The

International Critical Commentary

on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and

New Testaments

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF

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The International
Critical Commentary
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New Testaments

EDITORS' PREFACE

THERE are now before the public many Commentaries, written by British and American divines, of a popular or homiletical character. The Cambridge Bible for Schools, the Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students, The Speaker's Commentary, The Popular Commentary (Schaff), The Expositor's Bible, and other similar series, have their special place and importance. But they do not enter into the field of Critical Biblical scholarship occupied by such series of Commentaries as the Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum A. T.; De Wette's Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum N. T.; Meyer's Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar; Keil and Delitzsch's Biblischer Commentar über das A. T.; Lange's Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk; Nowack's Handkommentar zum A. T.; Holtzmann's Handkommentar zum N. T. Several of these have been translated, edited, and in some cases enlarged and adapted, for the English-speaking public; others are in process of translation. But no corresponding series by British or American divines has hitherto been produced. The way has been prepared by special Commentaries by Cheyne, Ellicott, Kalisch, Lightfoot, Perowne, Westcott, and others; and the time has come, in the judgment of the projectors of this enterprise, when it is practicable to combine British and American scholars in the production of a critical, comprehensive Commentary that will be abreast of modern biblical scholarship, and in a measure lead its van.

The Commentaries will be international and inter-confessional, and will be free from polemical and ecclesiastical bias. They will be based upon a thorough critical study of the original texts of the Bible, and upon critical methods of interpretation. They are designed chiefly for students and clergymen, and will be written in a compact style. Each book will be preceded by an Introduction, stating the results of criticism upon it, and discussing impartially the questions still remaining open. The details of criticism will appear in their proper place in the body of the Commentary. Each section of the Text will be introduced with a paraphrase, or summary of contents. Technical details of textual and philological criticism will, as a rule, be kept distinct from matter of a more general character; and in the Old Testament the exegetical notes will be arranged, as far as possible, so as to be serviceable to students not acquainted with Hebrew. The History of Interpretation of the Books will be dealt with, when necessary, in the Introductions, with critical notices of the most important literature of the subject. Historical and Archaeological questions, as well as questions of Biblical Theology, are included in the plan of the Commentaries, but not Practical or Homiletical Exegesis. The Volumes will constitute a uniform series.
The International Critical Commentary

ARRANGEMENT OF VOLUMES AND AUTHORS

THE OLD TESTAMENT


JOSHUA. The Rev. George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Principal of the University of Aberdeen.

JUDGES. The Rev. George Moore, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [Now Ready.


KINGS. The Rev. Francis Brown, D.D., D.Litt., LL.D., President and Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

CHRONICLES. The Rev. Edward L. Curtis, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Now Ready.

EZRA AND NEHEMIAH. The Rev. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature, General Theological Seminary, New York City.


ISAIAH. Chaps. XXVIII-LXVI. The Rev. A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Victoria University and Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester, England.

JEREMIAH. The Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D., Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Victoria University and Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester, England.


AMOS AND HOSEA. W. R. Harper, Ph.D., LL.D., sometime President of the University of Chicago, Illinois. [Now Ready.]

MICAH, ZEPHANIAH, NAHUM, HABAKKUK, OBADIAH, AND JOEL. Prof. John P. Smith, University of Chicago; W. Hayes Ward, D.D., LL.D., Editor of The Independent, New York; Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Union Theological Seminary, New York. [Now Ready.]

ZECHARIAH TO JONAH. Prof. H. G. Mitchell, D.D., Prof. John P. Smith and Prof. J. A. Bewer. [In Press.]

ESTHER. The Rev. L. B. Paton, Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew, Hartford Theological Seminary. [Now Ready.]

ECCLESIASTES. Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Pa. [Now Ready.]

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THE NEW TESTAMENT

ST. MATTHEW. The Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew, Exeter College, Oxford. [Now Ready.]


THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY
The International Critical Commentary


II. CORINTHIANS. The Rev. Dawson Walker, D.D., Theological Tutor in the University of Durham.


EPHESIANS AND COLOSSIANS. The Rev. T. K. Abbott, B.D., D.Litt., sometime Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin, now Librarian of the same.

PHILIPPIANS AND PHILEMON. The Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

THESSALONIANS. The Rev. James E. Frame, M.A., Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.


HEBREWS. The Rev. James Moffatt, D.D., Minister United Free Church, Broughty Ferry, Scotland.


PETER AND JUDE. The Rev. Charles Bigg, D.D., sometime Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN. The Rev. E. A. Brooke, B.D., Fellow and Divinity Lecturer in King's College, Cambridge.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY

VOL. I
PREFACE.

This Commentary should have been written by another; and all who are in any way familiar with the work of the late Dr. A. B. Davidson, and conscious of the profound sympathy and penetrating insight that he always brought to the interpretation of Scripture, must regret that he had made no substantial progress with the Commentary, which the editors of this series had entrusted to him, at the time when Christian scholarship and Christian life were left the poorer by his death.

After Dr. Davidson's death, the editors, with a view to the speedier completion of this series, decided to make the Commentary on Isaiah the work of two writers; and at their request I undertook the preparation of the Commentary on chs. 1–39. For the present volume I am, then, entirely responsible; and, owing to the unequal size of the two main parts of the Book of Isaiah, the conclusion of my work must be held over for the second volume, which will also contain Dr. Peake's Commentary on chs. 40–66, completing the work.

For the general Introduction to the entire book I am also solely responsible, though Dr. Peake, who has read it, is in general agreement with it, and in particular with such references as it contains to chs. 40–66. The more special Introduction to those chapters will be written by him, and appear in vol. ii. The second volume will also contain full Indexes to the whole work.

I cannot claim, as I could in writing my Preface to
the *Commentary on Numbers*, in this series, that the lack of recent Commentaries is in itself sufficient justification for the publication of a new one. Once again I have been able to avail myself of the learning of Dillmann, with on this occasion the additions or corrections of Kittel; but as a commentator on Isaiah, Dillmann stands far less alone. Like all who have devoted themselves to the study of Isaiah since 1892, I am profoundly indebted to the Commentary of Bernhard Duhm, as my frequent references to him may be left to show; frequently agreeing with him, I have also frequently differed from him; but often when I have differed, I have differed because I first have learnt from him. In some respects Duhm seems to me to have led those astray who have followed him too closely, and particularly by his line- and strophe-divisions; but that is only a small offset to the really great service which he has rendered. Marti in brief compass has found it possible to advance frequently beyond Duhm; and to his work I have constantly turned, and seldom unrewarded. But to come now nearer home. Two names of Oxford scholars should always be associated with the study of Isaiah: they are those of Robert Lowth (Introduction, § 44) and T. K. Cheyne. The Commentary of the latter at the end of last century for long stood out conspicuous, in the general dearth of good English Commentaries on the Old Testament; it was itself the successor of earlier and valuable works on Isaiah, and it has been succeeded and, in some measure superseded, by his later works, especially (though even these are not his latest discussions of Isaiah) his edition of the Hebrew text and of an English Translation with notes in Haupt’s *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. But the English student is also happy in the possession of excellent shorter Commentaries by Skinner (*Cambridge Bible*), Whitehouse (*Century Bible*), and Wade (*Westminster Commentaries*). The last appeared too recently to be of much use to me in the preparation of this volume. Briefer still, but admirable also, and to be commended in
particular because, as in Dr. Skinner’s, the text is printed in poetical form, is McFadyen’s Commentary in *The Bible for Home and School*. Of works not taking the form of a Commentary it must suffice to refer to Driver’s *Isaiah: His Life and Times*, the famous volumes in the *Expositor’s Bible* by the distinguished Principal of Aberdeen University, and to the translations in poetical form by Box (1908), Glazebrook (*Studies in the Book of Isaiah, 1910*), and Kent (in the *Students’ Old Testament: The Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses of Israel’s Prophets, 1910*). But my purpose here is not to compile a catalogue, or to repeat what will be found elsewhere (pp. xvi ff.); sufficient has been said to show that recent works on Isaiah are lacking neither in quality nor in quantity. One other work in French may be referred to; I have found Condamin’s *Livre d’Isaé* (1905) valuable not only for its intrinsic merits, but because it is based on a different theory of rhythm, and it frequently criticises the work of writers with whom, in general, I am in greater agreement.

I have made no attempt to record opinions with anything approaching the fullness of reference that marks Harper’s *Commentary on Amos and Hosea* in this series. Consideration of space alone forbade it; two volumes for a commentary on what, after all, is a short book may seem ample, yet they are but little when compared with the 1600 double-columned folio pages of Vitringa, or even the 1600 smaller pages of Gesenius. But I have endeavoured to discharge that part of my duty which consists in attention to the history of exegesis: if I have seldom or never referred to some Commentaries of the 19th century, though they were excellent in their day, it is because much that was said in them, as much that is said in my own, has an earlier origin. I have made constant use of Jerome’s Commentary as a good example of patristic scholarship and exegesis, and as the source of so much that served throughout the Middle Ages, and of not a little that is rightly repeated to-day. Another important source of
interpretation is to be found in the work of the mediaeval Jewish scholars, among whom I have chiefly consulted Rashi, Kimhi, and Ibn Ezra. I have made more occasional use of, or at least more limited reference to, Calvin, Grotius, Vitringa, and Koppe; but with Gesenius' great Commentary (1821) comes a fresh and plentiful source of valuable information and suggestion; it still repays constant use of it; Hitzig and Ewald, among those who fill up the time before the recent writers to whom I have referred, also made characteristic contributions to the interpretation of Isaiah.

The task of interpreting the Book of Isaiah is by no means complete; and this is largely because the philological basis is as yet far from secure. This cannot be conveniently discussed in briefer commentaries; but as a contributor to the present series I have, as in duty bound, devoted much attention to it. I might be more satisfied with the result of my labours if I could feel that two or three important fields of inquiry were really worked out. As it is, I must at least indicate here what appear to me certain general grounds for considering much of the interpretation tentative and uncertain.

1. The text is frequently corrupt, frequently at least open to suspicion of corruption, even where it has very generally been accepted without demur. Ultimately in many passages we shall always be driven back on conjecture; but I am persuaded that the evidence of the Greek version has not been as yet completely and accurately sifted (cp. Introduction, § 4).

Another but partially worked out subject that bears very considerably on the soundness of the text, and often in consequence on interpretation, is that of metre or rhythm. I came to the study of Isaiah still sceptical on the subject of Hebrew metre; I remain sceptical of the finality of any existing theory of it; but the approximation to regularity in the parallel periods is too striking to be neglected, and I have systematically drawn attention to it in the small print notes prefixed to the trans-
lations: at the same time I have endeavoured to make the irregularities, which in the present text at all events are frequent, as obvious as the approximations to regularity. At the present stage metrical arguments alone appear to me a precarious textual criterion, but as confirmatory of other considerations they often have value. I discuss the matter more fully in the Introduction (§§ 44-57).

2. Uncertainty of another kind is due to the insufficiency of our historical knowledge. The brilliant genius of Winckler, in particular, has started many theories of ancient history, geography, and thought which, if sound, would largely modify the interpretation of the Book of Isaiah, as well as most of our conceptions of the history of Israel and the influence of the Jews on religion and history. I have not found myself able to go very far in adopting these theories, but the discussions of Winckler and others serve at least to throw into relief the inadequacy of our knowledge of the facts (as distinguished from theories based upon them) of that history which must form the background to the Book of Isaiah.

The plan of the present series provides for a translation of the poetical parts of the Old Testament: this has called for a translation of by far the greater part of the Book of Isaiah, virtually, indeed, of the whole of it apart from chs. 36-39. I have aimed at making my translations the pivot of the Commentary; apart from it they have, indeed, little claim to consideration; I have deliberately, where necessary, sacrificed form and style, in order to make them as expressive as possible of what I understand the Hebrew text to mean, but also of the numerous uncertainties which appear to me at present to beset the text. For this reason I have introduced many marks of interrogation; and as additional marks of interrogation I would suggest that the single inverted commas, which indicate emendation, should be regarded: few emendations are certain, though many enable us to approximate more closely to the original thought of the
writer than do the prevalent conjectural translations of the existing Hebrew text. By conjectural translation I mean translations that rest on ancient or modern guesses at the meaning of words or phrases, and either lack support in usage and etymology altogether, or obtain the semblance of such support only by means of improbable inferences from actual usage (see, e.g., p. 458 top). In some cases, if any translation at all is attempted, there is no escape from guessing, and it is merely a question whether the guess shall take the form of conjectural emendation, or of conjectural translation.* Where the sense seemed to me hopelessly obscure, and any prevalent conjectural rendering or reading more likely to conceal than to illumine the meaning of the passage as a whole, I have preferred to leave words or lines entirely untranslated.

I would draw attention here to what I have discussed more fully in the Introduction: the line divisions of the translations are determined by regard for parallelism and with disregard of rhythm or metre, where this conflicts with parallelism.

In general, I have given entire in the translations what appears to me to constitute a single poem, and no more; occasionally, for particular purposes, I have, however, brought together in translation what may be a collection of one or more poems, or fragments, rather than a single poem (see, e.g., 1-17 5-24). The small print in the translations indicates the possibility that the words in question are intrusive; but the degree of uncertainty so indicated varies greatly; in some cases it is very slight.

So many features of these Commentaries are now familiar that they call for no special explanation here. But to one detail I must refer. I have in general followed

Swete's text of the Greek version, accepting his authority in matters of accentuation, etc., when I had no occasion to question it. But one principle of accentuation followed in that text is misleading in relation to many, of the more or less minute, points of philology. I refer to the accentuation of the proper names and of transliterations of Hebrew words, for which there is no authority in the oldest Greek MSS. In Swete's text the accentuation of the later MSS is abandoned, and the Greek forms in question are accentuated in accordance with the accentuation of the vocalised Hebrew of the Massoretic text.* Unfortunately, owing to a misunderstanding, the accentuation of Swete's text has been allowed to stand in some of the transliterations cited in this Commentary; it was intended that all such words should have been consistently, as they are frequently, left without accent as in Lagarde's edition, and in the names cited in EBi. For the same reason, breathings (which in Swete's text are inserted in accordance with the existing Massoretic Hebrew text, so that they possess no authority of their own) are omitted.

Unless, in common with most modern writers on Isaiah, I am fundamentally wrong in the conclusion that the Book of Isaiah is not, as we have received it, the work of Isaiah, it must be one of the main tasks of a commentator on the book to disengage the work of that prophet from the accretions which it has received, and so to recover, as I have attempted to do in the last division of the Introduction, the spirit and teaching of a single personality in place of the confused and composite form that must present itself, if we attempt to treat the entire book as the work of a single mind. This, I say, is one of the tasks of the commentator; another is, of course, to do the same service for the author of the main part of chs. 40–55. But there is yet another; and that is to do justice to other contributors to the book, and, above all, to approach with sympathy the work of, perhaps, many nameless writers that now forms so large a part of it.

* Swete, Old Testament in Greek, i. p. xiii.
No full justice can be done to a book which is a great monument of Jewish religion after the Exile, if all our attention is devoted to determining whether this or that passage is "genuine," and dismissing it as not "genuine," if it is not the work of Isaiah. In reference to works such as the Book of Isaiah, the term "genuine" is indeed misleading. None of these nameless writers may have possessed the religious genius of Isaiah, but together they represent the play of the earlier prophetic teaching on the Jewish Church. In religion, as elsewhere, great personalities count first, and it is the privilege of a student of the Book of Isaiah to come face to face with one, if not two, such personalities: but the religious community is the necessary outcome, or field of action, of the great religious personality and his teaching, and the student of the Book of Isaiah has but half entered into his inheritance, if he communes with Isaiah and the great exilic prophet, but fails to feel the life of that post-exilic religious community which not only preserved for themselves and for us the words of the earlier prophets, but preserved them in books which were also made to breathe the hopes and aspirations that sustained the Jews through centuries of isolation, oppression, and temptation.

I cannot bring this Preface to a close without acknowledging my gratitude to Dr. Driver for the help which I have again received from his reading of my proofs, and the numerous suggestions which he has made with regard to them. These have withheld me, at times at least, from unsafe places, and they have enabled me to enrich my Commentary; my only regret is that, without more extensive alteration of the printed sheets than seemed reasonable, I could not enrich it still more from the same source.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

December 1911.
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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

I. TEXTS AND VERSIONS.

Aq. . . . Aquila (p. xxvi).
AV. . . . Authorised Version.
MT . . . The Massoretic Text (i.e. the vocalised text of the Hebrew Bible). Variants in the Hebrew codices have been cited from De Rossi, Variae Lectiones Vet. Test., vol iii., or R. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica.

RV. . . . Revised Version.
\( \text{\textit{G}} \) . . . The Greek (LXX) Version of the Old Testament (ed. Swete, Cambridge, 1887-1894). The readings of the codices are, when necessary, distinguished thus:—\( \text{\textit{G}}^A \text{\textit{G}}^B \) (Alexandrian, Vatican, etc.). For the cursives, reference has been made to Vet. Test. Graece, cum variis lectionibus, ed. Holmes, Oxon. 1798, which is cited as HP followed by a numeral.

\( \text{\textit{B}} \) . . . Jewish recension of the Hebrew (unvocalised) text, i.e. the consonants of the ordinary Hebrew MSS and printed Bibles.

\( \text{\textit{B}^1} \) . . . The consonants of the traditional Hebrew Text (\( \text{\textit{B}} \)) irrespective of the present word divisions and after the removal of the vowel consonants: see p. xxv.

\( \text{\textit{L}} \) . . . Old Latin version of \( \text{\textit{G}} \): see p. xxix n. *
\( \text{\textit{S}} \) . . . The Syriac Version (Peshitto).
Symm. . . Symmachus (p. xxvi).
\( \text{\textit{T}} \) . . . The Jewish Aramaic Version or Targum (p. xxvi).
Theod. . . Theodotion (p. xxvi).
\( \text{\textit{V}} \) . . . Vulgate.

* xv
2. Author’s Names and Books.

[See also the literature cited at the beginning of several sections of the Commentary; the works thus given are, within the section, often cited by the author’s name only.]

AJSL . . . . American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
ATAO . . . . See Jeremias.
Baud. . . . . W. W. von Baudissin, Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments, 1901.
Box, G. E. . . . The Book of Isaiah, 1908.
Breasted, J. H. . . (1) A History of Egypt, 1906;
(2) Ancient Records of Egypt, 1906 (a collection of Egyptian historical texts, transliterated, translated, and annotated).
Cheyne, T. K. . . PI = The Prophecies of Isaiah, ed. 5, 1889;
Intro = Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, 1895;
SBOT, see SBOT below.
COT . . . . The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.; a translation (London, 1885), by O. C. Whitehouse, of the second edition of Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament (abbreviated KAT), by Eb. Schroder. References are given to the pages of the 2nd German edition which are marked in the margin of the translation.

A third edition of the German work (KAT^b) has been edited (and indeed entirely rewritten) by H. Zimmermann and H. Winckler (1903).

Del. . . . . In reference to Assyrian matters stands for Friedrich Delitzsch (especially Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, 1866).
Dillmann, A. . . Der Prophet Jesaja, 1890.
(2) An Introduction to the Literature of the OT.
(abbreviated LOT), cited according to the pagination of ed. 8 (Edin. 1909), which is also that of editions 6 and 7.

Du[hm, B.]. Das Buch Jesaja, 1892 (ed. 2, 1902).

Eich[horn, J. G. L.].
(1) Einleitung in das Alte Testament, ed. 2, 1787;
(2) Die Hebräischen Propheten, 1816–1819.

Ewald, H. Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, ed. 2, 1867, 1868.
Exp. The Expositor.

Ges[enius, W.]. Der Prophet Jesaja, 1821.

Giesebrecht, Fried. Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik, 1890.

Gressmann, H. Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie, 1905.

Hal[évy, I.]. Le Livre d’Isaie (in course of publication in Revue Semitique: carried down to ch. xxii., July 1911).

Hackmann, H. Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja, 1893.

Hitzig, F. Der Prophet Jesaja, 1833.
Houbigant, C. F]. Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latina, t. IV, Prophetae posteriores, Paris, 1753.


Ibn Ezra, Abraham Hebrew Commentary on Isaiah in Buxtorf's Biblia Rabbinica. († 1167)


Jeremias, A. (1) ATAO = Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orient (ed. 2, 1906); English translation by C. L. Beaumont (1911);
(2) BNT = Babylonisches im Neuen Testament, 1905.


JThS Journal of Theological Studies.

KAT See COT.

KB Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek, ed. Eb. Schrader (Berlin, 1889 ff.).

A collection of Assyrian and Babylonian texts transliterated and translated into German by various scholars.

Kennett, R. The Composition of the Book of Isaiah, 1910.
PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

Ki[mhi, David] Hebrew Commentary on Isaiah in Buxtorf’s *Biblia Rabbinica*.

Kit[tel, R.] († 1230)

Kön[ig, Ed.] Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache, 1881, 1895: the concluding volume (cited as Kön. iii. or simply Kön.) appeared in 1897 with a fresh title, Historisch-Comparative Syntax der Hebräischen Sprache.

The references to the Syntax are to the sections, but the references to the earlier volumes are to the pages.


Lag[arde, P. de] (1) Semitica, i., 1878;
(2) Uebersicht über die . . . übliche Bildung der Nomina: abbreviated BN.


Liebmann See p. 397.
LOT See Dr.

Lowth, R. *Isaias: a new translation; with a preliminary dissertation, and notes, critical, philological, and explanatory*, 1778 (ed. 3, 1795, has been used).

Luzzatto, S, D. *Il Profeta Isaià volgarizzato e commentato ad uso degli Israeliti*, 1867 (an Italian translation with Hebrew Commentary).

Marti, K. *Das Buch Jesaja*, 1900.


*NHB* See Levy.

*Numbers* A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Numbers, by George Buchanan Gray, 1903.


Onom. Onomastica Sacra, ed. Lagarde (Göt. 1887).

This contains several ancient Onomastica, including those of Eusebius and Jerome.

Oo. H. Oort (see p. 397).


Ottley, R. R. Isaiah according to the Septuagint, 1904, 1906.

*PEFQuSt.* Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.


Hebrew Commentary on Isaiah in Buxtorf’s *Biblia Rabbinica*. 
PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED


Saad. . . . Saadia (†942).


These studies are published in the Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Classe der König. Sächsichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Einundzwanzigster Band (1901).


Smith, G. A. . . . The Book of Isaiah, 1889, 1890.


Th. T[d.]. . . . Theologisch Tijdschrift (Leiden).

TSK . . . . Theologische Studien u. Kritiken (Gotha).


Wade, G. W. . . . The Book of the Prophet Isaiah (1911).

Whitehouse, O. C. . . . The Book of the Prophet Isaiah (Century Bible), i., 1905.

ZATW . . . . Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

ZDMG . . . . Zeitschrift des deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZDPV . . . . Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

Biblical passages are cited according to the Hebrew enumeration of chapters and verses: where this differs from the English enumeration, the reference to the latter has commonly (except in the philological notes) been added in a parenthesis.

The sign †, following a series of references, indicates that all examples of the phrase, word, or form in question, occurring in the OT, have been quoted.

The single inverted comma (e.g. "and 'he' strikes bargains," 2) is used to indicate departures from the Hebrew consonantal text; such readings are not necessarily conjectural; many rest on the evidence of Gr.

al. = alii (others).

Cp. = Compare.

Ct. = Contrast.

NH = New Hebrew (the language of the Mishnah, etc.).
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

P. 69 (phil. n. on 3\textsuperscript{14}); also p. 80 (n. on 4\textsuperscript{4}), p. 86 (n. on 5\textsuperscript{5}), p. 111 (n. and phil. n. on 6\textsuperscript{13}). Whether or not בָּעַר, to exterminate, also developed the specific meaning to exterminate by depasturing, or whether or not בָּעַר, a (domestic) beast, gave rise to a denominative vb. meaning to depasture, depasturing seems to be in the writer's mind both in 3\textsuperscript{14}, where the treatment of the vineyard, however reckless and destructive, is yet probably conceived as yielding some profit (cp. v.\textsuperscript{14d}) to the persons addressed, and in 5\textsuperscript{5} where destruction by animals is suggested by the parallel רֵזָם. In these passages, therefore, even if depasture could not be defended as a literal rendering, it might be admitted as a paraphrase bringing out the particular form of destruction which was probably in the writer's mind. If the text of בָּעַר in Ex 22\textsuperscript{4} was sound, and not, as it probably is, corrupt (see, e.g., Dr. \textit{ad loc}), בָּעַר might perhaps be a denominative of בָּעַר, beast; in this case it might either mean to depasture, or merely (being quite synonymous with בָּעַר) to graze. But, apart from the very doubtful evidence of Ex 22\textsuperscript{4}, nothing suggests that בָּעַר was a denominative of בָּעַר; on the other hand, בָּעַר may rather be a noun created after the root had developed the meaning to depasture. If the meaning attaching to בָּעַר, when it is used of animals, is a direct development from the root, so far from being merely synonymous with בָּעַר, to graze, it should be to graze destructively, to remove (or destroy) by grazing, to depasture; for the idea of total removal, or destruction, is so fundamental to, or so closely associated with, the root בָּעַר and its derivatives, that, as applied to animals, it would naturally call up the idea of the destruction which they do, rather than the profit they receive, by feeding; בָּעַר would therefore be entirely fitting in reference to the reckless indifference of the persons addressed in 3\textsuperscript{14} and to the destructive browsing of the beasts let in through the broken walls and hedges of 5\textsuperscript{5}, but (unless the word lost much of its force) לָעָר would not be a suitable substitute for לָעָר in a promise such as Budde would make of 6\textsuperscript{13} (see n. there)

Setting aside the meanings to burn, to blaze (e.g. Ex 22\textsuperscript{5}, Is
and so in the Aramaic of (א), as probably going back to a distinct root, a possible connection between most of the remaining meanings of יִּתְנָה can be discerned. In Syr. אֹּלֶּקָּה bears the meanings to search out, and then to glean (i.e. to search out the last grapes and remove them): see Payne Smith, s.v. אֹּלֶּקָּה, and cp. 1 K 14:10 (Pesh.) אֹּלֶּקָּה אֹּלֶּקָּה אֹּלֶּקָּה אֹּלֶּקָּה.

To glean would suit Is 3:14 admirably: Ye have gleaned my vineyard to the last grape; but since it would not also suit 5:5, it would be rather hazardous to postulate glean as a meaning of יִּתְנָה in Hebrew. The idea of total removal (e.g. of אֹּלֶּקָּה, Dt 13:6; אֹּלֶּקָּה, 1 K 14:10; אֹּלֶּקָּה, Dt 26:13), which is so conspicuous in Hebrew, may also start from the meaning to search out. If the idea of total removal of pasture by cattle was early developed, the Heb. and Syr. אֹּלֶּקָּה אֹּלֶּקָּה, a (domestic) beast, Ar. בֹּעֵר, a camel, and, more rarely, an ass, Eth. בֹּראָשָׁי, an ox, may have meant literally total removers (of herbage), depasturers.

Possibly also בֹּעֵר אָל כּ, dung, was so called as that which is put away: cp. 1 K 14:10 אֹּל כּ אֹּל כּ אֹּל כּ אֹּל כּ. Other denominatives will then have arisen with meanings derived directly from בֹּעֵר, beast, and בֹּעֵר, dung; cp. בֹּעֵר (Kal, Niph., Piel, Hiph.), to be brutish, stupid (see, e.g., Is 19:11), בֹּעֵר (Peal and Ethpeal), to be fierce; for derivatives from בֹּעֵר, dung, see Lane.

P. 321, line 26. The entire collection of the Elephantine papyri is now published; see E. Sachau, Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-kolonie zu Elephantine, Leipzig, 1911. It now seems clear that the Jewish colony at Elephantine was military in origin.

P. 382, l. 8 of small print. שָׁבָנָה is probably, if a Hebrew name, a hypocoristicon of (תָּבָנָה), as is שָׁבָנָה אֵצֶבּ, and נָשָׁבָנָה נָשָׁבָנָה נָשָׁבָנָה נָשָׁבָנָה of שָׁבָנָה. In the OT שָׁבָנָה occurs only in Chr., Ezr., Neh. But on seals, some of which are probably pre-exilic, it occurs with some frequency; שָׁבָנָה, probably also שָׁבָנָה, and perhaps שָׁבָנָה שָׁבָנָה too, occur stamped on jar handles found at Tell el-Judeideh (about 22 miles from Jerusalem). See M. A. Levy, Siegel u. Gemmen, pp. 40, 45; Bliss and Macalister, Excavations in Palestine, 119 f.; Clermont-Ganneau, PEF Qu. St., 1902, pp. 264–266; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, i. 183 (cp. p. 182), ii. 70.
INTRODUCTION.

§§ 1-3. Title and Place in the Canon.

1. The Book of Isaiah is one of the eight sections, or volumes, entitled Prophetim, which constitute the second of the three parts of which the Hebrew Scriptures, Neviim, consist. This part, according to a mediaeval Jewish distinction, subdivides into Neviim Razim, the Former Prophets, consisting of the four books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and the Neviim Asherim, the Latter Prophets, consisting of the four books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve" (the "Minor Prophets," as the last named is commonly called, constituting a single volume).

In Hebrew printed Bibles, in Hebrew MSS, and in Hebrew tradition, the eight books called "Prophets" form a group which is never broken either by omission or intrusion; moreover, when and where the custom of confining a single roll to a single book did not exclusively prevail, and many books were written in the same roll or codex, the "former prophets" always precede the "latter prophets" without variation of order. On the other hand, there is evidence of some variation of order within the group of the latter prophets.

In Hebrew printed Bibles, Isaiah immediately follows Kings, and is then followed by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve"; and this is the order of the latter prophets in the earliest extant Hebrew MSS, such as the codices at St. Petersburg,

† H. St. J. Thackeray argues that in early times each book occupied two rolls: see JTκ ix., 85-98; Grammar of the OT in Greek, p. 65.
‡ Lk 4:17; Baba Bathra, 136.
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dated in the years which correspond to A.D. 916 and 1009 respectively, and commonly in other MSS, except those written in Germany or France. On the other hand, according to a Rabbinic decision recorded in *Baba Bathra*, 14b,* the correct position of Isaiah is after Ezekiel; this order is also found in many MSS, especially those written in Germany or France. In other MSS, e.g. a Paris MS dated 1286 and Brit. Mus. MS Oriental 2091, a yet different arrangement is found, viz. Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve"; see, further, C. D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (1897), pp. 1 ff. For different views of the relative antiquity of the different arrangements and for the reasons of them, see Ryle, *Canon*, pp. 225–229; E. König, *Einleitung in das AT*, p. 458.

2. In G the "latter prophets" are separated from the "former prophets," Kings being followed by Chronicles, and, in most MSS, by other books also, before any of the "latter prophets" occur. In the arrangement of the group, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve," the MSS of G differ: in some, e.g. B (and consequently in Swete's edition of G), A, and V, the minor Prophets precede Isaiah, which is followed by Jeremiah (together with Baruch, Lam., and the Letter of Jeremy) and Ezekiel. In K, Isaiah stands first of the group. Varieties of arrangement are also found in various lists of the Jewish Scriptures in Greek and Latin writers: thus Isaiah stands first of the group, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve," in lists of the Eastern Church, such as those of Melito (latter half of 2nd cent. A.D.), Origen († 254), Leontius († c. 543), and in lists of the Western Church, such as those of Ruffinus († 410), and Cassiodorus († c. 570); but it stands after "The Twelve" in the Eastern lists of Athanasius († 373), Epiphanius († 403), Amphilochius († after 394), John of Damascus († before 754), the Laodicene Canons (c. 360), and in the Western lists of Hilary († 367), Augustine († 430), and the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397). See, further, Swete, *Intro. to the OT in Greek*, pp. 197–230.

3. The title of the Book in Heb. MSS and commonly in Hebrew references is simply יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Isaiah*; so in G it is הָרְאוּאש. Occasionally in references to the book fuller titles are found, such as *Isaiah the prophet* (Acts 8:20, Ἰσαίας τοῦ προφήτην; cp. v.28), *the book of the prophet Isaiah* (Lk 4:17 βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου

* The passage is translated at length in Ryle, *Canon*, pp. 273 f.
' Hosea': in £9 the title runs Ἡσαίας δραματιστός (rd. δραματιστής); but the full title of EV does not rest on MS authority.

The form of the name in the Title—הֶעָשָׂר (Origen, Ἡσσοΐα)—differs from that which is used in the Book itself, viz. הֶעָשָׂר. So also of other prophets whose names ended with the divine name, the shorter form occurs in the title, whether that or the longer form occurs in the books: see נוֹרֶה, יְרְאָה, נָעַם, וֹאָשָׂר, וְיַרְבֵּה. That is to say, the form of the name in the title is governed by the usage of the age when the title was added, not by the usage of the Book to which it is prefixed. On the earlier use of both forms, see Bonk, in ZATW, 1891, pp. 126 ff.: at the end of proper names the shorter form ה is already exclusively employed in the Assouan and Elephantine Papyri (5th cent. B.C.).

§ 4. Text and Versions.

4. It is unnecessary to write at length on the Text and Versions of the Book of Isaiah, for all that is of peculiar importance to the study of this book is limited to the question of the value of the Greek version; for the rest the conditions are those which are discussed in any general treatment of the Text and Versions of the Old Testament,* and which have also been briefly described by the present writer in Hastings' Smaller Dictionary of the Bible, art. Text and Versions. Elaborate accounts of the Versions of Isaiah in particular are given by Ges. (i. 56–106), and (with special reference to chs. 24–27) by Liebmann, in ZATW, 1902, pp. 1–56, 285–304.

In the present work the symbol H1 is used as a convenient abbreviation for the consonants of the traditional Hebrew text, irrespective of the present word divisions and after the removal of the vowel letters (י, י, י). It is important to observe that the symbol denotes in any particular instance a hypothetical text; for though there can be no question that these vowel letters were much more sparingly used in the period when the prophecies were written than later (cp. G–K. § 7), and that they still were more sparingly used as late as the date of the Greek version (see, e.g., the phil. nn. on 816 212); yet to some extent and for some purposes, especially, for example, to indicate a final vowel, they were employed as early as the age of Isaiah (cp. the Siloam Inscription, Mesha's Inscription, etc.). Nevertheless, in all cases it is important to consider what meaning a passage may have borne apart from these vowel letters; for there can

* See also Dr., Samuel, Introd. §§ 3–4 (ed. 1, pp. xxxvi–lxxxiv).
never be any certainty that they are due to the original author, and at times their presence or absence makes a serious difference to the meaning; see, e.g., 111-13.

The variations* between the existing Hebrew MSS, the earliest of which is dated A.D. 916 (§ 1), present as usual but little of interest. Nor are the variants from the consonants of the Hebrew text suggested by the Vulgate, the Targum,† or the Syriac Version,‡ or the surviving fragments§ of the Greek translations (2nd cent. A.D.) of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, numerous or important; more frequently these versions show a different interpretation from that which is embodied in the vowels added by the Massoretes (6th–8th cent. A.D.) to the consonants of the Hebrew text; cp., as an interesting example, 312, where Aq. ת render דְּשִׁים, but MT points דְּשִׁים.

But in spite of this evidence that the text of Isaiah, in common with that of the rest of the Old Testament, has been handed down with great care since the 2nd cent. A.D., there can be no question that between 700 B.C. and A.D. 100 it suffered in many passages serious corruption. This is clear from internal evidence, as the discussion of numerous passages in the Commentary must be left to show. It is also clear that the Greek version, the date of which was probably not much later than 150 B.C. (§ 22), was made from a text differing considerably from ע. But though the difference between the Hebrew original of the Greek version (א) and the traditional Hebrew text (ע) is clear, the exact form, and in many cases even the approximate form, of the Hebrew original of א cannot be determined. Indeed, it has been questioned whether א is of any appreciable value for the determination of the original text. For example, Mr. Ottley, to whom we are indebted for a useful edition of Codex Alexandrinus (A) of Isaiah, with introduction and notes, writes, “In Isaiah I find it hard to see that the LXX gives any

* Collected in De Rossi, Variae Lectiones Vet. Test. (1786), vol. iii.
† Lagarde, Prophetae Chaldaice (1872). Cp. Bacher, Kritische untersuchungen zum Propheten-Thargum, in ZDMG, 1874. See, further, the Bibliography in Stenning’s art. Targum, in DB.
‡ D. L. Warszawski, Die Peshitta zu Jesaja (Kap. 1-39), ihr Verhältnis zum massorethischen Texte, zur Septuaginta u. zum Targum, Berlin, 1897.
§ Collected in F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt.
proof at all (unless in a few isolated exceptions) of an older and superior Hebrew text: because the translators seem to have been so constantly mistaken in reading their Hebrew, or unable to translate it, as to deprive their witness of all authority" (i. 49); and again (p. 50), "the failures of the translator (or translators) in reading his original may have been largely justified by illegibility of MSS, and very likely by abbreviations also; the actual script may have been difficult. But over and above all this, it seems as if his knowledge of Hebrew was imperfect: and if this was so, he may have thought that he saw before him not merely something different from the reality, but something such as no skilled Hebrew writer would have written. The hypothetical Hebrew underlying his Greek need not therefore be always good or classical Hebrew, and this must be taken into account. If this view be correct, it takes away yet more from any claim of the LXX to give decisive witness as to a Hebrew text older than we have, or can trace from other sources." There is much here that rests on correct observation; but the conclusions drawn are unsound. There can be little question (1) that the translators sometimes, and even often, misread the Hebrew before them; (2) that their knowledge of Hebrew was imperfect; (3) that the Hebrew which they thought they saw before them was such as no skilled Hebrew writer would have written. But over against this we have to observe: (1) the possibility that a translator misread his text is balanced by the equal or almost equal probability that copyists of the original text also at times misread; moreover, what was obviously misreading on the part of the translators does not in all cases seriously conceal the reading which was actually before them, and which may be a valuable variant of the reading in ₯, just as while some misprints are extremely confusing, or, simply because they make some sense, dangerous, others that make nonsense are immediately detected and understood. We must then reckon with the possibility of mis-copying, whether we follow ₯ or whether we follow ₣, * and we have no more ground for refusing to con-

* Mr. Ottley, indeed, would meet this by a dogmatic consideration, "Some minds, moreover, will still not refuse to entertain the idea that the Heb. text has been guarded, not only by the watchful care of the Jews, but also by the special providence of the Almighty" (ii. p. xvii). Yet even if dogmatic considerations were in place here at all, it is difficult to see why the
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consider the evidence of $\mathfrak{G}$, because the translators' sometimes misread their original, than we have for refusing to consider the evidence of $\mathfrak{H}$; (2) the lack of knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the translators may in some passages make the recovery of the text which they translated difficult, or impossible; on the other hand, in other cases it may be the surest pledge of the actual existence of a particular reading; even translators with inadequate knowledge do not make nonsense of their translation in mere wilfulness: if only the nonsense in the translation can, as is sometimes the case, be seen to be the equivalent (or an obvious misreading) of Hebrew letters that, rightly understood, make good sense, we have about the best evidence we can possess that such a Hebrew reading actually existed; the translators of Judges, as is well known, makes nonsense by rendering the preceptive $\mathfrak{H}$, $\mathfrak{H}$ $\mathfrak{U}$ $\mathfrak{U}$ $\mathfrak{U}$; but an $\mathfrak{H}$ $\mathfrak{U}$ $\mathfrak{U}$ making nonsense is better proof than if it made sense that the translators actually read the Hebrew letters $\mathfrak{H}$; (3) "Hebrew such as no skilled Hebrew writer would have written" is to be found not only in the Hebrew which the Greek translators in some passages attempt to render, but in the present Hebrew text itself; and in some places where the Hebrew is impossible, or at least poor and improbable, in the present Hebrew text, it is good in what appears to have been before the translators of $\mathfrak{G}$.

The main difficulty in the use of $\mathfrak{G}$ is occasioned by its tendency, which is at times very conspicuous, to paraphrase. But though it is important that this should be fully recognised, and duly allowed for, it is still the fact that the mass of the translation is either not paraphrastic at all, or not paraphrastic in such a manner as to prevent the recognition of the Hebrew text lying behind it. Generally speaking, $\mathfrak{G}$ renders three different forms of service: (1) where it agrees with $\mathfrak{H}$, it proves the existence of the reading in question at least as early as c. 150 b.c.; (2) where it differs from $\mathfrak{H}$, and the Hebrew lying behind it is obvious, it proves the existence of a reading differing from $\mathfrak{H}$ about 150 b.c.; (3) even when it is obviously paraphrastic it may more or less clearly support $\mathfrak{H}$ (cp. e.g. 86 n.), or raise a more or less serious suspicion of $\mathfrak{H}$.

Almighty granted to the text of the Jews a special Providence which He withheld from the Greek Text, which became the Bible of the Christian Church.
Much more work needs to be done, both on the text of $G$ itself, which at present needs in many passages to be laboriously sought for,* and on the idiosyncrasies of the translators; and till this has been accomplished, the actual evidence of $G$ cannot be either exhaustively or in all cases accurately determined. At present it is necessary for each succeeding investigator of the Book of Isaiah to test critically the suggestions of his predecessors, for readings have been claimed for $G$ on very questionable grounds; and, on the other hand, there are readings latent in $G$ that have not been considered. A difficult practical question, however, arises, viz., how in a commentary of limited scope to discuss with fullness † the evidence of this version, or to indicate it with brevity without at the same time misleading the reader. It has been found impossible to include a reference to all variants or possible variants, and it has seemed best where the Hebrew equivalent of $G$ is ambiguous to quote the Greek rather than, if not as well as, a possible Hebrew equivalent. Occasionally the Greek has been cited without comment where it may seem to some at least to raise or strengthen a reasonable suspicion of the correctness of the text of $B$.

Valuable special studies of the Greek translation of $G$ and the Hebrew text underlying it are those of Liebmann (see p. 397 below) on chs. 24–27, and Zillesen on ch. 53, in ZATW xxv. 261–284.


5. It is probable that the title "Isaiah," attached to the entire book (§ 3), was intended to imply that the prophet Isaiah was the author of the whole, and that the book, as we now have it, owed its form to him. It is true that it would be in accord-

* Swete, OT in Greek, vol. iii., prints the text of B with the variants of $\text{K AO QZP}$; other variants must be sought in Holmes and Parsons, Vet. Test. Graece, iii. For attempts to group the MSS of Isaiah, see Liebmann, in ZATW, 1902, pp. 9 ff.; Ottley, i. 8 ff. The proportion of the Old Latin Version of $G$ that has survived is fortunately large—about three-quarters of the whole; see Petrus Sabatier, Bibliorum sacrorum versiones antique, ii. 515–639.

† A reference to the notes on 2$^6$ 25$^{st}$. 34$^{rd}$-14, in ZATW, 1911, pp. 111–127, will show what is the present writer's conception of adequate fullness, and the consequent impossibility of discussing all the passages that need it, with any approach to fullness in the present work.
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ance with Jewish practice to entitle the book from a prominent word in the opening sentence,* and such is the name Isaiah, though title and book differ as to the orthography of the name (§ 3); true, too, that the Talmud, in the passage already (§ 1) referred to, records that "Hezekiah and his college wrote Isaiah"—whatever that may mean.† Yet the simplest supposition is that the titles of the "latter prophets" implied authorship from the first, as they certainly suggested it later. Be this, however, as it may, the references in the NT (§§ 11 f.) are sufficient evidence that it was customary, as early as the 1st cent. A.D., to attribute anything and everything in the book so entitled to Isaiah, and the passage in Sir. discussed below (§ 14) carries back this custom to the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. It is precarious to infer the existence of a conflicting theory, or tradition, from the fact that Isaiah, according to some authorities, had its place in the Canon after Jeremiah and Ezekiel (§ 1).

But ancient as the theory that Isaiah is the author of all that is in the book that bears his name may be, it is certainly very erroneous. The book is badly arranged: to refer to but a single point, the account of the prophet's call stands not at the beginning, where we might expect it (cp. Jer 1, Ezk 1, Hos 1, but cp. Am 714f.), but in ch. 6. Yet bad arrangement by itself need prove nothing more at most than that the arrangement of the material was not due to Isaiah: the material arranged might still be entirely his; Môhammed was the author, though not the arranger, of the entire Koran, and an analogy for the position of the account of Isaiah's call in the middle of the book may be found in the fact that Môhammed's call is only recorded towards the close of the Koran (Sura 96).‡

6. The proof that Isaiah is, nevertheless, not the author of the Book of Isaiah, lies in the fact that a large part of the Book was written at the least two centuries after his time, and some of it later still. How large a part is subsequent to the age of Isaiah it may be difficult to determine; but even a superficial critical survey of the Book must discern that so much is subsequent

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* Cp. e.g. רְשָׁם as a title of Numbers: Numbers, p. xx.
to his age that it is incorrect and misleading to speak or think of the Book as the work of Isaiah; it is, on the other hand, a compilation of the post-exilic period, containing, it is true, prophecies of Isaiah which were already ancient when the Book was compiled, but containing also, and in larger quantity, prophecies and narratives of much more recent date.

Just as parts of the Book unmistakably presuppose the conditions of the 8th century B.C. as those under which they were written, so others as clearly pre-suppose the conditions of the 6th century. Thus 9:1-10:4 pre-supposes the existence of the Northern kingdom, which came to an end in 722 B.C., and predicts its fall; chs. 40-55 pre-suppose the Babylonian Exile, which began in 597 (586) B.C., as an existing fact, and predict its approaching end, pre-suppose that Cyrus has already advanced far in his victorious career, and predict that he will become master of Babylon (which as a matter of fact he did in 538 B.C.), and release the Jewish exiles. A prophecy, unless it can be shown to be a vaticinium ex eventu, must have been written before what it predicts, but after what it pre-supposes; 9:1-10:4 was therefore written before 722 B.C., and 40-55 before 538; but the latter section, since it pre-suppose that Cyrus has already achieved remarkable victories, must have been written after c. 550 B.C. Much of chs. 56-66 probably pre-supposes conditions that prevailed nearly a century later—in the middle of the 5th century; but this is less superficially obvious and as yet less generally admitted. Ch. 13 pre-supposes an age when Babylon was still "the glory of kingdoms" (13:19) but already threatened by the Medes: the conditions, not predicted but pre-supposed as already existing, are again not those of the age of Isaiah, when Assyria was the dominant world-power; they are those of the 6th century B.C., the age of the Babylonian exile, which is almost unmistakably pre-supposed also in 14:6; thus 13:2-14:2, like 40-55, was written long subsequent to the age of Isaiah. On similar grounds, not to speak here of passages of more ambiguous origin, 21:10 24-27. 34 f. must have been written not earlier than the 6th century B.C.

7. Thus, then, we have to recognise in the Book of Isaiah at least these different elements: (a) prophecies of the 8th century B.C., (b) prophecies of the 6th century B.C. or later, and (c) the work of an editor who brought together these prophecies which,
though so widely separated in time, are intermingled in a single compilation.

The fact that the Book of Isaiah is not the work of the prophet of Isaiah, but a post-exilic compilation, ought to be the starting-point in all detailed criticism, or interpretation of the Book. In a continuous work, such as the historical narratives of Josephus or Thucydides, alien matter may have intruded; but, unless signs of interpolation can be detected, the presumption is that any section of the whole is of the same origin as the rest. On the other hand, in a compilation of disconnected pieces of different authorship and different ages, no such presumption holds: each piece must be judged by itself. It does not follow that a passage is not Isaiah’s because it contains no unmistakable evidence that it was written in the 8th century; but just as little does it follow that a passage must be Isaiah’s because it bears no unmistakable marks of belonging to a later age. It may well be that much in this or any similar compilation must, for lack of decisive evidence, remain of uncertain date and origin. But the fact that much proves uncertain or ambiguous, when we attempt a more detailed and exact analysis of the Book and its contents, cannot invalidate the conclusion that follows from what is obvious, viz., that the Book is a post-exilic compilation: nor is it wise to minimise the significance of this conclusion.

We may now proceed to a more detailed examination of the origin of the Book of Isaiah; and in the first instance to an examination of the external evidence to the existence of the Book.

§§ 8–19. Origin and History of the Book of Isaiah:

(1) External Evidence.

8. Apart from the significance of the Greek version (§§ 20–22), and the history of the Prophetic Canon (§§ 23–26), external evidence shows: (1) that the Book of Isaiah in its present form and extent existed at latest by the end of the 1st century A.D. (§§ 10–13); (2) that a Book of Isaiah having certain of the most conspicuous features of the present Book, if not the present Book itself, existed about 180 B.C. (§§ 14–17); moreover, certain external evidence suggests (3) that part of the Book of Isaiah,
viz. chs. 40–66 in whole or in part, about 300–200 B.C. passed in
certain circles under the name of Jeremiah (§§ 18, 19). The
most reasonable inference from the evidence is that neither the
present Book of Isaiah nor a book either approaching it in
extent or possessing its outstanding features existed long before
200 B.C., but that either this present Book or a book possessing
the same outstanding features and attributed to Isaiah existed not
long after that date.

9. The nature of the Book of Isaiah, as indicated in §§ 5–7,
necessarily limits the significance of certain forms of external
evidence. A quotation of known age from any part of a work
like the histories of Thucydides or Josephus would determine
the *terminus ad quem* of the entire work, even though it were
anonymous; but a mere quotation, say from ch. 66 of the Book
of Isaiah, while it would determine the *terminus ad quem* of that
particular prophecy, would prove nothing as to the date of the
Book of Isaiah; for the quotation might be from ch. 66 before
that chapter was included in the compilation that now bears the
name of Isaiah, just as a quotation (Jer 26:18) from a prophecy
now included in “The Twelve” (Mic 3:12) only proves that
Micah’s prophecy existed before Jeremiah’s time, and proves
nothing with regard to the date of “The Twelve,” which as a
matter of fact also contains prophecies of the 5th cent. (Malachi),
and cannot have been compiled for at least two centuries after
the quotation in Jeremiah.

10. But there is other evidence that is available for proving
not only the date of some particular passage, but of the book in
which such passages are incorporated.

It is unnecessary to labour the point that the conclusion of
the Canon of the Jewish Scriptures, which may be fixed about
the end of the 1st cent. A.D., prevented henceforth any addition
‘to, or alteration in, the books included within it; and that since
Isaiah formed part of this Canon, the Book at that time existed
in its present form and extent. It will suffice to refer, for a
matter so generally admitted, to standard works on the Canon of
the Old Testament.

But in view of recent theories (§ 17) that would place the
final stages in the compilation of the Book of Isaiah much later
than was formerly considered possible, it is worth collecting the
evidence of the New Testament of which some (e.g. Romans)
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carries us back to the middle of the 1st cent. A.D., and all to some part of that century.

Quotations from, or allusions to, the Book of Isaiah in the NT may be divided into three classes: the first class consists of those quotations which specify Isaiah, or the Book of Isaiah, as the source; the second specify or imply the Jewish Scriptures as the source; and the third, mostly allusions rather than quotations, specify no source. Only the first two classes are of interest here.

11. The passages from Isaiah (י or כ) cited in the NT with direct reference to that book, and the NT passages in which the citations are made, are as follows:

Is 1° cited in Ro 920.
60f. " " Mt 1314f.; Jn 1240f.; cp. Mk 412, Lk 810.
823 91 (91f.) " " Mt 415f.
1022f. " " Ro 927f.
1110 " " Ro 1512.
2913 " " Mt 158f., Mk 76f.
463-5 " " Mt 33, Mk 13, Lk 34-6, Jn 123.
421-4 " " Mt 1218-21.
531 " " Ro 1016, Jn 1238.
534 " " Mt 817.
537f. " " Ac 832f.
61f. " " Lk 418f.
651f. " " Ro 1020f.

12. The passages cited with some formula implying that they are derived from the Jewish Scriptures, or in some cases more specifically from "the prophet(s)" (Mt 122, Jn 645, Ac 748), are:

Is 714 cited in Mt 123.
814 (+ 2816) " " Ro 933 (1 P 28).
817f. " " He 213.
258 " " 1 Co 1554.
2811f. " " 1 Co 1421.
2816 " " Ro 933 1011, 1 P 26.
2910 (+ 610) " " Ro 118.
2914 " " 1 Co 119.
(406-8) " " (1 P 124f.).
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Is 45\textsuperscript{23} cited in Ro 14\textsuperscript{11}.
49\textsuperscript{6} " " Ac 13\textsuperscript{47}.
49\textsuperscript{8} " " 2 Co 6\textsuperscript{2}.
52\textsuperscript{5} " " Ro 2\textsuperscript{24}.
52\textsuperscript{7} (= Nah 1\textsuperscript{15}) " " Ro 10\textsuperscript{15}.
52\textsuperscript{11} " " 2 Co 6\textsuperscript{17}.
53\textsuperscript{12} " " (Mk 15\textsuperscript{28}), Lk 22\textsuperscript{37}.
54\textsuperscript{1} " " Gal 4\textsuperscript{27}.
54\textsuperscript{13} " " Jn 6\textsuperscript{46}.
55\textsuperscript{3} " " Ac 13\textsuperscript{34}.
56\textsuperscript{7} " " Mt 21\textsuperscript{13} = Mk 11\textsuperscript{17} = Lk 19\textsuperscript{46}.
59\textsuperscript{20f.} " " Ro 11\textsuperscript{20f.}.
64\textsuperscript{4} " " 1 Co 2\textsuperscript{9} (free).
66\textsuperscript{1f.} " " Ac 7\textsuperscript{40f.}.

13. In addition to these quotations in the NT, the following quotations from Josephus (BJ, written about 73-75 A.D., and Ant., written about 93 A.D.) and other works of the 1st century A.D. may be given here:

Is 1\textsuperscript{10} is referred to Isaiah in Asc. Is 3\textsuperscript{10}.
19\textsuperscript{19} * " " " Jos. Ant. xiii. 3\textsuperscript{1}; BJ vii. 10\textsuperscript{3}.
44\textsuperscript{28} 45\textsuperscript{1} " " " Jos. Ant. xi. 11\textsuperscript{f}.
43\textsuperscript{2} " " " 4 Mac 18\textsuperscript{14}.

Philo (first half of the 1st cent A.D.) refers Is 1\textsuperscript{9} to "a certain prophet, the kinsman and friend of Moses (Quaest. 43)."

14. We may next consider the evidence of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, which was written about 180 B.C.† The author in his praise of famous men (44\textsuperscript{1}-50\textsuperscript{21}) writes thus of Isaiah (48\textsuperscript{22}-25): † —

* It would perhaps be arguable, though the point is not here put forward as having any probability, that Jos. refers to an uncanonical pseudopigraphon whence Is 19\textsuperscript{19} was subsequently incorporated in the present Book; he speaks not only of a or the Book of Isaiah, but also of his books: see Ant. xi. 1\textsuperscript{2} τὸ βιβλίον τῆς αὐτοῦ προφητείας ὁ Ἰσαάς κατέλειπε; Ant. x. 2\textsuperscript{2} ἄπανθ' δόσα προφητεύειν ἐγγράφαις βιβλίον κατέλειπεν.
† Mr. Hart (Ecclesiasticus in Greek) argues ingeniously, but unsuccess fully (cp. e.g. Kennett, p. 89), that Ecclesiasticus was written c. 280 B.C.
† Du. (p. vii) remarks, without, however, alleging any reason, that it is by no means certain that Ben Sirach wrote 48\textsuperscript{22-25}. 
22 For Hezekiah did that which was good,*
   And was strong in the ways of David,†
Which Isaiah the prophet commanded (him),
   Who was great and faithful in his vision.‡

23 In his days § the sun stood still,||
And he added life to the king;
24 By the spirit of might he saw the end,
And comforted the mourners in Sion:
25 For ever he declared things that should be,
   And hidden things before they came.

Just before this passage, in vv.18ff., Ben Sirach had summarised,
as the most significant events of Hezekiah’s days, the approach
and overthrow of Sennacherib, and, referring to the prayer of
the people to God, had said, playing on the name of Isaiah (cp.
Is 718), as in v.23b he plays on the name of Hezekiah, that
Yahweh “saved them by the hand of Isaiah” (מֵי וֲשָׁמַע בְּנֶרֶץ יְשׁעֵיהוּ).

15. From the main passage we can infer with certainty that
this writer referred, and that apparently without any uncertainty,
chs. 40–66, or at least what is most characteristic in those
chapters, to the prophet Isaiah. V.24 refers unmistakably to the
recurrent arguments from prophecy in, e.g., 4121–24 439 469 487ff.,
and vv.24f. are intentionally coloured with the phraseology of Is
40–66: what the idols could not do, Isaiah by the spirit of might
(cp. Is 112) could: cp. specific titles וַיֵּלֶד הָעָלָם הַנְּגִית מֵעָנָיו פָּרָתָה
to מַעִּשֶּׁה בָּאָרֶץ אָשֶׁר לֹא עָנָא לְפָנָיו (Is 4610),
and forgiving the people for their sins (Is 4122). Cp. also
the άνθιμοι αὐτοῦ (Is 401), and the spirit of God (Is 61ff.).

* Σ (S) becomes Χ: Χ το απεστάνυ Κυρίῳ.
† Of David. Ψ: + his father, Χ.
‡ Vv. 22c. d. 22 are missing, through mutilation of the MS, from Ψ. Vv. 23c. d.
23 above are translated from Χ. For 29d Σ has ἐνδοθίασεν, the
(most) praiseworthy of the prophets. Χ is probably correct. ‘Εν ὅπασεν ἀντροῦ, in his vision, probably corresponds to ווֹבָהּ in the original; cp. ὅπασις = πᾶς in 406, and also, e.g., in Is 11, Nah 1; but it might also = ὡδας: cp. 112 499; that it renders ווֹבָהּ (cp. 4615), as Peters infers, is improbable, more
especially if ὅπασεν in 4615 is a gloss from 4829 (Smend, Peters).

§ ‘Εν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀντροῦ: Σ Συνέτησεν, because by his hand:
cp. 464.
|| ἀντροῦ = ἐν, 464 in reference to Jos 1023; here, too, probably ἀντροῦ renders ἐν, though the allusion is to שָׁמַע בַּשָּׁמָי, καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ ἡλίος,
Is 388.
16. We can, further, infer with great probability that in Ben
Sirach's Book of Isaiah chs. 40–66 were already preceded by
chs. 36–39, and certain visions, or prophecies (cp. n. on 37 in
1 in the Commentary), corresponding to some or all of chs. 1–35.
V.22 certainly refers to the narrative that appears both in
2 K 20 and Is 38; Ben Sirach has already (vv.18–21) drawn on
the group of narratives (2 K 1718–20 = Is 36–39) to which this
exists in his praise of Hezekiah; his recurrence to it in prais-
ing Isaiah is best accounted for by the supposition that these
chapters stood in his Book of Isaiah: for he selects in praising
the prophets Jeremiah (4960) and Ezekiel (498t) certain phrases
or incidents from the books that bear their names. The entire
first part of Is., viz. chs. 1–35, would be summarily recalled by
the term vision in v.22d, if that word already stood in the title
to the whole Book of Isaiah (11)

17. The great characteristic of the Book of Isaiah as it now
exists is that it consists of a group of prophecies, chs. 1–35,
which we will call A; a historical section, chs. 36–39, B; and
another group of prophecies, chs. 40–66, C. The present book,
then, expressed in a formula, is A + B + C.

It is highly probable, if not certain, that the Book of Isaiah
as it existed c. 180 B.C. already consisted of A + B + C, just
as the "Book of the Twelve" must already have contained
twelve sections referred to twelve different prophets; cp. Sir 4910.

But the question remains: were the three parts as they
existed then co-extensive with the three parts as they exist now?

This is a question which the direct testimony of external
evidence does not answer. Till recently the identity of Ben
Sirach's Book of Isaiah and our own was not questioned. But
Du. and several others since have claimed that both A and C
received accretions after 180 B.C. It is entirely a question of
probability which must be estimated in the light of internal as
well as external evidence.

18. Meantime we may proceed to consider the evidence of
2 Ch 3622f. = Ezr 1–3. This appears to give a terminus a quo for
the Book of Isaiah, to show that when Chronicles was written,
(i.e. not earlier than 300 B.C., and perhaps later, though a Book
of Isaiah may have existed, and doubtless did exist, it was less
extensive than the present Book; that as yet chs. 40–66 formed
no part of it.
The last verses of Chronicles read as follows:

20b And they (viz. the exiles) were servants to him (Nebuchadnezzar) and his sons, until the rule of the sovereignty of Persia, 21 in order to fulfil (תבש) the word of Yahweh by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land enjoyed her sabbaths: all the days of its desolation, it kept sabbath to fulfil seventy years. 22 And in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, in order to complete (תבש) the word of Yahweh by the mouth of Jeremiah, Yahweh stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, and he made proclamation through all his kingdom and also (put it) in writing, saying, 23 Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, “All the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahweh, God of Heaven, given to me, and he hath commanded concerning me that I should build for him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah: whosoever then is among you of all his people, Yahweh his God be with him, and let him go up (Ezr 1) to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and build the house of Yahweh, the God of Israel.”

In v. 21 the Chronicler quite obviously, and even explicitly, refers to the fulfilment of the prophecy in Jer 29 10 that the Exile would last seventy years and then come to an end. In vv. 22f. and Ezr 1 = Ezr 1-3 it seems equally obvious that the Chronicler is referring to the fulfilment of Yahweh’s words in Is 44 28, Cyrus “shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built, and to the Temple, Thy foundation shall be laid,” just as the words that immediately follow in Is. “Thus saith Yahweh to ... Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him and to loose the loins of kings” (451), obviously seem to prompt the opening words of Cyrus’ decree in Ezr 1 24.

19. But this prophecy in Is 44 28 is referred not to Isaiah, but to Jeremiah! unless, therefore, appearance deceive us, Is 40-66 was attributed by the Chronicler, and if so, certainly not by him alone, to Jeremiah; in this case chs. 40-66 as yet formed no part of a Book of Isaiah.

Du. seems to have been the first to recognise the obvious significance of 2 Ch 36 for the history of the Book of Isaiah. It had been obscured previously, and is still obscured, by a prevalent, but most improbable, interpretation (e.g. see Ryle, Bertholet, Curtis on the passage): according to this interpretation, v. 22 as well as v. 21 refers to the prophecy of seventy years; but (1) v. 22 is far more naturally taken as giving an additional statement to
v. 21 rather than a mere repetition, as referring to a further fulfilment rather than repeating a reference to the same; note, "and in the first year," etc.; (2) though מָזוּל, v. 22, might be a mere synonym of מָזוּל, v. 21, it is at least as probable that it means in order to complete the fulfilment of what Jeremiah said: Jeremiah had prophesied that the exile must last seventy years: it had done so, and that prophecy was fulfilled (v. 21): Jeremiah had also (in Is 44:26 45:1) prophesied that Cyrus would secure the rebuilding of the Temple; in order to complete the fulfilment of Jeremiah's predictions, Yahweh had moved Cyrus to give the Jews permission to return and build the Temple; (3) whether we admit the distinction in (2) or not, v. 22 is closely linked with v. 23, and the prophecy to be fulfilled, referred to in v. 22, is most naturally identified with the prophecy cited by Cyrus in his decree in v. 23; only so is the entire form of vv. 20-23 really explained; if v. 22 was merely to repeat v. 21, the writer would rather have said simply, In the first year of Cyrus, Yahweh brought up the people, or moved Cyrus to let the people return, to Judah; the double reference to the building of the house clearly indicates that this is the point to which the writer in v. 22 moves forward.

It would be preferable, if the interpretation just suggested were proved impossible, to infer that Jeremiah in v. 22 has been accidentally substituted for Isaiah, or that the entire clause מָזוּל רָבָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל in v. 22 is a misplaced variant of מָזוּל רָבָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל in v. 21. But inasmuch as other considerations tend to show that the Book of Isaiah was certainly not complete much, if at all, before 180 B.C., and there is certainly no evidence to show that chs. 40-66 were attributed to Isaiah much earlier than Sir 48:22-25 (c. 180 B.C.), it is unnecessary to assume textual corruption, and very unwise to prefer an unnatural to an obvious interpretation of 2 Ch 36:22.


20. In addition to the direct external testimony to the existence of the Book of Isaiah before the 1st cent. A.D., there are two important matters that indirectly testify to it—the existence of an early Greek version of the Book, and the existence of a

* It is interesting to observe how Josephus, intentionally or unintentionally, softens down the difficulty; and it is significant that he quite clearly and naturally sees in 2 Ch 36:22 a fulfilment of Is 44:26 45:1: see Ant. xi. 11-12, especially § 2, where he says: "Now Cyrus knew this (ταφρα, viz. that Cyrus' name had been foretold by the "prophets," etc.) from reading the book of his prophecies which Isaiah left behind him: for this (prophet) said secretly (και αποκληται) that God spoke thus to him: 'My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed king of many and great nations, send my people to their own land, and build my Temple.' This Isaiah foretold 140 years before the Temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this . . . an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to carry out (προσφορα) what was so written," etc.
prophetic canon prior to the conclusion of the entire Canon of the Old Testament at the end of the 1st cent. A.D.

(a) The Greek Version.

In respect of the relation between the Hebrew text and the Greek version, the Book of Isaiah presents a striking contrast to the Book of Jeremiah. The Greek version of the Book of Jeremiah differs widely from the present Hebrew text both in extent and in arrangement: from this fact it is a reasonable inference that at the time the Greek version was made the form and extent of Jeremiah had not been firmly fixed, and it is a tolerably certain inference that at that time even the prophetic books were not protected from re-arrangement and expansion by any theory of the sanctity of Scripture such as protected the entire Canon from the 1st cent. A.D. onward. In arrangement the Book of the Twelve also differs in the Hebrew and Greek Bibles. On the other hand, both in extent and arrangement, the present Hebrew Text and the Greek Version of the Book of Isaiah are substantially identical. Two or three verses (2 22 3815 407 5612), present in Π, are absent in Α, and in sundry other places Α is shorter than Π by a clause or two; and in much the same number of cases Α has clauses not found in Π. There is no difference of arrangement.

The most natural and obvious conclusion to draw is that, at the date when the Greek version was made, the Book of Isaiah had already reached its present form and also, with the possible exception of some or all of the slight and of Α, its present extent.

21. An alternative conclusion is, indeed, possible: a Book of Isaiah, smaller than the present, may have been translated into Greek at a certain date; additions may have been made after that date to the Hebrew text, and these additions may have been subsequently translated into Greek, and added to the existing Greek version, yet so that their position in the version corresponded exactly to their position in the original (ct. Jeremiah). But if this were actually the case, the additions to the original Greek version should reveal themselves as such by differences of style and method, for even quite brief additions to the original text of Α are commonly betrayed by stylistic differences.* But as a matter of fact the Greek version of Isaiah is marked in general

* See nn. on 113 and the references in Thackeray, Grammar, p. 294, under "Interpolations."
by greater homogeneity of style than the versions of Jeremiah and "the Twelve": such differences as exist are not perhaps sufficient to prove difference of translators, and, if they are sufficient, they would point to chs. 40-66 (or perhaps 40-55, 56-66) proceeding as a whole from one translator and chs. 1-39 as a whole from another; they would lend no probability to a theory that such parts of the Book of Isaiah (e.g. chs. 24-27) as have been regarded by some recent writers as the latest parts of the book, and not written before the last third of the 2nd cent. B.C., were translated by a different hand from that which translated the main body of chs. 1-39.

Thackeray has argued that whereas three hands are distinguishable in the Greek version of Jeremiah (a. chs. 1-28; β. 29-51; γ. 52—Greek enumeration) and two in Ezekiel (a. chs. 1-27 and 40-48; β. 28-39, including a heterogeneous section ββ. 36-24-58), there is no similar evidence pointing to the work of different translators in Isaiah; he is able to point to common characteristics that run through the whole Book of Isaiah, for example, the transliteration of μηδεις in the phrase μηδεις πνημι, which, rarely found outside Isaiah, occurs in Isaiah fifty-three times; the phrase μεκροδ και μεγας, or απο μεκροι εις μεγαλου, occurs in five places (914 (15) 225. 24 354. 19), where the Hebrew does not immediately suggest it; the phrase εις των αλωνα χρωνον is used seven times in Isaiah, and elsewhere only in Ex 14, Bar 32 (cp. των αλωνα χρωνον, v. 18), Jth 150; and in general Isaiah is marked by greater correctness of style than Jeremiah and Ezekiel: see JThS iv. 245-266, 398-411; Grammar, 11 f.

I have myself drawn attention to differences as between chs. 1-39 and 40-66, and amongst others to differences in the use of the article and in the rendering of χαρνα and και; the particles παλιφ, δη, διοτι, and τοινν, which are frequent in chs. 1-39, are almost entirely absent from chs. 40-66: see JThS, 1911, pp. 286-293.

22. What, then, is the date of the Greek version? Briefly stated, the most important evidence is as follows:—(1) the author of Wisdom, commonly supposed to have written about 50 B.C.,* must have been familiar with the existing version of Isaiah, for in 12 he quotes the very peculiar version of Is 30 Gr.; cp. also Wis 1510 with Is 4420 Gr. Other later or more uncertain but interesting traces of Gr are to be found in 4 Mac 18ff. (cp. Is 43), Orac. Sibyll. iii. 606 (cp. Is 210ff.), 708 ff. (cp. Is 110ff.); (2) the translator of Ecclesiasticus in his prologue (c. 132 B.C.) refers to (Greek) versions of "the law and the prophecies (αι προφητειαι) and the rest of the books"; (3) the style and language of the version.

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It is possible that a more thorough and detailed investigation of the style and language of \( \delta \) may yield more convincing results than have been obtained at present. Thackeray (\( JThS \) iv. 563; x. 300-303) adduces considerations, worthy indeed of attention, but by no means final or conclusive on this particular issue, to show that Isaiah was translated earlier than the other prophetical books: (1) the Greek of Isaiah approaches more nearly than that of the other prophetical books to the classical style: in the \( Grammar, \) Thackeray classifies it as good \( kowh \) Greek with the Pentateuch, translated in the 3rd cent. B.C., but also with 1 Mac. which cannot have been written before the end of the 2nd cent. B.C.; (2) "the greater ease of style, and the tendency to give a free rather than a \( verbatim \) rendering," may be "marks of a comparatively early date," though the analogy of the Aramaic Versions would, so far as it had any value, point to the opposite conclusion; the earliest Targum is far less free than the later Targums; (3) some of the renderings in Isaiah agree with renderings in the Book of Exodus; there are also, it may be added, affinities with renderings in other books of the Pentateuch; see Ges. i. 56, and cp. the use of \( \delta p\\xom \) as an equivalent in Pent. and Is. (also in Ezk.) of \( y\\tho, \) to which H. Wiener draws attention in \( Bibliotheca Sacra, \) 1911, pp. 491 ff. In the \( Grammar, \) Thackeray "conjectures" that Isaiah may have been translated near the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., the other prophetical books nearer its close. The occurrences in Isaiah of the form \( \nu\\detai \) (\( \nu\\detai \)) and \( \nu\\detai \) (\( \nu\\detai \)) would indicate a date not much, if at all, before 132 B.C., if we could trust the orthographical tradition: unfortunately we cannot do so; see Thackeray, \( Grammar, \) pp. 58 ff. It is scarcely safe at present to assert more than that proof is not yet forthcoming that the language and style of the version are less compatible with a date c. 150 B.C., or even earlier, than with a later date.

The Greek version, then, is certainly not later than the Book of Wisdom, \( i.e. \) than the first half of the 1st cent. B.C. Moreover, either (a) this version is earlier than 132 B.C., or (b) the prophecies referred to in the Prologue to Sir. did not include Is., or (c) the version known to the author of the Prologue and the existing version are not identical. Of these alternatives (a) is the most probable, though neither (b) nor (c) can be ruled out as absolutely impossible; and, indeed, if Thackeray is right in considering the version of large parts of 2-4 Kings to be not earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., then the \( \pro\\hset\\tauim \) of the Prologue to Sir. were at all events not co-extensive with the books of the "prophetic Canon" (cp. § 1).

Failing good evidence to the contrary, it will be wise to reckon with the probability that the Greek version of Isaiah existed, if not even earlier, at least very soon after 150 B.C., and consequently that by the same date the Book of Isaiah had attained its present extent, except for any sections which can be
shown to have been translated into Greek by other hands than those responsible for the main body of the work (cp. § 21).

23. (b) The "prophetic Canon."

After the final determination of the Canon of Scripture at the end of the First Century A.D., every book included in it was protected from expansion or alteration (§ 10). But the final determination of the Canon was, probably, the last of three stages, of which the first was the acceptance of the Law, i.e. the Pentateuch, in the 5th cent. B.C. (Neh 8); the second consisted in the constitution of a second group of sacred writings, which continue to exist as the second part of the Hebrew Bible, "the Prophets" (§ 1). This second stage was probably reached early in the 2nd cent B.C.; for Daniel, written c. 167 B.C., though it would naturally belong to the group, as a matter of fact forms no part of it.*

24. Can we then argue: The prophetic Canon was complete before the middle of the 2nd century B.C., probably even before c. 165 B.C., the Book of Isaiah forms part of that Canon, therefore the Book of Isaiah can contain nothing of Maccabaean origin, can scarcely contain anything written after the close of the 3rd cent. B.C.? The argument has been used, and its validity has been disputed. It is scarcely safe to press it too far, or to rely on it exclusively. The final determination of the entire Canon falls at a period (1st–2nd cent. A.D.) when we have evidence that a very strict theory of the letter of Scripture was developing. But we are not justified in assuming that the same theory existed in the 2nd cent. B.C., and that it was applied to the earlier and smaller bodies of Scripture that had gained, or were then gaining, form and recognition. As a matter of fact, we have evidence that such a theory, even if it existed, was ineffective: "the Law" received additions after the time of Ezra (Numbers, p. xxxi ff.), the Books of Jeremiah and "The Twelve" differ in extent or arrangement or both in Ḳ and 𐤀, Isaiah (𐤀) itself has in all probability received some very slight additions even after the date of Ḳ, and harmless additions to the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch (Numbers, p. xxxviii f.)

* For a fuller discussion of the summary statements of this section, reference must again be made to standard works on the Canon. It is to be observed that Du. (p. viif.) disputes the value of the argument from the absence of Daniel.
show a similar tendency in the neighbouring Samaritan community.

Thus the rigid theory of the finality of Scripture and the strict division between Scripture and its interpretation, which prevailed from the 1st cent. A.D. downwards, had been preceded by a period during which the ancient words of the prophets were subject to adaptation to the new conditions and needs of later generations. Ancient promise or threat and modern interpretation, application, or modification, were at this period not kept absolutely distinct, but were combined into new written words adapted to present needs.

25. And yet the failure of Daniel to be incorporated in the prophetic Canon shows that in some degree the extent of expansion or change to which "the Prophets" were subjected was limited. Is it likely that entire sections like chs. 24–27, (32) 34–35 were first incorporated in the Book of Isaiah after the middle, or even after the end, of the 2nd cent. B.C.? Daniel and, say, Is 24–27 are, indeed, not quite in the same case: to have included Daniel in the prophetic Canon would have been to expand that Canon by the introduction of the work of a prophet not yet recognised; whereas, if chs. 24–27 had independently established a claim to be Isaiah's, their inclusion merely meant that the work of a prophet already recognised in the Canon was made more complete.

On the whole, it seems improbable that long sections not obviously related to the existing Book, and the place which they now occupy in it, were first incorporated in it after "the Prophets" had become a body of Scripture. They would naturally, like Daniel, have found their way into the "writings."

26. Du. and Marti dismiss the argument from the Canon altogether, on the ground that the History of the Canon must be judged by what it contains and not vice versa. This is perfectly true; and if any section of the Book bears unmistakable evidence of having been written at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., it certainly follows that the Book of Isaiah and the prophetic Canon were still open to expansion as late as that. But if it is a case of probability merely, if it merely seems probable, without appearing certain, that a section of the Book was written at so late a date, then we are justified in placing probability over-against probability: a possible, but not necessary, theory of the interpretation
and origin of a section may rightly be judged unproven if it conflicts with the probable, even though not certain, history of the prophetic Canon.

27. Reviewing the various lines of evidence which have already been discussed, we should not expect to find much in the present Book of Isaiah that was written after c. 180 B.C., still less to find much that was written after c. 150 B.C., unless differences in G can be established which point to different translators. On the other hand, there is no reason why even much of the Book may not have been written as late as the 3rd cent. B.C., for our present Book, in common probably with the Book of the Twelve, appears to have taken shape within that century, and rather perhaps towards its close than its beginning. Whether matter so late even as the 3rd cent. B.C., and, if any, how much of such matter is to be found in the Book, will be determined mainly by internal evidence.


28. When we turn to interrogate the Book itself as to its origin and history, two significant features at once strike us: (1) the arrangement of the matter; (2) the presence of several titles.

To the arrangement of the Book a passing reference has already been made in § 5. Certain principles of arrangement can be detected,* but none is consistently carried through. Regard for the subject-matter may have exercised some influence in keeping, if not in bringing, together kindred prophecies or sections: as in Ezekiel (chs. 25-32) and Jeremiah (chs. 46-51), so in Isaiah (chs. 13-23), prophecies concerning foreign nations are grouped together; yet this principle of arrangement is less consistently carried through in Isaiah, for (1) the foreign prophecies in chs. 13-23 are interrupted by a section, or sections, dealing with Judah in ch. 22; (2) other foreign prophecies appear elsewhere in the Book; Edom is the subject of ch. 34, Babylon of ch. 47; so in the book of "The Twelve" prophecies concerning foreign nations are separated from one another; see, e.g., Am 1 f., Nahum; in this case the reason is obvious: the book of "The Twelve" is a compilation which in

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its arrangement is primarily governed by the principle that previously existing books (Amos, Nahum, etc.) should be retained distinct in the compilation: the same principle is probably responsible for the separation in the existing Book of Isaiah of chs. 34 and 47 from chs. 13–23.

Another principle that has exercised some influence in the arrangement of Isaiah is regard for chronology: "the year in which Uzziah died" (61), i.e. c. 740 B.C., is followed in ch. 7 by a section that refers definitely to the reign of the next king but one to Uzziah, Ahaz (from c. 735 B.C.); 1428 refers to "the year in which king Ahaz died," which was not later than 715 B.C.; 201 refers to the year 711 B.C., and the Assyrian king Sargon; chs. 36–39, to the days of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, the successor of Sargon; 4427 etc. to Cyrus, c. 550 B.C. Yet a detailed examination shows that, apart from the striking disregard of chronology, which allows ch. 6, the record of Isaiah's call to be a prophet, to stand after a group of his prophecies (chs. 1–5), chronological sequence is frequently violated in the present arrangement of the Book. The extent to which prophecies are out of chronological sequence may be in part due to the inadequacy of the post-exilic (§§ 5–7) editor's knowledge; but in part this also is probably due to the desire to keep distinct the previously existing books which he has incorporated in his compilation. And in any case the extent of chronological inconsequence in the Book of Isaiah is after all no greater than in the Kor'an, though that work was arranged within a generation of its composition, and while a considerable amount of valuable tradition as to the age of its several parts was still young.

29. Certainly the presence of various titles strongly suggests that the editor of the Book of Isaiah has incorporated in his compilation previously existing books much as he found them, without attempting any free and general rearrangement of the material thus at his command. This editor may himself be the author of the title in 11, but scarcely of the title in 21, for 21, far from being the heading of a mere section, is as wide in its scope as 11; it stands where it does because the editor has here incorporated, title and all, a previously existing book. A further title occurs in 131, which runs, "the Oracle of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amos saw," and in the succeeding chapters down to ch. 23 a number of sub-titles follow, "the Oracle of
Moab" (15), "the Oracle of Damascus" (17), and so forth. Was 13 like 2 originally the title of a previously existing book which the editor of Isaiah incorporated entire, or was it shorter like the titles of 15 17 etc., and merely a sub-title of a section? On the one hand, the general title of an entire book containing oracles on several nations would more appropriately have run, "The Oracles which Isaiah the son of Amos saw"; on the other hand, the editor who had already (1) prefixed a title indicating Isaiah as author of the whole volume, had no obvious reason for reasserting his authorship in this particular sub-title. On the whole, it seems most probable that chs. 13-23 are derived from an independent "Book of Oracles"; possibly this was at one time anonymous, and the later ascription to Isaiah was recorded by attaching a clause to the title of the first section of the Book, while it still circulated separately and before it had come to form part of the present Book of Isaiah.

30. We find no further titles; but other sections of the book are marked off by certain characteristics. Chs. 28-32 consist of a series of sections beginning with the exclamation יְהֹוָה (28 29 30 31 33); these are widely separated from a series of shorter sections which begin with the same exclamation (5-24); these two series of similar sections are probably separated in the present Book of Isaiah because the editor found them in different works which he has incorporated entire: cp. the separation of the prophecies in chs. 34. 47 from chs. 13-23. Chs. 36-39 (except 39-30) are an extract from the Book of Kings.

