordance with the laws of historical development, and with the author of the prophecy of the Servant of Jehovah. 3. That there was at the Christian era an influential body of Jewish students of the Scriptures, both in Palestine and in Alexandria, who entertained the same restricted views of the Messiah as the modern Jews, though it is a theory incapable at least of disproof, that there were others in a more obscure position who instinctively adopted higher views. 4. That the troubles of the Jewish war, if they did not, as some modern Jews suppose, suggest the doctrine of the suffering Messiah, yet very greatly increased the number of those who adopted it, and that it is not improbable that Christian influences, unconsciously to the Jews, promoted their faith in it.

All these concessions may and, I think, must in fairness be made. They are perfectly consistent both with themselves and with the exegesis of the New Testament writers. But they require a not inconsiderable modification of the apologetic treatment of this subject which has hitherto been prevalent, especially among ourselves. But how can the apologetic of one age bind that of another? Why should the section of apologetic which is concerned with prophecy be deprived of the privilege of growth which is extended to other sections? What would Bishop Pearson have said to the apologetical text-books current in our universities in other theological departments than that of which I am speaking? Progress is not revolution; progress may involve a recasting of some of our ideas, but is it not a condition of life? is it not even a sacred, a religious duty to press on into 'all the truth'? Is there any reason why Old Testament criticism and exegesis should be excluded from the range of the providential government and overruling? Certainly not; the hearts of my readers are with me; for I am pleading first of all for an honest exegesis, and secondly for the interests, rightly understood, of the Christian faith.

[The above is taken, with a few unimportant alterations, from a university sermon, by the author, on 'The Jewish Interpretation of Prophecy,'

preached at Oxford, March 20, 1881. The Jewish authorities will be found in the two works of Castelli and Wünsche referred to; the explanation of the division of the Messiahship is from Castelli. On the question how to account for the difference (already present to the Emperor Julian) between the Messianic king of prophecy and the picture of Christ in the Gospels, suggestive remarks are given by Dr. Robertson Smith in the *Encyclop. Britannica*, art. 'Messiah.']

VI. THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CRITICAL CONTROVERSY.

I.

IT is with some hesitation that I cross the border which separates exegesis from the higher criticism. The public is eager for results; a Chaldean Genesis, a Babylonian Isaiah, and even M. Jacolliot's Sanscrit life of 'Jeseus Christna' receive the same indiscriminating welcome. For though keenly interested in criticism, the public takes wonderfully little pains to master the preliminaries. It demands the truth about Homer, with the slenderest knowledge of the Homeric poems; and to have the mystery of Isaiah dispelled, when it has but skimmed the surface of the Isaianic prophecies. And yet, without calling it 'a malady of the Greeks' to inquire if the Iliad and the Odyssey (or, let us say, the first and the second part of Isaiah) are by the same author,¹ the principal thing for the student of a prophecy is, not to know who wrote it, but to understand its essential ideas; this is important for all—the rest can be fully utilised only by the historical critic. Parts there may be of the exegesis which remain vague and obscure till we know the circumstances under which a prophecy was written, but these in the case of II. Isaiah form but a small proportion of the whole. 'Like the Book of Job, the piece is almost purely theological and occupied with ideas. It is a structure based upon and built out of the monotheistic conception—the idea that Jehovah, God of Israel, is the true and only God.'² There is no absolute necessity for an honest exegete to give any detailed treatment to the higher criticism.

A comprehensive discussion of the problems of the disputed chapters of Isaiah (with which Jer. l., li. are naturally combined) is therefore not to be looked for; and it is chiefly because I have given the outlines of such a discussion else-

¹ Seneca, *De brevitate vite*, c. 13.

² Dr. A. B. Davidson, *The Expositor*, 1883, p. 85.

where¹ that I return to the subject here. For though the pages devoted to it in my earlier work are not yet by any means superseded, they require both filling up and correcting, especially in the survey of the arguments for the unity of the authorship. The present essay will therefore be necessarily in a high degree incomplete and fragmentary; in particular, it omits that comparison of the ideas of the two parts of Isaiah which is essential to a just appreciation of the rival theories of authorship, but which can hardly be given without disclosing some bias in favour of one or another of these theories.² It relates exclusively to the last twenty-seven chapters: not as if chaps. i.-xxxix. constituted 'the First Isaiah,' and chaps. xl.-lxvi. 'the Second,'³ but simply because the data furnished by the disputed chapters in the first part of the book are found with important additions in the second; and it is mainly concerned with one special question relative to these chapters, viz., what evidence do they afford as to the locality in which they were composed?

The section in *The Book of Isaiah Chronologically Arranged* headed 'Arguments in Favour of the Unity of Authorship' is introduced by a quotation from Dr. Franz Delitzsch, containing the admission that 'there is not a single passage in the book (Isa. xl.-lxvi.) which betrays that the times of the Exile are only ideally, and not actually, present to the prophetic writer.'⁴ It was tempting to make the most of these suggestive words; but it was a mistake. One may still admire the childlike candour and the strong faith in the absolute security of prophecy, which rendered the admission possible, but a renewed examination has shown that it was entirely uncalled for, and that some passages of II. Isaiah are in various degrees really favourable to the theory of a Palestinian origin. Thus, in lvii. 5, the reference to torrent-beds is altogether inapplicable to the alluvial plains of Babylonia; and equally so is that to subterranean 'holes' in xlii. 22. And though, no doubt, Babylonia was more wooded in ancient times than it is at present,⁵ it is certain that the trees men-

¹ *J. C. A.*, introduction; *Jeremiah in Pulpit Commentary*, introd. to chaps. I. and li.

² Duhm's *Die Theologie der Propheten* (Bonn, 1875) contains such a comparison; but, though clever and suggestive, it is crudely written and unsympathetic. Kuenen's *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel* (Lond., 1877), though not directly comparative, will also be helpful. Both books exhibit a strong bias.

³ Yet the author of one of the most remarkable products of rationalistic criticism in England asserts that 'only the most uncompromising champions of what is taken for orthodox now venture to deny that the Book of Isaiah is the work of two persons. . . . [cc. i.-xxxix. constitute the work of the former, cc. xl.-lxvi. that of the latter.]' (*The Hebrew Migration from Egypt*, Lond., 1879, p. 61, note.)

⁴ See *J. C. A.*, Introduction, p. xvii, but comp. the qualifications of this admission in the new (third) edition of Delitzsch's *Jesaja*, p. 406.

⁵ Rawlinson's note on Herod., i. 193.

tioned in xli. 19 were not for the most part natives of that country, while the date-palm, the commonest of all the Babylonian trees, is not once referred to. The fact has not escaped the observation of Mr. Urwick, who has devoted special attention to the agricultural and botanical references in both parts of Isaiah, with the view of obtaining a subsidiary argument in favour of the unity of the book.¹ Mr. Urwick, however, does not seem to have noticed that the argument is a two-edged one. For the trees mentioned in xli. 19 are for the most part as unfamiliar to a native of Judæa as to a man of Babylonia.² By a similar method it could be proved that the Book of Jeremiah was written in northern Israel, because in xvii. 8 a figure is taken from perennial streams, which were unknown in the drier south; and even that the book of the exile-prophet Ezekiel is a forgery, because of his frequent references to the mountains and rivers of Israel (vi, 2, 3, xxxiv. 13, 14, xxxvi. 1-12, &c.). As has been remarked elsewhere, 'a Semitic race, when transplanted to a distant country, preserves a lively recollection of its earlier home. The Arabic poets in Spain delighted in allusions to Arabian localities, and descriptions of the events of desert-life. Why should not a prophecy of the Exile contain some such allusions to the scenery of Palestine,'³ especially, it may be added, if the natural objects referred to have a symbolical meaning? The allusions will, at any rate, be of small critical value unless they be supported by historical references, which unmistakably point away from the period of the Exile.

Such references, however, are really forthcoming, as the elder traditionalists rightly saw. They are most numerous and striking in chapters lvi., lvii., lxxv., lxxvi., where, however, they are probably often under-estimated owing to the prejudice produced by the earlier chapters. Let us read them by themselves, and I think we shall hardly doubt that the descriptions refer to some period or periods other than the Exile. And yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that there are still more numerous passages which presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of the Jews in Babylon. How are these conflicting phenomena to be reconciled?

One way (*a*) is to suppose that they are Isaiah's involun-

¹ *The Servant of Jehovah*, p. 49. Mr. Urwick remarks that there were no vineyards in Babylonia. But M. Lenormant has shown that Mesopotamia produced an abundance of valuable wines (*Syllabaires cuneiformes*, Par. 1876, pp. 121-129).

² The myrtle is probably one of the *unfamiliar* trees. It is only mentioned (excluding Isa. xli. 19, lv. 13) in two books of post-exile origin (Zech. i. 8, 10, 11, Neh. viii. 15), and in the parallel Pentateuch-passage to Neh. *loc. cit.* the myrtle is omitted (Lev. xxiii. 40). Dean Perowne has suggested that it may have been imported into Palestine from Babylonia (Smith's *Bible Dict.*, art. 'Zechariah').

³ *I. C. A.*, p. 201.

tary betrayals of his authorship. It will be remembered that, according to a prevalent theory, Isa. xl.-lxvi. is a 'monograph' written by Isaiah in a *quasi*-ecstatic state for the future use of the exiles. No one perhaps (putting aside Dr. Delitzsch) has better expressed this view than the present Dean of Westminster, who does not, however, venture to decide upon its merits. 'The Isaiah,' he says, 'of the vexed and stormy times of Ahaz and of Hezekiah is supposed in his later days to have been transported by God's Spirit into a time and a region other than his own. . . . He is led in prolonged and solitary visions into a land that he has never trodden, and to a generation on whom he has never looked. The familiar scenes and faces, among which he had lived and laboured, have grown dim and disappeared. All sounds and voices of the present are hushed, and the interests and passions into which he had thrown himself with all the intensity of his race and character move him no more. The present has died out of the horizon of his soul's vision. . . . The voices in his ears are those of men unborn, and he lives a second life among events and persons, sins and suffering, and fears and hopes, photographed sometimes with the minutest accuracy on the sensitive and sympathetic medium of his own spirit; and he becomes the denouncer of the special sins of a distant generation, and the spokesman of the faith and hope and passionate yearning of an exiled nation, the descendants of men living when he wrote in the profound peace of a renewed prosperity.'¹

It would carry me too far from my present object to criticise this theory, but let me observe in passing that, if the passages with Palestinian references can be taken as unconscious self-betrayals, they furnish a reply to one of the chief objections by which it has been met. It is commonly said (and with much justice) that so long-continued a transference of a prophet's point of view into the ideal future is without a parallel. For a short time a prophet of the classical period may indeed pass beyond his habitual horizon, but he cannot help betraying his own date in the course of a very few verses or paragraphs. Whether or not this inference from the classical prophecies is justified, need not here be discussed, Suffice it to say that the reply to the objection furnished by the proposed view of the Palestinian references is at any rate plausible, supposing that the passages containing them form an integral portion of the book.

(b) Another conceivable view (which again I do not pro-

¹ Abstract of University sermon by the Rev. G. G. Bradley, in the *Oxford Undergraduates' Journal*, Feb. 18, 1875.

nounce upon, but only mention) is this—that the Palestinian references are the involuntary self-betrayal of a prophetic writer living in Palestine *during the Exile*.¹ It is clear from several passages (especially Ezek. xxxiii. 24), and from the fact that, unlike the northern kingdom, Judah was not colonised by foreigners after the fall of the state, that a considerable number of Jews remained behind in their own country.² It is far from incredible that some literary men should have formed part of this remnant, and that one of them, at least, should have been a prophet. In fact, it seems almost certain that Lam. v. was written in Judah during the Exile, and we cannot suppose that this was the only Palestinian production of that long period. There are passages in II. Isaiah, besides those already referred to, which may be considered to favour the view under consideration (*e.g.* xl. 9, lii. 1, 2, 5 [?], 7-9), though perfectly capable of explanation on the ordinary theory. It is no doubt a little difficult to realise the selection of a prophet in Judah to address the whole body of the nation (the most important and most cultivated part of which was in exile), but if there was no equally great prophet in Babylonia, it was the only possible choice. There may even have been special advantages in his distance from the centre of the nation, of which we are ignorant. Certainly this theory has the merit of simplicity; it accounts, not only for the Palestinian features in some of the descriptions, but for the paucity of the references to Babylonian circumstances.

Yes, it has the merit of simplicity; but that is hardly a recommendation to 'those who know.' If the solution of this problem is so extremely simple, it will be almost unique. Complication, and not simplicity, is the note of the questions and of the answers which constitute Old Testament criticism. It is becoming more and more certain that the present form especially of the prophetic Scriptures is due to a literary class (the so-called Soferim, 'scribes' or 'Scripturists'), whose principal function was collecting and supplementing the scattered records of prophetic revelation. This function they performed with rare self-abnegation. Of a regard on their part for personal distinction there is not a trace; self-consciousness is swallowed up in the sense of belonging, if only in a secondary degree, to the company of inspired men. They wrote, they recast, they edited, in the same spirit

¹ So F. W. Seinecke, *Der Evangelist des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig, 1870); also apparently H. Oort (at least for some part of II. Isaiah), *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1876, pp. 528-536.

² Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, ii. 176; comp. his *Historisch-kritisch onderzoek*, ii. 150, note 8, iii. 357-8 (on Lam. v.).

in which a gifted artist of our own day devoted himself to the glory of 'modern painters.' To apply the words of a great American prose-poet, 'They chose the better, and loftier, and more unselfish part, laying their individual hopes, their fame, their prospects of enduring remembrance, at the feet of those great departed ones, whom they so loved and venerated.'¹ Surely if the prophets were inspired, a younger son's portion of the Spirit was granted to their self-denying editors.²

St. Jerome had evidently more than a mere suspicion of the activity of the Soferim, when he significantly remarked that Ezra might be plausibly described as the 'instaurator' of the Pentateuch. It is, however, to Ewald that we owe the first rough sketch of their probable proceedings. The subjective element is unreasonably strong in all that great master's work; and a careful re-examination of the Old Testament records from the same literary point of view as Ewald's is urgently needed. At the same time his treatment of the latter part of the Book of Isaiah cannot be complained of on the score of excessive analysis. The only passages which he denies to have been written by 'the Great Unnamed'³ are xl. 1, 2, lii. 13-liv. 12, lvi. 9-lvii. 11 (by a prophet of the reign of Manasseh), lviii. 1-lix. 20 (written soon after Ezekiel). He also maintains, however, that the author is well acquainted with the works of the older prophets, from which he now and again borrows the text of his discourse (see, e.g., the description of the folly of idolatry in Jer. x.). It is this free use of 'motives' from the earlier literature, and this combination of old material with new in the manner of mosaic-work, which is characteristic of the Soferim.

But though Ewald has been the first, or one of the first,

¹ Hawthorne's *Transformation*; character of Hilda (chap. vi. 'She chose,' &c.).

² This habit of recasting and re-editing ancient writings was still characteristic of Jewish literary men at a much later period. As Dr. Edersheim observes, 'There are scarcely any ancient Rabbinical documents which have not been interpolated by later writers, or, as we might euphemistically call it, been recast and re-edited' (*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, p. 131). The habit, I say, survived, but the spirit which vivified the habit was changed. For the editors of the Old Testament are in more than historical continuity with the subjects of that peculiar influence which we call inspiration, and for the later manifestations of which they help to prepare the way. I am glad to notice that one so free from the suspicion of Rationalism or Romanism as Rudolf Stier adopts the Jewish theory of grades of inspiration, remarking, however, that even the lowest grade remains one of faith's mysteries.

³ Such is Ewald's title for the author of the greater part of Isa. xl.-lxvi., and abundant has been the contumely it has brought upon him. 'As if,' remarks a well-known Scotch divine, 'the praise of greatness from human lips could ever compensate the loss of degrading the noblest of God's prophets into a man nameless and unknown' (*The Old Isaiah*, by A. Moody Stuart, D.D., Edinb. 1880, p. 7). Such writers forget the self-abnegation characteristic of Biblical authors (where there was no special reason for mentioning their names), and the remark of Origen with regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, *Τις δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν.*

in the field, he has left much land still to be occupied. First of all, he has taken no account of the possibility that the author of chaps. xl.–lxvi. not only put old ideas and phrases into a new setting, but also incorporated the substance of connected discourses of that great prophet, of whose style we are so often reminded in these chapters—Isaiah. This is a possibility which it is impossible to raise to a certainty, or even to such an approximate certainty as we are so often fain to be content with in literary criticism. For if the work of Isaiah has been utilised, it has been so skilfully fused in the mind and imagination of the later prophet, that a discrimination between the old and the new is scarcely feasible. But the view is quite in harmony with what we know of the Soferim. Some of the class were, from a literary point of view, mere workers in mosaic (to repeat an expressive figure), others were real artists, real poets and orators, quite capable, therefore, of such work as we are supposing II. Isaiah to contain. Moreover, the view offers two especial advantages: 1. It gives a very simple explanation (though simplicity, as we have seen, is not always a mark of truth) of the linguistic points of contact between the original and the 'Babylonian' Isaiah; and 2. it dispenses us from the necessity of assuming (against the context) such a suspension of the laws of psychology as is implied on the traditional theory by the mention of 'Cyrus' in xlv. 28 (see note), xlv. 1. I may add that it is partly parallel to the case of certain portions of I. Isaiah, where the preceding commentary has recognised the hand of another writer, perhaps that of a disciple of Isaiah, reproducing in a new connection authentic remains of the master's teaching (see vol. i pp. 42, 189, 240). Still it appears to me that the objections urged in another connection (vol. i. p. 240) against Isaiah's having foretold the fall of Babylon have to be met, before this hypothesis can be said to be securely grounded.¹

Secondly, there are other parts of II. Isaiah as difficult to interpret on the theory of the original unity of the book as any of those which Ewald has mentioned. In fact, from chap. liii. onwards, it is the exception to find a chapter without at least some passages which only a careless or an imaginative exegesis can harmonise with the unitarian theory. Bleek, who, I need not say, enjoys a high reputation for the

¹ The hypothesis is supported by Dr. Klostermann of Kiel in a dissertation in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift* for 1876 (pp. 1–60), and in the article 'Jesaja' in the second edition of Herzog's *Real-encyclopædie*. A worse advocate for a good cause could hardly be found; such perverse reasoning surprises one in a trained theologian. Still the fundamental idea deserves attention. Both in the first and in the second part of Isaiah the presence of exilic prophecies appears as certain to Dr. Klostermann as to any of the rationalistic critics.

caution and reverence of his criticism, points out especially the three prophecies, lxiii. 1-6, lxiii. 7-lxv. 25, and chap. lxvi., which, according to him, were composed shortly after the close of the Exile;¹ and even Naegelsbach, commenting on Isaiah in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, is so impressed by the peculiarities of chaps. lxv., lxvi., that he somewhat arbitrarily supposes them to have been interpolated. 'It appears,' he says, 'that one of the faithful Israelites used every opportunity of attaching to the words of the prophet a threat against the abhorred apostates.' His instances are lxiv. 9-11, lxv. 3b 5a, lxv. 11, 12, lxv. 25, lxvi. 3b-6, lxvi. 17.

But I must postpone further remarks on this too seductive theme. Suffice it if I have made it plain that a number of important exegetical questions have to be settled before the Isaianic authorship of Isa. xl.-lxvi. can be thoroughly discussed. It is possible that it may some day become an approximate certainty that the latter part of II. Isaiah was once much shorter, and that the author, or one of the Soferim, enlarged it by the insertion of passages from other prophets, introducing at the same time an artificial semblance of unity by the insertion of a slightly altered version of the gnomic saying in xlvi. 22 as a refrain in lvii. 21. There is nothing disparaging to prophecy in such a view, as long as we maintain the divine inspiring and overruling influence for which I have pleaded above. On the contrary, it appears to me that it does honour to the Spirit of prophecy by enlarging the range of His operations, according to that saying of the Man of God in reply to those who 'envied for his sake,' 'Would God that all Jehovah's people were prophets!' It must be remembered, however, that this view can only become an approximate certainty when the outlines have been sketched of a history of the later Old Testament literature, in which the place of these and similar insertions has on reasonable grounds been indicated. The fault of modern critics has been that they have considered the Old Testament writings too much as isolated phenomena, whereas the complicated nature of the problems urgently demands that the books should be treated in connection. It may, indeed, be confidently anticipated that the history of Old Testament literature will prove the most effectual justification of Old Testament criticism.

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Eng. Transl.), ii. 49, 50. Bleek, indeed, is of opinion that the passages referred to were by the same author as the earlier prophecies; but this may on plausible grounds be contested.

2.

There are still a few other points in which I desire to supplement my earlier statement. 1. As to the paucity of allusions in chaps. xl.-lxvi. to the special circumstances of Babylon. The fact must be allowed ; it was, indeed, so conspicuous as to induce Ewald to suppose that the author resided in Egypt. It is not unfavourable to the authorship of Isaiah, who might have learned almost as much about Babylon as is mentioned in these chapters either from travelling merchants, or from the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan. The only possible allusion of this kind (if we may press the letter of the prophecy) distinctly in favour of an exilic date, is that in xlvi. 1, to the worship of Bel-Merodach and Nebo, which specially characterised the later Babylonian empire.¹ This paucity of Babylonian references would be less surprising (for prophets and apostles were not curious observers), were it not for the very specific allusions to Palestinian circumstances in some of the later chapters. As I have indicated, there is more than one way of accounting for it.

2. With regard to style. It is proverbially difficult to obtain unanimity on a question of style, but I think it will hardly be gainsaid that the style of the second part of Isaiah is on the whole in many ways different from that of the first. This judgment will be none the less valid because it is founded on an impression. The impression is no casual or arbitrary one, but produced, as Professor A. B. Davidson truly says, by the combined force of many elements. 'It is quite possible to subject this impression to the crucible and dissolve it, reasoning it away bit by bit, and then to assert that the testimony of style is worth nothing. . . . But when the tide of logic recedes, the impression remains as distinct as ever.' The question is, whether such a diversity of style as we are supposing necessarily argues a diversity of authorship. This can only be decided by a careful examination of the elements of the diversity ; and here I cannot but think that recent English scholars have failed ; Professor Stanley Leathes, Professor Birks, and Dr. Kay, all endeavour unduly to minimise the diversity in phraseology between I. and II. Isaiah. None of them appear to understand what it is that the dis-integrating critics mean by their appeal to phraseology, and one can well imagine that they have all felt inclined to use

¹ See, e.g., the Birs Nimrud Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, *Records of the Past*, vii. 73-78, in which the names of Marduk and Nabu (and no other gods) constantly recur. Sargon, it is true, also mentions these deities with high honour, but makes Assur precede them (*R. I.*, vii. 25).

language in which Dr. Payne Smith has actually expressed himself, that 'the aberrations of the human intellect are infinite.'¹ The truth is, however, that it is not merely upon isolated words or phrases that those critics found their argument, but upon 'the peculiar articulation of sentences and the movement of the whole discourse;' and even within the field of phraseology, it is not so much upon the fact that some words are peculiar to the second part of Isaiah, as upon this, that certain words, though common to both parts, are used in the second in a peculiar sense, and one which implies a great development of thought. And so the argument from phraseology runs up into another (3) based upon the new ideas and forms of representing ideas in the disputed prophecies, on which on a former occasion some may have thought that I placed undue reliance. If I erred, I did so in good company, for the tendency of the most thoughtful Continental scholars is in the same direction. Dr. Paul Kleinert, for instance, in his condensation of the Old Testament Prolegomena into tables for the use of students, mentions as the second argument for the non-Isaianic origin of II. Isaiah that 'the development of many primary ideas (עבר יהוה, משפט, צדק) is subsequent not only to Isaiah but to Jeremiah.'² Still it is well, perhaps, to be reminded of the necessity of caution, lest one should be so far carried away in the ardour of criticism as to relegate to a later 'stage' an idea which an early inspired prophet might perhaps under peculiar circumstances have conceived. On the other hand, conservative scholars should take into careful consideration whether it is admissible to maintain that an idea is Isaianic, if it can only be justified as such by assuming, contrary to the analogy of classical prophecy, a suspension of the ordinary laws of psychology.³ Too many theologians rush into the thick of prophetic interpretation without any deep study of this most fundamental of questions.

If I might return for a moment to the argument from diversity of style, I would venture to supplement the question as to its critical value raised above by another, Does unity of style necessarily argue unity of authorship? Dr. Colenso obviously replied to this in the affirmative when he maintained that the Book of Deuteronomy was written by the prophet Jeremiah, and Ewald and Hitzig, by their treatment of the Psalms, have given some support to such a position.

¹ *The Old Testament, with a Brief Commentary by Various Writers* (S.P.C.K.).

² *Abriss der Einleitung zum Alten Testament im Tabellenform* (Berlin, 1878), p. 25.

³ On the point thus raised, the student should refer to Prof. Riehm's *Messianic Prophecy* (Eng. Transl., Edinb. 1876).

But I suppose all that need be inferred from unity of style is that one of the books which display this unity exercised a strong influence on the author of the other. We know that the Soferim had their favourite Scriptures, and it is a conjecture of recent critics that when the prophetic Epigoni edited the older prophecies, they sometimes added parallel works of their own (*Begleitschreiben*), in which they sought to treat existing circumstances in the spirit of their predecessors. This is at least a good working hypothesis, and is not in itself inconsistent with a belief in prophetic inspiration.

4. The argument from parallel passages is sometimes much overrated. How prone we are to fancy an imitation where there is none, has been strikingly shown by Mr. Munro's parallels between the plays of Shakspeare and Seneca;¹ and even when an imitation on one side or the other must be supposed, how difficult it is to choose between the alternatives! That there are parallels between II. Isaiah on the one hand and Zephaniah or Jeremiah on the other is certain, and that the one prophet imitated the other is probable; but which is the original one? As I have remarked elsewhere, our view of the relation between two authors is apt to be biassed by a prejudice in favour of the more brilliant genius; we can hardly help believing that the more strikingly expressed passage must be the more original. A recent revolution of opinion among patristic students may be a warning to us not to be too premature in deciding such questions. It has been the custom to argue from the occurrence of almost identical sentences in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix and the *Apologeticum* of Tertullian, that Minucius must have written later than the beginning of the third century, on the ground that a brilliant genius like Tertullian cannot have been such a servile imitator as the hypothesis of the priority of Minucius would imply. But Adolf Ebert seems to have definitively proved² that Tertullian not only made use of Minucius, but did not even understand his author rightly.

I do not, on the ground of the difficulties encompassing it, desire to expel this argument from our critical apparatus. But I do think that it can only be properly used in a comprehensive work on the Biblical and especially the prophetic literature as a whole. And so I come round to my original proposition that he who would take part, whether as a teacher or a student, in the controversies of the higher criticism, must first of all have equipped himself by a self-denying and

¹ *Journal of Philology*, vol. vi. (Camb. 1876), pp. 70-72.

² Ebert, *Tertullians Verhältniss zu Minucius Felix*, reviewed in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1869, pp. 740-743.

theory-denying examination of the texts. Can it be said that all our critics have so equipped themselves, or that all even of our interpreters have been fully conscious of the moral pre-requisites?

VII. CORRECTION OF THE HEBREW TEXT.

THE subject described in the above title is one peculiarly unfit for an essay; it is obviously not a dissertation, but facts, which the reader requires in order to form a well-grounded opinion upon it; and the facts cannot be condensed into a few pages. Still, for the same reason that I ventured to sketch the connection which, as I think, exists between the philological and the theological interpretation of Isaiah, I will devote a brief study to clearing away some possible misunderstandings arising out of my treatment of the text.

It is a depressing discovery to the student when he first realises the weakness of the authority for the received Hebrew text. And yet the state of the case might fairly have been anticipated. If, in the judgment of Lachmann and Tischendorf, corruptions of some moment have taken place even in the text of the New Testament, almost infinitely greater is the probability that a similar misfortune on a larger scale has befallen the text of the Old. If Mr. Munro can declare, speaking of Lucretius, that he is more and more convinced 'that many manifest errors had their rise in the circumstances under which our poem first saw the light,' how much more can this be said of texts, written and then copied in a far less critical age, and in characters peculiarly liable to confusion! The wonder is, indeed, that the Old Testament writings are as intelligible as they are, though the question may in some cases force itself upon us, how far this intelligibility is due to the original writer, and how far to a later editor's adaptation of his fragmentary materials. Fully to explain the causes and investigate the degree of the uncertainty of the Old Testament text would be a subject well worthy of a scholar's pen; but it is outside my immediate province. A few hints, however, may fairly be expected, to justify the critical attitude of the present work. Among the manifold sources of corruption we may specially mention the great though slowly effected changes of the characters employed in writing Hebrew. M. de Vogüé, an authority on Semitic palæography, writes thus:—

'If we consider in its entirety the history of the Hebrew

writing, as it results from the study of the monuments alone, we may resume it thus :

‘ A first period, during which the only writing in use is the archaic Hebrew, a character closely resembling the Phœnician ;

‘ A second period, during which the Aramaic writing is employed simultaneously with the first, and is little by little substituted for it ;

‘ A third period, during which the Aramaic writing, now become square, is the only one in use.

‘ The first period is anterior to the Captivity, and the third posterior to Jesus Christ.

‘ The limits of the second cannot be determined exactly by the aid of the monuments alone, for these are entirely wanting ; but here the traditions and the texts come to our help. The name of *ashūrîth* “ Assyrian,” given by the Rabbinic school to the square alphabet ; the part in the introduction of that alphabet which it assigns to Ezra, a collective term for the totality of the traditions relative to the return of the Jews, seem to prove that the introduction of the Aramaic writing coincides with the great Aramaic movement which invaded the whole of Syria and Palestine in the sixth and seventh centuries before our era.’¹

It need hardly be pointed out what a wide door this series of changes opens for confusions of various kinds. In each of the alphabets referred to some letters are more easily confounded than others. We have, therefore, presumably in the received or Massoretic Hebrew text a combination of the errors which arose (1) from the confusion of similar letters in the archaic Hebrew character ; (2) from the confusion of letters in the archaic alphabet with similar letters in the Aramaic ; (3) from the transliteration into the later square character ; and (4) from the confusion of similar letters in the square character itself, after the texts had been transliterated. We have not yet made half enough of palæography as an index of possible corrections ; and it would probably be worth while, as M. Renan has suggested, to publish selected books of the Hebrew Bible in the Phœnician character.²

¹ De Vogüé, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale* (Par. 1868), p. 164. M. Lenormant, in his *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien*, assigns the introduction of the square character to the first century before the Christian era.

² For a compact summary of facts, see Dillmann's article *Bibeltext des A. T.* in the second edition of Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*, or M. Berger's elaborate article *Écriture*, in the theological encyclopædia published by M.M. Sandoz et Fischbacher. Upon the whole, the student will find no sounder and more experienced guide (so lucid is his style and so clear his insight) than M. Renan's able ‘collaborateur’ in the *Corpus* of Semitic inscriptions. For a valuable list of instances of palæographic confusions in the texts of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, see Herzfeld's *Geschichte*

Hardly less striking are the facts relative to the date of the received Hebrew text, and the extant Hebrew MSS. The former appears to have been settled during the Talmudic period which preceded the Massoretic, *i.e.* some time before the close of the fifth century A.D. Since then the text has no doubt been handed down with scrupulous fidelity, but whether 'the oracles of God' had been as jealously guarded in the earlier periods, at any rate before the idea of the canon had attained complete precision, may well be doubted. In Egypt, as the Septuagint sufficiently proves, the transcribers of the Old Testament were specially careless: but even in Palestine, judging from the present state of the Hebrew Bible, its guardians do not appear to have been fully conscious of their responsibility. True, there was a higher guardian, Providence: true, the defects of the letter have been overruled to the good of the Church, which might otherwise have fallen (as fragments of the Church doubtless have fallen) into worship of the letter. But the difficulties arising out of these circumstances to the exegete are great indeed. Could we feel sure that the standard text had been formed on a critical, diplomatic basis, we might to some extent be reassured. But though it is only a conjecture, it comes from perhaps the most competent of non-Jewish scholars, and has great probability on its side, that the received text is derived from a single archetype, the peculiarities of which were preserved with a 'servile fidelity.'¹ And even apart from this, it is but too obvious to any one with a sense for language that parts of the texts are extremely incorrect; and it stands to reason that the post-Massoretic MSS. (the oldest are not older than the tenth century) cannot help us in healing pre-Massoretic corruptions.²

These are the grounds on which I venture to urge that without a temperate use of conjectural (but not purely subjective) emendation, but little progress can be made in Old Testament exegesis. It is from a real sense of duty that I have utilised a number of such corrections of the text in my translation of Isaiah. My experienced reviewer, Mr. Samuel Cox, fresh from the study of New Testament criticism, is slightly shocked at this, and kindly attributes it to 'the influence of Ewald's somewhat too arbitrary and impatient genius.'³

des Volkes Jisrael, iii. 80-84; and in the Sept. of the Minor Prophets only, Vollers in *Stade's Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 231.

¹ Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipz. 1863), pp. 1, 2; *Symmicta* (Götting. 1877), p. 50. Comp. Olshausen on Ps. lxxx. 14, 16.

² On the extant Hebrew MSS., and on the state of the text in the Talmudic period, see Hermann Strack's *Prologomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum* (Lips. 1873), pp. 59-131.

³ *Expositor*, May 1880, p. 400.

This is a misconception which will interfere with the usefulness of my work. I am in no other sense a follower of that great critic than is Professor Delitzsch or Professor Kuenen, and, in the days when the name might not unjustly have been applied to me, my treatment of the text was much more conservative than at present. Purely subjective emendation, I repeat, is not to be admitted on any excuse. If a passage is so utterly corrupt as to give no clue to the correct reading, a commentator, penetrated with the spirit of Hebrew, may suggest an approximation to what may have been in the writer's mind; but his suggestion should be confined to the commentary. Some of the corrections proposed with the utmost confidence by Ewald and Hitzig are as arbitrary as most of those of the too brilliant Oratorian, C. F. Houbigant, in the last century. But when a conjecture has some external support, especially from the versions or from palæography, it is more respectful to the Hebrew writer to adopt it than to 'make sense' by sheer force out of an unnatural reading. I would not propose to introduce even these justifiable emendations into a version for ecclesiastical use (though King James's translators consciously or unconsciously did admit a few emendations),¹ but in a work intended solely for students, it is sometimes necessary to emphasise them as I have done (never without stating in a prominent place the received reading), that the reader may feel the difficulty of the passage, and judge of the effect of the alteration. Otherwise we may go on for ever, crying *Shālôm, shālôm*, when the text is far indeed from 'peace' or 'soundness.' With a good will and some poetic imagination most readings, at least in the poetical and prophetic books, admit of a plausible translation; but at what a grievous cost to grammar (some grammatical rules must surely be admitted), and to a critical conception of the duties of an interpreter!

The slightest changes are, of course, those which affect the vowel-points, which, as we are too prone to forget, form, properly speaking, no part of the text.² They represent a comparatively ancient exegetical tradition, and stand on a somewhat similar footing to the versions, especially to the Targums, which in some obscure places enable us to interpret the pointed text. But the early exegetical schools had prejudices of their own (see, *e.g.*, on xliii. 28, lxiii. 3, 6), and we ought not to regard any of them as infallible. The Church has abstained in her wisdom from giving more than a negative

¹ See, *e.g.*, 1 Sam. xiii. 1, xiv. 21, 2 Sam. xv. 19, Jer. l. 5, Hos. i. 9, Ps. viii. 1, cvii. 3, Eccles. ii. 24. Alterations of the Hebrew text in accordance with one or more of the ancient versions (*e.g.* 2 Sam. xiii. 39, Jer. xix. 13, Job xxxiii. 17) are also not altogether uncommon in the Authorised Version.

² On the origin of the punctuation, see Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, v. 154.

rule of interpretation ; why should we submit to the yoke of the doctors of the Synagogue ? I would not, however, be in a hurry to forsake the reading of the points. Doubtless future critics may find much to amend, but the alterations of Dr. Klostermann¹ are rather beacons of warning than examples of critical tact.

It will surprise no student of the Septuagint that I have followed Gesenius, Ewald, and Hitzig in omitting, or bracketing, certain intrusive glosses (see iii. 1, vii. 17, 20, viii. 7, ix. 15, xxviii. 20, xxix. 10, xxx. 6, part of xxxv. 8, li. 11, lxiii. 11, lxiv. 3^b), analogous to those which disfigure the Alexandrine version. The only question can be whether a more advanced critical study of the text may not add to their number. For instance, the concluding verse of chap. ii., verses 10 and 11 of chap. iii., a word in xxx. 23, and a phrase in xxx. 26 seem very suspicious. The first and last of these are omitted in the Septuagint, which gives a certain external support to the view that they are interpolations ; the one, as it is in itself fine, has been retained in this edition, the latter has been expunged, because it spoils a fine poetical passage. I feel, however, that great caution is necessary, and only wish to make a practical protest against the infallibility of the text.

Without idolising the Septuagint (the Hebrew text of which contained many of the same corruptions as our own), its value as a text-critical help is great indeed. It is true, Professor de Lagarde would have critics postpone using it altogether until its text has been restored to the 'original form.'² There are two objections to this :—1, the valuable results which have been already attained by the critical use of the Septuagint (it is sufficient to refer to the labours of Thenius and especially of Wellhausen on the text of Samuel)—results which would have had to be foregone if Professor de Lagarde's wishes had been consulted ; and 2, the extreme difficulty of his own plan for a critical edition of the Septuagint, which in fact seems to relegate the desired end almost to the Greek Calends. Surely we cannot be justified in neglecting so important a witness to the Egyptian form of the pre-Massoretic text, provided that we remember, 1, that our best MSS. of the Septuagint (not excepting B) are very faulty, and 2, that the Hebrew MSS. which the Alexandrine translators employed were probably still faultier.

But is it not hopeless to correct the text of the Old Testament, when the critical authority both of the Hebrew and of

¹ In the article in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift* already referred to (1876, pp. 1-60).

² *Anmerkungen zur griech. Uebers. d. Proverbien*, pp. 2, 3.

the Greek is so lamentably scanty? Modifying a well-known German proverb, I would reply that we ought not to allow an impossible Better to be the enemy of the Good. A perfect text is unattainable, and perhaps in one sense undesirable; but a more perfect one than we now possess is within our reach. It would not be right, from a philological point of view, to exclude the Hebrew text from the operation of improved critical methods; and much more, from a theological point of view, to exhibit any certainly or all but certainly corrupt passage as the inspired 'Word of God.' The needs of the period of the Reformation were met by the Reformation scholars; those of a more scientific and historical age require the application of sounder critical principles. The time for indifference on the part of religious students has gone by. It may be the fact that the leaders of modern criticism, whether in the correction of the text or in still thornier fields, have been often devoid of interest in spiritual truths. But there is no law either of nature or of grace that it should be so. It is a pure loss to reverent readers of the Bible to be shut off from the invigorating influences of critical research. For the true spiritual meaning of the Scriptures can only be reached through the door of the letter; and the nearer we approach to a correct reading of the text, the more vivid will be our apprehension of the sacred truths which it conveys.

[Three recent dissertations are concerned with the textual criticism of the Book of Isaiah:—

Hermann L. Strack, 'Zur Textkritik des Jesaias' in *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1877, pp. 17-52. Valuable from its account of the St. Petersburg MSS.

G. L. Studer, 'Beiträge zur Textkritik des Jesaja,' in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1877, Heft 4; 1881, Heft 1. Confirms the view that an editor of Isaiah has to strike the mean between conservative immobility and the 'chartered libertinism' of hypothesis.

Paul de Lagarde, *Semitica*, Part I. (Göttingen, 1878). Pp. 1-32 contain critical notes, occasionally very striking, on chaps. i.-xvii. of Isaiah.

I ought also to mention Abraham Krochmal's collection of emendations of the text of the Old Testament, always acute, and sometimes hitting the mark, under the title *Haksaw wehamichtow, oder Schrift und Urschrift* (Lemberg, 1875). Among older books, Kocher's reply to Bishop Lowth in behalf of the Massoretic text, called *Vindiciæ S. Textus Hebraei Esaie Vatis* (Berne, 1736), is little known, but worth consulting.]

VIII. THE CRITICAL STUDY OF PARALLEL PASSAGES.

I.

THE exaggerated value sometimes attached to the argument from parallel passages must not drive us to the other extreme of treating them as non-existent or unimportant. This thought, among others, has suggested the present essay, one object of which is to qualify and supplement the discouraging remarks which the over-statements of some critics obliged me to offer (p. 234). It would indeed be an unfortunate result, were any of my student-readers to draw an inference from words of mine unfavourable to the study of parallelisms of expression—a study which is, in my own opinion, a wholesome and much-needed corrective of the various kinds of theoretical bias. The criticism of the Old Testament, which draws its material from so many sources, may yet derive some light from a discriminating selection of parallel passages; and so, still more manifestly, may its exegesis. The principle of explaining the Scriptures by themselves has, it is to be feared, fallen into some disrepute, for which the blunders of our popular 'Reference Bibles' supply an ample justification. And yet our forefathers, whose uncritical but devout Scripture-knowledge is piled up, stratum above stratum, in these editions, were doubtless right in their principle, however widely they may have erred in its application. A few pages will not be wasted on the enforcement of this doctrine, especially as a request made in my first preface fell but too probably on unheeding ears.

Self-abnegation is the mark of prophetic writers quite as much as of their editors (comp. p. 228). They experienced no *Sturm und Drang*, no 'storm and stress' of an unchastened individuality. They never attempted to set themselves on high, on the pedestal of original genius. Isaiah, *che sovra gli altri come aquila vola*, is as dependent on his less famous predecessors as a Marlowe or a Shakspeare. On at least two occasions (such at least is the most probable view of chap. ii. 2-4 and the main part of chaps. xv. 1-xvi. 12) he inserts passages from earlier prophets, whose entire works have not come down to us; and he is not without some striking affinities (some of which at least will be reminiscences) of contemporary prophets. Look again at his elaborate style, and the artistic distribution of his poetic material! His art is no doubt subordinate to his inspiration, but in no disparaging

sense ; and its comparatively high perfection attests a longer history of Hebrew poetry and prophecy, and a more numerous band of unrecorded prophetic writers, than we are accustomed to suppose. But it is enough on this head to refer to the Introduction to Ewald's great work on the prophets (now translated) ; I content myself here with grouping (and observe it is on this grouping that the value of 'references' largely depends) a few striking parallels between the prophet Isaiah and other writers—first of all, those who are acknowledged on all hands to be his predecessors or contemporaries ;¹ next, those respecting whose chronological relation to Isaiah more or less doubt has arisen ; and lastly, some of those who certainly belong to a later age. In conclusion, it will be only fair to set down some of the striking parallels between the acknowledged and the disputed portions of the Book of Isaiah, and also some of the parallel passages for the latter in other books of the Old Testament.

To the first of the three classes of writers mentioned belong Amos, Hosea, and Micah, the two former being older, the latter probably younger, than our prophet. It has been well observed that the characteristics of Amos and Hosea have found their synthesis in Isaiah.² It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be striking points of affinity between these three prophets—of an affinity, moreover, which extends beyond mere forms of expression to fundamental conceptions and beliefs. Take the following carefully selected instances : the student will be repaid for the trouble of examining them by a more critical and comprehensive knowledge of the prophetic Scriptures.

Isa. i. 11, 14	Am. v. 21, 22, Hos. vi. 6, Mic. vi. 6-8 (against formal worship).
„ iv. 2	„ ix. 13, Hos. ii. 21, 22 (fertility in the Messianic age).
„ v. 11, 12	„ vi. 5-7 (luxury of the princes).
„ v. 20	„ v. 7, vi. 12 (confusion of morals).
„ ix. 10, &c.	„ ix. 11, 12 (the Messianic empire).
„ i. 21	Hos. iv. 15 (spiritual adultery).
„ i. 23	„ ix. 15 ('law-makers, law-breakers').
„ i. 29	„ iv. 13 (idolatrous groves).
„ i. 2	Mic. i. 2 (prosopopœia of inanimate nature).
„ ii. 2-4	„ iv. 1-3.]
„ iii. 15	„ iii. 2, 3 (strong figure of oppression).
„ v. 8	„ ii. 2 (violent extension of landed estates).
„ vii. 14, } „ ix. 7 }	„ v. 3-5 (the Messiah and his birth).
„ xxx. 22	„ v. 13 (idols to be destroyed in the Messianic age).

¹ *I.e.* the predecessors or contemporaries of the author of the acknowledged prophecies. The disputed prophecies require, of course, to be considered separately.

² Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, p. 104.

Isa. xxxii. 13, 14 Mic. iii. 12 (destruction of Jerusalem).
 „ xxxviii. 17 „ vii. 19 (strong figure for the forgiveness of sin).

The second class of writings to be compared with Isaiah includes especially Job, Joel, Zech. ix.—xi., the Psalms, and the Pentateuch.¹ I venture to offer these as fair specimens of parallel passages :—

Isa. i. 8	Job xxvii. 18 (figure from a booth in a vineyard).
„ v. 24	„ xviii. 16 (root and branch consumed).
„ xix. 5	„ xiv. 11 (rivers dried up—a quotation).
„ xix. 13, 14	„ xii. 24, 25 (figurative description of general unwisdom).
„ xxxviii. 29 ²	„ xi. 6 (God's wisdom marvellous).
„ xxxiii. 11	„ xv. 35 (reap as you sow).
„ xxxviii. 12	„ iv. 21, vii. 6 (figures from the tent and the weaver's shuttle).

(See also the other parallels between the Song of Hezekiah and the Book of Job in vol. i. p. 228.)

Isa. ii. 4	Joel iii. 10 ('swords into ploughshares,' and the reverse).
„ iv. 2	„ iii. 18 (fertility in the Messianic age).
„ x. 23	} „ iv. 14 (יָרַח).
„ xxviii. 22	
„ xxxii. 15	„ ii. 22-29 (outpouring of the Spirit, &c.).
„ xi. 1-4	} Zech. ix. 9 (the Messianic King).
„ xxxii. 1	
„ xi. 11	} „ x. 10 (return of captives from Egypt and Assyria).
„ xxvii. 13	
„ vii. 14	Ps. xlvi. 7, 11 (God, or Jehovah, is with us).
„ viii. 8, 10	} „ xlvi. 3, 6 (the enemies compared to a flood).
„ viii. 7, 8	
„ xvii. 12	„ xlvi. 9 (the instruments of war broken).
„ ix. 5	„ xlvi. 10 (summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah).
„ xxxiii. 13	„ xlvi. 10 (summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah).
„ xxxiii. 18	„ xlvi. 10 (summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah).
„ xxxiii. 18	„ xlvi. 10 (summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah).
„ xxxiii. 21	„ xlvi. 10 (summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah).
„ xxxiii. 22	„ xlvi. 10 (summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah).
„ xxxiii. 22	„ xlvi. 10 (summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jehovah).
„ i. 2a	Deut. xxxii. 1 ('Hear, O heavens').
„ i. 2b	} „ xxxii. 6, 20 (faithless children)
„ xxx. 9	

¹ I might have added Judges, Joshua, and 2 Samuel (see notes on ix. 4, x. 26, xxviii. 21). Joel and Zech. ix.—xi. are included out of deference to the traditional opinion; for personally I have no doubt that Joel, and, in its present form, the whole of the latter part of Zechariah, belong to post-Exile times. The question of the date of the Book of Job is too intimately connected with that of the date of II. Isaiah for me to hazard an opinion upon it here.

² See critical note, p. 154 of this volume.

Isa. i. 3	Deut. xxxii. 6, 28, 29 ('Israel is without knowledge').
" i. 6	" xxviii. 35 (Israel's sickness).
" i. 7	" xxix. 22, Auth. Vers. 23 (סֹדֹמָה).
" i. 9, 10	" xxxii. 32 ('Sodom, Gomorrah').
" i. 17, 23	} Ex. xxii. 22, Deut. xxvii. 19 (the orphan and the widow).
" x. 2	
" i. 19	
" i. 24, iii. 1,	} Ex. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23 (הַאֲדֹנָי; also Mal. iii. 1).
x. 16, 23,	
xix. 4	
" iii. 1 <i>b</i>	} Lev. xxvi. 26 (the staff of bread).
(but see note)	
" iii. 9	Gen. xix. 5 ('their sin as Sodom').
" iv. 5	Ex. xiii. 21, Num. ix. 15, 16 ('a cloud by day,' &c.).
" v. 8	Deut. xix. 14 (violent extension of estates).
" v. 10	" xxviii. 39 (curse upon the vineyards).
" v. 23	" xvi. 19, Lev. xix. 15 (unjust judgment).
" v. 26	} " xxviii. 49 (the swift, unintelligible foe).
" xxxiii. 19	
" x. 26	
" xi. 15, 16	} Ex. xiv. 21, 22 (the passage of the Red Sea).
" xii. 2 <i>b</i>	
" xxx. 17	" xv. 2 (song of Moses quoted).
	Deut. xxxii. 30, Lev. xxvi. 8 ('one thousand at the rebuke of one').

The exegetical value of these parallels is too obvious to need exhibiting. Their critical significance, however, which is sometimes even greater, may not be at once apparent. First with regard to Job. I would not venture to assert that all the passages quoted involve reminiscences on the one side or the other; and yet in some cases this is too plain to be mistaken. Thus (*a*) between Isa. xix. 5 and Job xiv. 11 the most scrupulous critic must admit a direct relation of debtor and creditor, though which passage is the original is a question differently answered. And (*b*) the parallels referred to on Isa. xxxviii. 12, &c. are held by one of our leading commentators (*Hezekiah's authorship of the Song being assumed*) to prove the Solomonic (or, more strictly, the pre-Hezekianic) origin of the Book of Job. Secondly, with regard to the Pentateuch. The number of references to Pentateuchal narratives is smaller in the acknowledged than the disputed prophecies, and appears to me insufficient to justify even a conjecture as to Isaiah's acquaintance or non-acquaintance with that famous Elohist document, the date of which is so exciting a subject to modern critics. We cannot even be sure that Isaiah refers to any written narrative; his language may be perfectly explained from oral tradition. It is different, I think, with regard to the apparent allusions to Deuteronomy. The presumption from the number of such references in the first

chapter of Isaiah certainly is that the author or editor of that chapter had the book, or a part of the book, of Deuteronomy before him. But I must not allow myself to wander too far from the exegetical frontier (p. 224), and will only add a remark on the parallels between Isaiah and Psalms xlv. — xlviii. It has been conjectured by Hitzig (with whom I was formerly inclined to agree) that the latter are the lyric effusions of the prophet Isaiah on occasion of the successive overthrows of the Syrians, Philistines, and Assyrians.¹ It is, however, simpler, and therefore perhaps in this case safer to explain their Isaianic affinities from the influence of the prophet upon contemporary writers. I say 'contemporary writers' advisedly; for though, in deference to Dr. Delitzsch,² I have placed these psalms in the second rather than in the first class, I can entertain no doubt that they belong at any rate to the age of Isaiah and Hezekiah.

Class III. includes Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zech. i. — viii., xii. — xiv.,³ Ezekiel, and above all, Jeremiah, upon whom the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah exercised a most powerful influence. Compare

Isa. xxviii. 4	Nahum iii. 12 (simile of the early fig).
" xi. 9	Hab. ii. 14 ('the earth full of the glory of Jehovah').
" xxxiii. 1	" ii. 8 (retribution to the tyrant).
" xviii. 1, 7	Zeph. iii. 10 (tribute from beyond Ethiopia).
" ii. 3, iv. 1	Zech. viii. 21–23 (spiritual honour of Jerusalem and the Jews).
" xix. 24	" viii. 13 (Israel a source of blessing).
" vi. 13	" xiii. 9 (repeated purifications).
" i. 3	Jer. viii. 7 (irrational creatures wiser than Israel).
" i. 11, 12	" vi. 20, vii. 21 (formal worship unacceptable).
" v. 1–7	" ii. 21 (Israel compared to a vine).
" vi.	" i. (inaugurating vision).
" vi. 9, 10	" v. 21 (judicial blindness).
" xv. xvi.	" xviii. (against Moab).
" xxxii. 1	} xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15 (the righteous King).
" xi. 1	
" xxxiii. 19	" v. 15 (the unintelligible foe).
" x. 20–22	Ezek. vi. 8, xii. 16 (the remnant of Israel).
" xv. 2	" vii. 18 ('on all their heads baldness').
" xxxvi. 6	" xxix. 6, 7 (Egypt a 'cracked reed').

I now turn to the parallels between the acknowledged and the disputed prophecies of Isaiah, less with the view of furnishing material for the higher criticism than of helping the reader to form a fuller idea of the literary and prophetic

¹ Hitzig, *Die Psalmen* (Leipz. 1863), vol. i. p. xxiii.; *I.C.A.*, Introduction, p. xv.

² This critic, followed by Canon Cook in the *Speaker's Commentary*, places these psalms in the reign of Jehoshaphat (comp. 2 Chron. xx.).