The book thus divides into these sections:

a. 1. General Title attributing authorship to Isaiah (1), and a small group of prophecies (1-8).

b. 2-12. A Book of prophecies mainly concerning "Judah and Jerusalem," ascribed in a title (2) to Isaiah.

c. 13-23. "Oracles" which the title to the first section (13) probably intends to attribute to Isaiah.

d. 24-27. Anonymous Prophecy.

e. 28-33. A collection of poems beginning with יְהֹוָה.

f. 34. Anonymous Prophecy.

g. 36-39. Mainly an extract from 2 Kings.


Of these sections, g. has its analogy in Jer 52, and the analogy suggests that it once formed the close of a volume.
attributed to Isaiah, whether that volume contained the whole or only part (§ 17) of what now stands between the title r1 and this historical appendix in chs. 36–39. There is also this difference between chs. 1–39 and 40–66, that whereas much in chs. 1–39 was written later than the age of Isaiah and as late as most, if not all, of 40–66, yet throughout 1–39 we constantly return to direct references to Isaiah, or prophecies unmistakably of his age; but in 40–66 there is no reference to Isaiah, nor are there any prophecies of his age.

31. Probably, then, a stage, if not the latest, consisted in attaching chs. 40–66 to chs. 36–39, which latter chapters were already preceded by chs. 1–35 in whole or in part. Whether this attachment of chs. 40–66 to 1–39 was in the first instance due to the fact that a roll containing a Book of Isaiah—1–39—was filled out with what was understood to be an anonymous prophecy (chs. 40–66), either simply to fill a blank space, or to make the fourth prophetic collection approximate more nearly in size to Jeremiah, Ezekiel and “The Twelve,” or whether chs. 40–66 were attached to chs. 1–39 because they had already come to be attributed to Isaiah, are speculations that need be pursued no further here; see, however, Eichhorn, Einleitung, iii. (1783) 94; Ges. pp. 17 f.; Cheyne, Introd. xvii f., 237 f.

Both books, chs. 1–39 and chs. 40–66, had had their own separate history before they came, whether by accident or design, to be treated as a single work. Chs. 40–66 appear to contain work of at least two periods (c. 540 and c. 450 B.C.) separated from one another by nearly a century: the matter will be fully argued in its proper place in the Commentary. An editor must have brought together the work of these two different periods, and that scarcely much before, and possibly, even probably, considerably after, the close of the 5th century.

32. It remains to discuss here the separate history and the complexity of chs. 1–39 more fully. From the nature of the case, various alternative theories are often possible: no attempt will be made to discuss or even to mention them all: it must suffice to indicate so much as will suggest the complexity of the problem, and the number of stages by which chs. 1–39 may have attained their present form.

The Book that contained chs. 40–66 was in the first instance anonymous; but the Book that was concluded with chs. 36–39—
the long extract from Kings relating to Isaiah—was probably from the first understood to consist entirely of prophecies by Isaiah and narratives relating to him, in this resembling the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. As a matter of fact, Is 1–39 may contain the work of nearly as many different writers as the book of “the Twelve,” but, unlike that book, it passed as the work of, or about, a single prophet.

33. But how much of chs. 1–35 belonged to the Book of which chs. 36–39 formed the closing section? In all probability at least the three sections which are referred by separate titles to Isaiah, viz. (a) ch. 1 ; (b) chs. 2–12 ; (c) chs. 13–23. But did this Book also include from the first the anonymous chapters 24–35? Of these chapters, 28–33 (32) contain much that is admittedly the work of Isaiah, whereas chs. 24–27. (33). 34. 35 contain nothing that can with any probability be defended as work of the 8th cent. b.c. A theory that the anonymous sections 24–27. 33. 34. 35 are subsequent interpolations cannot be considered proved, but it would have in itself nothing improbable. Only it would be reasonable to believe that if chs. 24–27. 33. 34. 35 were interpolated into a Book of Isaiah that consisted of 1. 2–12. 13–23. 28–32, they were so interpolated because they were already believed to be the work of Isaiah, or, if we prefer the alternative, because the interpolator wished them to pass as Isaiah’s. Again, if these prophecies were added to a book that closed with chs. 36–39, it is easy to see why they were inserted somewhere in the middle among the prophecies rather than appended to the narratives, though the reason for the particular place assigned them may not be obvious. On the other hand, if they were interpolated after chs. 40–66 had been already added to a book which consisted of chs. 1. 2–12. 13–23. 28–32. 36–39, it is by no means easy to see why they were interpolated where they now stand rather than at the close of the prophecies in chs. 40–66, for they are certainly not very obviously connected with their present setting. From this point of view, then, there seems some probability that, if interpolated at all, chs. 24–27 and 33–35 were interpolated before chs. 36–39 and 40–66 were united, i.e. before c. 180 B.C.; and if this were so, it would follow that chs. 24–27 and 33–35 were written before 180 B.C. The case is rather different with 1917(10)–25 : if this were written c. 160 B.C., it must have been interpolated; but it may equally well have been inter-
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polated after the union of chs. 36–39 and 40–66, as before: after 66 it would have stood in no natural connection; in ch. 19 the verses are attached to others which also deal with Egypt.

34. We proceed next to a survey of the sections of which several, if not all, once existed separately as smaller books.

Ch. 1 may have been a prophetic fly-sheet of about the size of the Book of Obadiah, or its several parts may have been first put together by the final editor of the Book: see Introd. to ch. 1 in the Comm.

2–12. This section, which opens with its own title and has the main body of its contents enclosed between poems (2^4 12) relating to the Ideal Future, may well have formed a Book of Isaiah. But if so, like our present Book it had itself had a history. It may be noted that (1) the section is wider in its scope than “Judah and Jerusalem” (2^1), for see 9^7–10^4; (2) the account of Isaiah’s call falls in the middle of it, ch. 6; (3) chs. 6–8 are more largely narrative than “vision,” נו (2^1; cp. n. on 1^1); (4) in 5^25–29 we have a clear case of misplacement; these verses form the close to 9^7–10^4; (5) not a little even of these chapters is later than the age of Isaiah.

There is room for various conjectures; 6–8^18 shows in the main at least a clear chronological sequence, and is drawn in part, if not entirely, from an autobiographical work by Isaiah; chs. 2–5 contain prophetic poems and sayings. It is possible that 2^1 was in the first instance a title to a small body of prophecy—say 2–4, or 2–5, to which the extracts from autobiographical, or biographical, memoirs—6–8^18—were appended, as chs. 36–39 were appended to 1–35.* The remainder of chs. 2–12, including the prophetic poem on Ephraim (9^7–10^4), may have gained its way into this Book at one time or at several. It is, of course, conceivable that some or all of such additional matter was added by the final editor of the Book: but this is not probable; for had he been freely re-arranging his material, it would have been natural to group 9^7–10^4 with other prophecies concerning Ephraim, such as 17^1–11 28^1–4.

* It is less probable that the Book, claiming in its title to be prophecies concerning Judah and Jerusalem, contained, in addition to 2–5, 9^7–10^4, and that 6–9^6 was subsequently interpolated between 2–5 and 9^7–10^4 (Di.); nor is Di.’s argument that Isaiah himself is answerable for combining 2–5. 6–9^6 (or 6–11^16) at all conclusive.
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But if we cannot speak with certainty as to the original contents of the Book to which 2\(^1\) was the prefixed title, or as to its contents when used by the editor who incorporated it into Is 1-39, so neither can we speak with certainty as to the date of the Book, either in its original or expanded form. In its expanded form, however, it must be a work of the post-exilic period: for not a little of 2-12 was first written in that period, ch. 12 by very general consent, probably also other passages, viz. 22\(^{24}\), 42\(^{6}\) (9\(^{1-6}\)) 11 and parts of 16.

Chs. 13-23. This book consists of (a) a series of "oracles" indicated by title (13\(^1\)) and sub-titles (15\(^1\) 17\(^1\) 19\(^1\) 21\(^{18}\), 11\(^{13}\) 22\(^1\) 23\(^1\)), (b) sections not entitled "oracles" (14\(^{24-27}\), 28-32 17\(^{12-14}\) 18. (19\(^{17-25}\)). 20. 22\(^{15-26}\). The term נָבָר, which appears in the titles that give so striking an external feature to this section, occurs nowhere else in the Book of Isaiah except in 30\(^6\), but it is found in the titles of certain sections of the book of "The Twelve"; see Hab 1\(^1\), Nah 1\(^1\), Zec 9\(^1\) 12\(^1\), Mal 1\(^1\). This Book of Oracles, if, as seems likely, the ten sections entitled נָבָר, oracle, once existed separately, was a post-exilic work, for some of the oracles were themselves written in the Exile or later—certainly 13\(^1\)-14\(^4\) 21\(^{1-10}\), possibly also 15 f. 19 (in whole or part), 23; but the Book also contained some work belonging to the age of Isaiah; see ch. 17. It is possible, and indeed far from improbable, that the untitled sections were, most or all of them, added to the "Book of Oracles" before that work was utilised by the editor of Isaiah 1-39; but some at least of the additions, e.g. c. 20, must have been made after the "Book of Oracles" as a whole had been attributed to Isaiah.

Chs. 24-27. This anonymous prophecy is certainly post-exilic, and so, too (even though they be of independent origin), are the songs now incorporated with it; see more fully the Introduction to the section in the Commentary.

Chs. 28-33. Externally these chapters are held together by the recurrent נָבָר at the beginning of sections. A further striking characteristic is the constant interchange of denunciations which bear the stamp of a particular period in Isaiah's career, and passages of glowing promise. Some almost certainly, and possibly all, of the passages of promise are of post-exilic origin (see, e.g., on 28\(^{5f}\), 29\(^{17-24}\) 30\(^{18-26}\)). Since this feature does not run through the whole of chs. 1-39, we may infer that it marked these
chapters before they were incorporated in chs. 1-39. In chs. 28-33 we appear to have a record of a period in Isaiah's career made the basis of a (late) post-exilic work; see, further, on 28-33; and for an elaboration of the hypothesis barely suggested here, see M. Brückner, Die Composition des Buches Jes. cc. 28-33 (c. 1897).

Chs. 34 f. An anonymous post-exilic prophecy.

35. This summary statement of much that will be found more fully discussed in the Commentary is enough to show that the Book of Isaiah is the final stage in a literary process of which many of the previous stages fell within the post-exilic period. And thus an analysis of the Book itself, though it may not indicate a precise date for the origin of the complete Book, certainly prepares us for the suggestion of 2 Ch 36 (see above, § 18), that the Book did not as yet exist c. 300 B.C., and to believe that it did not exist any long time before 180 B.C.

We can only go further, if we can determine the age of the latest section of the Book; for the Book, of course, in its final form is later than its latest section. Unfortunately there are several sections which are clearly post-exilic, but of which the exact age is anything but clear. The present writer hesitates, as the Commentary must be left to show, to follow Du. and others in assigning much, or Kennett in assigning more than half, of the book to the 2nd cent. B.C., and some passages even to the end of that century. But it is extremely difficult to believe that chs. 24-27 were written until far on in the post-exilic period, and 19-25 may have been written as late as 160 B.C., and inserted in the then virtually closed Book. Even after that date a few brief notes—marginal glosses in the first instance—may have found their way into the text and probably did; see 26 or (last clause), etc.

The exact age of the last editor's work cannot be determined; but the character of the age can be divined. Is 24-27 is an apocalyptic work, and forms part of the Book of Isaiah; no great time after the conclusion of that Book we have evidence of the activity of apocalyptic thought in Daniel and the earlier portions of Enoch. The latest editor of the Book, as probably enough some of the editors of the books he utilised or incorporated, lived in an age saturated with apocalyptic thought. It need not surprise us if the thought of the age has frequently

36. Literature was not the primary expression of prophecy. Elijah was a speaker, he was not a writer; and (so far as we know) Amos was the first prophet to record his teaching in writing. But the earliest of even the so-called literary prophets were speakers first and writers afterwards: Amos, Isaiah, Micah, and doubtless Hosea, too, were called in the first instance to deliver a message to the nation by word of mouth. The call to write, when it is recorded (Is 30:8, Jer 36:2), came to these prophets later; their first need was fitness or power to speak, pure lips, and not "the pen of the ready writer." Later, prophecy, especially as it passed over into apocalyptic, became purely literary; it was expressed from the first in writing. There is also much of the prophetic literature of which we cannot say with certainty whether it rests on spoken prophecy or not.

37. Much of the Book of Isaiah, including perhaps most or all of that which is unrelated to the prophet Isaiah, may rest on no previously spoken word: it may have had literary form from the first: in this case all that is needed is to trace the literary process to its literary origin. But much certainly goes back to the public or private utterances of the prophet Isaiah, and in this case we have to inquire what is the relation between the first literary stage and the spoken word. Our information on this point is unfortunately scanty, but it is suggestive; so also is the form of the written record itself. The questions that arise cannot be adequately answered; but much of the Book of Isaiah can only be satisfactorily discussed and interpreted, if the possibilities or probabilities in this matter are constantly kept in mind.

38. The records of Isaiah’s teaching consist of (a) prophecies, (b) memoirs of the prophet, either (a) autobiographical, 6–818 (in the main), and a document underlying 28–32; or (β) biographical, 20. 36–39.

In b (β) we certainly see Isaiah through the medium of others, and, probably, in chs. 36–39 through the medium of somewhat long popular tradition. In b (α) we have Isaiah’s
account of himself; but how do the prophecies stand related to him and his spoken words?*

The first thing to be remarked is that the prophecies are almost without exception poems or poetic fragments (§§ 44 ff.), and that these poems are short. Probably the longest poem is $9^7$–$10^4$ and $5^{26-29}$; and this, in Hebrew, scarcely exceeds 300 words. We have therefore no speech, sermon, oration (or whatever other term we may prefer to use) of Isaiah's that would have taken in its present literary form more than 4 or 5 minutes to deliver.

Now, were these poems (α) composed first and then recited by the prophet in public; or (β) were they written after the prophet had spoken or preached in a different style and at greater length, in order to perpetuate, not the words of his speech, but the ideas that had formed the substance of it; or (γ) are some of them, and particularly the more fragmentary, pregnant sayings remembered by his hearers, and subsequently grouped together much like the "Logia" of the Gospels?

39. The alternatives just suggested are not mutually exclusive: all three processes may actually have taken place and each may account for some of the prophecies that have survived in literary form. Certainly the prophets may at times have availed themselves of the methods of the Moshelim (Nu 21:27: see Numbers, pp. 299 ff., xiii ff.) but, having gathered their audience, they may have held it by reciting, instead of songs of past victory, poems of their own composing in which they laid bare the real significance of the present; perchance the song of the vineyard in $5^{1-7}$ had such an origin. So, too, in view of much that is fragmentary, it is far from improbable that we owe something to the memory of the disciples of the prophet (cp. $8^{16-18}$); and certainly the grouping of six or seven brief "Woes" in $5^{8-24}$ recalls the "Beatitudes" of the Gospels which we have received in two very different groupings, one of which at least is not that of their author. But probably the bulk of the prophecies in the Book of Isaiah, as in Amos, Hosea, Jeremiah, are condensations into artistic poetic form of what Isaiah had said in public at greater length, but without the same restraint of form. This is suggested by the particular instance recorded in $30^8$ ($8^{16}$ is more ambiguous), read in the light of the full account given

by Jeremiah (ch. 36) of the way in which he came to commit his teaching to writing: not till Jeremiah had been teaching for more than twenty years did he compose the prophetic poems which summarise what he had said. How early, or how often, Isaiah gave literary form to his teaching we cannot determine: there is some reason for believing that it was some years after his Call that he wrote his account of it (see on ch. 6), and the preparation of these memoirs may have been Isaiah's first literary work. In the case of the prophecies on the Northern kingdom, the two most probable alternatives are these: either (a) Isaiah wrote 97-104 171-9 281-4 and despatched the written poems to be recited or read by others, or (b) he himself, like Amos (Am 710-15), proceeded to some place in the North, delivered his message, and subsequently reduced the substance of what he had said to literary form. Some of the "oracles" on foreign nations were presumably cast in literary form from the first (cp. Di. xxi), though ch. 18 again may well be a summary of what Isaiah had previously spoken.


40. In the preceding analytical discussion it has several times been pointed out that more than one theory will satisfy many of the phenomena: no synthesis of results can therefore be more than tentative; all that is offered here is one such tentative theory* of the origin of the Book of Isaiah.

At times rather than continuously between the years c. 740 to 701 B.C., and perhaps somewhat later, Isaiah was a public teacher in Judah; he gradually gathered around him disciples. Some years after he had been teaching he wrote some memoirs recording the experience which made him a prophet and the way in which he had in the earlier years (735-732) of the reign of Ahaz delivered his prophetic message. He also at various times perpetuated in the form of prophetic poems the substance of what he had said in rebuke of the sins of Judah (see, e.g., 2-4), or Ephraim (97-105 171-11 281-4), or in reference to political issues of the day in which foreign nations also were involved (see, e.g.,

* For another recent theory, see Kennett, pp. 39-42.
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chs. 18. 28-31); in some cases he was moved to do this by the unwillingness of the people to listen to him (308).

The memoirs and prophetic poems of Isaiah, forming small booklets, became the treasures of his disciples and their successors; it is probable enough that early owners of these booklets made annotations in them, and we have, perhaps, an instance of 7th century annotations in 780.

But the personality of Isaiah impressed itself not only on his immediate disciples: he became the hero of popular story, and some of these stories relating to the latest period(s) in his life were a century or more later written down, and found their way like the similar cycle of stories about Elijah and Elisha into the Book of Kings (2 K 18-20).

Various writers during and after the Exile wrote oracles on foreign nations; and a great writer produced a book (Is 40-55) intended to rouse and encourage the Exiles in Babylon.

After the Exile much of the existing prophetic literature was newly arranged and expanded, especially by the addition of passages of promise and comfort; and among the results of this activity were books closely resembling chs. 2-12 and chs. 13-23.

New and independent prophecy was also produced, and in the middle of the 5th cent. B.C. much of 56-66 was written. Later, chs. 40-55 and 56-66 were combined into a single book.

Other independent post-exilic works are chs. 34 f., 24-27—the latter written late in the post-exilic period.

Possibly about the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. the existing Books of Isaiah (2-12 and 13-23 and ? 28-32) were brought together by an editor who prefixed a title 1 and another booklet of Isaiah's (12-31), and added (36-39) to the prophecies the narratives from 2 K 1718-20 (with the omission, however, of 2 K 1814-16 and the addition of Is 3818-20): whether this editor also included in his work chs. 24-27 and 33. 34. 35, or whether these sections were later interpolated, is uncertain.

Some time before 180 B.C., chs. 1-39 (24-27. 34 f. possibly being absent) and 40-66 were united in a single whole, which with Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and "The Twelve" formed four volumes of prophecy of approximately equal size.

After 180 B.C. the Book of Isaiah may have received some additions such as 1917-25, possibly even, though less probably, 24-27. 34 f.
About 150 B.C. the Book of Isaiah was translated into Greek. After this date it is very doubtful whether the Book received any additions extending beyond a clause or a verse: such small additions, however, were made to the Hebrew text and include 613 (last clause) 220.

Against even such minor additions the Hebrew text was secured from the end of the 1st cent. A.D. onwards by the conclusion of the Canon and the doctrine of the finality of Scripture. Thenceforward the Book of Isaiah could no longer be adapted to the needs or hopes of the living community by addition or alteration, but only by exegesis; between the 5th and the 9th centuries A.D. the approved exegesis was closely wedded with the text by means of the vowel points. At times these vowel points are flagrantly at variance with the actual sense of the text, and embody not a possible interpretation of the prophecies, but the hopes of these later Jews (see, e.g., on 631-6).

§§ 41-43. Criteria for distinguishing the words of Isaiah from the additions of later writers.

41. The task of interpreting a work with a history so long and complicated and yet in detail so obscure and uncertain as that which has just been sketched, is difficult indeed. There is no question that the Book contains words of Isaiah and words of other and later authors; nor can there be any serious doubt that in parts of the Book these two elements are closely intermingled. We may immediately set aside chs. 40-66, 24-27, 34 f. as containing no words of Isaiah, though in their turn these chapters also present their own similar problems of analysis. But in chs. 1-23, referred by title to Isaiah, and in chs. 28-33, how and to what extent can the earlier and the later elements be distinguished? The earlier critical method was rough and ready, and left correspondingly rough places for the interpreter; tacitly the accepted canon was: what cannot be clearly proved to be later than the age of Isaiah is the work of Isaiah. But the canon is illegitimate. The Book of Isaiah is a late compilation: even the books incorporated in it and attributed to Isaiah—chs. 2-12 and 13-23—are post-exilic works. All that can be strictly claimed is that what clearly proceeds from Isaiah
is to be regarded as his, all that clearly proceeds from other
or later writers is not to be regarded as his, and all that is
neither clearly his nor clearly not his must be regarded as un-
certain. And, of course, there is wide range in the degrees of
uncertainty.

42. The criteria for distinguishing the work of different
writers and determining the date of any particular passage are
mainly of three kinds.

(a) The Political and Social implications.
In some cases these are clear and ample; they show that
chs. 6–8 are, in the main, the work of Isaiah; that chs. 13.2–32
and 40–55 (in the main) are works of the exilic period. In
other cases the interpretation of what is implied is less clear.
It is certain that if 11.1 implies that the dynasty of David has
fallen, the prophecy, 11.1–8, was written no earlier than the
Exile; but many interpreters find themselves able to place an
interpretation on the verse which would leave the date an open
question.

(b) Style and Language.
These may prove or help to prove either (1) that a passage,
or even a clause, is not Isaiah’s; or (2), more definitely, the ap-
proximate date of such a passage. It is unnecessary to use the
argument from style and language to prove that chs. 40–55 are
not the work of Isaiah; for it is abundantly clear from criteria
of class (a) alone that these chapters were written 150 years
after the close of Isaiah’s career. At the same time, style and
language alone would suffice to show that 40–55 were not the
work of Isaiah, though they would not quite so closely define
the date of that work.

The data have been very carefully collected by Cheyne (Intro-
duction), who at times may overrate the significance of them.

(c) Ideas.
In this case, too, there is frequently room for difference of
judgment on the facts; for we cannot write the history of
Hebrew ideas with such precision and certainty as to rule out
the possibility that some ideas which seem to find expression
solely in later religion may not have been current earlier. In
particular is there difference of judgment at the present time
as to the critical significance of certain eschatological ideas (see
below, § 89).
43. In most cases a final judgment on any passage will rest in some measure on criteria of all three classes; and in cases where no single type of criteria yields ground for certainty, the combination of probabilities derived from a study of the three classes may yield a high degree of probability approaching certainty; in others, even all the criteria combined will only give a balance of probabilities (9146), and sometimes this will be of the slightest kind, so that to one observer the balance may seem, if it inclines at all, to incline to one side, though to another observer it will appear to incline to the other.

Kennett (pp. 4 f.) states the problem well; but his method of solution would be sound only if our knowledge of all periods of Jewish history were full instead of being with reference to some periods exceedingly meagre, and with reference to most, inadequate. "It is necessary," he writes, "to inquire with reference to each section or fragment which literary criticism declares to be homogeneous, at what period every one of its phrases would have a clear meaning. . . . If history repeats itself, it seldom does so to such an extent that every word and phrase of a document written in one age will be equally suitable to another: and for practical purpose it will usually be enough to point out one period of history to which such a document really corresponds in all its parts." Unfortunately for this method, there is a vast difference between suitability to a particular age and suitability to what is known of the same age: a document may very well correspond, or not be inconsistent with, what is known of two or three different periods of all of which next to nothing is known; and if the correspondence with only one such period is pointed out, a false impression of certainty or probability is necessarily given. As a matter of fact, considerable parts of the Book of Isaiah are not inconsistent with what is known of more periods than one (cp. e.g. the introduction to 19123); if our knowledge were increased, the range of ambiguity might be diminished; on the other hand it might be increased; for what had seemed peculiar to a particular period may be shown by fuller knowledge to have been common to more than one: till lately an allusion to a Jewish Temple in Egypt would have corresponded to what was known of the period from c. 160 B.C. to 73 A.D. only; it is now known that there was a Jewish Temple in Egypt from before 525 down to 411 B.C. also.

§§ 44-57. The poietical forms of the prophetic literature, and of the Book of Isaiah in particular.

44. Robert Lowth (1710-1787), sometime Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford and Bishop of London, rendered two great services to the critical study of the Old Testament. He revealed by a masterly analysis the parallelistic structure of Hebrew poetry; and he perceived that the prophetic
literature was poetical in form.* He also proved that in translating from Hebrew poetry it is possible to reproduce not only the sense, but also the form, in so far as this depends on parallelism; and in his translation of Isaiah he presented the poetical form of the original to the eye of his readers. In this he was followed amongst others by Koppe, who translated his Isaiah into German, by Gesenius in the translation prefixed to his Commentary, and by the English scholar Henderson (1840). Unfortunately this practice suffered a check; and even in Cheyne's Commentary,† which in other respects marked a notable advance in the criticism and interpretation of the Book, the prophecies were translated throughout in the form of prose: still more unfortunately the RV (1885), which presented the Psalms, Job, and other poetical parts of the OT in poetical form, by printing the Prophets as prose, obscured the important fact that the greater part of these books is no less poetical in form than either Psalms or Job.

Parallelism is one of the forms of Hebrew poetry: is it the only one? Since the time of Lowth the question of Hebrew metre, which he had treated as non-existent or irrecoverable, has received repeated attention. Into the general question ‡ it is impossible to enter at length here; but it is necessary to explain the principle on which the form given to the translations, and the account taken of metre in the Commentary, have been decided.

45. In the translations the division into lines has been determined primarily by regard to parallelism: i.e. Lowth's method has been resumed. This would be justifiable even if the metre were always clearly to be recognised—which it is not; for there would be no reason to adopt in translating from Hebrew a method which for good reasons has found no favour with those who have translated the metrical lines of other poetry: in translations (which are not themselves metrical) from Homer or Vergil, for example, it is not customary to distinguish in the

* De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones (1753); A new translation of Isaiah (1778).
† The Prophecies of Isaiah (1880, 1882; ed. 5, 1889).
translation the lines of the original; neither is there any reason so to distinguish the Hebrew metrical lines if, or when, these lines do not coincide with the periods of parallelism, as Du., for example, has not infrequently done (see, e.g., p. 212 below, note on the structure of 111-8).

46. But parallelism is not a constant phenomenon of Hebrew poetry: lines frequently occur which are not related to their neighbours by parallelism of terms, or even by a general parallelism of sense. What Lowth called "synthetic parallelism" (Dr. LOT 363) is in reality absence of parallelism in lines such as

Yet I have set my king
Upon Zion, my holy hill.

But in a poem which contains for the most part lines parallel in sense, the remainder of the poem in which parallelism is absent tends to fall into periods of the same length. So, in the example just cited,

contains two periods of the same length as the periods in v.1 of the same Psalm which are related to one another by parallelism—

If an entire poem contained no parallel lines, there would be no sound reason for distinguishing the lines in the English translation; yet if the end of the lines always coincided with a pause in the sense, the line-division might be retained in English as a form of articulation; and when, as is most frequently the case, parallelism is sometimes present, sometimes (though generally less frequently) absent, it is convenient to show the line-division throughout.

This approximation to a similar length and rhythmical character in the periods of a poem is the best evidence that parallelism is not the only form of Hebrew poetry, but that it followed also certain rhythmical laws, however elastic those laws may have been.

47. So far it is assumed that the rhythmical unit and the
sense divisions in Hebrew poetry are identical; and that that poetry has nothing to show like—

Sing, Heavenly Muse, that, on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed
In the beginning how the heavens and earth
Rose out of Chaos; or if Sion hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God, I thence
Invoke thy aid to my advent'rous song—

in which passage the rhythmical units regularly close where there is no sense-division, and the pauses of sense occur in the middle of the rhythmical units. If the assumption is wrong, and if Sievers is right in his contention that "run on" lines do occur even with frequency in Hebrew poetry, it might have a considerable bearing on textual criticism; but it would not affect the correct method of dividing the lines in an English translation: these might and should still serve the useful purpose of clearly presenting the parallelistic structure coinciding with sense-divisions.

But the more elaborate metrical analysis of Hebrew texts, such as Bickell or Sievers offers, rest on too precarious a basis to be made as yet a secure instrument even of textual criticism.

48. The prominent element in Hebrew poetry is the accented syllable; the laws that governed the number of unaccented syllables that accompanied it are obscure, though it is obviously an over-statement, as Cobb (op. cit. 123 f.) caustically points out, to say that the number of unaccented syllables was "a matter of no consequence" (Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. clxvii). We may, then, at the present stage of investigations into Hebrew metre, obtain a provisional determinant of rhythm in Hebrew poetry by observing the accented syllables. Each word, or each complex of words united by makkeph, represents, generally speaking, a single-word accent; it may be that in some cases in a word of five or more syllables the secondary accent also ranks as a word-accent, and that, e.g. פס 25, חנן Is 10, contains not one accent only, but two. Seeing that MT can no more be trusted in its particular applications of makkeph than in
respect of the vowels, it will be seen that there is room even in this simpler determination of rhythm for no little uncertainty.

49. Broadly speaking, the lines of Hebrew poetry are related to one another in one of two ways: they are equal, or they are unequal; in the one case we have a balancing rhythm, in the other an echoing rhythm; for example, in \( ^8 \)

\[
3:3 \quad \text{balancing rhythm}
\]

\[
2:2 \quad \text{balancing rhythm}
\]

the lines in each couplet balance one another; each line of the first couplet certainly contains three accents; each line of the second couplet also contains three accents, if MT is right, and it probably is so, in leaving the נל in each line unconnected by makkeph with the verb; if the makkeph is inserted the lines still balance, but the length of each is two accents. In the one case the couplet may be described as 3 : 3, in the other as 2 : 2.

50. Examples of echoing rhythm* are found later in the same chapter, especially in vv. 21-28, and also, e.g., in 13\( ^2 \)-8 14\( ^4 \)-21; 1\( ^21 \). 26. 27 may serve as examples:

\[
3:2
\]

\[
3:2
\]

In each of these couplets a line of three accents is followed by a line of two: the rhythm is 3 : 2.

51. Within the broad distinction into balancing and echoing couplets, minor distinctions are to be observed, especially in balancing couplets: the length of the lines in balancing couplets

* On account of its use in elegies, this rhythm has also been termed the Kınah (elegy) rhythm. But it can no longer be maintained that the rhythm is peculiar to elegy, though it may be said to be characteristic of it. On this rhythm, see Budde, ZATW, 1882, pp. 1-52; Dr. LOT 457-459; EBi. s.v. Lamentation, § 2, and Poetical Literature, § 8. For examples in the Book of Isaiah of the rhythm not in elegy, see 1\( ^{10} \)r. 40\( ^{11} \).
commonly varies between two and four accents: e.g. 32\footnote{11} contains two couplets 2 : 2:

\[
\text{ברדוי אשנוניה}
\]
\[
\text{ברדוי במאת}
\]
\[
\text{מშמיה ויחוה}
\]
\[
\text{יחוה על־はずים}
\]

and in addition to 1\footnote{8} given above, 32\footnote{15c. d. 16} may serve as examples of 3 : 3:

\[
\text{יחוה מרבך להמלש}
\]
\[
\text{ברמלל לעי השב}
\]
\[
\text{נשמך מכםבריך מפשמך}
\]
\[
\text{浞חקה נברמל השב}
\]

Couplets which in the last analysis are 4 : 4 are rarer. Of course, wherever a succession of couplets 2 : 2 occurs, it would be possible, by combining two lines, to express the rhythm as 4 : 4. The real distinction, however, lies here—that in some periods of four accents there is a marked pause after the second accent, and also the two parts of this period of four accents are parallel in sense (cp. 32\footnote{11} above), whereas in others there is neither pause nor parallelism within the periods in either line, or at least not in both of the lines of four accents that constitute the couplet. Clear examples of couplets 4 : 4 are 5\footnote{16} 9\footnote{20. d}:

\[
\text{ויהביו הימא שבזות בפשפם}
\]
\[
\text{חלא הקדשו נטרתי צקרת}
\]
\[
\text{שמחות למזני בפשמות בקניא}
\]
\[
\text{כנאשה יגלו בתרמים שלא}
\]

See also note on rhythm prefixed to chs. 15 f.

Periods of five accents without a pause scarcely occur; for most couplets 5 : 5 can also be treated rhythmically as double couplets of 3 : 2, with 2 : 3 as a rare variant. And the same is true of periods of six accents, though these may occasionally, from certain points of view, be treated as rhythmical units; for successive periods may be differently divided, some into 3 : 3, others in 2 : 2 : 2; see on 1\footnote{26} and 26\footnote{19}; cp. also, e.g., Ps 1\footnote{1}—2 : 2 : 2 followed by 3 : 3.

52. There is less variety in echoing couplets: the prevailing type of these is 3 : 2, already illustrated (§ 50). Obviously 3 : 2 may be regarded as an abbreviated 3 : 3, and we might, therefore, expect 2 : 1 and 4 : 3, abbreviations of 2 : 2 and 4 : 4.
respectively, to be as frequent variations on 3:2 as are 2:2 and 4:4 on 3:3; but 2:1 is not, at least, a frequent variant, and 4:3 (cp. Sievers' frequent "Siebeners") rarely possesses the characteristic echoing value of 3:2. Interchanging with 3:2 we find rather 4:2 or 2:2.

That the echo is the really characteristic thing in periods of five accents appears from two considerations: (1) these periods are, with the rarest exceptions, divided into 3:2; the obvious alternative 2:3, which would give no echoing effect, does occur, but with such rarity* that some writers consider its occurrence sufficient evidence that the lines have suffered accidental transposition: such accidents certainly occurred, for see Ps 1845 = 2 S 2245; (2) the rhythmic echo is frequently combined with a sense echo, i.e. two terms of the first line are paralleled in the second line, the third is not merely not paralleled,—that happens often enough in parallel couplets 3:3,—but it has nothing corresponding to it.

53. So far this analysis of the rhythmical facts has been confined to the couplet,† or distich, which is so prevalent in all Hebrew poetry. There also occur, though with far less frequency, monostichs and tristichs; tetrastichs, too, though these can generally be regarded as two distichs. The distich is a rhythmical complex in itself: the monostich is not; it merely acquires a specific rhythmical quality from its relation to other lines, most of which will almost invariably be found to be combined into distichs. The monostich is a period in a poem equivalent in length to one line of a distich. A tristich is a complex of three rhythmically similar lines, and for this reason can only occur in balancing rhythm. Both monostichs and tristichs are of relatively rare occurrence even in the existing text, and in the original they were probably rarer still. Whether three lines are to be regarded as a tristich, or as a distich followed or preceded by a monostich, will sometimes, when all three lines are not parallels, be uncertain. In the translations the second line of the distich and the second and third of tristichs are inset.

† It is because the couplet is so characteristic of Hebrew poetry that I prefer the symbols 2:2, 3:3, 4:4, 3:2, etc., which describe the couplet, to the terms dimeter, trimeter, tetrameter, pentameter, hexameter, for lines of two, three, four, five, and six accents respectively.
54. Rhythmically similar periods may, from the point of view of parallelism, be different in character: and inasmuch as parallelism is made the basis of the line-divisions of the translations in this volume, rhythmically similar periods are differently treated. This applies more especially to the typical echoing lines. In the examples given above the entire period of five accents divides into two unequal lines, of which the second and shorter is parallel to the first and longer:

And I will restore thy judges as at the first,
And thy counsellors as at the beginning.

Denoting the ideas or main terms by a, b, c, and the parallel ideas by a', b', etc., the scheme is a, b, c | b', c'. In other cases there is no parallelism between the unequal divisions of the period of five accents; and parallelism, if it occurs, is between the entire periods—the scheme being a, b, c, d, e | a', b', c', d', e'; or, almost invariably, with less complete correspondence, a, b, c, d, e—a', b', c' f, g, and so forth; cp., for example:

I am satiated with burnt-offerings of rams and fat of fed beasts;

And in the blood of bullocks and he-goats I delight not.

Here the distich is 5 : 5, and the parallelism of terms or ideas, which extends over the entire length of the lines, may be represented thus:—a, b, c (b), d | b', c', d' a'. But if parallelism were disregarded and rhythm only considered, each line of the above distich would be correctly described as 3 : 2.

55. Enough, perhaps, has been said to indicate the chief varieties of couplets or distichs that occur in Hebrew. There remains the question. How are such distichs combined into a poem? Must a poem consist entirely of distichs identical both in rhythmical quantity and in rhythmical quality? For example, does a poem necessarily consist of a succession of couplets 3 : 3; and, if the couplets are occasionally interrupted by monostichs or tristichs, must these consist exclusively of lines of three accents? Or is it possible for couplets 3 : 3 to be interchanged with other balancing distichs 2 : 2 or 4 : 4, or even with couplets of another quality and kind, viz. the echoing couplets 3 : 2? Certainly in our present text we get almost every possible combination, within a few verses, and, unless all the separate
poems are exceedingly short, within the same poem. But (1) the mixture of lines of different quality, the echoing and the balancing, is probably far less frequent than the mixture of lines of different length but of the same quality; (2) the extent of mixture, even of lines of the same quality but of different length, was probably less in the original texts; (3) the extent of mixture differs greatly, at all events in the present text, in different poems; (4) it is generally possible to discern a *dominant rhythm*, i.e. a rhythm which occurs more frequently throughout the poem in question than any other rhythm, and commonly more often than all other rhythms put together.

56. If the preceding remarks suggest that there is considerable uncertainty or irregularity in Hebrew rhythms or metre, they will very correctly convey the impression left on the present writer by his study of them. Is the uncertainty and irregularity so great as to cast doubt on the very existence of rhythm, or, at least, on the value of these rhythmical uncertainties and irregularities for the criticism or interpretation of the Book? Such scepticism is not unnaturally provoked by the far-reaching changes that are often made in the text in obedience to hypothetical laws of metre. On the other hand, there is too much approximation even to metrical regularity to justify such complete scepticism. The notes on rhythm prefixed to the various poems must be left to tell their own tale: the attempt is there made to analyse the actual facts of the existing text, and to give the reader a clue to, if not always a complete statement of, the differences in quantity or quality in the Hebrew text of the lines and distichs of the poem, as presented in the translations. Without some such statement the reader would often acquire a very erroneous impression — sometimes suspecting irregularity where regularity prevails, and sometimes the reverse; * a reference back to these notes will also give a measure of the value to be set on the rhythmical considerations when such are subsequently referred to in the commentary or philological notes.

It may be rarely wise to insist on any textual change merely on rhythmical grounds: on the other hand, when rhythmical and other considerations point towards the same change, though each consideration taken by itself may have slight weight, taken

* This needs to be borne in mind by those who use the translations of Du., Cheyne, or Box.
together they may have much. Further, though a line may seem abnormally long, all that the rhythm will suggest is that one or more words are intrusive; it will not determine which—unless, indeed, we can pass beyond the detection of rhythm of word accents to syllabic rhythm.

Again, the mere occurrence of a 2:2 distich in the midst of 3:3 distichs (as, e.g., in 2^2-4) may be a very unsafe ground for treating the 2:2 distich as intrusive. On the other hand, a change in the dominant rhythm, as, say, from 3:3 to 3:2 (see chs. 13. 34), may generally raise a suspicion that we have passed from one poem to another.

57. A further form of Hebrew poetry is the strophe. If the lines of the original be reproduced in the translation, so, too, should the strophes. They are marked off in the translation by spaces. In some cases the strophic division is obvious, as, e.g., in 9^7-10^4, where each strophe closes with a refrain. In other cases the division is less obvious; we can only be guided by the greater sense-pauses.

In connection with the strophe, the question of regularity again presents itself. Are the strophes of a poem necessarily of the same length? In certain cases they appear to be so; in others it is doubtful whether there is more than some approximation to regularity. Du., in general, succeeds in reducing the poems to strophes of regular length, but sometimes at considerable cost; see the notes in this Commentary prefixed to 111^8 13.

§§ 58-73.—Isaiah in relation to the political and social conditions of his age.

58. The greater part of Isaiah's life fell within the last half of the 8th cent. B.C., but he must have been born from ten to twenty years before 750; and, since he was certainly living and active in 701, he probably outlived the century, possibly even by as much as ten or twelve years. In his boyhood his countryman Amos, of the land and kingdom of Judah, prophesied against the neighbouring kingdom of Israel; and Jerusalem, the home of Isaiah, lay about half-way between Tekoa, the home of Amos, and Bethel, the scene of his preaching. Both Tekoa and Bethel lay within an easy day's walk of Jerusalem, at a distance of
about twelve miles from the capital. In Isaiah's early manhood and the first years of his own activity as a prophet, Hosea, a native of the Northern kingdom, was preaching to his own people of judgment to come; and about half-way through Isaiah's active life his teaching was enforced by Micah. Isaiah living in the capital, and Micah living in the country, a day's journey towards the coast, and the coast road by which merchants and soldiers from time immemorial had passed, as they still passed, from the valley of the Euphrates to the valley of the Nile, saw and judged some things differently, yet with fundamental agreement.

59. Isaiah received the call to prophesy in the year that Uzziah, king of Judah, died (61), i.e. in, or within a year or two of, 740 B.C.—as late as 738 on one interpretation of certain Assyrian records, not necessarily so late as 740 on another.

Ahaz became king of Judah not later than 735 B.C., for Tiglath-pileser* mentions him (Ja-u-ḥa-zi (māt) Ja-u-da-ai) along with other Syrian princes as paying tribute to him in 734 B.C.; and, according to 2 K 16', Is 71-16, he was already king during the Syro-Ephraimitish war which preceded Tiglath-pileser's campaign of 734. To Ahaz' predecessor, Jotham, the Book of Kings assigns a reign of 16 years, which would carry back the death year of Uzziah to 751; but, as is well known, these chronological statements of Kings cannot be implicitly trusted; a date as early as 751 for Isaiah's call is improbable, since he was still active 50, if not 60, years after that date.

Now, in the Annals of the year 738, Tiglath-pileser mentions an Azariah (Az-ri-ia-a-u, l. 131; Az-ri-a-[u], l. 123; [Az-ri]-ja-a-u, l. 111; [Is-ri]-ja-a-u, 104; Is-ri-ia-u, 105) of the land of Ja-u-da-ai (l. 104), or Ja-u-di (l. 105). Since Uzziah of Judah was (also) called Azariah according to several passages in the OT (cp. 6' n.), there seemed to be at least a good prima facie case for the identification of “Az-ri-ia-u (māt) Ja-u-da-ai (Ja-u-di),” and ḫūṣî (or ḫūṣîf, מלבש) Schrader (Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung, pp. 395-421; cp. KAT 26) argued for the identification, and it was generally accepted, with the result that Uzziah's death was placed in 740 (the year to which Schrader erroneously referred this part of the Annals) or later. It thus became necessary to contract Jotham's reign within very narrow limits.

On the basis of Rost's edition of the Annals (1893), which placed several things in a new light, and of native inscriptions of a land of ܡܼܠ in northern Syria discovered in 1890 close to Zinjirli (see now Cooke, NSI, pp. 159 ff.), Winckler (Alter. Forschungen, i. 1-23) challenged the identification, and argued that the Az-ri-ya-u of the inscriptions was not king of Judah (ךכם) but of ܬܼܢ, to which the Assyrian Ja-u-di might equally well correspond.

* Clay Tablet, Reverse l. 11.
Briefly stated the case stands thus: according to the inscription, Az-ri-ia-u was the prime mover in opposition to Assyria, and was supported by 19 districts of Hamath; these districts were conquered by Tigrath-plieser and made an Assyrian province; the fate of Az-ri-ia-u himself is, owing to a mutilation of the inscription, obscure: “19 districts of Hamath... which in their sin and folly had taken the side of Az-ri-ia-u I added to the territory of Assyria” (ll. 130-132); cp. “who had taken the side of and strengthened Az-ri-ia-u” (l. 111).

Now it would certainly be remarkable if two contemporary kings of two countries, the names of which are scarcely distinguishable, had the same name; remarkable also, in spite of the parallel case of Jaubidi, king of Hamath in 720 B.C. (Sargon, Nimrud-inscription, l. 8), that a king of a northern Syrian state should bear a name compounded with נ. On the other hand, (1) it is not certain that Azariah rather than, or as well as, Uzziah was the name of the king of Judah; (2) a somewhat parallel caprice of similarity, which certainly led to a wrong identification, is afforded by Menahem, king of Israel (and therefore of Samaria), in 735 B.C., and Menahem, king of Samsimuruna in 701 B.C. (Sennacherib's inscription: Taylor Cylinder, ii. 47); (3) nothing in the OT, or in what is otherwise known of the history of the period, would lead us to expect that Uzziah of Judah would be the leader of an opposition to Assyria, and supported by the distant districts of Hamath (only); (4) so late a date as 738 for the death of Uzziah, though not impossible, is, failing direct evidence, not very probable.

60. Of Isaiah's life between the year of his call, c. 740 B.C. and 735 we have no direct and unambiguous records; but we may infer from 82(n.) that he had during these years himself grown assured of, and probably also gained recognition for, his prophetic calling. In pursuit of it he may have visited Ephraim (§ 39), and spoken according to the tenor of 97-104. In 6-8 we can trace his activity in the opening years of the reign of Ahaz, who succeeded to the throne c. 735. He had then been already some time married, and was the father of a child at least three or four years old (72 n.), to whom he had given the name Shear-Yashub, which, meaning “a Remnant shall return,” expressed an important element in his teaching (§ 86). He appears to have had easy access to the king (718: chs. 36 ff.), and he may have belonged to a family of some standing, though the inference to this effect drawn from 82 is precarious, and the view that he was of royal blood (11 n.) rests on nothing more than Rabbinic ingenuity. Another son was born to him in 734, and to the younger as to the elder he gave a name, Maher-shalal-hash baz, embodying one prominent element in his teaching, his conviction, viz., that Damascus and Israel were doomed to early
extinction. In thus using these opportunities of his domestic life to enforce and emphasise his teaching, he was adopting a practice, and perhaps deliberately following the example, of Hosea (Hos 1). At this time, as probably throughout his life, he was resident in Jerusalem (cp. 61 7 52 2215 2814 36–39).

61. For more than twenty years (c. 733–711) the life of Isaiah remains a blank to us, except so far as we can follow it by surmise and conjecture: there is no narrative of this period, except, perhaps, that which records the embassy from Merodach-baladgan (ch. 39), and no prophecy that can with certainty be referred to these years (though see 1426 n. 281–4). And yet within these twenty years falls the most outstanding event, for a Jew, of the whole century: in 722, Samaria, the capital of the Northern kingdom, was, after a three years' siege, captured by the Assyrians; the tribes, which had hitherto been the more numerous and more powerful common inheritors with Judah of the Land of Promise which Yahweh the God of Israel had given to His people, were exiled, and their land became an Assyrian province.

The fact, if it be a fact, that Judah between 734 and 711 quietly accepted the Assyrian over-lordship and took no part in the attempts of Samaria in 724–722, or of several neighbouring states in 720, to cast it off, is at best scarcely more than a partial reason for this remarkable silence. Isaiah certainly preached a policy of non-intervention; and if Judah during this period practised it, Isaiah may have been satisfied with the external policy of Judah, and so have found little occasion for reiterating this particular element in his teaching. But the injustice and unrighteousness against which he also raised his voice were scarcely less in need of denunciation during these years than during other parts of his life. Some of the prophecies, the date of which cannot be closely determined, may therefore belong to these years: for example, parts of chs. 2–5.

* Neither the OT nor the Assyrian inscriptions directly record any revolt of Judah from Assyria during this period. But in an inscription of the year 717, Sargon speaks of himself as mu-šak-niš (mātu) Ja-u-di ša ašar-su ru-u-šu, "subduer of the far-off land of Ja-u-di" (Nimrod Inscription, l. 8; KB ii. 37). From this it has sometimes been inferred (cp. KAT 87 67) that Judah took part in the Syrian revolt of 720, as it certainly did in the revolt of 711. It is, however, possible that Ja-u-di is here ḫāṣî and not ḫāš. See above, § 59.
62. Ch. 20, a narrative referring to the year 711 B.C., relates that, on one occasion at least, Isaiah enforced his spoken message by strange symbolical action; for three years he went barefoot and half-clad, and so by his conduct represented the lot of those whose captivity he predicted.

Again some years are a blank, and then, in a series of prophecies (in chs. 28-31, and, perhaps, ch. 18) we are able to trace, and in a group of narratives (chs. 36 f. and perhaps also 38 f.) to see the deep impression left on the popular mind by, the part which Isaiah played at the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine in 701, and probably, if Sennacherib really invaded Palestine some ten years later (§ 70), on that occasion also.

The date of Isaiah's death is unknown: even if the tradition, based probably on some Midrash, and perhaps alluded to in He 1187, that Isaiah was sawn asunder by King Manasseh,* deserved credence, it would determine little; for the date of Manasseh's accession cannot be closely or certainly fixed; according to some chronological schemes it is to be placed as early as 698—i.e. 29 years (2 K 183) after 727, in which year, according to one statement in the Book of Kings (2 K 1819), the earliest date of the accession of Hezekiah must be placed, according to others as late as 686, i.e. 29 years after the date which another statement in Kings (2 K 1818), if correct, would require us to assign to Hezekiah's accession. But the date of Isaiah's death would be brought down to about 690 B.C. at earliest, if he really played a part on the occasion of Sennacherib's (hypothetical) second invasion (§ 70).

63. Isaiah's life was spent during a time of change in the political and social conditions of Judah. This change was due in large measure to the new and greater activity of Assyria;†

* “Beliar was wroth with Isaiah; and he dwelt in the heart of Manasseh, and he sawed him in sunder with a wooden saw,” Ascension of Isaiah, 5† (probably written in the first century A.D.); Charles, Asc. of Isaiah, p. xliv.

† For the evidence for the details enumerated in the following sections, see the inscriptions of Tigrath-pileser (ed. Rost, 1893), Sargon (ed. H. Winckler, 1889), Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Ashurbanipal; also the Assyrian Eponym lists (KB i. 204-215) and the Babylonian Chronicle (KB ii. 273 ff.). New editions of the Inscriptions of the Assyrian kings just mentioned are promised in the Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, but none has yet appeared. Meantime KB ii. contains a convenient collection of most of
which followed on the accession of Tiglath-pileser to the throne of that country in 745 B.C., and which was already beginning to make itself felt in the West by the year 742, and probably, therefore, a year or two before the death of Uzziah and the call of Isaiah.

Since the disruption of the united kingdoms of Judah and the northern tribes on the death of Solomon, c. 930, Judah the smaller had also been the weaker of the two, and often stood rather in the position of a vassal-state to the Northern kingdom. The attendance of Jehoshaphat of Judah on Ahab of Israel (1 K 22), when that monarch was conducting one of those campaigns against Syria which formed the characteristic political feature of the 9th cent. B.C., may not have been altogether voluntary, but rather the service rendered by a vassal to his overlord. And this relation of the two kingdoms to one another may account for there being no direct reference to Judah, as distinct from Israel, in the Assyrian records of the 9th cent. Be this as it may, Assyria had already in the 9th cent. made itself felt among the Syrian and Palestinian states. As early as 876, Asshurnazirpal with his army reached the coast of Northern Phoenicia, and re-established that command of the line of communication with the Mediterranean which had been won by Tiglath-pileser I. in the 12th cent. and subsequently lost. To secure what he had won, Asshurnazirpal left an Assyrian colony in Aribua, a town near the river Sangara (mod. Nahr-el-Kebir), and on the northern frontier of the state of Ḥamath. Phoenician cities as far south as Tyre, far further south than he himself or his army proceeded, sent him gifts. On the other hand, Damascus was neither attacked nor, like the Phoenician states, induced to send gifts. Shalmaneser II. made several attempts to extend the area of Assyrian authority in Syria, though at first without any success. Ben-hadad of Damascus was the leader of a Syrian league which checked the Assyrian advance; his chief supporters were Ḥamath and Israel. In 854, Shalmaneser fought a battle the more important. A clear and admirable presentation of the history of Assyria from the accession of Asshurnazirpal to the death of Assurbanipal will be found in R. H. Rogers, History of Babylonia and Assyria (ed. 2, 1903), ii. pp. 46-282; in the same work fuller references to editions and translations of the inscriptions relating to each reign will also be found. A recent full discussion of Sargon's reign in particular is, A. T. Olmstead, Western Asia in the days of Sargon of Assyria (New York, 1908).
against the combined Syrian forces at Karkar near the Orontes and further south than the Nahr-el-Kebir; the Assyrian king claimed a victory, but, since neither tribute nor acquisition of territory followed, the victory was barren; similarly fruitless were the Assyrian western campaigns of 849 and 846 B.C. The next campaign, that of 842 B.C., was more effective; Ben-hadad of Damascus had now been succeeded by Hazael, and Ahab of Israel by Jehu. Israel had fallen away from the Syrian league, and Jehu in this year paid tribute to Assyria, in this perhaps anticipating the policy of Ahaz of Judah a century later (735 B.C.; cp. Is 7). Damascus, though it suffered siege and the ravaging of its immediate surroundings, successfully resisted the Assyrians, and Shalmaneser was unable to capture the city, either in this year or in 839. Nor could his successor Shamsi-Adad (825–813 B.C.), who rather lost ground in the West: but Adad-Nirari (812–783) repeated the limited success of Shalmaneser; he received tribute from Israel as well as from Sidon, Tyre, Edom, and Philistia, and he besieged and harassed, but failed to conquer, Damascus. During the reigns of the next three kings (782–745), Assyria suffered a marked decline; a (probably) unsuccessful campaign against Damascus in 773, and others against the far more northern towns of Hadrach and Arpad in 755 and 754 respectively, exhausts the list of the Assyrian western movements during this period. Thus for a full generation Assyria had passed practically out of sight of Israel and Judah, and even their bulwark (172) Damascus had felt but little shock from Assyrian attack.

64. Egypt during the same period was also weak and divided (§ 68), and exercised little influence and no restraint over Palestine. Thus there was the same opportunity which David had used with so much vigour and success three centuries before for the Palestinian states to enjoy freedom from the thrall of the great Empires of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates valleys, and to strive for the supremacy among themselves. Alike in Israel and Judah the period of Assyria's greatest weakness was covered by a single reign—of Jeroboam II. in the North, and of Uzziah in Judah. This meant internal political stability not only for Judah, but for the generally more unstable Northern kingdom. According to 2 K 14:25–28 (cp. Am 6:14), Jeroboam re-established the dominion of Israel from the Dead Sea in the South to the entering in of
Hamath (cp. Nu 13:21 n.) in the North, and also gained the supremacy over Damascus. One of the earliest and most significant of Uzziah's achievements (2 K 14:22), unless it is rather to be attributed to his predecessor Amaziah, was the recovery of Elath (which was lost again by Ahaz, 2 K 16:6); he thereby regained for Judah that command of the trade route to the Red Sea which Solomon had held (1 K 9:26), but which had subsequently been lost. The Chronicler, in a passage where he may well be drawing on ancient and trustworthy data, gives further illustrations of the success and strength of Judah at this time: Uzziah waged successful war against the Philistines, Ammonites, and Meunim (? Minaeans); he strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem; he devoted himself to the rearing of cattle, of which he had many, and agriculture (2 Ch 26:6-15).

65. The Books of Kings and Chronicles record the success and prosperity of the kings, Jeroboam and Uzziah; but we are not left merely to infer from this that others besides the kings were prosperous; the prophecies of Amos and Isaiah speak clearly of wealth and luxury, and the dissoluteness that accompanies them, in both the Northern (Am 3:15 5:11 6:4-6, Is 9:9 17:4 28:1-4) and the Southern (Is 2:7 3:16ff. 5:9ff. 14:22 28:1ff.) kingdoms. But though increase of wealth extended beyond the king, it was not widely or evenly distributed; the lot of the weaker seems rather to have become aggravated. Not a little of the increased wealth was probably due to trade (see below, p. 53); and not a little of the wealth so acquired was expended in bringing unjust pressure to bear on the weak, in repeating the conduct of Ahab towards Naboth which had so provoked Elijah (1 K 21): the nouveaux riches bought up the patrimonies of their needier fellow-countrymen; by aggregation great estates arose (below, pp. 90 ff.), and cruel evictions (Mic 2:1) aroused the indignation of the humane. In the courts the weak could obtain no redress, for money again bribed the judges (10:2).

66. But if the weaker and poorer had not shared in the increased wealth and luxury of Uzziah's time, there is little reason to suppose that they profited by the changes that came after his death and during the lifetime of Isaiah: the most immediate effect, so far as Judah was concerned, was that that country became tributary to Assyria in 735-734 B.C. and remained so; tribute meant heavier taxation, and this was doubtless to a
large extent wrung out of the poor, even though the king obtained it directly from the "mighty men" of Judah (cp. 2 K 15:20 of Israel). Be that as it may, this is clear: whereas Isaiah had grown up to early manhood in the latter half of a long and prosperous reign, a citizen of a country that paid no tribute to any foreign power, near neighbour to the kindred kingdom of Israel, which was also free and prosperous, within a year or two of his call he had seen the kingdom of Israel torn by faction after the death of Jeroboam (c. 746), and heard of Assyria's more vigorous action in the West. Arpad offered a stern resistance to Tiglath-pileser, but in 740 it fell before him; and Assyria recovered what the kings of the 9th century had won for it, and their weaker successors had lost—access to the Mediterranean. But this was merely the prelude to greater achievements in the West than the greatest of the past; in 738, Tiglath-pileser defeated an extensive coalition of Syrian states, which included, or consisted of, "19 districts of Hamath," "which in their disloyalty had fallen away to Azriyau of the land of Ja-u-di," who is identified by many with Uzziah (Azariah), king of Judah (see above, p. lxx); these districts he made an Assyrian province; he captured Kullani (107 n.); he received tribute, amongst others, from Ra' of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria (whose land, according to 2 K 15:1ff., he had invaded), Hirom of Tyre, and Zabibi, queen of Arabia. About 735, Ahaz paid tribute (2 K 16:1ff.), and henceforward Judah was tributary to Assyria. In 734, Tiglath-pileser was in Philistia, and captured Gaza, furthest S. of the Philistine cities and nearest to Egypt; in 733 and 732 he was attacking Damascus and Israel; in the former year he captured the northern districts of Israel (2 K 15:29), and in the latter year he achieved what his predecessor in the 9th century had attempted and failed to achieve, the capture of Damascus; the native sovereignty was abolished (178); Damascus became an Assyrian province. Ten years later, in consequence of Hoshea's withholding the annual tribute to Assyria (2 K 17:4), the same fate befell Samaria, after a protracted siege (724-722) conducted by Shalmaneser (727-722) and Sargon (722-705) successively. In accordance with the new Assyrian policy, the Israelites were carried captive to distant districts (Gozan, Media, etc.—2 K 17:6), while Babylonians, Cuthites, and others were settled in Samaria. Henceforward, instead of a kindred people, Judah had on its northern border,
which lay but an easy day's walk from Jerusalem, an Assyrian province and a mixed population (2 K 17:24-41).

67. In 720, Sargon quelled an important and extensive rising in Syria, which may have been instigated or fomented by Merodach-baladan of Babylon (see on ch. 39); he defeated Yaubidi of Hamath at Karkar—the scene of an earlier victory of Shalmaneser II. (p. lxxiv)—and the combined forces of Hannu of Gaza and Sibe (Biblical So, or rather Sēwē) of Muṣri (Egypt?: see § 68 f.) at Raphia, on the coast between Gaza and Egypt; perhaps also in the same campaign he inflicted defeat on Judah (but see above, p. lxxi n.).

In 715, Sargon (Annals, 97-99) subdued certain Arab tribes, and received tribute from, amongst others, Pir'u (? Pharaoh), king of Muṣur (? Egypt). It may be surmised that Judah did not remain uninterested in these events, but there is no evidence that in this year it took any active part in opposition to Sargon, or that Sargon came any nearer to Judah than Arabia.

In 711, by his Tartan (201) rather than in person, Sargon quelled another rising, of which Ashdod was the centre, but in which not only Philistia, but also Moab, Edom, and Judah were concerned (see Sargon's Annals, 205-221; General Inscription, 90-110). Moreover, behind these Palestinian states stood, according to Is 20:1, Egypt and Ethiopia (םצרי and משיח); according to Sargon's inscriptions, Muṣur and Miluḥba, which have commonly likewise been equated with Egypt and Ethiopia.

68. In 712 (Breasted) the Ethiopian dynasty established its authority over, and at the same time brought union and increased strength to, Egypt. Till recently (see below) it was supposed that Sabako, the first of the Ethiopian kings of Egypt, succeeded to the throne as early as 728; on that hypothesis, now known to be erroneous, there was little difficulty in accounting for Egypt, or, as under the circumstances, it was quite natural to say, Ethiopia, intriguing with the Syrian states and inducing them to oppose Assyria; the identification of So (בצר, 2 K 17:1 MT), or rather Sēwē (םציר, cp. Assyr. Sib'1), with Sabako, though frequently made, was always more questionable and, indeed, indefensible. Before the accession of the Ethiopian dynasty lies a period of great obscurity in Egyptian history, though this much may be said, that the Delta was at the time governed by a number of petty princes, and the Pharaoh of the lists who is mentioned immediately before Sabako is Bokchoris. It is possible, then, as Breasted even recently has written (Hist. of Egypt, 549 f.), that So (2 K 17:1) was "an otherwise unknown Delta dynast," that "unable to oppose the formidable armies of Assyria, the petty kinglets of Egypt constantly fomented discontent and revolt among the Syro-Palestinian states, in
order, if possible, to create a fringe of buffer states between them and the Assyrians,” possible also that the “Pi'rù, king of Mušur,” of Sargon’s record of 715 B.C. was Bokchoris, who in that case is mentioned by his title (Pharaoh) instead of his proper name; just as Hebrew writers use the expression, not found in Egyptian, “Pharaoh, king of Egypt” (e.g. 368 n., cp. F. Ll. Griffith, in DB, s.v. “Pharaoh").

Alt (Israel u. Aegypten, pp. 44 ff.) conceives the situation somewhat differently: according to him, the pressure of Ethiopia on Egypt, which had already become severe in the time of the Ethiopian Pi'ankhi (from about 741 B.C. according to Breasted’s chronology, or earlier according to others), had brought about a certain reaction against the gradual dissolution of the Egyptian kingdom into a large number of petty principedoms, especially in the Delta, that marked the period of the 22nd and 23rd dynasties (c. 945–c. 718, Breasted). The Pi'ankhi stelé (Breasted, Ancient Records, iv. 860–883) reveals Tefnakhte of Sais, whose son Bokchoris became the sole ruler of the 24th dynasty, as exercising a supremacy over the Delta princes, and as so far anticipating that renewed unity of Egypt which certainly marks the time of the Ethiopian dynasty. Under these circumstances, Tefnakhte may already have exercised sufficient political far-sightedness to have perceived the danger threatening Egypt from Assyria, and to have provoked the Palestinian states to oppose the Assyrian advances.

But there are certainly here unsolved, or but partially solved, problems; and Winckler, and after him others, have sought quite another way out.

69. As early as 1893, Winckler, in Altur. Forschungen, i. 24 ff., argued that the Assyrian Mušur and the Hebrew Misrāim in many cases meant not Egypt, but “the country abutting on Edom, the later Nabataea.” In his earlier or later discussions of the subject, accordingly, Sībe, the ally of Ḥanno of Gaza, becomes an Arab sheikh, and Pi'rù (cp. the Sabaean בַּחֵי יָרָב), king of Mušur in 715, is Arabian not Egyptian; it is again the Arab people whom Pi'rù ruled, and not Egypt under the new Ethiopian dynasty, that stand behind the revolting Palestinians in 711 and even in 701; Egypt first co-operates with Palestine under Tirhakah in the (hypothetical) second campaign of Sennacherib in Palestine about 691 B.C. (see § 70). The theory that the Assyrian Mušur and the Hebrew מָישָׂר may refer not only to Egypt, but also to a district in North Arabia, has also been presented by others; various forms of the theory and various conclusions drawn from it may be studied in H. Winckler, Altur. Forschungen (1893), i. 24–41, Mušri-Melahha, Ma'in (1898), KAT® (1903), 67, 70–72, 136–151, 172, 273 (see also Index, s.v. Mušri), Die jüngsten Kämpfer wider den Panbabylonismus (1907); F. Hommel, Vier neue Arabische Landschaftsnamen; T. K. Cheyne, Misrāim, in EBii. iii (1902), and, e.g., Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel (1907), xi f., 171–173; Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah (1908), xiii ff., xli f., 88; The Two Religions of Israel (1911), pp. 335, 345, 356–361 (see also references in Index to Misrīm in the three works last named). It is not without significance that Breasted in his History of Egypt is able to dispense with the theory of the North Arabian Mušri, and that Ed. Meyer (Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämmen (1906), 455–471) decisively and totally rejects the theory; see also against the theory in its application to the times of
Isaiah, Fr. Küchler, *Die Stellung des Propheten Jesaja zur Politik seiner Zeit* (1906); A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the days of Sargon of Assyria* (1908), pp. 56–71. A. Alt in his survey of the relations between Israel and Egypt in the time of Isaiah (*Israel u. Aegypten*, 1909, pp. 41–87), while admitting Pir'u, king of Muṣur in 715 B.C. (Sargon, *Annals*, 97), to be an Arabian, limits the significance of the Arabian Muṣur, and allows far more for the activity of Egypt in Palestine than do most of those who admit the existence of a kingdom of Muṣur in Arabia.

Fortunately for the understanding of Isaiah, it is of relatively little importance whether between 720 and 701 B.C. the power that kept stirring up the Palestinian states was Egypt, the history of which country immediately prior to 712 is obscure, or Muṣur in North Arabia, of which, as an independent kingdom in Arabia sufficiently important to divide with Assyria the interests of Palestinian states, nothing is known for certain, and which, perhaps, has never enjoyed more than a speculative existence.

70. Sennacherib, Sargon's successor, had also once at least to secure Assyrian authority in Syria by force: in 701, Philistia and Judah at the instigation, not of an Arabian kingdom of Muṣur or Meluhha (Wi.), but of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt, were in revolt. In two respects Sennacherib's campaign, which was undertaken to suppress this revolt, was not an unqualified success: victory over the Egyptians at Eltekeh was not followed up by an invasion of Egypt itself, and Jerusalem, though it was besieged, was not captured. Nevertheless Judah, in common with the rest of Syria, remained tributary to Assyria. According to a hypothesis which would explain the allusion to Tirhakah in 370, Sennacherib was again called back to Syria (c. 690 B.C.): the nearest support for this hypothesis in Assyrian sources is an account of a campaign against Arabia, the date of which is unknown, but which may have taken place about 690.

This campaign was already known by allusions to it in inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, when in 1904 (*Orientalische Literatur-zeitung*, cols. 69, 70), Scheil announced the discovery of an inscription of Sennacherib describing the campaign. This inscription was published by Ungnad, in *Vorderasiatische Schriftenkämmer*, i. 77 ff.; and in a translation, for which I am indebted to Prof. R. W. Rogers, it runs as follows: "Telhunu, the queen of Arabia, in the desert, from her I took away a thousand camels. The fear of my dominion cast her down, and Hazail also. They left their tents and fled to Adummatu, whose location is in the desert, a place of thirst, where there is neither provision nor place to drink." If from Arabia, Sennacherib (who is himself described in Herod. (ii. 141) as "king of the Arabians and of the Assyrians," and whose army, as the "army of the Arabians"), somewhat repeating his movements of 701, advanced on, without entering, Egypt, and also attacked Judah, it would be possible to
regard the different narratives which, it is clear, have been combined in chs. 36 f. (see Comm.), as narratives of different events and not different and discordant narratives of the same event, and also to justify the allusion to "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia" (37); Tirhakah was not king of Ethiopia in 701, he was king in or soon after 694. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether either Hezekiah or Isaiah, who are also associated with the narrative that refers to Tirhakah, were alive in 690; Isaiah would probably at that time have been between 70 and 80 years of age. Some further discussion of these points will be found in the discussion of chs. 36 f. in the Comm.

71. Since the Egyptian chronology comes into consideration on several occasions, it may be convenient briefly to indicate here the grounds on which, contrary to earlier views, the date of Tirhakah's accession can be fixed with certainty as falling after 701 B.C., and consequently the beginning of the Ethiopian dynasty as falling about 712 or 714 B.C., and not as early as 728.

According to a Serapeum stele (Breasted, Ancient Records, iv. 959), an Apis died at the age of 21 years, 2 months, 7 days, on the 21st day of the 12th month of the 20th year of Psamtek: since according to the same stele the Apis was born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, Tirhakah's reign cannot have exceeded 27 years. Now Tirhakah was certainly still alive and king in 668-667, for Assurbanipal, who became king of Assyria in 668, defeated Tirhakah in his first campaign; Assurbanipal also states of Tirhakah (Rassam Cylinder, ii. 21; KB ii. p. 166 f.), "il-liq šimât mu-ši-šu, his night-fate came (upon him), which should mean that Tirhakah was not only defeated at that time, but died. In that case the year of Tirhakah's succession is 694-693; it cannot have been earlier. Some Egyptologists, disregarding this interpretation of the Assyrian inscription, and reckoning back 138 years, a number obtained from calculations based on data given in the Egyptian records (Breasted, Ancient Records, iv. 1026-1029) from the close of the 26th dynasty in 525 B.C., obtain 663 as the date of Psamtek I.'s accession and Tirhakah's death; this gives 689-688 as the date of Tirhakah's accession.

The years of accession of Tirhakah's immediate predecessors, Sabako and Shabataka, the first two kings of the Ethiopian dynasty, cannot be so closely determined by the inscriptions. But from an inscription that mentions year 3 of Shabataka, it appears that Shabataka's third year was near 700 B.C. (Breasted, iv. 887; and cp. 452 n. c). Manetho assigns to Sabako 8, to Shabataka 14 years—in all 22 years; Syncellus 12 years to each of these kings—in all 24 years. Thus the earliest date, that rest on any evidence, for the beginning of the Ethiopian dynasty is 24 years before 694-693, i.e. 718-717; Breasted's dates are 712 B.C. for Sabako, 700 for Shabataka.

Bokchoris, who immediately preceded Sabako, reigned at least 6 years, exactly the period stated by Africanus (44 according to Syncellus).

72. The ultimate goal of the Assyrian advance resumed by Tiglath-pileser iv. and his successors was first attained after the lifetime of Isaiah: after an apparently unsuccessful invasion of Egypt in 676, Esarhaddon captured Memphis in 671, and Assurbanipal took Thebes in 667.
73. This rapid sketch may serve to make clear the political conditions under which Isaiah lived, and to which not a little of the form of his teaching is due. Briefly, Isaiah’s public life coincided with the first half of the period of 80 years from the accession of Tiglath-pileser to the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, during which the Assyrian advance westwards and supremacy in the West was, though at first resisted, unchecked: conquered districts never permanently recovered their independence, tributary states never permanently escaped the necessity of paying tribute: for example, Damascus never recovered the independence which it lost in 732, nor did the retreat of Sennacherib release Judah from tribute.

§§ 74–89. Isaiah as Prophet and Teacher.

74. Isaiah appears from the first to have discerned the meaning and issue of the new spirit and policy (§ 63) of Assyria, and to have realised the fruitlessness of political combinations against that power: he was certainly convinced of the wrongness of Judah in taking any part in them. Against all such combinations, of which there was no lack, he consistently set himself. No one who instigated these combinations, whether as at one time it was Merodach-baladan (721–709 B.C., and also 702 B.C.) of Babylon (cp. ch. 39), or as at others one of the kings of the Ethiopian dynasty which established its authority over Egypt about 712 B.C. (§ 71), or, as it may have been earlier, one of the Delta chieftains who divided authority in Egypt prior to 712, or, as some think, the rulers of a region in Arabia called Muṣur (§ 69), counted against Assyria: they were one and all helpless and useless (cp. ch. 20).

The only, yet at the same time an overwhelming, counter-weight to Assyria was not political, nor human: it was the power and purpose of Yahweh. Yahweh was using Assyria to achieve His purpose (106): so long as Assyria carried out that purpose no powers would avail against it: as soon as Assyria overstepped its commission, it, too, must go down before the greater power of Yahweh (106–17). Not man, but God determines history—that is the key-note to Isaiah’s political action and advice; not by clever alliances, but by watching for and quietly carrying out the will of Yahweh is the true welfare of the state to be secured.
The advance of Assyria was, according to Isaiah, by the will of Yahweh; that advance would necessarily entail the withdrawal of the Syro-Ephraimitish army from Jerusalem, therefore let Ahaz and his people put away their fear of Syria and Ephraim (ch. 7), nor pay Assyria to do what it will assuredly do, unpaid by them: such seems to have been Isaiah's advice in 735, and if so it included a condemnation of Ahaz in becoming voluntarily, and while as yet there was no need, a tributary to Assyria, in seeking by political action instead of reliance on Yahweh to escape the attack of the combined forces of Ephraim and Damascus. But, once the step had been taken, Isaiah judged it to be the will of Yahweh that Judah should remain tributary, and certainly that it should not attempt to escape that tribute by yielding to the invitations, whether of Egypt, or Babylon, or its neighbours in Palestine, to revolt. Finally, though it was the will of Yahweh that Assyria should punish not only Ephraim but Judah too, it was (if we may trust the popular biographical stories of the prophet in chs. 36–39) the will of Yahweh, as Isaiah read it, that Jerusalem should not be taken by Sennacherib; consequently in 701 he is as confident that the Assyrians will not capture Jerusalem as he had been in 735 that the Syro-Ephraimitish army would not do so; and he counsels Hezekiah accordingly. But though on the one occasion he was convinced that Rašôn, and on the other that Sennacherib, would not capture Jerusalem, it is quite another question whether he ever abandoned his belief that the sin of Judah would lead Yahweh to destroy His people and their land (§§ 85–87).

75. In 735, Isaiah appears to have appraised at its true worth the condition of Ephraim and Syria, and in 701 (and ? 711) the promises of Egypt. Whether his diagnosis of the political situation was at other times and in all respects equally correct, or his policy of non-intervention always politically sound, is a secondary question. And not only is it a secondary question; it may, if it is not kept in its place, very seriously obscure what is of primary significance in the life and character of Isaiah. Isaiah is of "the goodly fellowship of the prophets"; and consequently how far he secured the safety of the Jewish state at the time, and so secured its continued existence for another century, is of little moment; what is all-important to determine, so far as we can, is his faithfulness and fruitfulness as a teacher sent from
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God: what had he himself learned from God, what did he teach his own age, and what through it has he contributed to man's increasing knowledge and consciousness of God?

76. These questions can be answered up to a point; but, owing to the uncertainty that hangs over many questions of the literary origin of much of Is 1–39 (§§ 8–43), they cannot with advantage be pursued into the detail that has sometimes been attempted. Here, at all events, no fresh elaborate attempt will be made to trace development in Isaiah's conceptions and teaching, to bring to light conflicting conceptions in his view of the future, for example, or in his judgment of Assyria, and then to determine the chronological sequence of the changes. All the more elaborate structures of Isaiah's "theology" rest of necessity on shifting and insecure foundations; even if it were certain, and it is not, that passages such as 171–8 91–6 321–8 were the work of Isaiah at all, it is altogether uncertain at what period of his life he composed them, and how he came by, or how he modified, his conceptions of a Messiah.*

77. If there is one passage in which, above all others, we may feel certain that Isaiah speaks to us in his own words, it is ch. 6; and that chapter, in spite, if not also in some measure in virtue, of its brevity, clearly reveals to us a personality of great spiritual depth and moral power. And this revelation, though in that case the name of the person revealed would be unknown, would remain, even if any one cared to question Isaiah's authorship of the chapter. As a matter of fact, there is no ground for raising such a question, or for doubting that we owe that chapter and much else in the Book of Isaiah to one and the same person. But, in attempting a synthesis of Isaiah's character and teaching, it will be well to start from, and at every possible point to return to, this record. We are not at liberty to affirm that nothing that

* For theories of changing expectations of the future attributed to Isaiah, see, e.g., B. Duhm, Die Theologie der Propheten (1875), pp. 158–168 (in some respects modified in his Comm., 1892); H. Guthe, Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia (1885), a theory withdrawn in Jesaia (Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher), 1907; F. Giesebrecht, Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik (1890), pp. 76–84; H. Hackmann, Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia (1893). Cp. also G. A. Smith, DB ii. 489–491, and also in the Review of Theology and Philosophy, 1907 (July), pp. 2 ff., where, inter alia, the reason of Guthe's modification of his earlier complex theory is criticised. See also Exp., 1904, pp. 330–342. On Isaiah's attitude towards Assyria, see F. Wilke's Jesaia u. Assur, 1905.
finds no expression here was ever elsewhere expressed by Isaiah; but the more clearly whatever else claims to be Isaiah's can be related to this chapter, the more confident may we feel that the claim is good.

78. Isaiah, though a prophet and a pioneer in religious experience and the apprehension of religious truth, was none the less, and indeed necessarily and naturally, the child of his people's past, the inheritor of their beliefs and experience. To him, as to them, Sion had been pre-eminently the place of Yahweh's earthly abode (8:16; cp. 8:6 n.) from the time that David, the chosen of Yahweh, had encamped there (291), and by Yahweh's power, then and there manifested, had wrested it from the Jebusites (2 S 5:10 6).* But the hereditary belief of childhood became the conviction begotten of personal experience; it was in Sion that Isaiah himself saw with his own eyes Yahweh seated on His throne in royal state (6:1ff.). Again, to Isaiah, as to his countrymen, the people of Israel, both (8:14) Judah and the tribes of the now separate Northern kingdom, were connected by special and peculiar ties with Yahweh; they were Yahweh's family (1:9), Yahweh's people (1:8), compared with whom others were aliens (1:7); they were His treasure and carefully tended possession (5:1-7). And so in turn Yahweh was peculiarly the possession of Israel: the people recognised the existence of gods of other nations as well of their own, and, when necessary, distinguished Yahweh by the term God of Israel (cp. e.g. Jg 11:21-24); Isaiah's favourite term for Yahweh is a modification of this older term, and it retains (though with a difference (see below)) the suggestion of Yahweh's special relation to Israel: Yahweh is the Holy One of Israel. It is unnecessary to attempt any complete catalogue of popular beliefs, such as that in Seraphim (6:2), which find expression in Isaiah. The two that have been more particularly referred to are important for this reason: though Isaiah rises above the old limited thought of God which confined Him in the range of His presence and the extent of His authority, he retains what there was of permanent value in the belief in the local manifestation of deity and His connection with a single people; a more exalted conception of God did not rob Isaiah of the great intensity of the limited popular belief; God does not cease to be

* These passages are derived from a Jewish work probably already ancient in the time of Isaiah, and familiar to him.
near because He is also afar off (103 n.); nor, again, because He is God of all, does Yahweh cease to claim the special service of a nation or an individual; nor, because His glory fills the whole world, does He cease to be intensely personal, communing as a person with His servants the prophets, and still therefore best described in that anthropomorphic and anthropopathic language which had its roots in those more limited religious beliefs, in which the personal qualities of a god, and the devotion of his worshippers to him, were accentuated by his relations or conflicts with other and similar deities.

79. But Isaiah is not only the child of his people, he is the child also of the new prophetic movement which began while he was still a boy (§ 58). There is no direct allusion, it is true, in any of Isaiah's prophecies to either Amos or Hosea, and not very much that can be said to be unmistakably due to either of these two older prophets; but there is too much resemblance in the fundamental positions of all three prophets for it to be probable that, in a small country, no knowledge of the earlier passed to and influenced the later. Only this must be added: Isaiah, though, unlike Amos (714), he did not refuse the title prophet (83), was no prophet of the school; he did not repeat, merely because he approved, what he had heard about Amos' preaching at Bethel, or what he had read in some fly-sheet containing the substance of Hosea's teaching. It is probable enough that he was familiar with what Amos had taught and Hosea was teaching before the crucial day in the year of Uzziah's death; but he first began to say with power the same things, or to treat of similar themes, after that day on which he saw Yahweh, and heard and obeyed His call to service (ch. 6). Even before his call, as we may well believe, there had been added, in the mind of Isaiah, to the old and limited conceptions which he had received in childhood from his natural kinsmen or ordinary acquaintance, some of the new and wider conceptions of spiritual kinsmen such as Amos and Hosea; and all these conceptions, popular and prophetic alike, were fused by his own personal experience, as recorded in ch. 6, into a vital unity, which became Yahweh's message through him to his people.