³ Zech. ix. — xi. ought, however, in my opinion, to be included; see above, p. 243, note 1.

physiognomy of the book. For, to be quite candid, I do not believe that the existence of such numerous links between the two portions of Isaiah is of much critical moment. There are points of contact, as striking, if not as abundant, between Old Testament books which no sober critic will ascribe to the same author. Dr. Moody Stuart's remark, questionable even in reference to ordinary literature, is especially so in its application to inspired writers:—'An assiduous author might become the double of another by a skilful repetition of his ideas. But he cannot by any art fashion himself into his second half; he cannot engraft his own conceptions into the other's mind by completing his deepest thoughts, and so fit them in, and fill all up, as if only one thinker had conceived the whole.'¹ On the contrary, it is a characteristic of the prophetic literature that, in the midst of superficial divergences, there is a fundamental affinity between its various elements. Ascribe it, as you please, to the overruling divine Spirit, or to the literary activity of the Soferim (see p. 228), or to both working in harmony, but the fact cannot be denied. We may now proceed to compare—

i. 11, 13	with lxvi. 3 (against formal worship).
i. 15	„ lix. 2, 3 (prayers unanswered through sin).
i. 21	„ lvii. 3-9 (spiritual adultery).
i. 26	„ lxi. 3 ('City of righteousness,' 'Oaks of righteousness').
i. 27, iv. 2, 3, vi. 13, x. 20, 22, xxxvii. 31, 32	} „ xlvi. 10, lix. 20, lxx. 8, 9 (doctrine of the 'remnant').
i. 29	
i. 30	„ lxxiv. 6 (figure of the fading leaf).
ii. 2, 3	„ lxxv. 7, lxx. 12-14 (pilgrimages to the temple).
ii. 11, 17, v. 15	„ xl. 4 (high things abased).
iii. 26	„ li. 17, lii. 1, 2, lxx. 1 (Zion sitting on the ground).
v. 7	„ lxx. 21, lxxi. 3 (Israel, Jehovah's planting).
v. 13, vi. 12, xi. 11, xxii. 18, xxxix. 5-7 (?)	} „ xl.-lxxvi. (captivity, though the parallel is incomplete).
vi. 1	
vi. 9, 10, xxix. 18	„ xlii. 7, 18-20, xliii. 8, xliv. 18, lxiii. 17 (judicial blindness).
vi. 11	„ lxxiv. 10, 11 (cities laid waste).
ix. 8	„ xlii. 9, lv. 11 (self-fulfilling power of prophecy).
xi. 1	„ liii. 2 (the puny Plant).
xi. 2	„ lxxi. 1 (the Spirit rests upon the divine Agent).
xi. 6-9, xxx. 26	„ lxxv. 17-25, lxxvi. 22 (future glorification of nature).
xxviii. 5	„ lxxii. 3 (Jehovah a 'crown' to His people; His people a 'crown' to Him).
xxviii. 1, 7, 8	„ lxxi. 11, 12 (carousing habits of the rulers).
xxix. 16	„ xl. 9, lxxiv. 8 (the clay and the potter).
xxxii. 15	„ xliv. 3, 11 (outpouring of the Spirit).

¹ *The Old Isaiah* (Edinb. 1880), p. 41.

Better proofs than these can hardly be required of the intimate connection between I. and II. Isaiah. The writer of the latter prophecies evidently knows the former, as our native idiom finely has it, 'by heart.' Some readers, however, may perhaps be impressed more by exact verbal correspondences, such as the following :—

- קדוש ישראל 'Israel's Holy One,' fourteen times in the acknowledged prophecies (including x. 17), and fourteen times in the disputed ones (including xlix. 7). Comp. also 'your Holy One,' xliii. 15. Rare outside Isaiah.
- ר' פי 'the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken,' i. 2, 20; also xl. 5, lviii. 14. Peculiar to Isaiah (but Mic. iv. 4 has 'פי צבאות ר').
- יאמר 'saith Jehovah' (the imperfect tense), i. 11, 18, xxxiii. 10; also xli. 21, lxvi. 9 (comp. xl. 1, 25). Peculiar to the Book of Isaiah, Ps. xii. 6 being an echo of Isa. xxxiii. 10.
- אביר 'hero,' as a title of Jehovah in relation to his people, i. 24 (see note); also xlix. 26, lx. 16. Only parallels, Gen. xlix. 24, Ps. cxxxii. 2, 5.
- רם ונשא 'high and exalted,' ii. 13, vi. 1; also lvii. 15 (comp. lii. 13, lvii. 7). Peculiar to Isaiah.
- מים יבלי 'streams of water' or 'water courses,' xxx. 25; also xlv. 4. Peculiar to Isaiah.
- My mountains,' xiv. 25; also xlix. 11, lxxv. 9. So Ezek. xxxviii. 21 (omitted in Fürst's Concordance), and Zech. xiv. 5.

It would be easy to make out a longer list, but the gain would, in my opinion, be problematical. I am not a Professor of Philosophy, and cannot think that a valuable 'cumulative argument' is produced for the unity of Isaiah by counting up words like אבה and אביון and איות and אזור, which occur (how could they help occurring?) in both parts of the book; and it is with real sorrow that I notice a 'tutor in Hebrew' priding himself on the discovery that 'ישע, and its participle or noun, occurs fourteen times in the later portion, and seven times in the earlier.'¹ Perhaps, however, the following data deserve to be mentioned, if it be only to warn the student against overrating the force of the previous instances :—

- אור 'glow' or 'glowing fire,' xxxi. 19; also xxiv. 15 (?), xlv. 16, xlvii. 14, l. 11. Elsewhere only Ezek. v. 2.
- איים 'countries' (specially used of the maritime countries of the West), xi. 11; also xxiv. 15 (?), xl. 15, xli. 1, and ten other passages. (But note the infrequency in I. Isaiah, and see further below.)
- ברא 'to create,' iv. 5; also xl. 26, xli. 20, xliii. 7, and thirteen other passages. (But the infrequency of this word in the first part contrasts remarkably with its frequency in the second. It is not specially Isaianic, where as the emphasison the divine creatorship is peculiarly deutero-Isaianic. See *Last Words* on iv. 5.)
- נוע 'the stock of a tree,' xi. 1; also xl. 24. Elsewhere only Job xiv. 8.
- נשת 'to dry up,' xix. 5 (Nifal); also xli. 17 (Kal). Elsewhere only Jer. xviii. 14 (Nifal; transposing letters), li. 30 (Kal).

¹ Urwick, *The Servant of Jehovah*, p. 37.

צאצאים 'offspring,' xxii. 24 ; also xxxiv. 1, xlii. 5, xliv. 3, xlviii. 19, lxi. 9, lxxv. 23. Elsewhere only four times in Job.
 תהו 'chaos,' or 'a thing of nought': a characteristic word derived from the narrative of the cosmogony: xxix. 21, also xxiv. 10, xxxiv. 11, xl. 17, 23, and six other passages. The same remark applies as in the case of ברא.
 תעלולים 'vexatious petulance,' iii. 4 ; also lxvi. 4. Peculiar to this book. (But the related verbal stem is not uncommon.)

To these we may add two phrases: (a) נדחי ישראל 'the outcasts of Israel,' xi. 12, lvi. 8 ; elsewhere only Ps. cxlvii. 2. But the value of this correspondence will be diminished by comparing xvi. 3, 4, xxvii. 13, Jer. xl. 12, xl. 5, Deut. xxx. 4 ; (b) מי ישיבנה 'who can turn it back' (said of God's work), xiv. 27 ; also xliii. 13 (see note), and three times in Job (with a different suffix). And, lastly, a linguistic fact of much more importance, viz. the habit of repeating a leading word in successive clauses, which is characteristic of both portions of the Book of Isaiah. See i. 7, iv. 3, vi. 11, xiv. 25, xv. 8, xxx. 20, xxxvii. 33, 34 ; and also xiii. 10, xxxiv. 9, xl. 19, xlii. 15, 19, xlviii. 21, l. 4, li. 13, liii. 6, 7, liv. 4, 13, lviii. 2, lix. 8.¹ In grammatical parlance, it is the figure *ἐπαναφορά*, another variety of which abounds in the so-called Step-psalms (as the very name, perhaps, is intended to indicate) and in the Song of Deborah.

It still remains to furnish references to parallel passages for the disputed portions of Isaiah, corresponding to those which have been already given for the undisputed ones. Some of these, of course, will be originals, some will involve reminiscences, while a few may perhaps arise from undesigned coincidences. We must also allow for the bare possibility that, in the case of two parallel passages, neither one may be original, but both dependent on some lost work. It is specially important to bear this in mind in an enquiry peculiarly liable to be impeded by prejudice, that prejudice I mean which is unavoidably caused by the combination of the acknowledged and the disputed prophecies in one volume. Let me also remind the reader of the grounds for caution which I have mentioned above, derived from the phenomena of non-Biblical literatures (p. 234). Compare, then—

Isa. xiii. 19	with Deut. xxix. 23, Heb. 22 (the 'overthrow' of Sodom and Gomorrah) ; but Am. iv. 11 is a closer parallel).
„ xxiv. 18 c	„ Gen. vii. 11 ('windows opened' at the Deluge).
„ xl. 2	„ Lev. xxvi. 41, 43, comp. 34 ('guilt paid off').
„ xli. 4, &c. } (see note)	„ Deut. xxxii. 39 ('I am He').
„ xliii. 13	„ „ „ ('none that rescueth out of my hand').

¹ The examples are taken from Delitzsch, who remarks that the list is not offered as complete.

Isa. xli. 8, 9	}	with Gen. xi. 31-xii. 4 (call of Abraham and Israel).
" li. 2		
" xliii. 16, 17	}	Ex. xiv. 21-31 (passage of the Red Sea).
" li. 9, 10		
" lxiii. 11-13		
" xlii. 27	"	Gen. xxv. 29-34, xxvii. (Jacob's sins).
" xlv. 2	"	Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 6 (Jeshurun).
" lxviii. 19	"	Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 12 (Israel as the sand).
" xlvi. 21	"	Ex. xvii. 5-7, Num. xx. 7-13 (water from the rock).
" l. 1 (but see note)	}	Ex. xxi. 7, Deut. xxiv. 1 (law of divorce).
" li. 3		
" lii. 4	"	Gen. ii. 8 (Eden). " xlvii. 4; comp. xii. 10 (Israel's guest-right in Egypt).
" lii. 12	"	Ex. xii. 11, 51, xiii. 21, 22 ('in trembling haste'; Jehovah in the van and in the rear).
" liv. 9 (see note)	}	Gen. viii. 21, ix. 11 (the Deluge, and Jehovah's oath).
" lviii. 14		
" lix. 10	"	Deut. xxxii. 13 ('riding over the heights of the land'). " xxviii. 29 ('groping like the blind').
" lxiii. 9	"	Ex. ii. 24, iii. 7, xxiii. 20-23 (Jehovah's sympathy with Israel, and the guidance of His Angel).
" lxiii. 11	"	Deut. xxxii. 7 ('remembering the days of old').
" lxiii. 14	"	Ex. xxxiii. 14, Deut. iii. 20, xii. 9 ('rest' in Canaan).
" lxx. 22	"	Deut. xxviii. 30 (a promise modelled on a threat).
" lxx. 25	"	Gen. iii. 14 (dust, the serpent's food).

Notice also the mention of Sarah (unique outside the Pentateuch) in li. 2, of Noah in liv. 9 (comp. Ezek. xiv. 14, 20), and of the 'shepherds' of Israel (*i.e.* Moses, Aaron, and perhaps Miriam) in lxiii. 11. These allusions to the Pentateuch in the disputed prophecies are a fact of some critical moment; not so much on account of their number (for such references are not wanting in I. Isaiah) as of their phraseological exactness and of their referring almost, if not quite, exclusively¹ either to Deuteronomy or to the portions of the first four books of the Pentateuch commonly regarded (by Delitzsch no less than by Knobel) as Jehovistic. I do not wish to prejudge the still open questions relative to the higher criticism, but am bound to give some indications of the critical bearings of textual and exegetical data. A study which has such a varied outlook on history as well as theology ought not surely to be put aside as dull and unprofitable.

The next group of parallels which invites us connects the second part of Isaiah with Job. There are parallelisms, as we have seen, between the first as well as the second part and the Book of Job; but comparatively few. The illustrative value of those which I have now to mention is so great that

¹ The only exceptions which occur to me are the allusions in xl. 2 to Lev. xxvi. 41, 43 (a passage of a section of Leviticus—xvii.—xxvi.—which presents striking resemblances to the Book of Ezekiel), and in liv. 9 to Gen. ix. 11 (Elohistic), which is, however, not certain (see my note).

a separate essay will be required to unfold their significance. Compare

Isa. xxvii. 1	}	with Job xxvi. 12, 13 (mythic expressions).
" li. 9, 10		
" xl. 2	}	" " vii. 11 (a 'warfare' of trouble).
" xl. 7		
" xlii. 5	}	" " xii. 2 ('the people' = mankind).
" xl. 14		
" xl. 23, 24	}	" " xii. 17-21 (God's omnipotence shown in revolutions).
" xliv. 25		
" xl. 27	}	" " iii. 23, xix. 7, 8, xxvii. 2 (complaints against Providence).
" xlix. 14		
" xli. 14	}	" " xxv. 6 (man likened to a worm).
" xliv. 24		
" xlv. 9	}	" " ix. 8. (God 'alone stretched forth the heavens').
" l. 6		
" l. 9	}	" " xl. 2 (murmuring rebuked).
" lii. 14, 15		
" liii. 3	}	" " xii. 4, 5, xvi. 10, xix. 18, 19, xxx. 10 (humiliation and scorn, the lot of the righteous).
" liii. 9 (see note)		
" lix. 4	}	" " xiii. 28 (human frailty; a close verbal parallel).
" lxiii. 10		
" lxiv. 5	}	" " ii. 12, Ps. xxii. 6 a (the unrecognisable form of the righteous sufferer).
	}	" " xix. 14 (desertion of friends; verbal parallelism).
	}	" " xvi. 17, vi. 29, 30, xxvii. 4 ('although he had done no wrong,' &c.).
	}	" " xv. 35 (pernicious scheming; a proverbial expression).
	}	" " xxx. 21 (God 'turning himself' into an enemy).
	}	" " xiv. 4 (none without sin :—in Job <i>l.c.</i> render, 'Oh for a clean one among the unclean !').

Next come the parallelisms of the Psalms, on which I need not delay long. They chiefly occur in the later psalms, the authors of which may be truly said (as I have remarked, on lii. 9, of the author of Ps. xcvi.) to have known II. Isaiah 'by heart.' Canon Elliott has given a list of the most striking of these passages, and it will be noticed as a singular fact that only one of them relates to the acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah.¹ This of course does not prove that the latter part of Isaiah was a work of recent composition—we know how long it was after Shakspere's death before his works received the honour of quotation. It does, however, show that these later prophecies exercised a special attraction upon post-Exile writers, which is a fact of no small significance.—The most interesting parallels in the earlier psalms are undoubtedly those in Ps. xxii., to which I have referred already (p. 203, note³). See also those relative to Jehovah's 'highway in the desert' (note on xl. 3), His care of 'grey-headed' Israel (on

¹ *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iv. pp. 506-512 ('Excursus on Psalms xci.-c.'). The solitary parallel alluded to is that between Ps. xcix. 3, 5, 9 and Isa. vi. 3, by no means one of the closest. Two parallels are given for Isa. xii., but the Isaianic authorship of this chapter is disputed on plausible grounds by Ewald and Lagarde, though acknowledged by most critics.

xlvi. 4), 'Rahab' (on li. 9), 'the loving-kindnesses of David' (on lv. 3), and 'the holy Spirit' (on lxiii. 10).

A large and important group follows. Compare

Isa. xiii. 19-22	}	with Jer. l. 39, 40	(Babylon 'overturned' like Sodom ;
xxxiv. 14			desolate, and haunted).
xxxiv. 6, 7	}	" "	xlvi. 10, l. 27, li. 40 (Jehovah's 'sacrifice,' &c.).
xl. 5, 6			" "
and parallels	" "	x. 12 (description of creation).	
xl. 12, 22			}
and parallels	" "	x. 3-11 (Jehovah contrasted with the idol-gods, and an ironical description of the origin of the latter).	
xl. 13, 14			}
xl. 18-20	}	" "	
and parallels			}
xlvi. 5	}	" "	
xlvi. 12			}
xlvi. 9	}	" "	
xlvi. 1			}
xlvi. 1	}	" "	
xlvi. 6			}
xlvi. 20	}	" "	
lii. 11			}
xlvi. 1	}	" "	
li. 15			}
li. 15	}	" "	
lv. 3 (see note)			}
lxi. 8	}	" "	
lvi. 9			}
lvii. 20	}	" "	
lviii. 11			}
lxv. 7	}	" "	
lxv. 7			}
lxvi. 16	}	" "	
lxvi. 16			}

The number and closeness of these parallels (as compared with those connected with I. Isaiah) is a phenomenon which prepares us for the still greater abundance of parallel passages in the post-Exile psalms. The fact is not without its bearing on the 'higher criticism.'¹ Some scholars have even offered the hypothesis that, where the parallelism is the strongest (viz. in Jer. x., l., li.), the text of Jeremiah has been interpolated by the same exiled prophet who, as they suppose, was the author

¹ On this subject see, besides the critical and exegetical works of Movers, Hitzig, Graf, &c., Küper's *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex* (Berl. 1837), or better, the excursus in pp. 274-291 of his *Das Prophetenthum des Alten Bundes* (Leipzig, 1870), and Caspari's 'Jesaianische Studien' in the *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1843, pp. 1-73. Both these works discuss the relation of the disputed prophecies of Isaiah to the other prophecies between Isaiah and the Exile besides those of Jeremiah.

of Isa. xl.-lxvi. This view (supported by the eminent names of Movers and Hitzig) is too peremptorily rejected by Dean Payne Smith,¹ who has perhaps not given much thought to the complication of such critical questions. Each field of philological inquiry calls peculiar faculties into exercise, and our distinguished Syriac lexicographer would be the last person willingly to put a stigma through his dogmatism on the inquiries of some as conscientious, and even as reverent, as himself. In the spirit of confraternity, I venture to protest against the irritating and inaccurate statements which so repeatedly occur in the Dean's contribution to the *Speaker's Commentary*, whenever he has occasion to deal incidentally with questions of date and authorship. But I am not called upon to arbitrate between the contending parties. Suffice it to have indicated anew the variety of interest attaching to the comparative study of the Hebrew prophets.

The most important parallels to Ezekiel are suggested by chaps. lvii.-lix. of Isaiah. These chapters, it will be remembered, stand out from the rest of the 'Book of the Servant' by their striking peculiarities of form and content. Indeed, with regard to chaps. lviii.-lix., the impression formed by Ewald² on stylistic grounds was so strong that he ascribed them to a younger contemporary of Ezekiel. A general impression cannot of course be analysed; but the following passages will at least establish the real affinity of these chapters with Ezekiel:—

Isa. lvi. 1-8	comp. Ezek. xx. 11-21	(see above, p. 64).
„ lvi. 9	„ „ xxxiv. 8, xxxix. 4.	
„ lvii. 7, 9	„ „ xxiii. 40, 41.	
„ lviii. 7	„ „ xviii. 7, 16	(works pleasing to God),
„ lix. 11	„ „ vii. 16	(‘mourning like doves’).

As a rule the tone of Ezekiel is too different from that of II. Isaiah to admit of much parallelism either of thought or of expression; he is rather a legal than an 'evangelical prophet.' Yet a few parallels may be traced. The description of Sheól in Isa. xiv. 9, &c., closely resembles the dirge upon Egypt in Ezek. xxxii. 18-32. Isa. xxvi. 19 may be illustrated from Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10, Isa. li. 2 from Ezek. xxxiii. 24, and Isa. li. 17 from Ezek. xxiii. 32-34.

The so-called Minor Prophets follow. Compare—

Isa. xxvi. 19	}	Hos. vi. 2 (Israel's resurrection).
(see note)		
„ xliii. 11		
„ Ivii. 3	„	i. 2, ii. 4 (spiritual adultery).

¹ *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. v. pp. 387, 554.

² *The Prophets of the Old Testament*, Eng. Transl., vol. iv. p. 253.

Isa. lviii. 1	Hos. viii. 1, Mic. iii. 8 (a mission to rebuke).
„ xiii. 19 <i>b</i>	Am. iv. 11 (see my <i>Jeremiah</i> , introd. to chap. I.).
„ xxvi. 21	Mic. i. 3 (a strong anthropomorphism).
„ xxiv. 23	„ iv. 7 (Jehovah 'become king' in mount Zion).
„ xli. 15	„ iv. 13 (Israel's threshing-time announced).
„ lvii. 1, 2	„ vii. 1, 2 (the pious have become extinct).
„ xiii. 6, 9	Joel i. 15 (a striking assonance quoted).
„ xliv. 3	„ ii. 28 (the outpouring of the Spirit).
„ xlix. 23	„ ii. 27 ('knowing Jehovah,' &c.).
„ lii. 1	„ iii. 17 (Jerusalem free from foreigners).
„ xxiv. 1	Nah. ii. 11, A. V. 10 (assonances).
„ li. 19	„ iii. 7 ('who condoleteth with thee?').
„ li. 20	„ iii. 10 (a verbal parallelism).
„ lii. 1, 7	„ ii. 1, A. V. i. 15 ('the feet upon the mountains,' &c.).
„ xxxiv. 16	} Zeph. ii. 14 (the desolate city).
„ xiii. 21	
„ xxxiv. 11	
„ xlvi. 8, 10	„ ii. 15 ('I and none beside').

The critical importance of some of these parallels (viz. those in Joel, Nahum, and Zephaniah) has no doubt been exaggerated; but no thoughtful person will disregard them. They show how instinctively the prophets formed as it were a canon of prophetic Scriptures for themselves, and also how free they were from the morbid craving for originality. But they have not the interest of the parallelisms in some of the former groups.¹

2.

Enough, I hope, has been said to show the value of a careful examination of parallel passages, which is indeed a great step towards the comparative study of the Old Testament. Here I might lay down the pen, were it not for certain peculiar phenomena of the Book of Isaiah, which the student is in some danger of overlooking. That Isaiah, taken as a whole, has divergences as well as affinities relatively to other books, none will be tempted to deny; but it is not everyone who has a clear and single eye for discerning linguistic differences within the Book of Isaiah itself. The prejudice of the unity of authorship is of such a natural growth that I seem bound in fairness to supplement my list of parallelisms between I. and II. Isaiah by a corresponding conspectus of the principal phrases and expressions peculiar, at any rate, to the latter prophecies. To be absolutely complete, it would no doubt be necessary to go further, and collect the words and formulæ found in the acknowledged, but absent or rare

¹ Mr. W. H. Cobb thinks he has proved the single authorship of Isaiah by showing from the Concordance that the vocabulary of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. (taken as a whole) does not agree with that of the later prophets, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi ('Two Isaiahs or One,' *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1881, p. 230, &c.). But no one has ever identified 'the Great Unnamed' with any of these prophets.

in the disputed prophecies ; in fact, nothing short of a thorough analysis of the two parts of the book would enable the reader to estimate the state of the evidence with mathematical precision. Such, however, is not my object. I would rather allure the student to work for himself with his Hebrew Bible and his Concordance on the lines which I have marked out ; and should indeed be somewhat afraid of weakening the force of the more striking portions of the evidence by combining them with those of less significance. Now, the most essential of the linguistic peculiarities within the Book of Isaiah itself are those which meet us in the disputed prophecies. The natural tendency is to accommodate II. Isaiah to I. Isaiah, volatilising the differences between them, rather than *vice versâ* ; so that if, in pursuance of my object, a selection has to be made, it will not appear strange if I devote the remainder of this Essay to the peculiar words, phrases, and forms of the disputed portion of the Book of Isaiah.

It has been said by Dr. Franz Delitzsch 'that though the disputed prophecies contain some things which cannot be paralleled from the others, that which is characteristically Isaianic predominates.'¹ Now, I admit that it requires great nicety of judgment to determine such a point ; but I must confess that, after a careful revision of the data, I have come to an opposite conclusion. Not that I suppose this conclusion to carry with it the non-Isaianic origin of the latter prophecies. If on general grounds it is probable that Isaiah in his old age entered upon a new field of prophetic discourse, it will appear natural 'to suppose that new forms of expression should have met the promptings of his intellect. The occurrence of numerous peculiar phrases and expressions in II. Isaiah will only become a matter of primary importance, should they warrant the inference that the author belonged to a different linguistic stage from the historical Isaiah. Two writers of the same period may conceivably differ very widely in the character of their diction ; but it can hardly be admitted that a writer, conspicuous for the purity of his style in one prophetic book, should have sunk to a lower level in another, while soaring higher than ever in thought and imagination. My own opinion is that the peculiar expressions of the latter prophecies are, on the whole, not such as to necessitate a different linguistic stage from the historical Isaiah ; and that consequently the decision of the critical question will mainly depend on other than phraseological considerations. Whatever may be said of the vocabulary

¹ *Der Prophet Jesaia*, 3te Ausg., p. xxxi.

of II. Isaiah, the general effect of the style, and still more the character of the ideas, strike most readers as widely different in the two parts of the Book of Isaiah. But more of this elsewhere.

I. Among the most characteristic expressions of the latter prophecies are—

(1) Those descriptive of the attributes of Jehovah, and emphasising especially His uniqueness, eternity, creatorship, and predictive power:—

(a) 'I am Jehovah, and there is none else (or, beside),' xlv. 5, 6, 18, 22, xlvi. 9.

(b) 'The First and the Last,' xli. 4, xlv. 6, xlvi. 12.

(c) 'To what will ye liken me?' xl. 18, 25, xlvi. 5.

(d) 'The creator of the heavens' (xlii. 5, xlv. 18), 'the maker of everything' (xlv. 24); comp. xl. 22 (*note*), xlv. 12.

(e) 'Who announced (this) from the beginning,' and parallel expressions. See xli. 26, xliii. 9, xlv. 7, xlv. 21, xlvi. 14.

(f) 'The arm of Jehovah,' for the self-revealing aspect of the Deity, xl. 10, and six other passages (see on xl. 10).

(g) The use of 'Holy One' (*Qādōsh*) as a proper name, xl. 25, lvii. 15, for which no doubt a point of contact may be found in the characteristically Isaianic 'Israel's Holy One,' comp. also 'God, the Holy One' (*haqqādōsh*, with the article), v. 16, but which may by some be regarded as a later development (it is only found elsewhere in a prophecy of the Babylonian period—Hab. ii. 3, and in writings *possibly* belonging to the age of the Captivity—Job vi. 10, Ps. xxii. 4).

(2) Equally characteristic is the ironical language of II. Isaiah with regard to idolatry—see xl. 19, 20, xli. 7, xlv. 9–17, xlvi. 6, and note the parallels referred to in my note on the first-mentioned passage. In the acknowledged prophecies idolatry does not receive a large share of the prophet's attention, though contemptuous expressions, side-thrusts as it were, are not wanting (ii. 20, xxxi. 7).

(3) So, too, is the abundant use of personification. Zion, Jerusalem, Israel, constantly appear in the character of persons. See on xl. 9, and comp. essay on 'The Servant of Jehovah.'