80. The vision that showed Yahweh seated in Sion convinced Isaiah also that the whole earth was the sphere of Yahweh's action (63); the sin of Israel (65. 9ff.), Yahweh's own
peculiar people, is seen as a blot in the world-enveloping blaze of Yahweh's glory; the weakness and meanness of man and of all that man relies on for help, or looks up to as lofty and majestic, is seen in heightened relief against the absolutely unrivalled majesty and the inaccessible exaltation of Yahweh (61-6 2:6-19 3:1). Neither here nor elsewhere does Isaiah take occasion to assert with precision, like the later Jewish prophet (45:5, 18, 22), that there is no God but Yahweh, or, like Muhammad, that there is no God but the (one) God; yet his conception of Yahweh leaves no room for any other being of the same class (cp. 2:17f.); the world that is full of Yahweh's glory has no room left in which to reflect the glory of any other God; and if Assyria is Yahweh's instrument (10:5f.), made merely to serve His purpose, or, failing to do so, to be by Him destroyed, there is no place for any gods of Assyria to control and guide that nation. The images, whether of Yahweh or of other gods, which abounded in Judah (2:8), and commanded the devotion of the people, are of no real value and quite powerless to help (2:18: cp. 2:8 n.); and the same is true of the spirits that were supposed to haunt trees and gardens (1:29f.: cp. 1:7), and of the spirits whom the necromancers consulted (8:19). But whether Isaiah denied all reality of existence to national gods other than Yahweh, or whether he assigned to them some subordinate position in Yahweh's world government, we cannot determine with certainty. In this virtual monotheism, Isaiah was anticipated by Amos. Into a fuller discussion of its origin and nature it is not possible to enter here. But two things may be said: (1) this apprehension of the greatness and uniqueness of Yahweh, carrying with it the total disregard of, if not absolute disbelief in, the gods of other nations, was the accompaniment not of national aggrandisement, but of national decline; it was the very men who perceived beforehand the approaching doom of Israel and the destruction of its existence as a nation who also believed and taught that Yahweh so controlled the entire world that no room was left for any other divine controllers; and the fact that in the course of his ministry the larger part of Yahweh's people perished or were exiled from their land, and that the Northern kingdom ceased to be, never led Isaiah to waver in his conviction that Yahweh alone was exalted and great. In earlier times and to the great bulk of Isaiah's contemporaries Israel seemed as necessary to Yahweh as
Yahweh was to Israel; in Isaiah’s thought Israel owed everything to Yahweh (1³), and through Him alone could be; Yahweh, on the other hand, was in no way dependent on Israel, but would rather vindicate His greatness by Himself destroying His people since they had turned away from Him, and become incurably sinful and corrupt (6⁰-18: cp. §§ 83–87). (2) But if the increased sense of the greatness of the God of Israel, and the new sense of His uniqueness which characterises the prophetic teaching in general and Isaiah’s in particular, was in no way the reflection of an increase in the national strength and fame of Israel, so neither was it the outcome of speculation on the fusion of peoples and of a common principle lying behind all their deities. The new prophetic conception of Yahweh is no abstraction from qualities common to Yahweh the god of Israel, and Chemosh the god of Moab, or the gods of the conquering Assyrians. And the prophetic conception of Yahweh is as distinct and different from the monistic speculations which appear to have arisen in Babylon, as it is from the old popular Hebrew religion. There may be room to question the absoluteness, and certainly the explicitness, of the monotheism of the prophets of the 8th century; there can be no doubt of the intensity with which they apprehended Yahweh as a distinct and living personality. He is to them not power, but person; not the lowest common measure of all known deities, but a personal God whose activity comprehends all that seemed to them worthy in the activity which other nations had attributed to their several gods.

81. On one occasion Isaiah had been allowed to see Yahweh; but not every day, nor, so far as we know, ever again after the first occasion, did Isaiah see Yahweh as he had seen Him then; yet what he had once seen he must have known to be always there, though by no means there alone; the power that ruled the world was Yahweh, and Yahweh dwelt in Jerusalem—unseen (cp. 18⁴), unheard, unrecognised even or misunderstood, and the might of His quiet working utterly unsuspected (8⁶ n.), by those whose ears were heavy and whose eyes closed, and whose heart was without understanding (6¹⁰f. 5¹¹f.); and dwelling there He was working out His plan, which would prove to be to the confusion and destruction of those who, regardless of it and reckless of what was not seen, formed plans of their own (3⁰¹f. 1⁵), associating themselves with and trusting in flesh and not spirit,
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in what was human and not in what was divine (30:3 1-3: 8:12-15: ct. 28:16-18). Isaiah is certain of Yahweh; from him the quietness of His action, and the fact that He waits His time (184), does not conceal (ct. 5:18f.) the all-sufficient power and wisdom that will carry through the line of action on which He has decided. Yahweh is to him not only the Supreme Power in the World, but also the consistent Purpose which works itself out in human history, yet supreme power and consistent purpose in a person; “a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness” would be a correct translation into abstract language of Isaiah’s thought, but certainly a translation and, moreover, a translation which Isaiah could not and would not have made himself. To Isaiah, Yahweh is as personal as the politicians of his day: he can compare them: each has his plan; but the plan of the politicians is doomed to failure, because it has no power behind it; because it is not only unrelated to, but opposed to the wisdom and power that reside in Yahweh, and are directed against iniquity. Cp. 30:1-5 31:1-3; also 5:11f. 28:21f. and if, or in so far as, the work of Isaiah, 10:12. 23 14:24. 26f. 22:11.

82. The consummation and manifestation of Yahweh’s plan was expected at a definite time, which Isaiah, as Amos before him and many since his day, expected in the near, even the immediate, future. Isaiah (26-19) follows Amos in using the old popular phrase, “the day of Yahweh,” with a meaning quite opposed to that which the people generally put upon it;* the people expected on that day help from their national God, the God of Israel, and consequent prosperity (Am 5:18-20); Amos and Isaiah, to whom Yahweh was God of righteousness first and God of Israel only second, and in so far as the national relation was not inconsistent with the moral, expected on that day disaster to Israel; Isaiah pictures it as manifesting the unique exaltation of Yahweh, and convicting men of the uselessness of all other sources of help but Him. He whom Isaiah called the Holy One of Israel, unlike the God of Israel of the popular thought, does not work necessarily, and under the present conditions certainly does not work at all, for the prosperity of

* Gressmann argues that the conception of the Day of Yahweh as a day of disaster for Israel was not a creation of the prophets, but that they only ethicised a previously existing popular belief in a coming world-catastrophe (Isr. Jüd. Eschatologie, pp. 142 ff.).
Israel; He will manifest His holiness by securing righteousness and destroying, if need be, the entire people of Israel in order to secure this (5:16: cp. e.g. 5:5-7).

83. Yahweh was God controlling the whole world, and working out in the history of mankind a consistent plan that would establish and secure righteousness: such was Isaiah’s belief: how does his favourite term for God, “the Holy One of Israel,” stand related to it? The term, as we have seen, is, in respect of its national limitation, rooted in the old, popular, national religion; and so also, of course, is the first part of the term intimately associated with early and even primitive religion. “Holy” (שָׁרוֹן) is a word which was originally, and in certain connections remained to the end, completely destitute of moral import (Numbers, pp. 209-211); but just as Amos gave, or restored to, the “Day of Yahweh” a meaning which it had never had, or had practically lost, in popular usage, and just as Hosea charged with spiritual meaning the conception of the marriage of the deity which in the popular religion was fouled with the basest associations, so Isaiah, out of a term that was at best ethically neutral and a definition that suggested national limitation, created a phrase that served him well in expressing a conception of God intensely moral and free from national limitations. It has been acutely observed* that it was the very emptiness in respect of ethical meaning of the term holy that enabled Isaiah to charge it with his own deep ethical conception of God. In itself it denotes not a particular personal quality, but rather the essential nature of deity; whatever is god, or related to, or set apart for the service of the gods, is holy; if, therefore, the conception of god is unethical, or non-ethical, so also are the associations of the term holy; but if the conception of God is ethical, so also are the associations of the term: “the Holy God hath shown himself holy in righteousness” (5:16).

“Yahweh of Hosts” (and that which is related to Him) exhausts for Isaiah the idea of holiness (6:3): there are for him no other holy gods; the Holy One of Israel is the God who formed and revealed Himself to and guided Israel; He is also the One God whose glory fills the world.

The Holy One of Israel is, then, not limited by needing

* Cp. e.g. W. R. Smith, Prophets², 225; Davidson, Ezekiel, xxxixf; Skinner, xlvii.
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Israel; His glory shines apart from Israel. Nay more, the very
closeness of the relation between Yahweh and Israel can only
mean the more necessary and more immediate destruction of
Israel, if Israel is unholy, unfit through unrighteousness to be
associated with Yahweh.

84. And what constituted holiness in Israel? what were the
qualities or conditions that made the approach of Israel tolerable
to Yahweh or safe to Israel? Not that they should come having
scrupulously observed laws of ceremonial cleanness, not that
they should come with hands full of presents of sacrificial
animals for Yahweh; they showed zeal enough and to spare in
honouring Yahweh thus in accordance with ancient custom and
prescription (2913) and ancient thought of what pleased Yahweh.
But the Holy One of Israel was indifferent to these things; He
loathed hands stained with the blood of murder, however full of
sacrificial presents; He desired justice which He did not find, not
sacrifice with which He was satiated (111-18 57). It is not neces-
sary to conclude that Isaiah regarded sacrifice as positively
offensive and intolerable to God under all conditions, but he
regards it as something that Yahweh does not require, and that
in no way palliates the sin of those who offer it; Israel has gone
deep in rebellion against God, and the multiplication of sacrifices,
so far from being proof of renewed loyalty, merely affords fresh
evidence that the nation is without knowledge of Yahweh.

The conviction of the sin of Yahweh's people and the
destruction which it necessarily involved, in addition to the
vitalising and deepening of his conception of God, was the chief
result to Isaiah of his vision. But what more exactly did his
conviction involve? With what view of the future of his nation
did Isaiah undertake his prophetic mission? Did he remain
constant to that view throughout? These questions have
received, and, till the literary origin of several passages can be
determined with greater certainty than at present, are likely to
receive, different answers. All that will be attempted here is to
bring out the salient ideas that must be duly weighed in attempt-
ing any answer, and to indicate some of the uncertainties.

85. That the Holy One of Israel being righteous cannot
tolerate unrighteousness, but will destroy the unrighteous, is a
fundamental conviction with Isaiah. But there certainly goes
along with this a belief in the grace and forgiveness of Yahweh.
Both these points are illustrated by the vision: feeling his sin and uncleanness, Isaiah immediately awakes to the danger of the sight which he has seen, the Holy presence in which he stands; "then cried I, Woe is me! for I am undone: for I am a man of unclean lips . . . for it is the king, Yahweh of Hosts, whom my eyes have seen"; but with the awakened consciousness of sin, and recognition of its offensiveness to the Holy Yahweh of Hosts, comes immediately the sense of forgiveness; the seraph touches his unclean lips with the burning coal, and assures him that his iniquity will pass away from him and his sin be expiated. Freed from his sin, not by sacrifice or outward rite learned from men, but by the free grace of Yahweh meeting him at once as he turns away in horror from his sin to Yahweh, he is not exposed to the destructive reaction of Yahweh's righteousness against sin.

But Isaiah associates with his danger not only his own personal sin, but the sin of his people: "I am dwelling in the midst of a people of unclean lips." It might have seemed a natural sequel if Isaiah had received a commission to awaken the people to a similar sense of Yahweh's presence in their midst and of their sin, and, consequently, of the imminence of destruction, unless they repented and received forgiveness. But this is not the actual sequel in the vision: Yahweh, in the words of the commission, tacitly accepts Isaiah's admission of the people's sin; He does not dwell on it, but only on the fact that the people will, sinning on, remain blind to the consequences of sin, and, therefore, suffer those consequences to the full: Israel will perish, and the land of Israel will be desolated. And Israel, the people who are to perish, must be understood as including both houses of Israel, and certainly Judah; the meaning of ch. 6 must not be blunted by limiting the people whose destruction is determined to those of the Northern kingdom; see n. on 68.

86. But the possibility of forgiveness and riddance from sin which Isaiah had personally experienced, he assuredly did not limit to himself; not in the vision itself, but in the name which he gave his eldest son very shortly after his call (78 n.), we find this more directly implied, unless indeed, which is not very likely, Shear-yashub is, as some have supposed, a name of purely sinister meaning. Isaiah, then, anticipated that a remnant of
individuals, a small part of the whole of Israel, would return to Yahweh, be forgiven, and become quit of their sin.

How then did these ideas of the irremediable moral condition of the people necessarily involving the destruction of the nation, and of a Remnant that should return in penitence to Yahweh, work themselves out in Isaiah's teaching?

87. The belief in the imminent and certain destruction of the people is by no means limited to the narrative of the vision; it was expressed in the name given by Isaiah to his second son Maher-shalal-hash-baz (82 n.), and was implicit even in the name of Shear-yashub—the remnant that returns is but the remnant of a larger part that perishes; and the same belief, clearly in relation to Judah, is the theme, for example, of the parable of the Vineyard (51-7), and again it is expressed in what is commonly understood to be the latest of Isaiah's utterances, "Surely this iniquity shall not be expiated for you till ye die," 2214. So far as the Northern kingdom is concerned, there is nothing to suggest that Isaiah ever expected that more than a few individuals (176) would escape destruction: see 97-104 + 526-29 171-11 281-4. On the other hand, at times he certainly seems to have held that Judah would survive at least the perils immediately threatening her; so at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish war (735 B.C.) he maintained against the King and Court that Jerusalem had nothing to fear from the invaders (71-16); and, if we admit 37621-385, in 701 B.C. Isaiah maintained that Sennacherib would not enter Jerusalem, because Yahweh would defend it for His own sake and for David's sake. It would be quite unsafe to press the reason given in this narrative (which is not the work of Isaiah, but an account based on popular tradition) for Isaiah's belief that Jerusalem would not fall to Sennacherib: if he held that belief, we may more safely seek the reasons in 165ff. : the Assyrians were not to capture Jerusalem, because their disregard of Yahweh's commission must be punished by ill-success. But Isaiah's conviction, after being justified by the event, may well have made a deep impression on the popular mind: it may have formed the basis of the popular stories that gathered round this period of his work, while his own reasons for his conviction were forgotten and other less welcome elements in his teaching passed out of the popular mind; and this may account for the fact that Jeremiah's defenders appeal not to Isaiah, but to Micah as an earlier prophet.
who had predicted the fall of Jerusalem and yet been left unmolested. A conviction of Isaiah that Jerusalem would not fall on a particular occasion and under particular circumstances went, all against the intention of the prophet, to strengthen the popular dogma that on no occasion and under no circumstances would Jerusalem fall, because Yahweh must defend His own.

Unless Isaiah changed the fundamental conviction that underlies the narrative of the vision, he must have held throughout that the only way to safety for Jerusalem lay in a return to Yahweh and the establishment of righteousness. Certainly the terms of Yahweh’s commission in the vision do not hold out the hope that Isaiah’s preaching will bring about the repentance of the people and the safety of the state; but in spite of this a conditional promise underlies some of the sayings of the prophet, and other sayings which at least cannot be clearly shown to be not his: see 1:19 (and perhaps also 1:18 (n.)) 7:9 30:15. But the condition implicit in 7:9—If ye believe, ye shall be established—was not fulfilled: Ahaz and his people did not “believe”: and by this further disloyalty to Yahweh they drew destruction nearer, not at the hands of the Syrians and Ephraimites, indeed, whom, as the prophet warned them, they needlessly feared, but at the hand of the Assyrians (8:6-8). So later, while Isaiah insisted that no harm would befall the city from Sennacherib, he may have held, and apparently did (22:14) hold, that harm would befall it from another quarter, unless they repented. Whether he expected that the disaster would in this case be due to the direct interposition of Yahweh we cannot say; but it is altogether improbable that Isaiah believed that Assyria by its arrogance, and consequent unfitness to be any longer Yahweh’s instrument of punishment, had left Yahweh without other means of punishing and destroying His own sinful people.

88. Beyond the judgment, Isaiah looked to the establishment of a new Sion where the corrupt and unjust judges and the faithless counsellors of the present would be replaced by just judges and faithful counsellors, and the whole community would be righteous and loyal to Yahweh (1:26): cp. 28:16-18. Out of the remnant would arise (cp. 8:17) a new state.

Yahweh does not need Israel, the actual sinful people; nay, His righteousness must destroy them: but it will also re-create out of those who by their righteousness come out of the fire of
judgment a new state—in Sion. The influence of his time and people on Isaiah (§ 78) may still be seen; it leads him to place the new state in Sion; but there is nothing here inconsistent with the conviction that the Holy One of Israel, being resident in Sion, must destroy the existing city and society.*

89. How far and in what way did Isaiah elaborate his conception of the life in Sion after the judgment? The question turns on the criticism of passages like 9:1-6 11:1-8 30:19-26 32:1-8 33; the view taken in the Commentary is that none of these passages can be assigned with certainty to Isaiah, that several of them are for various reasons more or less clearly not his work: under these circumstances, reference should be made to the commentary on the various passages for the more elaborate details of the future which are to be found in them.

But a few general remarks may be made here:

(i) Though unquestionably Isaiah was in the first instance a prophet of judgment, and his narrative of the vision contains no word of promise, or any suggestion of a happier future and the establishment of a righteous society beyond judgment, it would be quite unreasonable, even if there were no evidence at all to the contrary, such as 1:26, to infer that his mind never dwelt on the ideal which should be the very opposite of the present state. With his conception of Yahweh, and especially of Yahweh's work in history, His carefully-maturing plans, he could not well have thought that Yahweh's work would be complete with the destruction first of Israel and then of arrogant Assyria. Yahweh looked for righteousness (§ 7); but if, as assuredly He would do, He destroyed the people whom He had chosen that they might produce it, but to whom He had looked for it in vain, He would renew His work of choice and construction till He obtained the righteous society of His desire. Nothing could be more natural than that the idea of a righteous state on earth should possess Isaiah; and if so, nothing again could be more natural than for him to place it in Sion, where Yahweh dwelt (§§ 78, 88). And this is precisely what he does in 1:21-26, where the picture of the ideal state is most intimately and closely connected with the picture and condemnation of the actual city. Unfortunately none of the

* It is probable that G. A. Smith (DB ii. 490) considerably overstates Isaiah's conviction when he says, "There was no other way for a spiritual community to exist in Isaiah's day except through the security of Jerusalem."
other passages that deal with this ideal future are thus intimately connected with the condemnation of the present. This, of course, is not proof that such passages are not the work of Isaiah, but it does distinctly weaken the positive grounds for holding that they are.

(2) Many of the passages in question are attached to prophecies of judgment without being organically connected with them. In these cases it would be difficult to believe that in one and the same speech Isaiah drew alarming pictures of coming disaster and bright pictures of coming glory, without in any way marking or defining the relation between them. But again this is not in itself necessary proof that the passages of promise are not the work of Isaiah: the present arrangement may be due to editors. At the same time, it is perhaps remarkable that 121-20 stands almost alone in organically connecting the two ideas.

(3) There were probably two sides to Isaiah's activity: he spoke in public to the people, he delivered to the nation Yahweh's message of national doom; he also probably taught his disciples (816 n.). There is nothing impossible in the view that more elaborate pictures of the glorious future, though they formed no part of his public teaching, were yet presented by him to his disciples. At the same time it must be admitted that there is nothing in most, if indeed in any of the passages in question, that suggests this more limited audience.

(4) Though the mere fact that a passage implies the belief that a glorious future awaits Judah or Šion, or again that Assyria, the enemy of Judah, will be destroyed, is no evidence that the passage cannot be the work of Isaiah (cp. (1)); and though it could be shown that all the ideas contained in such passages are fragments of a pre-prophetic eschatology, as Gressmann has argued, it is anything but probable that Isaiah, out of patriotic sympathy, was content to perpetuate the traditional eschatological matter "without much troubling about the inner unity" (Gressmann, p. 243) of his teaching. Patriotic sympathy of that kind, we may be fairly sure, was as absent from Isaiah as later from Jeremiah. Isaiah may have utilised such traditional eschatological ideas; but if so, we shall be safer in believing that he modified them by the setting he gave them, and by the inner unity into which he worked them with that message of judgment which he had received in his vision. In a word, if the more elaborate pictures
of eschatological blessedness which stand in Is 1–39 are, any of them, the work of Isaiah, they have reached us independently of their original setting (cp. (3)). In another respect Gressmann scarcely conceives the problem correctly. Those who have argued against the genuineness of the eschatological passages may too often have relied over much on the criterion of ideas; it may be, for example, that an allusion to a multiplicity of nations receiving judgment before Jerusalem (e.g. 17¹²⁻¹⁴; cp. pp. 307 f.) is not a conclusive proof that the passage which contains it is later than the 8th century; but Gressmann is himself one-sided, even if less dangerously so, when he claims that the only "legitimate criterion for so denying the genuineness (of a passage) consists of the historical circumstances pre-supposed in it" ("als einzig berechtigtes Kriterium, um die Echtheit zu leugnen, sind nur die vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse anzusehen"); and he is wrong in his conclusion that "so long as these (historical circumstances pre-supposed) do not speak against the original authorship of him in whose book the future hope (Heilseschatologie) is handed down, so long may the 'genuineness' be maintained" ("so lange wird man die Echtheit aufrecht erhalten dürfen"): all that follows, in the case of the Book of Isaiah at least, is this, that provided the historical pre-suppositions are not inconsistent with the age of Isaiah, so long may the genuineness of any particular passage remain an open question; the passage may be Isaiah's, or it may be the work of some writer living in any age with which also the historical pre-suppositions are not inconsistent (cp. § 43). For though the book bears the name of Isaiah, considerable parts even of chs. 1–39 are by general consent the work of later ages; and, moreover, the editorial processes through which the book has passed belong to periods when eschatology was rife.* Generations subsequent to Isaiah have played too large a part in the composition of the Book of Isaiah for it to be more than one possibility among several that a passage, the historical pre-suppositions of which are vague, is Isaiah's. The possibilities in such cases must be reduced in number, if at all, by other criteria.

* Cp. Th. L. W. van Ravensteyn, De Eenheid der eschatologischen Vorstellungen in het Boek Jesaja (Utrecht, 1910), in which as against Gressmann it is argued that the eschatology (as distinct from the prophetic elements) of all parts of the Book of Isaiah belong to a single period, and that probably the 4th century.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Judah</th>
<th>Israel</th>
<th>Syria (Damascus)</th>
<th>Assyria, Babylon, etc.</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Book of Isaiah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>854</td>
<td>Ahab, Ben-hadad</td>
<td>against Shalmaneser II at Karkar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>842</td>
<td>Jehu pays</td>
<td>tribute to Shalmaneser</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 785 c. 746</td>
<td>Uzziah</td>
<td>Jeroboam II.</td>
<td>Decline of Assyrian power</td>
<td>Tiglath-Pileser IV.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>745</td>
<td>Death of Jeroboam</td>
<td>Capture of Arpad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 740</td>
<td>Death of Uzziah</td>
<td>740. Capture of Arpad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?? Azriyau = Uzziah</td>
<td>“19 districts of Hamath” confederate with Azriyau of Judah annexed by Tiglath-Pileser</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>738</td>
<td>Menaheem and Rezon pay tribute to Assyria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>735</td>
<td>Pe'ah and Rezon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Many prophecies of Isaiah cannot be precisely dated, and are not entered here. Chapters of Isaiah in brackets refer to the date indicated, but were not necessarily written at the time]
### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—(continued).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates that are certain are in heavy type.</th>
<th>JUDAH.</th>
<th>ISRAEL.</th>
<th>SYRIA (Damascus).</th>
<th>ASSYRIA, BABYLON, ETC.</th>
<th>EGYPT.</th>
<th>BOOK OF ISAIAH.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>734</td>
<td>Ahaz pays tribute</td>
<td>Exile of Northern Israelites (2 K 15:29ff.)</td>
<td>to Tiglath-pileser</td>
<td>Campaign against Damascus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Isaiah's interview with Ahaz, etc. (7:1–8:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>733</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Capture of Gaza</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>732</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign against Damascus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Is 17:1–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Capture of Damascus</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>727</td>
<td>(or 715) Death of Ahaz. Hezekiah</td>
<td>Pekah slain Hoshea succeeds him as an Assyrian vassal</td>
<td>End of the Kingdom of Damascus</td>
<td></td>
<td>745–718 Dynasty XXIII. Egypt disunited. Nomarchs divide authority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>724</td>
<td></td>
<td>Siege and fall of Samaria</td>
<td>Shalmaneser IV.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 722                                      |        | End of the Northern Kingdom | Sargon | | | }

[Dates that are certain are in heavy type.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Dates that are certain are in heavy type.]</th>
<th>JUDAH.</th>
<th>ASSYRIA, BABYLON, ETC.</th>
<th>EGYPT.</th>
<th>BOOK OF ISAIAH.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>721</td>
<td></td>
<td>Merodach-baladan, 'King of the Kaldu,' becomes king of Babylon for 12 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>720</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sargon defeats Hanno of Gaza and Sib (&quot;So&quot;) at Raphia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>717 (or 727) Death of Ahaz Hezekiah</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capture of Carchemish Campaign against Arabia</td>
<td>c. 718–712 Dynasty XXIV.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 712 (or 715)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pir'u, king of Muṣur (?Egypt*), pays tribute to Sargon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Is 10:13 After 717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>711</td>
<td>Judah, Philistia, Edom, Moab, Muṣur, Meluḥha (?Egypt* and Ethiopia) in revolt against Sargon. Capture of Ashdod Sennacherib</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sabako, first ruler of the Ethiopian Dynasty (XXV.), which lasted till 668</td>
<td>(Is 20) 711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701 Siege of Jerusalem:</td>
<td>Palestine ravaged by Sennacherib; Assyrians claim victory over Egyptians at Eltekeh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>698 (or 686) Death of Hezekiah. Manasseh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See the discussion, pp. lxxvii ff.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates that are certain are in heavy type.</th>
<th>JUDAH.</th>
<th>ASSYRIA, BABYLON, ETC.</th>
<th>EGYPT.</th>
<th>BOOK OF ISAIAH.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>694</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 690</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(? Is 37th)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sennacherib in Arabia (and ?? Palestine)</td>
<td>Memphite</td>
<td>7th cent. : writings and teaching of Isaiah perpetuated by disciples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671</td>
<td></td>
<td>Esar-haddon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>668</td>
<td></td>
<td>Esar-haddon captures Asshurbanipal</td>
<td>Pharaoh-necoh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>667</td>
<td></td>
<td>Asshurbanipal overthrows Capture of Nabopolassar, independent king of Babylon</td>
<td></td>
<td>(c. 626-586 Jeremiah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>c. 607</td>
<td>Josiah's Reformation</td>
<td></td>
<td>(c. 592-571 Ezekiel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>605</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fall of Assyria : Capture of Nineveh by Medes * (and Babylonians)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604</td>
<td></td>
<td>Battle of Carchemish : Nebuchadnezzar defeats Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>586</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fall of Jerusalem 597, 586 Commencement of Jewish Exile in Babylon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Is 13 and (probably) 14:21, 21, and possibly 11:8, 9:8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

549

Median Empire overthrown by Cyrus, king of Persia | c. 550 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>538</td>
<td>Persian Dominion</td>
<td>Babylon captured by Cyrus, Cambyses, king of Persia, conquers Egypt, and spares Jewish Temple at Elephantine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>525</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jewish temple at Elephantine destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Beginning of the Jewish revolt led by the Maccabees against the Seleucids.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Final settlement of Canon of the OT.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>c. 100</td>
<td>Greek version of Isaiah. Later: minor additions to Is (61st etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Many quotations from Isaiah in NT. Consonantal text of Isaiah fixed. Consonants vocalised. Earliest Hebrew MS of Isaiah.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Or *Umman-manda*; see p. 242.
COMMENTARY.
"Quae si longa tibi videbitur, non mihi imputes, sed Scripturae sanctae difficultati, praeclipueque Isaiae prophetae, qui tantis obscuritatibus involutus est, ut prae magnitudine rei brevem explanationem putem, quae per se longa est. Certe nos studiosis scribimus, et sanctam Scripturam scire cupientibus, non fastidiosis, et ad singula nauseantibus."

Jerome.
A COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

I. A title defining the subject and age of Isaiah's prophecies. It served, in the first instance, perhaps, as a title of chs. 1–12 only. It was prefixed, not by Isaiah, but by a post-exilic editor. Isaiah, in accordance with the prominence given by him to Jerusalem throughout his prophecies (1:1ff. 3:1ff. 4:2ff. 10:22ff. 22:1ff. 28:17ff. 29:1ff. 30:10ff.), speaks of Jerusalem and Judah (3:1–8 5:3 22:21: occasionally elsewhere, 2 K 24:20, Ezr 2:1); in the title, as in 2:1 and, e.g., 2 K 18:22, 2 Ch 34:8, the order is Judah and Jerusalem. A contemporary Jew would have had no occasion to add to the list of kings the explanatory clause kings of Judah (cp. Jer 1:2ff., Mic 2:1); an editor looking back on the monarchy as a vanished institution might well do so. It is doubtful, too, whether Isaiah would have applied the term vision to his collected prophecies (see below). The period of Isaiah's prophetic activity may be correctly described, though this is not certain (cp. 6:1 n.), as beginning in the reign of Uzziyahu: and the title is certainly correct in extending the period into the reign of Hezkiyahu (cp. chs. 36–39): but Judah and Jerusalem is an inadequate description of the scope of Isaiah's teaching, still more of chs. 1–39; chs. 13–23 contain a series of oracles directed against foreign nations; and even within chs. 1–12 at least one prophecy (9:7–10:4) is primarily concerned with Ephraim.

The vision signifies (1) a vision, then (2) the verbal record of what is seen in vision, and also, perhaps, with a total loss of the original sense of the word, (3) any revelation or...
prophetic discourse even though it has not been suggested by vision. The word is used here with either the second or the third of these meanings; in illustration of these, cp. "the book of the vision of Nahum," Nah 1; "the vision of Obadiah," 1; "the matter (מִדְרֶשֶׁת) which Isaiah saw-in-vision" (יָוָה), Is 2; "the rest of the affairs of Hezekiah ... behold they are written in the vision of Isaiah," 2 Ch 32; "write the vision and inscribe it on the tablets," Hab 2. Certainly neither the verb הִיָּה nor the noun יָוָה is necessarily late, nor the belief that God revealed things to some prophets by means of vision (cp. Nu 126; 24, 1 K 22; Am 7-9, Jer 11, 18). Nevertheless, since actual vision plays but little part in the recorded experience of Isaiah, and when he does refer to such experiences (6), he, like Amos, uses the verb הִיָּה, the use of יָוָה in this and similar titles may be due to the later conception that the chief function of prophecy was apocalyptic, that prophecy was a revelation of the final stage of history: cp. e.g. Dn 8 and Ben Sirach's (48) description of Isaiah חֵי אוֹת הָדוֹר ב. To the authors of these titles the prophecies of Isaiah, Nahum, Obadiah may have been, as they subsequently were to many generations of Christian scholars, not so much or at all the teaching of these prophets to their own age, but a record of events seen in vision several centuries before they actually happened. Consequently, vision not improbably retains here the second of the meanings mentioned above.—Isaiah] the name means Yahweh has delivered, or Yahweh is deliverance (cp. Ps. 29; see phil. n.): the prophet is the only pre-exilic person of the name who is known; but several persons so named are mentioned in Chr. Ezr. Neh. and also in the Assouan papyri (5th cent. B.C.).—Son of 'Amos] the name 'Amōs is otherwise unknown; but the root 'amaq, to be mighty, occurs in Amaziah—a fact which probably created, without in the slightest justifying, a Rabbinic theory that Isaiah's father and King Amaziah were brothers (cp. Pesikta d. Rab Kahana, 117b). By a grosser blunder, resting on ignorance of Hebrew, but assisted perhaps by the Rabbinic canon, that where a prophet's father is mentioned the father himself was a prophet, Isaiah's father (יִשְׂרָאֵל, ג ' אַמּוֹס) was identified with the prophet 'Amos (יִשְׂרָאֵל, ג ' אַמּוֹס).
name may, as Del. maintains, consist of a 3rd pf. + cp.—a formation already common in the 8th cent. (HPN 176 f. : cp. 192), cp. σωσει Κύριος (Onom. Cotistinianum, in Lag. Onom. 165 20); but since cp. does not occur in the Kal and the n. pr. ἡσύχασε actually occurs later, ἡσύχασε may be a noun, yet scarcely a noun in the construct, so that the name means σωτρία Κύριος, salus domini (Jer. al.: see Lag. Onom. 69 2, 173 6, 191 2), but rather predicative (cp. HPN 75 ff., 175 f.)—Yahweh is salvation: cp. in the inverse order ἡσύχασε, where the second element, in spite of MT pointing, is ἡσύχασε rather than ἡσύχασε, and also ἡσύχασε, Lidzbarski, NSI. The original pronunciation may have been ἡσύχασε, like ἡσύχασε, Χελκ(e)ias: cp. Origen's 'Ieσοσία, and 'Ieσοσ(e)ίου in G, 2 Ch 26 20.


This section stands between two titles (x 2 1): and it is natural to infer from this fact that the editor derived it from another source than ch. 2 ff.: see Introd. § 29. Why the editor, who can scarcely have been Isaiah himself, placed this section first cannot be determined; it has been suggested that the reason may be found in its general character and 'immediate applicability to many other circumstances' of ancient, or later (Ro 9 29), Jewish life (Di.). But, as a matter of fact, it did not prove more widely applicable than other sections of the book: 6–8 18, or even ch. 6 by itself, which on chronological grounds should stand first, is also cited more frequently in the NT.

It must also remain uncertain whether the editor found the chapter circulating by itself,—a prophetic fly-sheet of about the same size as the prophecy of Obadiah,—or himself arranged passages drawn from some larger collection, or even from different sources. However this may be, the section is not a single poem or prophetic oration: it consists of several distinct poems or fragments. Most clearly distinct is vv. 21–26 (28): this is a complete poem with well-marked rhythmical character, and reflects a different historical situation from vv. 1–10: in vv. 21–26 judgment is still to come; in vv. 5–9 it is in process of fulfilment. Since there is no indication that these vv. have been interpolated, the chapter immediately falls into at least three independent sections—vv. 2–20, 21–26 (28), 27 (29)–31. But of these sections the first is scarcely a unity; the fresh start in v. 18 suggests, and the contents, if not also the rhythm, favour, the conclusion that vv. 18–20 are an independent saying or sayings. Whether even vv. 2–17 are a single poem is uncertain.
Koppe distinguished as separate poems or fragments vv. 2-9 (time of Ahaz) and vv. 10-29 (time of Hezekiah); Lagarde (Semitica, i. 1 ff.) and Corn. (ZATW., 1884, pp. 86-88), vv. 21. 4-9, 10-17; Cheyne (Introd.), vv. 2-4, 5-9, 10-17 (cp. Stade, Gesch. i. 586 n. 2, 622).

But whether vv. 2-17 be a unity or not, the difficulty of maintaining the strict unity of the entire chapter has been increasingly felt since Koppe first seriously raised the question. Some, however, still maintain that it is a literary unity; for example, Di. says, "The chapter is just as little as many others an oratorical unity or the accurate report of a speech actually delivered: it is too rich in ideas and varied in contents for this, and the connection both within vv. 10-21 and between these verses and vv. 2-9 and 24-31 is not close enough. But in view of the relation of v. 10 to v. 9, and the references back from v. 28 to vv. 17 and 12f., and from v. 23 to v. 24, the literary unity of the chapter cannot reasonably be denied: that is to say, we must see in it a literary work composed by Isaiah himself, in which he has enriched a speech delivered on some particular occasion with leading thoughts and turns from other similar speeches delivered at not too widely separated periods, and reduced the whole to a form used by earlier and later prophets (Hos 4, Mic 6, Ps 50) of a legal process between God and the people" (but see below, p. 27). Cond. has recently maintained that his strophic theory proves vv. 2-27 to be a single poem, which is unfortunate for the strophic theory.

If the chapter consists of different poems, questions of date, so far as they can be answered, fall for consideration in connection with the several sections. Here it must suffice simply to record the earlier view elaborately maintained as late as the 19th cent. by C. P. Caspari,* that the chapter belongs to the reign of Uzziah and is earlier than ch. 6; and the wide divergence of judgment among other writers who have maintained the unity of the chapter, the two main views being that it belongs to the period of the Syro-Ephraimitish war in 735 (Ges., Del., Di.), the other that it belongs to the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701 (Vitr., Eich., W. R. Smith). Many other theories are referred to by Caspari (p. 1 ff.).

So also the question of rhythm is dealt with in detail in the various sections. For a different view from that which is taken below of the changes of rhythm in this chapter, see Francis Brown, The Measurements of Hebrew Poetry, in JBLit., 1890, 82-86, who finds vv. 2-4 six-toned, vv. 5-20 five-toned, vv. 21-28 six-toned, vv. 29-31 five-toned.

I. 2-17.—The sin of Yahweh's people, their punishment and mistaken sense of His requirements.

Rhythm and Parallelism.—Cp. Introd. "On Poetic forms." Within vv. 2-17 there is a marked difference between vv. 2-8, 16c; 17 and 10-16b: balancing

* Beiträge zur Einleitung in das B. Jes., Berlin, 1848.
rhythm is dominant in the first named verses, echoing rhythm (3 : 2) is clearly
to be recognised in vv.10, 11.12a. (omitting סדר) 14b. 15a. (omitting סדר) 10b. 15c-15a.
16b; the rest of vv.10-16b is more uncertain, partly at least owing to textual
corruption. Of the lines clearly 3 : 2 only vv.11b. 14b show parallelism of sense
between their parts: but the entire periods 5 : 5 are parallel in vv.10, 11b. c.
15a. b: thus absence of parallelism, or parallelism only of longer periods, as
well as difference of rhythm, sharply distinguishes vv.10-16b from vv.2-8 and
16c. 17.

Where the balancing rhythm prevails, some difference of length in the
lines may be observed:
(a) Vv.2-3 consist of one tristich—2 : 2 : 2, and three distichs 3 : 3, i.e. four
complete periods of six accents.
(b) Vv.4-8: most of the distichs are unmistakably 2 : 2, but v.6a, b is 3 : 3
unless יד is rhythmically independent (see p. 89) and יד, יד, one
accent: in MT it is two. Insert makkephs as follows: ע"דב (so
generally in MT), יד יד in v.5a, after יל in v.6, and perhaps in
ף(ף)ף(ף)ף (see phil. n.). Lines irregularly of three accents
are v.7a, unless יד be omitted: and v.6f. unless v.6e. f. g (2 : 3 : 2 in
ב) 2 : 3 in (ג) is intrusive (see Comm.); 7a omitted in the trans-
lation is probably a gloss (see Comm.).
(c) Vv.16c. 17: distichs 2 : 2.
(d) Vv.9, if יד be omitted (ג), consists of two distichs, 3 : 3 and 2 : 2
respectively; i.e. it is like vv.2-8 in balancing rhythm. If יד be
retained and taken with what follows, 6c. d is 3 : 2 and rhythmically
similar to vv.10ff.; 9a, b might perhaps with difficulty be read in the
same rhythm by inserting makkeph, יד יד יד.

Strophes.—The translation will show that vv.2-8 falls into four, or vv.4-8
into three, almost equal sense-divisions; v.9 is but half the length of any one
of them. Again, two sets of four lines of five accents are recognisable in
vv.11, 12a and 15-16b, and the intervening verses before they were amplified may
have been of the same length: then v.10 with its two lines stands by itself.
If the text of ב was preferable to ג in v.9 (see above), it would be tempting
to see in vv.2-8 and 9-16b two poems rhythmically different in character but each
divided into four equal strophes.

The marked difference in poetical form between vv.2-8 and
vv.10-16, which has just been pointed out and is in some measure
indicated in the translation, makes the unity of vv.2-17 uncertain.
But the thought of the two poems, if there are two poems here
rather than one, is not so different that either suffers much by
being read with the other, and in a consecutive translation of
vv.2-17 the relation of v.9 can be more readily considered; that
verse may be rhythmically, textually, and exegetically uncertain,
and may possibly be intrusive, but it cannot be rejected with
confidence.
Israel's unfilial conduct and its punishment.

2 Hear, O heaven,
     And give ear, O earth!
     For 'tis Yahweh hath spoken—
     "Children have I reared and brought up,
      But they have rebelled against me;

3 An ox knoweth its owner,
     And an ass it's master's manger;
Israel doth not know,
     My people doth not consider."

4 Ah! sinful nation,
     People whose guilt is heavy,
Brood that doeth evil,
     Children that deal corruptly—
Who have forsaken Yahweh,
     Contemned the Holy One of Israel,
Are estranged (?) backward—

5 Wherefore will ye yet be smitten,
     (Wherefore) continue in your defection?
The whole head is sick,
     And the whole heart diseased:

6 From the sole of the foot to the very head
     No soundness is in him;
(But) bruises and contusions
     And still bleeding wounds,
Not pressed out, nor bound up,
     Nor softened with oil.

7 Your land is a desolation,
     Your cities are burned with fire;
Your tilled land before you,
     Aliens are devouring it;

8 And the daughter of Sion is left
     Like a booth in a vineyard,
Like a night refuge in a cucumber-field,
     Like a tower (?) for the watch (?)

9 Had not Yahweh of Hosts
     Left of us some that escaped,
Like Sodom had we become,
     Gomorrah had we resembled.
Not Sacrifice!

10 Hear the word of Yahweh, | ye chiefs of Sodom!
   Give ear to the instruction of our God, | people of
   Gomorrah!

11 What good to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? | saith
   Yahweh.
   I am satiated with burnt-offerings of rams | and fat of fed
   beasts;
   And in the blood of bullocks and he-goats | I delight not.
12 When ye come to see my face, | who hath required this at
your hand?

Trample my courts 18 shall ye no more,
   To bring gifts is vain,
   Smoke (of sacrifice) is an abomination to me.
   New moon and sabbath, convoking of convocations, I cannot (endure);
   Fast and sacred seasons 14 your new moons and your set times my
   soul hateth.
   They have become a burden upon me, | I weary of carrying.
15 And when ye spread out your hands, | I will hide mine
   eyes from you
   Yea when ye make many prayers, | I do not listen.
   Your hands are full of shed-blood: | 16 wash youselves pure;
   Put away the evil of your doings | from before mine eyes.

But Justice.

16a Cease to do evil,
  17 Learn to do well;
Seek out the right,
   Make the violent (?) keep straight (?);
Secure the right of the orphan,
   Undertake the cause of the widow.

Heaven and earth are summoned to listen to Yahweh’s charge
against His people: they have requited His fatherly care with
indifference and open rebellion (vv.25). Sufficient reason this
that blow after blow has fallen till Judah is covered with bruises
and wounds from head to foot (vv.4-6), that the land of Judah
has been desolated and its cities burned by a foreign army, which now invests Jerusalem itself (vv.7f). Indeed, had not Yahweh saved a few, Judah would have been wiped out of existence as completely as Sodom and Gomorrah (v.9). But even now in the beleaguered city—so we must understand the transition if the poem is one—rulers and people alike utterly misunderstand Yahweh: misfortune has at last awakened them to their need of Him, but not to the nature of their sins, or of His demands: they bring Him in abundance sacrifices which He abhors, they are still indifferent to justice and humanity which He requires—the very hands which they stretch out to Him in prayer are stained with the blood of murder (vv.10-16). Yahweh's word to them (v.10), if they would really find Him, is: Not sacrifice (vv.11-15), nor prayers unaccompanied by moral change (15f.), but justice!

The leading ideas of vv.2-17 are (a) sin, (b) punishment, (c) misunderstanding of what Yahweh demands, (d) what Yahweh actually demands; (a) and (b), (c) and (d) are, each pair taken separately, very natural sequences, but it is a question whether (c), which is really an explication of (a), would not immediately have followed (a) had all entered into the same poem. The date of the poem, or at least of vv.2-8, is 701 B.C.; see n. on v.7, where other less probable theories are cited. Nothing in vv.2-17 is inconsistent with the date 701, for it is only by a very improbable interpretation that v.2 can be made to imply a present state of national prosperity. On the other hand, nothing either in vv.2f. or vv.10-17 independently points to the year 701; and if any of these verses are derived from different poems, their exact date is uncertain: the ideas are such as Isaiah might have expressed at almost any time of his life.

2a. b. c. Exordium.—Since the prophet is about to utter the words of none other than Yahweh, words which Yahweh has spoken to him, which he must not and cannot keep to himself (cp. Am 37f., Jer 209), heaven and earth (cp. Jer 219) are called upon to give audience; cp. Dt 321 for the same rhetorical appeal, and for a similar one Mic 61; for heaven and earth as witnesses, cp. also Dt 426 3019 3229.—Hear . . . give ear] cp. 2823 329, Gn 423: this type of prelude may, as Du. suggests, have been derived from popular poetry.
2d. e. 3. Yahweh charges Israel with unfilial conduct.—Yahweh’s charge against His people is that in return for His fatherly (Hos 11:1-4) care (cp. Am 3:2) they have broken loose from Him and become rebels against His authority.—Children] EV rightly renders בנים thus, as in the phrase “children of Israel,” and T correctly interprets the word as equivalent to “my people” (v. 8). Less satisfactory is the rendering sons;* for though, when the Hebrews spoke of children they no doubt thought primarily of sons, the plural בני is not limited in meaning to male children (see Gn 3:18, Jos 17:9), and note, even in the sing., a male child (יבנ) in Jer 20:12. Where parallelism admits (it does not here) the use of the terms, Yahweh’s people may be described as His “sons” and “daughters” (43:5).—Brought up and reared] i.e. played the part of a parent by them. For בנים in this sense, cp. 23:4 49:18, 51:18, 2 K 10:6, Hos 9:12; and for בנות, 23:4, also the analogous use in Ezk 31:4: so בני in the Kal is used of the growth of the infant (Gn 21:8) or youth (Gn 21:20). Both verbs have also the meaning to make great, powerful, exalted: and the second by many † and both by some ‡ have been so understood here; but the two verbs should be rendered as synonyms (see phil. n.); and both the parallel in 23:4 and the context here (see vv. 8f.) favour interpreting the line of Yahweh’s parental care § for Israel, not of the pre-eminence of Israel among the nations, or of the greatness of Israel in numbers and military power. Consequently, there is no allusion to the prosperity of Judah, and the case for assigning this passage to the same early period of Isaiah’s activity as 26ff. (Che. Introd. p. 2) falls to the ground. In the simplest terms, without the pathetic details of Hosea’s picture of Yahweh training and tending His child (Hos 11ff., esp. v. 8), Isaiah places in contrast Yahweh’s parental care which had brought Israel to manhood, and Israel’s unfilial conduct in casting off the father’s authority and disobeying the father’s commands.—They have rebelled against me] בנות means to revolt from one’s ruler (e.g. 1 K 12:19, 2 K 11), to renounce authority (cp. בנות Hos 8:1): here it is used of a child’s renunciation of a father’s authority. A reference to idolatry,

* Ew., Di., Che., Du., Whitehouse, Box.
† Gr (βγωρά), Exaltavi, Di., Du., Che., Marti, al.
‡ Ki., RVmarg.
§ AV, RV (text), Ges., Cond.
which has sometimes been suspected here, would be possible (cp. Jer 28.20 318), but it is very far from certain; other ways of rebelling against Yahweh were to rely on Egypt or Assyria (Hos 713), or to be unjust, inhumane; cp. 5912ff. and the use of the noun ṣəw in Am 512; moreover, Am. chs. 1. 2 are simply a series of illustrations of inhumanity regarded in the light of rebellion against Yahweh.

3. Israel has not only been an unfilial child of Yahweh, but has shown himself less intelligent than the animals (cp. Jer 87) that form part of a household (Ex 2017). Ox and ass find their way to their stables; but Israel cares nothing for Yahweh, nor discerns that it owes everything to Him: cp. the thought of Hos 210(8), Dt 3216, where it is implied that Israel not only did not recognise Yahweh, their true Baal or owner, as the giver of harvest, but attributed the produce of Canaan to the ancient Baals of the land.—OWNER . . . MASTER] the first word (ἡπ) denotes τὸν κτησάμενον (Ἑ), one who has come into possession of anything as, for example, by purchase (cp. Lv 2530, Zec 115); the second (יו) is commonly used of the person to whom property belongs (e.g. Ex 2128, Jg 1922).—ISRAEL] If vv.8 and 8 belong to the same poem, Israel is not the Northern kingdom, but Judah: cp. 57 n.

4-9. Israel sinful and suffering.—Isaiah, like Amos in 33-8, follows up the brief saying of Yahweh (vv.26. d. 3) with speech in his own person. 4. And first with a cry of threat and lamentation, ᾠδή or οὐσία (56.11 etc.), he emphasises by means of a succession of short clauses the rebellious and unfilial conduct of Israel, the nation, people, race, and children of Yahweh: they are sinful, heavily laden with guilt, evil-doers (cp. 916 312), and of corrupt life (cp. Gn 612, Zeph 37, Ps 141).—Ε. f. g. One at least of the last three lines of v.4 is probably not original, possibly none of them are (Marti), though strophic regularity requires two lines here. Ε omits the last line, and the previous one is rhythmically suspicious. If the lines stood by themselves they would probably, if not quite necessarily, imply idolatry (Ὑ); but the remainder of the poem suggests that Isaiah had, instead of idolatry, ethical offences in mind. TO FORSAKE YAHWEH often, though not invariably (Dt 2820), with writers later than Isaiah, means specifically to abandon Him for another God; see, e.g., Jg 211f. 106.10, Dt 3116, Jer 116 213 57; and if
vv.28f. below were originally connected with one another, the same specific sense was intended there. To contemn ( יָנָד ) God was to think little of His power, to distrust His capacity to fulfil His promises or His threats (Nu 5:24 12:5 14:11.28 16:80, Ps 10:8.18 74:10.18); and once (Dt 31:20) it is associated with serving other gods. The verb in the last line (see phil. n.) refers to idolatry in Ezekiel 14:5, and so do similar phrases in Ps 44:19 78:57.—The Holy One of Israel] Isaiah’s favourite term for Yahweh: see Introduction.—5a. b. The question put to the persons addressed in 4a. b. c. d.—Why will the people invite fresh punishment by renewing and continuing their sinful courses? Judah to Isaiah, as Israel to Amos (4:6-12), appears to have suffered already often and severely.—Wherefore] the regular meaning of חָטֵא. Many modern interpreters* appeal to Job 38:6 and render on what (part of the body) will ye yet be smitten, seeing that none is left which has not already been smitten: this destroys the parallelism, and, as Cond. justly urges, it produces an “image assez froide,” for the person who chastises does not take pains to discover a spot on which no stroke has yet fallen.—(Wherefore) will ye continue in your defection] the force of wherefore in the previous line is carried on into this, and these two lines are, like their neighbours, parallel in sense— autre being parallel in thought to הנשא, and הדע, defection, which necessarily implies punishment, to חטא. Generally the second line is taken to be circumstantial (G–K. 156d; Or. § 163) or relative—seeing that, or ye that, continue, etc. The term defection occurs also in 31:6, Jer 28:16, Dt 13:6. The original sense of the verb חטא is to turn aside from one’s course, from the straight road (Dt 2:7, Jg 4:18 14:3): then morally it means to turn aside, whether from the right—from Yahweh, His commands, etc. (Ex 32:8, 1 Sm 12:20)—or from the wrong (Job 28:28, Ps 34:15); but, used absolutely, the verb, like the noun here, has the sinister sense—Ps 14:3, Jer 5:23, Dt 11:18 17:17; religiously it is the antithesis of צלח or רע(logging)—how long will this people turn away from Yahweh to their undoing, instead of returning to Him to be healed? Cp. Hos 6:1, Am 4:9 שםר הוא רעי . . . לכל ב묻יחת הרוחי.

5c. d. 6. The whole body politic is sick. In contrast with v.5a b (plural vbs.), we have now one of those personifications of the entire nation which are so frequent with Hebrew writers

* Ges., Ew., Di., Du., Che., Guthie, Marti, Whitehouse; cp. If super quo.
(cp. Numbers, pp. 265 f., 370):—Judah is a wounded man whose bruises and sores, so recent that the blood still flows, receive no attention: there is nought of soundness in him; cp. particularly Hos 5:19, "Ephraim perceived his sickness, and Judah his wound," and Hos 7:9, where Ephraim is described as a man sapped of his strength and grown grey without realising it. The injuries are described by three terms: יְמָ֑ר, bruises, produced by crushing (רֵאַ֖שׁ, Dt 23:2), or smiting (רָעָ֑ה, Ca 57, 1 K 20:37): the term also occurs in Job 9:17, Pr 27:16 (fig.), and, coupled as here with רָעָה, in Ex 21:25, Gn 4:23, Pr 20:30 (א)†; the remaining instances of רָעָה are 535, Ps 38:6 (festering stripes): the third term מַ֑דַּם is of wide meaning (cp. רָעָה), but it includes open, bleeding wounds (1 K 22:38), and it is such that are here pictured—they are מַדַּם, moist, juicy (Jg 15:15: cp. הֶרוּ, ᴹᵉᵉʳ), i.e. still bleeding. These wounds have not been pressed out to purify them from purulent matter, nor bound up with bandages, nor softened and the pain of them assuaged by the pouring in of oil (cp. Jer. 8:22, Lk 10:84).

7. 8. The figurative (vv. 8a, b. 6) is followed by a literal description of the desperate state of Judah: the whole country lies desolated by the ravages of war, the cities have been burnt out, and, at the moment, before the very eyes of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, an army of foreigners is encamped and supporting itself on the produce of the fields. The capital, indeed, still stands, but insecure as the slight structures made for their refuge by those working in the fields, too far away from their homes to return to them at night.

The only known circumstances that correspond to this description are those of the year 701 B.C. Sennacherib in his account of his campaign of that year writes: "Hezekiah of Judah, who had not bowed himself under the yoke, 46 of his fortified towns, fortresses, and small cities in their neighbourhood innumerable, with casting down of battering-rams and assault of siege-engines, with attack of infantry, of arrows . . . I besieged, I captured . . . . Himself, like a bird in a cage, in the midst of Jerusalem, the city of his kingship, I shut up. Fortifications against him I erected, and those coming forth from the gates of his city I turned back" (Taylor Cylinder, iii. 11-17 and 20-23). "V. 7 describes what those shut up in the capital could see, and is silent about the 200,000 Jews whom Sennacherib boasts of having taken prisoners (from the other cities; Taylor Cylinder, iii. 17-20)—probably because they had as yet no knowledge of this" (Du.). The actual description of the Syro-Ephraimitish war (see on ch. 7), even with the additional details of 2 Ch 28, falls short of the present, but some (e.g. Di.) infer from the general character of ancient warfare that the circumstances of that war
must have been such as to justify the terms in which Isaiah here speaks. It has been questioned whether an army largely composed of Israelites would be called "aliens" (םוּי). No siege of Jerusalem by Sargon, to which some referred this description, is recorded, and the hypothesis that there was such a siege is now generally abandoned.†

Your tilled land before you] the fields or cultivated country (חֵטָא, cp. Gn 317), within sight of those addressed, i.e. the besieged in Jerusalem.—Aliens] the word means belonging to another class, or circle (Nu 161 n.), here, therefore, belonging to another race, foreigners (cp. Jer 519, Ezek 287, La 52): this would very naturally describe either Assyrians or Syrians, but much less naturally an army consisting equally of Syrians and Ephraimites, since the latter were not mentioned in the sense here intended.—Are devouring it] for the idiom הבָל אֲדֹם, to eat the land, meaning to live on its produce, see Gn 317; for its use of an enemy living on the produce of an invaded or conquered country, cp. Jer 316. The enemy have reduced the country behind them to ruin by fire and sword, and they have now closed in on Jerusalem and are living on its immediate neighbourhood; the addition at this point of the phrase, and (it is) a desolation like the overthrow of . . . does not seem very suitable: it is, moreover, structurally redundant. Probably the words are a gloss ‡ on the word desolation at the beginning of the verse, meaning your land is a desolation—and that a desolation like the overthrow of . . . Grammatically, the clause, an overthrow of aliens (מַרְעָא), may mean either such an overthrow as barbarians customarily bring about, or such an overthrow as customarily befalls barbarians (cp. Del.); but neither meaning is very probable. It is far more probable that רוּי, aliens, has replaced רוּם, Sodom;§ everywhere else the word overthrow (מַרגָע) refers to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah (1319, Dt 2922, Am 411, Jer 4918 5040).—

8. Daughter of Sion] Cities with their inhabitants are poetically regarded as a woman; cp. e.g. "daughter of Babylon," 471; "virgin Israel," Am 52. Sion here is used widely of the entire city, not of the South-Eastern Hill alone (cp. G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 269).—A booth] for the slightness and insecurity of the המָעִיך, cp. Job 2718; and of the night-refuge (מָלָנוּת), Is 2420.

* Cp. Che. Pl, Introd. notes to x. 5-xii. 6.
† Che. Introd. p. 3 f. (with references); cp. Driver, Isaiah (1888), p. 101.
‡ So Du., Che., Marti, Cond. al.
§ So, e.g., Ew., Che., Du., Mar.
"It shall shake to and fro like a night-refuge." For a picture of a modern structure of this kind, see SBOT, p. 162.—Like a tower for the watch] No entirely satisfactory rendering of וָגוֹי נַוָּה can be suggested; like a tower for the watch (cp. מִשְׁמַל נְוָיִם, 2 K 17:9) fits in well with the two preceding lines, but רָוִי, meaning alarm-post, or tower (? cp. רו: Kön.), and נַוָּה, watch, are both uncertain. Besieged, too, is a questionable rendering of נַוָּה; and it is an objection both to as a besieged city (RV) and like a 'forsaken' (הָעֹז, cp. 60:15 62:19) city (Che. SBOT), that סִיּוֹנ not merely resembles, but actually is, a besieged, or forsaken, city. A well-guarded city would be the safest rendering, and yet it can only really express the meaning if Haupt (see SBOT) is right in treating the clause as a gloss; and this is improbable, for the structure of the poem seems to require the line. See also phil. n.

9. Had not Yahweh allowed some of the Jews to escape, the nation would have perished as completely as the "cities of the plain" (Gn 19:28, Dt 29:28). According to v.9, Jerusalem stands entire, though isolated now and insecure: the escaped of this v. ought to be, then, the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the conviction lying behind the words that in Jerusalem they are safe, that the capital is inviolable: and yet v.6 suggests anything but the invincibility of Jerusalem; and for this reason Marti suspects the originality of v.9 in its present position. On the difference in rhythm and strophic length that distinguishes v.9 from vv.4-8, see above.—Some that escaped] RV inadequately renders remnant; רָוִי, from a root meaning to take fright, run away (cp. Ar. šarada), is one who survives from defeat, one who escapes: cp. e.g. Jer 31:2, Nu 24:19. In MT, though not in סִיּוֹנ, the survivors are said to be like a little, i.e. very few: cp. הבֹּש מִצְרוֹ, "like a little moment," 26:20. כ is also admits of the word נְצַה being taken with the next clause—almost had we become (cp. Gn 26:10; BDB 590a). But this fails to do justice to the obvious thought of v.9, for if Yahweh had not allowed some to escape, Judah would have been clean wiped out, and, therefore, not almost, but quite like Sodom.

2. נעָּרָה והָבָּה] the simple (not consecutive) waw coupling two synonymous terms (Dr. § 131 f.). Ki. rightly remarks, "Two words of like meaning are used for the sake of emphasis, but the sense of both is one and the same"; he is wrong, however (see above), in the meaning which he gives to both— נְצַה.] but they; the emphasis implied by the
use of the separate pronoun is in such cases as this best expressed by rendering ἰ, but, instead of and; cp. Gn 428, and further, Dr. § 160, Obs. (p. 201).—

3. ג-ק see for הָזֵפֶה seghol: G-K. 84a, q. 造林, means to feed up, fatten, and ג-ק is the feeding trough: cp. Job 39, pluralis majestatis; G-K. 124f, ג-ק יְרֵאָלְהָל וַעֲבָדֵיהו: the acc. pronoun here (and in the next clause) is an interpretation, not a variant. The objects in Hebrew are left to be supplied in thought: cp. 69, ג-ק some 30 MSS and also ג-ק read וַעֲבָדֵיהו—a mistaken assimilation to the previous lines.—4. ג-ק may be followed by the 3rd pers. as in 51, 107, 1712 and often: see Kön. iii. 321a, b. But ג-ק is also followed by the 2nd pers. (e.g. 33, 55, Jer 47), and if the text be sound, both here and in 5, by the 3rd pers. (v. 4, cf. 6; ג-ק, 2nd pers.) passing over into the 2nd (v. 8).—ג-ק for this genitive, cp. G-K. 128x; and for יְרֵאָלְהָל יָשְׁבוּ, Sta. § 202b. יְרֵאָלְהָל the two terms, whether in apposition or str. and gen. (Kön. 337b), are co-extensive; cp. 65, hence not seed, i.e. descendants, of evil-doers, but seed, i.e. race, consisting of evil-doers; ג-ק, correctly, ג-ק פָּנָיו (cp. ג-ק). It is possible that יְרֵאָלְהָל was originally זר, and that the clause was symmetrical with its three fellows.—ג-ק see (Gen 64), or something similar.—ג-ק נא ... ג-ק מְתָא MARTI finds the repeated prosaic לא suspicious.—ג-ק ג-ק ג-ק The punctuators treat ג-ק as Niph. of ג-ק, as also, though in view of v. 7 doubtfully, in Ezk 14; the str. is then pregnant, they are estranged (from Yahweh and gone) backward—a strange mixture of two figures each in itself sufficient (Marti). So already ג-ק abatiénati sunt retrorsum. The consonants may also be punctuated ג-ק (cp. Ezk 14), Niph. of ג-ק, but they have dedicated themselves backwards is no more probable. ג-ק (cp. ג-ק) has הבוא ההא that is used to render ג-ק ג-ק ג-ק in 50; whether ג-ק actually read ג-ק for ג-ק is doubtful, but this has been suggested as the original reading by MARTI: for ג-ק ג-ק, cp. Ps 4018, 70 and references above. Since the poem is for the most part composed of distichs, one (if not all) of the last three clauses of the v. seems superfluous: the last being absent from ג-ק has not unnaturally been suspected (Brown, Du.); but rhythmically the clause לאו יושב ג-ק ג-ק, with three accents against the prevailing two accent lines, is more doubtful; it is also a less satisfactory balance to ג-ק ג-ק ג-ק than ג-ק ג-ק. Haupt (SBOT, p. 109) attempts to meet the case by transposing הָרֹא (emended to הָרֹאָה) from v. 5 and making it parallel to ג-ק ג-ק, for ג-ק ג-ק. Possible, but unnecessary.—ג-ק with poet. omission of the art.: G-K. 127c. Hence the whole head, not every head (RVmargin), as if every individual Israelite were physically sick and covered with actual sores.—ג-ק probably ג-ק of the product: cp. 2 Ch 21f. ג-ק has no equivalent for ג-ק, but it is a mistake when MARTI says that Gang omission of the art.: G-K. 127c. Hence the whole head, not every head (RVmargin), as if every individual Israelite were physically sick and covered with actual sores.—ג-ק probably ג-ק of the product: cp. 2 Ch 21f. Gang has no equivalent for ג-ק, but it is a mistake when MARTI says that Gang omission of the art.: G-K. 127c. Hence the whole head, not every head (RVmargin), as if every individual Israelite were physically sick and covered with actual sores.—ג-ק probably ג-ק of the product: cp. 2 Ch 21f. Gang has no equivalent for Gang, but it is a mistake when MARTI says that Gang omission of the art.: G-K. 127c. Hence the whole head, not every head (RVmargin), as if every individual Israelite were physically sick and covered with actual sores.—לָי] MT by accentuating on the penult. perhaps intended to connect the form with מ (see Del.). Going back to the
consonants alone we may connect it with רע, ירה, or רע. Olsh. (p. 536) treated it as pass. Kal (כמ) from רע (cp. G-K. 52c, 67m): we must then suppose רע is an otherwise unused modification of רע, to bind up, with a special technical sense (cp. Du., Kön. i. 328, 333 f.). Sta. (§ 415б) considers רע to be Pual of רע; but it is doubtful whether the sense required here could naturally be derived from רע, to disperse, scatter, winnow. BDB treats the form as pass. of רע = 301, 31, to compress; cp. רע, Job 39т, and the ambiguous forms in Is 59т (pressed under foot) and Jg 68т (pressing, wringing out a fleece). However the form be explained, the sense is reasonably well secured.

—העב . . . הובש . . . רע (a transcriptional error for הבט רע?) could be explained by G-K. 148д, but the change of cstr. is extraordinary, and is not satisfactorily explained by calling it an approximation to a chiasm (Del.), or by treating רע as impersonal cstr. (G-K. 144б)—and there has been no softening with oil, or by the distance from the subject (cp. 35т, Jer 44т; Kön. 346б). Marti, partly on the ground of the cstr., partly on the ground that binding up should follow, not precede, the treatment with oil, deletes רע מַצְּרַע רע א as a gloss on רע. ירה אָם א, which, when it came into the text, led to 1 being prefixed to רע מַצְּרַע. Both objections could be met less drastically by supposing that רע מַצְּרַע רע א originally followed רע מַצְּרַע רע א; and, since רע מַצְּרַע רע א is not a gloss, the distichic structure would favour this alternative.

7. ירה מַצְּרַע: if the line is of two accents, מַצְּרַע ירה, or perhaps מַצְּרַע ירה (cp. 64т, 9т): or omit מַצְּרַע as a gloss.—מַצָּרַע ירה] insert makkeph, or omit מַצָּרַע. —are (now) devouring: Dr. § 135 (2).—ירוה ירה ירה regularly means to watch, guard (from danger)—hence a city guarded (from danger). The sense besiege is but doubtfully supported by Ezk 6т, where the meaning may rather be preserved, and Jer 4т, where ג suggests ירו. The regular word for to besiege is יָעָר רע, cp. e.g. 29т 2 K 6т: hence Di. explains ירה as the Niph. part. of this vb. Du. and Marti treat ירה as an infin. noun like יָעָר, יָעָר, יָעָר, meaning watch (Beobachtung).

10–17. The futility of sacrifices.—With the formula, Hear the word of Yahweh, a fresh section, if not a fresh poem, begins, and the change is marked by a change of rhythm (see above, p. 4 f.). There has been too much sacrifice and too little justice—that is what has alienated Yahweh from Israel and led Him to punish His people again and again (vv. 5–9), and that is why even now He takes no notice of their prayers (v. 15) so as to rescue them.

This is one of the most notable statements of the common standpoint of the prophets: that what He demands of those who worship Him is not sacrifice, but justice and humanity. Compare, for example, among those who preceded Isaiah, Hos 6т and Am 4т 5т 25т; and among those who followed him, Mic 6т, Jer 7т 21т, Is 40т.
Sacrifice and many of the forms of religion Israel shared with the nations, and it is not the institution, but the repudiation, of sacrifice that distinguishes the religion of Israel. Not, perhaps, that the utterances of the prophets need be taken as a prohibition absolute of sacrifice (ct. 30:29) for their own time; but certainly a non-sacrificial, not less than a monotheistic, religion was the natural outcome of their teaching. Historically, the unessential character of sacrifice in the higher development of Hebrew religion is shown by the continuance of the religion without sacrifice during the first Exile and, subsequently, both in Judaism, after the fall of the Temple, and in Christianity. Prior to the Exile the practical outcome of prophetic teaching did not extend to the suppression of sacrifice, but only to its purification and centralisation (Deuteronomy: the reforms of Josiah); but the emphasis laid by the prophets on the essentially ethical nature of Yahweh and of His demands upon men (cp. Mic 6:8) enabled the nation not only to survive the Exile, but as a religious community to emerge from it even stronger.

10. Under the suggestive and caustic titles chiefs of Sodom, people of Gomorrah, Isaiah addresses the prophets of Jerusalem and Judah, and especially their leaders, whom he elsewhere regards as responsible for the moral condition of the people (v.23). "V.10 is most closely connected with v.9, for the address to the chiefs of Sodom, etc., would be unintelligible without v.9; even if the persons intended could be conjectured, it would remain obscure why the people of Jerusalem are so termed. This, to be sure, does not exclude the possibility that vv.10ff. were not spoken in the same breath with vv.2-9... Jerusalem is compared with Sodom and Gomorrah in the first instance because of their almost identical fate; whether also on account of the similarity of their moral state could only be decided if it were known what Isaiah understood 'the cry of Sodom' (Gn 18:30) to mean: if he had Gn 19 in mind, a moral comparison would have implied great exaggeration" (Du.). This is probably right: if the connection is due to Isaiah, and not, as some think, to a later editor, who brought together two independent poems on account of the verbal resemblances in vv.9 and 10, or supplied v.9 as a link between vv.1-8 and 10-17. Certainly the fate (13:19, Am 4:10, Jer 20:16 49:18, Zeph 2:9) of Sodom and Gomorrah is more frequently alluded to in the OT than their sins (La 4:6,
Dt 32, Ezek 16, though both are naturally enough sometimes thought of at the same time (Dt 29), as is so frequently the case with the references in the Koran to Ad and Thamud. On the other hand, if Sodom typifies for Isaiah the same sins—pride, fullness of bread, prosperous ease, failure to help the poor and the needy—as it did a century and more later for Ezekiel (1640), the comparison of the moral state of Judah with Gomorrah would have been quite in harmony with his general point of view, and sufficiently obvious for him to begin an address to a crowd assembled in the temple courts (vv.10-13), which numbered among it persons of position, with the epithets chiefs of Sodom, people of Gomorrah.—Chiefs] the word ננים is a synonym of נשים in the sense of leader: cp. Mic 3:9 (in parallelism with נשים), Jg 11:6. (=נשים, vv.8, 9) (coupled with נשים). In Jg 11:6, 11, Jos 10:24 (JE), Dn 11:18 the word is used of a leader in war: in Is 3:22, Mic 3:9, Pr 6:7 (a leader of the ants) it is used more generally; in Pr 25:15 נן is corrupt. In Hebrew the word appears to have retained less of the apparently original meaning decide than has the Arabic كاذ. Chiefs of the people of Yahweh ought to make it their aim to keep things right in the State (Mic 3); but, since Isaiah shares with Micah (3) the view that their aim is just the opposite, he addresses them not as chiefs of Yahweh's people, but as chiefs of Sodom; so also the people misled by them are worthily termed people of Gomorrah. Yet the prophet has for these misleading chiefs and misled people a communication from Yahweh: they have gone astray because they have misunderstood what Yahweh really cares for. The doom of Sodom and Gomorrah will only become actually theirs if they refuse to obey the word of God by His prophet: cp. the survey of neglected prophetic monitions in the Koran, Sura 7.—The instruction of our God] the word תורה in passages such as these is very unsatisfactorily represented by law (RV). Both in the sing. and the plural it is used in Ex.-Dt. and elsewhere of laws properly so called; but an earlier sense, which was also retained even after the special sense of law had become established, was instruction, teaching, direction, in the first instance probably a communication of the will of the god; cp. the Assyr. irtu, if the term is derived from Babylon (KAT, p. 606); or, perhaps, תורה, to cast lots, Jos 18, if the word is of Hebrew origin. The word is also used of the teaching given to a child by a parent,
which may be in the form of command or law (cp. Pr 6:20, 23), or of much wider scope; and, as the context suggests, in Pr 4:2 15, it is the imparting of wisdom. The instruction of God is teaching concerning the will and ways of God (2:6), more especially as communicated through prophets (8:5 30:9: cp. La 2:9, Job 22:32) or priests (Hos 4:6, Jer 2:8 18:18).—II. Why this constant bringing of sacrifices? that is the question which Yahweh is repeatedly putting to the people. How mistaken a proceeding, if it is intended to please, not the people themselves (Am 4:5), but Yahweh! He has no good of sacrifices; cp. Am 5:21ff, Jer 6:20, Is 15:22ff. The first term נַחֲלֵי (v. 11a) is used widely of all slain sacrifices, many of which went mainly to furnish forth a feast for those who sacrificed; the two following lines refer to the special sacrifices, the burnt-offering; and to the special parts (Lv 3:17, cp. 2 S 2:15f, 14:22ff) of all sacrifices, to wit, the fat and the blood (Lv 3:17, cp. 2 S 2:15f, 14:22ff), which were not consumed by the people, but reserved entirely as holy to Yahweh—Fatlings] except in 116 the word מָרָו is always used (Am 5:22, Ezk 39:18, 2 S 6:13, 1 K 19-19, 25) of beasts fattened for sacrifice; in some cases it is clear that these fatted beasts were eaten (apart from the flesh and the blood) by the worshippers (so 1 K 1).—Bullocks] נַחֲלֵי adds, and lambs; but the words are due to an annotator who desired completeness; they are absent from ג, and the tone and sense are rhythmically and rhetorically complete without them.

12-14. As vocalised and accented by the Massoretes, the Hebrew text yields a less severe utterance than ג. Alike in י and ג, v. 11 has implicitly denied that sacrifices form any essential part of the religion of Yahweh—What good are they to Him? At any rate, He has received them in superabundance: and they give Him no pleasure. Then ג (followed in the translation above) continues: Certainly it is not God who has asked man to bring sacrifices when they come to worship Him: offerings are useless; the smoke ascending from them when burnt on the altar is an absolute abomination to Him; the sacred seasons with the preparatory fast and the accompanying gluttonous (cp. 28:7) feasts are hateful to Him. Cp. Am 5:21-25.

Offence was probably given at a relatively early period by this unqualified condemnation of religious worship; and by a single slight change in the consonantal text, viz. the substitution
of ἁνάκη, iniquity, for ἐννυ, fast (so Ἑ), in v.13, a milder interpretation was made possible. According to MT, Yahweh repudiates not the bringing of sacrifice, but the trampling of His courts, and condemns not all offerings and sacred seasons, but vain offerings and iniquitous festivals. This interpretation already appears in ἙΤῊ; but though much older than the Massoretic punctuation, it is in all probability not original. That the severity of such a saying was softened, is far more probable than that it was enhanced. There are reasons for thinking that the text of these verses has suffered enlargements or other changes (see phil. n.) to which even Ἑ gives no clue; but these do not appear to have affected the fundamental meaning of the passage.

12. To see my face] i.e. to worship Me. The anthropomorphism implicit in the phrase, which is frequently used of visiting, or being admitted to the presence of men (Gn 43:8, Ex 10:28, 2 K 25:19), has been obscured by the punctuators (see phil. n.), hence EV to appear before me. A similar attempt to soften down a phrase that implied the visibility of God is seen in Ἑ's paraphrase of Ex 24:10: Ἡ there runs, “and they saw the God of Israel,” Ἑ “and they saw the place where the God of Israel stood.”—Who hath required this?] viz. offerings (v.11)—certainly not Yahweh. Isaiah criticises the law and religious customs of his time with the same freedom as Jeremiah (7:26f.), and, later, our Lord Himself (Mt 5). Even the earliest law required that the Hebrews when they came “to see Yahweh's face” should not come empty-handed (Ex 23:15, 34:20).—Trample my courts] i.e. the courts of the Temple in Jerusalem. The trampling may be that of the sacrificial animals (v.11) which the worshippers bring with them (cp. Ezk 26:11), or the irreverent entrance of the worshippers themselves into the sacred precincts; cp. the use of πατεῖν, Ἑ's rendering here, in Jer 11:2, and of καταπατεῖν (=ἀπεκρνέσθαι) in 1 Mac 3:45, 40. The awe which fell upon Isaiah as he entered the temple precincts, the place of the Holy One of Israel (cp. ch. 6), makes the careless familiarity with which others treated them peculiarly offensive to him (cp. 28:8 n.).—13. Offerings] the word ἱλαρία means etymologically, and frequently in Hebrew usage, presents, gifts: it is here used with its widest sacrificial sense of any offerings made to the deity, whether of vegetables or animals; cp. Gn 4:3-5; Ἑ (σεμίδαλπος also 66:3) gives it the specific sense of
cereal offering which it acquired later (P).—Sacrificial savours] ריח, later used (e.g. by P) of the fragrant smoke produced by burning aromatic substances, originally (see phil. n.) meant the smell of the burning flesh of sacrifices, and this is its meaning here. The early Hebrews, in common with the Babylonians, thought of the gods as delighting in these savoury smells; in the Babylonian Flood story we read, “The gods smelt the savour, the gods smelt the sweet savour; the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer”; cp. in Heb. Gn 9:21, 1 S 26:19, and the sacrificial term “savour of gratification” (EV, sweet savour) which held its own to the latest times. The prophets with their more spiritual conception of Yahweh repudiate the belief; the scent of burnt flesh is not a pleasure, but an abomination to God (cp. Am 5:21).—New moon and sabbath] for the coupling of these two sacred days, cp. 2 K 4:23, Am 8:1; for the religious observance of the new moon, 1 S 20:5f., and see Benzinger, Arch. § 69. The attitude of the successors of the prophets is in striking contrast to Isaiah’s: see 56:5, 6; Jer 17:21f. (both post-exilic).—The calling of assembly] or, as we may render so as to retain the etymological connection of vb. and noun (אפרים מקה), the convoking of convocations. If the clause is a part of the original text (see phil. n.), it explains that what is particularly intolerable to Yahweh on the sacred days is the meetings, or rather, the summoning of such meetings, to which the Jews were probably called by the voice, as are the Moslems to-day. In P (Ex 12, Lv 23, Nu 28 f.—19 times in all) מקה מקרא, holy assembly, is the technical term for the meeting of the community on the Sabbath, the new moon, and other sacred occasions; and מקה אפרים, assembly, unqualified, both here and in 45, must have the same meaning. The only other occurrences of מקה are Neh 8:8, Nu 10:8, where the sense is entirely different. —Fast and sacred season] so כה, cp. Joel 1:14 2:15; כה has the milder, and therefore probably not the original, reading iniquity and sacred gathering (see phil. n.); this would mean that God does not tolerate sacred gatherings associated with iniquity; cp. iniquity and teraphim, 1 S 15:23. According to כה, we have another of the absolute statements that abound here: fasting and sacred seasons are not demanded by Yahweh under any circumstances: He cannot endure them. The fasting intended is quite probably that fasting which was widely practised “as a preparation for the sacramental eating of the holy flesh” (W. R.
Smith, Rel. Sem.\textsuperscript{1} 413): the sacramental eating itself would be intimately associated in Isaiah’s mind with the second term—הירע, cp. Am 5\textsuperscript{21}, 2 K 10\textsuperscript{20,24}. The precise force of הירע is not clear. Except in Jer 9\textsuperscript{1 (2)} it is always used of something sacred or religious (cp. 2 K 10\textsuperscript{20} לַעֲבֹדָה הירע), but whether it is a sacred gathering, as Jer 9\textsuperscript{1 (2)} and perhaps 2 K 10\textsuperscript{20} would suggest, or a sacred season, as the parallelism with דן in Am 5\textsuperscript{21}, and perhaps the remaining uses would rather suggest, is not quite certain. In the laws (Dt 16\textsuperscript{8}, Lv 23\textsuperscript{26}, Nu 29\textsuperscript{35}) it is required that the הירע shall be accompanied by abstinence from work (cp. ἡ ἐπισκέψεως). In view of this taboo on work, which may well be ancient, and the use of the word הירע in Jer 36\textsuperscript{5} Neh 6\textsuperscript{10} and of הירע in 1 S 21\textsuperscript{8}, Marti’s suggestion is probable that הירע meant a time during which men are under taboo. Such gatherings or seasons occurred annually on the last day of the Feast of Maasoth (Dt 16\textsuperscript{8}), and of Booths (Lv 23\textsuperscript{26}, Nu 29\textsuperscript{36}, 2 Ch 7\textsuperscript{9}, Neh 8\textsuperscript{18}); they were also proclaimed when it seemed specially necessary to appease Yahweh or seek His favour (Joel 1\textsuperscript{14} 2\textsuperscript{15-17} and perhaps Am 5\textsuperscript{21}).—14. Your new moons and your set times] perhaps a gloss on new moon and sabbath: see above. The set times (חגון) are seasons that recur in the course of the year (Gn 1\textsuperscript{14}), annual sacred days or times.—A burden] the noun (רומא), Dt 1\textsuperscript{8}; the vb., Job 37\textsuperscript{11}. It is a burden that rests upon (ךון) Yahweh, and which He has grown weary of carrying. The bold anthropomorphism (יהי) is euphemized by כַנָה.

15 f. Prayers, too, though long and frequent (cp. Mt 6\textsuperscript{7}), when offered by blood-stained evil-doers who persist in their wrongdoing, are of no avail. It is significant that the absolute terms in which the inefficacy of sacrifices and sacred seasons is asserted is followed by a careful definition of the prayers that are without effect. Not all prayers, but your prayers, are useless; not unto all who call upon Him does Yahweh turn a deaf ear, but to those who pray without recognising the need for amendment of life; even these murderers, and these violent and oppressive men whom Isaiah addresses will find Yahweh ready to hear if they cease from their evil ways, and instead of defrauding and oppressing the weak—the widow and the orphans—see that they get their rights. The prophet’s teaching anticipates that of our Lord in Mt 5\textsuperscript{23f.}; Pr 28\textsuperscript{8} 1\textsuperscript{5-29} may also be compared.