II. Passing to the vocabulary, let me mention (1) peculiar words, and (2) peculiar significations, first reminding the student that in order to estimate the importance of any single instance, he will have to consider whether the word or the signification is strictly peculiar to II. Isaiah,¹ or whether it

¹ Under the name 'II. Isaiah' I include *all* the disputed prophecies—not merely chaps. xI.–lxvi.

occurs elsewhere (though not in I. Isaiah), and if so, where (the comparative study of the vocabularies of Job and II. Isaiah would be a real critical and exegetical service). It should also be borne in mind that lists similar to those which follow might be made out for I. Isaiah. I have mostly chosen words which occur but once in chaps. xl.-lxvi.¹

אציל	xli. 9	מטמנים	xlvi. 3
ארכה	lviii. 8	מכאב	(plural) liii. 3, 4
איטמנים	lix. 10	מלה	(Nifal) li. 6
נדופות	li. 7	מסתר	liii. 3
נאל	'to be impure' (Nif. and Hif.) lix. 3, lxiii. 3	מעוֹת	} lxviii. 19
נאולים	lxiii. 4	= מעים	
נור	'to stir up (strife),' liv. 15	מרודים	lviii. 7 (?)
נשיט	(Piel) lix. 10	משחת	lii. 14
קק	xl. 22	משיח	xlvi. 1
קראון	lxvi. 24	נבח	lvi. 10
הזה	lvi. 10	ננהה	(plural) lix. 9
המסים	lxiv. 1	נדה	lxvi. 5
הריסות	xliv. 19	נואיש	lvii. 10
זכול	lxiii. 15	נוה	(Hifil) lii. 15 (?); (Kal) lxiii. 3
זוב	xlviii. 21	נצח	lxiii. 3, 6
זול	xlvi. 6	סנר	xliv. 15, 17, 19; xlvi. 6
זיז	lxvi. 11	סנן	xli. 25
זרה	lx. 3	סכל	xliv. 25
חברה	liii. 3	סכן	(Pual) xl. 20
חדל	liii. 3	ערים	lxiv. 5
תונ	xl. 22	עדינה	xlvii. 8
חטם	xlviii. 9	עות	l. 4
חשכים	l. 10	עננה	xlvii. 1
טפח	xlviii. 13	עסים	xliv. 26
ימר	(Hithp.) lxi. 6	ערף	(verb) lxvi. 3
יעט	lxi. 10	פורה	lxiii. 3
ישימון	xliv. 19, 20	פעה	xliv. 14
כהה	(verb and noun) xlii. 3, 4, lxi. 3	פצה	(always with רָנָה or רָנָן) xiv. 7; xliv. 23; xlix. 13; lii. 9; liv. 1; lv. 12
כהן	(Piel) lxi. 10	פקחוקח	lxi. 1
כנה	(Piel) xliv. 5; xlvi. 4	פרק	lxv. 4
קעל	lxiii. 7 (repeated, lix. 18)	צב	lxvi. 20
כפלים	xl. 2	צד	lx. 4; lxvi. 12
כריתות	l. 1	צוח	xliv. 11
ברכרה	lxvi. 20	צוחה	xxiv. 11
כשפים	xlvi. 9, 12	צולה	xliv. 27
מורג	xli. 15		
מותים	liii. 9		

¹ The list, which is not complete, is based upon the invaluable *Zusammenstellung* at the end of Naegelsbach's *Jesaja*.

צום	lviii. 3, 4	עֵינָהָר	xlvi. 11
צעה	li. 14 ; lxiii. 1	שְׁלִישׁ	xl. 12
קבעת	li. 17, 22	שִׁצָּף	liv. 8
רדר	xl. 1	תְּבוּנָה	xl. 14 (plur.), 28 ; xliv. 19 (sing.)
רכס	(plural) xl. 4	הִיזְמָה	xl. 20
רקע	(Piel <i>denominat.</i>) xl. 19		

To these may be added the following peculiar forms :—

- (a) לָמוּ (for לוֹ) xliv. 15, liii. 8. (If, however, my view is correct, there is an analogy for this in viii. 15, on which see crit. note, p. 141.)
- (b) אֹתִי for אֲתִי liv. 15
- (c) אֹתָם for אֲתָם lix. 21
- } No doubt Aramaisms. The same usage is found in 1 and 2 Kings, Jeremiah and Ezeziel. It also occurs, however, in Josh. xiv. 12 (perhaps Gen. xxxiv. 2), where, as here, it may possibly be due to a later editor.
- (d) אֲנִיאֲלִתִּי for אֲנִיאֲלִתִּי lxiii. 3. An Aramaism.
- (e) קְנוֹאִין lii. 5. Hithpoal (with ת assimilated).
- (f) הִתְּלִי liii. 10. Hif. from חִלָּה (Aramaizing), or from חִלָּא, another form of חִלָּה (2 Chron. xvi. 12), with the final א omitted before the initial א of the next word : for parallel cases, see 2 Kings xiii. 6, Jer. xxxii. 35. So Olshausen, *Lehrbuch*, § 255 f., followed by Klostermann and Delitzsch (ed. 3).
- (g) נִנְאָלוּ lix. 3. The form reminds one of the Rabbinic Nithpael ; see, however, crit. note above, p. 159.

2. Words used with a peculiar shade of meaning. (Not a complete list.)

- (a) אַחֲרֵי 'future time' ; xli. 23, xlii. 23.
- (b) אֵימִים 'maritime lands of the west' ; xlii. 15 (see note), and other passages.
- (c) בָּחַר 'to test' for בָּחַן, as in Aramaic ; xlvi. 10.
- (d) הִגִּיד 'to declare' = 'to prophesy' ; xliii. 12, xliv. 8, xlvi. 3.
- (e) הָעָם 'the people' = 'mankind' ; xl. 7, xlii. 5, comp. xliv. 7.
- (f) הִרְנִיעַ 'to fix' or 'found' ; li. 4.
- (g) חִפְּץ 'business,' lviii. 3, 13 (as in Ecclesiastes).
- (h) יָתֵר 'abundance,' used adverbially for 'exceedingly,' lvi. 12.
- (i) מְלִיץ 'interpreter' = 'prophet,' xliii. 27.
- (k) מִסְכֵּן 'impoverished,' xl. 20.
- (l) מִשְׁפָּט 'ordinance' or 'law,' used technically for (the true) religion in its practical aspect ; xlii. 1, 3, 4, li. 4.
- (m) צָדִיק 'true' ; xli. 26, comp. lix. 4.
- (n) צִדְקָה 'righteousness' = 'success' (God's justification of His people before the world) ; xl. 8, 24, xlvi. 13, li. 5, 6, 8, lvi. 1, lix. 17, lxi. 10, 11, lxii. 1.
- (o) קָרָא 'to call' = 'to prophesy' ; xl. 2, xliv. 7, lviii. 1, comp. lxi. 1, 2.

Looking back upon the preceding lists, it is obvious that
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there is not only a large genuinely Hebrew element peculiar to II. Isaiah, but also a certain Aramaising tendency. In נאל 'to be impure' we notice an Aramaic weakening of *v* into נ (comp. געל 'to reject'). נפש 'to grope,' is suggested by the Aramaic *gash* 'palpavit'; the genuine Hebrew synonym is נפש (Deut. xxviii. 29, Job v. 14). יתר 'exceedingly,' reminds one of Aram. יתיר; חפץ 'business' (a sense which can hardly be avoided in lviii. 3, 13) of *ḥbhū* 'business,' in Syriac, from *c'blā* 'to desire,' and שאל 'a matter,' in Chaldee, from שאל 'to ask.' סגר 'to worship' (which only occurs in II. Isaiah) is the Syriac *s'ged*, Chald. *s'gid*, though the use of the Hebrew word is more limited than that of the Aramaic, סגר being only used of idolatry (פיש and other similar technical words of Aramaic origin are limited in the same way). בנה 'to give an honourable surname to' (peculiar to II. Isaiah and Job), though it has both Aramaic and Arabic affinities, is yet most probably suggested by the Aramaic. סניים, 'viceroys,' the Hebraised form of an Assyrian and Babylonian word (see note, p. 153), doubtless came to the Jews through the Chaldee *s'gan*, plur. *signin* (Dan. ii. 48, &c.). Add to these the harsh idiom in xxvi. 11 (see note), which would lose its harshness in an Aramaic sentence; and the phrase 'all nations and tongues' (lxvi. 18), which reminds us of a well-known expression in the Chaldee portions of the Book of Daniel (see note, p. 129). If the Massoretic text were correct in xiv. 4, we should also include the singular form מדהקה, 'exactress of gold' (Auth. Vers., margin), from Chald. *ḥēb* Hebr. *ḥēb* 'gold.' And yet, when all has been said, most will probably admit with Dr. S. Davidson¹ that 'the diction of the second part of Isaiah is tolerably pure and free from Chaldaisms.' Sporadic Chaldaisms are in fact no novelty in Hebrew literature, and with our very conjectural knowledge of the phases of the Hebrew language, and the process of the final editing of the Hebrew Scriptures, it seems rash to trust to them as a decisive criterion of language. Certainly the case for the antiquity of II. Isaiah, on the linguistic side, is more favourable than for that of the Book of Job, and almost infinitely more so than for that of Ecclesiastes. We must not, indeed, build too much on this comparative purity of diction; but, on the other hand, we must not fail to recognise it.

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii. 54.

IX. JOB AND THE SECOND PART OF ISAIAH:
A PARALLEL.

I.

IF it is no easy task in the case of parallel passages to distinguish the original from the imitation, how much more difficult must it be in the case of *parallel books*! This reflection forms the link between the present and the preceding essay. The allusion, I need hardly tell the reader, is on the one hand to the 'Book of the Servant of Jehovah,' and on the other to the twenty-second Psalm and the Book of Job. It is not my object, however, to discuss the literary relation between these books, but rather to show by a few details that the parallelism actually exists. Nothing, perhaps, is more helpful to a right appreciation of books than to compare those which amidst some divergences have a real and predominant affinity. The twenty-second Psalm, short as it is, embodies the essence of some of the most striking passages of the 'Book of the Servant,' but I must content myself with the brief enforcement of this view in a previous essay (pp. 203-4). The Book of Job claims a fuller treatment, not with regard to its literary aspects, however tempting these may be,¹ but to the fundamental parallelism of thought between it and II. Isaiah.

The common view that the hero of the poem of Job is simply an individual must, it is clear, be abandoned. I do not know whether Chateaubriand's views on Biblical subjects are original, or whether he drew from some Catholic theologian; but his comment on the speeches of Job is too strikingly true to be withheld. He says, 'Il y a dans la mélancolie de Job quelque chose de surnaturel. L'homme *individuel*, si malheureux qu'il puisse être, ne peut tirer de pareils soupirs de son âme. Job est la figure de *l'humanité souffrante*, et l'écrivain inspiré a trouvé des soupirs, pour exprimer tous les maux partagés entre la race humaine.'² This is, in fact, the thesis which the following pages are to defend, though not without giving the fullest weight to the elements of the poem which compel us to regard the hero as an individual.

¹ I have touched upon these in a paper called 'The Book of Job; a Literary and Biographical Study,' in *Fraser's Magazine*, July 1880, pp. 126-134. The parallelism between Job and the Introduction to Proverbs has but little corresponding to it in II. Isaiah, the influence of proverbial wisdom upon the latter being comparatively slight. The range both of thought and expression in the Book of Job is wider than that in II. Isaiah.

² *Génie du christianisme* (Paris 1802), ii. 305.

The truth is that Job is at once an individual and a type: need I remark how interesting a parallel is suggested with the Servant of Jehovah?

But I must first of all invite the reader to accompany me in a brief preliminary survey. I leave the Prologue for the present out of the question, and turn at once to the speeches, which, indeed, are capable of standing independently of both Prologue and Epilogue. An analysis would occupy us too long; I will only point to the continually recurring passages in which the sufferings of Job are spoken of in terms hardly suitable to an individual. Sometimes, for instance, we are startled at the ejaculation,

My days are swifter than a runner,
They have fled away without having seen prosperity (ix. 25),

although we have learned from the Prologue that 'this man was the greatest of all the sons of the east' (i. 3); and then by still more excessive complaints, in which Job's Oriental sense of dignity seems to vanish altogether, and which must sound strangely enough to those who have watched in real life the calm heroism of great sufferers—

O that my vexation were duly weighed,
And my calamity lifted with it into balances!
For it would then be heavier than sand of seas;
Therefore have my words been rash (vi. 2, 3).

How surprising it is again, when Job falls to meditating on the hardships of humanity—

Has not frail man a hard service upon earth,
And are not his days like the days of a hireling? (vii. 1).

One would have thought that it would be some comfort to the sufferer, that he was not worse off than the rest of his kind! But no; it does but open the floodgates of lamentation—

Like a slave, who panteth for shade,
And like a hireling who waiteth for his recompence,
So am I made to possess months of disappointment,
And troublous nights have been allotted to me (vii. 2, 3).

And again, after the pathetic reflection,

Man, born of woman,
Short of days and full of unrest,
Cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down,
Fleeth like a shadow and stayeth not (xiv. 1, 2),

how hard it is, on the ordinary hypothesis, to account for the

(apparent) invasion of self-consciousness in the second line of the next verse,

Yet upon him dost thou keep open thine eyes,
And me dost thou bring into judgment with thee (xiv. 3) 1

Equally strange phenomena are the political and social digressions in which Job repeatedly indulges. The changes of empires, the violence of tyrants, and their immunity (not universal, however, as Job virtually admits in chap. xxvii.) from punishment, the hardships of slavery and poverty, the calamities of war, pestilence, famine, and wild beasts, are mingled inextricably with the personal theme of his unmerited sufferings.

It is strange, no doubt ; but Job himself seems to give us the clue to the mystery, when he and his friends unexpectedly fall into language implying that he is not an individual, but a plurality of persons. 'For me the graves' (Job ; xvii. 1). 'How long will ye hunt for words,' 'Wherefore are we . . . held unclean in your sight' (Bildad ; xviii. 2, 3). 'He counteth me as his adversaries' 1 (Job ; xix. 11). Perhaps I might add, in illustration, xvi. 10 and xxvii. 11, 12, where Job addresses his friends as if they were the assembled multitude of 'wise men.' Certainly, I can see no other explanation of those apparently hyperbolic complaints, that strange invasion of self-consciousness, and that no less strange 'enthusiasm of humanity,' of which I have spoken above, than the view expressed or implied by Chateaubriand, that Job is a type of righteous men in affliction—not merely in the land of Uz, nor among the Jews in Babylonia,² nor yet, on Warburton's theory of the poem, in the Judæa of the time of Nehemiah, but wherever on the wide earth tears are shed and hearts are broken. Not that Job ceases to be an individual ; it is evident, not merely from the Prologue, but from Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, that there was an ancient tradition of a Hebrew king Priam, whose name had become a symbol of immeasurable woe. That Job is a type no more destroys his claim to be an individual than the typical character of Dante in his pilgrimage and of Faust in Goethe's great poem annuls the historical element in these two poetical figures. Job, in fact, if I read him aright, is 'not merely a patriarch in the already remote youth of the world, but the idealised portrait of the author himself.'³ The sacred poet, we may reverently conjecture, was prepared

¹ See, however, above, p. 25 (foot of col. 2).

² See on xl. 12 (vol. i. p. 247).

³ The passages within inverted commas are quoted from the paper in *Fraser's Magazine*, referred to above.

by providential discipline for his appointed work. 'In the rhythmic swell of Job's passionate complaints, there is an echo of the heart-beats of a great poet and a great sufferer. The cry, "Perish the day in which I was born" (iii. 3), is a true expression of the first effects of some unrecorded sorrow. In the lifelike description beginning "Oh that I were as in months of old" (xxix. 2), the writer is thinking probably of his own happier days, before misfortune overtook him. Like Job (xxix. 7, 21-25), he had sat in the "broad place" by the gate, and solved the doubts of perplexed clients. Like Job, he had maintained his position triumphantly against other wise men. He had a fellow-feeling with Job in the distressful passage through doubt to faith. Like Job (xxi. 16), he had resisted the suggestion of practical atheism, and with the confession of his error (xlii. 2-6) had recovered spiritual peace.' All this is credible, and more than credible, if we remember that mere artistic creations are not in harmony with the old Semitic mind—that personal experience is the basis of the Biblical Hebrew as well as of the old Arabian poetry. This is not, however, the only channel by which the author's subjectivism has impressed itself on the traditional story. 'There is yet another aspect to the personality of the author of "Job"—his open eye and ear for the sights and lessons of external nature. He might have said with a better right than Goethe, "What I have not gained by learning, I have by travel."¹ He is such a one as Sirach describes (Ecclus. xxxix. 4), "He will travel through strange countries, for he hath tried the good and the evil among men." From a wide observation of nature he derived the magnificent scenery—scenery, however, which is more than scenery, for it furnishes important elements of his sacred philosophy. Not that the imagination is allowed to be inactive. . . . For the full and free consideration of his subject, he felt that he required an absolutely clear medium, disengaged from the associations even of the true, the revealed religion. (Is he not in this point a warrant for the "apologetic" treatment to which we, like the author of "Job," though in other forms, are obliged to subject our religion?) With a poet's tact, and with a true sympathy for doubters, he created an ideal medium, in which hardly anything Israelitish is visible. The elements which he fused together came from the three countries with which he seems to have been best acquainted—Arabia, Judah, Egypt. From Arabia he takes the position which he assigns to Job, of a great agriculturist-chieftain. The stars of the Arabian sky

¹ 'Was ich nicht erlernt habe, das hab' ich erwandert.'

must have deepened his unmistakable interest in astronomy (ix. 9, xxxviii. 31-33). Personal knowledge of caravan life seems to have suggested that most touching figure, which our own Thomson has so finely, though so inaccurately, paraphrased¹ (vi. 15-20). And the same desert regions doubtless inspired those splendid descriptions of the wild goat, the wild ass, and the horse (chap. xxxix.) which extorted a tribute of admiration from the traveller Humboldt. But neither agricultural life alone, nor the phenomena of the desert, have furnished him with sufficient poetic material. He who would "rise to the height of this great argument" must have gained his experience of life on a more extensive and changeful theatre. From Judah, then, the poet borrows his picture of city-life, which presupposes a complex social organism, with kings, priests, judges, physicians, authors, and wise men. This description of the sessions of Job in the gate (chap. xxix.) is distinctly Judæan in character. It was the Nile-valley, however, which supplied the most vivid colours to his palette. He is acquainted with the Nile and its papyrus-boats (ix. 26), with the plants which grow on its bank (viii. 11, xl. 21), and with the habits of the two wonderful animals which frequent its shores (xl. 15-xli. 34). He is no less familiar with mining operations (xxviii. 1-11), such as were practised since the earliest times by the Egyptians. But the author of "Job" is no mere observer of details. Phenomena are in his eyes but manifestations of the perfect and all-ruling but incomprehensible wisdom of God.' No contrast can be greater than that of the over-taught, sophisticated modern, who exclaims with Leopardi,

. . . conosciuto il mondo
Non cresce, anzi si scema,

and the author of 'Job,' who beholds the universe with an eye quickened by the thought of God. In him, the fountain of admiration has not been dried up by an ill-assimilated science. 'Orion and the Pleiades above, the forests and the torrents below . . . the neck of the war-horse, the scales of Leviathan, are marvels in his eyes—the speaking fragments of an almighty life behind. From us, the wonder of these things is gone.'² But the more we live ourselves into the Biblical literature, especially into the inspired and inspiring poem of 'Job,' the more the wonder comes back to us. 'My Father made them all.'

¹ In Cairo's crowded streets
The impatient merchant, wondering, waits in vain,
. And Mecca saddens at the long delay.

(*Summer*, 980-2; of the caravan which perished in the storm.)

² James Martineau, *Hours of Thought*, first series, p. 31.

The infinite wisdom of God—this is one of the sacred poet's two solutions (or substitutes for solutions) of the problem before him, How are the sufferings of Job to be reconciled with the Divine justice? The other is embodied in the Epilogue, which seems to have been appended by an afterthought, either by the poet himself or by one of the Soferim or Scriptorists. It is this, that Job, after passing victoriously through his trial, was restored to twice his former prosperity. The two solutions are seemingly inconsistent: but are not so in reality. The one applies to the case of Job both as an individual and as a type; the other only as a type. The sufferings of any innocent individual could not, at that early stage of revelation, be accounted for; God is All-wise, was the only thought which could quiet the troubled mind. The same truth had, no doubt, its bearing on the sufferings of the innocent as a class; but there was also another still more comforting thought in reserve, viz. that they would yet receive compensation; they would 'inherit the earth;' there would be, in Christian language, a millennium. Now let us turn to the Book of the Servant. The people whom the prophet addresses (whether as a contemporary or across the centuries, we need not here enquire) are preoccupied by the thought, Why is redemption so slow in coming? And the answer is, Because of your sins, especially your unbelief. Only a righteous people can be delivered; a people which trusts its God implicitly, and devotes itself to carrying out His high purposes. But how faint and dim the prospect of the people's ever becoming righteous! Hence (not to repeat my former explanations) the inner necessity for a special Divine interposition. A divine-human representative must appear, and at once atone for the breach of the covenant, and 'make the many righteous.' And so the Servant, like another Job, appears on the stage, and suffers more than even Job suffered, and through his suffering wins the reward of eternal life for all who become his spiritual children. The sufferings of the Servant are those of an individual, but they are also those of the representative of a class; his reward, too, is not merely that of an individual, but purchased for a great company. This is, in brief, the parallelism between the Book of Job and of the Servant of Jehovah.

2.

Let me now briefly indicate some of the points of detail in which this affinity can be traced.

1. Both Job and the Person in whom the predictions of II. Isaiah culminate are Jehovah's righteous servants. 'Hast

thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a blameless and an upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil?' (Job i. 8). 'The righteous one, my servant' (Isa. liii. 9). Job has, indeed, a fault, but it only appears in the course of his trial—he misinterprets the All-wise Creator.

2. Both in the Prologue and in the body of the poem Job is represented as a leper (ii. 7, vii. 5, 15, &c.). The sufferings of the Servant in II. Isaiah are also described in language suggestive of this fell disease (see on liii. 3, 4). The leprosy of the Servant is doubtless typical; but so also is that of Job, if at least we have been right in regarding Job as at once an individual and a type. It is, moreover, worth noticing that, in the pictures drawn by Job's friend of the prosperity to which he would be restored upon his repentance, and in the narrative of the Epilogue, no allusion is made to his recovery from leprosy. (See v. 17-26, viii. 5-7, 20-22, xi. 13-20, xxii. 21-30, xlii. 7-17.) May we not infer that the leprosy of Job was in its highest meaning only one form of expression among others for the manifold misery of 'the woman-born'?

3. The horror with which Job's appearance fills his friends reminds one strongly of the similar effect of the disfigured form of the Servant (see parallel passages in preceding essay).

4. The mockery and desertion by his friends of which Job complains find a close parallel in the experience of the Servant (see parallel passages).

5. Job is restored to more than his former prosperity; 'Jehovah gave Job twice as much as he had before' (xlii. 10). The Servant passes through trial to a glorious reward (liii. 12), and the faithful remnant of Israel, which is mystically united to Him, receives 'double instead of its shame' (lxi. 7).

6. So near does Job stand to his God that he can intercede effectually for his guilty friends (xlii. 8, 10). Of the Servant the same is told us (liii. 12). We must not dilute the parallelism, but neither must we exaggerate it. For the Servant 'makes intercession for the rebellious,' *i.e.*, for the breakers of the covenant, who had committed the 'sin unto death,' for which none but a Divine intercessor is allowed to pray (1 John v. 16).

7. Last of all (for I will leave some parallels for the student to glean), let me mention the obvious correspondence between the happy immortality anticipated by Job (xix. 25-27) and the triumphant life after death of the Servant of Jehovah (Isa. liii. 10-12).

It will be admitted that these are strong points of resemblance between the Books of Job and of II. Isaiah, and

especially between the portraits of the patriarch and of the Servant. Some, indeed, as a learned Jewish Rabbinit¹ informs us, have been so impressed by them as even to identify these two personages. But if we will only look closely at the portraiture, there are equally strong elements of contrast. That luxuriant growth of imaginative ornament which twines around the Book of the Patriarch has but a slender counterpart in the Book of the Servant. The author of the latter never forgets that he is a prophet, and though he does not literally address the people in the market-place, his style is chiefly modelled on that of the spoken prophecies. He does not, indeed, refuse a large literary and, as one may say, poetical element ;² writing in private, without any view to oral delivery, he could not wholly exclude the graces of literature ; but there are times when, as in chap. lviii. 1-7,³ the reproduction of the true prophetic style is so complete that we could believe ourselves standing in the crowd gathered round a prophetic orator.—Another consequence of his prophetic character which equally distinguishes him from the poet of 'Job' is his studious self-concealment. True, he does apparently refer to himself on four occasions (xl. 6, xliv. 26, xlvi. 16, lvii. 21), whereas the Book of Job contains no direct allusion to the author ; but the four references to himself are in no sense autobiographical, while the Book of Job is so eloquent in its seeming silence that we can venture to read 'between the lines' the life of the author himself. Whether the prophetic writer of II. Isaiah had passed through such great deeps of spiritual experience as the author of 'Job,' whether he took as wide an interest in nature and in man, whether he was a traveller, or had never moved from Jerusalem, we may feel inclined to question, but cannot venture to pronounce dogmatically. It is of course possible that being a prophet and a confessor, in picturing Him who was both and more than both, he may to some extent have pictured himself ; but there could, from the nature of the case, be no design in this partial coincidence. The vocations of the two writers were different, though not unrelated. The author of 'Job' wrote as a theistic moral teacher, excluding, for more than merely artistic reasons, considerations drawn from revealed religion. 'He has not, indeed, solved, nor even tried theoretically to solve, the problem of human suffering, but at least concentrated into a focus the data for its discussion, so far as they could be

¹ Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, *An Exposition of Isaiah lii.*, &c. (Cambr. 1882), p. 5.

² It is noteworthy that the affinity of 'Job' with the Book of Proverbs has nothing really corresponding to it in II. Isaiah.

³ See also note on xlvi. 6.

derived from the experience of his day. The author of II. Isaiah wrote as an interpreter of the signs of the times to the Jewish exiles, as an agent in the great work of preparation for redemption, and as the final revealer of that wonderful personage who should by his life and death explain all the problems and fulfil all the aspirations both of Israel and of humanity. But the one beyond question helped the other. I cannot say with some recent writers¹ that the poet of 'Job' was 'inspired' by the prophet of II. Isaiah, for it can, I think, be made reasonably certain that 'Job' is the earlier of the two works, and that if any work has suggested the theme and the mode of treatment of 'Job' it is, not II. Isaiah, but the glorious little treatise (chaps i.-ix.) which opens the Book of Proverbs.² Nor can I even adopt the converse of this proposition, and maintain that the Book of the Servant was suggested by that of the Patriarch, for the influence of the latter appears to me rather indirect than immediate, and the author of the former to have immensely outrun his predecessor:—how could it be otherwise when he was a prophet? But I do most fully admit the importance of the general and, if I may say so, atmospheric influence of the Book of Job, which must have contributed to a 'fit audience, though few,' most precious elements of thought preparing them for higher truths. In a word, I think with Dr. Mozley that from a Christian point of view this great work was the providentially appointed pioneer of the supreme revelation of the suffering Saviour. 'If the Jew was to accept a Messiah who was to lead a life of sorrow and abasement, and to be crucified between thieves, it was necessary that he should be somewhere or other distinctly taught that virtue was not always rewarded here, and that therefore no argument could be drawn from affliction and ignominy against the person who suffered it. The Book of Job does this. It devotes itself to the enunciation of this injustice and irregularity as a law or principle of the present order of things. However the mass might cling to the idea of a visibly successful Messiah, such a book would insensibly direct the minds of the better sort into another channel, and prepare them for the truth of the case. It spoke things *φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσι*, in describing the afflictions of one, whom when the ear heard, it "blessed him, and when the eye saw, it gave witness to him; who delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless and him that had none to help him."³

¹ Seinecke, *Der Evangelist des Alten Testaments* (Leipz. 1870), and Hoekstra, in an essay entitled 'Job, the Servant of Jehovah,' which opens the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for 1871.

² See the paper in *Fraser* already referred to, pp. 129-130.

³ Job xxix. 11, 12.

And thus [to the few who had "ears to hear"] it stood in a particular relation to the prophetic books of Scripture—a kind of interpretative one; supplying a caution where they raised hopes, suggesting suspicions of apparent meaning and conjectures as to a deeper one, and drawing men from a too material to a refined faith. By the side of a long line of prophecy, as a whole outwardly gorgeous and flattering, and promising in the Messiah a successful potentate, and opener of a glorious temporal future for the Jewish nation, there rose one sad but faithful memento, and all that appearance of approaching splendour was seen in qualifying connection with other truths.¹

X. ISAIAH AND HIS COMMENTATORS.

I.

IT is an unfortunate custom which, though of modern origin, promises to be difficult to eradicate—that of interpolating exegetical observations with a long array of names of authorities. In spite of the eminent precedents which may be claimed on behalf of the practice, its extension is, I think, very much to be deprecated. If, indeed, 'always, everywhere, and by all' complete unanimity were enjoyed as to the objects and method of exegesis, we might safely allow the commentator the same liberty which we grant the poet; it is pleasant to read a Miltonic roll of famous names. But in the unideal conditions of human thought it is not open to us to make light of the distinctions of ages and schools. To mix up a St. Augustine with an Ibn Ezra, an Estius with a Calvin, a Hengstenberg with a Hitzig, is equally offensive to the historical sense and injurious to the exegetical student. Perhaps the practical point of view is that from which one may have most hope of disestablishing the custom; the practical danger is too manifest to be ignored. Commentaries are not written primarily for the finished scholar, and nine students out of ten are without a living conception of what these bare lists of names symbolise. Not only are their memories clogged with a useless skeleton of knowledge, but their judgments are biased by a misplaced regard to often very questionable authorities. Authority has no doubt a value, but only to those who possess a clear insight into the grounds of its existence. There are commentators whom

¹ Mozley, *Essays Historical and Theological*, ii. 227-8.

we may gladly hear on a theological inference,¹ but whose opinion is of little or no importance on a point of grammar. It is history which alone enables us to discern between various *charismata*—the history, that is, of exegesis, which is itself the history of philology, philosophy, and theology in miniature.

It is impossible here even to sketch the outlines of these three great subjects ; but some of my readers may thank me for that elementary information which will vivify the few names of commentators which I have thought it necessary to mention. Besides, it is of consequence to the student not to tie himself to any single commentator or school of commentators. The Scriptures shine with a prismatic radiance, and the gifts and perceptions of their expositors are equally manifold. The richest stores of the intellect have been lavished on the illustration of the prophecies, and it were self-impoverishment to neglect to turn them to account. A really good commentary on a many-sided author is never quite superseded. Two or three representative works should always be at hand, not as crutches for the indolent, but as friendly guides to those who have already a preliminary knowledge of the text. I speak here only of commentators ; a special handbook is required for the versions, and in its absence the Introductions of Bleek and Keil are familiar to all. And I can say but little of the earlier exegetical writers,² who would involve me in too many digressions, and, indeed, like the versions, require a very special treatment. The object of my work has been to place the reader in the centre of the great modern exegetical movement, and it is on the merits and demerits of those who have taken part in this movement that the reader is entitled to expect a word of guidance.

But how can I omit ST. JEROME, who in his seclusion at Bethlehem laid the foundation of a philological exegesis, and bridged over the gulf between the Synagogue and the Church ? The only ancient Latin commentary on Isaiah comes from his facile pen (A.D. 410). It is divided into eighteen books, and, like this Father's exegesis in general, may be described

¹ See *e.g.*, the quotation from St. Athanasius in the supplementary note on xlv. 14.

² My plan prevents me from more than mentioning R. SAADYAH (892-942), born in the Fayyūm in Upper Egypt, who was one of the early lights of Jewish-Arabic philology, and whom I have referred to occasionally as a translator. His Arabic version of Isaiah was edited in a very faulty manner by Paulus (Jenæ, 1790-1), and will be re-edited, it is hoped, by Prof. de Lagarde. Salomon Munk made important contributions to a more accurate text in vol. ix. of Cahen's great Bible (Paris, 1833). It would be interesting to examine his commentary, which has been discovered (in Arabic) in a new collection of MSS. in the St. Petersburg library, though, from his date and theological position, we cannot expect it to be seriously philological.

with Dr. Merx as 'eine fleissige, elegante, aber principlose Compilation.' Not the least valuable element in its multifarious contents is that derived from St. Jerome's Jewish rabbis (see his notes on i. 10, vi. 1, vii. 8, xiii. 10, xiv. 19, xx. 6); there are also golden grains in his geographical and archæological notices (see *e.g.* on *אַחַי* xix. 6, and on *זֻבּוֹס* xix. 10).¹ Among Christian teachers, St. Jerome probably owes much to Origen, like whom he expatiates freely in the allegoric mysticism of 'tropology.' His merit, however, and it is not a slight one, is this—he distinctly lays down that 'tropology' must never violate text and context, *his tantum legibus circumscripta, ut pietatem sequatur et intelligentiæ sermonisque textum*,² and that the fundamental sense of the Scriptures is the literal (*fundamenta jaciens Scripturarum*).³ In the preface to the fifth book (on Isa. xiii.–xxiii.), written in a simpler style than usual at the request of the bishop Amabilis, he even hazards a gentle censure of his great predecessor Origen, who *liberis allegoriæ spatiis evagatur, et interpretatis nominibus singulorum ingenium suum facit ecclesiæ sacramenta*.⁴

The next great link between Jewish and Christian scholarship was NICOLAS DE LYRA (died 1349), a Franciscan monk at Paris, the author of *Postillæ perpetuæ*, in 85 books (Benedictine edition, Antwerp, 1634). The well known verse, 'Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset,'⁵ is in reality a tribute to Jewish scholarship, for Lyra was so largely dependent on Jewish exegesis as to receive the not unmerited nickname 'simia Salomonis' (Rashi's name being properly R. Solomon Yiçkhaki). Let us pay the debt of gratitude to the name of Lyra, and be thankful that we are not reduced, like Luther, to submit to his infiltration of Jewish exegesis. Lyra's great teacher, RASHI (died 1107), was the glory of the rabbinical school of northern France. He has left commentaries on nearly the whole of the Old Testament, printed in the rabbinical Bibles, and partly translated into Latin by Breithaupt (3 vols. Gotha, 1710). His merits are thus summed up by Grätz the historian:— 'His accurate tact and his sense of truth guided him to the right meaning and the appropriate connection. Only he too often allowed himself to be diverted by the Agadic exegesis,

¹ Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, p. 115.

² Comment. in Abac. i. 11.

³ Præf. in libr. quint. Is.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Or, 'totus mundus dclirasset.' There are also other forms of the couplet. With regard to Rashi's influence on Lyra and on Luther, see Dr. Siegfried's papers in the *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, i. 428, &c., ii. 39, &c.

assuming that the exposition in the Talmud and in the Agadic literature was meant to be taken seriously. Yet he was conscious, though somewhat vaguely, that the simple sense (פשוט) was the contradictory of the Agadic explanation (פירושי). In his old age this consciousness became more distinct, and he expressed the intention to his learned grandson and disciple (Rashbam) of recasting his commentaries on the Bible in the sense of a sober, literal exegesis.¹ A greater genius than Rashi was the illustrious Abraham IBN EZRA of Toledo (died 1167), poet, philosopher, theologian, and exegete. His commentary on Isaiah (one of his earlier works) has received the honour of a critical edition from Dr. Friedländer, who has appended a valuable glossary for the benefit of those who are not conversant with the technical terms of the rabbis, and who has also published a translation.² As Dr. C. Taylor, editor of *The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, remarks: 'The large class to whom the term Rabbinic suggests a futile display of misapplied subtlety will see occasion to revise their judgment after some study of the work now presented to them in a comparatively popular form.'³ The obscurity of the author's style is the chief drawback to the perusal of his works in the original.

DAVID KIMCHI of Narbonne (died 1235) was distinguished alike as a grammarian, a lexicographer, and an exegete, though less by any original contributions of his own than by his sound judgment, and his discriminating use of the labours of others.

Of these three celebrated commentators, Ibn Ezra is decidedly the most original, and it is not perfectly clear why Dr. Merx denies him the capacity of historical criticism,⁴ when he has certainly anticipated modern historical scepticism (in the good sense) on such a salient point as the authorship of Isa. xl.-lxvi. Gesenius more plausibly complains of the Jews for 'preferring the superstitious and often crazy Rashi to the clear-headed and thorough Ibn Ezra.'⁵ None of them present us, however, with what we naturally look for at supposed Messianic passages, viz. a traditional Jewish exegesis. Ibn Ezra is the most eccentric; many passages commonly regarded as Messianic are explained by him from the history of David, Hezekiah, &c., though he protests

¹ Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi. 73. Rabbi Eleazar, of Beaugenci, whose Hebrew commentary on Isaiah has been edited by Mr. Nutt (1879), was a pupil of Rashbam, the second grandson of Rashi.

² Published for the Society of Hebrew Literature by Trübner & Co., 1873 (translation), 1877 (text).

³ *The Academy*, Dec. 1. 1873, p. 451.

⁴ *Die Prophetie des Joel* (Halle, 1879), p. 255.

⁵ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 123.

against being supposed to be a disbeliever in the Messiah's advent.¹ Kimchi is the most polemical; he loses no opportunity of expressing his horror at the idolatry of the Christians (מינים). But a common 'Jewish interpretation of prophecy' is altogether wanting; the most striking proof of this is the thick octavo volume in which the comments of Jewish writers on the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah were brought together by Dr. Neubauer and Mr. (now Prof.) Driver at the instance of the late Dr. Pusey. There was evidently no tradition, no rule of interpretation, to bind the Jewish rabbis. All that we have in this admirably edited work is the anti-Christian interpretations of individual Jews, 'privatmeinung, notbehilf, abfindung mit christlicher theologie.'²

To return to Christian exegesis. It is sad but true that, by the unhistorical antedating of 'unwritten traditions,' the Roman Catholic Church has done its utmost to cut the nerve of historical exegesis. It has even, by its declaration of the 'authenticity' of the Vulgate (without, however, providing a critical text of that version), and by the ominous decree, 'ad coercenda petulantia ingenia,' made it practically all but impossible to be, even in the most humble sense, an exegete of the original texts.³ *Non ragioniam di lor*, we must say but in a very different tone from the stern Florentine, *ma guarda e passa*. The leaders of the Reformation took a directly opposite attitude. They appealed, in the interest, as they believed, of spiritual religion, from an unverifiable tradition to the text of the sacred Scriptures, and the study of the Bible immediately rose to a position of primary importance. Exegesis, without becoming less Christian, became distinctly more scientific. In the Old Testament, for instance, the Protestant divines sought to harmonise their exegesis, not merely with their Christian assumptions, but with the rules of the new philology. The atomistic mode of treatment gave way to a patient, thoughtful study of contexts.

¹ Friedländer, *Essays on the Writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra*, p. 98.

² Lagarde, *Symmikta*, vol. ii. (Götting. 1880), p. 13.

³ Perspicisneque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ab ipsius Christi ore ab apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsius apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt.' 'Præterea, ad coercenda petulantia ingenia, decernit, ut nemo, suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei, et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ christianæ pertinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimum consensum patrum ipsam scripturam sacram interpretari audeat, etiamsi hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent' *Canones Concilii Tridentini*, Sessio Quarta. (I fail to see how the former quotation is reconcilable with any theory of historical development, or how the art of exegesis is ever to be practised either by master or by scholar with such a sword of Damocles suspended over his head.)

The reaction against dogmatic accretions inspired a wholesome dread of the licence of allegory. A growing distrust set in of the manifold senses of the older expositors ; in fact, one of the greatest dangers of Protestant exegesis became the identification (so unnatural, if it be understood extensively, and not intensively) of the literal interpretation with the Christian. I speak, of course, merely of tendencies, not of accomplished results.

It was in the Reformed Church, which attached greater importance than the Lutheran to the authority of the Scriptures on *all* points of doctrine, that the problem of Biblical exegesis was apprehended with most distinctness. MUSCULUS, however (whom I have had occasion to cite once), has been praised by a competent judge for his careful distinction between the scientific and the practical elements of exegesis, and his special attention to the former ;¹ and Musculus was an adherent of the doctrines of Luther. In the Reformed Church the name of the ardent Hebraist PELLICANUS deserves honourable mention, as we have been reminded by a recent discovery in our national library.² His notes upon Isaiah, which are concise, and mainly devoted to paraphrasing the grammatical sense, occur in the third volume of his *Commentaria Sacra* (Zurich, 1540). But the only writer of this age who still retains, and is likely to retain, his importance is CALVIN (1509-64). 'Unrivalled in his own age,' says Diestel, 'his works offer even yet a rich store of Biblical knowledge.'³ Mercerus⁴ was no doubt a far deeper Hebraist (though the scholarship of Calvin has been most unduly disparaged by Richard Simon), but if we consider Calvin's deep insight into the aim and method of historico-philological exegesis, the extent of his exegetical labours, and the high average level which, in spite of the enforced rapidity of his work, he attained, we shall probably come to the conclusion that, even as an Old Testament interpreter (and he is

¹ Musculus: *In Esaiam prophetam commentarii locupletissimi*, Basil., 1570. Comp. Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), p. 268.

² Pellicanus was the predecessor of Reuchlin as a writer on Hebrew grammar. The story of his exertions to learn the sacred tongue can be read in his autobiography, edited by Professor Riggenbach for the festival of the fourth centenary of the University of Tübingen, in 1877. His Grammar (entitled *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebræum*) was lost sight of, till Dr. E. Nestle discovered it in the British Museum copy of the 1504 Strasburg edition of Reisch's *Margaritha philosophica*, of which Pellicanus's Hebrew Grammar forms part. A photo-lithographic reproduction of this curious work was brought out by the discoverer in honour of the Tübingen festival.

³ Diestel, *op. cit.* p. 267.

⁴ Mercerus (Le Mercier) was, although a Huguenot, regius professor of Hebrew at Paris. He died 1570. Schlottmann calls him 'the greatest Old Testament exegete of the sixteenth century' (*Das Buch Hiob*, p. 121). It is to be regretted that he has left no commentary on Isaiah.

more than this), there is no greater name in the Reformation age (nor perhaps in any subsequent one) than that of Calvin. It is indeed remarkable that one so eminent as a dogmatic theologian should also have shown himself so loyal to the principles of philology. The only apparent effect of his dogmatic speculations upon his Biblical exegesis is to give it a greater depth. The most celebrated specimen of his exegesis is his commentary on the Psalms, of which it is hardly possible to speak too favourably; but even his work on Isaiah,¹ though neither so mature nor so elaborate, well deserves to be consulted. It certainly gives one a high idea of the exegetical lectures—not by any means confined within a narrow range—which this great Reformer was constantly delivering to the future ‘ministers of the word of God.’

In the seventeenth century the centre of Biblical studies was transferred to Holland. The national characteristics of coolness, good sense, and thoroughness appear in the Dutch exegesis: let it suffice to mention GROTIUS and DE DIEU. The former (1583–1645) was primarily a statesman and a jurist. His peculiarity as an exegete consists in his thoroughly secular attitude towards the Biblical writings; he writes as a layman for laymen. Of the depth of meaning of the Scriptures he has no real comprehension; but he has done yeoman’s service for the letter. He wrote ‘annotationes’ in the strict sense of the word—*i.e.* scattered, unconnected notes on certain difficult passages—extending over the whole of the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha. De Dieu (1590–1642) excels where Grotius is deficient, as a grammarian and a lexicographer; he not only sifted the vast and multifarious Rabbinical tradition, but actually advanced Hebrew philology by an independent comparison of the cognate languages.² He had also a keen and subtle judgment, and stimulates even where he does not convince. Well qualified as he was, however, he seems to have objected on principle to add to the number of continuously written commentaries; he has therefore only given us a *spicilegium*. Nor did any of the great Orientalists (not even our own Pococke), who formed a kind of philological ‘succession’ in the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, choose the prophet Isaiah as the subject of special study.³ ALBERT SCHULTENS (1686–1750), who has left an ineffaceable mark

¹ Printed at Geneva, 1551, and dedicated to King Edward VI.

² See his posthumous work, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti libros omnes* (Lugd. Bat., 1548), a short extract from which is given in crit. note on xliii. 27.

³ Bochart, the French Protestant (died 1667), only touched on antiquarian and especially zoological allusions; here, however, he shows vast reading. His works are—*Geographia sacra*, Caen, 1646; *Hieroicoicon*, London, 1663.

on Hebrew philology, confined himself, like De Dieu, to observations on difficult passages,¹ which, though highly praised by Gesenius, require to be read with caution, on account of the author's illusion as to the illustrative value of the Arabic vocabulary. It was, however, a remarkable production for a youth of twenty-three, and reminds us forcibly of the early achievement of one of his greatest successors.

In 1722 the academic world of Franeker was gathered in the university church to listen to an oration from Albert Schultens 'in exequiis *principis theologi* Campegii Vitringa.' There is a refreshing enthusiasm in VITRINGA² ('ardens, vehemens, et nobile quid ac magnificum spirans,' are the epithets of his friend Schultens) which makes us wonder whether he can be really the countryman of Hugo Grotius. But this ardour is not inconsistent with a love of completeness and an ἀκρίβεια, which have always characterised the best type of Dutch philology. One is tempted to add, with a prolixity peculiar to himself; for who else in a land fruitful above others in philologists would have thought of devoting two folio volumes of 710 and 958 pages respectively to a commentary on a single author of no great length? Not that Vitringa is properly chargeable with verbosity, but that he has the cheerful faith that all truth is divine and therefore reconcilable, and not enough intellectual independence to sift the pretensions of all the claimants of that sacred name. His exegesis is, in a word, involved in an 'infinita sensuum silva,' if I may borrow an expression from St. Jerome, who would certainly not have recognised his own type of tropology in Vitringa's. The mitigation is that the various senses and fulfilments of the prophecies are carefully kept asunder, and that no pains are spared to explain and illustrate the primary grammatical sense and historical background. Vitringa was, for his day, a fine Hebrew and especially Rabbinical scholar, and his commentary is a mine of learning, and even of sound sense, which may still be worked with advantage. His preface on the aims and methods of prophetic exegesis is a brilliant piece of modern Latin composition, and reveals the author as equally fervent in his Christianity and profound in his erudition. Only one remembers the very different ideal of a commentary in Calvin's golden preface to his work on the Romans, and sighs at the two folio volumes!

Vitringa is a specimen of the late summer of Continental

¹ Schultens, Alb.: *Animadversiones philologicæ et criticæ ad varia loca Vet. Test.* Amstelod., 1709.

Vitringa: *Commentarius in Librum Prophetiarum Jesaiæ*, &c. Tomi duo. Leovardix (i.e. Leuwarden), 1714-20, and 1724.

orthodoxy; it is natural that when England has her word to say, it should be marked with the secularity of the English eighteenth century. ROBERT LOWTH (1710-1787), Professor of Poetry at Oxford, by his lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews (first edition, 1753) began that important æstheticising movement in Biblical criticism which, with all its faults and shallowness and sometimes perhaps irreverence, fulfilled (one may venture to surmise) a providential purpose in reviving the popular interest in the letter of the Scriptures. What Lowth began was continued with far greater ability and insight by Herder; but an Englishman may be proud that Lowth began it. The principles which he thus introduced to the world were further exemplified in his translation of Isaiah,¹ in which the English text was for the first time arranged according to those rules of parallelism, not, indeed, discovered, but first brought vividly home, by the Oxford professor. A long preliminary dissertation re-states the principles and characteristics of Hebrew poetry, and does justice to the acute Rabbi Azariah de' Rossi (1513-1576), who 'treated of the ancient Hebrew versification upon principles similar to those above proposed, and partly coincident with them.' The chief faults of the translation are, not certainly its fidelity, nor yet (if I may venture to differ from Dean Milman²) its inharmoniousness, but the inappropriate selection of a Latinised vocabulary, and further, from a critical point of view, the recklessness with which the translator treats the Massoretic text. There was, indeed, an epidemic of arbitrary emendation in the air, and Lowth did but follow the example of Cappellus and Houbigant (comp. p. 238). I do not deny, however, that he has often considerable reason for his changes; it is rather his inconsiderate haste, which gives him so much the appearance of holding a brief against the traditional text. Where he is most probably right, the discovery is often not due to himself, but to one or another learned friend, especially the recently deceased Archbishop Secker. His emendations were examined more or less successfully by David Kocher in a small volume of *Vindiciæ* (Berne, 1786). The Bishop's notes partly justify his emendations, partly illustrate the

¹ *Isaiah. A New Translation, with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory.* Lond. 1778.

² Dean Milman complains of the Bishop for having 'forgot en that he was translating a poet, and having chilled Isaiah down to the flattest—correct perhaps—but unrelieved, inharmonious prose' (*Annals of St Paul's* p. 468). The Dean had evidently not read the 'preliminary dissertation' in which the translator simply claims the merit of fidelity. To be at once literal and elegant or harmonious is surely impossible. Gesenius, with whom the Dean compares Bishop Lowth unfavourably, is certainly not 'harmonious,' but he has this great advantage over the Bishop, that his vocabulary is simple and natural. The Latinised style of high society is the most unfitted of all for a Hebrew prophet.

text from classical poets and modern travellers. He does not go deeply into the fulfilment of the prophecies, but in the main adopts the ordinary Christian view without discussion. His exposition of the prophecy of Immanuel is, however, sufficiently peculiar to deserve quotation. After stating that 'the obvious and literal meaning' is *not* Messianic (he explains 'the virgin' to mean 'one who is now a virgin'), he continues :—

'But the prophecy is introduced in so solemn a manner ; the sign is so marked, as a sign selected and given by God himself, after Ahaz had rejected the offer of any sign of his own choosing out of the whole compass of nature ; the terms of the prophecy are so peculiar, and the name of the child so expressive, containing in them much more than the circumstances of the birth of a common child required, or even admitted ; that we may easily suppose that, in minds prepared by the general expectation of a great Deliverer to spring from the house of David, they raised hopes far beyond what the present occasion suggested ; especially when it was found that in the subsequent prophecy, delivered immediately afterwards, this child, called Immanuel, is treated as the Lord and Prince of the land of Judah. Who could this be, other than the Heir of the throne of David, under which character a great and even a Divine person had been promised ?'

Both the works of Bishop Lowth were translated into German, and, with the notes of Michaelis and Koppe, were, for good or for evil, among the revolutionary influences of that unsettled age in Germany. The words of Dean Milman are therefore true in their fullest sense of the great critical Bishop, that his inquiries 'make an epoch unperceived perhaps and unsuspected by their author.'¹

2.

If Calvin is the predominant figure in the Old Testament exegesis of early Protestantism, the modern period may without any substantial injustice be said to date from GESENIUS (1785-1842). Himself a rationalist of the old school, and a zealous promoter of the rationalistic movement in his university, it is not surprising if his exegesis fails to satisfy the deeper requirements of our time. He honestly thought that to allow predictions in the Old Testament was to degrade the prophets to the rank of soothsayers, and that a 'Christian interpretation' was only attainable by doing violence to philology. The truth is that he was more of a

¹ *Annals of St. Paul's*, 2nd ed., p. 467.

philologist than a theologian; a susceptibility for religious ideas was still dormant in his nature. In two respects, however, he marks an advance; he absolutely repudiates the shallow and now antiquated æstheticising of the disciples of Herder, and the extravagant disintegrating criticism introduced by Lowth's editor, Koppe,¹ which, 'whenever the prophet stopped to draw breath, and the discourse surged up anew, fancied it discovered the patchwork of uncritical collectors.' His great work on Isaiah is hardly yet superseded; it marks precisely the point which historical and archæological research had attained at the date of its composition. It contains also much lexicographical information; and if it entirely neglects the prophetic teaching, this is at any rate better than misrepresenting it. The dates of Gesenius's chief works are: Hebrew Grammar, first ed. 1813; Isaiah, 1821; *Thesaurus*, vols. i.-iii. fasc. 1, 1835-42, completion by Roediger, 1852-58.

HITZIG (1807-1875) resembles Gesenius in his rationalism (Paulus and Gesenius were his earliest academic teachers), which he ever expressed with the most fearless sincerity. The refined monotheism of the Old Testament was discovered, according to him, by superior intellectual vigour² (*durch eine stärkere Denkkraft*); but the intellect of the Israelites, he thinks with Lassen and M. Renan, was singularly limited, and Old Testament prophecy is an illusion produced by the objectifying of the higher self.³ In exegesis, however, Hitzig displays a rare grammatical sense, and a tact for eliciting the connection, though his explanations are sometimes chargeable with over-subtlety. Of reverence there is of course no more trace than in Gesenius, but his more flexible intellect enables him to sympathise more keenly with transitions of thought and feeling. His discussions of the historical background of the prophecies are in their way equally remarkable, and his acuteness in combination extorts admiration, even where it fails to produce conviction. Criticism to him is no merely destructive power (as it was in the main to De Wette). Both in the criticism of the text and in that of history he aimed at positive results, though he was under a great illusion as to the invariable trustworthiness of his methods. His faults are, however, less conspicuous than his merits in his

¹ E.g. in his introduction to chap. i., where he opposes Koppe, who divided the chapter into three unconnected pieces on the ground of alleged irreconcilable differences between the descriptions of the internal state of the nation. Lagarde, it may be here noticed, in his note on chap. i. in *Semítica* i., simply follows in the wake of Koppe, except that he supposes the disintegrated fragments to be not complete in themselves, but portions of longer discourses now lost. He offers no discussion of the historical backgrounds proposed for the chapter.