When ye spread out your hands] The gesture of prayer was
to spread out the palm (חַד) of the hands (cp. Ex 9\textsuperscript{20, 33}, Ez 9\textsuperscript{5}, Job 11\textsuperscript{13}, Ps 44\textsuperscript{21}, and (with ר) Ps 14\textsuperscript{86}). From the time that Yahweh was thought to dwell in heaven, the hands were stretched heavenwards (1 K 8\textsuperscript{22, 54}, 2 Mac 3\textsuperscript{20}). Cp. the varying custom of the Greeks, “The suppliant stood with face and hands upraised to heaven when he called upon the dwellers therein. In addressing the deities of the sea, he might merely stretch his arms towards the waters. And when the beings addressed were those of the nether world, the suppliant would stretch his hands downwards”; Gardner and Jevons, Greek Antiquities, p. 223. The attitude was that more generally of entreaty (65\textsuperscript{2}, La 1\textsuperscript{17}).—I will hide mine eyes from you] turn away from and disregard you: cp. Pr 28\textsuperscript{27}. Yahweh turns away His eyes from hands red with shed blood. The blood (דם) is not the sacrificial blood of v.\textsuperscript{11}, which would be, as it is there, סְדִים (G–K. 124 n.); nor is it simply blood as rendering ceremonially unclean, so that Hector’s plea (Iliad, vi. 268) that he cannot pray “imbued with blood and dust,” though cited here by Ges., is but a very partial parallel: it is blood (guiltily) shed; cp. 4\textsuperscript{4}, Hos 1\textsuperscript{4}, 4\textsuperscript{4}, Gn 4\textsuperscript{10f}.

16. Wash you, make yourselves pure] wash yourselves pure, figuratively for what is stated literally in the next line. The word wash is used ritually, but when so used the result is ritual cleanliness (דַּבֵּר—e.g. Lv 14\textsuperscript{4}). Here the result is moral purity, righteousness; this is never used of ceremonial cleanness, but of ethical purity: cp. Job 15\textsuperscript{4}, 25\textsuperscript{4} (where it is parallel with מְרַכָּב to be righteous), Ps 57\textsuperscript{6}, Mic 6\textsuperscript{10} (shall I be pure with wicked balances and with a bag of deceitful weights?), Ps 73\textsuperscript{18}, 119\textsuperscript{9}, and the use of the kindred root מָרַכָּב, especially in Job 8\textsuperscript{6}, 9\textsuperscript{30}.—16, 17. Cease to do evil, learn to do well] “an abstract paraphrase of the highly concrete exhortations” (Che. SBOT, p. 111), and therefore judged by Du., Che., Marti to be a gloss; Du. also argues that the clauses overload the metre; yet the two clauses metrically resemble the four that follow. Marti refers to Jer 4\textsuperscript{22, 75}; but the second of these passages serves as a parallel to the present combination of the general and the particular.—17b. c. d. e. Illustrations of the positive requirements of Yahweh—the powerful must be kept within bounds, the rights of the weak must be secured: cp. the denunciation of the opposite conduct in 10\textsuperscript{0}.—Seek out right] inquire what is demanded
by כותב, i.e. old established *custom* which rested on the will of Yahweh as it had been declared of old by successive decisions; such customs were gathered together into a body of *customs* or *judgments* before the time of Isaiah, and one such collection has come down to us (Ex 21:14). As our Lord selected (Mt 22:37ff.), or approved (Lk 10:27) the selection, from the great bulk of the later Jewish law, of two principles, love of God and love of man, as a summary of the law of God, so Isaiah here selects (cp. Ex 22:20ff., 23:6ff.) the duty of maintaining even-handed justice between the strong and the weak as the very essence of Yahweh's demands. Cp. the somewhat fuller summary of a later writer in Mic 6:8.—*Make the violent keep straight* so, in spite of some uncertainty, the clause may best be rendered; see phil. n. The versions agree in expressing a sense similar to יָשָׁר עֵצֶם, whence EV.—*Secure the right of* or *do justice to*, a frequent sense of עָשָׁר, cp. 6:28 11, 1 7:25 14, 1 2:18, 7 43:7 12:4.

9. תֵּבְרֵי הַנְּפִּי] for the breviloquence, cp. G-K. 123h.—רִשָּׁה] וַיִּקֶּרֶבֶא, יָשָׁר עֵצֶם; variants?—11. יִתְכַּל]] for this idiom, see Gn 27:16, Am 5:18.—[אָסָא] frequentative impf.; Dr. § 33.—12. יִשָּׁר עֵצֶם] see G-K. 51l. for other instances where MT assumes syncope of the ُ of Niph. inf. l.; and see Kön. ii. pp. 312f. for the use of the acc. of עָשָׁר if the vb. were really Niph. But the punctuation is due to scruples against the suggestion that man could see God (Geiger, Urschrift, pp. 337ff.). Point יִשָּׁר עֵצֶם.—V. 13 should end with בֶּרֶשִּׁי (cp. 71), and יִשָּׁר עֵצֶם be carried over to 14. In 14 punctuate אַשָּׁר יִשָּׁר מַעֲשֶׂה (cp. 71) instead of אַשָּׁר יִשָּׁר מַעֲשֶׂה, and for מַעֲשֶׂה read מַעֲשֶׂה (with 71). Then 13 and 14 stand thus:

The lines, it will be observed, are irregular. Marti by omitting the words enclosed between † and in v. 12יכב מַעֲשֶׂה reduces the passage to “tolerably regular” lines of four accents (the rhythm of vv. 2-6 but not of vv. 7-10). Certainly 'יִשָּׁר עֵצֶם (your, not necessarily all, new moons), which might well be a gloss intended to mitigate the absoluteness of 'יִשָּׁר עֵצֶם and מַעֲשֶׂה, is (in spite of the parallel in Ps 45:9, Job 42:1 cited by Del.) an awkward asyndeton; but the arguments in favour of the other omissions are far less substantial. Haupt gains rhythmical regularity by omitting מַעֲשֶׂה and מַעֲשֶׂה and Mueller (with Marti) and also Mueller, suggests, that יִשָּׁר עֵצֶם. Though the rhythmical irregularity is probably due to some and perhaps considerable textual corruption, no reconstruction in detail seems likely to command general assent.—12. מַעֲשֶׂה] this, viz. the conduct just described; cp., for this use of מַעֲשֶׂה (fem. G-K. 122g), Dt 32, Jg 7v, Ps 118 then etc. The מַעֲשֶׂה is clearly understood
thence, and rightly, by ג-; but according to MT and the verse division מ- points forward (cp. 27, Jer 9, 1 S 11) to see יְחַלְלָה—בַּשֵּׁם רַיִן in such phrases is not necessarily literal: cp. יְחַלְלָה יְכִי, Pr 18 and, frequently, יְכִי, רַיִן, to speak by the hand of. In itself, therefore, this phrase does not exclude the possibility of the cstr. in MT. A Hebrew would certainly not have said ὁ διὰ τὸ τὸ περιβαλλόμενον, as Du.'s criticism would suggest.

—רַיִן (כָּל מִלְּתֵךְ) in MT a permutative of מִלְּתֵךְ: grammatically possible, for מִלְּתֵךְ may take as its obj. the simple acc. without מ (Jer 26). But according to ג- מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ is the acc. of moment מִלְּתֵךְ (v. 18), preceding its vb. like the acc. infin. in Gn 48. —רַיִן the מ of emphatic command: G-K. 1070. —רַיִן in MT inf. cstr. without מ (G-K. 117) dependent on מ but it is rather an inf. cstr. constituting together with its acc. מ of the subj. of a sentence: cp. 7, 1 S 23, מ-רַיִן The smell produced by aromatic substances is expressed in P either by the full phrase מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ (Ex 25 etc.) or by מִלְּתֵךְ alone (Nu 16). By a natural extension of meaning מִלְּתֵךְ came to mean also, alike in Heb. (Lv 107) and Phoen. (see G. A. Cooke, NSI, p. 126), the substance which produced this smell. But etymologically מִלְּתֵךְ has a much wider meaning: note the sense of מִלְּתֵךְ in Heb. מִלְּתֵךְ (Gn 19), Assy. ק ITER (i.e. רַיִן).

Aram. מִלְּתֵךְ (מִלְּתֵךְ, Ps 18), מֵרֵנָר, מֵרֵנָר, to smoke (of a fire), and the development from that meaning of מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ, aloe wood burnt for fumigation, and מֵרֵנָר, scent of flesh-meats roasted on live coals (cp. EBi. 2165 n. 1). Hence, too, the verbal forms in Heb. מִלְּתֵךְ and מִלְּתֵךְ mean to burn so as to produce smoke: so Am 4 (of leavened material), 1 S 216 (of fat); and then they are used very frequently without an object and sometimes in parallelism with a wide term like מִלְּתֵךְ ( Hos 4112, Is 65): i.e. מִלְּתֵךְ or מִלְּתֵךְ and מִלְּתֵךְ are general terms alluding to different aspects of sacrifice—מִלְּתֵךְ to the slaying of the victim, מִלְּתֵךְ to the burning of the victim so as to produce a savour agreeable to the Deity. In a similar wide sense is מִלְּתֵךְ used here and in Ps 66 and מִלְּתֵךְ in Dt 33. In view of the well-established pre-exilic use of the vb. it is quite unnecessary to doubt, with Marti, whether Isaiah could have used the noun. מִלְּתֵךְ felt the lack of the copula (see above) and supplied it—מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ—קְרֵב וְלִכְּכָל—קָרֵב וְלִכְּכָל—בַּשֵּׁם רַיִן, to endure, only here and Ps 101 (doubtful). But cp. also Hos 6, Job 42. Perhaps מִלְּתֵךְ has dropped out; cp. Jer 444—14. מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ cstr. as Jer 61159520: מִלְּתֵךְ is instead of the usual מִלְּתֵךְ; G-K. 76. מ- renders paraphrastically אוֹכַלְוֶת מִלְּתֵךְ לִבְּבָה—מִלְּתֵךְ to the burning of the body (i.e. the heart). מ- might, of course, mean forgive, yet not naturally here after the preceding clause. מ- also paraphrases מִלְּתֵךְ by πλησιονοῦν. 15. מ- מִלְּתֵךְ G-K. 60f, 61e. The vocalised text assumes a use of the Piel for the more common Kal in some other places also: see 652, Jer 43, La 17, Ps 143, מ- מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ M on the order, see Dr. § 208 (3)—16. מ- מִלְּתֵךְ M G-K. 121g, h.—מִלְּתֵ� מִלְּתֵךְ as accented Hithp. of מִלְּתֵךְ (G-K. 544); but perhaps rather Niph. of מִלְּתֵךְ—מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ M as direct obj.: G-K. 113; so מִלְּתֵךְ in v. 17. מִלְּתֵךְ מִלְּתֵךְ means to go straight on (Pr 9 and, MT Piel, 44); the Piel in 312 מִלְּתֵךְ to cause to go straight on (antithesis to מִלְּתֵךְ) whether it further developed the meaning to keep within bounds, which would be very suitable
here, is uncertain; but it is almost suggested by the association with פון—
make the violent, instead of breaking all bounds by ill-treatment of the weak,
keep straight. Punishment of the violent is not required by the context, and
Che.'s proposal פון unnecessary. The versions probably connected פון with
יושב, יושב, happiness, and then rendered freely: G ρώσωθε, Ez aq./k, Vg.
subuenite.—이는] the Versions give the word a passive sense: G ἀδικολύων, בק
ם, ס, מ, F oppresso. But the form יושב has in some cases
an active sense; cp. יושב, Jer 22:3, יושב, Jer 6:27. The meaning must be inferred
from the association of פון with יושב in Ps 71:4, and the root may be a by-form
of פון, to treat violently, rather than of פון, to be sour, sharp.

18—20.—Yahweh's Invitation.

The sayings between the opening line (4 accents) and the closing formula
are distichs consisting of long lines containing 4 or 5 accents each and parallel
in sense. Perhaps originally each line contained 5 accents (=3+2).
These distichs resemble some of those in vv. 10-18, but are quite dissimilar to
those that follow in vv. 21-26 where the lines are shorter (3 or 2) and the
parallelism is between lines unequal in length.

18 Come, now, and let us reprove one another, saith Yahweh:—
Though your sins were like scarlet (robes), they might become
white like snow;
Though they were red like crimson, they might become
like wool.

19 If ye be willing and obey, on the best of the land shall ye
feed,
20 But if ye refuse and rebel, on husks (?) shall ye feed—
For the mouth of Yahweh has spoken it.

Attempts have been made to find a connection between these
lines and vv. 2-17 "Jehovah has been addressing His people in
anger, but even in the exhortations of vv. 16-17 His love had begun
to move. This love, which seeks not the destruction of Israel,
but their inward and outward salvation, now breaks forth in v. 18" (Del.) But the lack of close connection has by no means
escaped notice. Ew. suspected the loss of a v. before v. 18; Di.
suggested that Isaiah placed the section, though delivered under
other circumstances, side by side with the foregoing, because
both sections agree in maintaining that only by repentance and
acquiescence in the ethical demands of God can the people be
saved.

It certainly seems doubtful whether Isaiah would in im-
mediate succession first represent the people as red-handed
criminals (v.15) and then treat the redness of their sins as hypothetical (v.18).

Nor must we claim the unity of a trial scene for the chapter. Whether the vb. in v.18 implies the figure of a trial (see below) or not, Cheyne (Intro. 6) is right in withdrawing his earlier (PL) acquiescence in Ewald's theory that vv.5-4 introduce a great trial scene, of which vv.18-31 give the conclusion, and in abandoning as illegitimate his earlier translation, "Come now and let us bring our dispute to an end."

Du. suspects and Marti concludes that vv.18 and 19. 20 are unconnected sayings. The reasons are partly formal ("in v.18 Yahweh speaks, cp. והני רשא; in v.19 the prophet, otherwise the closing formula would run: for my mouth hath spoken it" (Marti)), partly based on the interpretation (see below).

18. Come, now] the introductory (א) הכ or (א) הב expresses various emotions, and is used by persons of different positions, as (1) by one equal to another, Gn 31.44 19.82, 1 S 20.11, 2 K 14.8; (2) by a superior to an inferior, e.g. Jg 19.13, 1 S 9.10 14.1; or (3) by an inferior to a superior Jg 19.11. Other instances are Gn 37.20.87, 2 K 7.4, Neh 6.2-7, Ps 83.5, Is 2.3, Ca 7.12. The phrase commonly introduces a proposal for the mutual benefit of the parties, or, at least, for that of the party addressed.—Let us reprove one another] the various efforts to render נ☕ה show how difficult it is to discover an English equivalent that is at once etymologically justifiable and suitable to the context. The Niphal of נה occurs but twice elsewhere: in Gn 20.16 it means to be righted; in Job 23.7 (followed by מה) it means to argue with, put one's case. Here the Niphal must be reciprocal. In Job 23.7 the Niph. and in Mic 6.2f. the Hithp. occur in connection with the figure of a lawsuit; so also the Hiph. is often used of giving judicial decisions (e.g. 2.4 11.8f, Job 9.38), or in passages where the figure of a law-court or of judgment is or may be present; see Job 13.8-15 19.5 22.4, Ps 51.8-21, Pr 24.26, Is 29.21, Am 5.10, Hab 1.12. Hence many claim that it means here let us go to law with one another, carry on litigation with one another, and tacitly, therefore, that "Israel is worthy of death" (Del.); whence Del. further infers that Yahweh "is willing to remit the punishment," and to deal with Israel "not in accordance with His retributive justice, but according to His free mercy alone." Marti and Du., starting from the same translation, argue that in a court of law, justice and not mercy must rule, and that therefore the following saying cannot contain an offer of free pardon, but something very different. Yet it is very precarious to base the interpretation of the whole
passage on the assumption that נוהז must imply a lawsuit; the Hiph. (as also the noun נוהז) is frequently used where any such process is definitely excluded or not necessarily present—Gn 21:25, Ezek 3:26, Pr 12:9, 15:19, Ps 141:5, Job 5:17. The occurrence of נוהז and in parallelism (Pr 1:25, 30) suggests that was nearly נהל (e.g. Neh 67), and meant little more than advise together, reason together (EV). Or, derived from the Hiph in the sense to reprove, find fault with (e.g. Ezek 3:26, Job 6:25), the Niph. may mean to reprove one another, to point out one another’s faults, to discuss with one another who is right and who wrong. Cp. Rashi’s comment, “והז, i.e. I and you together, that we may know who has wronged whom: and if it is you who have wronged me, I will yet give you hope of repentance.” For the offer of free pardon in such a connection, cp. 43:22-28.*—Saith Yahweh] the frequentative sense again: 11 n.—Though your sins were] the case is put as a merely imaginary one (Driver, § 143: cp. e.g. Nu 22:18, Jer 22:2), and the argument is: even though the people may have committed the most flagrant sins, they may regain the highest degree of innocence; and if, hereafter, they continue obedient to Yahweh (v.19), they may enjoy prosperity. The Hebrew might also be rendered,† If your sins are . . . they shall become (cp. Dr. § 136 (b)), and, perhaps, even though your sins are like scarlet robes, shall they become white like snow? and so in the next line. But Dr. Burney has lately argued with much force that “no clear case occurs throughout the OT in which a question is to be assumed as implied by the speaker’s tone (without use of an interrogative particle) in the apodosis of a conditional or concessive sentence” (JThS xi. 433-35).

Especially since the time of J. D. Michaelis, exception has been taken to the interpretation of v.18 as an offer of forgiveness, and various others have been proposed. It is urged that such an offer of complete forgiveness is out of place in a summons to judgment (yet cp. ימות in 43:26 after v.25), that it is out of accord with vv.24-26, 26:1, that Isaiah “nowhere so complacently offers the people free forgiveness: ct. 22:14” (Du.). Unless (see n. above) necessarily implies the figure of judgment, the first objection falls to the ground, the second can be met by abandoning the unity of the chapter

* Since the above note was written, C. F. Burney (JThS xi. 433-438) also has challenged the prevalent view that פנו implies a legal process.

† J. D. Mich., Koppe, Eichh., We., Box. Cp. G-K. 150a; Davidson, Syn. 121.
(for doing which there are other good reasons); the third, if its cogency were admitted, by questioning the Isaianic authorship of the verse.

Elsewhere in OT forgiveness is represented as (1) a removal of sin, the vbs. used being השב, הן, רדּים, כרות; cp. Mic 7:9 and the "scapegoat"; (2) a covering over or hiding of sin: כותב and כוס (DB, Kön. ET xxii. 233); (3) a disregarding of sin: cp. רָדָה אָל, 43:25; יָדָה, Dn 9:8, see also Is 3:17; (4) a cleansing from sins or a wiping away of sins, נַחֲמוּ and פִּסַּח (Ges-B.; KAT, 601); cp. Ps 51:4-9, Zec 13:1. The figure here employed would certainly be unparalleled, if it refers to forgiveness. It has been argued that it would also be unsuitable, representing the sins, not as vanishing, but as changing their appearance: they remain as white sins. But the language is that of poetry not of science, and sins "covered over" also remain. It has also been urged that the saying makes no allusion to Yahweh's action in forgiveness, the sins of themselves just become white sins. Yet the introductory formula may be held to suggest Yahweh's action.

The interrogative interpretation, though grammatically questionable (see above), would accord with prophetic teaching (see, e.g., We. Proleg. c. 11, § 1 end; ed. 4, p. 423 f.). If the sins are really flagrant, are they to put on the appearance of mere trifling errors? The whole argument of Yahweh in vv. 18-20 then embodies the fundamental new teaching of the prophets: that Yahweh is Israel's God does not make Him more lenient to Israel's sin (cp. Am 3:2): scarlet sins He will treat as scarlet, not as white (v. 18): only through obedience to Yahweh's moral demands can Yahweh's favour be gained (v. 19): disobedience must invoke disaster (v. 20).

Du. and Marti prefer to give the saying a sarcastic tone: though your sins were scarlet, of course they can easily turn white: of course you know how to make innocent lambs of yourselves. Then cp. Jer 2:22 for a direct negation of what is here implicit in the sarcasm. But this gives a less satisfactory connection between vv. 18 and 19, which Marti (perhaps rightly) does not seek to establish. Hackm. (p. 118 n.) raises the question whether scarlet robes are not here symbols of pomp and majesty (cp. Rev 17:1), and the meaning consequently, Your sins, though they may now flaunt forth in all the glory of colour, will lose it and become washed out. But the association of whiteness with innocence as contrasted with sin seems too close to admit of this interpretation.

**Scarlet . . . crimson**] not two colours, but one: the second word (cp. La 4) means primarily *worm*, the insect whence the colour was obtained (see EBi, Colours § 14, Crimson, Scarlet). The first word is pl. כֹּדֶד, and means as in Pr 31:21 (cp. sing. 2S 1:24, Jer 4:8) scarlet clothes: cp. כֶּסֶך, linen clothes (G-K. 125f.). Sin is conceived of as a blood-stained (cp. 63:3) garment enwrapping the sinner: cp. the "filthy garments" of iniquity (Zec 3:8f.).—**White as snow**] cp. Ps 51:9. Ges. recalls here the saying of the Arabs, that the holy stone of Mecca fell white from heaven but became black on account of the sins of men;
cp. also, for the whiteness of restored innocence, Rev 718ff. 19ff.—Like wool] a sheep's fleece as typical of whiteness may appear to us anti-climactic after snow; but not so to the Hebrews. Black sheep were exceptional (Gn 308ff.): the colour of wool was regularly white: hence the "beloved's" teeth are compared to ewes shorn and washed (Ca 4), and the hair of the "Ancient of Days" is compared to wool as well as snow (Dan 7): Rev 14; however, is explicit—"as white wool."

19. The alternative here presented—obedience and prosperity, or disobedience and destruction—recalls Isaiah's attitude when the Syro-Ephraimitish army was approaching Jerusalem (ch. 7 f.): cp. also 30ff. 16ff.—The good of the land] i.e. the produce of the land: Gn 4520, 23.—Feed] יְלַל as in v.7.—On husks shall ye feed]

ירס is ambiguous and the exact meaning uncertain. If this line is symmetrical with the preceding, ירָס should be the direct object of יִרְדָּמ (Kal); then render either (1) ye shall feed on desolation (ירס), but an abstract noun is not very probable here, or (2) . . . on desolations (Du. reading רָס); note following ר, an idiom used of animals in 517, but less obviously applicable to men, or (3) . . . on husks, lit. the carob, or carob-pods (ירס, or רָס); see Che. SBOT, and Husks in EBi.). There is no certain example of this word in the text of the OT, but it is frequent in NH and Aramaic. Carobs were the food of swine (Lk 1518) and donkeys (Levy, NHB, s.v.), and, in time of distress, of men: cp. Lk 1516 and the saying in Midrash R. cited by Levy (NHB ii. 105b), "When Israelites are reduced to the carob (动工 יִרְדָּמ), they repent." If v.19 and v.20 are not perfectly symmetrical, ירס may be treated as a bold passive (MT) construction and rendered either (4) ye shall be devoured with the sword (RV), or, less probably, (5) ye shall be made to devour the sword (Ges-B. s.v. ירש). For the idiom the sword devours in the act., cp. 2 S 26 18.—For the mouth of Yahweh hath spoken (it) Perhaps a late addition: cp. 406 5814, Mic 4, and see Cheyne, Introd. p. 7 n. 3. If not, and vv.18-20 belong together, the divine speech ends at v.18, and vv.19ff. contains the prophet's comment: cp. on vv.2-4.

18. מֵאָס] 4 MSS (cp. VV.) רָס. — יְלַל many MSS אֲלֵר: possibly right, cp. v.20—note the rhythm, but note also וּבָא preceding.—20. יִרְדָּמ יבָז to the cstr. assumed by RV (see no. 4 above), an exact parallel is afforded
by the Arabic idiom cited by Kön. iii. 102, ḥuriqa 'ṭa‘ubu 'lmismāra, the
garment was torn with the nail. See, further, on Hebrew constructions more
or less similar, G-K. 121c, d; Kön. iii. 332v.

I. 21–26 (28).—An Elegy on Jerusalem.

In this, as in other kīnoth, i.e. elegies (e.g. La 1–4), the echoing rhythm
(see Introd.) is employed. Parallelism is constant, but within the distichs
(3:2), not as in vv.10f. 18–20, between the periods of 5 accents. Of the 12
distichs, or strictly 11 distichs and a line (25a) in the present text, 5 are
unambiguously 3:2, viz. vv.21–b; 22c. d; 24c. d; 25c. d; 26a. b, and another
(25a. f) is 2:3 (makkeph ṣeṣer נַע וּסְגֵל) unless by transposing the lines
(ep. Introduction) we make this also 3:2. Another distich (26a. d) is 4:2.
Two distichs consist in the present text of lines that are rhythmically balanced,
viz. 22a. b (3:3) and 23a. b (2:2): on these and on the irregularities in 21c. d.
24a. b, 25a see notes below.

Vv.21–26 divide into two equal strophes, each containing 6 distichs (in
the present text the second contains but 5½): the first strophe beginning
with נַע וּסְגֵל deals with the present state of the city: the second introduced by
יַד with its future.

Vv.27– contain two distichs of which the former (3:2) is exactly similar
in type to those of vv.21–26: the second (4:3) less so.

21 How hath she become a harlot!
   The (once) faithful city,
   Sion which was full of justice
   Wherein righteousness abode, but now murderers.

22 Thy silver hath become dross,
   Thy drink adulterated (?) with water.

23 Thy rulers are unruly,
   And associates of thieves;
   Every one loveth bribes,
   And pursueth rewards;
   They secure not the right of the orphan,
   Nor doth the widow's cause come unto them.

24 Therefore saith the Lord
   Yahweh of Hosts the Mighty One of Israel:
   Ah! I will get me comfort from my adversaries,
   Avenge myself on my foes.

25 And I will turn my hand against thee.
   And I will smelt out thy dross 'in the furnace,'
   And remove all thine alloy.
And I will restore thy judges as at the first,
   And thy counsellors as at the beginning;
Afterwards thou shalt be called City of Justice,
   Faithful City.

Sion shall find redemption through justice,
   And they that turn of her through righteousness:
And the destruction of rebels and sinners shall be together,
   And those that forsake Yahweh shall be consumed.

The following considerations indicate that vv.21-26 contain a complete poem distinct from what now precedes it and follows it: (1) it opens with the characteristic opening of independent elegies—נַחַל as in La 1 1 2 1 4 1, Jer 48.17, cp. יֵש in 2 S 19; (2) it is a complete treatment of a subject which is artistically treated under two aspects in two symmetrical strophes (see above)—Jerusalem, its present state (vv.21-23), its future (vv.24-26); (3) in v.26 the subject reaches an effective close; (4) the relation between rhythm and parallelism (see above), which is maintained almost unbroken throughout vv.21-26, scarcely appears at all in vv.1-20; v.27 is similar, but in addition to the first three of the considerations just stated, exegesis (see below) favours the conclusion that vv.27ff. formed no original part of the elegy.

The date of the poem is uncertain. The criteria on which Du. and Hackm. rely for referring it to the time before or during the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and those which lead Che. and Marti to refer it to about 705 B.C., are unlike insufficient. Du. argues that the eschatology which arose out of the crisis described in chs. 7, 8 is not yet represented here; Hackm., that the eschatology agrees with that of ch. 8; Che. and Marti consider that the parallelism in thought of vv.23b and 17 connects the two pieces in time, and Marti sees in the misleading leaders (v.29) an allusion to the party favouring the Egyptian alliance. If the similarity of v.23 and v.17 is not sufficient (and it is not) to prove that both belong to the same piece, it proves nothing: the affliction of the orphan and widow was perennial, and cannot have attracted Isaiah's attention at one period of his life only. The similarity may rather have been the cause that led an editor—whether Isaiah or another—to place the one poem after the other.
21–23. First Strophe.—Sion, once the faithful city, has turned faithless; once the loyal wife of Yahweh, she has wandered from Him and become a harlot (cp. Hos 2). By a further figure (v.22) and by illustrative literal charges (v.23), the present unrighteousness of Sion, once the home of righteousness, is emphasised: the leaders of the people lead them only into rebellion against Yahweh; they pervert justice, letting thieves go unpunished in return for a share in their gains, and through their love of unjust gain (cp. 523, Mic 311) they deprive the poor who can pay them nothing for their right (cp. vv.16f.).

Adopting allusively Hosea’s figure of the nation, or city, as Yahweh’s wife, Isaiah gives it an even more direct ethical application. Judah is here Yahweh’s faithless wife because she has taken to be her paramours, not other gods, the Baals, but unrighteousness.

21. The faithful city] הự_rpc is a choice synonym for רעי, the ordinary word for city (cp. Nu 2128, Ps 482), and occurs again when Isaiah (291) describes Jerusalem as “the city where David encamped.” Of the days of David the prophet may be here thinking. The phrase recurs as the closing words of the poem: what Sion once was it will again become, when it has passed through the purifying judgment.—Abode] impf. was wont to abide; נコード to spend the night (cp. 1029), perhaps because a man’s place by night is his home, developed the further sense to abide; cp. Job 172 194, Ps 2513.—V.21, unless the rhythm is quite irregular, contains two words too much. Possibly the intrusive clause is the faithful city: if this were omitted, v.21 would contain two good echoing distichs, each contrasting (though the arrangement of the two would be chiastic) the present and past character of the city. Du. omits the last clause of the v., but now murderers, which in this case must be a note based on vv.15.18: then the first clause of the v. describes the present condition (cp. vv.22.23), and the three remaining clauses glance back at the past condition of the city: in this case Sion (Gr: cp. vv.26f. Ἱ) in v.21e has been accidentally omitted in Є. Haupt selects for omission the clause that was full of justice.—22. In two figures present and past are contrasted: the degeneration of the city is like the exchange of silver for dross, or good sound wine for a disagreeable drink (see phil. n.).—23. Thy rulers are unruly] so Che. brings out this (שריֵּךְ רוחני), the first of several paronomasias,
which occur in Isaiah’s writings; it may have been borrowed, together with the figure of the harlot (v. 21), from Hosea (2. 4\(^\text{15}\)). The word סֵרִית means stubborn, rebellious (Dt 21\(^\text{18}\)); it is chiefly used of conduct towards Yahweh, see, e.g., 30\(^1\) 65\(^2\), and cp. the figure in Hos 4\(^\text{16}.\) —23b. Every one] or rather the whole mass of them: cp. 9\(^1\) 15\(^3\), and see BDB 48\(^\text{16}\) (bot.). The judges not only take bribes when offered, but go in pursuit of, follow eagerly after, payments: they pursue not peace (זְבָשׁ, Ps 34\(^\text{15}\)), but payment (סֵלֶךְ, here only).

24–26. Second Strophe.—This opens with a different figure: Judah by her unrighteousness has become, not as in v. 21 the wandering, disloyal wife, but the enemy of Yahweh on whom He is about to avenge Himself. But Yahweh contemplates more than punishment; He has in view refinement and purification; taking up one of the figures of the first strophe (v. 22), the prophet asserts that Yahweh will smelt away the dross and bring again pure silver (v. 25); and then, corresponding to the literal charges of v. 23, comes the promise that Yahweh will restore again just judges as in the first days of the city, the days of David, and the city will become again as of yore the home of righteousness (v. 26)

24. The Lord Yahweh of Hosts] so 3\(^1\) ro\(^\text{16}\). 38 19\(^4\): but here perhaps the words are an addition (Du.); Buddle and Marti omit instead the Mighty One of Jacob (Gn 49\(^\text{24}\)), thinking this less in place than Yahweh of Hosts, which might here very suitably suggest—Yahweh who makes war upon His people. G read the phrase Mighty One of Jacob in the form mighty ones of Jacob after the following word נְתָנָה; and this increases the suspicion that the words may not be original.—24b. Yahweh will comfort himself (דַּבֵּר as, e.g., Ezk 5\(^\text{18}\), Jer 31\(^\text{15}\)) by taking vengeance on those unjust rulers who by their unrighteousness had made themselves His enemies. In the popular use of the phrase the enemies of Yahweh were the enemies of Israel (ע: cp. e.g. Jg 5\(^\text{31}\)): with Isaiah, as with Amos (cp. Am 5\(^\text{18}\)–20), Yahweh’s enemies are His own people.—25. I will turn my hand against thee] so Am 1\(^9\), Zec 13\(^7\), Ps 81\(^\text{16}\): not “I will bring my hand again” (RVmarg.), as though another judgment, such as is described in vv. 5\(^\text{6}\), had already visited Israel.—25. I will smelt away thy dross as with alkali] so וּ; G perhaps differently (see phil. n.). If the assertion is correct that alkalies were used by
the ancients to accelerate the separation of the dross in the ore from the metal (Nowack, Arch. i. 245; Ges.), ¶ should mean, I will smelt thee quickly, or clean (Gr: cp. EV)—as quickly, or clean, as if I used alkali in smelting silver ore. But this is very doubtful (cp. Dr. on Mal 3°). Elsewhere alkali is mentioned only as cleansing the person or clothes—see Mal 25; Jer 22 (יהוֹמָר), and, perhaps, Job 48 (רוּב). Since the 18th century (Secker, Lowth) many have emended רַבָּכֵּה into רַבָּכֵּה, in the furnace; and this, or רַבָּכֵּה, as in the furnace, is probably right.—25 f. The verse is important in its bearing on Isaiah’s view, or ideal, of the Future. No individual ruler figures here: the prophet does not think of a king; but those who advise and give decisions in the State, those who mould its life, are to be men of character: under their guidance the people will no longer, as at present (v.23), be led into revolt against Yahweh, but will again become faithful and righteous. The name, as in all such cases, denotes the actual character of the city (cp. 624, Ezk 4852): it will actually be the city of righteousness. Again, Isaiah does not expect the annihilation of Judah, as perhaps Amos expected that of Israel: the judgment will be severe: good and bad alike must suffer—according to the figure that is used, the whole city must pass through the furnace: but in the result the good will come forth as pure gold, the bad will be cast away as worthless dross. The removal of the bad is expressed figuratively (v.25b. c); the discovery of the good directly (v.26).

21. וַאֲשֶׁר [G-K. 90l.—ר ל פ נו י [ימ כ] three accents, or (כ י מ פ ל) two. On the impf. כ י מ פ ל, see Dr. § 30.—22. וְלָא כֶּנַּכֶּנַּכ [since the text in Hos 418, Nah 110 is doubtful, this may be the only occurrence in Heb. of the noun. The vb. is used of hard drinking (5612, Dt 2119, Pr 2320). In Ass. sabu means sesame-wine, and possibly in Heb. מִמְד meant specifically some strong or choice wine. In Arabic سبأ (probably a loan word) and some derivative nouns are used of or with reference to wine generally.—דַּמְפָּה] meaning uncertain. The suggestions offered are (1) that דַּמְפָּה, which in NH means to circumcise (cp. לַמְמ), meant also, though of this there is no evidence, to cut. Then for to cut wine, meaning to spoil it by adulteration with water, many parallels are cited by Ges. (after Schultens) from Arabic, e.g. يُقال شُبَبٍ البيح، and other languages (e.g. “sculus est jugulare Falernum”: Martial 118), and Marti compares the French couper du vin. The versions, including EV, paraphrase mixed: better, adulterated—for the figure has in view wine adulterated in commerce rather than simply weakened
with water for table use. Cp. ἔρημος οὐκ ἔχειν τὸν ὕδατον ὁδοιπορικὸν which, however, wrongly turns the figure into a direct charge. (2) Others (cp. J. Barth, Beiträge z. Erkl. des Jes. p. 3 f.) interpret the word in the light of NH ἅλμα, Ar. مَجِل, "the dark turbid liquid pressed out of olives" (Nöld., Che.)—probably a gloss to secure the understanding of ἀλήθεια: it is rhythmically superfluous.—23. Two weighty words (subj. and pred.) in a against two closely connected in b: cp. Dr. LOT, p. 458. Budde to establish three accents in the first line adds ἰν. —24. [ם] frequent in Isaiah: BDB 486. [ר] the long line of a distich of which the shorter line has been lost, or a gloss; see Marti’s Comm. where several possibilities are discussed. The remainder of the v. is a distich 3:2. It is most unlikely that Du.’s harsh lines (3:2 and 2:2) are original; he divides:


אשא ובא רא | עיר בנו
.דניראא וית "ד | וקר ל"ד

Contrary to the text.

renders the entire v. as follows: ἐπείδη ἐγὼ ἐχεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ πρόσωπον, οὗτος ἀνεπίστευτος ἀντίλεγε καὶ ᾠδόλως πάντας ἀνήμων ἀκόησιν: but we cannot safely infer that Ἐρ’s Hebrew text was fuller and contained the now missing half line; for the overlined words are probably a later addition to Ἐρ: see Thackeray, Grammar, p. 230.

27, 28. Two distichs re-open, or enforce, the theme apparently closed in v.26. In thought v.27 is parallel to v.26 (the survival of the good), v.28 to v.25b. e (the destruction of the bad).

Yet the thought is not quite the same: here the writer does not speak of any judgment yet to come which is to affect all alike (v.25 and even Am 9:8f.): for the (true) Sion, viz. those in her who turn away from unrighteousness, the future has only deliverance (ῥέω): the coming destruction will affect only the sinners (cp. 33:6f.): ct. her converts, or they that turn of her, i.e. converts who belong to Sion, with the terms in v.28 without the pronoun—sinners have no part or lot in Sion.

Still greater is the difference if ἄναμμα and ἀνάκην are used of man’s justice and righteousness,* as in 57:9f, Am 57 6:12: for then v.27 means Sion will be delivered because she is just and righteous. As another writer puts it, Yahweh will repay according to deserts: to Sion, deliverance, for her conduct has deserved it; to sinners, destruction (59:17-20 61:8). If this be the correct interpretation the verses can scarcely be Isaiah’s.

In view of the parallelism of the clauses we must not with ἐν (cp. Ἐρ) take ἄναμμα as meaning the Judgment (Day) as in Ps. 15, and ἀνάκην righteousness; the meanings should be parallel.

Rashi, Ki., Ges., Che. al.
If Isaiah's, the thought is rather this—Sion, i.e. those in her who turn away from sin, will be delivered by means of Yahweh's refining judgment and by His judicial righteousness, which will distinguish the just from the unjust: cp. the thought of v. 25 and the use of שמש and נקר in 5:16 28:17. The hope of the righteous in Sion was in the fact that Yahweh must do right and therefore cannot destroy Sion, for in so doing He would carry away good and bad alike (cp. Gn 18).

27. Shall be ransomed[ נקר strictly means to buy a person or animal off from death, etc., by means of a substitute or money-payment (e.g. Ex 13:18): it is used figuratively of deliverance from trouble, danger, etc.—Hos 13:14, Ps 78:42 (see Dr. Deut. 101). It is hardly necessary to press the figure as closely as Du. does—"Sion is to be ransomed, is consequently at present a slave or debtor. But the strange owner or creditor has not the right or the full right that he claims. Therefore Sion is not to be set at liberty by payment, but by a just judgment": though, if the passage be post-exilic, it is likely enough that Du. divines the writer's thought.—They that turn of her] cp. 6:10 7:3 10:26. נקר may also mean her captivity (מוכן), and is so taken by ג.ס.

28. הנה יבש והנץ abrupt and unusual: perhaps rather יבש, or יבש.

Vv. 27ff cannot be referred with any confidence to Isaiah: see the foregoing interpretation. Che. (Intro. p. 7) urges: "Of the four participal class names, though three have points of contact with Isaiah (see 6:10 7:3 12-4), none actually occur in the Book of Isaiah, except in prophecies which on many grounds cannot be Isaiah's (a. עשה הבש, 59:20; b. שישב, 46:5 53:12; c. והовать, 13:33:14; d. הבש יבש, 65:11. Add to this that הנץ (though found in Hos 7:13 13:14) does not occur elsewhere in true Isaiah, 29:2 35:10, not to add 51:11, being late passages." Not quite conclusive, though suggestive. More suspicious is the sharp division of the people into two classes defined by their respective labels: ct. the sinfulness of the entire nation in vv. 4, 10, 21 22ff. 3:1-7, 13 65, 9ff. 8ff. Certainly we find in Isaiah the germ of the subsequently permanent distinction between the two classes in Israel—the sinner and the righteous: see 8:11-18, and cp. the distinction of silver and dross, which, however, a fiery smelting, i.e. a severe judgment affecting the whole people, is first to render manifest. In vv. 27ff the judgment, so it would seem, is to consume a previously distinguished class of sinners and to rescue those who had previously manifested their righteousness: cp. 65:14ff, Mal 3:18-21 (3:18-3:4).

I. 29-31.—Fragments: Condemnation of Tree Worship.

Vv. 29ff contains two distichs of parallel lines in 4:1 rhythm (makkeph וקטוב and ובשיבא): there is nothing like them in the rest of the chapter.
V. 31 contains two distichs in 3:2 rhythm: in the first the lines are parallel in sense. V. 31 resembles v. 29.

29 For 'ye' shall be ashamed of the terebinths in which ye delighted,
And abashed because of the gardens that ye chose;
30 For ye shall be as a terebinth whose leafage fades,
And as a garden which hath no water.

31 And the strong one shall become tow;
And his work a spark;
And they shall both burn together,
With none to quench them.

The sinners will perish (v. 28), because Yahweh whom they have forsaken will not, and the gods housing in trees and beside springs, whom they have chosen in His stead, cannot save them. Cp. 25 17-11, Jer 26-28.

Such is the connection if vv. 27-31 form a connected whole and do not rather consist of two fragments—vv. 27-29, 31.* If the connection be real, G may be right in reading all the verbs in vv. 29f. in the 3rd pers.; but see phil. n.

Nothing in the verses indicates clearly either date or authorship. They may have been written by Isaiah either before 722 B.C. and addressed, like 9-10, to the Northern kingdom,† or after that year and addressed to Judah; or, again, they may have been written in the 5th cent. and addressed to apostate Jews by a man like-minded with the author of 65-66f. (note רָבָא: little used by Isaiah).‡ The practices condemned were of great antiquity and persisted later (Jer 27, Ezk 618, Is 57ff. 65). 29. For ye shall be ashamed] i.e. fail to receive expected help; see 20f., Jer 1218 4813, Mic 3 (רָמא as here and Job 620), Ps 25ff. 37. Ye is conjecturally substituted for they (יִהְנָנ): see phil. n.—Terebinths] or, more widely, sacred trees. דִּשְׁנ may at times (cp. Hos 4) refer specifically to terebinths; so G in v. 30, and see EBi. and DB, s.v.; but even more frequently the word is used of any large umbrageous tree, such as palms, apparently, at Elim (Ex 1527), which a numen was popularly supposed to inhabit or frequent. This wider meaning is intended here, and G significantly paraphrases τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν. The venera-

* Che., Du. † Du., Che. ‡ Marti.
tion of such trees was ancient, and must have prevailed in Canaan before the Hebrew invasion; the Hebrews who were loyal to Yahweh either identified the *numen* with Him (cp. Gn 13:18, Jg 9:87 etc.), or like Hosea (4:15f.) and this writer, they recoiled entirely from the veneration of these trees—doubtless on account of the cults connected with them. Many trees in Palestine are still thought to be inhabited by spirits, and are the objects of vows and offerings from both Bedawin and Fellahin: see S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Sem. Rel.* 90 ff., and the material collected by J. G. Frazer in *Sacred Oaks and Terebinths* (pp. 110 ff.), one of the *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*. Lagrange (*Rel. Sém. 173*) denies that the trees themselves were objects of worship. — 30. These worshippers will perish like the objects they worship. The life of the holy tree is seen in its thick foliage, of the *numen* of a spring in its bubbling waters: these idolaters will shrivel up and fail like a tree whose leaves wither and a garden in which the fountain that made it luxurious flows no more.— 31. This v. might continue v. 28 as well as v. 30: rhythmically, it is similar to vv. 27f. and dissimilar to vv. 29f. It is capable of more than one interpretation as it stands, and various emendations have been proposed (see phil. n.). Perhaps the work of the strong means preparations for war, alliances, and so forth (cp. 31f.); these works are the sparks which set fire to the strong who become as *taw* (*יָאָה*, Jg 169), *i.e.* inflammable, and so the strong and all his works come to nothing—such a meaning would quite accord with Isaiah's standpoint: cp. 9:17.

29. שָׁבַי 3rd pers.; but in the dependent relative clause and in the succeeding lines the vbs. are 2nd pers.—זְרָעָה, רְשָׁעָה, זְמִיתָה, וּזְמִית. That this change was due to the excitement of the author at the end of his discourse (Del.) is not rendered probable by Di.'s reference to 5:8 22:16 31:8. Three Heb. MSS and Σ read שָׁבַי—a correction rather than a survival from a continuous correct tradition. The real question is whether שָׁבַי is a survival of the true text in which the verbs were in the 3rd pers. (so Γ), or an early error for שָׁבַי due to accident, or a deliberate substitute for שָׁבַי, the purpose of which was to create a connection with v. 28. Failing good reasons to the contrary, it is better to assume a single error (שָׁבַי for שָׁבַי) than four. Marti suggests that the 2nd pers. arose after שָׁבַי, meant to be שָׁבַי, was read שָׁבַי; but Γ, which has the 3rd pers. (probably substituted for the 2nd pers. of Ψ to improve the connection), does not appear to have read שָׁבַי; if ἡφασυναντο really presupposes anything but שָׁבַי, it presupposes שָׁבַי—שָׁבַי] the absence of the art. here is noticeable: ct. יִתְנַנְסָא.—חַלֵלָב] agrees with הָלָּב.
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(fem.) not with נָעַה (masc.); cp. כְּדַרְךָ נֶעַר, v. 4.—31. That Am 2:1 (בְּךָלָהוּ), of the Amorites. For קָנָה, Lagarde proposed to read קָנָה, and for נָעַה in the next clause שָׁלֹם—a sun-image and its Baal. Du.'s criticism of this emendation has not been met,—ינָעַה possibly for נָעַה; cp. יָעַה, 52'1; G-K. 93q; Kön. ii. 493. More probably Ki. interprets MT (though not קָנָה) correctly when he sees in קָנָה idol, and נָעַה the part.—he that makes it. The fulfilment of the prophecy he then finds in the fact that הנבואה שָׁלֹם כָּל בְּרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל נָעַה] רֶשֶׁה, etc.; cp. קָנָה (Ezk 17), NH פֵּן, Ar. נָאָשׁ, to shine, flash, sparkle, whence the sense spark is inferred—perhaps not quite securely. Rubens (Crit. Remarks, p. 11 n.) suggests קָנָה (cp. 7'9 55'3), which as inflammable stuff would be a good parallel to נָעַה and would better account for רֶשֶׁה in the next line.

II.—XII.—Prophecies mainly devoted to Judah and Jerusalem.

These chapters very much in their present form probably constituted a distinct book before the larger work of which they now are part came into existence. When they were incorporated in the larger work, the title which had previously attached to them was retained (21), in spite of the fact that another was prefixed (1) to the first chapter of the larger work (see Introd. § 29). The title, 21, describes the prophecies as the word, or matter, which Isaiah the son of Amos saw (in vision: cp. 131) concerning Judah and Jerusalem. On the names and on the conceptions underlying the terminology, see 1 n. The scope of these chapters is fairly well described as Judah and Jerusalem (1 n.), though this is not an exhaustive description, since 97'104 is primarily concerned with Ephraim; but this title was, of course, never intended to cover chs. 13–23, which mainly consist of prophecies concerning foreign nations, and are provided with another title (131).

It has been argued that originally the title 21 stood immediately before 2' and that 22, now misplaced, formed the conclusion, and that an admirable one, to 127'31 (Lagarde, Stade, Gesch. i. 608; Cheyne, Marti); but the argument is very precarious.

These chapters fall into groups as follows: 2–4, 5, 6–9, 97–104, 105–12.

II.—IV.—Jerusalem ideal and actual.

The sections into which these chapters fall and their contents may be briefly described thus:—21 Title (see above); 22–4 Jerusalem the religious centre of the entire world; 25–22 The
Day of Yahweh, which is about to bring low the land of Jacob, now wealthy, self-sufficient, and forgetful of Yahweh; 

Jerusalem and Judah denounced and threatened; 

Denunciation of the women of Jerusalem; 

The holiness and glory of Jerusalem after a purifying judgment. 

Jerusalem is the prominent, when it is not the exclusive, subject of every section, except 2:5-22. The entire section consists of warnings by Isaiah of judgment to come (2:5-4:1) enclosed between two poems of exilic or post-exilic writers who had an eye only for glory to come, and either disregarded judgment altogether (2:5-4), or looked upon it as, in large part at least, accomplished (4:2-6).

II. 1.—Title.—See above.

II. 2-4.—Sion the religious Capital of the World.

Including the two final lines, absent from the text of Is. but found in Mic 4:6, the following poem contains ten distichs of balanced (3:3, or 2:2) and parallel lines. V. 3d. is a 2:2 distich; the remaining distichs are 3:3, except that the now uncertain text of v. 2a-d may have contained irregularities, and v. 3a, if the וַיִּשָּׁמָּה is original, contained four accents; in v. 4d נַגּוֹן חָיָה was probably read as two, and in v. 6b וַיִּרְבְּרוּ (cp. Sievers) as one.

1. 2 And it shall come to pass in the end of the days
   The mountain of Yahweh shall be
   Firmly set on the top of the mountains,
   And raised higher than the hills.

2. And nations shall come streaming to it,

3. And many peoples shall go and say:
   Come and let us go up to Yahweh’s mountain,
   And to the house of the God of Jacob:

3. That he may instruct us out of his ways,
   And that we may walk in his paths,
   For from Sion instruction goes forth,
   And the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem,
4.
And he will judge between the nations,
And give decisions for many peoples;
And they will beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning-knives.

5.
Nation against nation shall not lift up sword,
Nor learn any more (the art of) war,
[Mic 4 But they will dwell each under his vine
And under his fig-tree, with none to terrify.]

A strophic arrangement so naturally reveals itself that it is reasonable to suppose that it was intended: the ten distichs divide into five sets of twos (Marti), each of which deals with a distinct point or aspect of the subject, thus:
1. The exaltation of Zion.
2. The advent of the Nations;
3. To obtain, at its source, instruction in the religion of Yahweh.
4. Yahweh, the arbiter of the Nations.
5. Under Yahweh's government (strophe 4) there will be universal peace and unmolested enjoyment of the fruits of the earth.

Du.'s division into three strophes of six lines is much less probable. That the poem may be read in its completeness, the final lines from Micah are added in square brackets, without prejudice to the question whether they ever formed part of the Book of Isaiah. So in regard to the numerous variations between the text of the poem as given in Is. and Mic. (Hebrew and Greek) it is impossible to determine whether the inferior readings arose before, at the time of, or after incorporation in either book; consequently the translation is based on what appears to be the nearest that we can get to the original text of the poem by a comparison of the two forms in which it occurs.

The origin of the poem is obscure; that it occurs both in the Book of Isaiah and in the Book of the Twelve (Mic 2:4) necessarily raises questions, and these have been very differently answered.

In the earlier stages of criticism the questions asked were—Was the poem written by Isaiah and borrowed by Micah? or written by Micah and borrowed
by Isaiah? or borrowed by both these prophets from some now unknown predecessor? It was assumed that one at least of the two prophets must have borrowed. We need scarcely with Du. pronounce such borrowing on the part of a true prophet incredible, or, if real, a theft (Jer 23:30); still there is no other clear example of a prophet borrowing from another at this length, and this being so it would be strange that this particular poem should be cited independently by two prophets. But once due weight is given to the character of the books of prophetic literature, this assumption that either prophet borrowed becomes unnecessary, not to say precarious. The Book of Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve are alike collections made after the Exile, and indeed not long before the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. (Introd. §§ 8 ff. 35); this poem has been preserved in both collections, just as some Psalms (e.g. 14 = 53) have been preserved in more than one hymn-book. It is perfectly possible that this poem owes its double preservation not to a double process either of quotation or interpolation, but to the fact that at some time before the close of the 3rd cent. it passed under two ascriptions,—to Micah and Isaiah respectively,—and was therefore incorporated by two editors in their different compilations. It is important to observe that the poem stands isolated in both books; in Isaiah it follows a title, and has therefore no connection with what precedes; in Micah it follows the statement that Sion, Jerusalem, and the mountain of the house will be reduced to desolation. If the poem were really appended by Micah, it is difficult to believe that he would have left the strong contrast entirely unmarked; so necessary is it to mark it (if the passages are really connected) that RV mistranslates קָנָה, but it shall come to pass, etc., in order to create an antithesis, though as a matter of fact קָנָה marks sequence not contrast. Even if Micah were quoting, he could have secured the contrast by simply dropping קָנָה and starting his quotation with the next word. If Micah added 4-14 to 3-12 the apologists for Jeremiah were singularly audacious in their use of 3-12 (Jer 26:18). What follows the poem in Isaiah has some sort of connection with it (see on v.9), so also has what follows in Micah; yet in neither place is it the connection of originally continuous passages. Both editors, wishing to include the poem in their collections, had to find some place for it; but the reasons for the particular place given elude us just as do the reasons for the order in which Psalm follows Psalm, though the editor of Micah may have been guided by the principle of catch-word arrangement ("mountain of the house"—3-12 4-1). Whether the poem owes its place in Isaiah to the final editor of the book, or to the compiler of chs. 2-12, is uncertain: perhaps the latter alternative is the more probable.

Judged by itself, without prejudice derived from its present position, the poem perhaps does not betray its origin unmistakably. But if the arguments that have been adduced be insufficient to prove that it was not written in the 8th cent. B.C., still more insufficient are the arguments to prove that it was. The spirit of the whole and some of the particular ideas, as hinted in the commentary that follows, leave the impression
of a passage that was written nearer to the time of chs. 40–55 and Ezek. than of Isaiah.

If Zec 8:9–22, Jl 4:10 be reminiscences and not anticipations of lines of the poem, a minimum date is fixed; the poem in that case is earlier than 520 b.c. For the theory, still preferred by Box, that the poem is the work of a prophet earlier than either Mic. or Is., see Koppe, Hitz., Ew., Del., Di.; the similarities to Joel on which this theory partly rested now point, for what they are worth, to a post-exilic origin, for the theory of the early origin of Joel scarcely continues to be defensible. The authorship of Isaiah is still maintained by Du. (who connects the passage with 11:1–8 32:1–5. 15–20 as products of Isaiah's old age); the authorship of Mic. by Ryssel, Textgeschichte des Micha, 218–224 (see also Ges.); G. A. Smith argues for the "possibility of a date in the 8th or beginning of the 7th cent." (Book of the Twelve, i. 365–367). The later origin of the poem suggested by Stade (ZATW, 1881, 165–167, and 1884, 292) is accepted by We. (Kleine Proph. 139 f.), Nowack (Kleine Propheten), Hackmann (126 ff.), Cheyne (Introd. 9–16), and Toy (Judaism and Christianity, 313). Toy, with whom Marti agrees, dates the poem about 500 b.c., though he considers the beginning of the Greek period also possible.

2a. b. c. d. First Strophe. — The text is in some details uncertain (see phil. n.). — In the end of the days] "the final period of the future so far as it falls within the range of the speaker's perspective" (Dr. Deut. p. 74): the phrase is applied, for example, to Israel's settlement in Canaan (Gn 49:1), to Israel's conquest of Edom and Moab (Nu 24:14), and, as here, to the Messianic age; cp. e.g. Hos 3:5, Jer 23:20, and in NT He 11, 1 P 1:20, Jn 6:50 12:48. The phrase itself is not late (cp. in Assy. ina ahrat umi); nor is it safe to conclude with Che. (Introd. 11) and Marti that it is necessarily so when used in connection with Messianic expectations; so soon as such expectations arose and needed expression, such a phrase being obviously suitable would naturally be employed.—Yahweh's mountain] i.e. Mt. Sion. Yahweh's mountain is the reading of both here and in Mic. in both places has the unique phrase mountain of Yahweh's house; cp. mountain of the House, Mic 3:12. The temple is directly mentioned in the next line. — Firmly set] for the force of יָסָר, cp. Jg 16:26 and especially Ps 93:11; the word is the opposite of יָתֵר, which describes the tottering or shaking of that which has become insecure, whether mountains (Ps 46:9) or kingdoms (ib. v.7). After all the commotions which will precede the Messianic age, removing the things that can be shaken (Hag 2:6f., He 12:26f.),
Mt. Sion and the universal kingdom of which it will be the centre (Ps 87) will remain immovable, unshaken, because the one true God, governor and judge of all nations (strophe 4), is there (Ps 46). The poet breathes the same spiritual atmosphere as the authors of Ps 46 and 87: cp. also Is 96.—On the top of the mountains] this is but one of the possible translations of the phrase בֵּית הַבָּרוֹךְ: for this rendering, cp. e.g. Ex 24, Is 42. Doubtless בֵּית might have been used to express this (Di.), but is scarcely necessary. Other possible translations are (1) as the chief of the mountains, or the chief, choicest mountain: for the בֵּית essentiae, cp. G–K. 1191, BDB 88b; and for בֵּית = chief, cp. e.g. Jg 10, Ezk 27 (choicest); (2) on the chief of the mountains; Du. adopts this in connection with a reading of ב “and the house of (our) God (shall be established) on the chief of the mountains.” But this is not the most probable text: see phil. n. The effect of it is to predict the coming exaltation directly of the temple and only indirectly of Mt. Sion. Whatever translation be correct, the entire meaning is hardly that mountain will be piled on mountain and Mt. Sion on the top of all, though this interpretation appears in Rabbinic literature: “The Holy One will bring Sinai and Tabor and Carmel, and build the Sanctuary on the top of them” (Pesikta R. Kahana, 144b). On the other hand, it is unlikely that it is merely metaphorical (Di.); but as Messianic expectation looked forward to various transformations in the physical world (40 41, Ezk 47, Jl 4(3), Zec 14), so here to the elevation of Mt. Sion to such a height that it should overtop all mountains instead of being, as in the actual world, overtopped by other mountains of Palestine (Ps 68) and even by the neighbouring mountains; the Mt. of Olives, for example, is nearly 300 feet higher. To Ezekiel, the temple hill in vision appeared “very high” (402), and the author of Zec 14 expected the relative elevation of Sion to be produced by the depression of the surrounding country (cp. below, vv.12ff.).

2e, 3a. b. c. Second Strophe.—All nations will come streaming (רָחֵץ, Jer 31 51) to this conspicuous and immovable mountain—to Sion and to Yahweh, no more to Babylon and to Bel (Jer 51). The expectation of such an advent of the nations frequently occurs in late prophecies, e.g. 60, 66, Jer 31, Zec 820–82 1416–19, Hag 2: cp. Ps 65 etc.—But did the prophets of the 8th cent. attach this world-wide significance to
the Temple and the Temple Mount? — *God of Jacob*] The phrase occurs nowhere else in either Isaiah or Micah: it is frequent in the Psalms (*e.g.* 46:7 75:10 76:7 84:9): see also 2 S 23:1.

3d. e. f. g. Third Strophe.—The object of the nations in coming to Sion will be to learn and practise the only true religion—the ways, or conduct, which Yahweh prescribes and approves. The nations are to feel the moral attraction of the Hebrew or Jewish religion. The standpoint is substantially that of chs. 40–55 (see, *e.g.*, 42:6ff) with some differences in detail; in 40–55 the missionary people are to carry the knowledge of Yahweh to the nations; here, the nations are to come to Sion to receive it (cp. Ps 87, Zec 8:20–22): in 40–55 Israel is the Teacher; here, Yahweh Himself (cp. Ps 94:16). But the political subserviency of the nations to Israel, as sometimes anticipated (*e.g.* 60:12), seems as little thought of here as in chs. 40–55. Du., however, in defending the Isaianic authorship minimises the meaning unduly: "perhaps," he says, "the nations will not even give up their own cults: they merely acknowledge that Yahweh is the most upright and truest God. Recognition to a certain extent of strange gods was something quite usual in antiquity: even earlier, foreigners sought Yahweh (Naaman), or Israelites other gods (2 K 1)." But the outlook here is to something unusual, something fresh and remarkable.—*That he may instruct us of his ways*] of (πόρος) = out of (the treasure of), not concerning: cp. Ps 94:12, cp. Ec 7:10.—*For from Sion* (emphatic) . . . *from Jerusalem*] the lines are perhaps echoed in 37:32 (Meinhold, p. 47).

4a. b. c. d. Fourth Strophe.—If all the nations practise the moral requirements of the religion of Yahweh (strophe 3), they will naturally refer their disputes to Him, He alone being God and King; there will be no further need for the arbitrament of war. The writer's ideal is universal peace (strophe 5); ct. the conceptions underlying the ancient phrases "the Wars of Yahweh," "the day of Yahweh." The reverse of the last two lines occurs in Jl 4:10: on the relation between the two passages, see *Exp., Sept.* 1893, pp. 214 f., 218 f.—*Ploughshares*] is the conventional rendering of פַּזָּר, which is obviously the name of an agricultural implement; but precisely what, neither the etymology, which is obscure, nor the usage (1 S 13:20f, Jl 4:10, Mic 4:3†), suffices to determine.
II. 2–4

4 e. f. + Mic 4\textsuperscript{a,b}. Fifth Strophe.—The poem closed with a picture of world-wide peace and quiet agricultural life.

2. It is not certain that the existing evidence preserves quite completely the original words of this first strophe. However we choose amongst it, some awkwardness remains. On the whole, Mic. seems distinctly better than Is.; the rhythm in Mic. is that of the rest of the poem, and the parallelism is better. To make this clear both texts are given here, rhythmically marked:

\begin{align*}
\text{Is. } & \text{באר היוסף } | \text{ geniş הר רח בתייה} \\
\text{Mic. } & \text{באר היוסף } | \text{ geniş הר רח בתייה}
\end{align*}

In Isaiah, after throwingAus the rhythmic scheme, we have the long six-accented line with two cæsuras, which is unparalleled, and scarcely very suitable, in this poem. The words know Aus also awaken suspicion, not because they would form a 2 : 2 distich (v.\textsuperscript{a,b}), but because they seem insufficiently independent to form a distich at all. This second objection applies also in some degree to the second distich in Mic., unless we may give toAus a force greater than that of the mere copulative or auxiliary: if it could mean here, as, of course, it often does elsewhere (e.g. Gn 1 and BDB, col. 226 bot.), come into existence, the two distichs would be sufficiently independent. Was there a belief that there would be a new creation of the mountain of Yahweh in the Messianic age? and even if so could such a belief be expressed byAus? But the readingAus is not free from suspicion: for it (apparently) Mic. has fåfrav, and Is. has fåfrav forAus; fåfrav might conceivably (cp. 65\textsuperscript{1}) point to Aus (Niph. of får as used in Am 5\textsuperscript{5}), if this vb. yielded a meaning more suitable to the strophe instead of one that anticipates the next. For some other features of få see following notes, and for a view in some respects different see SBOT.—Aus . . . Aus [cp. 72\textsuperscript{3}] also 71\textsuperscript{a, b}, and see Dr. § 121. ForAus readsAusAus, which Du. adopts.—AusAus the phrase occurs nowhere else; it may be the result of a conflation of the readings. få in Mic. simply has fåpos toM Kuplov, i.e. få is absent, while here få reads fåpos Kuplov kaz là ákox toM theoü, i.e. få that makes it less climactic—the two readings not yet conflated (cp. v.\textsuperscript{3}).—Aus Aus theos [cp. 34\textsuperscript{3}] the length of the line in Mic. is more probably correct than in Is. On the other hand,Aus, if to be expressed, might rather be expected in the previous clause. få Is. käl fåwòystai atopánw toM bòwn, få Mic. käl metewròystai atopánw toM bòwn; except in these two passages atopánw nowhere else renders the simple få. Did få once stand here (cp. Mal 1\textsuperscript{b}, Gn 5\textsuperscript{3})? Possibly, but the corruption of få into få is not easy.—Ala. fåwòystai. fåwòystai read få, cp. Mic.; fåwòystai makes it less climactic. In Mic. få stands in the next line, fåwòystai here: få has here (stå) fåwòystai in both clauses (= fåwòystai). The same difference between the Hebrew texts occurs in v.\textsuperscript{a,b} = Mic 4\textsuperscript{a,b}.—4. fåwòystai . . . fåwòystai Mic. fåwòystai . . . fåwòystai fåwòystai. Rhythm strongly favours the originality of få here; the text of Mic. may have been influenced by Zec 8\textsuperscript{22}. 
5. A brief homiletic reflection which unites the poem that precedes with that which follows, and derives its phraseology in part from the one, in part from the other:—O house of Jacob (cp. v.6), come and let us go (cp. v.9) in the light of Yahweh: i.e. let us not be behind the nations as while what is next described continues (vv.6ff.), we are; they propose to walk in Yahweh’s paths: let us do the same, following the path lighted up by the law (cp. Ps 119105, Pr 6:23). The words are apparently prose, and certainly outside the rhythmic and strophic scheme of either the preceding or the following poem: they are probably an editorial remark.

Mic 4:1-4 (Is 2:4) is followed by (1) the concluding formula, “for the mouth of Yahweh of Hosts hath spoken it” (cp. Is 1:20 40:5 58:14), and then (2) by a homiletic reflection fuller and more rhythmical than Is.: in Micah the point is—at present the nations walk each in the name of its god, but we in the way of our God, the true God. Mic. asserts what Is. exhorts to. What then is the relation between the two? or are they the independent comments on the poem of two different editors? Obviously the words O house of Jacob are to be explained from what follows in Is., i.e. so much of Is. is indépendant: thus the common matter is reduced to ויהי אב רב לזל וו (Is.) and and the actual verbal coincidence is limited to the overlaid words; these are derived from the poem, and in making a variation on the phrase used in the poem has been rendered, Is. and Mic. differ from one another (Is., Mic. 4:4). If either passage is dependent on the other, is Mic 4:4 an expansion of Is 2:5 (Che.), or Is 2:5 an abbreviation of Mic 4:4 (Marti)? If, as has been urged, the editor of Is. abbreviated because there was merely so much space to fill up, why did he add O house of Jacob? The closer approximation of the ובו עלמה of Is. as compared with the ובו עלמה of Mic. to the phraseology of the poem (היהו עלמה and 'ב עלמה) might seem to favour the priority of Is. But the question is hardly to be answered with confidence either way.

II. 6-22.—The Day of Yahweh.

This section, pronounced by Du. to be the worst preserved of the entire book, has certainly suffered very serious mutilation in transmission. Gr preserves some better readings than Π (see v.6 n.), but the text had already fallen into disorder before the time of Gr. In the main the sense is clear in spite of the state of the text, but it is more difficult to determine with certainty the form of the poem (or poems).

The presence of refrains (v.11=v.17, cp. v.9: and v.10=v.19=v.21) points to a poem (or poems) divided into strophes. But what is the rhythm? In vv.12-17 (down to ודרב; in v.13 omit ומעשא והנשא) and in v.18 we have 15 lines of three accents, for the most part combined into distichs of parallel
II. 5, 6-22

lines; six, or if we makkeph גֹּזֶר וָצִי in v. 7א all, of the seven lines in vv. 7ח and the last line of the refrain in vv. 19. 21 are of the same length; so also is the last line of v. 8ס, which at present stands isolated and without a parallel. On the other hand, the first part of v. 6 in י certainly is not in 3:3 rhythm; possibly it should be read as two distichs 3:2, though the second of these is certainly corrupt and the first is rather 2:2, if not indeed a single line of three accents (Sievers). There is at least one distich 3:2, perhaps two, in the refrain as it appears in vv. 19-21: but as it appears in v. 10 it contains at most one 3:2 distich; even that, as the other distich certainly is, may be 2:2. Whether in any of the three places the refrain now retains its original form may be doubted. Clearly then the dominant rhythm throughout vv. 6-21 is 3:3, and it is not improbable that this rhythm was originally maintained unbroken. Du., followed by Cheyne, has indeed postulated two fragments with different rhythm: (a) vv. 11-17, rhythm 3:3; (b) vv. 6-10, 18-21, long lines (3+2, or the like). But the difference in rhythm, if it existed at all, did not originally, nor does it now, coincide with this division.

Obviously v. 6 is not the beginning of a poem, perhaps one or two strophes have been lost (Du.); or the refrain now appearing in vv. 10. 19. 21 was an opening refrain, and this alone preceded v. 6; then vv. 9 and 17 are closing refrains (Marti). The matter peculiar to each strophe probably consisted of twelve lines, i.e. six distichs.

Enough has been said to indicate that the form of the following translation is only an approximation to that of the original poem.

I.

19 Enter into the caves of the rocks,
And [hide yourselves] in the holes of the dust;
Away from the terror of Yahweh,
And from His glorious majesty,
When he arises to terrify the earth.

6 For he hath abandoned his people,
   . . . the house of Jacob,
   For his land is full of ‘traders’ (?)
   And ‘he’ strikes bargains with (?) the children of foreigners,

7 And (so) his land has become full of silver and gold,
And there is no end to his stores;
And (so) his land has become full of horses,
And there is no end to his chariots;

8 And so his land has become full of idols,

To the work of his hands ‘he’ bows down,
To that which his fingers have made.

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(9) 11 'And' the pride of man shall 'sink low;'  
And the loftiness of man be 'abased';  
And Yahweh alone shall be exalted,  
[But the idols shall one and all vanish]

2.

10 Enter into [the caves of] the rock,  
And hide yourselves in [the holes of] the dust;  
Away from the terror of Yahweh  
And from His glorious majesty.

12 For Yahweh of Hosts hath a day,  
Against everything that is proud and lofty,  
And against everything that is uplifted and 'high,'  

13 And against all cedars of Lebanon,  
And against all oaks of Bashan;  
14 And against all lofty mountains,  
And against all uplifted hills;  
15 And against every high tower,  
And against every fortified wall;  
16 And against all ships of Tarshish,  
And against all . . .

17 And the pride of man shall sink low,  
And the loftiness of man be abased;  
And Yahweh alone shall be exalted  
18 But the idols shall one and all vanish.

The subject of the poem is the Day of Yahweh (v.12), when Yahweh will gloriously and terribly manifest His presence (v.10). Isaiah follows Amos in depicting this "Day," which was popularly expected to bring "light" and national success (Am 518), as a day of terror for Israel no less than for the rest of the world. It is not to be a day on which Israel's foes will for ever go under and Israel emerge successful, but on which Israel with the rest of mankind will do well to seek out holes and crannies (vv.10, 17), if haply they may there cower away from Yahweh. And the reason for this common doom that awaits Israel as well as the rest of the world is Israel's abandonment of Yahweh, which has led in turn to His abandonment of them. Israel has grown wealthy, and has
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expended its wealth on equipments for war (v.7) and on the manufacture of idols (v.8) and in these has placed its trust; thereby in Yahweh’s judgment, if not in its own, showing disloyalty to Yahweh: consequently Yahweh has abandoned Israel; it is no more His people, has no longer closer ties with Him than the rest of mankind, and must therefore share the result of the common overthrow of all wherein man places his pride and confidence on the day which will show Yahweh alone supreme, and all the works of man’s hands, including the idols, valueless (vv.11-19). According to the present text of v.6 a specific offence of Israel has been the practice of magic; whether this is what was originally intended by that line, or whether it spoke of a recent increase in foreign trade as the cause of the increased wealth that has led to abandonment of Yahweh, is discussed below. The first strophe dwells more fully on the present condition of Israel (6-8), the two refrains and the ominous words of v.6b indicating the coming doom. The second strophe is entirely devoted to a description of that doom—the day of Yahweh is at hand, when He will overthrow all lofty and towering objects and man's pride itself, all that rises above the ordinary level and thereby even distantly competes with the sole exaltation of Yahweh which the “Day” is to manifest, and consequently all the objects in which foolish man, not recognising Him that is truly High and lifted up, has vainly placed his trust.

Whether these two strophes constituted the entire poem or not, the connection of the two main subjects—prevailing sin and inevitable judgment—is clear and characteristically prophetic; and each is forcibly expressed by the monotonous cast of the sentences: wealth, wealth, nothing but wealth and the trust in it (vv.6-8); overthrow, overthrow, nothing but overthrow of all else but Yahweh (vv.12-16).

Since the term “House of Jacob” in v.6 is ambiguous, it must remain uncertain whether Isaiah is here depicting the doom of the Northern Kingdom (as in 911. 171-9), or of the Southern Kingdom, or of both together. In either case the prevalence of wealth and the easy confidence in the more than sufficiency of the military resources of the kingdom point to a very early period in Isaiah’s career—say before the Assyrian campaign of 738 B.C.,—as the probable if not certain date of the poem; some, too, detect the “rush and abandon” of youth in the composition, and the
influence in vv.12-16 of the great earthquake that occurred in Isaiah’s childhood (Am 1^2, Zec 14^6).

6. For he hath abandoned his people] so Gr: ἡ for thou hast abandoned thy people (see phil. n.). The words are obviously not the beginning of a poem; nor could they be so regarded, even if ἡ might be rendered surely, or certainly (BDB, p. 472b: cp. Nu 23^23 n.). Nor can they give the reason for v.5; they cannot mean “for thou (Israel) hast abandoned thy nationality, or national character”—an interpretation which places on ἡ an impossible meaning. The subject of the vb., whether the 3rd pers. (Gr) or the 2nd (He), is God. What originally preceded v.6 can only be conjectured; if, as in the translation above, the refrain of vv.10, 19, 21, the reading of Gr is the more suitable.—Jacob] Gr Israel: either term might refer exclusively to the Northern kingdom (97); but 814 proves that “Israel” with Isaiah included Judah, and the same is doubtless true of Jacob (cp., further, 5^7 817 10^23 29^22). In Mic 3^22, Jacob, House of Jacob, is even used when the reference is to Judah exclusively.—For his (i.e. Jacob’s) land is full of, etc.] so Gr, in harmony with the following lines: ἡ for they are full of. The last part of v.6 is certainly more or less corrupt (see phil. n.). Literally rendered, ἡ reads:

For they are full from (or, fuller than) the East,
(or, For they are full from of old)
And of (or, and (they are)) soothsayers like the Philistines,
And they strike (bargains) with (?) the children of foreigners.

Gr reads:

And their land is full as of old of soothsayings like that of the Philistines,
And many alien children have been born to them.

The first line in ἡ obviously lacks an object: RV “for they be filled (with customs) from the East” is not a translation of ἡ, but virtually rests on an unacknowledged and improbable conjectural emendation. Many others since Lowth have conjecturally supplied, as an object to they are full of, the word diviners: then the first and second lines in ἡ thus emended express the same general thought as the first line in Gr—the land of Jacob is full of soothsayers. The connection between the presence of sooth-
sayers and the striking of bargains with foreigners (third line in $H$) is not obvious; and since the meaning of the third line is by no means beyond question, Marti suspects a third reference in that line to magic or enchantment. Still no such meaning can be extracted from the text of the third line or from any obvious emendation of it. But if we look at the wider context, another question arises, viz., Is any reference to soothsaying or the like probable? Ought we not rather to find in the line(s) that precede a sense parallel to that of the third line? By a conjecture discussed in the phil. n. and more fully in ZATW, 1911, pp. 112 ff., and tentatively expressed in the above translation, this is obtained. Judah (or Israel) has become a busy commercial people thronged with foreign traders: hence flows wealth, which is expended on munitions of war and the manufacture of handiwork to which, instead of Yahweh, the people pay worship. The word כנענים, conjecturally substituted for ענינים and rendered "traders," is literally Canaanites (cp. Zeph 1:11, Ezek 16:29, and ? Hos 12:8; Is 23:6, Pr 31:24, and ? Zec 14:1)—a fact which would increase the suitability of foreigners in the parallel. For the association of the presence of foreigners with a wealth-producing commerce, cp. ch. 23, Ezek 27. On the increase of trade in Israel in the sixth century B.C., see G. A. Smith in EBi. 5174, "the Hebrew prophets from Amos onwards bear witness to an extraordinary increase of trade, and to the tempers which grow with it. . . . The old agricultural economy is disturbed; farmers give place on their ancestral lands to a new class of rich men, who can only have been created by trade; and the rural districts are partly depopulated (Is 5:8, Mic 2:1-6. 9). The sins of trade: covetousness, false weights, and the oppression of debtors and of the poor, are frequently castigated (Am 2:6 4:1 8:10, Hos 12:7, Is 3:15 5:28, Mic 2 and 3)."—Like the Philistines] the appropriateness of the comparison in the text of $H$ or $G$ is obscure. We have no other indication that the Philistines were pre-eminent in divination. That the Philistines consulted oracles (2 K 12) and resorted to magic practices (1 Sam 6:2) merely shows that they formed no exception to the general habits of the ancient world. On the other hand, the Philistines were great traders, and Gaza was one of the great markets of the ancient world: cp. G. A. Smith, Hist. Geog., ch. ix. If we retain the Hebrew text, we may perhaps best explain—alike from East and West (cp. 9:11 11:14) they borrow their magic customs. The
particular form of magic expressed by מַלְשָׁנָה, which is denounced in Dt 18:10, Lv 19:26, and otherwise referred to in Jg 9:7, Mic 5:11, Is 57:8, 2 K 21:6, is uncertain; it has been variously explained from מַלְשָׁנָה, a cloud, hence rain-producers, from מַלְשָׁנָה, the eye, hence persons who exercise the power of the evil-eye, a power widely believed in and dreaded down to the present day in Palestine; from the Arabic ꜯunjat, a twang, the hum of insects, hence diviners as the interpreters of such sounds, or as delivering their instruction with such sounds, or "singing"* their spells; and from the Arabic انّا, to appear, hence dealers in phenomena (see references in BDB, s.v.).—He strikes bargains with foreigners] ב they, etc.: the sing. in reference to Jacob, the personified people, should probably be restored in agreement with the following clauses. On the degree of uncertainty attaching to the verb, see phil. n.: the rendering adopted seems at least more probable than the alternative they abound with (G, AVmarg.).—7. Whether the previous v. had led up to it or not, we have here clearly enough a description and tacit condemnation of the multiplication of material resources (gold, silver, and stores) and equipment of war (horses, chariots) which had been the result of the long and successful reign of Jeroboam II in the N. and of Uzziah in the S. Isaiah in common with other prophetic writers condemns these things because they blind men to worthy and spiritual ideals, which are summed up for him in Yahweh the Holy One of Israel: cp. 30:15-17 31:1-3, Mic 5:10, Hos 8:14, Zec 4:9, 10, Dt 17:6f. (cp. 20:1-4), Ps 20:8.—8. Idols] the word מִלְשָׁנָה also occurs in vv. 18, 20 10:10f. 19:1-3 31:7, Ezk 30:18, Hab 2:18, Ps 96:5 (= I Ch 16:29) 97:7, Lv 19:4 26:1. It often conveys an unmistakable suggestion of contempt. The meaning of the word as used by the prophets is sufficiently indicated by the expressions מַלְשָׁנָה פָּרֵשׁ, worthless shepherds (Zec 11:17), and מַלְשָׁנָה פָּרֵשׁ, good-for-nothing physicians (Job 13:4). It is possible that it was originally a respectable word for gods,† just as מַלְשָׁנָה must have been for priests, and that it was the irony of the prophets that associated it with the adjective מִלְשָׁנָה, worthless (cp. Syr. מִלְשָׁנָה), or perchance the negative מִלְשָׁנָה, perhaps, too, with a play on מִלְשָׁנָה, strong; so here,

† See BDB.
his land is full, not of strong ones, but of noughts or good-for-nothings.—*The work of his hands . . . that which his fingers have made*] cp. 17, Hos 13.—9. The v. omitted in the translation above is parallel in sense to v.11; the last clause seems corrupt; the first two clauses re-appear in 16, whence perhaps they were transferred to the present passage, in the first instance as a marginal parallel: see, further, phil. n.—10. Variants of the refrain occur in vv.19 and 21 for which see phil. n.; on the original position of the refrain, see above, p. 49.—When Yahweh marches forth on His day, the earth quakes (Jg 5), or He comes in the thunder-storm. If from human enemies men run for safety to the caves (i S 13), how much more before this foe! cp. Hos 10.—*From before the terror of Yahweh, and from his glorious majesty*] cp. the expressions of Assyrian conquerors, pul-ha-at bilu-ti-ia na-nur-rat kakki-ia iz-su-ti ip-la-hu-ma, “of the terror of my lordship, the panic of my mighty weapons they were afraid” (Shalmaneser, Monolith, ii. 79 = KB i. 171); “Him, Hezekiah, terror of the glory of my lordship (pul-ḥi mī-lammī bilū-ti-ia) overwhelmed” (Sennacherib, Taylor Cylinder, iii. 29 = KB ii. 95).