² *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Leipz. 1869), p. 82.

³ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, Allgemeine Einleitung, p. 24.

early commentary on Isaiah (1833), dedicated to Heinrich Ewald, his still youthful teacher, whose grammatical labours he was the first to appreciate and to utilise.

EWALD'S governing idea was that of reconstruction. It was no doubt also that of his period; we find it in Hitzig, but not so strongly developed as in Ewald. As a theologian, he partook (unlike Hitzig) in that yearning for a deeper religion which accompanied the great rising of the German nation; but he never succeeded in dissipating a certain luminous haze which blurred the outlines of his religious ideas. As a philologist, he takes the highest rank. By his Hebrew Grammar he earned from Hitzig the title of 'second founder of a science of the Hebrew language,' and Professor Pusey cordially admits the 'philosophical acuteness' whereby, as he says, 'as a youth of nineteen (? 24) he laid the foundation of the scientific treatment of Hebrew grammar.'¹ As an interpreter of the prophets (it would take too long even to touch upon his other labours), he reminds us somewhat of his master Eichhorn, whose poetic enthusiasm he fully shares, though he holds it in check by a strong sense of the predominantly religious character of the prophetic gifts. His style has something in it of Orientalism,² which conveys a deep though vague impression of the grandeur and beauty of prophecy; his translation of the prophets has a rhythmic flow, which, though at the cost of elegance, gives some faint idea of the movement of the original. His distinctive merits appear to be threefold:—1. He starts with a conception of prophecy derived from the prophets themselves. This conception is no doubt vague and indefinite, for he totally ignores the New Testament; but it is at any rate free from the anti-dogmatic theories of the rationalists. 2. He has the eye of an historian, and treats the prophetic literature as a whole. No critical theory (as I have suggested already) can be properly estimated until we see how it dovetails into the author's scheme of the historical development of the Old Testament literature. 3. He bestows special care on the connection of thought, though his over-subtle views of Hebrew syntax may have sometimes led him beyond the borders of the natural and the probable. I might, perhaps, add a fourth merit—his conciseness. He spares his reader

¹ *The Minor Prophets* (Oxf. 1879), p. iii.

² Karl Hase, himself a rationalist of a more cultured school than Gesenius and Hitzig, has given one of his medallion portraits of Ewald. 'Nach Gesenius hat Ewald die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Volkes aufgerollt, er ein rückschauender Prophet mit der orientalischen Zungengabe, kühn und zu Opfern bewährt für die Freiheit, nur durch seine sittliche Entrüstung gegen jede abweichende Meinung leicht verstört' (*Kirchengeschichte*, p. 582).

those wearisome discussions of rejected opinions which render so many German works unreadable. He even disdains the help of archæological and historical illustrations, and confines himself mainly to that which he regards as essential, viz. the prophetic ideas. His faults, too obvious to need a long description, are an overweening self-confidence, an excessive predilection for minute systematising, and a lack of dialectic power which often prevents his reader from discovering the real grounds of his theory (how unlike, in this latter respect, one of his most influential successors—the author of the *Religion of Israel!*). The following are the dates of Ewald's chief works (a complete list would occupy nearly three pages):—Hebrew Grammar, first ed., 1827, fifth edition recast, 1844, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, first ed., 2 vols., 1840–41, second ed., 3 vols., 1867–68; the same translated in five volumes, 1875–81.

It is not surprising that the shallowness of Gesenius and Hitzig, and the vagueness of Ewald, were profoundly obnoxious to those who resorted to the Scriptures for supplies of spiritual life. Even had the new exegesis been free from theological objection, it would have required unusual strength of faith to admit in practice (what all admit in words) that our knowledge of the sense of revelation is progressive. 'It is not every interpreter who is able, like Luther and Calvin, to place his novel views in a light which shall appeal as strongly to the religious experience of the Christian as to the scholarly instincts of the learned. The rise of new difficulties is as essential to the progress of truth as the removal of old puzzles; and it not seldom happens that the defects of current opinions as to the sense of Scripture are most palpable to the man whose spiritual interest in Bible truths is weak. . . Thus the natural conservatism of those who study the Bible mainly for purposes of personal edification is often intensified by suspicion of the motives of innovating interpreters; and even so fruitful an idea as the doctrine of a gradual development of spiritual truth throughout the whole course of the Bible history has had to contend, from the days of Calvin down to our own time, with an obstinate suspicion that nothing but rationalism can make a man unwilling to find the maximum of developed spiritual truth in every chapter of Scripture.'¹ Only by such feelings as these can we account for the almost unvarying opposition of HENGSTENBERG (1802–69) to the new criticism and exegesis—an opposition, I must add, intensified by his editorship of a Church news-

¹ Prof. Robertson Smith, *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, July 1876, p. 174.

paper,¹ which kept him in a continual atmosphere of party strife. Anxiety for his personal religion, which he had learned in the school of trial, and not of this or the other theologian, converted the youthful Hengstenberg into an ardent champion of revelation, and a certain heaviness of the intellect (which no English reader of his works can fail to observe) made him regard any attempt, such as Bleek's, at a *via media*, as sophistry or self-delusion. Hengstenberg had no historical gifts, and never seems to have really assimilated that doctrine of development which, though rejected by Pietists on the one hand and Tridentine Romanists on the other, is so profoundly Christian. He was therefore indisposed to allow the human element in inspiration, denied the limited nature of the Old Testament stage of revelation, and, as Dr. Dorner has pointed out,² made prophecy nothing but the symbolic covering of the eternal truths of Christianity. These seem to Dr. Dorner grave faults, which seriously detract from the value of Hengstenberg's exegesis. And yet it should be borne in mind that the rationalistic exegesis had been equally one-sided, and with results far more dangerous. Even from a scientific point of view, it was desirable that the old criticism and exegesis should be once re-stated in a modern dress, lest perchance in the hot haste of the innovators certain precious elements of truth should be lost. I do not think that there is much in Hengstenberg which cannot now be found in a more acceptable form elsewhere; and his works are but ill translated. But it may be well for the student at least to dip into the *Christology of the Old Testament*,³ which is still the most complete expression of the theory which interprets the Old Testament solely and entirely in the light of the New.

Hengstenberg's exegesis of Isaiah was confined to the Messianic passages; but a devout and thoughtful commentary on the whole of the book was begun in the same spirit by DRECHSLER,⁴ and, on his death in 1851, completed by August Hahn, with an important appendix by Franz Delitzsch, indicating the thread of thought in chaps. xl.-lxvi., and arguing with great fulness of detail for the Isaianic authorship of the disputed prophecies. Neither Hengstenberg nor Drechsler is strong on the linguistic side; and they have another unfortunate resemblance in the vehemence with which

¹ The *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, founded 1827.

² *History of Protestant Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 436-7.

³ First edition, 2 vols., 1829-35; second, 4 vols., 1854-57 (recast). Translated in Clark's Foreign Theological Library (for Isaiah, see vol. ii.).

⁴ Vol. i., 1845; vol. ii., part 1, 1849, part 2, 1854 (posthumous); vol. iii. (containing chaps. xl.-lxvi.), by Hahn and Delitzsch, 1857.

they impute motives to other critics. With Drechsler may be coupled RUDOLF STIER,¹ better loved perhaps in England than in his own country, who has left us an exposition of chaps. xl.–lxvi., of real value for its spiritual insight and conscientious endeavour to base the Christian or theological upon the philological meaning. Much of what has been said above of Hengstenberg is, however, applicable to Stier. He is vehement and incisive in his language (but his vehemence somehow hurts less than that of others), has no historical sense, and is not a sound Hebrew scholar, being (unlike Hengstenberg) afraid of deriving anything, even in scholarship, from a rationalistic source.

We are in a very different atmosphere as we read the commentary of KNOBEL² (died 1863). A model of condensation, it well deserves its name of ‘exegetical handbook.’ Great merit is due to it for its linguistic and archæological ἀκριβεια, but the author’s view of prophecy is low (see his *Prophetismus*, Breslau, 1837), and in the latter part of Isaiah his excessive realism blinds him to the poetry of the form—he seems to expect the prophet to write with the exactness of a bulletin. One of the most useful parts of Knobel’s work is the collection of stylistic peculiarities in II. Isaiah, which, however, requires careful sifting.

But without depreciating his predecessors, apart from whom his own achievement would have been impossible, it is but fair to admit that far the most complete and equal commentary is that of Dr. FRANZ DELITZSCH.³ He who will patiently read and digest the new edition of this masterly work will receive a training both for head and heart which he will never regret. I think, indeed, that the learned author is now and then over-subtle in his grammatical observations, and too positive of the correctness of the received text; and also that, in spite of his intention to be strictly philological, he has once or twice unconsciously wrested language in the interests of theology; and I know that in the judgment of many his sentences are packed so full of meaning as to have become obscure. But these are but spots upon the sun; and I heartily take for my own a sentence from a writer whom I have had occasion to criticise severely—Dr. Klostermann:—‘Delitzsch, from his full stores of knowledge, with his open eye for all that is irregular and uncommon, his delicate ear for all shades of expression, his reverent enthusiasm for the

¹ *Jesaias, nicht Pseudo-Jesaias* (Barmen, 1850).

² First ed., 1843; fourth (posthumous), edited by Diestel, 1872. (Diestel, whose university lectures on Old Testament religion were of so high an order as to deserve publication, has himself, too early for science, since passed away.)

³ First ed., 1866; third, 1879. (Cluk’s translation is from the first.)

word of the prophets, his unremitting toil, and conscientious regard to minutiae, has provided a commentary, with which it will not be easy for another successfully to compete.¹ And yet, though it may be long before an equally finished work is produced, there is still so much obscurity, so much diversity of opinion, that we cannot regret the labour which another scholar has bestowed from the same point of view. NAEGELSBACH'S recent work (1878) is fresh and independent even to a fault. Not many, I fear, of its new interpretations are likely to stand; but thoughtful criticism of the exegetical tradition is always valuable, and the book has in some passages really advanced the interpretation of Isaiah. Perhaps its special characteristic is this—that it regards the Bible as one great organism, of which the Book of Isaiah is a part, and that it carries out this principle with greater fulness than previous writers. The abundance of well-chosen parallel passages is a boon equally to the pure linguist and to the exegete; of the invaluable collection of deutero-Isaianic words at the end of the book I have spoken already.

But to come nearer home. Is it not a strange phenomenon that our English and American theologians should be so little awake to the importance of a thorough study of the prophets? General dissertations on prophecy are not, indeed, entirely wanting, but calm and candid, self-denying and theory-denying exposition of the sacred texts is still sadly in arrears. Putting aside the modest, but very useful, compilation of the American Albert Barnes (Glasgow, 1845), I can call to mind but four professedly independent commentaries on the whole of Isaiah²—those respectively of Drs. HENDERSON, ALEXANDER, and KAY, and of Professor BIRKS. The first of the four certainly supplied with more or less ability a want painfully felt in our exegetical literature. It is unambitious in its object, and confines itself mainly to the letter of the sacred text. But though full of valuable information, it is an unsafe guide even in its chosen field of scholarship. The colour of its exegesis is orthodox, but it stands entirely apart from every form of scientific theology. The second is by far the most complete, and does high honour to the American theology of its date. It is at once full (some perhaps will say, too full) and accurate; but its point of view is that of Hengstenberg, and it is no longer at the centre of the exegetical movement. The third, from its brevity, would seem to address itself to the class for whom

¹ *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1876, p. 16.

² Henderson, first ed. 1840; second, 1852. Alexander, edited by Eadie, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1865. Kay, 1875. Birks, first ed., 1871; second, 1878.

the *Speaker's Commentary* was originally intended—the inquisitive but much-occupied laity, and the practical clergy. In spite of its incompleteness, it is certainly one of the most original contributions to Canon Cook's series. Like Ewald, the author puts aside mere historical and archæological investigations as not touching the root of the matter: the text itself, both in its primary grammatical sense and in its spiritual application, absorbs the energies of the interpreter. But I shall best consult the interests of the student by quoting the words of a courteous and fair Continental critic, though of an opposite school to the author. He writes thus, in reviewing, with that discriminating tact which characterises him, the two exegetical works of Dr. Kay on the Psalms and on Isaiah:— 'Dr. Kay is one whom I would gladly see on our side. He is not only a good Hebrew scholar; not only very well read in the Old Testament; but also, if I am not altogether deceived, a thoroughly earnest and above all an upright man.'¹ The drawback which Dr. Kuenen finds is a 'self-confidence' which goes hand in hand with 'very subjective and fantastic views, in which he often stands entirely alone, or which, at least, have hardly an adherent besides himself, but which notwithstanding are propounded in so positive a tone that the unsuspecting reader may well be taken by surprise.'² I have myself been often struck by the 'subjective' character of Dr. Kay's Hebrew philology, though I gladly admit that one may learn much from his rare command of the facts of the language. His theological arguments would, I venture to think, have gained considerably both in intrinsic value and in effectiveness, if he had been able to recognise the elements of good in those who are still struggling towards the light. In one sense, no doubt, 'the true light now shineth,' and I at least must agree with Dr. Kay, as against Dr. Kuenen in his review, that 'no one who is held in the chains of naturalistic speculation is qualified to expound the writings of the prophets' (p. 3). But this general principle will not, I submit, justify the learned author in throwing down the gauntlet (as he has done) to all critical inquiry into the historic and prophetic literature of the Old Testament. If you wish to overcome heterodoxy, you must surely do so from within, and not from without. Heterodoxy is a product of mixed origin, and you must not violate charity and truth by imputing it to a single cause. Are you sure that your own form of 'supernaturalism' is adequate to all the facts of the Scriptures (to say nothing of physical science)? Have

¹ *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1871, p. 367.

² *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 569.

you, indeed, already discovered all those facts, so that you have no further 'light' to wish for? Even if you reply in the affirmative, charity and truth both forbid you to assume that all who are not equally confident are either already 'naturalists,' or drifting into 'naturalism.' Surely it is as plain as the day that there is a growing school of criticism and exegesis, neither in any stiff sense orthodox, nor yet rationalistic, which welcomes and assimilates fragments of truth from all quarters. Dr. Kay will, I trust, listen to this echo of a younger and more hopeful generation.

Some of these remarks are equally applicable to Professor Birks, who is, however, without the counterbalancing merit of sound Hebrew scholarship. Of his painfully unphilological treatment of the stylistic peculiarities of II. Isaiah I have spoken elsewhere; his historical tact may be estimated by his contemptuous attitude towards 'the boastful bulletins of idolatrous kings' (p. 376)—*i.e.* the royal Assyrian inscriptions. 'Independence' of this kind is not a merit but a failing; how different is the winning humility of the accomplished author of our best popular commentary on Isaiah, Dean PLUMPTRE,¹ and the liberal spirit and historic insight of Sir EDWARD STRACHEY in the work of which the title is given below.² This too is emphatically a popular work; it seeks primarily for the moral and political lessons of the great prophet, and treats of the historic background in complete subordination to these. There is much, therefore, which strongly attracts the cultivated lay reader; it is only critics of the new historical school (of the existence of which the author is evidently unaware) who will be unpleasantly impressed by some features of the book. The objects, methods, and results of the 'higher criticism' in its present stage are still unrealised by the author, who even fancies that he has discovered a new historical argument for the unity of the book by the aid of the Assyrian inscriptions. The argument applies directly, indeed, only to chaps. xiii., xiv., xxi. 1-10, and xxxix. 6; but it has evidently a certain indirect bearing on the authorship of chaps. xl.-lxvi. I am myself provisionally at least satisfied with the theory which Sir Edward Strachey has advocated with regard to chap. xxi. 1-10, but the problems of chaps. xiii., xiv., xxxix. 6, and xl.-lxvi., are not so easily solved (see vol. i. pp. 81, 239), and must still be left to what is with no disparaging allusion called the 'higher criticism.' It is painful to have to utter the truism that, though common sense has much to do with science, it is a trained and culti-

¹ See vol. iv. of Ellicott's Commentary for English Readers, 1884.

² *Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib*, 1874.

vated common sense which is required. Many as are the faults of German writers on the Bible; a disregard of the necessity of philological training is not one of them. But I cannot allow myself to part from so sympathetic a work in the tone of complaint. Let me rather quote a passage with which I am in the heartiest agreement, and which well expresses one of the primary requisites both of the commentator upon Isaiah and of his reader. 'If we will be rational, no less than if we will be Christian, we must steadily recognise the reality—the objective, independent reality—of that communication which Isaiah was thus qualified to become the recipient of. How this could be, how God reveals His mind and will to men, how the poetic or other human faculty gives form and expression to truths not imagined nor discovered, but communicated from on high—this can never be explained: an explanation is a contradiction in terms, an assertion that the Infinite is definable, that the Superhuman is subject to the laws, and expressible in terms, of the human' (pp. 87, 88).

NOTE.

Among minor *exegetical* works on Isaiah, both Continental and English, the following seem to have a claim to be mentioned:—

E. F. K. Rosenmüller: *Jesaia vaticinia annotatione perpetua illustravit E. F. C. R.* 3 vols. Lips. 1811-20.

T. Roorda. *Annotationes ad vaticinia Jes. i.-ix. 6*, in Juynboll's *Orientalia*, i. 67-174. Amstel. 1840.

C. P. Caspari. *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Buch Jesaja*, Berlin, 1848. [Conservative: thorough to a fault.]

——— *Ueber den syrisch-ephräimischen Krieg unter Jotham und Ahaz* (1849).

E. Meier. *Der Prophet Jesaja*. Erste Hälfte [cc. i.-xxiii.] Pforzheim, 1850. [School of Ewald.]

S. D. Luzzatto (died 1865). *Il Profeta Isaia volgarizzato e commentato ad uso degli Israeliti*. Padova, 1855-67.

[An Italian translation with a Hebrew commentary. Acute and very suggestive.]

L. Reinke. *Die messianischen Weissagungen bei den grossen und kleinen Propheten des Alten Testaments*. Giessen, 1859-62. [Roman Catholic; learned and accurate. Vols. i. and ii. refer to Isaiah.]

V. F. Oehler. *Der Knecht Jehova's im Deuterjosaia*. Stuttgart, 1865.

[Not by the author of the well-known *Old Testament Theology*, but from a kindred point of view. Contains a commentary on all the passages relative to the 'Servant of Jehovah.']

L. Seinecke. *Der Evangelist des Alten Testaments*. Leipzig, 1870. [Accepts the unity of chaps. xl.-lxvi., but dates the book at the close of the Babylonian Exile; the author, however, is placed in *Palestine*. A sug-

gestive commentary, though its *forte* is not in philology. Comp. Riehm's review in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, pp. 553-578.]

B. Stade. *De Isaiaë Vaticanis Æthiopicis Diatribe*. Leipzig, 1873. [A learned philological and historical commentary on chaps. xvii. 12-14, xviii., and xx.]

A. Hildebrandt. *Juda's Verhältniss zu Assyrien in Jesaja's Zeit nach Keilinschriften und Jesaianischen Prophetieen*. Marburg, 1874. [A suggestive but premature illustration of Isaiah from the Assyrian inscriptions.]

——— Art. 'Jesaja Cap. xl.-lxvi. Eine Bitte um Hülfe in grosser Noth.' *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie*, 1876, pp. 1-60.

Aug. Klostermann. Art. 'Jesaja' in Herzog's *Real-encyclopädie*, vol. vi. [Arbitrary, but suggestive.]

H. Oort. 'Jesaja xl.' *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1876, p. 528, &c.

A. Kohut. 'Antiparsische Aussprüche im Deuterodesajias.' *Zeitschr. d. d. m. Ges.* 1876, pp. 709-722. [A wild attempt to show that II. Isaiah is pervaded by an anti-Zoroastrian tendency. Answered by de Harlez in the *Revue des questions historiques*, April 1877, and Matthes in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Nov. 1877.]

J. H. Scholten, 'De lijdende knecht Gods, Jes. liii.' *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1878, p. 117, &c.

Ed. Reuss. *Les Prophètes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1876. [Arranged chronologically with introductions, and short, very clear footnotes. The publication was postponed by the Franco-Prussian war. From a 'liberal' point of view.]

Friedr. Köstlin. *Jesaia und Jeremia. Ihr Leben und Wirken aus ihren Schriften dargestellt*. Berlin, 1879. [A re-arrangement of the 'genuine' prophecies, with historical illustrations.]

Lagarde's *Semitica* and a few articles in journals by Kleinert and others have been referred to already.

To the English works mentioned above, and in the course of the commentary (for Perowne, see on chap. viii. 16; Taylor, on viii. 21; Sayce, on x. 5, &c.; Urwick, Neubauer and Driver, on lii. 13, &c.) add:—

G. Vance Smith. *The Prophecies relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians*. Lond. 1857. [One of the first attempts to utilise the Assyrian monuments.]

R. Payne Smith. *The Authenticity and Messianic Interpretation of the Prophecies of Isaiah vindicated in a Course of Sermons preached before the University of Oxford*. Oxford and London, 1862. [A useful introduction to the Messianic prophecies, from Hengstenberg's point of view; the lines of Jewish interpretation are well sketched.]

J. M'Gill. 'Critical Remarks on Isa. xviii. 1, 2,' in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1862, pp. 310-324. [The work of an eminent Professor of Oriental Languages at St. Andrews (see Dr. Pusey's *Daniel*); retrograde exegesis.]

Rowland Williams. *The Hebrew Prophets translated afresh from the Original*. 2 vols. [each containing a part of Isaiah]. Lond. 1866-71. [Very complete in its plan, combining as it does the literary, historical, philological, and theological points of view. Its chief merits are analogous to those of Sir E. Strachey's book noticed above; the philology is eccentric and unsound. The view of prophecy resembles in its vagueness that held by Ewald.]

Stanley Leathes. *The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ; being the Boyle Lectures for 1868*. Lond. 1868. [An appendix on the argument from style, which betrays a grave misconception of its nature—see above, p. 232—is the reason for mentioning this pleasingly written popular work.]

T. K. Cheyne. *Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah*. Lond. 1868.

——— *The Book of Isaiah Chronologically arranged*. Lond. 1870.

C. Taylor. 'An Interpretation of יִזָּה נְיִים' in *Journal of Philology*, 1879, pp. 62-66. [Thinks that 'the word required is one which describes a *passive* condition of wonderment,' on account of the following clause; and suggests 'so shall he *agast*, or aghast, many nations,' making יִזָּה = יִזָּה; comp. הוֹיִם, lvi. 10. But the meaning of הוֹיִם is doubtful, if indeed the text is correct.]

H. Krüger. *Essai sur la théologie d'Ésaïe*, xl.-lxvi. Par. 1881. [A faithful and sympathetic study of the religious ideas of II. Isaiah, well adapted for English students.]

W. H. Cobb. 'Two Isaiahs or One?' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1881, p. 230, &c.; 1882, p. 104, &c. [See above, p. 253, *note*. If the critical value of the conclusions is but slight, the tables will still be useful companions to the student or the text of 'Isaiah.']

——— 'The Integrity of the Book of Isaiah,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1882, p. 519, &c. [On the traditional side.]

W. Robertson Smith. *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century B.C.* Edinburgh, 1882. [Freshly written, learned and suggestive, this work stands alone in our higher theological literature. The author's arrangement of the prophecies of Isaiah differs considerably from my own, owing to his rejection of the theory of an invasion of Judah by Sargon. See above, Essay 1.]

S. M. Schiller-Szinessy. *An Exposition of Isaiah* lii. 13, 14, 15, and liii. Cambridge, 1882. [The subject of the prophecy, Israel, as represented by the pious in his midst, culminating in the Messiah.]

E. H. Plumptre. 'An Ideal Biography of Isaiah,' in *Expositor*, 1883.

To these must be added the primitive, unconscious commentators, to whom the present work has been so largely indebted, and of whom we have by no means heard the last. Three deserve to be mentioned with special honour, though, inasmuch as (like most of the Hebrew chroniclers) they wrote anonymously, they can only be entered under the names of their translators.

George Smith. *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*. Lond. 1875.

——— *History of Sennacherib; translated from the cuneiform inscriptions*. Edited by A. H. Sayce. Lond. 1878.

E. A. Budge. *History of Esar-Haddon; from the cuneiform inscriptions*. Lond. 1880.

(For further references, see the present work *passim*. The time has hardly come for a critical conspectus of Assyriological literature.)

XI. II. ISAIAH AND THE INSCRIPTIONS.

I.

WE have now traversed most of the subjects directly or indirectly connected with the interpretation of Isaiah, and with the foregoing rapid survey of the history of the exegesis of the book it would seem as if we had reached our goal. All that remained would be in that case to resume the

'gathering up' of the 'fragments' which might have escaped insertion in the commentary. But before taking this last step, I must return to a 'fragment' of more than ordinary significance, which has already found a place at the end of the first volume. It relates to a discovery which not only throws great light on some of those passages which 'remain vague and obscure till we know the circumstances under which they were written' (p. 224), but also has a special bearing on the great question (too great to be entered upon here) of the limits or conditions of prophecy.

The remarkable favour shown to the Jewish exiles by Cyrus has long attracted the attention of students. Was it dictated by political motives? such is the first possibility which presents itself. In reply, it must be observed that if gratitude had any influence on the action of Cyrus, it can only have been as 'a lively sense of favours to come.' The statement of the prophet in xlv. 13 ('He shall build my city, and mine exiled ones shall he send home, not for price, and not for reward') precludes us from supposing that his countrymen were conscious of having placed Cyrus under an obligation. The accuracy of the prophet, however, is not in the least disparaged by the hypothesis that one of the secondary motives of the Persian was the belief that the restored Jews would form a useful outpost in a distant part of his dominions. This leaves us free to maintain, with the prophet, that the determining motives of Cyrus were religious ones; and this view of the case has appeared to be confirmed by the history of Persian religion. The description of Ormazd in such an early document as the inscription of Darius referred to in the note on xlv. 7 might, from the purity of its monotheism, have been penned by a Jewish prophet in honour of Jehovah. It would have been quite in the spirit of the highest Old Testament revelations to regard such homage to Ormazd as unconsciously offered to the true God Jehovah (vol. i., p. 261), and a devout monotheist like Cyrus as only needing some one to 'teach him the way of God more perfectly.' Such a friendly guide it was natural to discover in the author of the prophetic passages relative to Cyrus, which, as I have suggested elsewhere, may be plausibly viewed as an *apologia* for the Jews and their religion addressed to their conqueror.¹ The prophet himself does not as yet look upon Cyrus as a full adherent of the true religion, but he cherishes the firm conviction that Cyrus will become such at no distant day.