12–17. V.12 states the general theme of the strophe: Yahweh on His Day will lay low every lofty object, that His own unique exaltation may appear (v.17); then in detail the prophet pictures the overwhelming and irresistible might of Yahweh, affecting first Lebanon (11 14 etc.) and Bashan (33 n.), laying low the great and strong trees that cover them (v.18) and the hills themselves (v.14), and then the creations of man’s pride and confidence—on land, his citadels and walled cities (v.18), and on sea, his ships (v.16). The line of movement is from the N.E. (Lebanon N., Bashan E.): does the prophet think of the Assyrians as Yahweh’s warriors (cp. 10)?—15f. In these verses Isaiah may have specially in mind, though not exclusively, the towers and fortifications which Uzziah built and the new sea trade which resulted from Uzziah’s capture of Elath on the Red Sea (2 K 14). “Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem over the corner gate, and over the valley gate, and over the angle (of the wall), and fortified them,” and Jotham “built much on the wall of Ophel.” (2 Ch 26 27; cp. G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, ii. 119 f., 125).—15. Fortified] הפעם means cut off, inaccessible, and so fortified, impregnable (cp. Jer 15): cp. “th} high and fortified walls
wherein thou trustest” (Dt 28:2) — 16. Ships of Tarshish] ships fit to make the longest voyages, large ships, consequently ships with lofty masts. The meaning is obvious from the context here and in some of the other passages where the phrase occurs (23:14 60:9, Ezek 27:25, Ps 48:7, 2 Ch 9:21). Ει either transliterates the proper name (60:9), or renders by πλοια Καρχηδόνος (23:14), or, as perhaps here, by πλοίον θαλάσσης (but see EB1. 4897 n. 1); see also Ezek 27:25. The best identification of Tarshish still seems to be Tartessus (23:6 n.) in Spain—at the remote corner of the ancient world.— And against all . . . ] the phrase (שומית השמיס) might perhaps (see phil. n.) mean desirable or costly imagery, but this does not suit the context, which requires that the phrase should describe some lofty object; moreover, the analogy of vv.18-18 suggests that the phrase should describe something closely resembling, or intimately connected with, large ships. None of the various suggested renderings of the phrase, as in Σ or emended, satisfy both these requirements (see phil. n.).— 17. Cp. v.11.— 18. But the idols will one and all vanish forms an excellent antithetical parallel to the third line of v.17 Yahweh alone will be exalted: cp. Ps 102:27 heaven and earth vanish (הָאָרֶץ as here: also Job 9:26), Yahweh abides.

19. Cp. v.10, and see phil. n.— When he arises to terrify the earth יָרֵע, ut terreat terram.— Enter into the caves] so v.10 Εί; Σ and they shall enter, which would mean that the idols will enter into the caves.— 20. An annotation in prose, or, at least, not in the dominant rhythm of the poem. It explains how the idols will get into the caves (v.19 Σ). Men perceiving the uselessness of the idols will throw them away (cp. 30:22 31:7) to animals that house in the darkness of caves and holes.— Moles] or rats. The noun היאר means literally a much-digging (animal). AV, RV rightly, though without acknowledgment, abandon the unintelligible MT (הרי מַחְטֵר) and follow Σ talpes.— Bats] “The majority of the bats of Palestine (and they are very numerous) inhabit caves, caverns, tombs, ruins, and disused buildings” (EB1i.). With the standpoint of this annotator, cp. Bar 6:20f. “They are as one of the beams of the temple; and men say their hearts are eaten out, when things creeping out of the earth devour both them and their raiment . . . upon their bodies and heads alight bats, swallows, and birds; and in like manner the cats also. Whereby ye may know that they are no gods.”—
21. Either a corrupt variant of vv. 10 and 19 (Du.), or the annotator (v. 20) has slightly modified the refrain to convey his meaning—men will cast away the idols so that they, the idols, may find themselves clefts and crannies (Marti).—22. A still later annotation,* for, unlike v. 20 (21), it is later than СГ, from which the v. is absent. It is an obvious reflection on the chapter—cease to place confidence in man (cp. Jer 17:6, Ps 146:8f), who is of no account; but it is the reflection of some reader possessed of a roll of the prophet rather than (as Di. suggests) of Isaiah himself when he put ch. 2 and ch. 3 together.—In whose nostril is a breath] Cp. Gn 27:22, Job 27:8. The breath being given by God, man lives; but being withdrawn, he dies (�性, Ps 104:29).

The history of the interpretation of the v. is interesting and explains the rendering of the СГ, and consequently of some English versions. Jews, correctly understanding the clause at what is he accounted to mean that he is of no worth, referred the passage to Christ. Jerome met this not by denying the reference to Christ, but by placing on the words Bαμαма ην κατα an impossible meaning. He points out, correctly, of course, that СГ may be pronounced BAMMA at what, or BAMAH, which he interprets excelsus (it is, of course, the (heathen) high place). He renders the whole verse, "Quiescite ergo ab homine, cuius spiritus in naribus eius: quia excelsus reputatus est ipse," and comments, "Quisquam ne hominum ita quempiam laudet ut dicat: cavete ne offendatis eum, qui omnino nihil est? Ergo e contrario sic intellegendum: Cum haec universa ventura sint vobis, et prophetali spiritu praedicantur, moneo atque praecipio, ut quiescatis ab eo qui secundum carnem quidem homo est, et habet animam, et ita spirit, et naribus halitum trahit ut nos homines spiramus et vivimus: sed secundum divinam majestatem excelsus et est et reputatur et creditur. Tacita mecum mente prertactans, non possum invenire rationem quare LXX tam perspicuam de Christo prophetiam in Graecum noluerint vertere. Caeteri enim, qui verterunt quidem, sed sermonem ambiguam ad impietatis traxere sensum, non mirum cur male interpretati sint, nec voluerint de Christo gloriosum quid dicere in quem non credebant: videlicet Judaei aut Semijudaei, id est, Ebionitae."

6. יָּנוּד ישָׁמָע For the form ישָׁמָע, see G-K. 448. СГ (L) reads ἀνήκεν γὰρ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. It is disputed whether this represents a real Hebrew variant יָּנוּד ישָׁמָע (so Mar.; cp. Du.) or not (Che. SBOT). СГ fits the context better, for nowhere else throughout the entire passage is Yahweh addressed, except in a probably corrupt clause (v.5). On the other hand, it is difficult to account for the derivation of І from СГ's reading. If the stichos be editorial (Che.), І may be right; but if part of the poem, СГ is to be preferred. If the text were substantially correct a suggestion of W. R. Smith in a letter to Che. (SBOT) would deserve attention; this is, that у (lost by haplography after יָּנוּד) should be prefixed to у, so as to give а

* So Che. (following Studer: see SBOT), Du., Marti, Cond.
sentence of the form of Mic 4 and of the same tenour as Ezek 8, Jer 26, 2 K 1.

COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH

This would leave a better sentence than מ, but substantially the same sense: their land is full of enchanters like the Philistines. If the allusion to enchanters is rightly suspected (see comm.), we may conjecture that ענין is an error for ישעניבא, trafficers; by also omitting the words we should obtain, finally, a line not only parallel to the probable sense of, but rhythmically equal to, יב-Owned מחלא ענין מסそこに הוא. That the clauses יב-Owned מחלא ענין מסそこに are in some measure corrupt is generally admitted; the emendation most usually adopted, since the time of Lowth, has been the insertion of הקסטמא or כמות before מחלא, or the substitution of one of these words for מחלא; but there are serious objections to this widely accepted emendation: (1) מחלא with a personal subject and a personal object is improbable; (2) the emendation fails to explain מ, and fails to the ground if מ's text, which contains an object for מחלא, be correct; (3) ענין is left awkwardly limping, if a second object of מחלא, and inelegant, though abstractly possible (Dr. § 135 (6)), if it be a new predicate; (4) מחלא מסそこに is too long for one line, somewhat too short for two, and if two lines, the following line is left isolated. ענין if the text be correct (but see last n.), ענין is Poel part. without the performative מ, as in Jer 27; G-K. 525. — Whether מחלא is left as it is, or מחלא is inserted, if the text is correct, must be a unique variant of מחלא or מחלא; it scarcely means young foreigners (Dr.). Hitz. proposed this as for מחלא. The vb. מבעפס, to suffice, occurs once in the Kal in a North Palestinian source (1 K 20), and the noun מבעפס, sufficiency, in Job 20; the vb. also occurs in the late Heb. of Ecuclus. (39) (Kal), 39: 42 (Hiph.), and מבעפס is common in Aramaic. The use by Isaiah of a vb. with such a history is not very probable, though it was natural for מ to assume its use. It is safer to suppose that מבעפס here=מבעפס (G-K. 66); this (with מבעפס) means to strike hands (in anger, Nu 24, or mockery, La 2, Job 27); cp. صفכ, and the citation by Lane (Arab. Dict. 1373) of the tradition "the الصفق في الأسواق means the striking of hands of the contracting parties on the occasion of selling and buying in token of ratification thereof in the markets." Unless we adopt Hitz.'s emendation we must suppose that מבעפס(נ) is here a breviloquence for מבעפס מבעפס(נ), cp. מבעפס, Pr 11:19—מבעפס, Pr 17:22, and the alternative expressions صفכ יד, صفכ, and صفכ על يده (Lane, p. 1700), meaning to strike hands in concluding a bargain: cp. also صفכ, (1) a striking of the hands, (2) a contract.—The most suspicious thing in the present text is the prep. כ: we
should rather expect ו or א. —7. ו הָזֶה [א.א.] Nah 210. —8. זָהֳבַּם מַלְאֵךְ אלָד [א.א.] very probably a parallel line has fallen out; Du. suggests יַזְהֵה הָבוּץ [א.א.— וְהוֹאֵשִׁים] read הוהים, note יד: otherwise explain by G-K. 145m. —9. אַיָּה תְמוֹנָה [א.א.] and so mankind is bowed down and man humbled; the consequences of v. 8, though actually appertaining to the future, are described as though they had already ensued (Dr. Tenses 3, p. 94): and (therefore) do thou (Yahweh) not forgive them, a poetical way of expressing—and therefore shall they not be forgiven (Dr. § 57). So with some ingenuity, but without probability, י may be explained. It is difficult to believe that vv. 9. 11а b are anything but corrupt variants of the refrain which occurs in nearly its original form in vv. 17. 18. Yet another variant probably occurs in 15: there the first four words are as here, but instead of the almost certainly corrupt וְהָזֶה אֶת תְמוֹנָה, 5' has הָזֶה אֶת נֶפֶלָהּ. For אֶת, א. א. has והֲשָׁאֵלָה. —10. The refrain occurs with variants in v. 19: it is improbable that the rhythmical dissimilarity of the two occurrences of the refrain is original; since the rhythm was probably 3 : 3, restore מְשָׁעֲדָה (or מְשָׁעַד, cp. v. 21) and מְשָׁעֲדָה as in v. 19. Moreover, read אֶת (א. א. cp. v. 19) for א. א. and מְשָׁעֲדָה for מְשָׁעֲדָה: in v. 19 supply from here onward אֶת נֶפֶלָהּ before מְשָׁעֲדָה. At the end of the v. א. א. read מְשָׁעֲדָה only as in vv. 19. 21. א. א.—now the derived א. א. for א. א. for similar combinations of synonyms, cp. Ps 145. 12. J. Kennedy proposes מְשָׁעֲדָה (cp. 1 S 14 so): unnecessary; see Che. SBOT. 11. א. א.—universe א. א. J. Kennedy: but the text is probably corrupt. See on v. 9. —אֶת מְשָׁעֲדָה [א. א. ] rhythmically redundant and probably an editorial addition; but the refrain should be completed as in 17. by restoring here מְשָׁעֲדָה נֶפֶלָהּ. —12. מְשָׁעֲדָה א. א. kal μετέρων καὶ ταῦτα ὑποθέσατον, of which the first two words=א. א. or a word of a similar sense. The parallel suggests that this was right; kal תָּא. rendered בני ישראל after it had come into the text. —13. א. א.—א. א. כִּבְשֵׁי אָדָם rendered מקיה Lauri: the words are rhythmically redundant and they weaken the sense, for cedars of Lebanon being the tallest of their kind need no epithet (cp. “ships of Tarshish” without epithet). 16. א. א. מְשָׁעֲדָה means that which is desirable, or, by a slight and easy transference of meaning, precious, costly (see 2 Ch 36 “all the costly furniture” of the temple; cp. Hag 2). But the art. is suspicious: cp. מְשָׁעֲדָה regularly: possibly מְשָׁעֲדָה as well as מְשָׁעֲדָה is corrupt. The idea of desirableness or costliness does not elsewhere in this strophe interrupt the monotonous expression of the idea of loftiness. מְשָׁעֲדָה together with מְשָׁעֲדָה, the only other derivative of the root found in OT (see Nu 33. n.), is explained by the Aram. אָדָם, to look out, look for, expect. Meanings that have been suggested are imagery (EV: cp. מְשָׁעֲדָה in Nu.); and א. א. here καὶ εἰς παλατίαν θείαν πλοῖων καλλίους, watch towers (? § 500, Ew., RV marg.), flags (of ships as being conspicuous; Ges. Thes.). Other renderings presumably based on the text, but either questionable, or paraphrastic, are palaces (א. א.), QV quod visum pulchrum est (for both words). The most interesting emendation suggested in מְשָׁעֲדָה=נִצְנָה (Jon 1), ships (Siegfried-Stade); while Bennett (see BDB, s.v.) and others have suggested that מְשָׁעֲדָה itself may have been a term for a particular kind of ship: cp. Che. in SBOT, who ultimately prefers to read נִצְנָה תָּא. both emendations half, but only half, meet the case (see comm. above). —18. א. א. מְשָׁעֲדָה אבֶּרֶת מַכְלֵיהֶם exactly equal rhythmically to the first two lines of v. 17 and also to the last line, if we omit א. א. as
editorial. Restore יָאָשְׁנִי (Marti); this gives at once the pl. vb. required after יָכָלָנָא (cp. ג'カメラיוועווע) and the imper. at the beginning of 
 corresponding to v.10. לֹּלַי is acc. (cp. G-K. 118, 5) in entirety, all together, one and all; cp. the entire as a variant on

(Wright, Ar. Gram. ii. 82b), and, e.g., unanimously, go forth all together

(4, 73), until they shall all have entered therein (ib. 6, 36).—20._ls] subj., acc. to Hitz., Di., is they, viz. the craftsmen: improbable. Either יָהֹז has dropped out (cp. 317), or the vb. was sing.—הָשׁ, scarcely וַּיִּשׁ (Lag., Du.) with retention of the original 3rd radical (cp. G-K. 756). ג also has no equivalent for הנ–תֶּשׁ [the correct Massoretic text, though a few Hebrew MSS have gone back to the original reading of תֶּשׁ תֶּשׁ]. ג (רִוְס מַתֵּאָו) clearly read one word only: so Theod. ןִּפְרִפְרָפָת. For meanings that have been suggested for the impossible תְּוֹרֶת יָשָׂר, see Ges., Di.; for the nominal form תֶּשׁ, G-K. 84n.—


III. 1-15.

This section has been commonly regarded as a single continuous whole. More probably, as Du. has suggested, it consists of two poems, (1) vv.1-12, (2) vv.13-15; the first has been enlarged by the incorporation of notes and parallels, the second perhaps lacks its conclusion.

The reasons for supposing that there are two poems here are briefly these: (1) v.13 constitutes an obviously suitable commencement of a poem; (2) the attitude towards the rulers in vv.1-5 and v.14 is different; the point of the former verses is that the rulers are to be removed, and that their removal will cause the fall of the state, the point of the latter that the conduct of the rulers has brought Yahweh to judgment; (3) a marked difference of rhythm and structure.

In vv.13-15 a consistent rhythm is very clearly maintained (3 : 3) and in three out of the four couplets the lines are parallel in sense; in vv.1-12 no single rhythm is maintained throughout in the present text, but the dominant rhythm is 3 : 2; see v.1 (to הָשָּׁרְשָׁר, two distichs), v.8 (two distichs), v.8 (to בֵּשָׁר); v.4 is ambiguous—3 : 2 (MT) or 3 : 3. Another good 3 : 2 distich may be obtained by transposing 76 and reading יָמִּשׁ וַּשֶּׁרֶשֶׁר הָשָּׁרְשָׁר | בֵּשָׁר. The interruption of the 3 : 2 rhythm may be partly, or entirely, due to textual corruption and interpolation; but whether this be so or not, there is certainly but little of the rhythm and parallelistic
structure of vv.18-15 in vv.1-12; it appears only in v.12 and possibly also v.4; vv.10, 11 divide into periods of three accents, but the periods of parallelism are 6:6. Thus, judged by rhythm alone, v.12 might go with vv.13-15; but if 1-18 is not continuous, the new start in v.13 obviously marks the main division.

III. 1-12.—A Prophecy of Anarchy in Judah.

Rhythm.—Irregular, but in vv.1-8 the distichs shown in the translation are mostly 3:2, in 10-11 they are 6:6. See more fully just above.

1 For behold the Lord
    Yahweh of Hosts
    Is removing from Jerusalem and Judah
    Staff and stay.

2 The whole staff of bread and the whole staff of water. The mighty man
    and the warrior, the judge and the prophet and the diviner and the
    elder; 3 the captain of fifty and the man of repute and the counsellor
    and the skilled in magic arts and the expert in charms.

4 And I will give youths to be their captains,
    And caprice shall rule over them;

5 And the people shall tyrannise man over man,
    Yea, each one over his neighbour;
    The youth shall act rudely towards the old man,
    And the lightly esteemed towards the highly respected.

6 When a man shall lay hold on his fellow,
    In whose father's house is a mantle (saying,)
    Come, thou shalt be our ruler,
    And this ruin shall be under thine hand,

7 He shall make utterance in that day, saying,
    I will not be a binder up,
    For in my father's house there is no bread,
    And there is no mantle;
    Ye shall not make me ruler of the people;

8 For Jerusalem hath stumbled,
    And Judah hath fallen;
    For their tongue and their deeds are against Yahweh,
    (?) Provoking the eyes (?) of His glory.
    Their partiality hath witnessed against them,
    And they have given evidence of their sin like Sodom
    without concealing ought.
Woe to themselves, for they have done themselves harm.

10 'Happy is' the righteous, for he is fortunate: for they eat the fruit of their doings.

11 Woe to the unrighteous: he is unfortunate: for the dealing of his hands is done unto him.

12 The taskmasters of my people deal cruelly,
And exactors of usury rule them.

O my people, thy guides mislead,
And confound the way of thy paths.

The main theme of the foregoing verses is as follows: Yahweh is on the point of removing from Judah all those who give stability to the state by the discharge of civil or military duties, or by advice. All effective administration will then come to an end, violence will prevail, age and character will no longer command respect, and, even if appealed to, men of standing and substance will refuse to act as leaders. This imminent and certain collapse of the state (vv.1-7) is Yahweh's judgment on His people for evil ways and unblushing sins (vv.8f.).

As a matter of fact this theme is exhausted in vv.1-9b, and indeed is sufficiently presented in the rhythmically similar distichs (3 : 2) within vv.1-9. Vv.4.9a-12 may be sayings that had at one time another setting. The last clauses of v.1 have been generally, and rightly, regarded as a gloss (see below); and some (cp. Che. Introd. 17) consider that the catalogue in vv.2f, which seems to be in prose, has been interpolated or at least expanded.

For all that is known the main theme of vv.1-12 might have been handled at many periods of Isaiah's life. The argument drawn from vv.4-12 that these verses were written in anticipation, or at the beginning, of the reign of Ahaz, is very precarious (see comm.); and not much less so Hackmann's argument (p. 122) that the wickedness of which Isaiah speaks must have been long observed by him and in vain denounced, to account for his certainty of ruin.

I. For] the ▼ links 31-15 to 26f. (Marti), or 222 (Di.), but is perhaps editorial, and was possibly absent from the text of \( \text{G} \) (see phil. n.).—The Lord Yahweh of Hosts] 124 n.—Jerusalem and Judah] cp. 11 n.—Staff and stay] all means of support whatsoever, all "pillars of the state" (cp. 1918, Jg 205, 1 S 1498, Zec 104): EV by its alliteration happily secures some similarity
III. 1-3

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to the original (see phil. n.).—“Staff and stay” appears to receive two explications: first, in the clause every staff of bread and every staff of water, it is interpreted of what supports physical life; the removal or breaking of such a staff means famine, see Lv 26:26, Ezk 4:16 5:16 14:16 (where staff is מָטֶשׁ, not מַטֶשׁ). Since there is no further suggestion of famine (except, at most subsidiarily, in v.7), but the entire prophecy turns on the removal of the staff as next explained, this clause is generally considered to be a gloss supplied by a reader who was familiar with Ezekiel, and who saw in the present passage a prophecy of the famine that accompanied the Fall of Jerusalem in 586. — 2. 3. An enumeration of typical pillars of state,—military, judicial, religious; vv.4ff. the social disorder and confusion which follows when every such staff and stay (v.1) is removed. The pillars of state are enumerated mostly in pairs, but in a curious order, or lack of order; v.8 contains a second and similar series rather than a continuation of the series begun in v.2, yet scarcely of less important though similar officials (Di.), for the classes mentioned second and third in v.9 are certainly important. Further, the enumeration is of persons whom the prophet’s audience accounted sources of strength: “diviners” and “charmers” could never have appeared such to Isaiah himself, and indeed his fundamental thought here as in ch. 2 is that Yahweh alone is the true strength of Judah; in alienating Him and thus losing His support, the people work their own fall and ruin (v.8).—The mighty man and the man of war] cp. Ezk 39:20 where the prefixing of “all” to the second term (דָּוִד מַלְאָכָה) suggests that the first (דָּוִד) denotes the soldier under some aspect of superiority, whether the veteran or soldier in command (Di.), or the soldier by profession, Berufsoldat (Ges-B.), a member of the bodyguard as distinguished from the man who simply takes to arms in time of war (cp. 2 S 23:8, Jer 5:16). In view of such passages as 1 S 16:18 17:38, 2 S 17:8, the distinction, if it ever existed apart from the suggestion of the context, was scarcely well-marked.—The diviner] the term סבּר denotes a person who obtained information by divination, as, for example, by drawing lots with arrows (Ezk 21:28f. 21ff.); the practice is directly or tacitly condemned whenever it is referred to in OT (cp. e.g. Dt 18:10ff.). See fuller notes in Numbers, 329, 355. — 3. Captain of fifty] may be intended to refer typically to petty

So, or substantially so, Ges., Hitz., Di., Che., Du., Cond., Marti.
military officers: or possibly מָלָי should be differently punctuated and the term rendered "captain of the armed men" (see phil. n.).—The man of repute] lit. he whose face is lifted up (ראיתFACE), the person whose reputation rests on actual achievement rather than on mere occupation of office; cp. 2 K 5, Naaman not only held high office, but enjoyed a high repute because of his victories over Israel; the phrase also occurs in 9, Job 22 (¶ רָאָתŠŠ).—The counsellor an important person—see 26 9, 19, Mic 4, Job 3 12.—The skilled in magic arts] so with RV marg. rather than the cunning artificer or craftsman, see phil. n.—The expert in charms] or, more literally, he that has understanding of whispering charms; the adjectives (حيح, מביא) used in the two parallel clauses are frequently combined (Gn 41, Dt 19, Ps 41, and in Aram. and Eth., came to be used specifically of the speech of the serpent-charmer (Ec 10, cp. Ps 58), and then, as apparently here, more widely of charms or spells (cp. 38).

4. And I will make youths their captains] the sudden introduction between vv. 1-8 and vv. 6 of Yahweh speaking in the first person is strange; the v. is possibly not in its original position (see above).—Captain יִשָּׁר as in v. 2.—And caprice shall rule them] abstract for concrete—capricious persons. The kind of conduct intended by מִלֹּא is illustrated less by the only other occurrence of the noun (66) than by some uses of the vb. (מִלָה), which means to treat some one (malevolently) for one's own pleasure, with the result that they are made to look ridiculous, or lose character (Nu 22, Ex 10, 1 S 6, Jg 19). The noun seems to denote here the habit of mind that leads to action guided by no sound or grave reason.—If this v. stands in its original position, it repeats the thought of vv. 8 under another form. "In removing the elders he virtually makes youths captains over them" (Di.). The terms are quite general, and there is no good reason for detecting, as many do, a specific allusion to Ahaz, who succeeded to the throne in 735 B.C. at the age of twenty (2 K 16); and if there were any such allusion, it would be to the prospect (Che. Introd. 18 f.) of such a succession, not (as Del. and others assume) to the actual reign of Ahaz: the tenses in vv. 1-8 naturally refer to the future.—5. Political and moral anarchy. Respect for the old is a duty coupled in Lv 9 with the fear of God.
6-8. In this condition of things, when the state is obviously falling to pieces, authority and leadership will no longer be desired, but will be refused even by those upon whom it is thrust.—When a man lays hold on his clansman in whose father's house is a mantle (saying), Come] the words may also be translated, When a man lays hold on his clansman in his father's house (saying), Thou hast a mantle: the first translation is supported by the reply in my father's house there is . . . no mantle (v.7).—Clansman] not brother in the limited English sense of the word, for note his (not, their) father, and below (v.7) my (not, our).—In his father's house] if this be the right translation (see above), the suggestion is that in this evil time men keep at home and need to be dragged into public (cp. Am 519). Does it also imply that the man addressed is a person of family who lives in his own ancestral home? Or should we draw just the opposite conclusion, viz. that authority goes begging (cp. 41) to the lower classes, to those who are singled out by the mere possession of a mantle? Or is mantle here a robe of office, and the meaning: you belong to a family which has furnished officers of state?*—This ruin] the overthrown mass (םכשלא) caused by the fall of the state (cp. הֵרֶוחַ הָאָרֶץ, v.8).—Under thy hand] or authority: cp. Gn 169 and (ד יִתְהָרִיחֵם) Ex 1810. The phrase is parallel to thou shalt be ruler in the previous line: cp. "Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah and made a king over themselves," 2 K 820.—7. A binder up] of wounds or fractures received by the state in its fall (םכשלא, v.6: כָּבָשִׁים, v.8); cp. 10 3040, Hos 61.—8. The reason for the imminent and, as the prophetic perfects in line a imply, certain fall of the state is the opposition of the people to Yahweh in both word and deed. On the strange style of line b, see phil. n.—9. Their partiality] lit. their regard for faces, viz. in dispensing justice. This is certainly the most obvious interpretation; it assumes that the nominal phrase עברו יִתְהָרִיחֵם follows the meaning of יִתְהָרִיחֵם פניהם in Dt 141619, Pr 2425 2821. On the ground that the entire people rather than the judicial class alone is here condemned many consider the interpretation unsuitable, and rather hazardously propose either (1) the show (or, appearance) of their faces,‡ or the examination of their faces; or (2) their impudence.§ but

* Marti.
‡ Di., AV, Ges., Del., Cond.
§ Joseph Kimhi, Di.
(2) assumes that והבה is from √ערת (Job 19:9), itself of most uncertain meaning (BDB); cp. גלון. Some such meaning as the last would no doubt give a good parallel to the following line, and would be acceptable if it were philologically better supported: the whole v. would then mean: they are shameless as the men of Sodom in their sin.

9c, 10, 11. General moral reflections.—"The connection is certainly rather loose and . . . Isaiah is here merely putting together in writing leading ideas of prophecy" (Di.); but the sayings may be later than the age of Isaiah, and probably are if Du. is right, as he well may be, in detecting here (ct. vv.1-9) a well-marked doctrine of individual retribution, and in the righteous and the unrighteous the pious observer and the careless disregarde of the Law respectively.—11. The dealing of his hands] Jg 9:16, Pr 12:14: for the idea that as a man deals he is dealt with, see 33:1 (of nations).

12. Misgoverned and misled.—The first distich describes the pitiable state of Yahweh’s people due to the cruelties of severe rulers and money-lenders (ג), or to the caprice of incompetent rulers—boys (cp. v.4) and women (MT, EV). Those who adopt the latter interpretation find an allusion here to Ahaz and his harem. Here as in v.4 Yahweh is the speaker, and, as probably there, the rhythm (3:3) is unlike that which most prevails in vv.1-9. Unlike v.4 which predicts, this distich describes an existing state of things.—c. d. The change from the 3rd pers. of description to the 2nd of address suggests that the two couplets of v.12 may come from different poems. A variant of this one occurs, probably out of place, in 9:15.

1. ננת יְמָא] גלָלְבָה, possibly=נתה without י, cp. 22:17 10:38 and also 13:9 62:11 where נתה is rendered גלָלְבָה. —סְרו— of the imminent future: Dr. §135 (3).—ירשנ (חקך וּדְוָו) in ג (except B) the order is reversed: cp. 1:2 in מ; but ct. 3:6 both ג and מ.—גוּנֵשְׁנִים, masc. and fem. forms combined to exhaust an idea; see König. iii. 91, who cites Nah 2:18, Ex 35:22, Is 11:12, 2 S 19:29, and Ges. on this passage, who cites Arabic examples, such as

 executions. He has neither male nor female sheep, i.e. nothing at all. Neither יָשָׁב nor (thus pointed) יָשָׁב occurs again: with יָשָׁב (cstr.), cp. 2 S 22:19—Ps 18:14.—למה ... בּ] ג omits ב in both clauses.—2. יָשָׁב] גלָלְבָה מָא kal גלונָבָה, scarcely a real variant, but the last two words in ג may be a dittograph from v.1, or a doublet.—3. יָשָׁב] ה versions anticipate the יָשָׁב of MT with which Haupt (SBOT) compares the Assyr. rab ḫana. Che. (after Sta.) points יָשָׁב the armed men; for יָשָׁב, see
Ex 13:8, Jos 1:14 4:12, Jg 7:11, and cp. Ges-B.15 pp. 239b, 240a, with references there given.—ןָּוַי הָיָּוָּה (אֶלֶף) [G kal בָּאַמָּסְתִּוּנָּו σְוָעַמָּלוֹנָּו (ep. 95): instead of the two terms of בֵּי, G probably had but one: we should perhaps omit הָיָּוָּי (Gun. in Sievers), then ν. would consist of pairs of grammatically symmetrical terms; it cannot safely be claimed (Martii) that G omits הָיָּוָּה (אֶלֶף), for cp. תְּבָאַמָּסְתִּוּ נְבוֹס פְּרוֹנָּאָרְיָא = בֵּי (אֶלֶף) in 2 (4) K 51.—ישׁ עָבֶר גְּדוֹלָה] F sapientem de architectis, and, but that the superlative would be out of place, בֵּי might certainly mean the cunningest craftsman (G-K. 133g, 4). But the gen. is rather that of improper annexion (G-K. 128x) and בֵּי pl. of an assumed sing. בֵּי, meaning crafts, handiwork (cp. EV), or, more probably, in view of the following clause, magic arts: cp. מְפַרְע, to practise magic, see, further, BDB.—4. מְפַרְע] abstract pl.; G-K. 852.5. מְפַרְע generally taken to be Niphal, with reciprocal sense (G-K. 51d) of לְבֵי, to drive (to work: 583), be a task-master (cp. Ex 3:1) or a ruler, especially a foreign or oppressive ruler (9 14). The Niph. with a different force occurs in 537, i S 13 (7 142). שֶׁי read by 8 MSS is not preferable. The Versions read differently or rendered inadequately—G kal שְׁמַעְשֵׁהָה, צִים; לָעָף. 6. 판א הלשכה] G apparently read יִרְכָּה—wrong; note vb, plural suf., in the previous clause.—hef] either 2nd sing. m. suf. as in Gn 27:7, 2 S 18:2 (G-K. 103g and 91d), or 2nd sing. impr. of יִרְכָּה with emphatic ending (G-K. 48).—8. תֶּהֶמְש] תֶּהֶמְש (G-K. 539), but many of the alleged instances of this syncope are questionable. תֶּהֶמְש, to be contentious, rebellious (towards), is commonly used either absolutely or with a personal, or virtually personal (מר), object, or with an acc. signifying a command: יִרְכָּה if— יִרְכָּה is a strange object for the vb. The sentence שֶׁי יִרְכָּה יִרְכָּה is rhythmically overloaded and awkward, whether with Di. we interpret their tongue and their deeds are in relation to Yahweh of such a kind that they must provoke, etc., or with Du. al. assume that שֶׁי stands for שֶׁי. G renders כֵּי קָלְוָאָו אֵלָאָו מָכָא נָוּאָא, זָא פּרָז קְורִיָא אֶפְּיכוֹדָוָאָו: תֵּאֵר הַנְּכַלָאָו, יִדְּבָא אֵלָאָו, which may point to the presence between לְבֵי and שֶׁי of some letters now lost in בֵּי (cp. ST). For שֶׁי, G probably read שֶׁי, סִע; neither variant is preferable to בֵּי or supports Grätz’s conjecture שֶׁי. The scriptio defectiva שֶׁי for שֶׁי (read by a few Heb. MSS) is suspicious, though it occurs in Phoenician: see Lidzbarski, NSE 339, Eph. i. 158.—10. שֶׁי יִרְכָּה יִרְכָּה awkward, even if יִרְכָּה is = גָּרָי recitative (BDB 471b bottom), יִרְכָּה subj. of מְפַרְע prefixed for emphasis (cp. Gn 18:20, Dt 31:28, Mic 5:4), and בֵּי means fortunate, prosperous (Jer 44:7, Ps 112:9)—Say ye the righteous is fortunate. Lowth, al. read שֶׁיָא for שֶׁי יִרְכָּה which makes בֵּי יִרְכָּה rather superfluous. G renders curiously or from a fuller text εἰπώτες Δήσωμέν (Wis 2:12 ʹΕνέδρεψαόμεν) τῶν δίκαιων, δό δύσχρηστος ἡμᾶς ἐστιν.—11. שֶׁי יִרְכָּה יִרְכָּה rather awkward whether יִרְכָּה be connected with יִרְכָּה or with יִרְכָּה—12. גָּקִית לָעָף, “אֶלֶף לָעָף,” Ki.; but there is no other instance of מְפַרְע for the frequently occurring שֶׁי יִרְכָּה, child. This interpretation is as ancient as Symm., and has been adopted by a stream of interpreters since; a slight variation of it is obtained by treating מְפַרְע as part. Poel of an otherwise unknown denom. vb. from מְפַרְע, child, meaning to act the child (BDB 760b). W. R. Smith cited by Che. (SBOT) attempted to obtain a less questionable basis for this interpretation by emending the text into מְפַרְע שֶׁי יִרְכָּה. In spite of the lack of
an expressed object it is more probable that כְּשָׁם is part. Poel of מָכְשַׁם, to glean (GΤς, Aq., Theod., B spoliaverunt), or to act with severity towards (Marti, Cond.). For the sing. pred. distributing the pl. subj. (רֵעֲשָׁה), see, e.g., Gn 27:29 and, further, G-K. 145f. Others take רשע as pl. majestatis (G-K. 124f), referring to a single person. —רשע G, Aq. Oi απατουθεστες, Т ανδροι, Barth, Commentaries, i.e. μησι—MT, Rashi, Ki., and most moderns.—[G] the expression is curious: but G scarcely suggests a real variant (רֵעֲשָׁה 'ר), and Cheyne's omission of רֵעֲשָׁה on rhythmical grounds is very unsafe in view of the varieties of rhythm in the chapter: מ is an excellent balanced distich.—[M] for נַעֲשַׁה—lengthened vowel due to ר and the counter tone: Sta. 109. —[Aq.] by a bold figure, paths, of which all trace had been obliterated, might perhaps have been described as swallowed up. But we may infer that יֵרֵעֲשָׁה, to swallow up, developed, or a distinct root (allied to בָּשָׁם) furnished, the meaning to confuse, confound, see 28:9 15:19 50:4 55: Ps 107:27 55:10; Barth, Beiträge, 4f.

III. 13-15.—A Judgment Scene.

The rhythm is 3:3; in three of the four distichs the lines are parallel in sense. The concluding formula is a monostich of three accents.

13 Yahweh is taking his stand to plead,
And is standing to judge 'his people';

14 Even Yahweh will enter into judgment
With the elders and princes of his people.

"And ye, ye have depastured the vineyard,
What ye have plundered from the poor is in your houses:

15 What mean ye that ye crush my people,
And grind the faces of the poor?"

Is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh of Hosts.

The prophet sees Yahweh in the act (בָּשָׁם, רֵעֲשָׁה, participles, Dr. § 135) of taking up His position as judge (v.13); so far it is the fact that a judgment scene is opening that the order of the words emphasises. But in v.14 the emphasis changes: it is on the judge; it is none other than Yahweh who comes, and He comes to call to account the rulers of His people. Then in vv.14c. Ye lays the charge which opens with effective abruptness—and ye—ye rulers, the very persons appointed to protect the poor—ye have robbed and wronged them.

The more elaborate judgment scene of Mic 6:1 opens also more elaborately. Cp., too, the opening of the judgment scene of Ps 82.
13. His people] so rightly G; cp. v.14; peoples, which Du. explains, unsatisfactorily, of the Hebrew tribes; the reading has rather arisen from the desire to turn the particular judgment of Israel into a world judgment.—14. The elders] representatives of the families, survivals from the earlier clan-constitution of Israel.—The princes] the officials of the royal government.—Ye have depastured the vineyard] perhaps a proverbial expression (Du.): if the vineyard were used figuratively of the Hebrew people or state, perhaps we should have had my vineyard (so G). In either case the meaning is—instead of tending the vineyard, as true guardians should have done, so that the shoots of the vines should not be eaten off by intruding animals, they have used it recklessly for their own immediate profit (cp. v.14d) by letting loose their own animals to eat it down.—Grind the faces] the verb מ三种职业 is commonly used of grinding corn between the mill-stones.—The poor] here used plural, in v.14 singular collective.

14. נדסי] cp. קצי, Ps 26.—בארכב] cp. תב in 58 where the parallel מ멧 and the context (cp. 58 n.) suggest that תב refers to destruction by animals (cp. Ex 22?). Depasture may be a specific development of the meaning exterminate (44 n. 613, Nu 2425), or תב, to depasture, may have been originally a distinct root; see, further, Addenda.—ה?14] G-K. 954.— cườngו הת 参数 plunder taken from the poor; cp. דיבriere עעש, spoil taken from thine enemies, Dt 2014; G-K. 128h.—tréal] G-K. 37c.—15. ומער ... ומע] G omits.

III. 16–IV. 1.—The Doom of the Ladies of Jerusalem.

The lines in most of these distichs are parallel in sense, but the rhythm varies: in 386. 41 and probably in 58 also (note the echoing parallelism) it is still predominantly and was once perhaps exclusively, an echoing rhythm; but the lines balance (3:3 or 4:4) in 386. & 28 certainly, and in 386. 4 8b if רתי be disregarded and רתי רפ פ makpephed: so also, if these verses be not prose, in 3828 and in 58, if רתי רפ פ be read as two accents (Sievers).

16 Because they are haughty—
   The daughters of Šion,
   And go with outstretched necks,
   And ogling with their eyes;
   Yea, go tripping ever as they go,
   And jingling with their feet:

17 The Lord shall smite with a scab the scalps of the daughters of Šion,
   And יוהוה shall lay bare their shame(?).
In that day the Lord will turn away the finery of the anklets and the net-bands (?) and the moons, the ear-rings and the bracelets and the veils, the head-dresses and the armlets and the sashes and the perfume-boxes and the charms, the signet-rings and the nose-rings, the state-gowns and the mantles and the shawls and the satchels (?), the diaphanous garments and the linen garments and the turbans and the large veils. And it shall come to pass,

Instead of perfume there shall be rottenness,
And instead of a girdle a rope;
And instead of workmanship of hair well dressed (?), baldness,
And instead of a rich dress girding of sackcloth,
Branding instead of beauty.

Thy men shall fall by the sword,
And thy mighty in the battle.

Its gates shall mourn and lament,
And it shall be clean empty sitting on the ground.

On a single man in that day,
Saying, We will eat our own bread,
And wear our own mantle:
Only be thy name called over us;
Take away our reproach.

The ladies of Jerusalem, who now spend their days walking about the city, casting wanton looks, and calling attention to themselves, will be smitten with unclean disease and exposed to insult (vv.18-21); they will be deprived of all their choice clothing, perfumes, amulets, and knick-knacks (vv.22-23); instead they will become offensive, will receive coarse clothing and turn bald (v.24): in the city, which will have lost its men in battle (v.25) and be lying empty and desolate (v.26), seven women will think themselves fortunate if they can find a single man to take them into his possession without providing them with either food or clothing.

The fates of the women are alternatives: for the seven women of 41 are scarcely the leprous women of 317.

Possibly these alternatives did not originally appear in the same poem. Rhythmical differences in 318-41 have been pointed out above. There are other features that throw doubt on the unity, or completeness, of the passage; in v.25 there is a very sudden address to a city, presumably Şion; in v.26 the
city is spoken of in the 3rd pers.; if vv. 32 ff. really led up to 4, neither the loss of men nor the emptiness of the city must be taken absolutely. V. 24 might be a development of v. 17 though it is rhythmically different from vv. 16 ff.; but if it is, the catalogue of vv. 18-23 "completely conceals the close connection between v. 17 and v. 24" (Cheyne). In the catalogue, note the use of the article 21 times, and ct. the anarthrous nouns in v. 24. It is also claimed that the catalogue "displays an attention to trifles which is out of character with Isaiah, who in his description selects representative features (see, e.g., 9: 8), and abstains from giving exhaustive catalogues (ct. Ezek 27)." On the other hand, Gun. sees in the "jaw-breaking" (Zungenbrecherische) list (Sievers) an expression of the prophet's anger (cp. Whitehouse). Du., Che., Marti, Box attribute vv. 18-23 to "the inveterate editorial habit of supplementing," and treat vv. 22 ff. as a misplaced fragment of an elegy; this leaves, as a single poem in denunciation of the women, 3: 26 ff. 24. 4. Possibly, if the unity of the passage is abandoned, and it is difficult to defend it, 3: 26 ff. is a little poem by itself: it would be quite complete, and as long as some of the shorter and earlier suras of the Koran; 3: 24 is not in the same rhythm, and, perhaps, not even 4. Another possibility is that lines have been lost (between vv. 24. 25. 26) and others mutilated.

There is little to determine the date of this passage: in specially denouncing women (cp. 3: 26 ff.), Isaiah follows Amos (4: 1ff.); and the picture of the women in search of a husband (4: 1) may have been written about the same time as its companion—the men in search of a ruler (3: 6-8). Du. suggests that 3: 26 ff. is too elegiac in tone to be Isaiah's.

16. And Yahweh said] these words were probably prefixed by an editor * who wished to indicate the commencement of a new poem, and overlooked the fact that the prophet, not Yahweh (cp. v. 17), is the speaker.—*Haughty] הָבָה, to be high, acquired the meaning to be proud, set up, stuck up, self-sufficient: cp. Jer 1: 15, Ezek 16: 50, Zeph 3: 11.—The daughters of Zion] the ladies of the "West-end": on Zion lay the royal palace.—*Tripping] the vb. הָפָס (here only) probably signifies the quick, tripping gait, making a patter on the ground, of the women whose legs were bound by ornamental chains (v. 20); just as יִפְס denotes little children, probably on account of their pattering walk. The word is onomatopoetic: cp. the like sounding Aryan tap: tap has amongst other meanings that of passing by quickly, and אֵפָס is used of a flickering candle. Cp. ἐνδέμεντος ambulabunt pedibus suis.—*Jingling with their feet] so walking that the metal anklets, a favourite ornament with the women of the East,

* Che., Marti.
striking against one another, make a jingling noise and attract attention. Cp. Muḥammed's prohibition—"Let them not strike with their feet, so that those ornaments of theirs that be hidden be made known" (Kor. 24:81).—17. A scab such as accompanies leprosy, Lv 13 f.—Shame] cp. 47, Jer 13, La 8, Ezek 16:7; but the meaning of ḫ is very doubtful. ḫ renders hair, and this has been defended by Sta.: the veil worn by women of position will be stripped away (cp. 47), and the hair exposed; see, further, phil. n.

18-23. A catalogue of one-and-twenty articles of women's finery: probably a prose addition to the poem: see small print n. above. Some of the terms are of uncertain meaning, and it is therefore difficult to say whether the catalogue is carelessly compiled without any principle of arrangement, or an artistically constructed list. Cond. ingeniously defends the latter view, and argues that the bijoux and analogous articles are mentioned first (vv.18-21), and then the sumptuous vestments (vv.22f.). But נפש, head-dresses (v.20), and לילאה, turbans (v.21), are widely separated from one another. Cond. also detects a subtle arrangement of grammatical forms; the 21 forms fall into three groups of 8, 5 and 8; the first 8 nouns consist of 3 masc. pl. + 3 fem. pl. + 1 masc. + 1 fem.; the second 8 are disposed in an inverse order, 3 fem. pl. + 3 masc. pl. + 1 fem. + 1 masc. Two earlier scholars wrote extensive monographs on this list: N. W. Schröder, Comm. de vestitum mulierum Heb. ad Jes. 3:16ff., 1745, and A. Th. Hartmann, Die Hebräerin am Putztisch, 1809; see also the commentaries of Ges., Del., Di. The following notes merely attempt to indicate briefly the nature of the evidence for the meanings attributed to the words.—18. Anklets] cp. the sing. לנוע in Pr 7:22† (text doubtful), the denominative vb. in v.16, and מָנָסַס, the cord tied in the forepart of the nose of a camel to his fore-legs (Lane).—The net-bands] the נטָשׁ in NH was the ornamental band that passed from ear to ear over the שֶׁבָכּ, a net covering and enclosing the hair (Levy, iv. 498); ג דָאָה. Less probably ש and ה have interchanged, and the word means a little sun (שֶׁמֶשׁ), a pendant worn round the neck. Cp. the next term.—The moons] amulets worn by animals (Jg 8:21. 26†) as well as women. They were pendants in the shape of the moon, in particular perhaps of the new, or crescent (RV), moon; the meaning was evident to כְָמְנִיסְקַו (cp. יח lunulae), and is supported by the etymology,
which is obvious: נְתִפֹּה is a derivative, not necessarily a diminutive (G–K. 86g), from נֶתֶר (= מֶשֶר, the new moon), which occurs not only in Aramaic literature (see Levy, s.v. מֶשֶר; סַחוּר, מֶשֶר), but also in early Aramaic and in South-Arabian inscriptions as the name of the moon, or moon-God; the god is mentioned along with תְנָכָס in the Aramaic inscription of Zakir (9th cent. B.C.). Similarly, הילָל, the new moon, is also used of crescent-shaped ornaments or amulets: We. Reste d. Arab. Heidenthums, 145.—19. The ear-rings] Jg 8:20+: there also coupled with “moons.” These נְתִפֹּה were probably drop-like or pearl ear-rings; cp. נֶת, to drip, ניִתָחֵה (cstr.), drops (of water); Ar. נֲתַןָפָת, an ear-ring or small pearl, נֲתַגָּפָת, to put on ear-rings, and (reflexive) tanآتُفة. —Bracelets] with נְתָרֹת† cp. the Aram. נְתִלָה, chains, both for the arms and other parts of the body. נְתִלָה is here explicit, נְתִילָה: cp. also Arab. סִיוָר, a bracelet, and Assyr. שֶמִּירוּ (= שָׂיוּרֵן, סָיוְיוּרֵן) with the same meaning: see Zimmern in ZA 17, 242. BDB derive from נְתִלָה.—Veils] with נְתִלָה, a kind of veil (Freytag). It is doubtful whether נְתִלָה recognised this meaning. — 20. Head-dresses] נְתִלָה וּכְפָרִים elsewhere used of the ornamental cap of a bridegroom (613.10) or of priests (Ex 39:28, Ezek 24:17.28 44:18†). —Armlets] with נְתִלָה וּכְפָרִים, cp. מָפָר הָנֶשֶׁג, נַעַט, the upper part of the arm. מָפָר הָנֶשֶׁג, a large bracelet. Others derive from מָפָר, to march, and render step-chains, i.e. chains connecting the anklets (v.18). —Sashes] Jer 2:5: cp. the vb. in Is 41:8.—The perfume boxes] lit. houses of soul, or soul-houses, these may have been carried in the sashes; cp. Ca 1:18. Unfortunately the meaning is far from certain; Pr 27:9 gives very uncertain support for שֵׂבָנִים meaning perfume. Nor is boxes of desire, or exciting the sense of smell, very probable: see BDB 661a, 109b. Hauto (SBOT, p. 82) would derive שֵׂבָנִים here from the Assyr. pašāšu, and explain ointment-boxes. Frazer retains the normal sense of soul for שֵׂבָנִים, and traces the phrase to the belief in the external soul: “it may well be that these ‘houses of the soul’ were amulets in which the soul of the wearer was supposed to lodge”: Anthropological Essays presented

* Pognon, Inscriptions Semitiques (1908), no. 86, ii. 24, reproduced by Driver in Exp., June 1908, pp. 481 ff., with note on Sahar (p. 489). See also Cooke, NSI 188.
to E. B. Tylor, p. 148.—Charms] or amulets probably consisting of something inscribed with magic formulae: with כשלו here, cp. של in v. 8.—21. Signet-rings] see, e.g., Est 3.12 Gn 41.42.—Nose-rings] cp. e.g. Gn 24.47.—22. State-gowns] Zec 3.4: apparently so called as those which were stripped off (ךל) before resuming ordinary life: ct. the English "undress," dress not worn on formal occasions.—Mantles] הכ longos, to envelope oneself || לולס, to clothe oneself, Ps 65.14; עסأنو, a mantle.—Satchels] or veils (DB i. 627b): Ru 3.16s.—Large veils] or purses; with מזזים, cp. כריר with the same meaning. Peiser, on the ground that pockets are out of place here, surmises that this is another term for clothing, ZATW, 1897, 341.—23. Diaphanous garments] ጥ, apparently for לולס, has דיאפאניד דאקוניקά; if this be the right meaning, the garments are so termed as revealing (נן) the form beneath: cp. Assyr. gulėnu, an article of clothing, Arab. גלשה, fine silk garments. Others render mirrors, i.e. tablets (cp. 81 n.), that reveal the reflected face.—Linen garments] Jg 14.12. 18, Pr 31.24†: cp. Assyr. sudinnu, a garment; see EBi. 2933; Moore, Judges, 335, 337.—Turbans] costly or official: see especially Ecclus 11.5; see also 62.9, Zec 3.5, Job 29.14, Ecclus 47.6†.—Large veils] like the modern isar (DB i. 627) may be intended by רדרי (Ca 57†): cp. [כונן], אמרי, in Gn 24.65 38.14, אחר = אלי. 24. Perfumes] the smell of sweet aromatics used, for example, by women in purification (Est 2.12), or at burial (2 Ch 16.14). The contrast is rottenness (ם), i.e. the smell of scabs or festers (v. 17): cp. "my wounds fester (רפס) stinkingly," Ps 38.8.—A rope† that encircles (קוה, 29.1) the waist.—Hair well dressed] מפקת† is to be interpreted, in the light of the context and מעש, hammered, or turned, metal work, of some artistic treatment of the hair.—A rich dress] such should be the meaning of the obscure לרוב ת: ጥ ከሬው ከሬምንምው. —Sackcloth] 20.8 n.—Branding for beauty] the clause, if not a popular assonance placed on the margin by a reader (Du.), may be a fragment of a distich. With נ ב cp. חיב, Ex 21.25. Sta. (ZATW, 1905, 133) suggests that it is not the branding of punishment that is referred to, but branding as a means of cure. This is energetically applied to men and children, but the beauty of women and girls is spared: they will be so.
III. 21–IV. 1 AND III. 16–24

spared no more, when the days of catastrophe come.—25, 26. On the relation of these verses to the rest, see pp. 70 f.—Thy . . . its . . . it] these pronouns are fem. and refer to the city (of Jerusalem). The gates (יהרתם, 13) mourn (יהבנוה, 19), because people no longer pass through them. The empty city is pictured as one sunk to the ground and mourning: cp. La 2:10, Job 2:18, Is 47.1.—IV. 1. Women will not wait for men to ask them in marriage, but will press to be married, promising to forego the food and raiment which a husband should provide (Ex 21:10), if only they may gain protection against insults by passing into a man’s possession.—Be thy name called over us] i.e. pass as our owner, or possessor: cp. 6:19, 2 S 1:28, Dt 28:10, Am 9:12.

III. 16. נק 7ф 6ф 29:13; also Nu 11:50, 1 K 13:21 22:4. Isaiah does not use the more frequent יש נק (המס) i.e. תומב with preservation of the radical (G–K. 75ν): Kfr, עלקנ, ירקנש] not, as in some MSS and the Bomberg edition, ‘ע, whence AVmarg. deceiving with their eyes. יש is מ. ley. in Hebrew, but cp. Aram. רוכ, to look out, eye, especially with evil intent (so ס 18:5), or to look about: cp. also друг, squint-eyed. In הנע יש the vb. may be causative and the noun a direct acc., making the eyes look about, or more probably the Piel is intensive and the noun, as in the previous clause, an epexegetical gen. (G–K. 128x), ogling with the eyes. ינ renders here ינ ראה תומב ותומב, רוכ vb. ינ ינ רוכ, F nutibus oculorum. ינ יש הנע ינקת may express the same sense (cp. Levy, Aram. Wörterbuch, ii. 571), or, as some think, it means anointing their eyes with stibium. ‘Rabbi Jose of Caesarea explained, ‘they painted their eyes with אֵוֹ;’ Resh Lakish said, ‘with red collyrium’ (Pesikta d. R. Kahana, 132a, b).—הנע כ Público ינש [G–K. 11:35, w—הנע כ Público ינש for ינש; G–K. 1358—יהבנוי] pathah for סיר: cp. 13:18, and see G–K. 52n. The vb. is a denominative of סיר; v. 17 n.—17. ינקת תג for כ: G–K. 62: cp. תג תג (ו), a scab, Lv 13:8 14:6. ינקא] in 1 K 7:50 תג denotes the sockets in the lintel and threshold in which the doors turned, and the Arabic means interstitium, space between two fingers; hence it has been most precariously inferred that it meant pudenda muliebria. If this meaning, which seems in harmony with the context, was intended, it is not improbable that ינקא, or rather ינקא ינקא, is a corruption of ינקא, ינקא being used as in 47:; see J. Bachmann in TS K, 1894, p. 650. ינ may have detected this meaning and euphemised —ד ינ ינ ינ ינ, ינ ינ, רוכ F. crimem earum, on the other hand, treated ינקא as ינקא (G–K. 23f); and this explanation has been defended by Sta., as earlier by Koppe and Hitz., in ZATW vi. 336, xxvi. 130–133.—18. ינקא this cstr. case is followed by twenty-one genitives—an extraordinary instance of a construction which, even in milder forms, the language preferred to avoid; G–K. 128a: Kön. iii. 276. —24. ינקא pointless before ינקא, and probably a dittograph of it (Du.).—יהבנוה] perhaps
IV. 2–6.—Judah and Jerusalem after the Judgment.

There is unquestionably a marked tendency in the following poem to a rhythm formed by groups of two accents, one, two or three such groups forming lines, which are combined into balanced distichs and are parallel in sense. If the words represented in the translation by small print be additions, and נַעַרְנָה (2a) be read as one accent (cp. Sievers), this rhythm is not merely dominant but maintained unbroken. The separate lines, or the sections marked off by §, correspond (the small print being disregarded) to two accents in the Hebrew. The transposition in v.6 (םִי מַע before לִי נִשְׂדַק) does not affect the rhythm, but it secures greater independence and more complete parallelism for the two lines.

Other views of the rhythmical structure will be found in Marti, Sievers, Cond., and Box. Du. and Che. print the whole as prose.

2 In that day | the vegetation of Yahweh shall be | a beauty and a glory,

And the fruit of the land | a pride and an adornment | for the escaped of Israel.

3 And it shall come to pass | those that remain in Șion,

And those that are left in Jerusalem—

Holy shall they be called,

All that are written for life in Jerusalem.

4 When the Lord shall have washed away | the filth of the daughters of Șion,

And shall rinse away from its midst | the bloodstains of Jerusalem,

With the spirit of judgment,

And the spirit of extermination,

5 Then will Yahweh create | over the whole site of Mount Șion |

‘a cloud by day,

And over its assemblies’ | smoke and brightness of fire | a flame by night;

For over all glory is a canopy and a booth,

And he will be a shade | by day (?) from the heat,

A refuge and a shelter | from storm and from rain.
After Yahweh, by means of an exterminating judgment (v. 4) which will allow few to escape (vv. 28, 3), has cleansed Jerusalem from moral filth and bloodstains (v. 4), a time will come when the land of Israel will be clothed again with verdure and will produce crops, which will make the Jewish survivors from the judgment and their land glorious in the eyes of the nations (v. 2). Sion will again become a city of sacred convocations (v. 5); the entire community will be holy (v. 9); and Yahweh will visibly manifest His presence in the same way as at the Exodus—in cloud by day and flaming brightness by night (v. 5); and He will protect His city and people from all manner of misfortune and disaster (v. 6).

Even if this poem were Isaiah's, it would be doubtful in what period of his life it was written; it has often been assigned to the same period as 316–41, but the connection of 44 and 316 is probably illusory: see below.

It is more probably of exilic, or post-exilic, origin, though by no means necessarily so late as the 2nd cent. (Du.). Whether written for the purpose or obtained from some already existing book, it may have been added to 316–41 in order that the little book consisting of chs. 2–4 might have a consolatory conclusion.

Though the awkwardness and incoherence of style, the absence of rhythm and the slight amount of parallelism, which have been alleged as reasons for questioning the Isaianic authorship (Che. Introd. 20 f.), may be in large part due to textual corruption, or incorrect analysis of the rhythm and parallelism (see above), the ideas and thought of the passage alone are sufficient to render a late date very probable. "Jerusalem is already first and foremost a city of religious rites (cp. 3350). The 'convocations' are the 'holy' ones of the later legislation (Ex 1216; Lv 234, 4, 37, Nu 2825, 26 291. 7. 12). To Isaiah such festivals were uncongenial (112). . . . To the writer of 42d they would be glorified in the future by a constant appearance of the glory of Yahweh (cp. 2429 601. 2. 19. 20, Ezk 425)" (Che.). The writer by no means disregards ethical qualities (v. 4), but in his union of ritual and ethical he more closely resembles Ezekiel (ch. 18 with 40–48) and later writers (482 521 6212, Zec 1420–21, Jl 417, Ezr 828) than Isaiah (e.g. 124). See, further, the Comm.

In language the most significant fact is the use of נרה (Gr ש) in v. 6, a word which is predominantly, if not exclusively, late; cp. Che. Introd. p. 21, and Ges–B. s.v., with the references there given.

In 1884 (ZATW, pp. 149–151), Sta. thought it possible to regard vv. 4–2, 3 (in this order) as Isaiah's, and only vv. 5, 6 as late; and some still admit the late origin only of v. 6 (with 46): so Di., Cond., Whitehouse. But there is really no good ground for separating v. 6 from what precedes; on the other hand, a common rhythmical character probably runs through vv. 2–6 (see
above), and v. 6 is connected with v. 2 by a point of style (see phil. n. on v. 6). Du., Che., Marti, Kent agree in regarding the whole of 42-6 as late, while Dr. (LOT) still assigns the whole to Isaiah.

2. In that day] not the day that is mentioned in v. 1, 38, but a time determined by what follows, to wit, after the judgment.—The vegetation of Yahweh] all that Yahweh will cause to grow out of the soil; cp. Gn 29, Ps 10414 1478. In order to emphasise the point that Yahweh will be the source of the future fertility, the writer employs קָרוֹת קָרוֹת as an alternative to the more usual phrases קָרוֹת קָרוֹת (Gn 1925), זֶה הַשָּׁרוּ (Ezk 16); but it is at least unnecessary to think of the land yielding a miraculous growth without any work of man (Marti): for see Ps 10414. קָרוֹת means not branch (EV), but whatever grows or shoots forth from the ground, whether herbage (Gn 25), or trees (Ex 105); metaphorically it is used as a term for him who should re-establish the Davidic monarchy (Jer 253 3315, Zec 38 612), and it has often been given a Messianic sense in this passage; but this is inconsistent with the parallel the fruit of the ground, which indeed Del. unsuccessfully labours to show also means the Messiah! Di. criticises this and some other mistaken interpretations at length.—The fruit of the land] of Palestine (cp. Nu 1326). The land of promise was a fruitful land (Dt 87-10, cp. 281-14), but from the first promise was accompanied by warning: if the people neglected Yahweh the fertility of the goodly land was to be destroyed, or neutralised, by war, depopulation, continuous drought, bad seasons; see Lv 26, Dt 28, esp. vv.22-24. 33. 38ff., and cp. Mal 37-12. The people had neglected Yahweh: the threats had been carried out, harvests were yielding little, and what this poem promises is a restoration of the natural fertility of the land to those that escape and remain (v. 8), after the cleansing, exterminating judgment (v. 4); the fertility and fruitfulness of their land is to be the pride and glory of the community that survives, making it enviable in the eyes of the nations: cp. 3730-32 6014ff. 622-4, Jer 310, Ezek 206 3425-29.—The escaped of Israel] the abstract נָתִית is used for the concrete: cp. 1020 159 3781ff., Jg 2117, 2 S 1514; it is not confined to late writers, though in its technical sense of those that escape the (final) judgment (cp. Ob 17, Jl 35) it not improbably is.—3. Those that remain ... those that are left ... they ... all that are written] all

* T, Ki., Vitr., Del., Lag.
these words in Heb. are sing. collectives; for such sing. collect. participles, see 792, 2 Ch 3421: cp. also Gn 420, and see G-K. 126l.—Holy shall they be called] because they will actually be (186 n.) such: cp. Zec 1420ff.—All that are written for life in Jerusalem] a third description of the community referred to in a, b; for it is altogether improbable that the clause is restrictive (Di.), meaning that though there will be some who will accidently (!) escape the judgment, only those who escape by the pre-ordination of Yahweh will be called holy. The v. may be awkward, but the awkwardness is not overcome thus, nor by rejecting this last line as a gloss (Sta.), for this does not restore either ease of style or regularity of parallelism. Those who will be found to have been written for life will consist of those who sought and feared Yahweh (Am 54, Mal 316), who did good and not evil (Am 514, Ps 6926), and so avoided the exterminating judgment (v.4), which destroys the wicked (Mal 319). To be written for life is to have one's name written in "the book of Yahweh," otherwise known as "the book of life (or the living)," etc.; those whose names are written there live, those whose names have never been written there, or have been erased, die. The earliest reference in the OT to this book is Ex 3282ff; later references are frequent: see Mal 316, Ps 6929, Dn 121, En 478 1041 1083, Jubilees 3020-22, Lk 1220, Ph 43, He 1228, Rev 35 138 178 2012.15 2127. In most of these later references the life secured for those whose names are written is that of the blessed after death; here it is life on earth as a member of the holy Jewish community. The idea of the book of Yahweh, or of life, has its parallel, if not indeed its origin, in Babylon: the god Nebo wrote on tables "not only the fate of the world, but also that of individuals," and there were "tables of favour" and "of good works": see KAT3, pp. 402 ff.; and Jeremias' article "Book of Life," in Hastings, Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics.—4. The daughters of Sion] & the sons and daughters of Sion: this is not a variant, but an amplified translation expressing the probably correct conclusion that the context requires a reference to the entire population and not merely to the women; נסבת, the daughters of, is very probably an annotator's insertion* to establish a connection with 316: the omission of the word improves the balance of the two lines and restores the normal.

* So tentatively Marti.
parallelism Sion . . . Jerusalem: cp. e.g. 40\(^9\) 41\(^27\) 64\(^9\), Mic 3\(^{10,12}\). Then with the filth of Sion, cp. “the uncleanness” of Jerusalem, Ezek 22\(^{15}\).—The bloodstains of Jerusalem] cp. Ezek 22\(^{28}\), Jer 2\(^{84}\); the writer may be thinking in particular of the innocent blood that was the cause of the Exile: 2 K 21\(^{16}\) 24\(^{36}\), Ezek 7\(^{23}\) 22\(^{2-4}\), and ? Ps 51\(^{16}\).—Rinsed out] יַע is used in Ezek 40\(^{38}\), 2 Ch 4\(^{6}\) of rinsing clean animals offered for sacrifices: later (Levy, NHB, s.v.), of rinsing out cups also. In Assyr. diḥu and riḥṣu are synonyms, as יַע and יַע here: see Del. Proleg. 277 n. 1.—

With the spirit of judgment, etc.] that unseen power, the spirit of Yahweh, which at other times is creative or life-giving (Gn 1\(^\), Ps 104\(^30\)), will come into play, executing judgment on those who have filled Jerusalem with blood, and exterminating all evil-doers (1\(^{28}\), Am 9\(^{10}\)). The word יָרַב, extermination (א), may be used with conscious reference to the Deuteronomic phrase, “Thou shalt exterminate that which is evil from thy midst”; e.g. Dt 13\(^\). יָרַב also means to burn: hence גֹּזַע, EV, the spirit of burning: cp. Mt 3\(^{11}\).—5. Over the city thus purified will rest the same physical phenomena that marked Yahweh’s presence at the Exodus, Ex 13\(^{31f}\).—Then will Yahweh create] ג And he will come and (it shall) be; but this is not preferable to יָרַב (see phil. n.). The creation of the cloud by day and the flame by night is a parallel to the return of the “glory of Yahweh” (Ezek 43\(^{1-4}\)) after the Exile to the holy city, which becomes in consequence the city of Yahweh’s presence (Ezek 48\(^{35}\)); these accompaniments of the divine presence are to cover not only the Temple (cp. Ex 40\(^{34-38}\), 1 K 8\(^{10f}\), but the whole site of Mount Sion.—Its assemblies] 1\(^{13}\) n.—For over all glory is a canopy] or for over all (cp. Gn 16\(^{12}\) 24\(^{1}\), glory is a canopy. This strange remark, which is not much illuminated by the quotation in Ecclus 40\(^{27}\), is probably an annotation: it may be corrupt; the opening words of v.\(^6\) and a booth, probably belong to it, either as a synonym added to a canopy or a note explaining it. יָרַב in Jl 2\(^{16}\), Ps 19\(^{6}\) is the bridal chamber: here it is supposed to have a less restricted meaning—canopy, covering: cp. the vb. in 2 S 15\(^{30}\), Jer 14\(^{3}\). “As the king sits under, as the bride and bridegroom go under, a canopy, so the Temple Mount as a king’s throne, the religious community as bride of the heavenly bridegroom, must have a canopy over it” (Du.).—6. And he will be] so ג; יָר and a booth (emphatic) will be, or, a booth will
it (viz. Sion) be; both most improbable, for booths (cp. Jon 4) and cities at all times furnished some sort of shelter from weather, but the point of the v. is that Yahweh will be the shelter and protection of the community, and that therefore no harm or hurt will befall it: cp. 254 and Ps 9116 (where both, the heavens, and the earth are predicated of Yahweh as are the, the heavens, and the earth here), 121st. (Yahweh giving shade from the heat), Jl 416 (Yahweh a refuge; and so often in Pss.).

2. Whether G read very differently (Che.) or paraphrased a text similar to قبض (cp. Oort, Th. Tijd. xx. 565) is uncertain; perhaps was read היה (=המקים, La 4).—3. שתינא ... הניא] Dr. § 121, Obs. 1; but הניא cannot be spared, and it seems to be rhythmically redundant.—Vo 9 כי, to be called, occurs also in 1918 326 616 624.4. the, when, cp. 2413 2825 and, in narrative of the past, Gn 389, Nu 219, and, if the text be sound, Am 72. V.4 is taken by many as the completion of v.3, not the commencement of v.5—5. הָלִי מְדָא אֲנִי הַגּוֹזְרִים; but G reads כִּי יִיָּמֵה כִּי אֹסַּר=הָלִי מְדָא. Che., who render He will come and there will be, and Marti adopt G; Du. Cond. combine G and قبض and read הניא אֲנִי; this involves, as Du. perceives, the omission, which is supported by neither قبض nor G, of before ובו; for ובו in a friendly sense, cp. Ex 1823.—Arist:] some MSS read אְבֶרֶךְ.—Arist: כִּי כָּאָרָמָא הָקָּם וּכְרַבְגָּא, תַּחַל מִדְּחִיתוֹנָא תַּחַל אֲנִי. In G כְּרַבְגָּא אֲרַמָא (=רכס, Ex 406.21) renders one of the words הניא and הניא, and has no equivalent for the other. Instead of הניא, G probably read יהוה; and this, moreover, is probably the true reading, for which הניא was substituted after הניא was erroneously separated from what preceded. From יהוה to the end of v.6 is a well-balanced distich (4:4) of parallel lines; though the balance would be imperfect if G is correct in omitting הניא: probably in this respect قبض is preferable to G, though it is possible הניא conceals a synonym to יהוה—Yahweh will be a shade and a . . . from the heat; note the writer’s fondness for synonyms: see vv.28a. b. 6b and probably 8b. If the reading יהוה be correct, the intrusive nature of הניא as the heat is obvious.

V.

This chapter is in no sense a continuation of ch. 4: from the Messianic hopes at the end of chs. 2–4 we return here to announcements of judgments in three very distinct and unconnected poems—(1) vv.1–7, the parable of the vineyard; vol. I.—6
(2) vv.8-24, a collection of "woes"; (3) vv.25-31, the misplaced conclusion of 97-104.

V. 1-7.—The Parable of the Vineyard.


The rhythm of the poem can only be reduced to regularity by extensive omissions such as Haupt makes in reducing the whole to four stanzas, each consisting of four lines, each line containing four accents equally divided by a caesura. If the present text is substantially correct, the quality of the rhythm appears to change: the light tripping effect of short lines (down to v.6b) gives place to longer and weightier lines in the grave and solemn application of the parable at the close. The following types of distich occur:

2 : 2 in vv.1a. b (makkeph אַיָּרָדְשָׂע and יָדְדוּדֵהַר), a. d (if וּיְהַי be substituted for וּיְהַי), 2a. b. 3c. d.
3 : 3 in vv.2a. d. 3a. b (7) 8a. b (makkeph יַעֲשׂוֹזנוו) 8a. d.
3 : 2 in vv.1c. d (ינד), 2c. f. 3a. b. 3a. b (probably).
4 : 2 in v.4a. d.
4 : 4 in vv.5a. d. 7a. b (makkeph 'שִׁישִי or omit יָשָׁהוּ).
4 : 3 in vv.6a. b (if 'שִׁישִי and 'יָשָׁהוּ may each be read as one accent), 7c. d.

1 Let me sing of my loved one, I pray,  
A song of . . . touching his vineyard.

A vineyard belonged to my loved one  
On a fertile hill-top;
2 And he opened up the ground, and cleared out its stones,  
And he planted it with the choicest vines;  
And he built in its midst a tower,  
And hewed out in it also a wine-press;  
And he expected it to yield grapes,  
And it yielded—wildings.

8 And now, ye dwellers in Jerusalem,  
And ye men of Judah,  
Judge, pray, between me  
And between my vineyard.
4 What remained to do for my vineyard  
That I had not done in it?  
Why when I looked for yield of grapes  
Yielded it—wildings?
And now, pray, let me acquaint you
With what I shall do to my vineyard;
I will take away its hedge that it be depastured,
I will make breaches in its walls that it be trampled down,
I will make it a waste, unpruned and unhoed,
And it shall spring up with thorns and briars;
And I will command the clouds
That they rain no rain upon it.

For the vineyard of Yahweh Sebaoth is the House of Israel,
And the men of Judah the plantation in which he delighted;

And he expected justice, but, behold, bloodshed,
Righteousness, but, behold, a cry!

In the poem is articulated as follows: v.1a. b, introduction; 1c-2, the prophet's description of the vineyard; 3-6, the speech of the owner of the vineyard which towards its close (v.6c. d) somewhat clearly reveals the speaker to be Yahweh; v.7, the prophet's interpretation of the parable. In vv.1b. 2 also belong to the speech of the owner.

The vineyard which has received all the care that any vineyard could receive is Judah; its owner, Yahweh; the fruit it should have yielded, righteousness and justice; the fruit actually yielded, violence and inhumanity. With great rhetorical effectiveness the ultimate conclusion is left for the audience to draw for themselves—Yahweh will abandon Judah to destruction.

With the theme of the parable, cp. the teaching of Amos at Bethel a generation before: see especially Am 3. For other applications of the figure of the vineyard to Israel, see 27ff., Jer 21 12ff., Ps 80ff, Mt 21 33ff. In the specific application of details, as of the tower in v.5 to the Temple, of the wine-press to the altar, (cp. Jerome) is mistaken.

Possibly enough this poem was recited by Isaiah (cp. Introd. §§ 36 ff.) on a great national feast day: at the close of the vintage and in the Temple Courts he would easily have found men of the country as well as of the city—v.3a. b: cp. Jer 36. But the year in which the poem was either written or recited cannot be even approximately determined: the thoughts expressed in it may have occupied Isaiah's mind at almost any period of his life. Du. argues, inconclusively, that the parable
form indicates that the poem was written early, since later the audience would have guessed from the start the burden of the song: Hackm. (p. 123), that it was written late, when Isaiah, being long known as a prophet of evil, had to conceal his meaning in order to gain a hearing. An early date has been inferred by others rather than account of the early date, assumed or proved, of the neighbouring poems (chs. 2–4 58–50) than from anything in the parable itself.

1a. b. These lines are ambiguous, and the text not beyond question.—My loved one] רָּעָ֔י is used of Judah (Jer 1115, Ps 607), and Benjamin (Dt 3312) as the loved one of Yahweh: cp. also Ps 1272. Here, if the text in v.1c is correct, it must be applied to Yahweh: yet it is remarkable that Isaiah should use, even in parable, so familiar a term: poets of another race and temper may speak of God as “my darling,” * but to Isaiah, Yahweh was the Holy One, the Lord, the Mighty One. If v.1c is corrupt we might render in 1b to my loved one, i.e. Israel (cp. גְּדוֹלָת, AV), or of my beloved (vineyard): see below. That רָּעָ֔י in v.1a is Israel and רָּעָ֔י in v.1b and by restoration in v.1e is Yahweh, as Sta. (ZA W xxvi. 134) proposed, is very improbable.—The song of . . . ] רָּעָ֔י, left untranslated on account of its ambiguity, may be a synonym (cp. e.g. Ca 113f.) of רָּעָ֔י in the previous line: רָּעָ֔י also means uncle, and is actually rendered here by Jer., though with obvious unsuitability, patruelis. In the pl. הנְָּרָּעָ֔י means love, but always perhaps specifically sexual desire or its satisfaction: see Ezek 168 2317, Pr 718, Ca 124 4 10 51. If we render the song of my beloved (MT, EV), then v.1a will imply that the loved one is the subject of the poem, or the person to whom it is addressed, 1b that he is the author of the song and his vineyard the subject: this is awkward and improbable in itself; moreover, the next lines show that the friend is not the author, but the subject of the poem: he is spoken of in the 3rd pers. Di. indeed, though quite unsatisfactorily, attempts to meet this difficulty by suggesting that Isaiah has translated the words of the friend into the 3rd pers. and so avoided making God recite a popular song (ct. 272–6).—His vineyard] גְּדוֹלָת my vineyard. If we adopt גְּדוֹלָת, and also the 1st persons of גְּדוֹלָת in v.2, and assume further that רָּעָ֔י in line c is a corruption, under the influence of the same word in the previous line, of יַרְּעָ֔י, that רָּעָ֔י might be used of life-
less objects, and that אְרֻץ was not limited to sexual desire, then, pointing בַּעַל we should have an excellent introductory couplet:

Let me sing of the thing that I love,
The song of my love for my vineyard.

Then the entire song, so far as it treats directly of the vineyard, is in the first person: the prophet in reciting it seems at first to be referring to a vineyard of his own, and only towards the close does he allow it to be seen that he is speaking in Yahweh's name. But the difficulties of the v., and of the relation of יִהוָה and כָּל, have as yet reached no solution.

1а–2. The site of the vineyard is an isolated hill-top or hill, which catches all the sunshine: the soil is fertile. The owner has carefully turned the soil to increase its power to bear well, and cleared it of stones, an important process in the rocky, stony but potentially fruitful soil of Palestine; cp. Job 5:23, ct. 2 K 3:19. On this well-chosen and well-prepared soil vines of choice stock have been planted, and something more than a mere temporary shelter (1b), a permanent tower (cp. Mt 21:33), has been erected for the protection of the vineyard. Finally, a winepress is hewn out in the rock to receive the juice of the grapes which ought to be the result of all this care. The actual crop consists of worthless berries.

My loved one] possibly an error for to me: see last n. on v.1b.—A fertile hill-top] in Heb. idiom, which יִהוָה renders literally, and after it, Wycliffe, a horn the son of oil. The use of עַל, horn, is paralleled by עָר, a small hill, or a part of a hill separated from the rest, and by Alpine names such as Gabelhorn, Matterhorn; with מָשֵׁש, oil, for fatness, fertility, cp. נָבִיָּה וְשֵׁמָה, 28, and the use of the vb. in Dt 32:15; and for the idiomatic use of "son," see BDB, s.v. 8.—2. He opened up the ground] in NH the vb. יָסָד (here only in OT) means to turn over the ground, as, for example, under olive-trees (אֵת כְּצִיץ הַגֵּזֶר, or in a graveyard, to see whether bones remain there: see Levy, NHB, s.v. In Arabic the root occurs with a similar meaning. MT perhaps rightly treats the word as a Piel—he well, or frequently, turned over the ground; גל, AV, he fenced it, anticipate a point that comes out in v.5.—Choicest vines] יִרְאוֹס—apparently the name of a specially choice vine: cp. Jer 2:11. The nomen unitatis הָעֶנֶשׁ in Gn 49:11.—A
wine-press] the בּ is strictly the lower trough into which the juice pressed out in the upper trough drained off; but it is sometimes used of the whole press: see EBi. 531 ff. The wine-press is hewn out, i.e. in the solid rock, which in Palestine rises close to the surface of the soil and often crops out above it.—Wildings] י renders דֶּשֶּק (v. 4^) by labruscas, i.e. grapes that grow wild: and this is doubtless right. The root in Aram. means to be bad, evil, in Heb. to have a bad smell.—3. For the transition in י at this point to the 1st person, see above. Du. supposes that up till now the audience treat the matter as a joke, ask themselves, will the owner get rid of the vineyard to us, or turn it into pasture, or perchance try the experiment of planting it with wild vines. But the owner does not ask the audience what he should do: on this his mind is made up and communicated immediately (vv. 5^). He asks for their judgment on the vineyard, i.e. on themselves. Like David (2 S 12), they are driven to self-condemnation; for they can only avoid self-condemnation by denying the applicability of the parable, i.e. by denying Yahweh's care (v. 7a b), or the present prevalence in Israel of violence and unrighteousness (7c d).—4. After this v., before the first and now of v. 5 (cp. v. 3), a pause may be assumed in which the audience silently allow that the owner had done all that was required for the vineyard, and that for the vineyard itself no excuse can be offered.—5 f. Judgment on the vineyard: all protection, care, and attention to be withdrawn from it. V. 5 fills in fresh features of the picture. The vineyard had been protected by a hedge such as those hedges of the prickly pear which form so efficient a protection to the gardens of modern Palestine—around Beirut or Gaza and elsewhere, and by a wall, perhaps of stone (cp. Nu 224). Hedge and wall will be removed, so that cattle and wild beasts will be no longer hindered from coming in to depasture and trample down; cp. Ecclus 3680. Much of the present treeless character of Palestine is due to the grazing off of unprotected young shoots by goats: cp. 725.—6. All that the site, henceforth unpruned and untilled, will yield will be thorns and briars. Even rain will be withheld from it by command of the owner.—7. For the owner is Yahweh, who has power to withhold rain, and does so as a punishment for wrong-doing: cp. Am 47, Dt 1110 17.—Bloodshed] the exact meaning is not quite certain: see phil. n. The word was probably a rare one
chosen to gain one of the two effective assonances of these final lines which cannot be satisfactorily represented in English— *he looked for mishpat, and lo! mishpat, for ṣdakakah, and lo! ṣdakakah*, the cry especially of the wronged: see, e.g., Gn 27:24, Ps 9:18.— *The house of Israel* either (1) this refers (whether exclusively or inclusively) to the northern kingdom, in which case the parable was composed before 722 B.C.; but, in view of the distinct limitation to Judah in v.8, this seems a little improbable; or (2) it is a synonym for Judah, as Israel perhaps is in 19 (cp. 8:14, 18 31:6, Mic 1:14f, cf. 1 K 12:17); but this usage, though frequent enough later, was certainly, and naturally, rare before the Fall of Samaria.