But now comes Sir Henry Rawlinson's discovery among

¹ The view is equally admissible, whether the standing-point of the author of the latter chapters be actually, or only ideally, at the close of the Exile.

the latest treasures from Babylon, and throws the gravest doubt not only on *our*, but on what we have supposed to be *the prophet's*, estimate of Cyrus. It represents him as a complete religious indifferentist, willing to go through any amount of ceremonies, to soothe the prejudices of a susceptible population. Fresh from the pages of II. Isaiah, it is difficult to realise that Cyrus was capable of this. He there appears like an idealised David, a 'man after God's own heart' in the fullest sense of the English phrase. His conquest of Babylon is the signal for an iconoclasm which marks the downfall of the false religions. 'Bel boweth down, Nebo croucheth; their idols are given up to the beasts and to the cattle' (xlvi. 1)—such is the vision before the prophet's inner eye. Not so, says the 'broad' and politic Cyrus. 'The gods dwelling within them to their places I restored' (*ili asib libisunu ana asrisunu utir*); 'daily I addressed Bel and Nebo that the length of my days they should fulfil; that they should bless the decree of my fate, and to Merodach my lord should say that Cyrus the King thy worshipper and Cambyses his son . . .' (*yomi sam makhar Bel va Nabu sa araku yomiya litami litibkaru amata dunkiya va ana Marduk bilya ligbu sa Kurus sarru palikhika va Kambuziya abluu. . .*).¹

The authenticity and accuracy of the newly discovered inscription are self-evident. The concessions of Cyrus to idolatrous polytheism are, indeed, just what might have been expected, were it not for the strong language of the prophet. They are but typical examples of the practice of the Persian rulers. Cyrus in Babylonia is the pattern of his son Cambyses² and even of the religious Darius in Egypt. But we cannot admit the accuracy of the inscription without detracting somewhat from the accuracy of the inspired prophet. This is no doubt painful to a reverent mind, but here, as ever, truth is the healer of its own wounds. Has not Wisdom already been justified of her children? Throughout our study of Isaiah have we not noticed 'a gracious proportion between the revelation vouchsafed and the mental state of the person receiving it'? There is no defect implied in the revelation, but only in the receptiveness of the human organ. The admission of this relative defect involves no moral disparage-

¹ These are the last connected words in the inscription. I here follow the word-for-word translation of Sir H. Rawlinson; in vol. i., pp. 304-5, I gave his more readable alternative version. The transliteration is also that of the Nestor of Assyriologists; it differs in many technical points from that with which we are familiar. See Art. II. in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Jan. 1880, pp. 70-97.

² In this reference to the religious policy of Cambyses I follow the contemporary hieroglyphic account, which differs considerably from that of Herodotus. See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, ii. 297, and comp. Dr. Birch, *Rede Lecture* (1879), p. 40.

ment of the latter. In the case before us, for instance, the prophet overrates Cyrus just because he is so completely a prophet. His character is too simple, too religious, for him to realise a mental state so mixed, a policy so complicated with non-religious considerations. He cannot distinguish between the king and the man, between a public and private character. He cannot form a conception of a religious indifferentist. He will have 'no bowing in the house of Rimmon.'¹

It is unfortunate that the cylinder-inscription is too imperfect to clear up the history of the fall of Babylon; but the deficiency is supplied by another cuneiform text, for the decipherment of which we are indebted to Mr. T. G. Pinches.² The text is arranged in the form of annals, and covers, including the fragmentary portions, the whole of the reign of Nabunahid or Nabonidus, the last of the Kings of Babylon.³ The chief point of interest in it is that it shows how it was that Cyrus found Babylon so easy to conquer. Nabonidus, in fact, spent the last years of his reign idling in his palace near Babylon, while his son was with the army in Accad (the northern part of Babylonia). He even neglected the due worship of the gods, thereby giving great dissatisfaction to the priests. Not until his seventeenth year did he rouse himself from his inaction. It was under the pressure of fear. There had been a revolt among the people of 'the lower sea' (*i.e.* the Mediterranean). Then he began to think of his neglected gods, for the text records that 'the god of Bel came forth'—*i.e.* probably the image of Merodach was carried round in procession (see on xlvi. 1). The images of the temples of other cities were also brought, especially those of Accad, and this explains a statement of Cyrus in the former inscription that he had restored the gods of Sumir and Accad to their places. Another revolt, which occurred in the last year of Nabonidus, was still more favourable to Cyrus; it was among the people of Accad. Four months after this, Cyrus descended to Babylon, and took it, without, as it would seem, even a street-battle.⁴ He then began that policy of religious conciliation which is to readers fresh from Isaiah so unavoidable a surprise.

¹ I have already remarked that the slight inaccuracy, in x. 10 (see my note) is a parallel to the case before us. See also on xxxvi. 10.

² *T. S. B. A.*, vol. vii. pp. 139-176.

³ So Mr. Pinches, in opposition, however, to Sir H. Rawlinson, who thinks that the years belong to the reign of Cyrus.

⁴ It was on the 16th of the Babylonian month Dumuzi (Tammuz). On the 15th, corresponding to Midsummer Day, there was a religious festival, of the nature of a marriage-feast, and probably of an orgiastic character (comp. Dan. v.). See Mr. Boscau's letter in *Athenæum*, July 9, 1881.

A minor point which is finally settled by the cylinder-inscription is the genealogy of Cyrus.

The line of descent from Achæmenes to Cyrus is, 1. Achæmenes, 2. Teispes, 3. Cyrus, 4. Cambyses, and 5. Cyrus. Teispes, it will be remembered, is also mentioned both in Herodotus (vii. 11) and in the Behistun inscription of Darius¹ among the ancestors of the latter king.

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2.

The above results would be sufficiently important, were it certain (as I have hitherto assumed it to be) that Cyrus was a Zoroastrian believer; and as soon as we have put aside our preconceived opinion respecting Cyrus, we can see that they are in themselves plausible. Prof. Sayce, indeed, appears to think that the theory of Cyrus's indifferentism is excluded by the religious veneration with which he speaks of the Babylonian deities. But is it not a characteristic of primitive paganism, as opposed to the full Biblical religion, that it permits the most various forms of belief to exist peaceably side by side? I for my part can see nothing more wonderful in the religious tolerance of Cyrus than in that of any other primitive pagan monarch. The really surprising fact, which I have not here to consider, is, that this primitive tolerance does now and then give way to a violent spirit of religious centralisation; e.g. in the noted case of Antiochus Epiphanes. But such instances belong to the decline of a civilisation. And certainly if Darius, who makes such a parade of his Zoroastrian faith, adopted the policy of religious indifferentism in Egypt, it is difficult to see why Cyrus (even though a less fervent Zoroastrian) should not have done so in Babylonia and Palestine. But the main result of Prof. Sayce's recently published study on the inscription² is independent of this incidental expression of opinion; and, startling as it is, it must, I am sure, meet with general acceptance. I ought to add that M. Halévy (so well known in connection with Semitic inscriptions) has simultaneously come to virtually the same conclusion.³ The point is this, that Cyrus, though of Aryan origin,⁴ was in all probability not a Zoroastrian at all. Before, by his victory over Astyages, he became king of the Medes and Persians, he was, in right of his birth, king of 'Anzan' (the native name for Elam, = Susiana). 'I am Kuras,' he says, 'son of Cambuziya, great king, king of

¹ *R. P.*, vii. 87.

² Letter in the *Academy*, October 16, 1880, pp. 276-7.

³ 'Cyrus et le retour de l'exil,' in *Revue des études juives*, No. 1, pp. 41-63.

⁴ His name, however, is probably non-Aryan; see below, on xlv. 28.

Susiana, grandson of Kuras, great king, king of Susiana, great-grandson of Teispes, great king, king of Susiana.' Now, Susiana or (speaking loosely) Elam, as the merest tyro in Assyriology knows (witness the names Kudur-mabug, Kudur-nankhundi, and the annals of Assurbanipal), was peopled by a non-Aryan and idolatrous race.¹ Teispes, the Achæmenian (see above), was no doubt a Persian, and therefore an Aryan, but he and his band of fellow-Aryans found for themselves a new home among a non-Aryan people. 'The main bulk of their relatives,' as Prof. Sayce remarks, 'seem to have been left behind in Persis, and we cannot wonder, therefore, that the invaders of "Anzan" [Elam] should have intermarried with the old inhabitants of their new home, and adopted their religious ideas and art.' This is not a mere hypothesis. It is expressly stated by Darius in the famous Behistun inscription that Gomates, the first pseudo-Smerdis, had destroyed the Zoroastrian temples (*R. P.*, vii. 91). This, as Prof. Sayce has well pointed out, would have been an absurd act in the pretender, if Cyrus and his sons had been pure-blooded Zoroastrians. Darius, on the other hand, was (to use his own words) 'a Persian, son of a Persian,' and naturally enough a strong Zoroastrian both in belief and in policy. He 'belonged to the elder branch of the family which had remained behind in Persis, while the younger branch had sought a new kingdom among the non-Aryan population of Elam.' Another documentary evidence pointed out by Prof. Sayce, is the peculiar expression used by Darius in speaking of Veisdates, the second pseudo-Smerdis. He does not say that Veisdates was a Persian, but that he was 'a man who dwelt (in a certain town) in Persia.' His followers, too, are stated in the proto-Medic text to have been not Persians, but the old 'families of "Anzan" [Elam].'

We can now appreciate the force of the strange silence of Cyrus in the cylinder-inscription with regard to Ormazd, the supreme God of Zoroastrianism, to whom Darius so constantly and devoutly refers. The cause is one which it is a little painful to admit. Cyrus, on whom the prophet of Jehovah lavishes such honourable titles; Cyrus, who, the prophet even appears to hope, may be won over to the true faith, and become a conscious fellow-worker with God; is a polytheist and an idolater. Still the inscription, when rightly understood, is not in conflict with the prophecy, but only with a gloss upon the prophecy. Nebuchadnezzar, though an idolater, is called in Jeremiah (xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xliii. 10) 'My

¹ Comp. Mr. Sayce's paper on 'The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media,' in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* iii. 465-485.

Servant ;' and the conversion of idolaters to the true faith is the standing hope of the prophets. The peculiarity of II. Isaiah is that in it the conversion of an individual king is hoped for, whereas elsewhere the prophecy of conversion is vague and general. Yet it should be remembered that the conversion of Cyrus is only a hope, not an assured certainty, and that all prophecy relative to events in the spiritual sphere is limited by the possibility of the moral resistance of the persons prophesied of.

The shock may be painful ; but, as I have said before, truth heals its own wounds. Our loss, if loss it be, is compensated by a greater gain. It has often been said that the Old Testament religion has been deeply influenced by Zoroastrianism ; and though I have repeatedly had occasion to combat this view (see notes above on xxvi. 19, xlv. 7 ; also *I.C.A.*, p. 130), I could not anticipate such a complete documentary refutation of it. We now know that the Aryan and Zoroastrian element did not obtain supremacy in the Achæmenian empire till the accession of Darius, too late to exert any marked influence on Jewish modes of thought. M. Halévy remarks that the case of the Persian religion is analogous to that of the Persian language, which had no political importance in the empire of the 'great king ;'¹ and further that, 'in spite of the long residence of a Persian dynasty at Susa, the name of Ahuramazda was so repugnant to the Susians that the Susian redactor of the Behistun Inscription adds the descriptive term "God of the Aryans."'

Of direct, circumstantial illustrations of II. Isaiah from the newly-found inscriptions I am not able to indicate many (see notes on xiii. 17, xlv. 2). Knobel, no doubt, would have found more ; and M. Halévy's microscopic eye has discovered points of contact in chaps. xiii.-xiv. 23, xlv. 1-7, xlvi., from which he thinks he can determine the date of those prophetic passages. I venture to think that this part of his able and stimulative paper does not show much evidence of sound judgment. Why not be content with the one great result relative to the religious position of Cyrus ?²

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¹ Aramaic was the official, as well as the commercial language.

² Dr. Kuenen (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, pp. 135-6, 321-2) disputes the soundness of the historical results assumed above, partly on *à priori* grounds, and partly on the authority of M. Oppert, who, however, is too fond of isolation to be a safe guide. The gloss in the British Museum Corpus of Assyrian Inscriptions (ii. 47, 18), peremptorily declares that Anduan (pronounced, as it states, Anzan) signifies Elamtu, *i.e.* Elam (Sayee, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1874, p. 475).

LAST WORDS ON ISAIAH.

Συναγάγετε τὰ περισσεύσαντα κλάσματα, ἵνα μή τι ἀπόληται.
(Evang. D. Joann. vi. 12.)

On ii. 6 (vol. i. p. 17). The suggestion that 'the law of' (תורה) may have fallen out before 'thy people' (עמך) is worth considering (Grätz, *Die Psalmen*, i. 138). Hitzig's argument for taking the first clause as a continuation of the address in *v.* 5, is not without force, only (עם) cannot mean 'nationality.'

On iii. 3 (vol. i. p. 22). 'Expert enchanters' continued to be in request down to the Talmudic period, if not later. Diseases were cured partly by simple remedies, but partly also, as was thought, by the use of magical formulæ of amulets (comp. *v.* 20. Comp. Edersheim, *Life of Jesus the Messiah* (ed. 1), ii. 769-773.

On iv. 2 (vol. i. p. 28). Prof. de Lagarde's note on this passage in his *Semitica* is not remarkably lucid. How צמח יהוה and פרי הארץ can be antithetical, consistently with the synonymous predicates, is more than I can understand. Nor does the learned professor attempt to explain the צמח הארמה of Gen. xix. 25, which must of course have included the fruits of cultivated soil; and, as I have remarked in the commentary, the opposite of the Talmudic phrase 'field of Baal' (see below) is—not 'fruit of the land'—but 'field of fountains.' Still, as one reviewer of the *Semitica*¹ has been attracted by Prof. de Lagarde's explanation, I will quote a few more sentences. 'צמח יהוה' and פרי הארץ are evidently opposed . . . צמח is that which grows without cultivation; it is said of hair, of wood, of the עשב of the field, Lev. xiii. 37, Eccl. ii. 6, Gen. ii. 5. If we were not in the region of the religion of Jahwé, a formula would be used which is still current among Semitic people, in order to define the word צמח still more distinctly as τὸ ἀτρομάτως φύεν. בֵּית הַבַּעַל of the Gemoro is the antithesis to בֵּית הַשְּׁלֵחִין of the Mishno (*Moed katon*, ii. 11, 1; comp. Buxtorf, 2412.) "Baal's land," according to Wetzstein (*Z.D.M.G.* xi. 489), means in Arabic land which is nourished, not by springs, but the rain of heaven; "Baal's fruit," that which grows on such land' [comp. Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, s.v. *ba'lan*].

On chap. vi. (vol. i. p. 39). A parallel to 'Holy, holy, holy,' is suggested by Friedrich Delitzsch in the thrice-repeated 'gracious,'

¹ Dr. Eberhard Nestle, in Schürer's *Literaturzeitung*.

and 'may they be at hand' (*assûr, liqrubu*) uttered, the one at the beginning, and the other at the end, of Assyrian intercessory chants. (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 253.)

On vi. 2 (vol. i. p. 37). 'Seraphim were standing above him.' This suggests, as my friend Mr. Tomkins remarks, the symbolic uræi or royal serpents above the enthroned god, and the figure of the heaven over all in Egyptian scenes of worship. But it only suggests a distant analogy, for the winged seraphim had no fixed position like the uræi, but hovered rather than stood. A more interesting parallel is that of the Egyptian *seréf* (see Mr. Tomkins in my *Isaiah*, ed. 2, p. 284)—interesting, however, not so much for the light which it throws upon Isaiah as for its bearing on the general question of the affinities of the seraph-myth. That the seraphim and the cherubim were of kindred origin may be surmised from the Bible itself. Ezekiel transfers an important detail from Isaiah's picture of the seraphim to his own description of the cherubim (comp. Isa. vi. 2, Ezek. i. 11), and the two figures are found in Rev. iv. 8. So, in Egypt, the *seréf* represented at Beni Hassan with other marvellous composite creatures of the time of the 12th dynasty (Rosellini, i. pl. xxiii.) evidently corresponds quite as much to the cherub as to the seraph: it is, in fact, a winged hawk-headed lion. We find the *seréf* again in a demotic papyrus of the age of Augustus, where he is described as having 'a beak as of an eagle, an eye as of a man, strong sides as of a lion, scales as of a fish (or turtle?), venom as of a serpent,' and as 'seizing [his prey] in his claws in an instant, and taking them above the top of the clouds of heaven.'¹ A description which resembles that of the divine bird Zu in the primitive Babylonian mythology—'the cloud or storm-bird, the lion or giant bird, the bird of prey, the bird with sharp beak.' Thus the myth-making imagination in Egypt flits from bird to quadruped precisely as it does in Mesopotamia and Palestine. Mr. Tomkins well reminds us that the *kirubu* (cherub) of the portal of the Babylonian Hades is addressed as 'the bull begotten by the god Zu' (the storm-bird).²

The explanation of the vague distinction between seraphim and cherubim is a simple one. As we have seen already, they were at their origin the mythic expressions of kindred physical phenomena. Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, a gifted son of the great commentator on Isaiah has lately pronounced a decisive opinion in favour of this thesis from an Assyriological point of view. His words are, 'That the cherubim were originally a personification of the clouds, and the seraphim of the serpent-like flashes of lightning, the mythological texts published in vol. iv. [of the *British Museum Collection of*

¹ Revillout, *Revue égyptienne*, 1880, p. 58; 1881, p. 86.

² Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire*, vol. i. p. 116.

Cuneiform Inscriptions] hardly permit a doubt.¹ As the article in which I have given the grounds for my own similar view as regards the cherubim is buried in an encyclopædia, and even escaped the notice of Lenormant,² I will quote the substance of it here, with an occasional glance at Prof. Delitzsch's more recent investigation. The interest of any illustration of the popular beliefs of the Israelites (so closely akin to those of their neighbours, and by this kinship almost compelling us to a 'supernaturalistic' conception of Old Testament prophecy) may serve for an additional excuse, if excuse be needed.

The late M. de Saulcy was of opinion that 'the vast field of hypotheses will always remain open'³ with regard to the cherubim. Thanks to the students of cuneiform, we are no longer shut up to this melancholy admission; something, at least, can be affirmed as positively certain. The only difficulty arises from the fact that the statements of the Old Testament are not perfectly uniform. Let us turn in the first instance to its poetry, which is often (like its prophecy) the repository of popular mythic expressions. In Ps. xviii. 10 (2 Sam. xxii. 11) Jehovah is described as 'riding upon a cherub,' but in the parallel line as 'swooping'—an expression which suggests the idea of the flight of an eagle (comp. Deut. xxviii. 49, Jer. xlvi. 40, xlix. 22). Putting the two phrases together, we may conclude that, according to one side of the myth (retained by inspired writers as a part of their imaginative apparatus) the cherub was the eagle-winged bearer of the deity. This result would seem to justify connecting the word with the Assyrian *kurūbu*, a synonym of *kurukku* or *karakku*, the 'circling' bird—i.e., according to Friedrich Delitzsch,⁴ the vulture. On the other hand, Ezekiel gives the myth a somewhat different turn. In a passage evidently full of popular phraseology (xxviii. 13-16), though agreeing with the psalmist in mentioning *but one cherub*, the prophet describes him as 'walking in the midst of stones of fire' (thunderbolts?), and as extending his wings over 'the holy mountain of Elohim'; in other words, as a land-animal, the attendant and guard, rather than the bearer, of the deity. And in the fuller account of Paradise in Genesis, 'the cherubim' (implying a *band* of cherubs) are stationed 'with (or near) the blade of the turning sword' (i.e. the

¹ *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1831), p. 155.

² *Encyclop. Brit.* vol. v. (1876), art. 'Cherubim'; comp. Lenormant, *Les origines* (1880), chap. iii. (Prof. Friedr. Delitzsch dissents from this view, which is of course no more than a plausible hypothesis. He does not distinctly recognise the two sides of the myth found in the Old Testament writings, which M. Lenormant and myself have independently sought to explain. He says, 'All that we know [from the Old Testament] is that the cherubim were *winged*; but whether they were like birds, or four-footed, or like men, remains obscure' (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 150). But Ps. xviii. and Ezek. xxviii. seem to authorise a more definite statement; and at any rate, Del. has himself pointed out that the Hebrew conception of the cherub as the bearer of the deity may have its parallel in the notion of the 'throne-bearers' in Babylonio-Assyrian mythology (see e.g. the Deluge-story, col. ii., l. 44).

³ *Histoire de l'art judaïque*, p. 24.

⁴ *Assyrische Studien*, Heft i. (1874), pp. 107-8.

lightning—the Babylonian analogue has been long ago pointed out by M. Lenormant) 'to guard the way to the tree of life' (Gen. iii. 24). Now, according to a talismanic inscription copied by M. Lenormant, *kirūbu* is a synonym for the steer god, whose winged image filled the place of guardian at the entrance of the Assyrian palaces; and in the imaginative description penned by Ezekiel in Mesopotamia, one of the four faces of a cherub (only two are spoken of in Ezek. xli. 18) is that of an ox (Ezek. i. 10).¹ We should, therefore, I venture to think, connect the word 'cherub' (*k'rubh*) primarily with the Assyrian *kirūbu*, but also, as proposed above, with *kurūbu*. The two forms are admitted to be connected,² and are obviously expressive of some quality common to the king of birds and the colossal steer. What that quality is, has at length been determined. An Assyrian list of synonyms contains the equation (immediately after the words for king and queen, lord and lady) *ka-ru-bu = ru-bu-u : karūbu* is therefore a synonym for *rubū* 'great, exalted, majestic,' and the root-meaning is 'to be great, powerful.'

But we have not exhausted the mythic parallels of the cherubim. The winged genii found in the Egyptian temples have often been adduced. 'Like the cherubim,' remarks Lieblein, 'they are always in couples.'³ Their name in Egyptian is not known; but Mr. le Page Renouf has found⁴ in a very old portion of chap. 136 of the 'Book of the Dead' the word *χerefu*, which means the lion forms, symbolic of the cosmic forces, which the Osiris sees in his celestial journey. This is at any rate an interesting approximation to the Hebrew word; but the Assyrian evidence destroys its claim to be regarded as the etymology. The winged *γρῦπες*, too, inevitably suggest a comparison with the cherubim both as to their name and as to their twofold function of guardians and bearers of the deity (Herod. iv. 13, iii. 106, Æsch. *Prom.* 395). Still closer, at any rate to one form of the cherub myth, is the parallel offered by the (non-Semitic) Elamites, who placed images of a steer-god at the entrances of their palaces and temples. Assurbanipal boasts that he 'broke the winged lions and bulls watching over the temples and removed the winged bulls' (*R.P.*, i. 86).

The origin of the word cherub has now been made clear, and the place of the conception in the great family of myths. The meaning is not more difficult to discover than that of the seraphim. The cherubim are either the storm-clouds, or (as Prof. Tiele suggests) the cloud masses which seem to guard the portals of the sky, and on which the sun-god appears to issue forth at break of day. This will account for the expressions used of the cherubim both of the heavenly

¹ Ezek. x. 14 seems to be corrupt; the correction is suggested by i. 10.

² So Delitzsch (*op. cit.*): '*Kurubu* ist gewiss wurzelverwandt mit assyr. *ki-ru-bu*.'

³ *Recherches sur la chronologie égyptienne* (Christiania, 1873), p. 131.

⁴ *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* May 6, 1884.

and of the earthly 'habitation' of Jehovah—expressions taken up, as it would seem, by the inspired writers from the folklore of their times. The symbolic value of these striking creations of the fancy was too great to be lost. As a kindred poet says:—

Per questo la Scrittura condiscende
A vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
Attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende;
E santa Chiesa con aspetto umano
Gabriel e Michel vi rappresenta,
E l'altro che Tobia rifece sano.¹

The reader will observe two striking omissions in the above; the cherubim of the ark are not adduced as authorities, nor is any special weight attached to Ezekiel's description in the so-called *Merkābah*. My object was to ascertain the popular mythic conception, as it is incidentally expressed in the Old Testament. In the description of the ark (to which Lenormant refers for his view of the cherubim as bird-like), and in Ezekiel's vision the shaping power of a wisely directed imagination has modified the original mythic date. In a later passage of Ezekiel (see above), the prophet evidently speaks as the mouthpiece of his people, but in chap. i. he starts from a foreign version of the cherub, and develops it in his own way. He might, indeed, as well have called these creatures of wonder-land 'nirgalli' as 'cherubim,' for by their outward form they equally suggest the winged lion and the winged bull.² 'It seems as if Ezekiel sought to outdo the Assyrian and Babylonian artists; as if the true religion were to outdo its rivals even in its symbolism.'³

On chap. vi. (Isaiah's humanised seraphim). The winged lions (*nirgalli*) of the Assyrian portals sometimes have human figures as far as the waist (see Vigouroux, *La Bible*, &c., iv. 348, pl. lxxii).

On chap. vii. (vol. i. p. 42). Prof. de Lagarde expresses with great cogency the view that this chapter is the work of a later editor. He calls it 'ein cento aus echten, aber musterhaft ungeschickt zusammengefickten, aussprüchen des Isaias' (*Semitica*, i. 9-13).

On vii. 13 (vol. i. p. 46). My theory is that the royal princes (not the 'princes' of the Auth. Vers. of Jeremiah) formed a kind of order, distinct, nominally at any rate, from the עֲרִימ, that they held high positions in the State, and in Jeremiah's time exercised the royal function of judgment (Jer. xxi. 11, 12; comp. on Isa. i. 10). Further, that during the reign of Josiah, the עֲרִימ (a term which probably includes representatives of the people), and the royal princes, were both equally chargeable with grave offences (Zeph. i. 8). Here was no doubt the germ of a possible oligarchy. It appears from Brugsch's *History* that the same germ existed in Egypt. Normally, this royal

¹ Dante, *Paradiso*, iv. 43-48.

² Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*, iv. 338.

³ Cheyne, 'The Prophecies of Ezekiel,' in *The Clerical World*, No. 1, p. 8.

order would supply the counsellors and officials of the king; abnormally, they would (allying themselves perhaps with the שְׂרִים of non-royal origin) convert the king into a kind of *maire du palais*. It has been objected by Mr. Simcox (*Church Quarterly Review*, July 1880) that the massacres of Jehoram, Athaliah, and Jehu would have left but few royal princes remaining. But is this so certain? 'David, according to 2 Sam. v. 14-16, had no less than eleven sons born in Jerusalem; and in Zech. xii. 12 a sort of secondary royal family is mentioned, co-ordinately with the house of David,' viz., "the house of Nathan"' (I.C.A. p. 88). It seems to me that if all the legitimate descendants of all the kings and kings' sons be included, the 'house of David' (which ought strictly to include the 'house of Nathan,' comp. Luke iii. 31) would be too numerous and widely spread to be destroyed. Besides, the descendants of the long-lived Uzziah would have grown up by the time of the Syrian war.