1. *יריחו*] for the here and in elsewhere, cp. e.g. Gn 20:13, Ps 3:8. *כ* apparently read יריחו without the suffix (*יריחו יאשנירק*).—[see Comm.— *יריחה*] Lowth, whom many have followed, suggested ישירה 'v, a love-song, which does not meet the difficulties mentioned above, and labours under the fresh difficulty that the song is scarcely a love-song in a general and undefined sense.—2. *חפשים*] Piel privative: G-K. 52b. — 4. *שיים*] Dr. § 203.— *שᅨ* ... for the interrogative affecting the entire chain of sentences, cp. 22:12 10:1. — 5. *ש요*] *fut. instans*: Dr. 135 (3). —[see the infinit. Abs. is explained by G-K. 113d as virtually dependent on the notion of willing implied in *שוי* : by Kön. 400d, as in virtual apposition to the objec. *שוי* — *שוי* in MT the *כ* is dagheshed, which would suggest as the root *שוי* More probably (note *waw plene*) the *כ* should be *רפה* , as in Pr 15:19 and, with *כ* for *כ* in Mic 7:4. The root is *שוי* (Job 1:10, Hos 2:4) = 70 (Job 3:5 38:9), to shut in.—[see] the context is the best clue to the meaning of this word, which, if it occurs again, occurs only in 17:19. In 17:10 MT points נַשְיָה, here נַשְּיָה; if the words are from the same root and that root נַשְיָה, the word should be punctuated here נַשְיָה. In Arabic *סַפָּח* means to cut off, to cut, whence it is customary to explain נַשְיָה in 17:19 as cut off, abrupt places, precipices, and נַשְיָה here as end or destruction, and the whole phrase נַשְיָה as parallel to נַשְיָה (1028), to make an utter end of. But this is all uncertain. The addition of the clauses נַשְיָה נַשְיָה favours a rather different meaning, such as waste or derelict land.—6. *נַשְיָה*] cp. 34:13, Pr 24:31.— נַשְיָה] G’s *avquaer, B iniquitas, are general renderings guessed from the context; שויי *סַפָּח, rapine, plunder, is more specific. Del., though without reference to שְיָה, argues for such a meaning on precarious etymological grounds. If שְיָה stands incorrectly for שְיָה (cp. G-K. 64b), the word may be explained from the Arabic *סַפָּח, to pour out, to shed* (blood): Lane, s.v., cites the phrase *בַּדְנֵהוּ סַפָּח* there is shedding of blood between them. Cp. G-K. 6:4b. Cp. נַשְיָה, Is 37:10: also, if correctly read, Job 14:19 and, in the Mishnah, נַשְיָה of a river pouring out alluvial soil (see Levy). Haupt proposes to read נַשְיָה = נַשְיָה, corruption, instead of נַשְיָה.
V. 8–24.—A Collection of Denunciations.

Six, or perhaps in the original text seven or more (cp. vv.14–23 nn.), classes of persons are successively threatened in sections introduced by the word יִהְיָה, אֵל ! (v.8 n.).

The third, fourth, and fifth sections are the shortest; they consist of a single tetrastich, tristich, and distich respectively: each defines a class that is threatened, but indicates its fate by means of the ominous interjection alone.

In the first, second, and sixth sections, not only the class but its punishment is described: the threat is introduced by אֵל ! the punishment by therefore, in vv.13–24 and (by emendation) in v.9. So יִהְיָה is followed by יִשְׂכֹל in Am 6:1–7, Mic 2:1–3, Jer 22:18–18 23:11, 50:27, Ezek 13:8–18, 19–20 34:27. Since, however, in 28:1 29:1–15, Jer 49:1, Am 5:18, Zeph 2:5, Hab 2, no therefore follows אֵל ! it is unnecessary to assume with Du. that a description of punishment so introduced must have fallen out of the text in sections 3, 4, 5.

The rhythmical differences, as well as these differences of structure, suggest that the following sections are sayings uttered at different times, perhaps also memorised, or recorded by different disciples of the prophet, and then ultimately brought together by an editor on account of their beginning with the same interjection: cp. chs. 28–33, and the Beatitudes of the Gospels of which one at least of the two arrangements (Mt 5:8–12, Lk 6:20–26) must be due to an editor.

It is customary to refer these sayings to an early period of Isaiah’s life, and to assume that they refer to Judah. The latter assumption at least is probable, failing clear evidence to the contrary. Yet neither the dates at which nor the audience to which they were delivered can be considered absolutely certain.

To facilitate the perception of differences of structure, the translation of all the denunciations is given together. Several re-arrangements have been suggested and are recorded by Giesebrrecht, who himself suggests the following: 10:1 5:23 10:2–4 5:8–10. 22:11–13; 17–19. 14–16. 20. 21. 24 (Beiträge, 21–23). No great probability attaches to any of these suggestions.

Parallelism is conspicuous and the parallel lines balance perfectly, or give at least more the impression of balance than of echo: the distichs are certainly not for the most part 3 : 2 (Du.). The distichs are 3 : 3 in vv.12b. a. 21. 24c. d; and probably in 15a. d. 14. 15. 17; 4 : 4 in vv.16. 23 and probably 22; 5 : 5 in 20b. c;
V. 8-24


I.

8 Ah! they that add house to house,
That join field to field;
Till there is no more room . . .
. . . in the midst of the land.

9 'Therefore' Yahweh of Hosts 'hath sworn' in mine ears:
"Surely many houses shall become a désolation,
Great and goodly (houses) without inhabitant;

10 For ten acres of vineyard shall yield but one bath,
And a homer of seed shall yield but an ephah."

2.

11 Ah! they that rise early in the morning in pursuit of strong drink,
That tarry into the twilight while wine inflames them;

12 Whose feast is wont to be (made merry with) lute and harp, timbrel and flute and wine,
But who behold not the activity of Yahweh,
And see not the work of his hands.

13 Therefore my people hath gone into exile for lack of knowledge,
And its nobility are dying of hunger,
And its populace are parched with thirst.

14 Therefore Sheol hath enlarged its appetite,
And opened its mouth immeasurably wide.
And her splendour and her populace shall descend (thither),
And her tumult and (all) in her that (now) is exultant.

15 And man sinketh down and men are brought low,
And the eyes of the exalted are brought low,

16 And so Yahweh of Hosts hath become exalted in judgment,
And the Holy God hath shown himself holy in righteousness.

17 And lambs shall graze . . .
And 'kids' shall feed upon the ruins.
Ah! they that draw guilt (on themselves) with cords of ungodliness,
And (the punishment of their) sin as with wagon-ropes;
Who say, Let him speedily hasten his work that we may see,
And let the purpose of the Holy One of Israel draw near and be fulfilled that we may know (it).

Ah! they that call evil good and good evil,
Making light into darkness and darkness into light,
Making sweet into bitter and bitter into sweet.

Ah! they that are wise in their own eyes,
And in their own sight intelligent.

Ah! the mighty topers of wine,
And the valiant in mixing strong drinks,
Who acquit the guilty in return for a bribe,
And deprive the innocent of his acquittal.
Therefore, as a tongue of fire devoureth stubble,
And hay falls (to ashes) in the flame,
Their root shall be as rottenness,
And their blossom when it opens as dust.
For they have despised the instruction of Yahweh of Hosts,
And contemned the word of the Holy One of Israel.

8–10. Denunciation of those who dispossess their neighbours of their homesteads in order to increase their own estates. Such dispossession, whether brought about by fraudulent or oppressive action (Mic 2:²) or by purchase (cp. 1 K 21:³), cut deep into a strong religious feeling in favour of the perpetuation in the family of the family land. It is probable that religious feeling and the immediate appeal to the human
sentiment occasioned by evictions rather than a far-seeing perception of the effect which the new fashion might have on the national economy, account for the common criticism of Isaiah and Micah: Micah appears to feel most keenly the sufferings of the evicted, Isaiah perhaps the effect on the powerful appropriators. But Yahweh has sworn, and Isaiah heard the oath, that these men who trust in the greatness of their estates, purchased, perhaps, with money gained in trade (cp. 28 n.), will find in them the cause of their own ruin. Deprived by Yahweh of its fertility, the land will yield no return, and will therefore swallow up the money spent on working it.—3. Ah! ] cp. 14 28 29 etc.—Till there is no room .] left for any but these rich land purchasers, till the old yeoman class ceases to retain any position in the country. This is what the context suggests: whether it is expressed by the two words which follow in יק, and which may be translated and ye are made to dwell alone, is doubtful: see phil. n.—9. Therefore Yahweh of Hosts hath sworn in my ears] RV tacitly emends the text, but badly. יק is certainly wrong; it can only be translated in my ears is Yahweh of Hosts, which is nonsense, or in the ears of Yahweh of Hosts, which would be obviously defective. כז goes far to support the conjecture adopted in the trans.: see phil. n.—In my ears] the prophet has heard Yahweh’s threat, Am 37.—10. Ten acres] ten times as much ground as a yoke of oxen can plough in a day, will only yield one bath, i.e. about 8 gallons of wine: and seed sown will only yield a 1/30th; a homer = 10 ephahs, Ezek 4511.

8. וַיַּהֲרֹרֵךְ . . . וַיַּעֲנֵשׁ] Dr. § 117 f.—םָוֹקָם מָאָשׁ רֹעַ] כֶּלֶב תּוֹעֵבָה דְּפֵלָות הַרזְּרֵזֶל תִּ—a paraphrastic rendering of perhaps the same words as now stand in יק. כָּלָּעַס הָעַסֶּק אִלָּיִם may imply very nearly the same letters as יק. But the sudden introduction of the 2nd pers. casts suspicion on יק; and it is very doubtful whether the Hophal of יפז (Is 4428 = to be inhabited) really meant to be a landowner (Du.).—9. וַיִּשְׁבַּע יָהֳウェָה] כֶּלֶב יִשְׁבַּע יָבֹא עֵלָּי וְלָא קַעְפְּוּ, i.e. יִשְׁבַּע עֵלָּי וְלָא קַעְפְּוּ, which is obviously in itself unsuitable, but points to יפז יפז as the original text (Marli); for the frequent confusion of יפז and יפז, cp. Driver, Samuel, p. lxviii. Note the formula of the oath יִשְׁבַּע which follows. Others, on the ground of 2214, restore והנָּב הַעַבֵּן ] for the closed syllable in the cstr. pl., see G-K. 93m.

II—13. Woe to those who give themselves up to carousals, drinking from early morning till late in the evening, made merry with music, and blinded by their gaieties to the work of Yahweh, or, as we might say, to the reality of the unseen. The
punishment of these wine-bibbers and gluttons will be hunger and thirst accompanying exile. Similar denunciations occur in Am 6:4-8, and of women who drink in 4:1: cp. also Ecclus 10:16f.—*Twilight*] strictly the time when the (evening) breeze springs up: cp. Gn 3:8.—*Hath gone into exile*] the perfect used with reference to a future irrevocably fixed.—13. *For lack of knowledge*] cp. Hos 4:6; for lack of the knowledge of God (cp. 1:8), which the leaders ought to have given, but had not, the whole people is doomed: a general captivity is imminent: cp. Am 6:7. Possible also is the rendering *without knowledge, unwares*, i.e. in their intoxication they will fail to realise their fate: cp. Job 4:20.—*Its nobility*] or those held in honour: בכורו is abstract for concrete (cp. 3:25), and the sing. suf. refers to *my people*.—*Dying with hunger*] מות רע, or 'ר מותי ערב (MT), *men of hunger*, i.e. famished with hunger.—*Its populace*] or, *the crowd thereof*: the entire people (13a), plebs * (18c) as well as nobles (18b), will suffer privation. For בכורו and כהנים as antithetic terms, see 16:14; and for כהנים, meaning the undistinguished mass of people, 2 S 6:19. The crowd כהנים is so called from the noise (הכום) of a multitude, and most † give the word here a specific reference to the noisy revellers (cp. v.14) of v.12, making the terms of 13b o co-extensive instead of complementary.

14. *Therefore*] cp. v.13; the recurrence of *therefore* with no *ah!* intervening suggests that a verse (beginning with *ah!*) has been lost at this point; note also that there is nothing in v.13 to which the four pronominal suffixes (*her*) of v.14 can attach; these pronouns doubtless refer to a city, probably Jerusalem.—*Sheol*] is personified as an insatiable (Hab 2:5, Pr 30:15) monster ready to swallow up in an instant the whole of the gay city-throng (cp. 22:16); but alongside of this personification, the belief in Sheol as a country under the earth makes itself felt; the multitude *go down* into it: cp. Gn 37:35.—15. A repetition, with some variation, of 2:11a. b. 17a-b; here probably out of place, as Eichhorn already perceived. V.14 speaks of men perishing, v.15 of their being brought low; and, unlike the rest of vv.8-24 which speaks of definite classes, v.15 refers to mankind in general.—16. Cp. 2:11c, but the resemblance here is much less close than in the previous v. Nevertheless many † consider that this v. also is

* Du. † Hitz., Ew., Del., Di., Che., Marti.
‡ Eich., Sta., Du., Che., Kit., Marti, Cond.
interpolated; yet it would not be impossible to discover a connection between v. 14 and v. 16: the holiness of God is revealed through His righteousness, His righteousness through His judgment on His own people and city (v. 14), who have violated His demands for justice and humanity (cp. 5').—17. A picture of desolation, which once perhaps immediately followed not v. 10 * but v. 14, forming its sequel: on the desolate site of the once busy and exultant city, cattle now feed: cp. 17 32 14. The point of the v. is clear from the words, And lambs shall graze . . . and (on) ruins . . . shall . . . feed: the other words are uncertain; but probably kids (cp. ג) was the subject of the 2nd vb. Line ב is commonly understood to mean, (Shepherd-)wanderers shall feed, i.e. cause their flocks to feed, on the ruins, which were once the home of the fat, i.e. of the prosperous persons; but this is impossible; not to speak of other improbabilities, ויר does not mean wanderers. The corruption of ויר (ג), kids, into ויר (ו), sojourners, may be not unconnected with an early allegorising interpretation which may even underlie ג, "and they that were spoiled shall feed like bulls, and lambs shall devour the wastes of them that were led away," and appears clearly in ג, "and the righteous shall feed, as was said concerning them: they shall multiply, and the righteous shall possess the substance of the unrighteous." Jer. gives a Christian turn to the allegory, "Tunc qui fuerunt de agnorum numero non haedorum pascentur in Ecclesiae pratis." Finally, Rashi (abbreviated)—"the poor will now come to sojourn (ingleton) in the houses of the rich who had oppressed them, and will devour their portion." These are interesting examples of interpretation eliciting the exact opposite of the writer's intention.

11. רקדנ [csstr. before a prep.; G-K. 130a.—היר] Dr. § 163.—12. פירש[Sing.; G-K. 935.—13. וו for the causal ו, cp. Dt 9 28.—וש] MT seems to embody a late interpretation; גף all imply ו. With MT, cp. קש ופ and ל ופ, Job 11 22 15. Hitzig's suggestion to read here ופ after Dt 32 24 (itself doubtful) has found considerable favour.—14. לות[appetite, as 29 29, Pr 23 5.—‘ב לות] to show oneself holy in or by means of: Nu 20 18 (P) and several times in Ezek., e.g. 28 22 25.—17. פירש[G את רדוע, i.e. פירש.  ב (juxta ordinem suum), Rashi, Ki., AV, give רדוע the meaning of manner (cp. e.g. Dt 15 6)—feeble and improbable; modern scholars, since Ges., have commonly assumed that רדוע = רדוע, pasture (cp. א field), and

* Ew., Guthe, Cond.
rendered as in their pasture, i.e. freely; but in Mic 2:12, where ובא, pasture (?) is supposed to occur, the text is very doubtful. Marti proposes וַתָּכָה. — וְתָכָה, corr.; for יִשָּׁחֵק, kids (ἁπλός, cp. ἁπλός = ἁπλός, Ex 23:19 etc.) and this was not suggested by מַלְפִּים, lambs, in the parallel clause, since ג reads διππασκένων, i.e. מַלְפִּים. Whether even מַלְפִּים is the original text, or a note explaining fatlings (?), מַלְפִּים (Du.) is not quite certain; but on the whole the simple term kids is a more likely parallel to lambs. For the meaning of מַלְפִּים, cp. מַלְפִּים (מלפפים) Ps 66:15: מַלְפִּים to contain marrow, be fat; מַלְפִּים, marrow may be a corruption of מְלַפְּפוּת, i.e. מַלְפִּים, or the like. Unless a word has dropped out in a (see Marti), ḫ should contain only three words, i.e. either מַלְפִּים or מַלְפִּים is superfluous.

18, 19. Woe to those who give themselves up to sin in the belief that Yahweh will not punish them.—Who draw guilt] with its punishment near to themselves by their carelessness: for מַלְפִּים and the parallel terms cords, wagon-ropes, see Hos 11:4. The figure of v.18a is heightened in 18b: wagon-ropes are strong, unbreakable.—19. Scepticism with regard not to God’s existence, but the reality of His moral government (cp. v.16), underlies this mocking speech; cp. Ps 10:8-6 36:14. Possibly v.19 has lost an initial י; it is rhythmically unlike v.18.

20. Woe to those who deny the reality of moral distinctions: ct. 32:5.—21. Cp. 28:9f. 29:14b.—22 f. If these verses are really connected they condemn those who drink heavily and also pervert justice. Isaiah might very well have pronounced woe on those who go fuddled into court (cp. 28:7), but this is not what is done here: these persons acquit the guilty not because they are too intoxicated to see who is guilty and who innocent, but because they have taken a bribe from the guilty party; cp. 1:28, Ex 23:8. It is forced, too, to assume that the line of thought is—Drinking is expensive, and bribes are necessary to pay the bill. Drunkenness has already been denounced, v.11; some transpose v.23 to follow v.11.—The valiant in mixing strong drinks] Heady mixtures are also referred to in Ca 8:2, Pr 23:30; and the spiced wines used by the modern Jews of Hebron and Jerusalem are such mixtures. See Kennedy in EBi., Wine, § 29. The sin denounced is certainly not that of mingling water with the wine! (Del.).—The guilty . . . the innocent] not the wicked . . . the righteous (RV); here as in Dt 25:1 יִשְׁרֵי retain their original forensic sense.—24. Quickly as chaff and stubble catch fire and are reduced to ashes, will judgment fall on those
who have neglected to comply with Yahweh's expressed will. This judgment is not closely related to the sins denounced in vv. 22f.; the cause for it is given in what follows in lines c and f. Thus the v. has a distinct character, and it may not have reached us in its original form (Du.). Note, too, that the judgment is described figuratively (c, d); and enforced by comparison with another and discordant figure (a, b).—Their root shall be as rottenness, etc.] stock and shoot will become worthless, the stock will rot, and the fruit grow mouldy. Cp. Am 29, Hos 916, Mal 319, and Eshmunazar's curse "Let them have no root below or fruit above" (CIS i. ll. 11, 12). The זָרַע is the budding shoots or foliage (Nah 14), the bud or blossom (185).—For they have despised, etc.] Cp. 14.

18. Line a is longer than b; Du. would supply a vb. || to יִשְׁנָה; Sievers would omit נָהָנָה, thereby making v.18 a single line of 6 accents.—20. יִשְׁנָה] as in v.1—23. [טֹרָם] read מֹרֶם with יִשְׁנָה: note the יִשְׁנָה and the following מֹרֶם.—24. מַגְּלַל יִשְׁנָה] the obj. of the infin. first, then the subj. : a rare cstr., G-K. 115."—הַשָּׁמֶשֶׁה מַגְּלָל flaming hay (Köf. iii. 306c); or מַגְּלָל is acc. —שָׁפָה (sinks down) into (or, as) flame (Marti).—מהנה] Dr. §§ 117, 118.

V. 25-30.—The Final Destruction of Ephraim.

Vv. 25d-29 contain the conclusion to 97-104; the translation and critical discussion will be found on pp. 177 ff. Some attribute vv. 23a-c and 30 also to that poem : more probably they are fragments or editorial additions.

25a-c. The rhythm is obscure (see Sievers), or lacking; but the opening words of the v. may be a distich 4:4:

Wherefore the anger of Yahweh was hot against his people,
And he stretched out his hand against him and smote him.

Wherefore] this v. is not needed to give the consequence of v. 24a.1, for that has been already stated in v. 24a-2. Moreover, the judgment in v. 24 is complete—the people are there described as being destroyed root and branch; but v. 25a even in itself and still more as leading up to vv. 28-29 describes a partial judgment—a destructive but not an absolutely annihilating earthquake:—the mountains quaked, and their corpses became like refuse in the midst of the streets.—Against him] the people: ct. their in c.
V. 25a-c may be an editorial link to prepare the way for 25d. e by indicating a partial judgment that has not exhausted Yahweh's power to punish; it seems to be in part deduced from the refrain itself and in part built up with the help of frequently repeated details of theophanies and judgments: with the quaking mountains, cp. 13:13-16, Am 8:1, Mic 1:2, Nah 1:9 etc., with corpses abandoned in the streets, Jer 9:1, 16:1, 25:29, Zeph 1:17: so Giesebrecht, Beiträge, p. 9. Others (e.g. Du.) hold that 25a-c is part of a lost strophe of the poem.

25d-29. Conclusion of 9?-104.—25d. e. The refrain of a lost strophe, or of the last strophe in 97-104.—His anger turned not back] cp. 12, Jer 4:1, Hos 14:5, Ps 85:3 etc.—His hand is still stretched out] to smite and to destroy: cp. Ex 9:15, 2 S 24:16. —26-29. This last strophe describes the final destruction of Ephraim: a nation from the end of the earth is depicted advancing swiftly, irresistibly on the doomed nation; Ephraim will resemble the prey of a lion whereof nothing is rescued (ct. Am 3:12); it will perish utterly, and none will remain to provoke Yahweh's anger further. At the end of this strophe, the refrain (v. 25d. e), which closes all the other strophes of the poem, would clearly be out of place.

It has been commonly supposed that Isaiah without naming them refers to the Assyrians (cp. Am 6:14), the only people on his horizon that satisfy the terms used. Gressmann (pp. 174 ff.), indeed, has argued that the description does not strictly apply to the Assyrians, that it was not written from Isaiah's knowledge of them and their methods, but was derived from the stereotyped indefinite descriptions of the Destroying Army which formed a feature of the (hypothetical) pre-prophetic Eschatology. It is true that there is nothing so distinctive in the description that it might not have been applied by later writers to other invaders—Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, or Romans; but this is not strange in a brief poetical description of an expected invasion. That there is anything actually unsuitable to the Assyrians is a conclusion which appears to rest on prosaic interpretation (see v. 27b n.).

26a. b. Yahweh summons a nation in arms from the ends of the earth.—A signal] cp. 11:10, 12:18; placed on a bare height such a signal was conspicuous afar. In Nu 21:8. ג signifies a lofty pole, in Ezk 27:1, Is 33:12 apparently a sail or pennon, here probably a lofty pole with a flag attached.—A nation afar off] so ג; ה nations afar off, a reading which has arisen accidentally (see phil. n.), or is due to a scribe who wished to assimilate
to 11\textsuperscript{12} or to introduce the plurality of nations to which later writers frequently refer. 턿 has been explained of the nations united in the Assyrian army (cp. 14\textsuperscript{26} 17\textsuperscript{32f}, 29\textsuperscript{7f}, 30\textsuperscript{28} 33\textsuperscript{3}), or as a conventional eschatological usage (Gressmann). But the correctness of the reading of ג is proved by the consistent use of the singular, rendered by plurals in RV, throughout the rest of the strophe. The term nation afar off (נ הדבר) is applied in Jer 5\textsuperscript{15} to another people, probably the Scythians. On the idea of distance, see 10\textsuperscript{3} n.—Whistle for it] summon it; 7\textsuperscript{18} n. —From the end of the earth] cp. Jer 6\textsuperscript{22}. The centre of the Assyrian empire lay some thirty days' journey from Palestine. Du., Di., and others infer that Isaiah's earth was a small one; Gressmann (p. 176), that he here uses the phrase because it was a technical eschatological expression. Both conclusions are precarious: Isaiah was a poet.—26 c—27 a. Assyria comes with all speed, but without fatigue. With the way in which, while speaking of the entire armed nation as a single personality (cp. Numbers, pp. 265 f.), Isaiah yet thinks of the individuals composing it, cp. Dt 25\textsuperscript{18}, Remember how Amalek . . . fell in with thee, and smote at thy rear all those that were fagged (for there were such), seeing that thou (i.e. the entire body of the Israelites) wast faint and weary.—27b. It slumbers not nor sleeps] the line is not improbably intrusive (see p. 177), though it is rather prosaic of Du, to insist that it must be so because the words could apply to God only (Ps 121\textsuperscript{4}).—27c. d. The army is all trim, and, 28a. b, its weapons ready.—Its bows bent] as they would be only on the point of being used. For the bows and arrows of Assyrian armies, see 21\textsuperscript{15} 22\textsuperscript{8} 37\textsuperscript{35} of other armies, e.g. Jer 5\textsuperscript{18}.—28c. d. The cavalry, too, of the Assyrians (cp. 22\textsuperscript{8f}. 36\textsuperscript{9}) sweeps on unhindered and with the pace and onset of the whirlwind.—Its horses' hoofs are like flints] horses were not shod, and therefore hard hoofs were a highly prized virtue in them: Ges. compares the χαλκότοις ἰππῶν of Homer, and gives other classical and Arabic illustrations.—Its wheels like the whirlwind] cp., in a similar description, Jer 4\textsuperscript{18}; in Is 66\textsuperscript{15} Yahweh's chariots are compared to the whirlwind, which leads Gressmann to consider the present description "fabulous": poetical rather, like the ἀλλὰ ποδεσ ἰππῶν, "horses with feet as swift as the storm," of the Homeric Hymn (in Ven. 217), or Fitzgerald's "I came like water, and like wind I go."—29. The form of the
text is suspicious, see phil. n., but the sense is clear. The noise of the advancing army, compared in 1712 to the tumult of mighty waters, is here compared to the dread (Am 3:6) roar (נואש) of a lion (cp. Jer 21, Ps 74:4); the figure thus introduced is developed, and the utter destruction of Israel to which the poem works up as its climax is expressed, by the statement that the lion (Assyria) growling (בָּרָה) seizes (יָסָר), or holds fast (cp. W. R. Smith Proph. 3, p. 24) its prey (Israel), whom no one attempts to deliver.

26. The prophet says מְנוֹלָה may be an error for מְנוֹעָל through dittography of מ, or read מְנוֹלָה (Roorda, al. mult.): cp. Jer 5:18; after the words had been wrongly divided the scriptio plena was inserted inם. — הָיְתָה [cp. הָיְתָה] בַּיֶּהוֹי בַּיֶּהוֹי, Jt 4:1: וּרְאוּ הוּא is adverbial, בּ acc. of the state—hastily as a fleet one.—28. מְנוֹלָח, thus pointed here only, but cp. מ and Arab. מְנוֹעָל, מְנוֹלָה] read rather with נוֹלָה לָנָה לָנָה לָנָה (so Sievers): this balances the lines better; בּ is due to dittography of the מ. — 29, 30a. There are several considerations which justify suspicion as to the correctness of the text: (1) The Hebrew variant נואש, נואש in v. 29b; (2) the virtual repetition of the first word of 29a in 29b (הָיְתָה נואש); (3) the undue shortness of one of the four lines of v. 29— of מ, if מ be thrown forward to מ, or of מ if this line is limited to מ; (4) the position of מ in מ after מ; (5) certain other features of מ: thus מ נואש = בּרַעְשָׁנ (al. בּרַעְשָׁנ), but נואש = פַּרְבָּשָׁנ; מַכֵּשׁ = מֶכְבַּלֵּה, whereas מֶכְבַּלֵּה nowhere else=ֵּל; in Is 230 it renders חַלְשָׁנ; in 2217, חַלְשָׁנ; (6) the improbable meaning that has to be attached to מ in the present text. There is no means of restoring the exact form of the text, nor is it very necessary, for the sense is sufficiently established. נואש is not improbably a gloss on, or variant of, נואש—בּרַעְשָׁנ [this is supposed to mean carries off into security, i.e. the lion carries off the prey to a place where it may eat undisturbed. But the sense of escape, deliverance is so prominent in the uses of the root that it is very doubtful whether the Hiphil expressed the very opposite.

30. The succession of intelligible distichs of regular rhythm leading up to a climax and a conclusion in v. 29, is here followed by some exceedingly obscure sentences. Rhythm is not obvious, but is certainly different from that which prevails in vv. 26-29. Render: And he will growl over him in that day as the growling of the sea; and if he looks to the earth, then lo! distressful (?) darkness, and the light has grown dark in the clouds (?) thereof. There are two main theories of interpretation: (1) Some, including Del., consider that the subject and object of the growl are the same as the subject and object in vv. 26-29: Assyria growls, and Israel hears the ominous sound. The growl, and the unrelieved darkness on which the eyes of the prey rest, imply the doom of Israel. On
this interpretation v.30 is parallel to v.29a b; it does not carry the thought as far as v.30c d; for this reason, v.30 would probably be a parallel, not belonging to vv.26-30. (2) Others * consider that the subject changes: it is Assyria here against whom the growl is uttered, and Assyria whose outlook is unrelieved gloom. In this case it is equally difficult to believe that v.30 is the original sequel to v.29.

\[\text{Ezek.}\] Piel or Niph. Elsewhere Heb. always uses the Hiph. of this vb. Du. has pointed out the similarity to ס"א of v.30b (\[\text{P}\]), and the still greater similarity of v.30b ג, which omits יד ותש. That the two passages are not unrelated is probable; that a process of assimilation has gone on is also probable. Under the circumstances it is safest to question, or accept very tentatively, the strange interpretations that have been offered of פ"א. יד is probably a mere corruption (cp. ס"א and ג in both passages). The accentuation and punctuation of MT יד ותש embodies an old interpretation (noticed by Rashi) which took יד ותש together as = moon (\[\text{ב} = \text{יש} \text{מ}\]) and sun. Cond., making one or two emendations, attaches ס"א b, 21, 22 to פ"א-30.

VI. The Vision and the Call of Isaiah.

There is no reason to question the impression conveyed by this chapter that we are here reading the prophet's autobiography, from which we have further extracts in 31-18 and, perhaps, in 7-16. The narrative is in prose; the words spoken by the seraphim and by Yahweh are in poetical form, perhaps also the words of the seraph in v.7. The interrogations of Isaiah in vv.8-9 are too brief to show poetical form, and the rhythmical quality of his first startled cry in v.5 is not obvious; the words may be read as three lines (so in Kittel's text) of six accents each, but without parallelism; Du. divides them into four words of unequal length. Cond. remarks: "Le style rythmique, propre à la solennité des oracles, convient mal à la spontaneité de ce cri d'effroi," which has some force, and would have more if the cry at the time formulated itself in spoken words, and if Isaiah necessarily repeated verbatim in his narrative written subsequently the words he heard, or the words he uttered, at the time of the vision. The translation distinguishes the words that seem more clearly poetical in form.

1 In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting on a throne that was lofty and uplifted, and his skirts filling the

* Du., Marti; cp. T.
Temple. 2 Seraphim were standing above him: each had six wings—two to cover the face, two the feet, and two to fly with.

3 And they kept calling to each other, and saying,

Holy, holy, holy is Yahweh of Hosts,
The whole earth is full of his glory.

4 And the foundations (?) of the threshold trembled at the voice of them that called, and the House began to fill with smoke.

5 And I said, "Woe is me! for I am undone; for I am a man of unclean lips, and am dwelling in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for it is the King, Yahweh of Hosts, whom mine eyes have seen."

6 Then one of the seraphim flew to me with a red-hot stone in his hand, which with tongs he had taken off the altar, and with it he touched my mouth, and said, Lo! this has touched thy lips: thy iniquity will pass away (from thee), and thy sin will be expiated. 8 And I heard the voice of the Lord, saying,

Whom shall I send?
And who will go for us?

And I said, Here am I: send me. 9 Then he said, Go, and say unto this people,

Hearken on, but understand not!
See, yea, see, but perceive not!

10 Make dull the heart of this people,
And make its ears heavy, and plaster over its eyes;
Lest it see with its eyes and hear with its ears,
And its heart understand, and it be healed once more.

11 And I said: How long, O Lord? And he said,
Until they lie waste—
Cities without inhabitant
And houses without human beings—
And the ground be left a desolation;

12 And Yahweh remove men far away,
And the forsaken places in the land be many:

13 And though a tenth yet (remain) in it:
It must again be exterminated.
Like an oak or a terebinth, wherein at the felling is a stump.

On a day within a few months of the death of Uzziah,
though whether before or after that event is uncertain, Isaiah came up to the Temple. And falling into an ecstasy, he saw and heard more than he had been wont to see and hear—things that others who were present that day in the Temple Courts neither saw nor heard: he saw Yahweh in kingly state; in His Holy presence he felt his own uncleanness; he realised the power of Yahweh to forgive immediately without sacrifice or gift on man’s part (ct. 112-14); he heard, understood, and obeyed His call to service.

This is record of fact; but the fact is spiritual experience, which must be described, though inadequately, by means of material terms and pictures.

The central fact is the decision of the prophet to deliver Yahweh’s message to His people; and this decision was taken on a single particular day. Yet, though we cannot be certain, we may somewhat safely assume that the vision of Yahweh, bringing with it the clear apprehension on the prophet’s part of Yahweh’s purpose concerning him, was the culmination of a longer experience; not, we may well believe, for the first time on that day had he felt his own unworthiness, or contrasted the moral uncleanness of his people with the ethical holiness of God (vv. 4-5); he had been anxious to speak to his people, but had not yet been sure of the divine commission to speak, nor certain what to say. Some such experience before the call is suggested, if not by one or two details in the account of the day of decision, yet certainly by the analogy of the experience of other great religious personalities—of Mohammed, for example, who had long felt that his people were astray from God before the particular day when the call came to him, “Recite, in the name of thy Lord, recite” (Kor. 961).

It is not only probable that the narrative thus presupposes a religious experience of which it records the culmination, but it is possible that, as some have supposed, it is coloured by the prophet’s experience after the day of decision. It is generally held, and certainly probable, that this account of his call was not written by Isaiah immediately after the event, but some years later, when it was natural to define the year to which the record refers. It may be then that the terms of the divine commission in vv. 9ff. reflect the discouraging effect on Isaiah of years of fruitless warning (but see below).
1-4. The Vision.—I. In the year that king Uzziah died] for this method of dating, see 14:28, and cp. KAT8, p. 323. The Hebrew year ran from autumn to autumn (EBi. 5365). Between two autumns King Uzziah died: between the same two autumns Isaiah received his call. That is all that can be inferred with certainty from the clause. It leaves the question open whether Isaiah received his call before (cp. 1:1) or after Uzziah’s death. Early Babylonian usage defined the remainder of a year after the accession of a new ruler as “the year in which N. [the new ruler’s predecessor] entered into the house of his father”: later, when the system of numbering the years of a king from the 1st of Nisan after his accession prevailed, i.e. from about 1500 B.C., the broken year before that 1st of Nisan was known as “the beginning of his reign” (E. Meyer, Gesch. d. Allerthums2, 1. ii. pp. 330 f.). If Hebrew usage followed contemporary Assyrian usage, Isaiah’s call took place before the death of Uzziah. Uzziah died within a few years of 740 B.C.: some time before 735 (cp. 7:1), but after 738, if Uzziah (Azariah) is correctly identified with the Azriyau of Jaudi mentioned by Tiglath-pileser in his annals of the year 738. If that identification is fallacious (see Introduction), Uzziah’s death may have occurred before 740, yet not so early as 753 (Jerome, cp. Del.).—Uzziah] so (יִשְׂעֵיהוּ) 1:1 7:1, 2 K 15:22-34, 2 Ch 26:16, 27:3, and (יִשְׂעֵיהוּ) 2 K 15:18-20, Hos 1:1, Am 1:1, Zec 14:5, perhaps also Uzzah (2 K 21:18, 20); but Asariah (אָסָרִיָּהוּ), 2 K 14:21 15:1. 7, 17, 23, 27, 1 Ch 3:12, and (יהוֹשֵׁעַ) 2 K 15:6-8. Unless the king bore both names, the distribution of the evidence in OT favours Uzziah. Azariah would be confirmed if the identification of this king with Azriyau of Jaudi (last note) were certain.

I saw the Lord] There is no elaborate description of the divine being here (cp. Am 7:9; ct. Ezk 1, Dn 7:9); but the very terseness heightens the impression that is given of the ideas that dominated Isaiah at this moment; he is absorbed with the thought of the kinglyness of Yahweh; he sees nothing but Yahweh enthroned: his eyes cannot linger on the divine face (cp. Ex 33:20-23), they fall instinctively to the skirts of His robes which fill the Temple.—On a throne] Isaiah, like Micah the Morashtite (1 K 22:19), sees Yahweh in kingly state, enthroned on a conspicuously lofty throne. —His skirts] this, however aesthetically unsatisfactory in English, and not train (RV), is the
correct rendering of מַלְוָה; for the מַלְוָה are the loose-flowing parts of the robe or upper garment (חֹאֶשׁ, Ex 28:88), especially the part from the waist downward (cp. Jer 13:22, 26, Nah 3:5); here the word is used of the robe as it flows down over the knees of Yahweh seated on the throne, and reaches to and covers the floor. This boldly anthropomorphic touch was euphemised away by the ancient translators: Τ renders his glory (cp. Jn 12:41), Τ the brilliance of his glory, Υ (following Symm., Theod.) quae sub ipso erant. Ibn Ezra gains the same end by an interesting, though improbable, explanation; he refers the suffix to the throne, and sees in the skirts the loose hanging draperies with which it is "the custom of kings" to have their thrones covered. Filling the Temple] i.e. covering the entire floor, unless, indeed, we could suppose with Jer. and some Jewish commentators that the throne was lifted up high above the Temple, and that the Temple itself was filled by the flowing skirts; but had this been the meaning, covering the Temple would seem the more appropriate description.—The Temple] in Hebrew, as in Sumerian (e-gal), from whence through the Assyrian (e-kallu) the Hebrews borrowed the word, בֵּית denotes primarily a great house, a royal residence, a palace (1 K 21:1, 2 K 20:18, Pr 30:28); but in actual usage it more frequently refers to the "House of Yahweh" or Temple, whether to the whole (1 S 1:8, 3:1, 2 K 23:24, 24:18, Hag 2:15, Neh 6:10), or the front and larger chamber (1 K 6:17, Ezk 41:1) as distinguished from the smaller inner chamber (יד). In one passage clearly (Ps 114), in others (Mic 1:2, cp. vv.2f, Ps 18:19, cp. vv.1f.) probably, the term בֵּית us is used of Yahweh's heavenly residence; but in none of these passages is the sense temple rather than palace required. At a later period the idea of a Temple in heaven was familiar in certain Jewish circles; this can be first traced clearly at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. (Test. Levi 5:1), and then frequently in John's Apocalypse (e.g. 7:1, ct. 11:19). That such an idea existed in Israel in the time of Isaiah there is no direct proof, and the attempt to prove the early existence in Babylonia of such an idea has so far met with doubtful success. But even though such an idea may have been familiar to Isaiah, and though, in that case, he might have used the term בֵּית of the heavenly as well as of the earthly Temple, it is not to any such heavenly temple, as many* have supposed,  

that Isaiah here refers, but to the Temple of Jerusalem * which was daily before his eyes. He sees in vision no strange and unfamiliar scene, but a long familiar scene transfigured. This interpretation is favoured by (1) the unqualified reference to the temple and the altar (v.6), contrasted with the careful qualification (“the temple that is in heaven”) of such writers as the authors of the Testaments and the Apocalypse of John, and (2) by the analogy of the visions of Amos (9:1), where an earthly altar and an earthly temple are unmistakably the scene of vision, and of Ezekiel (8:o 10). Nor can it be safely urged in favour of the alternative interpretation, that “the presence of the seraphim is a sufficient indication that the scene is in heaven . . . if Elisha’s servant, when his eyes were opened, saw horses and chariots of fire in Dothan (2 K 617), Isaiah, with eyes open in vision, might well see seraphim in Jerusalem. It is indeed the very fact that he sees Yahweh holding court in Jerusalem that gives full point to his alarm; it is the actual presence of the Holy One of Israel in the midst of Israel and not remote in heaven that spells doom to the uncivil people; the sinners in Sion must needs be alarmed (cp. 3314).” † A persistent Jewish exegetical tradition, as represented indirectly by Jer. and directly by Rashi, explains that Isaiah saw Yahweh “sitting on his throne in heaven with his feet in the (earthly) Temple, ‘the footstool of his feet’” (Rashi); cp. “non ipse Dominus implebat Templum cuius coelum thronus est et terra scabellum pedum eius . . . sed ea quae sub pedibus eius erant implebant Templum” (Jer.).—2. Beside Yahweh stand seraphim: since He is seated and they standing, they rise above him—not it, viz. the Temple (Jer.). Each seraph has six wings (cp. Rev 4:8), one pair to screen their faces from the unbearable brightness of the divine presence (cp. Ex 3:6, 1 K 19:13), one to conceal their feet, i.e. their nakedness (so 36:12 K’rè; cp. “their bodies,” Ezk 11), from the divine eye (Ex 20:26 28.42ff.), and one to use in flight (cp. v.6). Again, Isaiah only particularises what closely concerns him at the moment. His allusions to the seraphim serve to emphasise his thought of Yahweh’s majesty and kinglyness; if these lofty and superhuman

† Cited from an article by the present writer, “The Heavenly Temple and the Heavenly Altar” (ExP., May, June, 1908, pp. 385-402, 530-546), in which the points summarised in the text are discussed at length.
beings must screen their faces, how much more mortals (cp. Job 4:17): so again not slowly with feet, but with the rapidity of flight they move to do Yahweh's bidding. כ represents the seraphim as standing round Yahweh (κύκλω αὐτοῦ), feeling perhaps that the majesty of Yahweh requires that He should, even when seated, tower above His attendants. But to Isaiah, Yahweh appeared majestic in size and attended by beings equally colossal. It is unnecessary to press the sense of תומ so as to insist that the seraphim stood on their feet (though see next clause): the vb. is certainly used of objects or beings without feet (Nu 14:14). But the attempt made by Del., Di., Che. (in Pf), and others to prove that it means "to hover," is not successful.

Many interesting questions are raised by this description which it was no concern of Isaiah's to satisfy, and which modern investigation has only partially illumined. What was the form of the seraphim? Were they human? Were they serpentine? How many were attending Yahweh? As to their form: they stand (תומ, see above), and have feet (v.4) and hands (v.6), and therefore, if originally connected with serpents, they have acquired non-serpentine characteristics. Beings half human half animal in appearance figure in later descriptions (Ezk 1, Rev 4?). The connection of the seraphim with serpents is suggested by the name תומ, which, meaning *to burn*, is used in Nu 21:8 of serpents, apparently so called from the burning sensation produced by their bite (see Numbers, p. 277), and in Is 14:20 30:8 of *flying* serpents (|| וַנִּנָּשׁ, נֹמָשׁ). According to 2 K 18:4, at the time of Isaiah's vision there still stood (probably in the Temple Court) the bronze serpent, or seraph, the erection of which popular tradition attributed to Moses (Nu 21:8); on this object Isaiah's eye may have been resting just before he fell into ecstasy. We may infer, if not with certainty yet with probability, from v.4 that the seraphim of Isaiah's vision were stationed about the threshold of the temple, and by a further inference may be led to suspect that the seraphim belong to the class of guardians of thresholds—that part of the dwelling with which so much religious or superstitious awe has been widely associated (H. Clay Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant, 1890)—who repel intruders, or, as rather here (v.6), admit under fit conditions to the presence of, or communication with, the deity. Some analogy both to the name and to this function of the seraphim has often been sought in the Egyptian *Serref* (demotic *Sefr*), a winged griffin guarding an Egyptian tomb; see, further, BDB, Ges-B., *EBi.*, and *DB*, s.v. On the other hand, the connection sought by some Assyriologists (Del., Hommel) between תומ and *Sarrahu* (or *Sarrapu*), a name said to have been borne by the god Lugalgira (? Nergal) in the westland, is denied by Zimmern (*KA* 3 415). The number of seraphs that attend Yahweh in Isaiah's vision is uncertain; the phrase מִזְחַר *m* (v.8) rather suggests *two* (see phil. n.), the plural תומ (not תומ ונ) in v.8, on the other hand, rather suggests many. Early Christian interpreters
commonly thought of two, and allegorised: the two seraphim were the Son and the Holy Spirit attending the Father—a view not unnaturally rejected by Jerome as "impious." The view that the two seraphim represented the Old and New Testament found more favour. Jewish interpreters differed as to the number—תנפכש יְשֵׁי (Ibn Ezra).

3. The constantly repeated (אמר) refrain of the seraphim sung antiphonally (rób נָחַ). For other allusions to songs sung by heavenly beings, see Ps 29\(^1\). 2. 9, Job 38\(^7\), Rev 5\(^8\)ff. 7\(^11\)ff.—Holy] thrice repeated for the sake of emphasis: cp. Jer 7\(^4\) 22\(^29\), Ezek 21\(^82\). One of the main tasks of the prophets was to transform, and especially to ethicise, current religious terms: so Amos dealt with the "Day of Yahweh," so Hosea with "the marriage of Yahweh," and so Isaiah ethicises the word "Holy." Originally a term without, in Isaiah's hands it became charged with, moral import, so that when he speaks of the "Holy One of Israel" he thinks of a power that executes justice and demands just dealing of His worshippers. How unethical a term the prophets found it may be most briefly suggested by the fact that the religious prostitution which Hosea denounced was carried on by "holy" men and women (see, further, Numbers, pp. 209–211). In Isaiah's conception we see points of contact with the popular thought; with him, too, it is dangerous to approach that which is Holy (v.\(^5\)); with him, too, a common quality is needed in the Holy Being and those who approach Him; but with Isaiah this common quality is freedom from sin (יהוה): what this in turn is may be seen by noting such passages as 116\(^f\); it is moral, not ceremonial; it is acquired not by expiatory sacrifices, but by turning from evil to good, by executing justice and cultivating mercy (cp. also 5\(^7\)(16)). One of a sinful nation whose lips are rendered unclean, unfit to speak to Yahweh, Isaiah is himself sinful, unable to address Yahweh; he does not even, like the publican of the parable (Lk 18\(^13\)), cry to God for forgiveness; his lips open, but in self-address—"Wretched man that I am." But freed from sin (v.\(^7\)), Isaiah is fitted to be entrusted with the secret of Yahweh (cp. Am 3\(^7\)), or, as we might express it, for communion with God. This holy, moral power which is revealed to Isaiah in his vision is Lord of the (heavenly) hosts, and the whole world reflects the lustre of His righteousness. History, human life is under the government of a righteous power that rules the world, and is not devoted merely to satisfying the unethical desires of
a petty nation or tolerating its sins. Isaiah is no exponent, like
the author of chs. 40-55, of an intellectual monotheism, but he is
possessed by the moral thought that in due time demanded an
explicit monotheistic statement.—His glory] here, as in Nu 14:21,
Ps 72:19 96:8, of Yahweh's self-revelation in His dealing with men.
4. The Temple quakes to its foundations (?) with the sound of
the song of the seraphim, just as mountains tremble when
Yahweh appears (Ex 19:18, Jg 5:4); whether a heavenly temple
would have quaked at what in a heavenly temple should have
been an ordinary occurrence, may be doubted.—The foundations
of the thresholds] the exact sense of the Hebrew phrase is
uncertain: see phil. n.—Them that called] i.e. the seraphim,*
who alone as yet have called (v.9): the sing. part. (אלהים) is used
collectively as are other sing. participles elsewhere; see, e.g., Jos
6:9, Gn 4:20; G-K. 126m; Kön. iii. 256. Others have given to
the part. a sing. sense and referred it, inappropriately, to Yahweh
thundering out "welcome" to Isaiah (Ew.), or expressing anger
at the sin of the people (Di.).—The house] the Temple: cp.
1 K 6:4 6 etc.—Began to fill with smoke] in spite of "cloud"
rather than smoke being mentioned there, Ezk 10:4 seems the
nearest parallel, and to suggest that the smoke here is the cloud
that so commonly accompanied theophanies—Ex 14:19 40:34,
1 K 8:1, Is 4:6 (cp. EBi., Pillar of cloud, Theophany). Only for
a moment does Isaiah see the unveiled glory of Yahweh. Others
explain the smoke as the breath of the seraphim (cp. Ps 18:9:
so Du.), or as the smoke of Yahweh's anger (Ps 74:1 80:5(i), Dt
29:10; Di.).

1. וַהֲקַנָּה . . . מָכָב] Dr. Tenses, 127 β. כָּל begins with kal éγένετο to
establish a connection, which did not originally exist, with ch. 5.—ירָש] here
and in v.8 many MSS read יָשָׁר: so in 3:17. 18.—נָתָן כָּל] not grammatically
parallel to כָּל, and, as in 57:15, directly descriptive of Yahweh, but (as in כָּל
clearly) attributives of כָּל.—2. יָשָׁר above him, cp. 14:13, Dn 12:41, Gn
22:2; יָשָׁר יָשָׁר is not merely the same as יָשָׁר יָשָׁר, to stand in attendance on—
Jg 3:19, Jer 36:21 (reading יָשָׁר for יָשָׁר).—נָתָן כָּל] this and the following imperfects
describe what is liable to occur (Dr. 33 β), really therefore the purpose of the
wings, rather than what Isaiah actually saw frequently occur (Dr. Tenses,
30 a).—3. וַיִּהְבָּה . . . אֶרֶם] frequentatives: Dr. § 120, G-K. 112k.—נָתָן כָּל] the
one to the other: cp. Ex 14:20. In similar comparative usages נָתָן refers definitely
to one of two (Gn 29:27, Ex 14:20, 1 K 3:28), or to a single individual of a series
(1 K 22:20, Is 44:5). In Ps 75:8 נָתָן appears to correspond to the English

* So כָּל, Ges., Del., Du., Marti.
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indefinite one ... another: cp. the second ה in Job 1:16-18, but to the Hebrew mind the ה was probably vivid and definite. Certainly ה ה is not the normal Hebrew for "to one another," which is expressed by the plural vb. with ה ה (G-K. 1392). Nor again would it normally express "the one group to the other group": this should be ה ה ה (cp. Dt 27:15f., 2 S 2:13, 1 K 20:29, Dn 12:2). Unless ה ה ה here implies two seraphs only, we can only find a somewhat inadequate parallel in Ec 3:10 where one ה refers to a pl. (סראפים רבים) and the other to a collective (ההוה).—רashi] cp. 88, and for the cstr., Driver, § 189. Possibly ה ה should be read: cp. גֵּסָט, and see Nestle in ZATW, 1905, 218 ff.—4. רבי משה תונאי] כדי (apart from ה= cubit and, in 2 S 8, mother-city) here only. It has been explained as a metaphorical development from ה, mother, and hence foundations; uncertain; but cp. Assyr. aммatu. ה regularly means threshold, though גֵּסו has also the meaning porch, doorpost. ג renders the two words by the single word בֵּיתוֹ, lintel (cp. תְּשׁוּ). Grä. suggests מַעַי, supporters, i.e. pillars (2 K 18:18), which brings us back, so far as the meaning goes, very nearly to the posts of the doors of AV, which rests on a philologically questionable Jewish exegesis; cp. Rashi.—cxx] imp. of incipient action: Dr. §§ 26, 27.

5-8. The effect of the vision on Isaiah.—5. Having in vv.1-4 described what he saw, the vision proper, Isaiah passes on to speak of the effect on himself; the alarm which he felt was the effect of the whole of what he saw, not merely of the last or any other single detail. He is a sinful man, member of a sinful nation, and yet he has seen God! cp. Lk 5:8, Ex 33:20, Jg 13:22. He is in the presence of God, but has not that cleanness of lips which they need who would call upon God (Zeph 3:9). He cannot pray for himself, or his sinful folk.—For I am undone] for the vb. see, e.g., 151, Hos 107. An ancient theory that Isaiah was struck dumb for not rebuking Uzziah’s presumption (2 Ch 26:16f.) was based on the confusion of the roots ה ר and ס ל (to be silent): hence ו quia tacui, Aq. εἰσώτητος, cp. ת and possibly ג’s κατανεώμαι.—6, 7. But Isaiah does not find himself driven forth on account of his sinfulness: on the other hand, the same vision which had intensified his consciousness of sin is, before it vanishes, to assure him of the removal of his sin. One of the seraphim, leaving his fellow(s) at the threshold, flew to the altar which stood just in front of the porch of the Temple, and, taking off the altar a glowing coal, or stone, continued his flight across the court of the Temple to the place where Isaiah stood, perhaps near its entrance, and touched his unclean lips with it, purging them with fire (cp. Mal 3:16, Lk 3:16) and making them clean; his lips being cleansed he can address Yahweh (v.8).—Thy iniquity
The sense of the pf. with waw Conv. must be future here (Dr. 119a): EV is taken away, is wrong both in respect of the tense and the passive vb.; יִפְרֹת in Heb. is intrans. to remove, depart, pass away. For such quasi-personification of sin as the expression implies, cp. 2 K 7, Iniquity (punishment) will find, overtake, us (גַּשְׁנֵךְ); cp. (with התנע as subj.) Nu 32—8. The sense of forgiveness in Isaiah is immediately accompanied by the desire for service; cp. the prayer of Ps 51 (11-13); purification from sin has set him free to understand Yahweh’s will; he now hears Him consulting the members of His court (1 K 22) and asking who shall be His messenger; Isaiah offers himself. The passage is important for the light it throws on the nature of the prophetic consciousness and inspiration. Isaiah becomes a prophet owing to no physical compulsion, but by a perfectly free choice, or at least all that compels him is his sympathy with the purposes of Yahweh; cp. Am 3ff.

5. see also 1 K 19,(bread baked on) hot stones; cp. Syr. ְפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפֶּפ֥ deportation, 9-13. The message entrusted to Isaiah by Yahweh.

The doom of the people is inevitably fixed: there is to be no further healing of their sick state (cp. 1ff.); let them now persist in their insensitivity (cp. 8) to the voice and will of God: even the prophet’s preaching is but to render them blinder, deafer, and more insensitive. The gradual hardening and ultimately fatal effect on character of continued disobedience to the voice of God is here stated in the bold, direct, dramatic speech of prophecy. The doings of God will still be before the people, the voice of God will still speak through the prophets and in the events of the time, but they will not understand! —This people so also 8. 12 9. 16 28. 11. 14 29. 13. 14, contemptuously, and always, except in 9, of the unbelief or superstitions of the people (Du.). The phrase is ambiguous, and raises the question whether at his call Isaiah was charged with a mission to Judah only or to the Northern kingdom only, or to both kingdoms. Against limiting
the phrase to Judah is the fact that much of Isaiah's earlier prophecies was actually addressed in whole or in part to the Northern kingdom (9th, 17th, 28th). Hackmann (pp. 52–54, 70–76) has argued strongly that the phrase here refers to Israel only; he points out that the prophecies clearly belonging to Isaiah's early life are mainly devoted to Israel, that the fate of Israel predicted in them is along the lines of the preaching of Amos and Hosea, and agrees with the terms of the commission here—total destruction; that, on the other hand, Isaiah's attitude towards Judah as depicted in ch. 7 f. does not correspond to the commission. The fatal objection to this otherwise attractive theory, which is insufficiently criticised by Cheyne (Introdog. p. 28), is that the people in v.9 cannot well be an entirely different body from the people of v.5, and that in v.5 the people must at least include Judah. But if we must conclude that "this people" includes Judah as well as Israel, or even, as surely v.5 suggests, refers particularly to Judah, how is the unrelieved pessimism as to the national future to be accounted for in view of ch. 7? And how on any interpretation is the absence of any reference to Isaiah's fundamental (7th n.) doctrine of the remnant to be explained? Cheyne (p. 29) finds it sufficient to assume that ch. 6 was originally intended as a prologue to 71–818 (in the course of which the doctrine of the remnant is developed); others, following Ew., think that this record of Isaiah's call having been written long after his call, was influenced by the darker outlook of a later time. The difficulty is not completely overcome, but escape is least of all to be found by retaining, against the evidence of Gn, the last clause of v.13.—Dull the heart] Heb. make fat, i.e. insensitive; cp. Ps 119:70.—Plaster over its eyes] as with the sticky secretion that exudes from diseased eyes. —And it be healed once more] as it had been wont to be healed by Yahweh (Hos 6:1). Gn replaces the indefinite subj. of ḫ by the 1st pers., And I heal them. EV, "and turn again [i.e. to God] and be healed," follows the erroneous punctuation of MT.—

111. How long, asks Isaiah, is this hardening process to proceed? The answer comes clearly: till the nation be no more, till it be destroyed root and branch, and the country which it now inhabits be left full of uninhabited ruins and untilled: cp. 22:14.—Be left a desolation] so Gn; ḫ be wasted into a desolation.

12. And Yahweh remove men] Yahweh will not Himself be
destroyed, as the people supposed, in the destruction of His people; He is Himself the cause of it. Israel will vanish; Yahweh will remain. The land of Israel will become a desolation, but the whole earth (v.8) will still reflect Yahweh’s righteousness; the very desolation of Yahweh’s country will speak of His righteous anger, which will not tolerate the sins of those whom He had chosen to be peculiarly His own (cp. 5:1-7, Am 3:2). This thought remains implicit in the entire suggestion of the vision (cp. especially v.8), even if with Marti we were to consider v.12.

a post-exilic explanatory addition to v.11; but his arguments are hardly quite conclusive; for it is perhaps hypercritical to claim that men cannot be removed (v.12) from an already (v.11) desolated country; and the use of Yahweh in words attributed to Yahweh—particularly at some little distance from the beginning of the speech, is hardly sufficient by itself to prove that v.12 was not the original continuation of v.11.—13. Even though a fraction of the population, a tenth, is left behind in Judah when Yahweh exiles the rest (v.12a), it will not escape, but it too must be exterminated, as when a tree is cut down, the stump which remains is also destroyed—such seems the intention of the text. If the last clause of the v. were really original, and not a late gloss added to יֵעֵשׁ after the time of כּ, it would be necessary to suppose that the announcement of judgment closes with the word exterminated (יִכְצָה); and that then a figure of hope is abruptly introduced—As an oak or a terebinth wherein at felling is a stump, so the holy seed is its stump, from which a new and holy Israel will spring; such in any case is the meaning of the annotator who added the last clause. With the phrase holy seed, cp. the post-exilic חַיְּשָׁה עַד of Ezr 9:2 and מִי הַוָּלָד עַד, Mal 2:15.

9. יָשֶׂם יָשֶׂה] G-K. II 3r.—10. יֵעֵשׁ] point so, connecting closely with what follows (cp. v.10), not יָשָׂה (MT).—םַיָּד] and one heal; indef. subj.—G-K. 144d.—11. הָעָשָׁה] כּ וַהֲוַתָּאשׁוֹתָא=ירָעָה. יְהוּדָה is a poor repetition of the vb. in the first line; MT attempts to create a difference by pointing this form Niphal; but note the different sense of Niphal in 17:12.—13. יָשֶׂה יָשֶׂה] str. as in 9, but the meaning of יָשֶׂה is different: here to exterminate (cp. 4:6, 2 S 4:11, Dt 13:16 etc.), there to depasture. Budde, indeed (New World, 1895, p. 12), adopts the latter meaning here—it shall be for (cattle) to feed on, and sees in the words a promise that Judah will return to pastoral life and the divine favour.—13. יָשֶׂה יָשֶׂה] probably neither term denotes a distinct species of tree (19 n.): the combination of the two terms is curious: Kit. tentatively proposes the omission of יָשֶׂה: note that about 100 Hebrew MSS (and ? כּ) read יָשֶׂה, not יָשֶׂה, in the next clause.
VII. i—VIII. 18.—Incidents and Prophecies at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish War (735–734 B.C.).

Special Literature:—F. Giesebrecht, "Die Immanuel Weissagung," in TSK, 1888, pp. 217–264 (in the main a detailed discussion of ch. 8); A. B. Davidson, "Immanuel" (in DB); A. S. Peake, "Immanuel" (in Dict. of Christ and the Gospels). See, further, pp. 135 f.

This section consists of (a) narratives in prose relating Isaiah's interview with Ahaz 7:1–16, his use of the name Mahershalalhash-baz, 8:1–4, and his use of his disciples and his children, 8:16–18; (b) poems, 7:17–25 8:5–10, 11–15; (c) prose notes (8:6, 11) prefixed by Isaiah to the last two of these poems.

In 8:1–18 both the prose style and the autobiographical character of ch. 6 re-appear, see 8:1–5, 11, 16–18; but the narrative parts of ch. 7 speak of Isaiah in the 3rd person. That Isaiah spoke of himself in immediately consecutive passages, now in the 1st, now in the 3rd pers. (Di.), is not very likely. More probably the use of the 3rd pers. indicates either (a) that the author of 7:1–16 was not Isaiah himself, but that the passage like chs. 20 and 36–39 is biographical; or (b) that 7:1–16, originally like chs. 6, 8 autobiographical, was modified by an editor who added v.1, and for reasons no longer obvious substituted the 3rd for the 1st person. Of these alternatives the second is favoured by a usage (ם ו) characteristic of Isaiah in 7:6 and by the general similarity of style throughout the narratives of chs. 7 f.; cp. 7:5 and 8:9, 7:7 and 8:10, 7:10 and 8:5, 7:14, 16 and 8:5. Isaiah's memoirs must then have suffered a similar fortune to those of Ezra, surviving in part intact (cp. e.g. Ezr 9), in part modified by an editor who substituted the 3rd pers. for the 1st (cp. e.g. Ezr 10).

The prophecy in 8:19–23 is scarcely derived from Isaiah's memoirs, still less 9:1–6; nor again within 6:1–8:18 is 7:17–25 so derived; see below on the several passages.

VII. i. A summary statement of the ill-success of the operations of Syria and Israel against Judah.—The v. is logically out of place, the hostile approach of the Syro-Ephraimitish army to Jerusalem and the failure of the attack are events which occurred after what is related in vv.2–12. The verse with some verbal variations not affecting the sense occurs also in 2 K 16:5. It was probably derived from Kings (cp. chs. 36–39) by the editor of the present passage; ct. the genealogical description of Ahaz with Isaiah's simple reference to Uzziah in 6:1.
The priority of Is 7ː, at one time commonly assumed or maintained, is now generally abandoned, but Di. still defended it on these grounds: (1) 2 K 168 stands very isolated; (2) Is 7ː requires some introduction; (3) the omission of יִלְשָׁי at the end of the v. in Kings is less correct; רֶפֶן (Ki.) is easier than רֶפֶן (Is.), and therefore presumably secondary. Of these arguments the second is the weightiest, and indeed it should be recognised that something once preceded and introduced v.\. Either that introduction was lost through mutilation before the passage came into the hands of the editor, or for some reason unknown he preferred to substitute for it 2 K 168. The first argument is of little weight; 2 K 168 may stand isolated, but Is 7ː is logically out of place (see above). As to the 3rd argument, the reading רֶפֶן in Is. is uncertain: ס has the pl. The additional clause יִנָּה בַּי יַעַר of Ki. is not strikingly like an editorial expansion to improve the bad style of Is.; the awkwardness of Is. is rather due to abbreviation.

And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz . . . king of Judah [this rather vague time definition was correctly inferred by the editor from what immediately precedes 2 K 168; the phraseology is not that of a contemporary, who would have said “At the beginning of the reign of Ahaz,” or “In the first year of Ahaz.”—Rezon] EV Rezin (see phil. n.). Rezon was king of Damascus as early as 738, for he is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser in his annals of that year; but Pekah’s accession must be placed later, for the king of Israel who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 738 was Menahem, and between Menahem and Pekah intervened the reign of Pekahiah.—Went up] so regularly of motion towards Jerusalem (cp. e.g. 28, Ezr 7, Jn 218, ct. Lk 958), departure from Jerusalem being expressed by to go down (1 K 228, Ac 88).—

Rezon went up . . . to Jerusalem to attack it, but could not attack it] 2 K 168 runs: “Rezon . . . went up to Jerusalem to attack (it), and laid siege to Ahaz (S ‘to it’), but could not attack it.” The meaning of Kings is clear: Rezon and Pekah reached Jerusalem and invested it, but were unable to proceed to actual assaults on the city: no sooner was the investment complete than the besiegers were called away. The meaning of Is. is the same, though it is more awkwardly expressed: the last clause is more specific than “they could not prevail against it” (RV), which might imply failure after a long siege; it means that they were not even able to make any active assault on the city. The speedy withdrawal from Jerusalem may be attributed to news having reached the besiegers that the Assyrians were advancing westwards. In 735, as in the two previous years, Tiglath-pileser had been campaigning to the S.E. and N. of Assyria, i.e. in parts

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remote from Syria; to this period we may attribute the raid on Judah in the last year(s) of Jotham (2 K 15:9). In the early spring of 734 we may suppose that the allied armies marched on Jerusalem, but had scarcely laid siege to the city when news reached them that Tiglath-pileser was moving westward; his objective in this year was, as we know from the Eponym Canon, Philistia. Starting about the same time (cp. 2 S 11:1), Rešôn might well traverse the distance (about 140 miles) from Damascus to Jerusalem, and prepare to lay siege to the latter city, before he received news that this year the Assyrian king was marching from Nineveh on his own capital; the military route from Nineveh to Damascus would be about 550 miles (cp. EBi. 5167).

The text introduces a detail if read is correct, the waw before הָוָּה is waw concomitante, which in Arabic requires the acc. after it—Rešôn with Pekâh went up and was unable; the instances in Heb. are at best few; see G-K. 154a footnote; BDB 253a. In this case Rešôn appears as the principal person. More probably should be read בָּא with 2 Ki., ב and ב here: then בָּא is sing. as preceding the subj.; G-K. 146f.—הָוָּה נִמְנָא was erroneously amplified in בָּא to instead of ב; ב, Pasow, Pasow (with late variants Pasow accommodated to ב), and the Assyrian Ra-sun-nu alike indicate that the final vowel was o.—לְבָּא רֶשֶׁן עֵילֶה, where לְבָּא is perhaps an erroneous specification of an original לְבָּא (Stade); whether the omission of הָוָּה in Is. was editorial or transcriptional is uncertain. The actual investment of a city is expressed by לְבָּא, the more active operations, such as assaults on the walls, carried on during the investment in order to reduce the city, or as the immediate prelude to its capture (רַבְּלָה), by לְבָּא מַלְכָּה (Dt 20:4, 2 K 12:18, Jos 10:4), or לְבָּא מַלְכָּה (1 K 20, Jg 9:6, 2 S 12:6, 27, 29, Is 20) or simply מַלְכָּה (2 S 11:20). The purpose of a hostile approach to a city may, of course, be described either as “to besiege it,” or “to attack it” (לְבָּא מַלְכָּה, Dt 20:4 and here, with the noun instead of the infinit. לְבָּא מַלְכָּה). מַלְכָּה does not mean “to continue the fight” (Box), or “to be successful in fighting”—“to prevail,” not even in Nu 22:1 cited for this sense by BDB; success is there implied by the following verb בָּא רֶשֶׁן.


—At a time when news has reached Jerusalem of the union of the Syrian with the Ephraimite army at two or three days’ distance from Jerusalem, and the court and people are in great alarm, Isaiah is commanded by Yahweh to take with him his son Shear-jashub, whose name signified “A Remnant shall return,” and to meet Ahaz outside the city in the “Fuller’s Field Road”; he is to exhort the king to keep calm, and to assure him
that Syria and Ephraim possess no power to do Judah serious mischief, or to carry out their plan of taking Jerusalem and overthrowing the Davidic dynasty in favour of an outsider (probably a Syrian). Lack of trust in Yahweh can alone, but would surely, lead to Judah's undoing. In a further appeal, Ahaz is offered any sign (of Yahweh's sufficiency) that he likes to choose, but he declines the offer. Thereupon Isaiah announces that Yahweh nevertheless will (hereafter) give a sign of His own choosing: the nature and purpose of this sign has been much discussed, and no general agreement has been reached (see below); but Isaiah goes on to predict (v.16) that within two or three years Ephraim and Syria will be a land of ruins. In vv.17ff., which probably do not belong to the original account of the interview, the desolation of Judah also is predicted.

In this passage much is obscure; two things are clear: Isaiah's contemptuous disbelief in the power of the allied armies of Syria and Israel, and his profound belief in Yahweh: in both respects he differs from king and people, who fear the foe and have no sustaining confidence in Yahweh.

Isaiah's attitude to Assyria is not definitely stated in vv.1-16; and it must be a matter of inference only whether Ahaz had already paid tribute to Assyria, or was at the time contemplating doing so. Isaiah may have judged the allied armies as he did, because he was convinced that an immediate advance of Assyria to the West would force them to turn back before they could inflict serious injury on Judah; but even if so, this was but the form which his belief in Yahweh took, for with him Yahweh directed the movements of Assyria.

The date of this interview is the early part of 734. It fell some few years later than Isaiah's call (ch. 6): see on v.1.

2. News comes to the court in Jerusalem that the plans of Syria and Ephraim (v.5) for attacking Jerusalem and overthrowing the Davidic dynasty (vv.5-6) are now taking practical and menacing effect. The entire might of Syria has settled for the moment in the country of its allies, the Ephraimites; the Syrian army has covered more than half the distance between Damascus and Jerusalem, and is within two or three days' march of its goal. King and people quail at the news, like trees bending before the wind (cp. Mt 11^7).—*The house of David*] so vv.18, 17.
The substitution of an alien for the reigning king (v.6) would involve loss of place and power for the entire house or entourage (cp. e.g. 2 S 9) of the king. They therefore, and not Ahaz alone, are described as recipients of the news, and active promoters of the policy directed against Syria and Ephraim (v.13); but it is unnecessary to conclude that on account of the youth of the king, who may have been barely twenty-one (2 K 16; but see 2 Ch 28, Kit.), other members of the royal house took at this time a more than ordinary part in government.—Syria hath settled down upon Ephraim] the phrase to settle upon (י נ) is used (119) of the spirit taking possession of men, of the ark grounding on Mt. Ararat (Gn 84), of carrion birds lighting on dead bodies (2 S 2110); construed with ड the verb is also used of insects, such as locusts (Ex 1044), settling on a tract of country (v.19). None of these uses quite corresponds to what the context here seems to require, the friendly and temporary halt of an army in the country of allies; the nearest parallel for the temporary halt is the absolute use of the vb. in Nu 1036. It is doubtful whether the verb was so associated with swarms of insects as to suggest by itself that the army of Syria was large (Di.). The unjustifiable rendering is confederate with (EV), or conjectural emendations to obtain such a sense, increase, if they do not create, difficulty; the hostile alliance in itself was no new thing needing to be announced: it already existed before Ahaz became king, 2 K 1587.

3-9. Yahweh commands Isaiah to interview Ahaz outside the city, and to assure him that he has no cause for fear; for the plans of the allied powers will be frustrated. The carrying out of the command is not directly recorded; it is merely implied by the fact that in vv.10f. the actual interview is in progress; so the fulfilment of Jer 1914 is implied in 191 but not directly recorded.

3. Shear-jashub] unless with Che. (Crit. Bib.) we substitute for ב ש י ש א ה א of נ ש א א ש א ה א, a name of purely sinister meaning—"Asshur shall return," the name of the son whom Isaiah is bidden to take with him, is at once a warning and a promise: a large part of the whole will perish and not return, but the remnant will return and be saved. Isaiah may at different times have explained the whole and the remnant differently; but on this occasion he would explain it as meaning that the
larger part of "the whole house of Israel," the northern kingdom, will certainly perish; but the remnant, Judah, may return to Yahweh and be saved (cp. vv. 14-18). In any case we must assume that Isaiah takes his son, whose name was a sign (818), because he knows that King Ahaz when he sees the boy will recall his name and its significance. Before this time Isaiah had probably drawn public attention to his elder son's name, as later he did to the name of the younger (8½f.), and an account of this may have stood originally in the memoirs. There is no suggestion that Isaiah was to carry Shear-jashub: the child therefore must have been old enough to go for a walk. The name with its prophetic significance must have been given after the call (ch. 6): therefore this incident falls at least two or three, perhaps several years, after that event.—Go out . . . to the end of the channel of the upper pool, to the Fuller's Field Road] we may assume that Ahaz was engaged at the time in inspecting the water supply of the city against the siege which might now be expected within a day or two. The city of Jerusalem contains no springs, but is and must always have been entirely dependent for its water supply * on cisterns filled by (1) the rain of winter, or (2) by aqueducts from springs, or reservoirs, outside the city. The only perennial supply of water in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem is the Virgin's Spring, "'Ain Sitti Maryam": this was connected, perhaps later than the time of Ahaz (cp. 2 K 20:20, 2 Ch 32:30), by an underground passage, 586 yards long, with the pool of Siloam within the city, and so made available for the inhabitants in time of siege. An external conduit had previously connected these points (Benzinger, Kön. 187), but this was liable to be cut by an enemy. The place of the interview, in spite of the full definition, cannot be identified; perhaps it lay to the north of the city, for the Assyrian army is said to have encamped there (362), and the north is the natural side from which to attack Jerusalem, as the Romans also later perceived. Others † put it to the S.E., below the city "at the mouth of the Tyropoeon valley." The Fuller's Field may indeed have lain there, "where alone water abounded"; but was the entire course of the Fuller's Field Road below the city? The

* G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 15 and ch. v.
† Sta. Gesch. i. 592 f. (with plan); G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 105, 114 ff., ii. 127.
verb *Go out* does not suggest descent into the valley.—4. Isaiah is to say to Ahaz: *See to it that you keep quiet*, free from agitation, not like trees trembling in the wind (v.2); *have no fear* of Syria and Ephraim, who, worn out with their previous internecine warfare, have little power of mischief left, but are like the *stumps of fire brands* now *smouldering* before they finally grow cold and harmless. Smoke, not fire, is all that the latest news means. Isaiah condemns two things in Ahaz: his fear, for it is needless; his faith in material resources—here typified by a secure water supply in time of siege; the only faith that will secure the real solidity of the state is faith in Yahweh (v.9). He demands of Ahaz, directly by his words, confidence and, by the presence of his son Shear-jashub, “return” to Yahweh. The point of view is essentially the same years later, and expressed in part by the same terms: “in returning (shubah) and resting shall ye find support, in keeping quiet (393W, as here and 3127, cp. 184) and confidence shall your strength lie” (3016), not in cavalry or the power of Egypt (3016).—*At the heat of the anger of Rezon and Syria, and Remaliah's son*] an explanation, supplied perhaps by the editor, of the figure of the smouldering stumps in the previous clause. The combination of the terms *Rezon, Syria, Remaliah's son* is curious. *Remaliah's son* appears to be a contemptuous mode of reference to Pekah: cp. 1 S 2027 and, below, “the son of Tabeel.”—5, 6. The plan of the allies, which has alarmed Ahaz, but appears to Isaiah certain of frustration (v.7), is to take Jerusalem by storm and then dethrone Ahaz, overturn the house of David, and set up as king of Judah a creature of their own, called contemptuously not by his own name, but merely *the son of Tabeel*. If G preserve the correct pronunciation, *Taβeλa*, the name (cp. Ezr 47) of the father is Aramaic and the man, presumably, an Aramaean. If this be so, then, whether Winckler be right or not in identifying the son of Tabeel with Rezon,* we have here an indication that Syria is the dominant power in the alliance.—*Let us go up into Judah and cause her to be in dread* or, more probably, reading ננירת for נני, and *let us bring her into straits*, cp. 297.—*And let us break into her* here, if not in the previous clause, the suffix refers to Jerusalem rather than to Judah as a whole; it can scarcely be “let us force a passage into her territory” (Box), for the first

*ATUntersuchungen, 74; KAT* 135.
clause of the v. already expresses invasion of the territory. For the vb. (קָבָל, Kal, Niph.) of breaking into cities, see 2 Ch 321, 2 K 254, Ezek 3016, Jer 392. Even in 2 Ch 2117 הָעֵקַבָּה is probably a breviloquence for “and broke into the cities thereof.” —For us] let us break in it so as to bring it unto us (וּלָנוּ, cp. 2 Ch 321), i.e. into our hands.

7-9. Over against the fears of Ahaz and the plans of Syria and Ephraim is now set the sentence of Yahweh. The evil plan (הָעֵקַבָּה, v.8) will not be carried out. Rešon is head of Damascus, Damascus capital of Syria, Pekah head of Samaria, and Samaria capital of Ephraim, and they will never be anything more; not to them belongs, or ever will belong, the headship of Judah. So far as they are concerned, Judah is safe. But its ultimate safety and continuance rest on its relation to Yahweh. It is not really threatened by the evil plans of its foes; it is not rendered safe because their plans are foiled. Safety will be secured by a practical and personal belief in and understanding of Yahweh, which will lead to a quiet confidence in His sufficiency (v.4 3015c), and to righteousness of life (cp. Gn 156); but if ye believe not, ye shall not be established: an early and correct interpretation of this great saying is found in 2 Ch 2020; the positive alternative, here left to be understood, is expressed by Isaiah in 2816. Note the paronomasia—'im lo ta'amINU ki lo ti'âmênu, cp. 12857 etc. This passage or Gn 156 is the earliest extant containing the expression to believe.

8b. Sixty-five years hence Ephraim shall be broken in pieces, that it be no more a people.—Eich. and Ges. pointed out, and later scholars have very generally recognised, that these words are an annotation by a later writer. Like the Aramaic gloss in Jer 1011, they spoil a sentence by intruding into the middle of it. Moreover, the note in its present position anticipates the allusion to Ephraim (v.9a) which it attempts to explain. The origin and nature of the clause are sufficiently indicated by its position; but it may be observed further that it could afford Ahaz little assurance that the present peril was unreal, to know that long after he was dead Ephraim would be destroyed. The precise dating of a prediction, too, would be without analogy in Hebrew prophecy, round numbers occur, 1614 203 2116, Jer 2511f. The writer of the note refers to some event in the history of Ephraim that occurred 65 years after 735 B.C., i.e. in 670-669 B.C. The Book
of Kings appears to know nothing of any kingdom of Ephraim after its conquest by Sargon in 722 B.C. (2 K 17). On the other hand, Ezra 4.10 speaks of settlements of Babylonian peoples in Samaria in the time of Esar-haddon (681–668) and Asshurbanipal (668–626). Since there is no obvious reason why a late annotator should invent the number 65, it is probable that the gloss is the note of a seventh century scribe, and records some deportation of the inhabitants of Ephraim by Esar-haddon or Asshurbanipal. Cp. Winckler, ATUntersuchungen, 97 ff.

2. βησα] Fem., in reference to the whole people of Aram: cp. 2124211, Ex 1220, and see G–K., 1224, i. Houb. emended to ἀρνή, Lag. to ἄδικος, a verbal form assumed from ἀνή, brother. If emendation were necessary, ἄδικος (cp. Sebastian Münster) would be easy, but the prep. ἀνή would give it an inappropriate hostile force. G renders συνεφώμενος ( = ἀνήρ, Gn 142; ἄνη (Niph.)), 2 K 122, ἄρα ἂς, ὅποιον, = ]—4. τῆς] Kal impf. in a, G–K. 679. — ἄνη Βασιλεῖ ἂς ἂς loosely attached to the foregoing. For this clause and the whole of the next v. ἄρα has ἑταν γὰρ δργῆ τοῦ θυμού μου γένηται, θάλω ἡσυχάτω καὶ δ' ἅθις τοῦ Ἄραμ καὶ δ' ἅθις τοῦ Ρωμείου ὅτι ἤπειροντο τὸν θυμὸν τούτον. This is obviously not the original sense; nor is an original text to be obtained by mere retranslation. But possibly the difference between ἄρα and ἄρα is in part due to a short original text having been expanded by glosses which did not find quite the same place in ἀρα and the original of ἄρα. Perhaps the original of vv.40 (from ἀνήρ) and 6 consisted simply of ἄρα Βασιλεῖ ἂς ἂς; all beyond this adds words, but nothing to the sense.—5. ἄνη Βασιλεῖ ἂς] rather characteristic of Isaiah: 316 n.—6. ἄνη Βασιλεῖ ἂς] ἑταν implies actual entrance into the city or district concerned, not mere approach to it: see 2 S 21, Jg 13, 1 Ch 1411, 2 Ch 2117, and even in Jer 4818, where the object is the personified people (cp. Jos 97).—ἐν Ἦπειρι Hiph. (here only) of ἦπερ in the sense found in v.18, Ex 113, Nu 224. Read rather (with Ges. Thes. al.) ἦπερ— a better transition to ἦπερ. G ἔπληκτον ἣπερ aυτῶν, doubtful.—ἴσως] if Aramaic, cp. ἴσως, Ταβερσάμ (1 K 1518), the name of Ben-hadad's father. If the name was Hebrew, it was pronounced ἴσως, and would then have been transliterated by G Ταβερσάμ: cp. ἴσως, Θαβίς. MT (אִשֹּׁא) in the first syllable preserves the tradition that the name is Aramaic; in the second the pathâh is hardly causal for šere, but rather a punctuator's witticism, who would have the name mean "Not-good."—7. ἄνη ἄδικος] G Kύρως σαβαὼθ. —9. ἄνη surely, as in ἄνη ὦ, etc.: BDB 472b; G–K. 159κτ. But ὁ may be an error for ὁ; on this and on G (LZ) συνεφώμενος = ἀνήρ, for ὁν(ε)ν; see Nestle in ZATW, 1905, pp. 215 ff.—8. ὅτι for the less usual sense of ἀνήρ, to be shattered, cp. the use of the Hiph. in 9, of ἀνήρ (pl.) in 1 S 24, and of ἄνη (Piel) in Jer 5156. The use of the Kal in 30, often cited as parallel, is ambiguous. For the more usual sense to be dismayed, cp. 89 n.