On vii. 14 (vol. i. p. 48). The 'sign' of Immanuel. Prof. Robertson Smith adopts the explanation of Roorda and Kuenen, 'that a young mother who shall become a mother within a year may name her child "God with us;"' and he remarks elsewhere that viii. 3, 4 is a parallel prophecy, with 'a similar and quite unambiguous sign' (*The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 272, 425). There is, of course, no doubt that, in some sense, the birth of Maher-shalal-hash-baz may be called a 'sign' (see commentary, *ad loc.*); the only difference between myself and Prof. Smith is as to whether 'sign' in vii. 14 is to be used in a different sense from that in which it is used in vii. 11; whether it is probable that Isaiah offered Ahaz a wonderful 'sign' in vii. 11, and finally gave him one of a lower and quite ordinary kind. I cannot see that this is probable. Prof. Smith does not offer an explanation of 'thy land, O Immanuel,' in viii. 8.

On ix. 6 (vol. i. p. 61). Such an elaborate sentence-name as Luzzatto supposes would not be natural in Isaiah's time, though it might be in that of the writer of Chronicles, who distributes the sentence—'I have given great and high help; I have spoken visions in abundance' among 'the imaginary sons of Henian,' giving a fragment of it to each (1 Chron. xxvi. 4). Del. remarks (*Academy*, April 10, 1880) that the oldest Assyrian sentence-name which he has met with is *Abu-ina-ckalli-lilbur*, 'May the father become old in the palace.'

On x. 4. For the pointing Osir in Ex. vi. 24 comp. the undoubted Osir in Phœnician proper names, e.g., Abdosir, Osirsamar; and for Khur in Ex. xvii. 10 comp. the Phœn. Khur or Khor.

On x. 9 (vol. i. p. 70). Kadesh, on the Orontes, the southern capital of the Hittites, had a Semitic name; hence a slight presumption that the northern capital had one too. Friedrich Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 268) thinks that Carchemish is of Aramaic origin; he

analyses it, after G. Hoffmann, into *קִרְיַת מִישׁ* 'fortress of Mish,' on the ground that the earlier name of Oropos (*i.e.* Carchemish?) was Telmessus (or Telmissus), *i.e.* *תֵּל מִישׁ*, 'heap of Mish' (the 'fortress' having at last become a 'ruinous heap').

On xiii. 10 (vol. i., p. 84). One may ask Lenormant, Why should not more than one brilliant constellation have been called *k'sil*? We can thus give a natural explanation of the plural.

On xiv. 4-21 (vol. i. pp. 88-93). On the elegiac form, see Dr. Budde, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1882, pp. 12-14, who has proposed various emendations to restore symmetry to the song. Comp. Bickell, *Carmina vet. Test. metricè*, p. 202.

On xiv. 8 (vol. i. p. 88). M. Pognon, Assistant Consul of France at Beirut, thinks he has found the site of a timber-yard where Nebuchadnezzar had trees cut down to be sent to Babylon. At any rate, the two inscriptions he has found on the rocks of a valley (Wady Brissa) on the E. slope of Lebanon are chiefly concerned with building operations in Babylon. (*The Times*, Jan. 1884).

On xiv. 13, 14 (vol. i. pp. 90, 91). The similarity and the contrast of the general Oriental and the Israelitish view of royalty will be manifest. Some Israelitish kings had not even a shadow of divinity (Hos. viii. 4). The Davidic king, no doubt, approaches the honour accorded to the Babylonian and Assyrian kings; he is called Jehovah's son (2 Sam. vii. 14, Ps. lxxxix. 27), but so too is the people of Israel (Ex. iv. 22, Jer. xxxi. 9, Hos. xi. 1). It is only the Messiah who is described somewhat as the neighbouring peoples would describe their kings—not only as 'my companion and the man who is my neighbour' (Zech. xiii. 7, pronouncing *rē'i*), but even *'el gibbōr* (ix. 7, Hebr. 6). The proto-Babylonians, however, sometimes went so far as to prefix the determinative of divinity to the names of their kings. Two examples of this are given by Prof. Sayce, *T.S.B.A.* v. 442; comp. Lenormant, *Étude sur quelques parties des syllabaires cunéiformes*, p. 14.

On chaps. xv. xvi. (vol. i. p. 97). I have endeavoured to do justice to the various textual phenomena, and I do not see how the conclusion can be resisted. Wellhausen with much probability assigns the original prophecy to the period of Jeroboam II. and Uzziah, since it presupposes that Judah is a rather powerful kingdom (*Encycl. Brit.*, art. 'Moab'). But to give the reader the opportunity of hearing the other side, I quote here Dr. Weir's view as to the authorship of the prophecy, from the manuscript notes lent to me. On xvi. 1-5, he confirms the opinion I have myself expressed; his suggestion in the words italicised would, I think, carry more weight were it accompanied by a literary analysis. But from this, Dr. Weir prudently abstained.

'Assuming, therefore, that the two concluding verses of this

prophecy are from Isaiah, is the rest of it also originally his, or is it to be assigned to another and an older author? The majority of modern expositors are disposed to adopt the latter alternative; and Hitzig, followed by Maurer, had made an elaborate attempt to prove that the real author of the prophecy is Jonah, and that we have a Scriptural reference to it in 2 Kings xiv. 25. The style, it is said, differs considerably from that of Isaiah; the frequent repetition of יָי and לַעֲלֹנִים has been specially noted; also the accumulation of geographical names. No trace here, it has been said, of Isaiah's light and rapid march—of his bold transitions and combinations; the stream of thought flows tediously and heavily along, and cause and consequence are marked with cumbrous accuracy. It must be allowed that these remarks are not altogether groundless. The style of the prophecy certainly differs in some parts from the usual style of Isaiah's compositions; though none but an impatient and fastidious critic would pronounce it heavy and tedious. To account for this difference, it is to be observed that there is in this prophecy a more copious outflow of sympathetic emotion than we usually find in the earlier prophecies of Isaiah, arising probably in part from the historical relationship which subsisted between Israel and Moab; and such emotion is quite inconsistent with the light and rapid march which some critics desiderate here. And if this is not thought to furnish an adequate explanation of all the alleged peculiarities, *there is no reason why we should refuse to avail ourselves of the hypothesis that some of the verses, especially in the fifteenth chapter, may have been quoted from an earlier prophecy.*¹

'Granting this, it appears to me very certain that the prophecy is substantially from the pen of Isaiah. The middle stanza (xvi. 1-5) is, I should say, unquestionably Isaiah's. In the last stanza the description of the vine of Sibmah may be brought into comparison with v. 1-6, and the prominence given to the 'pride' of Moab as the cause of Moab's fall is just what we should expect from the author of chap. ii. In the first stanza (chap. xv.) also there are indications not obscure, of the hand of Isaiah, as in the latter part of v. 6, and in the closing words of the stanza (פְּלִיטָה) in the construct state being found only in Isaiah—comp. iv. 2, x. 20, xxxvii. 3.'

On xv. 6 (vol. i. p. 99). 'The waters of Nimrim.' Seetzen had already identified Nimrim with the lower part (still called Nahr Nimrin) of the Wâdy pointed out (see note in vol. i.) by Consul Wetzstein, the luxuriant meadows of which form a strong contrast with the gloomy scenery of the Wâdy en-Numeira. As to the meaning of the name Nimrim, it is rather tempting to connect it with

¹ The italics are the editor's.

Arab. *namîr*, Assyr. *namri* 'transparent,' and to suppose that Beth Nimrâ derived its name from the waters. But it has been pointed out that there are other places with names from the same root, and that in olden times there were divisions of Arab tribes bearing names (Nimir, Anmar, Nomeyr) strongly suggestive of the panther. The Syriac writer, Jacob of Sarug, also speaks of *bar nemre*, 'the son of panthers,' as a false deity of Harrân. I find it therefore impossible to resist the conclusion that in Nimrim, as well as in the other cases, there is a reference to the panther. What this panther is, will be clear to those who are convinced by Mr. M'Lennan's evidence, that in widely separated countries a primitive form of worship prevailed called by him totemism—*i.e.* 'animals were worshipped by tribes of men who were named after them and believed to be of their breed.' It is certain that the ancient Semitic peoples worshipped many animal gods, and the most reasonable view is that these were totems or animal-fetishes. Such a totem to some of the Semitic clans of Syria and Arabia was apparently the panther, and from this panther the places called Nimrâ, Nimara, &c., naturally derived their names. (See further below, on lxx. 4. lxvi. 3, 17). So Prof. Robertson Smith, to whose important paper in the *Journal of Philology* for 1880 I refer the reader. I do not, however, see that there is a radical difference between him and Graf Baudissin as to the import of the animal deities of the Semites; for it must be remembered that the planets were regarded by primitive man (comp. the Accadian term for the planets, *lubat*—*i.e.* 'a kind of carnivorous quadruped,' Lenormant) as having a *quasi* animal existence.

On xvii. 8 (vol. i. pp. 106-7). Dr. Stade (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 1881, p. 184) and Prof. Robertson Smith (*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 226) have recently revived the opinion that the word Ashéra is not the name of a goddess, but means 'a pole,' and that this pole was the symbol of the sacred tree, which stood on or near the altars of the 'high places.' This seems to be opposed, not only by the occurrence of Asher in Hebrew literature (most probably to be explained on the analogy of Gad, as originally a divine name), but also by passages of the Old Testament literature (see 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chron. xv. 16, 2 Kings xxi. 7, where an image of the Ashérah is spoken of, 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 7, where we find vessels and tents for the Ashérah; 1 Kings xviii. 19—'the prophets of the Baal and the prophets of the Ashérah').¹ The truth is that the word Ashérah has a twofold value in the Old Testament, 1. as a divine name, and 2. as a material symbol of a divinity.

¹ I take these references from Graf Baudissin's very complete article 'Aschera' in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*, 2nd ed., i. 719-25.

On xvii. 10 (vol. i. p. 108). In illustration of the Adonis-plants Lagarde refers to Löw's *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, pp. 201, 380.

On chap. xviii. (vol. i. p. 110). In an essay on this chapter (*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, Oct. 1881), Mr. Hodgkin, the historian of the Goths in Italy, has attempted a new theory of the meaning, based upon a careful study of Brugsch-Bey's *History of Egypt*. He concludes 'that in this chapter the prophet warns the world-shadowing kings of Ethiopia of the insecure tenure by which they hold their empire. They may send despatch-boat after despatch-boat down the Nile to summon their vassals of the Delta to their intended campaign against Assyria, campaigns which are to be commenced at least upon the often-devastated soil of Palestine. All will not avail them . . . Summer and winter will pass over the unburied corpses of the Ethiopians and their Egyptian subjects in the land of Israel.' This theory, as well as the older one that the Jews are a nation referred to in *vv.* 2, 7, is due to a want of tact in dealing with the peculiar phraseology of these verses.

On xviii. 2 (vol. i. p. 111), 'vessels of papyrus.' Compare *Mémoires du duc de Rovigo*, i. 94: 'On donna la lettre à porter à un fellah qui ne prit pas d'autre moyen, pour exécuter sa commission, que de lier ensemble deux bottes de joncs, sur lesquelles il se plaça assis à la turque, avec sa pipe et un peu de dattes, ne prenant que sa lance pour se défendre contre les crocodiles, et une petite rame pour se diriger. Placé ainsi sur cette frêle embarcation, il s'abandonna au cours du fleuve, et arriva sans accident.'

On xxi. 1-10 (vol. i. pp. 125, 6). Prof. Sayce (*Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, 1884, p. 181) regards the invasion of Babylonia by Elam and Media there referred to as the invasion of Cyrus, and describes this as 'a most interesting testimony to the accuracy of the Old Testament records.' In the next paragraph he observes that the inscriptions have proved that Babylonia was not taken by siege, but that it opened its gates to the general of Cyrus long before he came to it. He forgets to notice that this is not in harmony with the description in Isa. xxi. 1-10, where Babylon is represented as taken by storm, and its defenders as summoned hastily from a banquet, reminding us of Dan. v. He does, however, make the suggestive remark that 'the siege of Babylon described by Herodotus [and in Dan. v. ?] really belongs to the reign of Darius, and has been transferred by tradition to the reign of Cyrus, and that the late Mr. Bosanquet was right in asserting that the Darius of the Book of Daniel is Darius the son of Hystaspes.' The natural inference from Prof. Sayce's point of view would surely be that Isa. xxi. 1-10 refers to the siege of Babylon by Darius in 521 (on which see G. Smith's *Babylonia*, p. 119). But why does he confine his view to literal

historical correspondences? why not also look at the neglected requirements of exegesis? And this brings us back to the very point to which I have tried to bring the discussion in *Introd.* to xxi. 1-10.

On xxii. 17 (vol. i. p. 137). The view of יְהוָה as a vocative (so Pesh., A. E., Kimchi, Hitz., Ew.) certainly gives more force to the passage than any other. The omission of the article under the excitement of feeling ought not to need a justification (comp. Isa. i. 2, Job xvi. 18).

On xxvi. 8 (vol. i. p. 154). The phrase, the 'Name,' or 'Face,' of Jehovah is an innocent loan from the current Semitic theology. The Semitic deities in general were not triads but duads. They were originally the productive powers of nature, and were grouped in couples of male and female principles, under the names of Baal and Baalath (or Baaltis), and Ashtar (or Ashtor) and Ashtoreth, or by a cross-division, Baal and Ashtoreth. In Eshmunazar's inscription (vii. 8, 9, Schlottmann), the king and his mother say that they have built two houses or temples, the one 'to the Baal of Sidon,' and the other 'to Ashtoreth or (Astarte), the Name of Baal.' (Ewald's rendering—'To Ashtoreth of the name of Baal,' and Dillmann's 'To the heavenly Ashtoreth (wife) of Baal,' seem to me unnatural.) It is remarkable that they should have built two temples. This shows that the Phœnicians had no 'monotheistic instinct,' at any rate in the fourth century B.C. The compiler of the Book of Kings, however, can speak indifferently of 'the house of Jehovah' and of 'a house (built) unto the name of Jehovah' (1 Kings iii. 1, 2). Compare Ginsburg's note on the Ashtar-Chemosh of the Inscription of Mesha (*The Moabite Stone*, 1871, p. 43).

On xxvi. 19 (vol. i. p. 157). 'Dew,' more strictly 'night-mist'; see on xviii. 4. Hosea xiv. 5 is a closer parallel than I have stated. In Hos. xiii. 15 the parching sirocco destroys all vitality; there has been no counteracting 'night-mist' as in the hottest part of the dry season of Palestine. After an interval, Jehovah promises to heal (Hos. xiv. 4), and to be 'as the dew' (or night-mist) unto Israel. Clearly a 'dew of lights,' as explained in my note, expresses what is in Hosea's mind.

On xxviii. 18 (vol. i. p. 167). Wellhausen remarks in his note on the meaning of *kapper* 'to atone' (*Geschichte Israels*, ed. 1, p. 66; omitted in ed. 2), that Isa. xxviii. 18 must be passed over, as the word is quite strange in this passage, and the supposed meaning 'to obliterate' cannot be proved. Prof. Robertson Smith, however, takes as the primary meaning of the word, not to 'cover,' but 'to wipe.'¹ This view, if accepted, will justify the rendering doubted by Well-

¹ *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 438-9

hausen, but the correction adopted in the text still remains a very natural one.

On xxx. 22 (vol. i. p. 178). It is remarkable that in this prophetic description of the break with Israel's past which must precede the conferring of God's best gifts, nothing is said of the destruction of the high places. It is only by inference that we can assume the tacit opposition of Isaiah to the ancient custom of worshipping at the local sanctuaries—an inference drawn partly from Isaiah's stress on the supreme importance of Mount Zion (ii. 2, 3, xxviii. 16, xxix. 8), and partly from the more or less complete temporary abolition of the high places, decreed if not accomplished, by the prophet's royal friend, Hezekiah. Considering Isaiah's reserve, is it not more than probable that Dathe, Roorda, and Kuenen are right in reading 'the sin (of Judah)' (*khattath*) instead of 'the high places' (*bāmōth*) in Mic. i. 5?

—— 'The plating (or overlaying) of thy golden images.' This phrase suggests the true meaning of 'ephod' in narrative passages (except 1 Sam. ii. 18, xxii. 18, and in Hos. iii. 4), viz. 'plated image.'

On xxxviii. 13 (vol. i., p. 230). Hezekiah appeals to Jehovah against Himself. Comp. Korán, Sura ix. 119, 'they bethought them that there was no refuge from God but unto Him.'

On xxxix. 6 (vol. i. p. 240). Dr. Delitzsch, in his review of vol. i., has the following remark: 'The parallel from Isaiah's contemporary, Micah ("Thou shalt go to Babylon," iv. 10) he passes over very lightly; "Babylon is mentioned there only as a part of the Assyrian empire." Certainly, but as the ruling city of the empire of the world, though that empire be held at the time by Assyria.' But how is it possible for Babylon to be mentioned as at the same time a part of the Assyrian empire, and a symbol of the capital of the imperial power ἀπλωσ? The two significations of Babylon cannot surely be combined. One is also entitled to ask what evidence there is for this symbolic use of the term Babylon at so early a date? It is true that 'the River'—*i.e.*, the Euphrates—is used once in Isaiah (viii. 7) to represent the Assyrian empire; but this is not a parallel case, the expression being chosen simply in order to produce a striking poetical figure. See my note on Mic. iv. 10 in the Cambridge School edition of Micah, where the hypothesis of interpolation is advocated, but not on any arbitrary ground.

On xl. 15 (vol. i. p. 249). Add to the two psalm-passages quoted in note Ps. lxxv. 6, reading 𐤇𐤍𐤏 for 𐤇𐤍 (Grätz after the Targum).

On xlv. 14 second half (vol. i. pp. 297-8). This voluntary servitude is yet not servile; the symbol reminds us of xlv. 5 (clauses 1 and 3). Comp. St. Athanasius, 'Because of our relationship to His (Christ's) body, we too have become God's Temple, and in conse-

quence are made God's sons, so that even in us the Lord is worshipped, and beholders report, as the Apostle says, that God is in them of a truth' (*Select Treatises*, Oxford transl., Part I. p. 241). The direct reference of course is to 1 Cor. xiv. 25, but St. Paul is not improbably alluding to the prophecy—he says that the heathen visitor 'shall worship God,' but clearly means 'God in the Church,' as St. Athanasius explains (comp. my note on Isa. *l.c.*).

On li. 6. Prof. H. L. Strack remarks, 'Would not the moth (עש) be a more likely animal to select for an image of perishableness (comp. Job iv. 19, xxvii. 18)?' He would explain as Delitzsch. But in Job xxvii. 18 we should rather read עכביש 'a spider,' with Sept. (one of two renderings), Pesh., Merx, and Hitzig. A single passage of Job does not outweigh the Semitic parallels cited in my note.

On lii. 13, &c. (The portrait of the Servant.) A combination of influences, both Biblical and Platonic (comp. above, p. 194, note¹), seems to have produced the outer form of a remarkable passage in the Wisdom of Solomon (ii. 12-21), which has been too much overlooked,¹ and which reminds us of a similar echo of prophecy in the Sibylline Oracle on the κόρη and her royal child (see on chap. xi., vol. i. p. 75).

On liii. 10. 'It pleased Jehovah.' A poet's words often have deep and true meanings, of which he was not himself conscious, but which he would certainly not have disowned. Such a meaning of the prophet's expression has been pointed out by Dr. Weir. 'Obs., it is not *God*, but *Jehovah*. We thought him smitten by Elohim (*v.* 4); but no. It was by Israel's God and for Israel's sake.'

—— Wellhausen denies that אשם in this passage has the sense of 'guilt-offering'; it means, he says, simply the guilt which is borne by the innocent for the guilty.² As a commentator on Isaiah I am not called upon to discuss the theory at the root of this bold negation; but I will frankly admit that I agree with Ritschl that it is difficult to say why the word אשם should be particularly used here, and that the 'simpler solution' mentioned at the end of my note on the clause (p. 51) commends itself to my judgment. If we adopt it, however, must we take the Grafian hypothesis as to the Levitical legislation into the bargain? We must either do this, or else suppose that this body of laws, though in existence, was not very widely known. Against the extreme view entertained by Wellhausen on the point immediately before us (*viz.* that 'sin-offerings' or 'guilt-offerings' were absolutely unknown prior to the Exile), it may cer-

¹ Not, however, I observe, by Dr. Mozley (*Essays*, ii. 124).

² Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, i. 76.

tainly be urged (without laying any stress on Isa. i. 11 or 2 Kings xii. 17) that in Hos. iv. 8, Ps. xl. 6, there are probably references to the sin-offering, and probably in Prov. xiv. 9 (see Delitzsch and Nowack) to the guilt-offering. Moreover in the passage quoted from the exile-prophet Ezekiel (xl. 39) there is nothing, as Del. remarks,¹ to indicate that the sin-offering and the guilt-offering were of later introduction than the burnt-offering, in combination with which they are mentioned. Nor are the supposed novelties referred to at all more frequently by the later writers. Sin-offerings are mentioned twice (Neh. x. 34, 2 Macc. xii. 43); guilt-offerings only once (Del. says, not even once; but in Ezra x. 19, we should probably point אֲשָׁמִים with Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, ii. 2, p. 133).

On lxiii. 6. Two of the oldest St. Petersburg MSS. (dated 916 and 1009 respectively) agree with the ordinary printed text, but in the former כ has been altered *primâ manu* into ב. See Strack, *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol.* 1877, p. 51.

On lxiii. 16, 'for Abraham taketh no notice of us.' My note requires supplementing in two points. First, granting that the speaker does not intend (as Dr. Weir supposed) to deny that Abraham and Jacob can 'take notice' of their descendants, what precisely is his meaning? Calvin supposes the argument to be similar to that in xlix. 15; 'potius enim naturæ jura cessabunt, quàm te nobis patrem non præbeas,' but is כִּי ever 'though,' unless perhaps when its clause stands first? It is better to follow St. Jerome, and ascribe the inattention complained of on the part of the patriarchs to the degeneracy of their descendants; to apply the language of Deut. xxxii. 5, the Jews of the Exile were 'their not-children'—לֹא בְנֵינוּ—*i.e.* the very reverse of their children. The next question is, whether the prophet himself is to be supposed to endorse the words which he utters in the name of the people, or whether he simply condescends to the popular phraseology. On reconsidering my note it appears to me that the former view is perfectly tenable. The fact that the continued interest of the 'saints' in human affairs was a belief of the later Jews (comp. Matt. xxvii. 47, 49, and the Talmudic legends) should not blind the historian to the evidence of its antiquity (nor, I may add, to the traces of it in the New Testament—see Luke xvi. 25-31, ix. 30, 31, John viii. 56, on which see Godet, *Rev.* vi. 9-11). Nor can we fairly appeal to those mythic expressions, such as the Face and the Arm of Jehovah, and perhaps the 'hewing Rahab in pieces,' which are symbols of ideas and phenomena not to be adequately expressed in human language; for since the saints are still literally human beings, that which is predicated of

¹ Delitzsch, 'Pentateuch-kritische Studien,' i., in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 8.

them must also be intended literally. This belief in the sympathy of the 'saints' corresponds to that in the intercession of angels, which we have found already in li. 9, lxii. 6, and which is also presupposed in Job v. 1 (read 'holy ones,' *i.e.* angels, for 'saints,' xxxiii. 23 (read 'angel' for 'messenger')). It is true that these beliefs are not brought prominently forward; they have their roots too deep in popular feeling. But the evidence of their existence should not be overlooked by the historian of dogma.

[If I may refer to Calvin again, it is interesting to notice how his exegetical honesty is balanced by his anxiety not to support the practice of invoking the saints. He admits that our passage by no means proves that the faithful departed have no more interest in human affairs, but he thinks it necessary to give a strong practical caution against invoking them. Stier, quoting Calvin's concession, admits with equal candour that 'grade das Nicht-ankennen setzt eber ein Kennen, das Nichtfürsorgen doch ein etwelches Wissen um die Nachkommen voraus.']

On lxvi. 17, 'after One in the midst.' A reference to the worship of Tammuz or Adonis is perfectly consistent with the composition of the prophecy in Palestine. There are several certain or highly probable allusions to this cultus in the prophets. Ezekiel (viii. 14) expressly refers to the women who sat at the gate of the outer court of the temple 'weeping for the Tammuz' (*i.e.* the divinised sun of autumn). The refrain of the Adonis-dirge is probably preserved in Jer. xxii. 18 (where, however, 'his glory,' parallel to 'my sister,' can hardly be correct); and, in Isa. xvii. 10, we have already traced an allusion to the Adonis-gardens. After the restoration of the Jews, we find the name Tammuz (in imitation of the Babylonians) given to the fourth Hebrew month. The cultus of Adonis lingered on at Bethlehem even in the Christian period, according to St. Jerome.¹ In the passage before us, the prophet says nothing of the 'weeping' for Adonis, and Ezekiel, who mentions the 'weeping' of the Hebrew devotees, is silent as to the procession.

On lxvi. 19. 'Put and Lud that draw the bow.' The points of my note are these: 1. that Pul (the received reading) occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament, whereas Put (the reading of the Septuagint) does, and that in connection with Lud, 2. that Lud being a N.-African people (see note), it is reasonable to suppose that the nation coupled with it is also N.-African. From the extreme south of Spain to northern Africa is an easy transition, but I admit that Tubal and Javan do not follow quite naturally. True, the names of

¹ *Opera*, ed. Ben., iv, 564 (ep. xlix. ad Paul.).

places are not always given in geographical order. But it is quite possible that Wetzstein's emendation (palæographically a slight one) of Pul into Pun (*i.e.* Carthage) is correct. From Carthage to Asia Minor (assuming with Wetzstein that Lud means Lydia) is a natural transition, and Javan and the maritime countries follow then as a matter of course. [My friend, Mr. Sayce, is so impressed with the necessity for bringing these geographical references into a natural order that (in a private communication) he boldly identifies 'Pul' with the 'Apuli' of Central Italy. He remarks, 'I do not admit that "Lud" is a N.-African people in Ezek. xxx. 5. It there means the Lydian soldiers by whose help Psammetichus made Egypt independent of Assyria, and his successors maintained their power. Ludim, Gen. x. 13, is distinguished from Lud (Lydia) in v. 22. These Ludim are the Lydian soldiers by whom the power of the Saitic dynasty was maintained.' Dr. Stade gets rid of these Ludim in Gen. *l.c.* and Jer. xlv. 9, by emending the word into Lubim 'Libyans.' (*De populo Javan*, Giessen, 1880.)]

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