10–13. Isaiah offers, and Ahaz provokes his indignation by refusing, a sign. —10 f. Isaiah offers then and there
to Ahaz any sign he may like to demand, in Heaven above or Sheol below, in proof that Yahweh determines what shall come to pass, and that it is His present will that Jerusalem shall suffer nothing from the advancing armies of Ephraim and Syria, but that these armies will within a short time retire and leave Judah unmolested.

Obviously we have no full account of the interview. We must, therefore, infer what definite statements by Isaiah preceded this offer of a sign, and what that sign was to prove.

_and Yahweh again spake] Yahweh spoke through His prophet, Isaiah: cp. 3:16. In the original form of the narrative, if autobiographical, the clause must have run, "I spake again."—

II. A sign] a sign (נוא) is an event which is the pledge for the fulfilment of a prophecy, the genuineness of a promise, the reality of an experience, and the like. It may be given as a token that something really will happen in the future, or as a reminder that something predicted previously has now actually happened. The sign may be a quite ordinary event, especially if it is itself a matter of prophecy (as in v.14), or it may be of an extraordinary, miraculous nature, in which case it is also a "wonder" (נוא). An example of the first kind is afforded by 1 S 2:27-36, where the removal of the priesthood from the house of Eli is predicted; and the sign that this prediction will come true is that, in the nearer future, Eli's two sons will die on a single day—a striking, but by no means a miraculous, occurrence. Again the sign, or reminder (Ex 3:12), that it really was Yahweh that spoke to and commissioned Moses, will be the fact that in Sinai the Hebrews will worship God, _i.e._ the later event confirms the reality of a previous experience. Jeremiah confirms his prediction of the annihilation of the Jews in Egypt by the prediction that (in the nearer future) the king of Egypt will fall into the hand of his enemies (Jer 44:28f.). For signs which are also wonders, see 38:7-22, Jg 6:17. Here Isaiah first offers Ahaz a miraculous sign to take place at the present moment in proof that things will happen as he has said. But (v.12) Ahaz declines the offer, asserting that he is unwilling to tempt Yahweh by making Him prove His power (cp. Ex 17:7). Isaiah is not deceived by this show of piety, but interprets the king's refusal of a sign as an indication of his unwillingness to accept the guidance of Yahweh, and his determination to pursue his own policy. With the king and
(v.13) court in this mood a miraculous sign at the present moment becomes useless; on the other hand, Yahweh insists that whether Ahaz and his court will it or not, a sign they shall have, not now but after the event, which will recall the correctness of the prophet's prediction, and refer the relief from the siege not to the human efforts of Ahaz, but to the will of Yahweh. This sign will be not of Ahaz', but of Yahweh's choosing, and, its purpose being different, it will not need to be miraculous like that offered to and rejected by Ahaz.—Ask a sign from Yahweh . . . deep down in Sheol or high up above] Yahweh's power extends to Sheol below, as well as to the heights above, Am 9:2; alike in Sheol and in heaven, He can work wonders. Isaiah's willingness that Ahaz shall choose the sign, indicates that he had already proved by experience his power to work wonders, unless we should detect here the result of an enthusiastic disciple's exaggerated conception of the prophet's powers (cp. Che. EBi. 3859). There is, of course, no question of necromancy: the sign is to be a sign from Yahweh. But to avoid misunderstanding, p paraphrased—Ask of thee a sign from the Lord: ask that a miracle may be done on earth, or that a sign may appear in heaven. But to interpret Ask it either in the depth (MT, EV), instead of deep down in Sheol, though idiomatically possible, is certainly wrong: it involves a weak repetition of ask and a mutilation of the parallelism in the last clauses of the v.—Yahweh thy God] Isaiah addresses Ahaz, and Ahaz replies (v.12), as a servant of Yahweh: after Ahaz' answer, interpreted by Isaiah as contumacious, Isaiah significantly varies the phrase and says “my God” (v.13).—12. See n. on sign, v.11.—13. And he said] sc. Isaiah; originally perhaps and I said: see v.10 n.—Let Ahaz and his courtiers know that it is not only men, prophets like and including himself, whose patience they exhaust: they weary (cp. 1:14) out Yahweh Himself by their persistent disregard of what He really requires.

14-16. Immanuel.—Christian interpreters, dominated by the use in Mt 1:23 of v.14, for many centuries saw in these verses an assertion that our Lord was “conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.” Jewish interpreters have throughout insisted that what Isaiah here predicts is a birth due to ordinary human intercourse, and about to take place in the normal manner. Modern interpreters, whether Jews or Christians, are much divided, and in particular on these points: (1) Who is the mother
VII. 13-16

and who the son referred to in v.14? (2) What is the sign given by Yahweh Himself, and what does it signify? Is it miraculous? Wherein precisely does it consist? Does it signify (a) that Judah will be delivered, or (b) that it will be destroyed, or (c) that it will be first delivered and then destroyed? The ambiguities and awkwardnesses of the passage are so numerous as to give little hope of reaching an interpretation that will command general assent; and under these circumstances even the dogmatic or traditional Christian interpretation will doubtless continue to find defenders, while others may infer that the text has been deeply corrupted and must be reconstructed by bold and extensive conjectures: see Che., most recently in the Two Religions, 309 ff. It will be convenient to summarise here before passing on to the discussion of details, pp. 123-133, and the history of the interpretation, pp. 133-136, what appears on the whole to be the most probable interpretation of two disputed particulars, and the general meaning of the verses on the supposition that יה is not hopelessly corrupt: (1) the predicted birth will be in no way abnormal; but a child (or children) conceived and born in the ordinary course of nature will be named Immanuel, God with us; (2) v.15 predicts plenty and not starvation. The general meaning of the whole is this: Judah will not suffer harm from Ephraim and Syria (cp. v.4); on the other hand (v.16), Ephraim and Syria will within two or three years be in ruins. If this interpretation is correct, Isaiah concludes his interview with Ahaz by reiterating what he was sent to tell him (v.4). Such a conclusion would be altogether natural, and the interpretation just suggested might be regarded as certain, but for v.13, in which Isaiah expresses his indignation at the unbelief of Ahaz and the court. Some interpreters out of regard to v.18 interpret vv.14-16 as wholly or in part a threat: v.14 can be ingeniously interpreted in this sense; v.15 is commonly, but mistakenly, construed as a threat by modern scholars: v.16 can be turned into a threat only by omitting the last part of it, or by an illegitimate view of the construction.

14. Ahaz refused (v.12) to accept Yahweh's offer (v.11) that he might choose any sign he liked to be wrought at once; therefore Yahweh Himself chooses the sign, and will see that it takes place not at once, indeed, but in the near future. It has been repeatedly argued by Christian scholars from Justin Martyr downwards that the sign which Yahweh is Himself to choose and give
must be a miracle: "Signum autem a Deo, nisi novitas aliqua monstruosa fuisset, signum non videretur" (Tert. Adv. Jud. 9); but the argument rests on a misconception of what the term אֵיזָא, sign, necessarily implies, and of the purpose of the particular sign here contemplated; Yahweh had been willing to do a miracle to convince Ahaz, but a very ordinary event may serve to remind him, when the time comes, that what His prophet predicted has come true. The miracle here, so far as there is a miracle, may lie solely in the prediction. Neither the term אֵיזָא, sign (see v.11 n.), nor the circumstances compel us to seek a miracle in the event predicted. This being so, we shall be safest in understanding the statement of vv.14-16 as follows: within a few months at most, and perhaps immediately, a child (or children) now in the womb will be receiving the name Immanuel, God is with us: for the present popular tension will be relieved; and mothers will express the general feeling of relief at the favourable turn in public events (ct. 5 S 421) when they name their children. Such children with their names will be a reminder that the terror of the king and the people (v.2) was groundless, and the confidence of the prophet justified. Moreover, the withdrawal of Syria and Ephraim will not be merely temporary; the child(ren) to be born will neither starve as they grow up in a beleaguered city, nor in a devastated country side: they will feed on curds and honey (v.15)—the highly prized products of the land of promise. For within two or three years, Ephraim and Syria will have perished, their land will be a land of ruins (v.16). The sign lies not, as the traditional Christian and some recent theories assume, in the circumstances of the birth, but in the chain of events now predicted, and their association with the birth and naming of a child, and in the time and order of their occurrence being determined by reference to the child's growth, as in 8:52. This interpretation is by no means beyond criticism or without difficulty; but it is at least less improbable than others that have been offered.—Therefore יִדְרֶשׁ often introduces a threat, as in 1:24 518,24; but it does not always do so (cp. Jer 1614), and it is therefore precarious to argue, as Di. does, that the sign so introduced must be a threat of punishment. Again, it would not have been surprising to find that Isaiah, driven by the king's contumacy, substituted a threat (cp. 1:10) for the promise which he came to bring: still the v. does not as a matter of fact
refer to any such change; the v. does draw attention to a change; but, as the emphasis shows, it is a change of the person who chooses the sign, and indeed of the sign, but not of the future to which that sign is to refer: the Lord (v.l. Yahweh) himself will now choose and give a sign. V.\textsuperscript{16} clearly contemplates the same view of the future as vv.4-9, and these contemplate nothing that would justify fear in Judah. Certainly the presence of God of which the sign speaks might mean a great deal more than relief from the threatened invasion if Ahaz and his court continued contumacious, but it is not clear that it was Isaiah's purpose at this interview to dwell on this side of the matter.—Behold, a damsel is with child, and shall bring forth a son, and call his name Immanuel\textsuperscript{1} the Hebrew article is ambiguous (see phil. n.): הרַעַדֵם may mean either the damsel, or a damsel, or even damsels. That it has here one of the two latter meanings is the view advocated above; among earlier advocates of this view are J. D. Mich., Eich., Kuen., Du., W. R. Smith, Budde, Sta., Marti. It falls to the ground if, as is possible, though not necessary, in יָּד, and impossible in גָּד, Immanuel is addressed in the vocative in 8\textsuperscript{8}. If a particular definite individual is intended, it is curious that she is not more precisely specified. The damsel would be a strange mode of reference either to the wife (or a concubine) of the king,\textsuperscript{2} to the prophet's own wife,\textsuperscript{3} or to some pregnant woman present at the interview and singled out by the prophet for his purpose;\textsuperscript{4} but for this much might be said for identifying the damsel with Isaiah's wife, who is, however, called "the prophetess" in 8\textsuperscript{8}: knowing that she was near child-birth, Isaiah would be thinking of a sign that he could be certain of bringing about, except so far as the sex of the child is concerned, and that is immaterial to the sign. The sign, moreover, would be of the same kind as the signs that he (8\textsuperscript{8f.}: cp. 8\textsuperscript{18} 7\textsuperscript{9}) and other prophets (Hos 1) employed. The mode of reference would be better satisfied by a theory of Rosenmüller's which has been recently revived in a modified form by Gressmann and others. Gressmann§ postulates the existence

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* Early Jewish Exegesis (see Jer.), Ki., and, recently, C. M. Brown in JBLit., 1890, 118-127; Maspero, Histoire Ancienne, iii. 184.
† Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Grotius, Ges., Hitz.
‡ Isenbiehl.
§ Eschatologie, pp. 276 f., cp. 270 ff., 284; cp. Burney (independently) in JThS x. 580-584; Jeremias, ATAO 556 f.; Box.
in Judah before and at the time of Isaiah of a well-known prophecy that a wonderful child was to be born and was to be called Immanuel, was to eat milk and honey in his infancy, and before he was five years old deliver his people. All that Isaiah does, according to this theory, is to assert that this (hypothetically) well-known prophecy is on the point of fulfilment, the damsel familiar to every one in the current prophecy is about to bear her child, the divine mother is to give birth to a divine child. Difficulties arise, as Gressmann admits, if we begin to press the words of the text: e.g. the words taken strictly mean that the delivery of Judah is to be delayed for the child to accomplish, i.e. five years. Gressmann accounts for these difficulties, which he does not eliminate, by the assumption that in reproducing traditional material Isaiah retains irrelevances. This theory and all theories that detect the influence of mythology here start from an alleged but unreal necessity for satisfying two conditions of which the text says nothing: it is assumed that there must be something miraculous here, though the text speaks merely of a sign, and that the child must be a deliverer, whereas the text neither says nor implies anything of the kind; and, indeed, the passive tense in v.16 is altogether unfavourable to the assumption that Judah will be delivered by Immanuel. There is just as little suggestion here that Immanuel will deliver Judah as there is in Hos 1 that Hosea’s son Jezreel would exact vengeance on the house of Jehu.—Damsel] Εν παρθένος, EV virgin; but this rendering is unquestionably, and is now generally admitted to be, unjustifiable. The word נביעה is fem. of ניב, youth, which is used in I S 17:56 20:22 and corresponds to מלחם, a derivative not from the root מלק, to conceal, which seems to be unknown in Arabic, but from מלק, מלק, to be lustful; נביעה means a girl, or young woman, above the age of childhood and sexual immaturity (in this being more specific than the synonymous נערה), a person of the age at which sexual emotion awakens and becomes potent; it asserts neither virginity nor the lack of it; it is naturally in actual usage often applied to women who were as a matter of fact certainly (Gn 24:48, Ex 2:8), or probably (Ca 1:8 68, Ps 68:26), virgins. On the other hand, it is also used in Pr 30:19 where the marvels of procreation and embryology (cp. Ps 139:13-16, Ec 11:5) seem to be alluded to, and
the corresponding term (or terms) is used in Aramaic of persons certainly not virgin, as, e.g., in T Jg 19$^5$ of a concubine who had proved unfaithful; in Palmyrene it is used of harlots, and in a bi-lingual inscription apparently corresponds to [כ]ראפוא[כ]: see Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, pp. 330, 335, 340. The Hebrew word for virgin is נְאוֹמָה (Ex 22$^1^5$, Lv 21$^1^4$), and corresponding to the difference between נְאוֹמָה and נְאָמָא are the different abstract nouns נְאוֹמָה, youth and youthful vigour, naturally including sexual maturity (Job 20$^1^1$ 33$^8^5$, Ps 89$^4^6$, Is 54$^4$), and νυνίτις, virginity (Jg 11$^8^7$, Dt 22$^1^6$). Where stress needed to be laid on a woman’s virginity even more unambiguous phraseology was employed; see Nu 31$^8^5$. All this serves to show how the prophet would have expressed himself if he had had to announce the miracle of birth without loss of virginity.

Why the term נְאהָמָה in preference, say, to נְאָמָא נְאָרוֹת or נְאָמָא נְאָרוֹת was chosen, no theory yet propounded explains, but least of all the theories that require the passage to express the fact that the woman conceives and bears without ceasing to be a virgin.—Is with child, and shall bear] this rendering is justified by Gn 16$^1^1$ where the same phraseology is used of a woman who has already conceived (cp. vv.$^4^8^7$) and is near giving birth. If this is intended here, the promise is that within a few weeks, or days even, God’s act of deliverance will be in every one’s mouth. The alternative rendering, shall be with child and bring forth, would postpone the deliverance for the best part of a year, whereas the narrative seems to suggest that Isaiah expected it at once.—And shall call his name] MT rightly punctuates נָאָמוֹת—an unusual form of the 3rd pers. fem.: the child is to receive his name in the ordinary way, viz. from his mother: see Hastings, DB iii. 48$^5^9$; prophets who wished to use their children’s names as signs naturally availed themselves of the less usual naming by the father; see 8$^8$, Hos 1. Ἰ can indeed, and would most obviously, be pointed νομέν, thou shalt call; so G$^μ$, Aq., Symm., Theod., cp. L vocabitis; T is ambiguous, but Ἱ render by the passive; cp. the 3rd pl. of Ἰ$^μ$ and of Mt 1$^1^8$. Thou shalt call would, of course, imply that the child was to be a son of Ahaz.—Immanuel] this name, God is with us, no more implies that the child will be God, as Christian exegetical tradition kept affirming, or that he will in any other way be remarkable, than do other names,
which predicate something of God or Yahweh, assert anything in reference to those who bore them. The name in \( g^5 \) is different in character. The name Immanuel asserts that God will be present with the Jews, that they will experience success, deliverance, freedom from danger and anxiety; the meaning and result of God's presence can be gathered from such sayings as "I fear no evil, because thou art with me," Ps 23; "I will be with thee, and bless thee," Gn 26; "Yahweh of Hosts is with us"—the refrain in the confident lines of Ps 46; cp. also Jg 612f. 16 and Am 514, where the synonymous lines (ἐν) is used, "Seek ye good . . . that ye may live, and that Yahweh God of Hosts may be with you, as ye say." Porter in *JBLit.*, 1895, pp. 19–35, has argued that such a prediction of the beneficent presence of God with Judah, is inconsistent with the standpoint of the pre-exilic prophets, including Isaiah. He suggests, therefore, that "the name Immanuel expresses not the prophet's faith, but the false faith, the ungrounded confidence, of the king and the people. It is a name which a Jewish woman, soon to give birth, might naturally give to her son, but which the experiences of such a son, even in his earliest infancy, would contradict. The sign consists, then, not in the name, nor in the lot, of the boy, but in the relation of the two, in the contradiction of the name by the lot." But this is really difficult and unsatisfactory; it is also inconsistent with the rest of the narrative, according to which Isaiah did expect immediate relief for Judah, and so far at least such a beneficent presence of God as to justify the name. If Porter's objection to the common interpretation of the name holds good, the genuineness of the whole passage would have to be questioned, or with Che. (*The Two Religions*, p. 316) we should have to suppose that a name implying a threat has been altered so as to convey a consolatory sense by an editor who modified this ancient prophecy in the interests of a Messianic interpretation.—15, 16. After the name, the reason might be expected, as, e.g., in Gn 1611 "Thou shalt call his name Ishmael (God hears), because God hath heard"; but these verses at best imply a reason. V.16, indeed, opens with ἤ, because, but it refers to what is to happen some years after the birth of the child, not to anything which happening at the birth might account for the name; for the explanation of the name we must turn back to what precedes v.16 and infer that the presence of God with Judah
at the time when the child is born will be manifested in the withdrawal just at that time of the Syro-Ephraimitish army. A considerable degree of awkwardness in the composition at this point is not to be overlooked; it may, like other features in the narrative, be due to abbreviation and alteration of the original memoirs. This awkwardness is not eliminated, nor even diminished, by omitting either v.15,* or v.16.† On the other hand, the omission of both verses would allow the narrative to conclude appropriately and clearly; yet it would be difficult to give any reason for the subsequent addition of the two verses.—Curds and honey shall he eat] “Victus ei affluet” is Grotius’ terse and pertinent comment: he rightly sees in these words a promise;‡ for milk and honey were highly esteemed.§ Nevertheless, since J. D. Mich. most modern interpreters, including Koppe, Ges., Ew., Del., Di., Che., Du., Marti, Skinner, Peake treat the v. as a threat; see below. Curds (ןמאים) are milk (לבק) that has thickened: in several passages of the OT, including the present, it seems to answer to leben, or sour milk, which is used, not by any means alone by nomads, in Syria to-day: it is a valued and refreshing article of diet: see, e.g., *EBi. 3089. This form of milk was offered by Abraham to the three men who came to him in the heat of the day (Gn 188), by Jael to the weary Sisera (Jg 525), to David and his thirsty company (2 S 1727-29). The value set on it is also attested by the part it plays in descriptions of abundance, and that not only in the OT (Job 2017 296); an Assyrian prayer has been cited (*EBi. 2104), which in invoking a blessing on a king begs that God may cause to flow into his channels “honey and curds” (דיספה הלימת). Honey and curds, moreover, play an important part in Babylonian cultus; see KAT8 526. Since המאים is a valued form of milk, it is extremely difficult to believe that, though “milk and honey shall he eat” would have been a promise, “curds and honey shall he eat” was a threat: we may rather with safety cite as further illustrations of the promise here made, the fact that “milk and honey” are the two things singled out to indicate the abundance

*Hitz., Du., Che., Marti, Peake.
†Budde, cited and supported by Kuen. Onderzoek, ii. 43 f.
§See at length Bochart, Hierozoicon, iv. 12.
of the land of promise; the land in which the Hebrews were to exchange their nomadic for a settled life was in the oft-recurring phrase “a land flowing with milk and honey”; in a longer description of the land of promise both forms of milk are mentioned—“curds of kine and new milk of sheep,” Dt 32:18ff., cp. Gn 18:1; and much later Ben Sirach defines the staple of food as consisting of “flour of wheat, and honey, and milk, the blood of the grape, and oil” (Sir 39:26). It should be clear then what “curds and honey” meant to Hebrews of the time of Isaiah, whether we feel free or not to accept an attractive theory that has recently been advanced, according to which the phrase “curds (milk) and honey,” describing in the first instance the food of the gods, had its origin in mythology and, in particular perhaps in Iranian mythology, which knew of heavenly honey and holy cows; whence the phrase descended through Babylonia to the Hebrews and by another line to the Greeks, who described the food of the infant Zeus on Crete as curds and honey.* A phrase with such associations cannot either here or in v.22 imply hardship; and to make v.15 mean he shall eat (nothing but) honey and curds, because these will be the only products of a land devastated by war, is much as if we were to say in English—it will be all butter and honey then, so reduced will they have become! or as if we were to justify calling a painful career “a path of roses,” by remarking that roses have thorns! And not only do the associations of the phrase suggest the very reverse of a threat: so too does the context; v.14 says God will be with Judah at the time of the child’s birth, and v.16 that before the child is two or three years old, Ephraim and Syria, which now threaten Judah, will be destroyed. V.16 gives the ground for v.15, and a promise cannot be the reason for a threat. Nor again is the v. a veiled promise and the meaning that Immanuel shall be brought up on the fare of nomads and Judah in his childhood return to nomadic life for its moral warfare (cp. Hos 2):† for “eating curds and honey” cannot have meant living the nomadic life to a people who called the land in which they had abandoned the nomadic life “a land of milk and honey,” and centuries after they had outlived the nomadic stage of their history held

* See H. Usener in Rhein. Museum für Phil., 1902, pp. 177-195; Eichhorn as cited in Gressmann, p. 291.
† Budde.
"curds (milk) and honey" in the esteem indicated by the passages mentioned above, especially Sir 39:6, Dt 32:13f.—*At the time that he knows*] at about three years of age: see next n. The alternative rendering, *that he may know*, is grammatically legitimate, but this translation stands or falls with the interpretation rejected at the end of the last n.—*To reject the bad and choose the good*] this most probably refers to the power to distinguish between good and bad, palatable or unpalatable, food; a child without this power (Dt 1:8) is a child as yet unweaned, or but lately weaned, *i.e.* of two or three years of age (cp. 2 Mac 7:27).

The point is illustrated by a modern Syrian popular tale: "It is said of Moses that when he was three years of age, Pharaoh set him on his lap; and Moses stretched out his hand to Pharaoh's beard, and pulled some hairs from it. And Pharaoh was angry, and said: This is my enemy: he must be killed. And Asiah, Pharaoh's wife, said to him: It is the nature of small children: they have no knowledge; and I will show thee a thing that will prove it to thee. And she went and brought two vessels, in one a stone, in the other fruit, and put them before Moses, that Pharaoh might know the nature of small children. And Moses chose the vessel in which was the stone, and Pharaoh ceased from his wrath against Moses, when he saw that he knew not to distinguish between them" (*PEF Qu St.*, 1909, p. 37).

Some* interpret the phrase "knowledge to reject the evil and choose the good" of moral perception, and place the age here implied much later than the 3rd year (*e.g.* 10 or 20; Di.). But the analogy of 8:4 and the proof thereby afforded that Isaiah a little later certainly expected the desolation of Ephraim and Syria within a year or two, favour an interpretation of the phrase that implies a brief period in the life of the child.—*16*. Within two or three years (see last note) from the present time and the immediately expected birth of Immanuel, Ephraim and Syria will be depopulated. With this final stage in the future of Ephraim and Syria, the word of Yahweh (v.3), with which Isaiah was sent to Ahaz, reaches its natural conclusion. It is improbable that vv.17ff. predicting the desolation of Judah formed any part of Isaiah's speech on this occasion. The v. does not, as the introductory *for* might suggest, give the reason for the name *Immanuel*; the name will be given in consequence of the withdrawal of Ephraim and Syria from Judah; but this v. looks forward to a later stage of events: the Assyrians will first by their advance recall the Syrians and Ephraimites to their own

* Ew., Di.
territory, and then after defeating them devastate their country. Isaiah expected the subjection of Ephraim and Syria to take some little time: and his forecast was substantially justified by events. We may place the interview with Ahaz early in 734. Damascus was reduced in 732. The captivity of Galilee (2 K 15:29) may be placed in 734.—The child] The term (רעש) is used of any age from infancy (Ex 2:6, 1 S 12:2) up to early manhood (Gn 34:10, Jer 16:7).—The land of Ephraim and Syria, o whose two kings, Reson and Pekah thou art in dread (זק, see BDB), shall be left by (בעזרה), and so be empty of, its inhabitants; cp. Jer. 4:29, Zeph. 2:4, and התהע in 6:12 179. The singular והמה, land, for the two countries of Syria and Ephraim is curious; if Isaiah’s sign was a threat, and if v.17 was the direct continuation of v.16, it would be reasonable to suspect that the last clause of the v. is intrusive and that the original text ran: For before the child knows, etc., the land (viz. of Judah) shall be abandoned; 17 Yahweh shall bring upon thee (viz. Ahaz) and upon thy people, etc. Cond. has revived the attempt to gain the same sense by following ג but retaining the last clause: the land (viz. of Judah) for which thou art in dread because of two kings: but see phil. n.

II. הנשת קסעה] the construction implied by MT הנשת is, of course, in itself possible and thoroughly idiomatic—go deep, ask, i.e. ask in the depth, the first verb having an adverbial force (G-K. 114n): cp. Ps 51:6. For the emphatic form of the imperative thus presupposed, cp. הנשת, הנשת, and cp. G-K. 48i. The construction was so understood by ס (and ? ג) but wrongly. יי in profundum inferni, Aq., Symm., Theod. (els אַּנַּפ), and perhaps ג with its brief rendering of the two clauses els βάδος ה els βόσοs, correctly read הנשת, to Sheol. It is unlikely that MT meant “to Sheol” and yet pointed הנשת, to gain an assonance with כלש (Kön. i. p. 262).—14. הנשת some 40 MSS read הנשת.—another G-K. 135a, c.—another הנשת הנשת] “the part. is used, lastly, of future time, which it represents as already beginning: hence, if the event designated can only in fact occur after an interval, it asserts forcibly and suggestively the certainty of its approach.” “The part., after הנשת does not necessarily refer to the future . . . it may describe an occurrence in the present, Jg 9:36, 1 S 14:33” (Driver, § 135 (3) and Obs. 1). In Gn 16:11 the first part. after the הנשת refers to the present, the second to the fut. : and so probably here. Similar combinations of the vbs. הנשת, יִהְיָה, יִרְכּ לֵךְ occur in Jg 13:7. —The הנשת] this may, of course, according to the commonest use of the art. in Hebrew as in other languages, mean “the (well-known) young woman”—some one so known already to Isaiah and his audience that it was unnecessary to define her further. But the art. may also “indicate a particular unknown person or thing which under the given circumstances is to be thought of as being concerned” (G-K. 126q; Dav.
Syntax, 21 (e): see, e.g., Am 312 519, 1 K 2080. In Am 312 the circumstances are such as may affect many members of the class defined, and הֶלֶּדֶת becomes equivalent to shepherds. So here the future circumstances 'may similarly affect more than one young woman: הָלָּדֶת may therefore mean "a young woman" as yet unknown, but whom future circumstances may define, or since the circumstances may similarly affect an indefinite number, "young women." Which of these grammatical possibilities was intended must be determined (if possible) by the entire context.—אָנָבִי if 3rd sing. fem. pf., as in MT מַלֹּדֶת, it stands for מַלֹּדֶת, a form retaining like מַלֹּדֶת the orig. n of the fem. Cp. the forms מַלֹּדֶת, Ps 11828; זְעָבָה, Gn 3311; G-K. 745. The form can be pointed מַלֹּדֶת; but had the writer intended to change the subject and to make the point that Ahaz himself would give the name that was to convict him of ungrounded lack of faith, he would almost certainly have expressed the subject explicitly. —15. [in the time that he knows—ב of the point (rather than the period) of time, as in Gn 36 מַתְּבָא גְּדוֹל, 311 בִּיְּתוֹנָה, 2 S 111, Ps 306, and, with an infin. as here, רק, בִּיְּתוֹנָה, Gn 2450, Ps 466. The use of ב, meaning up to, till (for whichḳ is normally used), is rarer; but see Ex 3426, Am 42 (not infinitives); ב, with the infin. meaning in order that, is, of course, common (G-K. 114f, g; BDB 517a). G renders πρὶν ἡ γυναῖκα influenced by v.16 rather than by a variant word in the translation of MT. —אֲנָבִי inf. abs., direct obj. of youth: G-K. 113d.—דָּיָמָה renders la terre pour laquelle tu redoutes les deux rois; but this would require in נו no less than in Syriac the addition of ὀμορφά. Moreover, the indef. מַלֹּדֶת which Cond. substitutes for מַלֹּדֶת would be unsuitable, and מַלֹּדֶת which his translation (les... rois) really implies is less like נו.

History of the interpretation of vv.12-14 (89).—The earliest interpretation is to be found in Mic 52, if, as is commonly assumed, the words מַלֹּדֶת מַלֹּדֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל refer to Is 714 (but see Exp., April 1911, p. 209f.). The writer, whatever his date, then identifies the child to be born with the coming deliverer of Israel, synchronises with his birth the restoration of Israel to Yahweh’s favour, and probably (see v.1) regards the coming deliverer as a scion of the House of David, though some infer from the last words of v.1 that the child will be of divine lineage. The term מַלֹּדֶת used in Micah is far more colourless than מַלֹּדֶת, and does not even remotely suggest that the mother must necessarily be young or unmarried, still less that she must be virgin. Indeed, the use of this colourless word is to be explained by G-K. 144e, so that the sentence means until his mother, whoever she may be, shall have borne him, i.e. until he is born.

Apart from Mic 52, the earliest interpretation of Is 714-16 is G. Here we note the following as the main points: (1) מַלֹּדֶת is rendered πρὶν γινώσκει γίγνεται, i.e. the conception as well as the birth of the child is still future; (2) if קָלָּעְשָׁה (BA, cp. Mt 1281) be the true text of G and not קָלָּעְשָׁה (K), or קָלָּעְשָׁה (Q*), or קָלָּעְשָׁה (P, Mt 1280), the child is to receive its name from Ahaz, and is therefore presumably to be the child of Ahaz; the variants in G may be due to a change of interpretation of this point; (3) here as in Gn 2450, G renders מַלֹּדֶת by παρθένος; this should imply at least that G understood and wished to make clear that at the time the sign was given the
future mother was a virgin and that Immanuel would be her first-born. But it is very far from certain that the translators held that the mother would still be virgin when the child was born. On the other hand, their rendering would be entirely explained and in harmony with the reading kalētēs and the future rendering of ἴνα, if G, anticipating the later Jewish interpretation, saw in the child to be born Hezekiah the first-born of Ahaz, and conceived the interview as taking place in immediate prospect of the marriage of Ahaz.

It is then very doubtful whether, and, if kalētēs be the true text in Is 7:14, exceeding improbable that, G gave to Is 7:12-14 any Messianic significance. It is certainly worthy of note that in 8:8 G does not, like many modern interpreters, who thereby support the Messianic interpretation of 7:14, treat ἴνα γένεσθαι as a proper name in the vocative, but (like ἴνα γένεσθαι in 8:10) as a sentence. For a fuller discussion of the place of G in the history of the interpretation of Is 7:14-18, see Exp., April 1911, pp. 300 ff.

The first clear and unmistakable Messianic interpretation of the passage is to be found in Mt 1:18-23. It is an interesting question whether the quotation goes back to the Aramaic original of the Gospel, or first appears in the existing Greek version; unlike παρθένος, νυνὶ would not suggest to the Aramaic writer virginity; and if the quotation goes back to the Aramaic, it was introduced without any intention of specifically matching the virginity of Mary with the prediction: the primary point was the identification of Jesus and Immanuel (cp. Tertullian, Adv. Marc. iii. 12). But once the Gospel was current in Greek form, Christian interpreters of Is 7:14 were compelled to recognise in it the prediction not only of the incarnation and redeeming work of Jesus, but also of the virginity of His mother.

Henceforward down to the 16th century, and in the main for yet another two centuries, Jewish and Christian exegesis remained totally opposed; Christians affirmed and Jews denied that Isaiah spoke of the birth of the Messiah from a virgin mother; Jews affirmed and Christians denied that Isaiah spoke of a birth which was to take place in his own age of the son of a human father and a woman not virgin. The influence of this opposition is seen in the substitution of the more correct νεών for the παρθένος of G in the versions of Aq., Symm., Theod. (2nd cent. A.D.), for which these translators were very naturally, though most unjustifiably, upbraided by Christian scholars; and, on the other hand, of the translation of νυνὶ by Ἀδός in the (probably) Christian version L; L, of course, and F render virgo.

In greater detail we can watch the conflict of interpretation in the writings of many of the Fathers, and first in Justin Martyr (Dialog. 43, 48, 66, 67-71, 77 f., 84). In Justin's dialogue, Trypho the Jew maintains that νυνὶ means νεών and not παρθένος, and that the child to be born ἀνθρώπως εὑ̂ς ἡμῶν was Hezekiah, the first-born (cp. c. 84) son of Ahaz. Justin uses but a single argument against this, viz. that the birth of a first-born after ordinary human intercourse would be no sign; 7:10-18 8:4 7:17 thus combined (though 8:4 refers to Isaiah's son!) explains to believers what is, and what Is. elsewhere (53b) implies to be, inexplicable to men in general, viz. that the birth of Jesus the Messiah will take place without loss of virginity by His mother: Justin does not reject Trypho's statement that such an interpretation makes the prophecy as silly as the Greek fable of the birth of Perseus from
the union of Zeus with the virgin Danaë, but argues that the Greek fable is a devilish imitation of the prophecy, which is a prediction of actual fact.

Very different from the rhetoric of Justin is the refutation of the Jewish theory by Jerome. Following Eusebius (Dem. Ev. vii. 1), he shows that Hezekiah was already born before the sign was given (2 K 16:18, 2 Ch. 28:1), and by a philological argument defensible then, though so no longer, argues that νηστυριος meant "virgo abscondita et secreta, quae nuncum virorum patuerit aspectibus." The child to be born so long afterwards will yet be able to save immediately, for he is identical with Him who appeared to Abraham and spoke to Moses; and, a point already made by Irenaeus (iii. 21. 4), he will be no phantasm, but will eat butyrum et mel in proof of his humanity. For further patristic interpretations, see Iren. Haer. iii. 21-4; Tert. Adv. Marc. iii. 13, iv. 10, Adv. Jud. 9; Origen, Contra Celsum, i. 34 f.; Eus. Dem. Ev. vii. 1; Cyril. Hier. Cat. xii.; Basil. Comm. in Is.; Cyril. Alex. In Is.

The patristic criticisms of the early Jewish theory, that the child to be born was Hezekiah, had its effect; when we come to mediaeval Jewish scholars we find them identifying the νηστυριος either (1) with the wife of Isaiah—a view already mentioned as that of some Christians (guidam de nostris) by Jer.; so Rashi, Ibn Ezra; or (2) with another wife of Ahaz, Kii.

Protestant scholars in the 16th cent. follow in the main the traditional Catholic tradition, though Luther (cited by Del.) and Calvin, for example, are willing to grant that νηστυριος need not necessarily mean, though here, as often, it actually does refer to, a woman still virgin. Pellicanus attributed to the passage a double meaning—the current Christian interpretation and, for Ahaz who could not appreciate this, the meaning that "qua hodie virgo est propediem conceptura sit et filium paritura qui et nomen habiturus sit Immanuel in signum proxime ingruentis redemptionis vestrae." Later, Grotius abandoned the traditional Christian interpretation. The Catholic J. L. Isenbiehl in 1778 published a monograph, Neuer versuch über die Weisagung von Immanuel, in which he argued at length that the prophecy related to the time of Isaiah; he also argued that the νηστυριος was some woman present at the interview, and that the article was used δεκτικῶς. Isenbiehl suffered heavy pains and penalties for his temerity (see Ges. p. 309); but from this time onward an exclusive Messianic interpretation became increasingly less frequent, and an increasing number, especially of Protestant scholars (see Che.'s article "Immanuel," in EBi.), denied that the prophet intended to make any reference to the birth of Jesus.

But no sooner had Christian scholars begun in numbers to accept the fundamentally more defensible interpretation of the Jews than Rosenmüller gave a new turn to the Messianic interpretation, substantially anticipating an exegetical theory which has recently been expounded and defended by a number of scholars—Gressmann, Jeremias, Box, Burney. Rosenmüller in a monograph published in Gabler's Journal f. auserlesene theol. Lit. 1806, and in the 2nd edit. of his Scholia, argued that Isaiah did definitely intend to speak of the virgin-birth of the Messiah, and in defence of this view appealed to numerous ancient myths which speak of great men born of virgins or in other marvellous ways. Rosenmüller cites many of these; and it is now possible to survey them conveniently in E. S. Hartland, The Legend of
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17-25. A prophecy, or a collection of prophetic fragments, predicting ruin and especially depopulation of a country which, according to v.17, is unmistakably Judah.

Attempts have been made to discover a connection, either between vv.1-16 and 17-25 or, v.17 being omitted as a gloss, between 1-16 and 18-25. If v.17 (with its reference to Judah) be omitted, 18-25 can be treated (Hackm. p. 66) as an amplification in detail of what is stated summarily, but sufficiently, in v.16, the ruin of Ephraim and Syria. But the theory of Du., Che., Marti, that v.17 is a gloss written to connect vv.1-16 and vv.18-25 founders on the fact that it is particularly between v.16 and v.17 that the lack of connection is most conspicuous; & feeling this supplied ἀλλὰ at the beginning of v.17. To attribute v.17 to a glossator who wished to create a connection between 1-16 and 18-25 is at the same time to accuse him of failing in his attempt. The entire tenor of 1-16 as interpreted above is that Judah has nothing to fear, is not to suffer ruin; the entire tenor of vv.17-25 is that a most complete ruin is impending over the country: of course either Isaiah himself or a glossator may very well have held that these two contrary fortunes were to be successive stages in the future, but v.17 fails to mark a transition from one stage to another. Or again, Isaiah's promise of (lasting) safety for Judah may have been and indeed was (cp. v.9) conditional, so that vv.17-25 would have been intelligible if they had immediately followed v.18; we could have understood Isaiah illustrating his
general principle enunciated in v.9 by saying to Ahaz, You have refused to believe, therefore Judah shall not stand but come to ruin. He does not do this, but makes the promise of vv.14-16. After that, to such a threat as is contained in vv.17-25 some clearly marked transition would be required. Even if it were correct to see in v.15 a threat, it would still remain altogether forced and artificial to treat vv.16 and 17 together as the ground of vv.14 and 15 taken together, v.16 justifying the promise of v.14 and v.17 the threat of v.15; and yet this is the best that can be done to connect the two passages—a significant indication that there is no organic connection. Vv.1-16 and 17-25 are of independent origin. They were placed in juxtaposition by an editor, possibly on account of the similarity of vv.15f. and v.22.

Some early annotations have crept into the text: such are the words "the king of Assyria" (vv.17 and 20) at least, as most scholars since Houb. and Lowth have recognised, perhaps also (Du., Mar.) "at the end of the streams of Egypt" and "which is in the land of Assyria" (v.18). Even what is left after the removal of these notes looks more like an editor's collection and restoration of fragments than a prophetic poem in its original form: note the recurrent "And it shall come to pass in that day" (vv.18, 20, 21, 23), the awkward fourfold occurrence of הָנַת in v.28, and the apparent mixture of rhythmical and unrhythmical elements. To what part of Isaiah's lifetime the groundwork belonged, and what precisely are the limits of Isaiah's work, cannot be determined with certainty.

17. Yahweh will bring upon thee] the words are addressed to a king of Judah—possibly Ahaz in any case, and certainly if v.17 is the continuation of v.16.—Days such as have not come] the loss of the ten tribes was as nothing to the loss of population that now awaits Judah—such is probably the thought of the writer; but an early annotator explained these words as meaning the king of Assyria.—Since Ephraim withdrew from union with Judah] Ephraim is used for the entire Northern kingdom, as in 98 and Hos. The standpoint is obviously that of Judah.—18f. Under the figure of swarming and ferocious insects the writer predicts that Yahweh is about to bring on Judah (v.17) an overwhelming invasion. If his verses have reached us in their original form, he expected invasion from both Assyria and Egypt—a point of view which finds an incomplete parallel in
Hos 9:3, and none at all in Isaiah. Elsewhere Isaiah feared alliance with (chs. 29–30), not invasion from, Egypt. Moreover, previous to Sabako's accession, c. 712 B.C., Egypt was too weak to cause much fear in her neighbours. If which is in the end of the streams of Egypt and which is in the land of Assyria are notes added to the text by an annotator who mistakenly inferred that two insects must imply two nations,* Isaiah was predicting here, as elsewhere, an Assyrian invasion. The omission of the prosaic annotations leaves two almost perfect distichs 4: 4—

Yahweh will whistle for the fly and the bee,
And they will come ... and settle all of them,
In inaccessible wadys and clefts of the rocks,
And on all the thorn-bushes and all the pastures.

*Will whistle*] cp. 5:26; Zec 10:8, with men as obj.; here perhaps the word is used in strict keeping with the figure. Bochart (Hieroz. Lib. iv. c. x.) has collected a number of ancient testimonies to the custom of summoning bees by various noises, such as the clanging of brass instruments (Verg. Georgics, iv. 64), of which the most pertinent, if it is not merely educed from the biblical passages, is Cyril's comment on this v.: "Bee-keepers are accustomed to whistle (σπιτεων, as Gr. here) to the bees, and so entice them out of their hives to the flowers and herbs, or get them in from the fields and make them stop at home."—The fly] Flies abounded in Egypt, but were, of course, frequent elsewhere, though, curiously enough, allusions to the fly in the OT are confined to this passage and Ec 10:1 and the divine name Baal-zebub. A further allusion to the flies of Egypt has been often but mistakenly discovered in 18:1. Apart from the following clause the fly would not suggest Egypt; it suggests number (cp. Hom. II. ii. 469) and noisomeness, not locality.—In the end of the streams of Egypt] in far-distant Upper Egypt. The plural streams (דברים) is also used of Upper Egypt in Nah 3:8: Gr. here has the sing.—The bee] a figure for persistent, numerous and ferocious enemies; see Dt 1:44, Ps 18:12, also Homer, II. ii. 87 ff.; the bees of the East are a far more aggressive race than those of England (EBi., s.v. Bee).—And settle] v.2 n. The figure is maintained: the invading insects settle in such places as they are wont to settle

* Du., Che., Marti.
in, where they can find food and shelter; but there is also probably an implicit resolution of the figure; the Jews will find no escape from the Assyrians even in inaccessible wadys and in clefts of the rocks (cp. Dt 7:20).—Thorn- (?) bushes and pastures (?) G caves and clefts. But although the 2nd term (תִּרְשָׁה) occurs nowhere else and the first (תִּרְשָׁה) only once (55:13 sing.), it is probable that both refer to feeding-places of insects: see, further, phil. n.—20. A new figure of devastation and depopulation: here, whatever may be the case in v.18, Yahweh’s agent (cp. 1:5) is Assyria only. In 1st Judah is personified as a man with no sound spot left in his body; here, as a man who is to be subjected to the extreme ignominy of being shorn of his hair from head to foot (cp. 2 S 10:4).—With a razor correctly, but unnecessarily— for Assyria is sufficiently indicated by the phrase (in the parts) beyond the River, i.e. the Euphrates (cp. Jos 24:2 and often)—an annotator added, with the king of Assyria. The razor is said to be hired, because Yahweh pays for services rendered: cp. Ezk 29:16f. Others see in the expression an allusion to Assyria hired by Ahaz’s tribute (2 K 16:7).—The hair of the feet4 euphemistic: cp. “water of the feet,” 36:12; cp. also 6:2.—21, 22. These verses no doubt contained a further picture of the ruin and depopulation of the country; but as they now stand in 39 they seem to speak, in the main, of abundance—there is to be an abundant yield of milk, and every one is to find good food (curds and honey) to eat. It is true that here as in v.15 (see n. there) most modern interpreters have endeavoured, contrary to the regular force of the phrase, to make eating curds and honey mean privation; Del., for example, writes, “Whoever has escaped . . . eats curds and honey: this, and nothing but this, without change ad nauseam.” Others make the expression typical of nomadic fare, and so indirectly of (relative) privation. But the earlier interpreters, like T, which paraphrases “on curds and honey shall all the righteous live,” and the mediæval Jewish commentators, Rashi, K., Ibn Ezra, were certainly right in retaining here the well established meaning of the expression. Yet though the allusions in the v. to abundance must not be explained away, there are also suggestions of privation: for a man to succeed in keeping alive a young cow and two female (נשׁ), i.e. milk, sheep, or goats (נשׁ), is not a sign of wealth, and the phrase all that are left in the midst of the land suggests that
the people are not only poor but few. Justice can be done both to the suggestions of privation and to those of abundance if it be assumed that נ is been (accidentally) amplified and that is the better reading; read: and it shall come to pass in that day, (if) a man shall preserve alive a young cow and two (milch) sheep, then it shall come to pass that owing to the abundance of the yield of milk, every one that is left in the midst of the land shall eat curds and honey; this is an effective picture of depopulation: two or three cattle will yield more than enough for the handful of survivors, and enable them to enjoy the best of fare. The difficulties of the vv. are insufficiently met by simply eliminating from because of the abundance of milk, he shall eat curds, as “an eschatological fragment describing the happy lot of those who live on into the New Era” (Box). Nor do these words in themselves ring true to the custom of the country where the milk is likely to be consumed by preference in the form of curds (נמנון), whether it be abundant or not.—23-25. The whole country will go out of cultivation, even the land where the richest vines were trained will, like the rest, yield only thorns and briars, or (v. 28) at best serve for grazing: cp. 56f. 3212f. —A thousand vines at a thousand of silver shekels, i.e. vines worth a shekel (about 2s. 6d.) a piece—a high price (cp. Ca. 81), greatly in excess of the normal value of a vine in modern Syria, which, according to Del., is a piasta, i.e. about twopence.—shall belong to (נ›ה, as 176) thorns and briars.—24. Through fear of wild animals, which will house there, or to gain food from the chase, men will not go into this thicket covered country without bows and arrows.—25. And all the hills which used to be hoed with the hoe, thou shalt not come thither out of fear of thorns and briars; this is partly a repetition of v. 24, and the change to the 2nd sing. is without apparent reason. Probably the text has suffered more or less: see phil. n.

17. מַעְרָפָה] נ is a θεός. —רָבָּה ... רַבָּה] בַּנְי; בַּנְי, rarely used of bringing good fortune (Jos 2318, cp. Gn 2719), is commonly used of misfortune (e.g. 479, Dt 2929, 1 K 9). —рош] such as: cp. e.g. Ex 106 3410. —נַשָּׁה] the double prep. as Jg 1930, 2 S 76: see BDB 583ב. —גַּנַּה ... גַּנַּה] to withdraw from union with; for the force of the compound prep. cp. Jer 3240 (same phrase), 2 K 1721, Is 56b; BDB 759a.—18. מַעְרָפָה] cp. 56 n.; apparently מַעְרָפָה ... מַעְרָפָה means wadys of the cut off places, i.e. ravines of the precipices (BDB), inaccessible ravines. The Versions seem to have guessed at the meaning.—דִּבְּרָנָא] in Is 5518 כִּרְרָנָא is clearly a plant or bush of some kind:
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there renders by ὀρυβή; and this, according to Pliny, 21. 15, § 54, was a plant with a prickly stalk. Ἰ here frutetis. In favour of the meaning a prickly shrub or thorn bush in particular it is customary to refer to the New Hebrew יבנה; but though this certainly means to thrust or wedge in, it much less certainly means to prick (cp. Levy, s.v.). The Arabic dictionaries (Freytag), however, cite as the name of a prickly shrub frequently found in the Hejaz.—כְּדֵר יבנה] Not, of course, from יבנה, as Ἰ takes it (אֵּ֑בנה, cp. “commendable trees,” RV marg.), but from יבנה (Barth, NB, § 142), the primary meaning of which appears to have been to lead to a watering place; like מִּ֖כֶּפֶל, therefore, יבנה may have meant watering place, or perhaps more generally pastures. AV bushes goes back on an etymologically unsupported guess of Jewish scholars (Saad., Abul-Walid).—20. הָּרָּשׁ רֹאשׁ] MT assumes that רֹאשׁ is cstr.; but though in Ps 52:4 it is masc., it is shown by וֹסֶת below to be fem. here. Point, therefore, חַּרַשׁ רֹאשׁ; cp. Ἰ τῷ ἐξωτερικῷ τῷ μέτρων ὕποστε (or μέτρων = ἱναβίας), Ἰ νόικάνυ κυνών).—21. Hebrew to the parts beyond (Ges. 124b), and רֹאשׁ (without the art.) Euphrates: cp. Jer 21:8. But read רֹאשׁ וֹסֶת הָרָּשׁ (捃ְּרָבָן תֹּשֶׁךְ גַּֽהְרָּם).—22. וֹסֶת אָנָּמֶת לְאָנָּמה] כָּרָם. If the omission from Ἰ is not accidental, but represents the original text (see above), the addition of the words in Ἰ may be due to the incorporation of a Hebrew variant in which יבנה preceded instead of following אָנָּמֶת. 23. הָּרָּשׁ (2) like וֹסֶת of what used to recur (Driver, § 30).—24. וֹסֶת בֵּית בֵּית] כה בֵּית בֵּית].—25. וֹסֶת אָנָּמֶת אָנָּמֶת אָנָּמֶת אָנָּמֶת] כָּרָם אִבְּחָר וֹסֶת הָּרָּשׁ אָנָּמָּה כָּרָם אִבְּחָר] כָּרָם. For the omission of יבנה (supplied by Ἰ), see G-K. 134n.—24. אָנָּמֶת] כה אָנָּמֶת. The expression of the indef. subj. by the 2nd sing. (אָנָּמָּה v.25) is rarer; G-K. 144a.—25. אָנָּמָּה וֹסֶת אָנָּמָּה אָנָּמָּה אָנָּמָּה] כָּרָם אִבְּחָר וֹסֶת הָּרָּשׁ אָנָּמָּה אִבְּחָר] כָּרָם. May well be intrusive (cp. Box), and is perhaps a variant (slightly corrupt) of וֹסֶת . . . אָנָּמָּה אָנָּמָּה in v.24. אָנָּמָּה is probably wrong, and perhaps Ἰ (ἐκεῖ ὁμολογίαν ἐρωτεύεται ἀνδρὶ πῆθος ἐρωτεύεται καὶ ἀκάνθης εἰς βότανα) may point to further corruption. For the acc. of cause ἐπὶ ἄνω, which is common in Arabic (Wright, Arabic Grammar, 44d = ii. p. 132), see G-K. 118l; Kön. iii. 332; for ἐπὶ ἄνω, terror, dread, cp. Dt 26s; Ps 55s. It is altogether improbable that ἀνω is subj. of ἐπισκεφται (AV). Nor is Kennedy’s suggestion, If (όντι) thou wert to go thither, then thou shouldst see (ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ ἄνω), convincing; but he has good reason to suspect the text and existing interpretations of it (Exp. Times, viii. 477 f.).

VIII. 1–4. Maher-shalal-hash-baz.—A further extract from Isaiah’s autobiography (Introd. §§ 34, 38). Some time before the fall of Damascus (732 B.C.), Isaiah, at the command of Yahweh, records in two different ways and at different times his conviction of the approaching fate of both Damascus and Samaria: (1) he writes down, or engraves, in the presence of witnesses, the legend, “Belonging to Maher-shalal-hash-baz (spoil is speedy—plunder hasteneth)”; (2) nearly a year later he names his newborn son Maher-shalal-hash-baz, in the expectation that Assyria
will have despoiled both Damascus and Samaria before the child is more than about a year old.

The point of view is the same as in 7:1-16; only the security of Judah against Ephraim and Syria is there explicitly, is here implicitly, asserted. In 7:1-16 Isaiah addresses the king, here he makes his outlook on affairs known to the people at large.

It is probable that Isaiah crystallised his teaching into the phrase Maher-shalal-hash-baz before Ahaz, by appealing to Assyria, gave the people of Judah reason, beyond or apart from the prophet’s word, to hope that Samaria and Damascus would be spoiled. The inscription may have been engraved in 735 B.C., the child born and named in 734.

In 7:10-18 Isaiah predicts three features, or stages, in the immediate future: (1) the relief of Judah, 7:14; (2) the desolation of Ephraim and Syria, 7:16; (3) the spoiling of Samaria and Damascus, 8:4; according to a frequent but improbable interpretation (see on 7:14-16) he also predicted (7:15, 17ff.) (4) the desolation of Judah.

The first stage he expected within nine or ten months at most of his interview with Ahaz (7:14); the second within two or three years after the first (7:16). The fourth, if really referred to in 7:18, 17ff., would fall after (2). Possibly Isaiah placed (3) between (1) and (2); for the stage in child life defined in 8:4 is somewhat earlier than that defined in 7:16; on the other hand, Maher-shalal-hash-baz may not have been born till some months after Isaiah expected the birth of Immanuel; and, moreover, Isaiah may never have sharply defined the chronological relation of (2) and (3).

On the main issue Isaiah’s prophecies were justified. Judah was quickly relieved, much of Ephraim and Syria desolated, and Damascus captured and spoiled, within three years of the interview with Ahaz. The destruction of Samaria was deferred another ten or eleven years—rather longer than Isaiah anticipated.

I. A large tablet] In 3:22 הַשַּׁלְלָבָה is some ornament or article of toilet, and possibly a hand mirror of polished metal, which reflects and so reveals (יוֹצָא) the beholder. So some understand הַשַּׁלְלָבָה to be here a polished tablet of wood (Ezk 37:10), or stone (Ex 34:4), or metal (Job 19:24?) for receiving writing. But the Mishnah use of the word for the margin, i.e. the still blank part of a page, suggests that הַשַּׁלְלָבָה may have been widely applicable to any blank surface intended for writing, whether tablets, parchment, or papyrus; אֵבֶן תּוֹמַן (חֲרִימוֹ) kannō, Αq. κεφαλάδα, Symm. τείχος; תַּלֵל. Whatever it was, the object being large would be conspicuous and attract attention.—Write upon it in common characters (?)] The exact force of שֵׁם וּמְדַמֵּר is
uncertain, but the general sense seems to be, write so that every one who sees this conspicuous tablet may be able to read it; cp. Hab 2.קח (Ex 32:4 ?) is, apparently, a synonym for יד (Jer 17, Job 19:8), and means a stylus; תט is a poetical synonym for נפ, so that on the analogy of נפ ומש, an ordinary cubit (Dt 31:11), תט ומש should mean an ordinary stylus. כ (cp. Di.) paraphrases write clearly; but it would presumably be as easy to write illegibly with an ordinary as with an extraordinary stylus. Perhaps מוה also meant written character; cp. "style," from "stylus," "to write round hand"; then the command is to use the ordinary alphabet with which every one was familiar. Benzinger (Arch. 2, 176 ff.) thinks that the implied contrast is between the human, i.e. the Phoenician, and the divine (Ex 31:18 32:16), i.e. the cuneiform, characters, both of which he infers were concurrently in use as late as the 7th century; two cuneiform contract tablets discovered at Gezer were drawn up in 649 and 647 B.C. respectively, and in one of these one of the parties is a Jew. Sta. (ZATW, 1906, pp. 135 f.) also argues that the implied antithesis is human and divine, but that what is referred to is the substance of the inscription, not the character in which it is written.—Belonging to Maher-shalal-hash-baz] the legend is in form like that inscribed by Ezekiel on two sticks (Ezk 37:16), or those which occur on old Hebrew or Canaanite seals; cp. e.g. "Belonging to Shama the servant of Jeroboam" (תילשמא יד הברע), the legend on a seal of about the 9th cent. B.C. discovered at Megiddo, and reproduced in Steuernagel, Tell el Mutesellim, 117: also in Driver, Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible, p. 91; for other examples, see Cooke, North-Sem. Inscriptions, 360 f.; Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, ii. 140 ff.—The name means, swift is the spoil to come, speedy is the prey, and portends the imminent destruction of Samaria and Damascus (v.4).—2. The inscription is to be witnessed by credible witnesses. In כ, v.2 continues the command of v.1 and cause trustworthy witnesses to attest the writing for me (Yahweh). This is probably right. כ may be rendered, and I caused, etc.; or and I will cause (MT, EV); in the former case the first person refers to Isaiah, in the latter to Yahweh. Of the two witnesses, Uriah the priest was certainly a person of importance (2 K 16:10-16); Zechariah was probably of similar standing. Neither was necessarily a close friend of the prophet; their testimony would be more effective
if they were not.—It is generally inferred (1) that Isaiah put up his inscription in some public place for all to read, and (2) that he had it witnessed, so that when events proved his forecast correct, the prophet might be believed to have spoken the word of Yahweh; (1) is a reasonable inference from the size of the tablet and from שְׁמוֹ אֱלֹהָי, if the interpretation given above is correct; (2) is the only reasonable inference from v. 3. Yet it is not entirely clear why an inscription publicly exposed long before it was verified by events required witnesses; they would be more necessary for a document sealed and put away for a time (cp. v. 18).—3. Then I drew near] Not Now I had drawn near: the tense cannot be pluperfect (Driver, Tenses, § 76 Obs.). It would be better to assume a misplacement (cp. § 21) of v. 3f. than a plupf. sense for בָּרָא. If vv. 3f. stood before vv. 1f., the tablet of v. 1 would have a clear destination; it would be for Isaiah’s son. As the text stands, the tablet is inscribed with a name that attaches to no one.—The prophetess] חָנָנָי here means the wife of a prophet, as הנפלת commonly means the wife of a king. Isaiah, unlike Amos (7.14), did not repudiate the title prophet.

1. רָאָם] is a verbal adj. quick to come (cp. Zeph 1.14, unless רָאָם should be read רָאָם), and שנ a part. It would, however, be equally possible to point רָאָם and take both verbs as prophetic perfects.—2. וַיַּקְרָא] MT וַיַּקְרָא, but point preferably, if מִי be retained, וַיַּקְרָא, and I took; Sta. ZATW, 1906, p. 136. הֵלַכְתָּם מִיַּקְרָאָם מִיַּקְרָא, i.e. התּוּרָה, of which it is just possible that מִי is merely an Aramaic scribe’s orthography. Cp. (Ibn Ezra) מאֲמַה וְיִתְכַּל מִי כָּל אֵלֶּה שֵׁי נ* לֵטְנָה.— 이번] G-K. 144d: cp. וָנ, 7.24 (n.).

5-10. The Extreme Peril and Complete Security of Judah.—

The prevailing rhythm, though, in the present text, at all events, it is not maintained unbroken, is 4 : 4 in vv. 6-8; 3 : 3 in vv. 8-10.

Judah’s Peril.

6 Because this people have rejected
The gently flowing waters of Shiloah, אַא

7 Therefore behold the Lord is causing to rise א
The mighty and many waters of the River, אַא
And it shall rise over all its channels,
And go over all its banks,

8 And it shall sweep on into Judah, an over-flowing flood,
... reaching even to the neck.
VIII. 1-10

Judah’s Safety.

8c And his outstretched wings will cover
    The entire width of the land—
    For God is with us.

9 Take knowledge ye peoples and be dismayed,
    Give ear all ye distant parts of the earth,  
10 Plan plans, and they shall come to nought,
    Scheme schemes, and they shall not be carried out:
    For God is with us.

Textual corruption, the intrusion of glosses,—omitted in
the preceding translation,—and, probably, the juxtaposition of
passages of different origin, have obscured the meaning of these
verses.

Vv.6-8b predict, under the figure of a vast flood, due to the
rise of the Euphrates, which is to inundate the land of Judah to
a dangerous depth, the devastation of Judah by Assyria; vv.8c-10
the complete security of Judah owing to the presence of God,
which frustrates the hostile plans of the nations of the world.
There is no transition from the one theme to the other, but
there is probably a change of rhythm,—facts which point to
vv.6-8b and 8c-10 being of different origin.

Vv.6-8b are rather later than the interview with Ahaz (71-16),
if the conclusion is right that Isaiah’s object at that time was to
enforce the security of Judah from the Syro-Ephraimitish attack.
Vv.8c-10 are probably post-exilic (see below), and contain
a fragment of a poem which consisted of short stanzas closing
with the refrain, “For God is with us.” On account of the
refrain the poem was given a place near 714.

5. Cp. 710.—6-8b. Because Judah has rejected Yahweh,
therefore Yahweh will subject Judah to a devastating Assyrian
invasion.—This people] 69 n. Here the phrase clearly means the
Jews, see v.8a. The entire people, and not only the king’s court
(718) are here condemned.—The gently flowing waters of Shiloah
the waters of Shiloah are the waters flowing from the one
spring in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, the modern ‘Ain sitti
Maryam, which rises in a cave on the eastern declivity of the
eastern hill of Jerusalem, that is the ancient Mount Zion, about

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353 yards south of the south-east angle of the Temple area: on the opposite side of the ravine lies the modern village of Silwan (= Shiloah), and lower down on the same side, at a distance in a direct line of 1090 feet, the Birket, or 'Ain, Silwan, probably identical with the hārav bēṭeh of Neh 315. The words, the gently flowing waters of Shiloah, suggest waters whose flow could be watched; they are not the waters of the tunnel in which the Siloam inscription was found, even if that were as ancient as the time of Ahaz (cp. 78 n.), but they are either the water conveyed by the open conduit, which existed before the tunnel, or more probably the waters flowing down the valley (cp. G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 90). From the nature of their source, these waters must have flowed gently, and, like the artificially controlled water of to-day, they doubtless served to irrigate the gardens of the valley. These waters, then, were closely associated with Sion, the site of Yahweh's temple and the royal palace; and they were the "living" waters of Jerusalem, as contrasted with the waters stored in cisterns (cp. 78 n.). Isaiah is obviously speaking in metaphor; the most probable explanation of the metaphor seems to be that the living waters of Shiloah rising under Sion stand for Yahweh, who in Jeremiah (218) is compared to a "fountain of living waters." The waters of Shiloah, "however beneficent, are to outward appearance insignificant" (Che.); so the power of Yahweh, which had been the source of Judah's welfare (e.g. 51f.), and to Isaiah seemed an all-sufficient ground for quiet confidence (74 3015), was in the eyes of the people insignificant, not to be trusted, but forsaken for other sources of strength (cp. 302. 12. 16 3118). For the "gentleness" of Yahweh's activity, cp. Job 1511. The explanations of "the waters of Shiloah" as the house of David,* or as the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion,† or as an allusion to some lost poem or some now unknown popular idea,‡ may be dismissed. The last words of v.6, omitted from the above translation, are awkward and difficult; if they have any meaning (see phil. n.), the meaning is and a rejoicing (or, and because they rejoice) with Reson and the son of Remaliah; which is inconsistent with the context, for the Jews, so far from rejoicing with Reson and the son of Remaliah, stood in dread of them (78ff.). An emended text (see phil. n.) may be rendered,

* Ibn Ezra.
† F. C. Burkitt, in JThS xii. 294.
‡ Gressmann, p. 68.
And have melted with fear because of Resōn, etc. But (1) the emendation is not free from serious objection; (2) the immediate transition which takes place, if the words be omitted, from the figure of Shiloah with its gentle flow to the Euphrates in desolating flood, is very effective; and (3) the words, like those generally recognised to be a gloss in v. 7, form an isolated stichos. Probably, therefore, Resōn and the son of Remaliah are an early annotator’s erroneous explanation of “the waters of Shiloah,” and the first word of the v. (שָׂפָה) a corrupt variant of שָׂפָה above, or an isolated fragment, or possibly, as Bredenkamp, Giesebrrecht, and Burkitt have suggested, though on rhythmical grounds this is not very probable, שָׂפָה is a synonym (oozing, trickling?) of שָׂפָה: note the two synonyms in v. 7b.—7. Yahweh will punish His disloyal people by causing a fateful rise of the Euphrates, i.e. by an Assyrian invasion: so the destruction of Philistia by the Chaldaeans is predicted under the figure of a fateful rise of the waters from the north (Jer 47:5). The figure here is blurred even in י and still more in EV, which makes the king of Assyria overflow his banks and reach even to the neck! An early annotator explained the River (7a n.) as the king of Assyria and all his glory, and also perhaps added שָׂפָה, against them, which explain rather unnecessarily the destination of the flood.—8. And it shall sweep on] for יָאָש, cp. 21.—Into Judah] this is the destination of the desolating flow of waters: nothing is said of the flood affecting Ephraim on the way, for Ephraim is not in the poet’s thoughts.—An overflowing flood] more literally, having flooded and overflowed, unless, omitting the waw, we restore the phrase used in Nah 18.—Reaching even to the neck] of dangerous depth. Cp. “an overflowing torrent reaching (slaught, synonymous with יָאָש here) up to the neck,” 30b. The swelling stream described in Ezek 47:4-5 rose gradually from being ankle-deep to being knee-deep and deep as the loins, after which it became too deep to be passed through, and required to be swum if the passage of it was to be safely made.

6. וַיַּמְנוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל 30n.—[יִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל] Di. explains MT thus: יִשְׂרָאֵל is the constr. case of יִשְׂרָאֵל (32n) before the prep. נָא, and dependent on יִשְׂרָאֵל on account of the rejoicing with Resōn. Ges. similarly, except that he takes נָא as the nota acc. and cites 35 (corrupt) as justifying יִשְׂרָאֵל with the acc. But נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל is very doubtful, and but partially paralleled by 511 or 92. G-K. 130a cites no case of the cstr. before the prep. נָא and only one before נָא, the sign of the acc.—Jer 33:22 (text very doubtful; cp. v. 21). Kön. (iii. p. 115 n. 3) suggests
that ישמש may be inf. abs. (ишֵׂשָם) with ח prefixed to gain alliteration with ישמש; but it is doubtful wisdom to seek forced explanations of a text which is exegetically condemned (see above). The emendation of the text adopted by Du., Marti, and others goes back to a suggestion of Hitzig's, that ישמש is a miswritten form of the like sounding ישמש, to melt away (in fear; not used by Is., but see 137); then, inasmuch as ישמש is not followed by the acc., it becomes necessary to emend further by reading יש for יש; that יש was substituted by a scribe for ישמש after the hypothetical ישמש (inf. abs.) had become ישמש is improbable, inasmuch as ישמש יש could not have seemed so strange as to demand alteration. Du. further omits יש at the beginning of the v. in order that יש may govern ישמש. ض apparently paraphrased the present text of יס, אלל böilesthai loc 'PaisdoY kal 7av wdn 'Rouemlou basilet e6' ymow.—7. [ךל] lWaw before יש is quite unusual; ض om.: it is probably dittographic.—הָנָלַע] omit (see above), and so restore a line of four accents.—ךל [ךל] cp. אלל מותע יב ל יב (of Jordan), Jos 319.— righteous] pr. in a description of the fut. to give variety to the scene or confer emphasis on individual isolated traits in it (Dr. § 14 7): רָצְב is co-ordinated with righteous (Dr. §§ 131, 132). But the writer may have intended רָצְב righteous (G-K. 113h), if he did not actually write רָצְב righteous.

8a–10. The safety of Judah.—The last words of v.8 are obscure. If they are, as till Du. commentators always took them to be, the direct continuation of v.8א$b the pronouns in his (or its) outstretched wings must refer to the River, or, possibly, to that of which the River is a figure, viz. Assyria or the king of Assyria. The wings have been explained as "masses of water branching off like wings from the main current" (Che. PI i. 53), or as the cavalry of the Assyrian army (Ges.); then cp. the Lat. alae, the Arabic גֶנָּח al-kudil, wings of the cavalry, and possibly the Hebrew יִנְסָק; cp. מ "the people of his army." Others see in the words the introduction of an entirely fresh figure. In this case, if 8c $ goes with 6–8b the figure must be that of a hostile bird of prey hovering over Judah (cp. Hos 8ı, Ezek 171–10, Jer 4840). But "the outstretched wings" far more naturally imply protection; cp. Ru 212, Ps 178 368 572 618 638 914, Mt 2387 = Lk 1394; if that is implied here also, the point of the figure is that the entire land of Judah will dwell in safety under the protecting wings of the Almighty, undisturbed by any futile raging of the nations, vv.98.—The land. For God is with us] this way of reading the Hebrew consonants * is favoured by the recurrence of the last clause, which may well have been a refrain (cp. Ps 46), in v.10. The consonants may also be divided as in ה, and rendered either (1) thy land. God is with us; so ה and Abarbanel

* Du., Che., Marti.
(cited by Vitr. p. 186); or (2) thy land, O Immanuel; so T SY, Rashi, EV, and most interpreters. The last-mentioned interpretation has to contend with the difficulty, never satisfactorily met, of explaining an appeal to Immanuel, and the description of Judah as his land; even if Immanuel was some single definite child, whose birth Isaiah expected (see on 714), he was not yet born if this passage is continuous with 81-4; and, if the passage be later, and Immanuel the name of an actually existing person, it is strange that no more is heard of him. To base a far-reaching construction of Messianic belief on so ambiguous a passage is a mistake.—9 f. God’s presence (in Sion) ensures the futility of all schemes of the nations directed against the people of God. The outlook resembles that of Pss 2 and 46, Ezk 38 f., Is 5414-17 and perhaps 1012 (see note there), and the passage is probably no earlier than these: in that case it owes its position here to one of the post-exilic editors of the prophecies of Isaiah, and was intended to alleviate the minatory tone of the preceding verses.

The argument against Isaiah’s authorship of vv.9–10 is well stated by Marti: “If the ‘peoples’ of v.9 could be Ephraim and Syria, the verses might refer to the protection of Judah in the Syro-Ephraimitish war. But the peoples absolutely are addressed, and the Syrians and Ephraimites do not dwell at the end of the earth. If it is urged that Isaiah immediately extends his horizon from these neighbours to all peoples and all times, this is irreconcilable with Isaiah’s attitude to Assyria, whose plans against Judah he did not expect to fail (vv.7–66); finally, to limit the plans of the nations which were to fail to the ‘bad’ plans and so to make an exception of Assyria, who came commissioned by Yahweh, lays an emphasis on which it cannot bear, even if that word were textually more certain than it is.”

9. Take ‘knowledge’] a suitable parallel to give ear in the next line: so Gr (=Heb. הָעִשָּׁה). Cp. Ps 461(10). Less probable is the reading of יִשָּׁר, rendered associate yourselves in AV, or make an uproar, RV: see phil. n.—Be dismayed] this is the regular meaning conveyed by the root נָשָׂא in Heb.; see, e.g., 205 314.9 3727 517, and note the frequent parallelism with נָשָׁה, to fear (e.g. Dt 121). Cp. Assyr. ḫatu, terror. Some render be shattered, see phil. n. on 75; in this case, if יִשָּׁר be followed in the previous clause, the two imperatives constitute a virtual conditional sentence (G-K. 110f)—though ye make an uproar (†), ye shall be shattered.—All ye far parts of the earth] || to peoples used absolutely, as is פֶּרֶשׁ in Zec 109.—יִשָּׁר, which is paraphrased by Gr, adds the words Gird yourselves (cp. Job 383) and be
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dismayed (or shattered) (repeated twice); but see phil. n.—

8. יִפְּלְנָה (or פָּלָה) in 16 this could have been read equally well יָפְלָה כְּרָאָא; יָפְלָה is written plague in the Siloam inscription and on the Moabite Stone; but the Phoenician inscriptions afford many examples of the form יָפְלָה; e.g. יָפְלָה המרַשְׁנָה, Byblus Inscr. 1. 9; Cooke, N-Sem. Inscr. p. 18; Lidzbarski, Nord. Sem. Ep. p. 295.

9. יִפְלָה] The form cannot be satisfactorily explained. Explanations that have been offered are that it is the impr. of (1) יָפָל, and means be wicked; or (2) of יָפָל, the Aramaic equivalent of יָפֶל, and means break, or more doubtfully still, be broken; or (3) of יָפָל, whence comes יָפָל, war-cry, and means make an uproar; but it is the Hiph. of this vb. that is used elsewhere; or (4) of יָפָל (whence יָפָל), and means associate yourselves (RV and marg.); but this would require a reflexive conjugation.—נָבִיא] the י is probably dittographic: נָבִיא וָנָבִיא] perhaps these rather curious clauses of two accents, which do not agree with the prevailing 3:3 rhythm, are due to a miswriting of נָבִיא וָנָבִיא.

II–15. The way of the prophet and his disciples and the way of the people.—In an autobiographical note, Isaiah records that Yahweh made a communication to him warning him not to share the standpoint of his fellow-countrymen. The lines that follow are not addressed to Isaiah only, for the and pers. plural is used throughout; nor to the people at large (note v.12a), but to Isaiah and his disciples (cp. v.16); these are not to fear what the people at large fear, for danger does not lie where the people fear it, but in Yahweh, whom they have ceased to fear (cp. 311-3): He will destroy “many” of the two houses of Israel and of Jerusalem, but, so it is implied, will save those who fear Him.

It is commonly assumed that this section refers to the same period as 71-810, i.e. the period of the Syro-Ephraimitish war—“parallel to vv.5-8, but of slightly earlier date” (Che. Introd. p. 40). Beyond the mere position of the passage the positive grounds for this are two: (1) the נ with which the section opens; precarious, for the word is absent from ג$S; (2) the allusion to the alliance of Pekah and Resôn supposed to occur in v.12a. This rests on a text that is doubtful and, if correct, ambiguous. In any case the passage is earlier than the fall of Samaria in 722 (v.14).

V.11 is prose; in vv.12-15 the rhythm is irregular and uncertain. Vv.12b. 13 and (more doubtfully) 14 are lines of 4 accents; 18 is ambiguous: v.12 falls into no scheme, whether treated as one line (Du.) or two (Cond.).

11 For thus Yahweh said unto me when the Hand grasped (me) that he might warn me not to go in the way of this people, saying,
Ye shall not call . . . all that this people calls . . .
And their fear ye shall not fear nor dread;

Yahweh of Hosts—him shall ye . . .
And he shall be your fear, and he your dread.

And he shall become a . . . and a stone to strike against,
And a rock of stumbling to both Houses of Israel;
A trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
And many of them shall stumble and fall, and be broken
And snared and captured.

When the hand grasped (me) [lit. with strength, or pressure, of the hand of God; with רֹזֶּה יְהֹוָה, cp. רַע הָאָרֶץ תַּחַת, Ezek 3:14]. The sense of prophetic inspiration was traced not only to the invasion of the personality by the spirit of God, but also to the hand of God, which, grasping and sometimes throwing down (cp. ? Nu 24:6) the recipient, induced the prophetic trance or ecstasy (2 K 3:15). Ezek. has several allusions to the hand of Yahweh as accompanying inspiration, see Ezek 1:22 37:1 (על הָאָרֶץ); cp. also Jer 15:17, "because of thy hand I have sat alone: for thou hast filled me with indignation." That the communication which follows must be of an extraordinary and special nature (Du.), is a precarious inference.

That he might warn me not to go] יְהֹוָה may also be read יְהֹוָה (cp. Dt 7:4), and withdrew me from going. Isaiah, like Jeremiah (15:17-21), may have had inward conflict in order to refrain from following the easier path of acquiescence.

The two verses are negative and positive complements of one another. Not the way of the people (v.12), but of Yahweh (v.13), are Isaiah and his disciples to follow. Not the baseless objects of the people’s fear, but Yahweh, who alone has power to destroy (vv.14f.), are they to fear: cp. the antithesis in Luke 12:4f. V.12b and v.13b correspond to one another in the use of terms; but at present vv.12a and 13a do not: the words left untranslated above are 12a (twice) רַשִּׁב, a conspiracy, but in 13a שֵׁשֶׁת, ye shall sanctify. It is not surprising, therefore, that it has been proposed that שֵׁשֶׁת, holy, should be read in v.12a,* or שֵׁשֶׁת shall ye count a conspirator in v.13a.† Still there are

† Du., Hackm., Buhl (in Ges-B.).
difficulties in both suggestions and also in אָרוֹן. Even ו.12b and 12b are ambiguous. So far as usage goes, their fear (אָרוֹן), viz. the object of the people's fear, in v.12a may be human beings, their enemies Rēṣōn and Pekāh, of whom, if vv.11-15 are a direct continuation of 7:1-8:10, it is natural to think; cp. the use of אָרוֹן in Gn 9:2, Dt 11:25. In this case the warning here addressed to Isaiah and his disciples is substantially identical with the warning addressed by Isaiah himself to Ahaz in 7:4. On the other hand, their fear, if the passage stood by itself, would in view of v.12a most certainly suggest supernatural objects of fear: Fear not the gods of this people (cp. v.19): cp. the constant use of אָרוֹן of fearing, i.e. worshipping, God, and the use of the synonymous noun רָעָם in the expression “fear of Isaac” (|| “God of Abraham”) in Gn 31:42. If the text of v.12a be sound, it would decide in favour of the former of these interpretations. Keeping the text we may render v.12a, Call not everything a conspiracy which this people calls a conspiracy, in defence of which Che. (Introds. 40) argues that רָעָם (noun and verb) is “used of those leagues which have a destructive object—leagues of subjects against a king (1 S 22:8, 13, 2 S 15:12, 81, 2 K 11:14, Am 7:10), of men banded together for immoral or heathenish ends (Jer 11:9, Ezk 22:25), or of the confederated enemies of a single nation (Neh 4:9). This last application of the term is suitable here. On the first news of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion there was a cry, רָעָם, i.e. the enemies of Judah are confederated against it. But Isaiah is warned by a strong impulse from above that this is an abuse of terms. Syria and Israel are but “two stumps of smoking firebrands”: how can such feeble powers be said to have formed a רָעָם? (Binding implies strength: cp. מְדִינָה, Gn 30:42). The warning is expressed in general terms, רָעָם לָלֵד, because the same circumstances may arise again. To Isaiah a רָעָם only becomes worthy of its name when Yahweh is the chief member of the league, as when he “sends” Assyria “against the people of his wrath” (10:6). But the true fear of Yahweh, which shows itself equally in obedience to His תְּרָא (see 10:17) and in perfect reliance on His word of promise (7:9), binds him to the side of his people.” Che., though agreeing substantially in interpretation with Du., prefers not to follow him in substituting for פְּרָאָם, ye shall sanctify, the unique Hiphil פְּרָאָם—Yahweh of Hosts, him shall ye make your conspirator. “Those who sanctify him,” he adds, “by
fearing Yahweh in the right way... make Yahweh their ally." The very elaboration of this interpretation makes it doubtful; it also fails effectually to parry Di.'s criticisms. The combination of Syria and Ephraim was a fact; it was no part of Isaiah's work to quibble over the use of terms, whether to call this combination a conspiracy or something else; he differed from the people not as to the fact, nor as to the name by which it should be called, but as to the interpretation of it: to them it was dangerous, in Isaiah's judgment it was not. They feared that the "destructive object" of the league would be attained: Isaiah, without denying that the league had a destructive object, was convinced that it would fail. Di. himself interprets the term conspiracy of the understandings which the people imagined to exist between Isaiah and the enemy (cp. the suspicions that fell upon Jeremiah), but which did not exist in fact: he further suggests that these popular suspicions had made Isaiah's disciples begin to doubt whether Isaiah's principles were sound. This interpretation also is unconvincing and fails more than the other to account for the antithetical line, v.13a. The narrower context of vv.12-16 strongly favours the emendation שָׂדֶה in v.12a suggested by ширук (v.13a): Ye shall not call everything holy that this people call holy... Yahweh of Hosts, him shall ye hallow (cp. 29:22f. ? late); but if vv.11-15 be the continuation of 71-810, the wider context is against it. Either vv.11-15 were not originally the direct continuation of what precedes, or they call for a more satisfactory interpretation than they have yet received.—14. And he shall become a sanctuary] if the text is correct, which is very doubtful, this means He will become a holy object, which no man touches or injures unpunished—cp. 5:16 (Di.). To interpret* He shall be an asylum (cp. Ezk 11:16, also Ex 21:14, 1 K 15:10) for those who hallow Him, but to others a cause of ruin, is to create an an-thesis which does not exist in the text. Not improbably שֵׁם is a corruption of שִׁמְךָ, which was itself erroneously substituted from the following distich for the term which stood in the original text.—The two Houses of Israel] the Northern and Southern kingdoms. Marti suspects that the phrase is a generalising substitution for "men of Judah."—A trap and a lure] the figure is resumed in v.15b. The 할 (mod. Ar. fakh; PEF Qu. St., 1905, p. 38) is a trap kept open till the bird, alighting on a trigger,

* MT accents, Heb, RV.
causes the trap to close and itself to be caught. Whether שָׁפָּקָה was the name for such a (baited) trigger (cp. Am 35:10; but see ג), or for a snare, or noose (Kennedy, EBi. 1561), or (if שָׁפָּקָה = שָׁפָּנָה, to strike) for a clap-board (cp. ib.), which strikes the enticed bird down, is not clear. But in certain passages שָׁפָּקָה seems to have the meaning, whether original or derived, of lure (cp. e.g. Is 18:21, Ps 106:36); so, too, both here and in Jer 50:24 (מע), the vb. שָׁפָּקָה expresses what precedes the act of capture (הפָּנָה), presumably the act of alluring or enticing, though in Pr 6:5, it is true, שָׁפָּקָה seems to be more exactly synonymous with הנָבָה, and in Ec 9:12 with בָּשָׁר.—Be broken] of broken limbs, as Ex 22:9,13, La 1:16.


The Epilogue to Isaiah’s Memoir.—16 (I will) tie up the testimony (and) seal the teaching in (?) my disciples. 17 And I will wait for Yahweh who hideth his face from the House of Jacob, and I will look for him. 18 Behold, I and the children whom Yahweh hath given to me are for signs and portents in Israel from Yahweh of Hosts who dwelleth in Mount Sion.

In spite of some ambiguity in v.16, these words read like the conclusion of the autobiographical memoir which recorded Isaiah’s teaching during the Syro-Ephraimitish war by word and symbol and the significant names of his children, Shear-Jashub and Maher-shalal-hash-baz. They also give the impression that Isaiah realised that a stage in his ministry was closed; that for an indefinite time to come he might speak to his people no more as he had been speaking; a time of waiting for Yahweh—of waiting in perfect confidence—lay before him; and during this time his teaching would be with (?) incorporated in) his
disciples, and perpetually eloquent in himself and the names of his children. The words received of Yahweh at the time of his call have come true: the people have not listened, and Yahweh is alienated from them. True, too, has proved the conviction that led him to name his child "A Remnant shall return": he has not indeed led Judah to repentance; but he has made disciples. If the doubtful and ambiguous v. 16 will bear the weight of the conclusion, those are not wrong who see here an important epoch in the history of religion—the emergence of a spiritual, as distinct from a national, religious society; Isaiah, unlike Amos and Hosea, is not a voice crying unheeded; his distinction lies less in a doctrine of the remnant than in the practical step of creating the remnant in which he believed.

16. (I will) tie up ... seal] the verbal forms are ambiguous (see phil. n.): they may be assertive, in which case Ki. correctly expresses the nuance—nothing remains for me but to tie up, etc.; or they may be imperative, tie up. V. 17 favours the former view. If the words were a command, Yahweh would be the speaker; my disciples (ב; גָּלְצ otherwise) would then mean "those taught by my prophet," i.e. Isaiah's disciples; and this meaning would even more directly attach to the words on the other view. To the sealing of documents there are several allusions in the OT: see 29 11, Jer 32 10 f., 1 K 21 8, Dn 12 4. The Jewish Aramaic papyri of Assouan (5th cent. B.C.) were found tied with string and sealed: see illustrations on the title page of Cowley and Sayce's edition.—The testimony ... the instruction] the two terms cover the contents of a single document which is both tied up and sealed. The testimony (הָדוּר, v. 20, Ru 4 7† in a different sense) more particularly refers to such sides of Isaiah's public utterances as his assertions that Ephraim and Syria would do Judah no harm, but would be speedily destroyed: cp. the attesting of the name Maher-shalal-hash-baz in 8 1 f.: the teaching (הָדוּר, 1 10 n.) is more particularly his insistence on the need for quiet confidence and faith in Yahweh.—In my disciples] the preposition (ב), read differently by כ, is difficult, and has called forth many interpretations: (1) deposited in the custody of;* but this would probably have required ב ב or ב, and in any case why should Isaiah deliver his teaching to his disciples in a sealed book which they

* Ki., Dr. (Isaiah: his Life and Times, p. 35), Che. (SBOT).
could not read (cp. 29\textsuperscript{11})? (2) *with,* i.e. having my disciples present; cp. Di., "in the presence of and witnessed by"; but this also is pointless and strains the meaning of ב; (3) *by means of* (Ew.), which would rather require הב. Least objection seems to beset an interpretation which goes back to Rashi, who equates ב with ב הב, and has been developed by Del., Du., Marti. This interpretation gives ב its common force *in* (of place); the question (cp. Di.) is whether it sufficiently accounts for the nature of the figure, for it makes the tying and sealing of the law figurative; Isaiah on this view determines to place his teaching in the hearts of his disciples and to make of them "living oracles": cp. Jeremiah’s "law written upon the heart" (Jer 31\textsuperscript{38}), and St. Paul’s figure, "Ye are an epistle of Christ . . . written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God" (2 Co 3\textsuperscript{3}).—17. Isaiah will rest firm in his belief in Yahweh, though troubled for his people who have caused Yahweh to hide his face, i.e. withdraw His favour, from them, and have thereby exposed themselves to destruction.—18. Isaiah's children are *signs and portents* in virtue of their names; he himself as the prophet and representative of Yahweh. Whether Isaiah made his own name *Yahweh hath saved* (r\textsuperscript{1} n.) a text on which to base his doctrine that Yahweh was the only true ground of confidence, we do not know. In any case he is scarcely thinking merely of his name here.—*Yahweh of Hosts who dwelleth in Mt. Sion* the last clause need not be omitted as the addition of a late scribe to whom it was a standing epithet of Yahweh; it is a natural expression of personal experience. Isaiah closes his memoir with words which recall the great experience recorded at the outset (ch. 6).

16. As the equivalent or substitute for the words which in ב lie between רוח at the end of v.\textsuperscript{18} and חכמ at the beginning of v.\textsuperscript{17}, ס has לוּוּ וּשָׁלְחָן: תְּרֵךְ פָּנָיוֹ וְשָׁנְתָא וְאַפְּרָגְיֵצְוּ מַעְלֵה יָדָיו וְיָזָבְנֵנְו קַל הָאֵל. That the translators read (and read wrongly) [תְּרֵךְ פָּנָיוֹ וְשָׁנְתָא וְאַפְּרָגְיֵצְוּ מַעְלֵה יָדָיו וְיָזָבְנֵנְו קַל הָאֵל as סָפַח יָדָיו וְשָׁנְתָא וְאַפְּרָגְיֵצְוּ מַעְלֵה יָדָיו וְיָזָבְנֵנְו קַל הָאֵל] how they read the rest is very doubtful. Neither ס nor ס recognises any reference to disciples—סָפַח יָדָיו וְשָׁנְתָא וְאַפְּרָגְיֵצְוּ מַעְלֵה יָדָיו וְיָזָבְנֵנְו קַל הָאֵל the *scriptio plena* of the 2nd word is not ancient; cp. ס. The present orthography is probably due to interpreters who read the verbs as infinitives absolute והז and inserted the o to distinguish the originally long vowel of the inf. abs. from the merely tone-long vowel of inf. cstr. and imperative (G–K. 67\textsuperscript{4}). Cp. the usual (though not invariable) orthography of the strong vb. in ב—inf. cstr. לֵגַר, but inf. abs. לֵגַר (G–K. 45\textsuperscript{2}). For והז as the inf. abs. instead

* Dr. in BDB 896.
of הַיַּה, cp. 73, Nu 23:23; 74, Ru 21:6; for the syntax, G–K. 113/b; apart from
G and the authors of the scriptio plena, early interpreters took the forms as
imperatives; so G (deriving הַיַּה from הַיַּה), S (plurals), Y. The sequence of
ירָמָה, v.17, is normal (Dr. § 113, p. 126) if the vbs. be inf. abs.: cp. especially
Jer 54th.—The exact process implied by הַיַּה is to tie up rather than to bind
together; so the הַיַּה is the pouch (1 S 25:29) or purse (Gn 42:20) which is closed
by having string tied round its mouth.

VIII. 19–23.—Three Fragments.

These are (a) a warning against necromancy and magic, vv.10f.; (b) a picture of some person, or people, starved and
encompassed by darkness, vv.21f. and probably the last words of
v.20; (c) a promise of a better day for Galilee, v.23.

Of these fragments, (a) and (c) are prose; (b) consists of
distichs of balanced (3 : 3 or 2 : 2) and parallel lines.

This difference of style at once suggests, as Du. has clearly
perceived, that vv.18–23 are not all of a piece. And this is still
more strongly suggested by the inability of interpreters, who
assume their unity, to establish a probable as distinct from an
ingenious connection between the verses themselves, or between
the verses and what precedes or follows them. Note provision-
ally that vv.16–18 do not supply any natural explanation of the
subject in they say, v.19, or the pronoun you; in v.21 through it
refers to nothing in vv.19f., nor does the singular pronoun
throughout the last clause of v.20 and vv.21f. find any satisfactory
explanation in vv.19f.

The verses are in several respects ambiguous, and probably
contain more than one corruption. Under the circumstances it
cannot be expected that the Isaianic authorship or the date of
any or all of them can be either maintained or denied with
certainty. It is inconclusive to say, for example, that vv.19f. are
too didactic for Isaiah.

19 f. A warning against necromancy and magic.—
Such a warning would have been timely at most periods of
—When they say] the subj. is indef. (G–K. 144/f); it is not
resumptive of a plural in vv.16-18, since, for various reasons, the
several plurals in those verses are obviously unsuitable.—Unto
you] it is improbable that this belongs to 812:16: if it did it would
naturally have stood before vv.16-18. The הנה, behold, of v.18 does
not suggest you (Di.). The persons addressed may be the disciples of the person who is speaking, and this may be Isaiah. How far the invitation to necromancy extends and where the rejection of the invitation begins is uncertain (see phil. n.). The chief views that have been taken have been these: (1) When they say unto you, “Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp and that murmur,” (Ye shall say unto them,) “Should not a people consult its god? on behalf of the living (should they consult) the dead?” This may represent substantially the meaning of the original text, but as the text now runs it is open to serious objections: (a) the first assumed ellipsis is very harsh and but very partially paralleled by Ps 84; (b) the second ellipsis is questionable in that it carries forward the influence of the interrogative part of the particle (קַהְרָי) without the negative—should they not consult the dead would be the natural way of supplying the ellipsis. (2) The other view, which admits of many variations, regards the speech as extending to the end of v.19 and the reply to it as beginning with v.20,—When they say unto you, “Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp and that mutter. Should not a people consult its gods? on behalf of the living (should they not consult) the dead?” 20 Nay, but to the law and to the testimony—unless they speak according to this word (viz. “to the law and the testimony”). In brief, Do not consult ghosts, but the scriptures, or, according to another interpretation, the prophetic teaching. On the whole, the argumentative “should not a people,” etc., seems improbable in the invitation; and yet these sentences probably were argumentative in their original form.—The ghosts and the familiar spirits] the terms (תַּחְרֵי and (םיָחֶר) together as frequently, Lv 19.20.27, 1 S 2.9, 2 K 21 (= 2 Ch 33.23). Is 19.8. The distinction between them seems to be that a person who divined by the תַּחְרֵי claimed to have power to summon any ghost (1 S 28), whereas the person who divined by a מִיְָר Consulted his own particular or familiar spirit (Ac 16), which was at his beck or call; see Dr. on Dt 18.11. The dead at the end of the v. covers both sets of spirits, and on the 2nd interpretation noted above so also does נֹפֶל, its gods; cp. the use of נַפּוּל, god, for the manes of Samuel in 1 S 28.—That chirp and that murmur] for the squeaking and gibbering of the spirits, cp. 29 n.; to chirp (חָצֵא), used of the thin notes of birds, see 10; and murmur (מַמְרָך) of doves, see 38 59.——20. According to one way
of regarding this v., it completes the sentence begun in v. 19: see on v. 19. According to another, it is complete in itself: when things have grown desperate and a man is without hope, he will, but too late, penitently exclaim, To the Law and the Testimony, i.e. the Scriptures (Du.). Men will at last seek for the word of Yahweh and not find it (cp. Ezk 7, Am 81ff.: and see Che. Introd. p. 42). Most improbable of all is the view that v. 20 is a protasis of which v. 21 is the apodosis—improbable in itself, and condemned too by the fact that v. 20 is prose and v. 21 poetry. It is impossible to interpret the v. satisfactorily: probably the last clause is not the original continuation of the first part.—To the Law and to the Testimony] the same terms in inverse order occur in v. 16 of Isaiah’s teaching. If vv. 19-23 are not the continuation of vv. 1-16, the terms may not have the same meaning as in v. 16. If v. 20 is late, Torah, Law, may mean written law, the Scriptures, and הָדוּרָה, Testimony, like וָרַדְעָ in Ps 19, may be a synonym of Torah in this sense.—If they speak not] possible also is surely they shall speak: see phil. n. But in either case this clause is very awkward if joined with the next: examples of the improbable sentences thus produced are: if they speak not thus, he (note change of number) shall have no dawning, or surely they shall speak thus who (lit. he who) has no dawning. It is more probable that the last three or four words (from ראו or נָא) belong to the poem of which another and larger fragment is contained in v. 21ff.—For whom there is no dawn] whose state is desperate, because no morning will ever break on his present night of distress; cp. 2111ff. (n.) 58, Ps 306.

[subscribe יִדְרֵי לא אֵל] commentaries assign no reason for the emphatic position of the subj. ס. But improbably וָרַד is goes with the following words, and וָרַדְעָ is a corrupt fragment; the corruption in this case is the cause of the ambiguity of the v. (see above). It is one reason against Ruben’s elaborate reconstruction of vv. 19-23 that he allows this difficulty to remain.—[subscribe יִדְרֵי] G prefixes תִּקְּנַּהוּ, supplying, like modern translators, something where something, though not obviously this, is needed in the present probably corrupt text: see last n.—20. G is paraphrastic, but read כָּל אֶת לָוָא הָרָּבָּה הָיְתָה אַחֶרֶת שָּׁמָּה בֶּן שָׁרוֹן—[subscribe יִדְרֵי] the best proof that these words were not originally connected is the mere statement of the devices which have been resorted to in order to construe them. (1) לֶלַח has been explained as a sing. distributing the pl. in ראו, in support of which 520 523 (themselves probably corrupt) have been cited (Kön. 348m). Du. reads רָאָה. Grammatically the most straightforward course is to make רָאָה the antecedent of לו (G, Ruben); but exegetically this is improbable. (2) The relation of the
two parts of the sentence has been variously, but always unsatisfactorily, explained. (a) *If they speak not thus, (surely) he shall have no dawning:* cp. RV. But (BDB 84a) there is a complete absence of evidence that יָשָׁשֶׁךָ was ever used (like י) as the simple introducer of the apodosis (Ges., cp. Kön. 4154), or, like י, as an affirmative. (b) *Surely they will speak thus, when he has no dawning;* this translation might pass if *when* were temporal, but usage only admits of its being conditional (cp. *e.g.* Dt 11.27, Jos 4.21), *on condition that;* and this sense is incompatible with the tenor of the passage, for if it is a unity, the writer regards calamity as a certainty. (c) *Surely they will speak thus who (really he who) have no dawning:* but רָשָׁשֶׁךָ and not the subj. of רָשָׁשֶׁךָ, both on account of its neighbourhood to רָשָׁשֶׁךָ and agreement in number with רָשָׁשֶׁךָ, is the natural antecedent to רָשָׁשֶׁךָ. It is, no doubt, tempting in view of Jer 8.17 to take רָשָׁשֶׁךָ in the sense of witchcraft, counter-spell (cp. 47.1 n.), and render, (d) *This word against which there is no counter-spell.* But Ruben, who has revived the suggestion, is compelled to resort to violent textual correction to make the meaning harmonise with the context: he reads יָשָׁשֶׁךָ המֶּשֶׁךָ for יָשָׁשֶׁךָ, and places רָשָׁשֶׁךָ after יָשָׁשֶׁךָ. Those who infer that the real cause of these difficulties lies in the fact that רָשָׁשֶׁ�ָ is not רָשָׁשֶׁךָ and רָשָׁשֶׁךָ is not רָשָׁשֶׁךָ, and places רָשָׁשֶׁךָ belonged originally to different contexts, generally consider that רָשָׁשֶׁךָ formed a fragment of the poem to which vv. 21–22 belonged: Cond. thinks they form the direct continuation of 5.30.

21, 22. The poetic fragment which appears to begin in the middle of a distich; the last words of v. 20, if they belonged to the poem, are scarcely the first lines of the distich of which v. 21 is the second, for the lines would not be parallel, nor would the last clause of v. 20 contain the antecedent of רֶשֶׁךָ, through it. The fragment appears to picture a man—whether Jew or Ephraimite or even foreigner, cannot, of course, be determined—passing through a country, probably his own (?) in search of food, cp. 1 K 18.6; Am 4.8 8116), distressed and famishing; angry at his plight, he curses his king and his God, from whom he can gain no help; whether he looks up or down there is no ray of light to be seen: he is surrounded by impenetrable gloom.

In the following translation, *to heaven* (v. 21d) and *beneath* (v. 22a) are taken from δ. The distich is then 3:3, which appears to have been the rhythm of the poem.

21 And he shall pass through it hard pressed and hungry; And being hungry he will become enraged, And curse his king and his God.

And he will turn (his eyes) 'to heaven' above,

22 And he will look to the earth 'beneath'; And behold distress and darkness, Thick impenetrable (?) gloom.
21. And curse his king] Finding no help from king and God, from whom he might have expected it (cp. 2 K 620ff.), andsmarting under his grievances, the man grows reckless and commits the mortal (1 K 2110, Lv 2411ff., cp. Ex 2227(28) offence of cursing king and God. Cp. Rev 1611, “And they blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores.”—Elsewhere the obj. of יִלְּכָה is in the acc., and in 1 S 1743, 2 K 242, which introduces both וַיהוָה here, is used of the person in whose name the curse is pronounced. We might therefore render curse by his king and by his god; but this would leave the object cursed unnamed; and, seeing that the prep. is repeated, it would give us an altogether unusual case of cursing in the name of a king.—His God] possible also is the rendering his gods (v.19 n.) then cp. 220. But cp. 1 K 2110.13.—Thick impenetrable (?) gloom] this translation merely represents what was, as suggested by the previous line, the general sense of this one. The text of כו is most questionable, and כי is probably paraphrastic. The attempt to gain a transition from the gloom of v.21f. to the bright hopes of v.23 and 91-6 by rendering and thick darkness shall be driven away: 23 for there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish (RVmarg.), involves a number of improbabilities, disregards the parallelism and rhythm of the poem, and assumes a transition from the poetic fragment to the prose of v.23.

23 (91). Apart from the opening sentence (see last n.), this v. is a prose note explaining that the darkened land of the poetical fragment (821f.), to wit, the northern and north-eastern territory of Israel (cp. Zec 1010, Mic 714) will be compensated for its former distress by a corresponding glory (91-6 (2-7)). If either 821f. or 91-6 is not the work of Isaiah, neither is this note; if both are, this note may have been added by him when he combined two poems of different periods. In this case he looks back on the humiliation of Naphtali, which took place in 734 b.c. as long past; it belongs to the former time.—The land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali] northern and north-eastern Palestine; cp. Ps 6828 (27). Naphtali is explicitly mentioned in 2 K 1529. The terms in the antithetical clause are all direct objects—he hath made glorious the way of the sea, the land beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations. These terms are more extensive than those in the previous clause, for they include the country East of

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Jordan (=Gilead, 2 K 15:29). Cp. EBi. 1629.—The way of the sea] according to Jer., Rashi, al., the sea meant is the Lake of Galilee (cp. Dt 33:25). More frequently ים means the Mediterranean; and so here the way of (i.e. leading to: cp. Gn 3:24) the sea probably is, like the ‘Via Maris’ of the Crusaders, the caravan route which ran from Damascus to the Mediterranean sea at Acre.—The land beyond Jordan) עיר הים, as frequently of the country E. of Jordan (DBB 719).—The Galil of the nations] cp. Jos 12:23, “the nations of the Galil,” if as against יה ("of Gilgal") this reading of גּ ב be correct; also פָלְלָא אלֶלֶף הָעָלָם, 1 Mac 5:15; elsewhere in OT the ‘Galil,’ לִיהַ载体 (Jos 20:21:82, 1 K 9:11 1 Ch 6:61) or גּוֹיָנָה (2 K 15:29), is undefined. The term means circuit, but is always used specifically of a district in Northern Palestine; cp. the different specific reference of המבנה, "The Round" (Gn 19:17). But the district covered by the term was not always, nor need it be here, as extensive as the later Galilee: Ges. suggested that at one time it defined a relatively small district round Kedesh (Jos 20:21:82=1 Ch 6:61, 10:2, 1 Mac 11:63): in 1 K 15:29 it appears less extensive than Naphtali, which it subsequently included: see, further, EBi., s.v. Galilee. The definition given here and in 1 Mac 5:15 (cp. Jos 12:23 גּ ב) reflects the mixed population which was at all periods more or less characteristic of this northern territory.

21. עַבְרֵךְ זָכַר לְךָ צְדֵיקָה לָמָּדֵת יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ וּמְכֻּדֶּשׁ] גּ ב כֵּי אֱלֹהִים פְּדָא וּמְכֻּדֶּשׁ יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ אִלּוּ בְּכָנָה בְּכָנָה וּמְכֻּדֶּשׁ יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ, which is obviously corrupt. יָשֵׁש is quite possible, since the absence of an antecedent to יָשֵׁש may be due to these words being the beginning of a fragment.—הָלַעַל יָשֵׁש] גּ ב כֵּי אֱלֹהִים פְּדָא וּמְכֻּדֶּשׁ יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ signs of corruption here are: (1) these four words overbalance, or if גּ ב כֵּי אֱלֹהִים פְּדָא be separated (Du., Cond.) then יָשֵׁש is too short for, the parallel line חָדַשׁ הַיּוֹם הוא יָשֵׁש; (2) however construed, גּ ב כֵּי אֱלֹהִים פְּדָא וּמְכֻּדֶּשׁ destroys the parallelism with the first line; (3) for יָשֵׁש, גּ ב read חָדַשׁ; (4) יָשֵׁש is detached from יָשֵׁש with which it is coupled in 30:8, Pr 1:27, cp. הַיּוֹם יָשֵׁש וּמְכֻּדֶּשׁ, Zeph 1:15; (5) the difficulty of construing יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ. The conclusions that appear probable are: (1) one word between יָשֵׁש ... יָשֵׁש is superfluous; (2) יָשֵׁש is a corruption of some qualification of יָשֵׁש, cp. Am 5:20 הָנֵי אַלַּי הָנֵי אַלַּי הָנֵי אַלַּי אַלַּי. Possibly יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ is a misplaced corruption of יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ (Zeph 1:15), and just possibly גּ ב כֵּי אֱלֹהִים is correct—a poetic breviloquence to express what Ex 10:29 expresses more fully in prose, יָשֵׁש כָּכָּה מְכֻּדֶּשׁ כֵּי אֱלֹהִים כֵּי אֱלֹ הַיּוֹם... כֵּי אֱלֹ הַיּוֹם. Then we may restore

הנה חָדַשׁ הַיּוֹם

וּמְכֻּדֶּשׁ כֵּי אֱלֹ הַיּוֹם
Mic 3^6 (not MT), Gn 15^12 (JE?), Ps 18^12 (not 2 S 22^12) 82^8 139^12; pl. Is 50^10+.—ןמה the existence of a root יָהָשׁ, to be dark, is well secured; but this form is doubtful, for (1) there also exist from the same root as nouns meaning darkness הבש and הבש; (2) masc. nouns of the form makhtil from יָהָשׁ roots are exceedingly rare (St. 275a), while, if against MT we treat יָהָשׁ as a form like יָשׁוּב, it would more probably mean place of darkness, especially in view of the existence of הבש, הבש. The term is perhaps due to an early corruption (see above).—הַנְּדָנְו הנְדָנְו] The rendering and into darkness he is driven, or banished (cp. Jer 23^12), is the only one that continues or completes the thought of the distich; but הבש for הבש is exceedingly harsh (this might be partially met by pointing יָהָשׁ with he locative), the suppression of the new and different subj. is awkward, and the clause is somewhat of a hysteron-proteron, for the man is depicted as already encompassed by darkness. The alternative rendering, and darkness is driven away, banished, may be justified grammatically, for הבש (fem.) might be the obj., not the subj., of the masc. pass. part. (17^1 n., Ps 87^8); but it is very improbable: הַנְּדָנְו is not a suitable word for the dispersal of darkness; a fresh synonym for darkness, if the thought of the preceding words is continued, would be suitable, but quite the reverse if the sentence is a strong antithesis. As part of the same distich, too, the clause, had it this meaning, would be intolerable. That these two obscure and ambiguous words are “the turning point to which v. 23^10 attaches itself” (Di.) is anything but “natural.”—23. The attempt is made by those who treat אֶל לְאַשֶּׁר הָנֵשׁ בִּין יָשֶׁב as a unity and as free from corruption, to make this the reason for the last clause of v. 22 (second translation) thus—for (there shall not be) gloom (to the land) to which there was distress; but again the change of words (from הבש to הנשא, from כִּי תֵּשֶׁב to כִּי תֵּשֶׁב) is most improbable, and the change of tense which is all-important is in no way indicated in the text. At least more probable than this is Du.'s suggestion that the sentence is a gloss on יָשֶׁב in v. 22, explaining that that word is used metaphorically: for is not יָשֶׁב used (metaphorically) of a person who is said to be in distress?—הַנְּדָנְו at the former time, 3 of point of time: BDB 453b.—הַנְּדָנְו the fem. יָשֶׁב being regarded as radical was treated by some writers from the time of Ezek. (77^12) onwards as masc.: cp. Kön. iii. 251f.—וֹרָבָּה דֹּעָה לִבּ הַנְּדָנְו] are antithetical—literally, to make light and to make heavy, and then in accordance with common metaphorical usage to render inglorious and to render glorious: cp. the antithesis of the Niphals of the two vbs. in 2 S 6^22. The subj. in each case is perhaps best treated as undefined (G-K. 144d); others consider it to be Yahweh unnamed, “after the well-known later custom” (Du.). Jewish commentators (e.g. Rashi) make Tg. bel silese sub. of הבש and Sennacherib of יָשָׁב, with, of course, a very different and an illegitimate interpretation of the whole sentence. יָשָׁב is proph. pf.—בָּשְׂר] יָשָׂר + old acc. ending; it is by accident rather than design that the noun actually is in the acc. here: G-K. 90.—In view of the absence of the יָשָׁב in the next sentence it is hardly likely that יָשָׂר is acc. of direction—he brought shame towards the land. . . . he brought honour towards the way (Du., Marii).—הַנְּדָנְו] acc. temporalis (G-K. 118f), and in the latter (time).
IX. 1-6 (2-7).—The glorious Future of Yahweh's now enslaved People.

The poem consists of distichs, except perhaps in the last four lines. The lines of the distichs balance one another, except perhaps in vv. 4a. b. 5c. d; the last line also is longer than the three which precede. These irregularities may possibly be due to corruption, but independent signs of this are slight. Although the lines within the several distichs balance one another, the length of line in different distichs varies from clearly 2 in vv. 2a. b. 4c. d to clearly 3 in v. 1, and 4 in 2c. d. In v. 5 some (Du., cp. Lowth) make 5c rhythmically equivalent to 5a. b and divide 5d. c. f. g. h at Wonderful Counsellor into two rhythmically equal halves, the whole being rhythmically equivalent to 5a. b. Certainly c. f. g. h might easily be read as a single distich 4:4 instead of two distichs 2:2; but in any case it is probable that the significance of the name was heightened by being thrown into an independent distich.

Parallelism of lines is prominent: in v. 1, the parallelism extends over the entire distichs, though a subordinate parallelism of antithesis marks the lines within each distich.

1 The people that were walking in darkness
   Have seen a great light;
   They that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death,
   Light hath shone upon them.

2 Thou hast multiplied 'the rejoicing,'
   Thou hast made great the joy;
   They have joyed before thee as men joy at harvest,
   As they rejoice when they divide the spoil.

3 For the yoke of his burden,
   And the 'bars' about his shoulder,
   The stick of his driver
   Hast thou shattered as in the day of Midian.

4 For every shoe worn in tumult (of battle) (?),
   And (every) garment 'stained' (?) with blood,
   Shall be for burning,
   For fuel of the fire.

5 For a child has been born to us,
   A son has been given to us;
   And dominion is upon his shoulder;
   And his name has been called—
Wonderful Counsellor,  
Mighty God,  
A Father for ever,  
Prince of Peace.

Great is the dominion,  
And endless is the peace,  
Upon the throne of David,  
And throughout his dominion;

To establish it and to support it  
In justice and righteousness—  
From henceforth and for ever,  
The jealousy of Yahweh of Hosts will do this.

Light now shines on the people that have been (long) in darkness (v.1), and they rejoice before Yahweh with great joy (v.2). For (1) Yahweh has delivered the people from the yoke of a foreign oppressor (v.8); (2) He has also made an end of war (v.4a); moreover, (3) a child has been born, who, as a native ruler in contrast to the (foreign) oppressor of v.8, will exercise dominion, and is marked out as exceptional by the name which he receives, v.5. He will rule justly and righteously from the throne of David over a vast dominion undisturbed to its furthest bound by any breach of peace; this righteous government by the will and act of Yahweh is to be endless (v.6).

Except in vv.4-6 the tenses used throughout the poem are perfects and imperfects with waw conversive, i.e. tenses naturally used in historical narrative. But the situation described in vv.1-8.5 in no way corresponds to any known circumstances, and the name in v.5 has no appearance of being one borne by an actual person. It has therefore been widely and correctly held that the poem is, at least in part, prophetic.

It is, of course, possible that the perfects are in part prophetic, in part historical; if this were actually so, the question would arise, how much is prophetic, how much historical? Has the great deliverance from foreign oppression actually taken place? Has some birth awakened the poet's hopes, but the actual present not yet fulfilled them by bringing the child born to the throne of David? Many have held that the birth is historic, and
that the poet refers in particular to the birth of Hezekiah; but this view is now generally and rightly abandoned.

It is more probable that the poem is prophetic throughout in all its direct statements—the light has not yet actually shone, the people have not yet actually rejoiced, the child has not yet actually been born; all these things are past, not in reality, but only in the hopeful vision of the poet. The circumstances under which the poem was written can only, but may probably, be detected in the implicit statements; from these we may infer two things: (1) the people were at the time in "darkness," i.e. distress; and (2) under a foreign yoke. On one interpretation of v.5, if not also from v.3, it would also follow that (3) the throne of David was at the time vacant; another interpretation would still admit, but no longer require, such a situation (see note on v.5).

If all we can infer are the two circumstances first mentioned, the historical situation presupposed is obviously one that occurred even in Isaiah's lifetime, for Judah felt the pressure of Assyria and paid tribute; but it also frequently recurred later, when the yoke of Babylon, Persia, the Ptolemies or the Seleucids rested on the Jews.

The determination of the date and authorship of the poem must therefore turn on other considerations; but these, too, are unfortunately less decisive than could be desired.

1. Language.—Cp. Cheyne, Introd. p. 44; Hackmann, p. 148. This is indecisive. On the one hand, the only occurrences of הָיְב (as distinct from הָיְב) are in v.3 10, 14, 55, passages commonly, though not unanimously, attributed to Isaiah; on the other, יְב, perpetuity, and מֲבֵי, both frequent later, occur in no passage certainly as early as the 8th cent. (see phil. notes). It is the idea rather than the word מֲבֵי that is significant. For the rest, the language is such that it might equally well, so far as we know, have been employed in the 8th century or much later, though יְב, if loaned from Aramaic rather than Assyrian (cp. v.4 n.), would more easily be explained by a date later than the 8th century.

2. It is urged that no echo of the passage is found in Jer., Ezek., Is 40–66. This is correct, but inconclusive. It is, of course, at once explained if the passage was written later than these writers; but unless we place it as late as the 2nd cent. B.C. (Kennett), why does it also find no echo in still later writers, Zech., Hag., Mal., the Psalms? or should we possibly find echoes of it in Ps 72? The connection with 1s 11 does indeed seem probable, and if that connection is due to unity of authorship, the exilic or post-exilic date to which that passage is probably to be referred is the date also of this.

3. Ideas.—The conception of Yahweh's "zeal" (v.6) is probably enough that which is characteristic of Ezekiel and of subsequent writers, yet מְבֵי may
be so interpreted as not to be absolutely incompatible with Isaiah's thought (see n. on v.6). Several writers (see especially Volz, Die vorexilische Jahwe-prophetie, pp. 3 and 6ff.) treat the reference to the Messianic king as in itself conclusive proof of post-exilic origin; this is unsafe. At the same time two facts remain: (1) the Messianic king does figure in later writers; (2) we lack positive proof that the prophets of the 8th cent. were acquainted with the idea, or, if acquainted with it, also made use of it. Marti rather overstates the case when he says that the Messiah here is "throughout a political figure (Grösse) which has no direct significance for Religion"—at least the remark would equally apply to the judges and counsellors to whom Isaiah looks forward in 18. If Isaiah did look forward to a king in the future and had wished to describe him, he must have described him much as he is here described—righteous, just, mighty in defence of the weak (see notes on vv. 5-6). The ideal certainly has its national limitations: the king will be a Jew and yet have a wide, a universal dominion, but no stress is laid on the servitude of the nations to Israel. Certainly, too, the ideal falls below that of the "servant of Yahweh"; but at the same time this ideal of the kingdom established in righteousness and of the peace-loving, justice-securing king is anything but ignoble.

The best complete vindication of Isaianic authorship would be to establish a clear connection with some period of the prophet's activity; but, unfortunately, those who agree in rejecting the view that the passage is post-Isaianic, differ as to the period of Isaiah's activity to which it belongs. It must suffice to refer to two or three theories of date.

Kit. argues that the passage fits into the range of ideas found in chs. 6-8 and other passages of the period to which these chapters belong. Isaiah then expected the conquest of the country and the city, and the overthrow of the monarchy (2-12ff. 3ff. 5ff.); but also that a remnant would survive (7ff. 61ff.); from the remnant would arise a deliverer, Immanuel, representative of the new generation, who would grow up in affliction. Judah must drink the cup of affliction at the hand of Assyria (7ff. 5ff. 20ff.). Then the hope represented in Immanuel is realised, 8-16ff. It increases, 9ff., and reaches its climax, 9ff.—Assyria must fall. The climax was not clearly perceived at first, but may have been so after 722, when the section 8-95 may have been written down. The sequence of thought and, perhaps, the original sequence of the sections is—812. 15 (20). 21ff., Disaster; 816-18. 30, Hope; 8ff. 9ff., Fulfilment. This elaborate construction rests on details, such as the identification of Immanuel and the prince of 9, which, according to the view taken in this commentary, are insecure, or definitely unsound. It certainly mitigates to some extent the difficulties attached to the view that 9-14 was the direct sequence of ch. 7, and written at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish war. Would Isaiah have described the people as walking in darkness, because they were threatened, in his own phrase, by two wag-ends of smoked out fire-brands?

Du. holds that the "driver" of v. 3 must be Assyria, and the "soldier" of v. 4 Sennacherib's army.

The Isaianic authorship seems to have been first questioned by Stade, Gesch. i. 596, ii. 209ff., ZATW vi. 161; then by H. Hackmann, Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia, 130-136, 143ff.; Cheyne, Introd. pp. 44f.;
Marti, Comm.; Volz, Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie, pp. 57–60; R. H. Kennett, JThS vii. (1906), 321–342. Sta., Che., Hack suggest a post-exilic date not closely defined. Kennett, who treats the passage as historical, refers it to about 140 B.C., when "the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel" (1 Mac 13:4), and Simon held a rejoicing "because a great enemy was destroyed out of Israel" (1 Mac 13:5). In addition to the general objection to assuming a Maccabaean origin for any parts of the Book of Isaiah (see Introd. §§ 26 f.), this theory rests on several very questionable assumptions: (1) that 8:23 (9:1) is part of the poem; (2) that the name given to the prince implies a warrior; (3) that the boots of v.4 must be boots of Greek soldiery; (4) that the child of v.9 is not a child, as such, but the offspring given to the nation, to wit, Simon. Marti with far more probability places the prophecy between 540 and 440 B.C., roughly about 500, not far remote in time from Haggai and Zechariah, both of whom expected a Messiah of the Davidic house.

On the whole, if the passage was not written by Isaiah, it may be best regarded as a lyrical counterpart of chs. 40–55, though the work of an author with different ideals, written towards the close of the Exile, when the people had long been walking in the darkness of captivity, long dwelling in the land of the shadow of death—Babylon. Like Ezekiel, the writer was convinced that the jealousy of Yahweh must bring about the restoration and exaltation of his people: like Haggai and Zechariah, he looked for a Davidic Messiah; unlike Ezekiel, he gives to his prince a supreme place in the restored community; though, like the Deutero-Isaiah, he expects the restoration itself to be the direct act of Yahweh without the mediation of the Messiah: this is a possible, even a probable, but at the same time not a certain theory of the origin of the poem. If it should be correct, we have three great ideals represented in the literature of the Exile—Ezekiel's, of the Holy Community devoted to ritual and sanctified by the presence of God in its midst; the Deutero-Isaiah's, of the Prophetic People preaching true religion to the nations; and this writer's, of the Righteous Kingdom with its king righteously ruling from Jerusalem over an unlimited empire.

1 (2). The people] the entire people of Israel, descendants of those who had constituted the kingdom of David (v.6); the subject is not the same as in 8:23 (9:1), nor as in 8:11* (note the consistent use of sing. there and pl. here); it is rather the new subject of an entirely independent poem.—Darkness . . . light] for these figures of calamities of various kinds and prosperity or deliver-
ance from calamity respectively, cp. e.g. 58, 10 59, 60, La 3, Job 15, Darkness signifies, in particular, captivity. Cp., either for this last point or for the phrases used in this v., 42 (Amos 3), 49 (Isa 49), Mic 7, (Job and Ps 107, the phrase of the land of Israel temporarily obscured by calamity, or Babylon, the land of captivity. T avoids both these applications by paraphrase—“The people of the house of Israel who were walking in Egypt as in darkness came forth to see a great light; they that dwelt in the shadow of death, light hath shone upon them.” 2 (3). Thou hast multiplied the rejoicing, etc.] the translation rests on a very slight conjectural emendation; see phil. n. Y reads thou hast multiplied the nation: thou hast not increased the joy, which is obviously unsuitable; the K' or RV is probably an early conjectural emendation which restores sense at the expense of style and without restoring the parallelism (see phil. n.). The two figures which enforce the greatness of the joy both recur; see Ps 4, 26 (joy in harvest), Ps 119 (joy over spoil). It no more follows that the poet expected the new era to open after a victorious battle, than that he expected it to begin at the end of harvest.—3 (4). The great joy is on account of the end of Israel's servitude. The people referred to in the pl. in vv. are here collectively represented by singular suffixes; the change is occasioned by the introduction of a figure (cp. 1, after 14). Israel is compared to an animal with a burdensome yoke resting on its neck and compelled to work by its driver, who uses his stick upon it. In the terms of the figure, Yahweh (not the Messiah) brings Israel's servitude to an end by breaking in pieces both the yoke and the driver's stick: burden and blows are alike done away. The figure of the yoke is a favour- ite one with Hebrew writers, and is used of the oppressive government of native rulers (1 K 12, 9f.), of the hard treatment by foreigners (Assyrians, 14, 16, 27; Jer 27, 11f.; cp. Dt 28) of Israel in its own land, or in a land not theirs (Lv 26).—The yoke of his burden] the yoke that is his burden, his burden-
some yoke: cp. 1027 1425 where yoke and burden stand in synonymous parallelism. The yoke (יַע) is specifically the heavy cross-beam that rested on the neck of the animal; through holes in this passed wooden pegs or bars (תֹּם), which, being tied below, enclosed the animal's neck; see the illustration in PEF Qu. St., 1891, p. 113, reproduced in EBi. 78. MT and probably נַע (though cp. Nah 118) means the rod (תֹּם) of his shoulder, or neck, i.e. the rod with which his neck was beaten; but (1) this would anticipate the driver of the next distich, and (2) the neck protected by the yoke was not the special recipient of blows.—The stick of his driver] it is unnecessary to follow RV and introduce a new figure by rendering of his taskmaster: for driver, cp. Job 397. Nor, in view of the reference to the stick (מַע) for beating (cp. e.g. Ex 2120, Pr 1013), is the rendering oppressor (14 n.) suitable.—As in the day of Midian] an allusion to the ending of another foreign oppression (Jg 6-8). With the phrase day of Midian, cp. “day of Jezreel,” Hos 21 (11); “day of Egypt,” Ezek 309; “day of Jerusalem,” Ps 1377. Why does the poet refer in particular to the deliverance from Midian? Is it because the story told then, as it is read now (Jg 72), illustrated the prophetic doctrine that deliverance is wrought not by the size and equipment of human armies, but by Yahweh? In any case the poet does not say that the “light” will shine, the change of fortunes come, after a great battle.—4 (5). For] this v. does not give the reason for v.8; but a further reason for the joy of v.2; men will rejoice because the age of universal and unbroken peace (24) has begun. War is already abolished, and everything that pertains to it, typically illustrated by the soldier’s dress, will be destroyed by fire. Cp. especially Ezek 398, also Is 24, Hos 220 (18), Zec 910, Ps 4610 (9) 764 (3). It is curious that the writer selects the soldier's dress rather than the implements of war for destruction; Che. (SBOT p. 89) reconstructs the text on the basis of the references just given, so that shields, bows, arrows, and quivers may be consumed by the flames instead.—Every shoe worn in tumult (of battle)] the last part of this translation in particular is uncertain; פָּעַר is not battle (AV), nor armour (RV), but foot-gear. It has been claimed that the word means in particular the heavy military boot; and Ges. referred to Josephus’ description (Bell. Jud. vi. 1. 8) of the “shoes all full of thick and sharp nails” of the Roman soldiers
in illustration of its character; but neither the Assyr. šēnu nor the Aram. אֵןַ בָּנָב, from either of which Heb. may have borrowed the word, has any such specific sense; אֵןַ בָּנָב is used, e.g., in Ex 3, Dt 25, Jos 5, לֹא מָלַכֶ (for which the Peshitta prefers לֹא מָלַכֶ in the Harklensian version of Mt 3, Lk 10 4 15). Abimilki of Tyre in his letters to the king of Egypt describes himself as “the dust under the shoe (šēnu) of my lord the king (Tell el-Amarna Tablets, 154, and elsewhere). Yet though the word אֵןַ בָּנָב is not specifically a heavy military boot, the writer would probably have had such in mind if the following words really mean “of him that is heavily booted” (Kennett), or “of him that makes an earthquake as he treads” (cp. BDB under both words); but both these renderings are very questionable, the denominative vb. (ןָדֶל) should, as in Assyr. and Aram., mean no more than to draw on, to wear a shoe. If the text is right, which is doubtful, worn in the tumult of battle is the safest rendering of אֵןַ בָּנָב, which should be pointed אֵןַ בָּנָב not אֵןַ בָּנָב (MT). This gives the best parallelism, adopts the most probable meaning of the denominative, and for the rendering of שָׁעְרָ by tumult (of battle) has the close, though not exact, parallel of Jer 10 22; cp. also Is 29 6. Elsewhere the noun שָׁעְרָ means a trembling or quaking, an actual earthquake, or, by hyperbole, the shaking of the earth attributed to war-chariots (Jer 47, Nah 3). The poet then has no special type of boot in mind; it is the fact that shoe (ןָדֶל) and garment (מַלְא), of whatever nature, have been worn in battle, that condemns them to the flames. In the golden age of peace, war and all that pertains to war will be taboo, and must, as things unclean, be destroyed. Consequently that part of Kennett’s ingenious argument* for the late date of the poem, which rests on the conclusion that אֵןַ בָּנָב must refer to the heavy nailed boots which were characteristic of the Syro- Greek soldiery, falls to the ground. It remains noticeable, however, that in Is 57 Isaiah calls the foot-gear of the Assyrians יָשָׁע, sandals.—Stained with blood] reading by conjecture יָשָׁע; יִנָּשָׁע, לֹא, rolled, or weltering, in blood, seems to

* Journal of Theol. Studies, vii. 327–331 f., 338: criticised by C. F. Burney, ib. xi. 438–441, to whom Kennett replies, ib. xii. 114 f. My own note above stands as it was written before the appearance of Dr. Burney’s note.
say too much; Amasa is fitly described as “weltering” (דנש) in his blood (2 S 20:12), but the garments to be consigned to the flames are scarcely limited to those which had “weltered” in blood; enough that they had met the usual fate of soldiers’ garments, and had become blood-stained (cp. Is 63:3).—5 (6). The third cause of the people’s joy is the birth of a prince of their own race (to us), who receives (at once) the dominion and power over them that had been exercised in the days of darkness (v.1) by an alien ruler (v.8), and who is (v.6) to extend his dominion widely but peacefully. This child is Hezekiah according to mediaeval Jewish interpreters (Rashi, Ki., Ibn Ezra), Simon the Maccabee according to Kennett, the Messiah according to most (cp. T). The ideal standpoint of the poet seems to be (shortly) after the birth of the prince, after he has been recognised as prince of Israel, but before the wide extension of his kingdom has begun.—Child... son] placed first in their respective sentences for emphasis; יְהֹוָה is applicable to an infant as yet unweaned (Gn 21:8) as well as to older children.—To us] the poet who has hitherto spoken of his people in the 3rd pers. here associates himself with them.—And the dominion is upon his shoulder] is this fact mentioned between the birth and the naming because the name was given after the prince had grown up and earned it by his exploits (Du.)? or is the meaning that the name is given as usual a few days after birth, and that the child is “born in the purple” (Grotius), because, though the house of David survived (v.6), it had at the time no reigning prince (Marti)? or is the position of the clause without significance? יְהֹוָה, dominion, appears to mean here the royal dignity, in v.6† the royal authority; the entire phrase here refers to entering on a reign rather than to the burden of governing; it may possibly have originated in a practice of wearing a royal robe on the shoulder: cp. 22:22.—His name has been called] cp. 1:28 n.—The eight words of the name fall into four clauses, each containing two words closely connected: less probable views are that the first four (Jer.), or the first two (EV, Ges.), words should be taken singly; some Jewish interpreters distribute the names among God and the child, e.g. “God who is marvellous in counsel, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, gave him the name Prince of Peace (Rashi, Ki.: cp. T); but Ibn Ezra rightly insisted that the whole eight words belonged to the child's
name. Luzzatto treated the names as a sentence, predicating (like Immanuel, 714 n.) something of God, and therefore implying nothing as to the child. Some of the names singly, and even more in combination, are as applied to men unparalleled in the OT, and on this account are regarded by Gressmann (p. 280 ff.) as mythological and traditional: cp. also Rosenmüller's Scholia. — Wonderful Counsellor] Like God Himself (2829 251), the Messiah will give counsel that will be exceptional, exceeding what has hitherto been known or heard.—Mighty God] cp. 1021; "the great (and) the mighty God," Dt 1017, Neh 932, Jer 3218. The ambiguous אָלַי נְבוֹרָם of Ezk 3221, the application of רון to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezk 3111, and the fact, if it be such, that in the remaining three clauses of the name here the words are cstr. and gen., scarcely justify a departure from the obvious rendering mighty God in favour of god of a hero, and still less a whittling down of the meaning of אלה to hero, so that the clause means no more than mighty hero. The child is to be more than mighty (יְהוֹעֵד, Ibn Ezra), more than a mighty man (יָוֵא נבֹּר, 1 S 1452), more than a mighty king (מלך נבֹּר, Dn 113): he is to be a mighty אלה, god. This attribution of divinity, implying that the Messiah is to be a kind of demi-god, is without clear analogy in the OT, for Ps 457(6) is ambiguous. Not only אלה but נבֹּר has been differently interpreted: נבֹר is often used of warriors, and many understand it to refer here to the military success of the Messiah. But if the writer had wished to summon up the thought of one who gained renown in war before he became prince of peace, he might better have chosen an unambiguous term, such, for example, as נבֹּר מלֶהְוָה, mighty in battle (Ps 249). At all events נבֹּר is also used of might manifested in other ways than those of war (cp. e.g. Gn 109). As the lion is mightiest of beasts because he quails before no other (Pr 3030), so Yahweh is mighty as one who cannot be browbeaten or bribed into abandoning the defence and care of the helpless and the poor (Dt 1017). In Jer 3218 the idea of Yahweh's might, conveyed in the epithets "great, mighty," "terrible," is particularised in what follows as greatness in counsel (עומד) and action, in the signs wrought in Egypt, and in finding nothing beyond his power (משמֹר). Mighty is to be taken here with this wider reference. Yahweh Himself will bring war to an end and so bring in the Messianic age of peace: the Messiah endued with the
Spirit of God, "a spirit of counsel and might" (רו ות הר וח), will like the mighty God Himself fearlessly defend the rights of the weak and poor, and, after judicial process, have the violent and guilty disturbers of civic peace slain (11^2-4).—Father forever] the benevolent guardian of His people so long as He and they endure. For the cstr. and force of י here, cp., on one view of the construction there, יבר ע, a lady for ever, 47^7, and the phrase with the synonymous יבר ע, a slave for ever, Dt 15^17, 1 S 27^12, Job 40^28. For י here, cp. of the (Messianic?) king, see, e.g., Ps 21^5-7; in view of these and other references it is unnecessary to take the phrase as equivalent to Eternal father (cp.ッシュא יא, 40^28). For father used figuratively of a protector or benefactor, see Job 29^16, Is 22^21. Two alternative interpretations, Eternal One, and Father, i.e. acquirer or distributor, of booty, are both open to the serious objection that they presuppose an Arabic use of יא, father, which has no parallel in Hebrew, not even as has sometimes been assumed in proper names like Abihud, Abihail; see HPN p. 77 ff.—6 (7). The zeal of Yahweh will secure the endurance of the wide and peaceful dominion of the new Davidic dynasty, will secure also that it is both established and maintained in justice and righteousness.

—To support it in justice and righteousness] cp. 16^5, and Pr 20^25 "his throne shall be supported in mercy (ב righteousness)."—The jealousy of Yahweh of Hosts will do this] the same phrase in 37^32. The term יא, used of passionate emotion in man (e.g. Ca 8^6), here refers to Yahweh's emotion: so, with other terms of emotion, in 63^15. This jealousy, or ardour, or passion, of Yahweh, which will not suffer Him to be deprived of His due, especially of the proper regard for His power and honour, is frequently referred to by Ezekiel and later writers; it led to the punishment by captivity of His people who had been disloyal to Him, but it subsequently necessitated the restoration of Israel, lest the nations should think Yahweh weak; cp. Ezek 39^25-29 also 5^13 16^28 23^25 36^5ff, Is 42^13 59^17, Zec 1^14f. 8^2f, Jl 2^18f. Nah 1^2. The phrase and the idea expressed by it would be entirely in place if this prophecy is exilic or post-exilic; and it would be difficult to think it earlier, if the main thought is that the jealousy of Yahweh will restore the Jewish monarchy. But if the main thought is that Yahweh will establish and maintain a righteous government, it may be merely a more passionate expression of Isaiah's ideal
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in 126. The attribution of נַעֲנָה, jealousy, to Yahweh would still remain unique so far as Isaiah's extant writings are concerned. Cp. Küchler, Der Gedanke des Eifers Jahwes im AT, in ZATW, 1908, pp. 42-52.

IX. i. וַיַּעֲשֶׁה... The text reads וַיַּעֲשֶׁה אֶת הַיָּם מִקֵּרֶה for Hiph. see the in Kon. G-K. it note in impf. and reads מִקֵּרֶה—scarcely real variants. On the text of the quotation in Mt 418, see Swete, OT in Greek, 396 f. —ןָעֲנָה Єשֶׁר, 511 n.—The clause is a *casus pendens*; the cstr. being doubtless chosen for purposes both of rhythm and emphasis: Dr. § 197. 1.—ץָעֲנָה] Am 5* being probably later than the 8th cent., the earliest occurrences of מַעֲכֶס elsewhere are Jer 26 1316: it occurs besides four times in Psalms (234 4420 10710, 14) and ten times in Job. The traditional view (ΣΤΣ) that מַעֲכֶס is מַעֲכֶס + לָעֲנָה, rather generally abandoned for a time in favour of Ewr.'s suggestion that it is מַעֲכֶס + לָעֲנָה, has perhaps rightly been revived by Nö. (ZATW, 1897, pp. 183 ff.); the root מַעֲכֶס, Assyr. *salamu,* is not otherwise represented in Hebrew.—ץָעֲנָה Kal as Job 185 2228; Hiph. 1310, 2 S 2229 = Ps 1824; but the noun occurs early, e.g. Am 520: cp. Assyr. *nagd,* to shine. Possibly the writer intended the noun here, רַע, in that case being 3rd pf.: note the order and cp. Pr 418; but ST = MT.—ץָעֲנָה הָיָה in the columns of [1] so K'tib: K're reads נ for נ, cp. the same variants in Ps 1009, Job 1318; § סלע, T נִתְפָּשׁ agree with the K're, T, Symm. with the K'tib. ST is paraphrastic and ambiguous. In favour of the emendation הָיָה (e.g. 1610) or הָיָה (6518 probably also 3518), note that lines a. b thus show the parallelism הָיָה הָיָה as c. d show הָיָה, יָתֶשׁ. The conjecture, now commonly accepted, is due to W. Selwyn, Horae Hebraicae, Camb. 1848. For a defence of the K're, see Del.; but he fails to justify the emphatic position given by it to הָיָה; in the passages he cites (4524, Lv 779, 1 S 23, Job 2921, Ps 714 13917) הָיָה is either really emphatic (so pre-eminently in Lv 779), or textually questionable.—ץָעֲנָה for הָיָה; G-K. 939. For the noun, see 1027 1420; the root was in use at all periods.—ץָעֲנָה] 7 n.—ץָעֲנָה דָּרֶךְ. cp. the above. If Isaiahic, the word is probably loaned from Assyr.; for ד = Assyr. § in such loan words, cp. נָעֲנָה = Sarrikin; ד = Nakhin. For the vowel change נָעֲנָה = סָלְמָנָה, Haupt in SBOT compares נָעֲנָה = הָתָּרְשָׁע, נָעֲנָה = סָלְמָנָה.—For סָלְמָנָה cp. הָתָּרְשָׁע, which is the heylo of the compound subj. (G-K. 146; Kön. 349f), cp. Jer 720. The combination of the unusual together with the shortness of this and the next line (yet cp. 2* b), and the fact that נָעֲנָה in idea echoes rather than balances הָתָּרְשָׁע הָתָּרְשָׁע, may reasonably raise the question whether the text is sound at this point.—ץָעֲנָה perhaps, in view of the parallel, *that which is burnt*; see Numbers, p. 208. This meaning is also possible in Gn 112 (T).—ץָעֲנָה[... the word is no indication of date; it is true it occurs again
only in v. 18, where the text is doubtful, and in the form 'יָדָר in 1 K 5:28; but the root is one of the commonest at all periods, the noun form is paralleled by תָּהָד, תָּהָדָר, תָּהָדַה, all occurring in early literature, and the corresponding forms occur in both Syr. and Arabic—[מֵאֶלֶק, מֵאֶלֶך. 5. the subsequent] v. 4. Ε renders ἀρχή, ἡ ρουμανία, ἡ in v. 5 principatus, in v. 6 imperium, ἡ κακία, ἡ, which is obviously wrong, and due to connecting the word with ἀρχή (cp. Symm., Theod. ἡ παράδεια). MT הָדָר presupposes a meaning to rule for the root נָש, שֵׁרִי, of which there is no evidence. Point rather נָש or הָדָר, from נָש, a prince, denom. נָש, to rule (e.g. Jg 9:22). The punctuation of MT can be traced as early as Jerome (MESRA) and perhaps Aquila, who renders τὸ μέτρον, being deceived by the similar sound of the Latin mensura (Lagarde, Sem. i. 15).

nelle אֶלֶכֶנֶו either (1) Kal אֶלֶכֶנֶו (MT) with indef. subj. (Kön. iii. 324e), as certainly in Gn 25:26, and possibly in some of the apparent cases of naming by the father (see Hastings, DB iii. 480b). This would be the common idiom for naming a child at birth (see, e.g., 7:14 8:3). Since the important matter here is the name, and the person who gives it unessential, the indefinite idiom cannot be considered improbable; less probable views of the cstr. with the same punctuation is that God unnamed, or named in part of the names that follow (א), is the subj.; or (2) Niphal אֶלֶכֶנֶו: this idiom is used of names given in later life; see Dt 25:10, Dn 10:1, cp. Gn 35:20—נָשׁ אֶלֶכֶנֶו commonly explained on the analogy of תָּהָד אֶלֶכֶנֶו, a wild ass of a man, תָּהָד הָדָר, fool of a man (cp. G-K. 1281; Kön. iii. 337c) as meaning literally a wonder of a counsellor, or rather taking נָשׁ like תָּהָד as collect., a wonder among counsellors, most wonderful of counsellors. Possible also is it that אֶלֶכֶנֶו is the acc. prefixed (cp. 22:2), giver of wonderful counsel. On the differing traditions as to the punctuation אֶלֶכֶנֶו, אֶלֶכֶנֶו (the second being intended to mark the status constructus), see Kön. ii. p. 66.—יָשׂ בֵּינָנ יָשׂ, booty, is an early word, Gn 49:27; but it is not intended here (see above), and consequently the proposed substitution of נָשׂ for יָשׂ below (Neubauer, Margolis, cited by Cheyne in SBOT) falls to the ground. יָשׂ, perpetuity, is predominantly, if not exclusively, late; no indisputable instance can be found earlier than the Exile: frequent in the Psalms, it occurs also in such passages of doubtful age as Am 111, Mic 4:9, Pr 12:19, Ex 15:18.—6. נָשַׁב the final b in the middle of the word (Ketib), which is corrected in the Ktav, points to an early corruption or ambiguity of the text. In the translation above Grätz’s suggestion (Gesch. ii. 1, p. 223) has been adopted, viz. that ב is a dittoograph of ב[ב], a relatively late ditto graph, for it presupposes the use of the final letters. Ε at the end of 4 and beginning of 6 has δυς γάρ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ θραύλαν αὐτοῖ· μεγάλη ἡ ἀρχῆ αὐτοῦ: the overlined words seem to represent a conflate text הָדָר הָדָר הָדָר הָדָר, the first of these two words being wrongly read by Ε in מֵאֶלֶךֶנֶו ב (Cheyne in SBOT). The parallelism and independence of the short two-accented lines is best preserved by reading הָדָר. The word הָדָר, presupposed by the other reading, occurs again in 33:14. See, further, on the text, Cheyne in SBOT; Lagarde, Semitica, i. 17. If the reading הָדָר be retained, Gressmann’s (p. 279) suggestion to read מֵאֶלֶךֶנֶו (cp. 11:4, Mal 2:6,
IX. 7 (8)–X. 4, V. 26–29.—The Doom of Ephraim.

The five strophes of the following poem, even in the present text, are of very nearly equal length: in the original poem each strophe probably contained exactly 14 lines. The third strophe still contains this number, and so do the second and the fourth; but the genuineness of two, or four, lines of the second, and the whole of the fourth, has been suspected. The first strophe now contains 13 lines, but there are strong grounds for suspecting that a line has fallen out after v. 8. The fifth strophe contains 15 lines, but one of these (5th) rests under suspicion as being a monostich.

The regular succession of distichs is broken in the present text by four monostichs; but one of these (in v. 8) was possibly due to the loss of its parallel, and two others, 918c, 19c (19c, 20c), are probably two parts of a distich which have been accidentally separated from one another (see Comm.): in the following translation they are restored to a verse. The remaining monostich is 27th: it is probably intrusive, for the fifth strophe is at present a line too long.

We may conclude that the poem originally contained four or five equal strophes, and each strophe seven distichs.

The lines of the distichs are for the most part parallel in sense and balanced. Of the 35 distichs, 19 are clearly 3:3; so, too, probably are 918a, b (omit וינ), 10a, b (read ישע for ישע ישע), 528c, d (reading ידל for ידל), perhaps also 10a, b (דז ל), 10a, b (מבע בפ). There is at least one distich 4:4, viz. 9b; other probable, or possible, examples are 918a, b (Ex 4:4, 115:4), 918a, b (omit וינ), 918a, b (omit makkeph in כב). The gloss in 914 is also 4:4. The opening distich (97) is exceptionally 4:2, and 9b also may originally have been 4:2. On the other hand, 528c, d was probably 3:3, and has been turned in transcription into 4:2. On 920 and 529, see notes.

Note.—The prophetic past tenses of the original are retained in the translation; but the whole poem is a forecast of the future, not a survey of the actual past: see below.

1.

97 The Lord hath sent a word against Jacob,
And it shall fall upon Israel.
8 And all the people shall recognise (it),
Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria.
[For they said ...]
Proudly and greatly daring,
9 "Bricks have fallen, but with hewn stone we will rebuild;
Sycomores have been cut down, but with cedars will we replace them."

VOL. I.—12
And (so) Yahweh exalted (?) 'his' adversaries against him,
And will spur on his enemies—
Syria on the East and the Philistines on the West,
And they devoured Israel with full mouth.
In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

2.
Yet the people returned not to him that smote them,
Nor inquired of Yahweh of Hosts;
So he Yahweh cut off from Israel head and tail,
Palm-branch and reed in a single day.
The elder and the person held in respect, that is "the head,"
And the prophet who delivers false oracles, that is "the tail."
And those who should have led this people aright led them astray,
And those who should have been led aright were swallowed up.
Therefore the Lord will not rejoice over his young men,
Nor show compassion to his orphans and widows,
Because he is wholly profane and given to evil,
And every mouth is speaking impiety.
In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

3.
For unrighteousness burnt like a fire:
It (first) consumed thorns and briars,
And (then) it kindled the thickets of the forest,
And they twisted about in a (rising) column of smoke.
Through the overflowing anger of Yahweh the land.
And the people became like 'devourers' of men;
They carved (slices) on the right hand and were hungry,
And they ate on the left hand and were not satisfied.
None will show any pity to his brother,
But each shall devour his 'neighbour's' flesh—
Manasseh (devouring) Ephraim and Ephraim, Manasseh,
Together (will) they (be) against Judah.
In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

4.
Ah! they that decree mischievous decrees,
And that, busily writing, write nought but trouble,
IX. 10–X. 4, V. 26–29

That they may turn aside the needy from judgment,
And make plunder of the right of the poor,
That widows may become their spoil,
And that they may make a prey of orphans.

What then will ye do in the day of visitation,
And at (the time of) the storm that cometh from afar?
And to whom will ye flee for help,
And whither will ye abandon your glory,

‘To avoid’, crouching under (?) the prisoners,
And falling under the slain?

In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

Then will he raise a signal for a ‘nation’ afar off,
And whistle for it from the end of the earth:
And, lo! speedily, quickly will it come,

With none of it(s number) growing faint or stumbling;
It slumbers not nor sleeps
The waistcloth about its loins has not been untied,
The thong of its sandals has not snapped;

Its arrows are sharpened,
And all its bows bent (ready);
Its horses’ hoofs are like flint,
Its wheels are accounted like the whirlwind;

Its roaring is like that of a lioness,
And it will roar (?) like young lions:
And it will growl and seize the prey
And carry it off, with none to rescue.

The grounds for believing that 526–29 originally formed the close of the poem in 97–104 are these: (1) the refrain that marks the close of the several strophes and, in consequence, immediately precedes the commencement of each strophe but the first in 97–104, also immediately precedes 526–29; (2) the burden of this refrain is that yet more of the divine chastisement is to descend on Ephraim: admirably adapted, therefore, as it is for the close of each of the earlier strophes, it is not adapted to close the entire poem: consequently 104 is not the close of the poem, and the final strophe of the original poem lacked the refrain; so in Am 46^-12, a poem which not improbably influenced
Isaiah in the composition of his own, a four times repeated refrain (יִרְעַד וּזְבַע הָעָלֶה נַחֲלָה) was unsuitable to close the poem. (3) At the close of a strophe almost, or (if we omit 5\textsuperscript{27} as intrusive) exactly, equal in length to the (second), third (and fourth) strophes, and to what, as it would seem, was the original length of the first strophe in 9\textsuperscript{7}-10\textsuperscript{4}, occurs a suitable climax to the whole poem—the utter destruction of the threatened people of whom none escapes; (4) not only the climax, but also the general tenor of the 14 lines of 5\textsuperscript{26-29}, form a suitable sequence in thought to 9\textsuperscript{7}-10\textsuperscript{4}; (5) the structure (a succession of distichs) and the rhythm (mainly 3 : 3) of 5\textsuperscript{26-29} is the same as that of 9\textsuperscript{7}-10\textsuperscript{4}; (6) the conclusion of 9\textsuperscript{7}-10\textsuperscript{4} is not in 10\textsuperscript{56f}, for this deals with a totally different subject; nor (7) is the introduction to 5\textsuperscript{25-29} to be found in 5\textsuperscript{1-24} (see notes thereon).

That 5\textsuperscript{25-30}, in whole or in part, formed a part of the same poem as 9\textsuperscript{7}-10\textsuperscript{4} has been very generally recognised. Ew. reconstructed thus: 5\textsuperscript{25}+9\textsuperscript{7} to 10\textsuperscript{4} + 5\textsuperscript{26-30}, seeing in 9\textsuperscript{7} a new start in a great speech which included 2\textsuperscript{2-5}\textsuperscript{29} and 9\textsuperscript{7-10}\textsuperscript{4}. Giesebrecht introduced an important modification of this view by insisting that 9\textsuperscript{7} is the beginning of an altogether independent poem. According to him, 9\textsuperscript{7}-20 closed with 5\textsuperscript{26-30}: 10\textsuperscript{1-3} is a misplaced fragment to which the refrain was added after it had become attached to 9\textsuperscript{7-20}; 5\textsuperscript{25a} is a gloss. Di., Du., Hackmann, Che. (\textit{Introduct.}), Marti closely follow Giesebrecht, except that Du., Che., Marti find the close of the poem in 5\textsuperscript{29} (not 5\textsuperscript{30}) and Du., Che. do not delete 10\textsuperscript{1-4}; Di. and Du. consider 5\textsuperscript{25} the fragment of one or more lost strophes (on Judah, Di.), and Hackmann treats 10\textsuperscript{4} as an original part of the poem. The contents (see below), the marked change of rhythm in 5\textsuperscript{29}, the length of the strophe, all point to 5\textsuperscript{29}, not 5\textsuperscript{30}, being the real close of the poem. The arguments against 10\textsuperscript{1-4} are strong (see below), but not absolutely conclusive. In addition to the commentaries, see especially Giesebrecht, \textit{Beiträge} (1890), 3-24; Hackmann, 54 ff.; Cheyne, \textit{Introduct.} 24 ff., 46 f.

Two different views have been widely held with regard to the purpose and general character of the poem. According to one, the entire poem is prophetic, predicting a succession of calamities that are to fall on Israel; * according to the other, it is for the most part an historical survey of past calamities (9\textsuperscript{9-20}), closing (5\textsuperscript{20-29}) with the prediction of a yet more complete calamity which is still to come. †

† Ew., Giesebrecht, Di., Kue., Che. (\textit{Introduct.}), Kön. (369g, 368d), Sta. (\textit{ZATW}, 1895, p. 138 f.), Skinner, F. Wilke (\textit{Jesaja und Assur}, p. 25).
It is generally agreed that the tenses in 9\(^{1-8}\) and 5\(^{8-20}\) have a future force, and also that the perfects in the words spoken by the Ephraimites in 9\(^{9}\) refer to the past. But Sta. treats vv.\(^{77}\) also as historic, and therefore points \(\text{יְרֵשׁ} \) (נ) in v.\(^{78}\), reads \(\text{לָשׂ} \) בַּעֲלָה in v.\(^{79}\), and points \(\text{וּלָה} \) in v.\(^{80}\). It is, however, the force of the tenses in 9\(^{10-20}\) that is most disputed. If the section is a survey of the past, perfects and imperfect consecutive tenses are normal and require no explanation, but perfect consecutives and simple imperfects must be explained; whereas, if the section is predictive, it is the perfects and imperfect consecutives alone that require explanation. The consonantal text distinguishes the impf. consec. from the impf. with simple waw in one case only (\(\text{וְהָי} \), v.\(^{18}\)) for the rest we must be guided by the sense in determining whether the waw before an impf. or a pf. is simple or consecutive.

The tenses used in 9\(^{10-20}\) are 5 perfects (\(\text{שָׁנַת} \), \(\text{שָׁרִית} \), \(\text{עָנַת} \), \(\text{עָנָה} \), \(\text{שָׁרִית} \)) in addition to \(\text{בָּשָׁן} \) in the thrice repeated refrain, 9 impf. with waw (\(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \), \(\text{וָאֶלֹהִים} \)), 5 imperfects (\(\text{גַּשִּׁם} \), \(\text{גַּשִּׁם} \), \(\text{גַּשִּׁם} \), \(\text{גַּשִּׁם} \), \(\text{גַּשִּׁם} \)), and 1 pf. with waw (\(\text{וָהָי} \)).

If 9\(^{10-20}\) be narrative, the most difficult imperfects to explain are those in 10 and 18. Of וָאֶלֹהִים, Di. says that it expresses duration in the past; but mere continuance, in the sense of duration without progress, is never expressed by the impf. (Dr. § 31). Giesebrecht treats it (apparently) as a "picturesque" impf. or, hazardously (cp. Dr. §§ 83–85, 170–173), as a case of the impf. consec. separated from its waw; Sta. substitutes the pf. וָאֶלֹהִים for the impf. וָאֶלֹהִים. On v.\(^{16}\), Di. says, "The Impf. . . express the principle according to which God always acts in such cases and so has also (v.\(^{18}\)) acted with them"; but this is surely a counsel of despair: the \(\text{לָע} \) and the suffixes both render it improbable; had the writer wished to express what Di. suggests, he would rather have written something as follows: 'תְּהוֹ הָעַל בִּית אִשֵּׁי אל אַפֶּשָּׁת נֶגֶר." Giesebrecht apparently would attribute the use of the impf. here to the fact that they describe circumstances lasting up to the present.

If 9\(^{10-20}\) be prophetic, the difficulty of the perfects and imperfect consecutives does not lie in any particular instance; for it is a well-known prophetic usage to employ either tense or both tenses in describing the future (Dr. §§ 14, 81 f.); it lies rather in the multiplication of the instances in a short passage; and even this multiplication of narrative tenses can be paralleled; see 9\(^{1-6}\) where we find ten narrative tenses, and two only (\(\text{תָּנָא} \), v.\(^{4}\); \(\text{נֵשָׁנָה} \), v.\(^{6}\)) that immediately suggest the future; cf., further, 10\(^{28-32}\). But between 9\(^{1-6}\) and 9\(^{10-20}\) Giesebrecht draws a real distinction: in 9\(^{1-6}\) future events are described which will all fall at pretty much the same time, but 9\(^{10-20}\), brings before us a chain of events as they follow one on another. If predictive, 9\(^{10-20}\) is in some respects a unique example of the sustained use of the prophetic past in describing an unfolding future. But apart from 9\(^{10-20}\), 9\(^{1-6}\) (generally though not unanimously admitted to be prophetic) would be a unique example of the sustained use of the prophetic past; it would scarcely be safe therefore to deny the prophetic character of 9\(^{10-20}\) on the ground that it is unique. Moreover, if 9\(^{7-11a}\) with the introductory lines clearly pointing forward would naturally suggest the future to a reader, the refrain would mark a stage after which the reader may naturally expect another future event.

In a further distinction which Giesebrecht seeks to draw, he is even less
successful: he says that in 9:1-6 “the ideal” standpoint is clearly indicated in the first verse. Allowing that this is so (and it would scarcely hold of 10:20), it is not to the point; for the same is true of 9:7-20. It is indeed precisely because in the solemn opening of the poem the poet carries us forward into the future, that it is difficult to believe that the greater part of it is a mere survey of the past. The first verb of the poem may be pf. of past fact or prophetic pf.: it makes but little difference whether the poet represents the divine decision as already taken or immediately to be taken; the essential point is that the action of the self-fulfilling word of God, according to יָשָׁה at least, has not yet begun: the “word” has yet to fall (יָנָהו) into Israel, and then disaster will happen and become apparent (9:7b, 8a). After such an opening we naturally expect to see not a panorama of the past, but of the future (cp. the perfects in 14:6-9 after the opening in 14:6a); and the first scene in the future as it unfolds itself before the prophet’s eyes is given in 9:10-11 after he has briefly indicated its cause in the self-confident temper of the people who have not profited by calamities already past (8b-9). It is surely artificial in the extreme to make the words, “And Yahweh hath exalted his enemies over him” (v.10), explicative of “Bricks have fallen down” (in v.9: so Kon.). The impf. consec. is impressive and effective if it is the equivalent of a prophetic pf. (Dr. § 82); for in this case it represents the coming calamity “not merely with the certainty of the prophetic pf., but as flowing naturally out of, being an immediate consequence of” Israel’s self-confident speech (6f.), just as the future humiliation of man is prophetically conceived as the certain and immediate sequence to the present custom of idolatry in 28:9 (יָשָׁהו... וה تعالى). On this ground it is not advisable (with Du., Box) to turn the impf. consec. (יָשָׁהו) into the impf. with simple waw (יָשָׁה). In the parallel clause the simple impf. alternates, as often (Dr. § 14), with the prophetic past.

If 10:1-2 be an original part of the poem, which is doubtful, then, since the tacit threat of v.3 obviously and admittedly refers to the future, the refrain in one instance (10:4) certainly comes after a strophe which has the future in view.

7-11. Ephraim’s pride to be humbled by the Philistines and Syrians.—The opening lines announce that Yahweh has determined the doom of the Northern kingdom; this will now work itself out in such a way that the people must recognise what is happening. The fifth line of the poem (now lost) appears to have given the reason for this decisive judgment; or to have suggested the difference between the judgment yet to come, the significance of which men will be compelled to see, and the past calamities which they have light-heartedly minimised (v.9). In vv.10, 11a, b the first stage of the coming judgment is then described; it will consist of devastating attacks by external foes, the Syrians and the Philistines being definitely named.

7. The word of God once sent forth (Ps 107:20 147:15, 18),
whether its purpose be the destruction or the well-being of men, cannot return to God till it has wrought His purpose (Is 55:10f.; cp. וַיָּרֵדַה נָא, Am 1:6 etc.). Even the solemnly uttered word of men, especially the blessing or the curse, was conceived as acquiring after utterance an existence of its own independent of the speaker: cp. Nu 22:8 n. This destructive word dispatched by Yahweh will find its mark: it will fall into Israel. Israel and Jacob are synonymous, and here mean specifically the Northern kingdom; for a third synonym is (8) all the people; and this phrase in turn is unmistakably explained in the parallel line as Ephraim, the leading tribe, and the inhabitants of Samaria, the capital, of the Northern kingdom.—All the people shall recognise (ii) when the destructive word of Yahweh has reached its goal and begun to work, the people will learn by actual experience of its effects how overwhelming the coming calamity is to be: for to know or to recognise, cp. 5:19, Hos 9:7.—For they said . . . ] the Hebrew text is mutilated at this point (see phil. n.); RV “that say in pride,” etc., rests on a (tacitly) emended text.—Greatly daring] lit. in greatness of heart; but “the heart” was the seat of courage, cp. 2 S 17:10, Ps 76:6, Dn 11:25. A day of Yahweh is coming that will abase pride (211f.), and prove the insecurity of all confidence which, instead of resting on Yahweh (7h), rests on self (cp. Am 6:13), or any other human power (301-5 311-3).—9. These words, perhaps a popular proverb, reveal the self-reliant, God-forgetful temper that makes the coming doom inevitable: the people are confident that they can themselves much more than make good the losses that they have suffered. Common houses were made of bricks of sun-dried clay which easily fell to pieces (Job 4:18); the houses of the wealthy of hewn stone (Am 5:11). Sycomores were common, and stood to the highly-prized cedars as stone to silver (1 K 10:27). What are the losses of which the Ephraimites make so light? Not, if the poem is prophetic, those caused by the Assyrian invasion in 734-732, but rather those due to Tiglath-pileser’s exaction of tribute in 738, and (or perhaps even only *) those that resulted from the anarchic period that followed the death of Jeroboam II., c. 746 B.C. The entire situation suggested in this v. closely resembles that described by Hosea (7:9f.): Hosea and Isaiah alike see the gravity of what the people treat so lightly; old age bringing with

* Di.
it the loss of the strength of youth has, as Hosea puts it, crept on the nation unawares. The connection between Hosea and Isaiah is even closer, amounting to the verbal dependence of one on the other, if Hos 7:10 (הנהו וא לב חרובות אלה בקשת, apparently MT) be original, and not, as some suppose, a gloss.—His adversaries . . . his enemies] the singular pronoun refers to Israel, the Northern kingdom, cp. vv.16.19. The general terms adversaries, enemies, are explained in v.11 to be the Philistines and Syria; so the special follow and explain the general terms in vv.8a. b. 19c. 20a. His adversaries is a conjectural, but fairly certain, reading; יִשָּׁר has suffered from the invasion of a misleading gloss; it reads the adversaries of Resin, king of Syria (7:1 n.), which has been understood to mean the Assyrians; but this would be inconsistent with v.11. Several Hebrew MSS read princes of Resin, but this is either a transcriptional error (יִשָּׁר for יִשָּׁר) or a conjecture; see, further, phil. n.—II. If prophetic, the meaning of this v. taken together with the preceding is clear: Israel is to become the prey of foes who will fall on it from all sides, East and West being specified, and Syria and the Philistines being named as typical of neighbouring peoples from whom, as having been frequently hostile in the past, hostility might be expected. In this case the prophecy was probably delivered before Ephraim and Syria became allies, i.e. before c. 736 B.C. If the verses are a survey of recent history, they refer to events of which we have no other knowledge; for the Philistines' attack on Judah in the time of Ahaz (2 Ch 28:18) is no evidence of an attack on Ephraim, which is the sole subject of this strophe at least (v.8), and Am 1:6 is ambiguous.—III. d. Cp. 5:25.

7. רְבָּר נָו G əθvətən (cp. Am 4:10) vocalising רֶבֶר, which is adopted as correct by Sta. (ZATW', 1905, p. 140); MT רֶבֶר is right (so TSY and the later text of G 88*).—בְּאֵי] pf. with waw conv. after a prophetic pf.: Dr. § 113 (1). Du., Marti think v.7b over-short, and Marti suggests reading בְּאֵי לֵבֶר. But even this would not balance the lines: apparently here, as in 9:18 and probably in 9:10, the full unit of six accents is divided into 4 + 2 instead of the prevailing 3 + 3.—8. חָלַב קְנָן more emphatic and rhythmically more suitable than קְנָן בָּל: cp. 14:29. 31, and see Driver, Samuel, p. 187 (on 2 S 29).—כָּתוּב . . . נַנְנְט קָרָא] G had the same text, but it is now generally admitted that the clause is corrupt. כָּתוּב can only be a gerundial continuation of קָרָא, they shall know (it) . . . saying, and this gives no satisfactory sense. The clause is, to judge from the well marked structure of the poem, the
remnant of six words: I suspect that three words, in part parallel to לאבב בּותָךְ, have dropped out before וְהָיָה, and that was added after this loss. Emendations have mostly proceeded from the supposition that two words have been lost before וְהָיָה: Bick. supplies רָאשׁ רָאשׁ, Che. (SBOT) the idea of inaccessibility as well as that of height, seems frequently to be expressed by the root בּותָךְ; so the Piel may mean to render (inaccessibly) high, and hence secure: see Ps 20:5 91:14 (סָלָם) and cp. the force of Kal, Dt 28:6: see also Is 211. But this would obviously give no suitable sense here; for the clause would mean that the enemies would be placed beyond attack. It is usual (see BDB) therefore to assume a unique nuance for בּותָךְ in the present passage, viz. to exalt (in effective hostility); but even so the sentence is not altogether satisfactory. Versions earlier than ה (elevavit) do not recognise any such sense here; ה יַקְמָה and ה דָּקָּנֶה, both meaning to make strong. It is not clear that ה’s text had בּותָךְ: πᾶσαν, which stands for it here, represents בּותָךְ in 13:6, שָׁמָּה in Jer 23:38, but never בּותָךְ. And yet בּותָךְ and its derivatives were understood by the Greek translator of Isaiah: for though he uses different words (διαφόρα, 26:9 and probably 30:18, δυνατός, 33:9, and δυνατορατα in 211.17), all of them are true to the sense of inaccessibility or height. The reading בּותָךְ thus rests under suspicion.—אָמַר נַּוִּים יַעֲלֶה יָנוּס The overlined letters obviously stood in כ as well as in ק; for כ renders τοὺς εκατονταμοῦν τῶν Σειων εἰς αὐτῶν of which the last four words are certainly יִשְׂרָאֵל. Du. claims that כ read in full יִשְׂרָאֵל, that this was an incorrect division of a stage in ק, יִשְׂרָאֵל, due to the intrusion of יִשְׂרָאֵל which had been a gloss on יִשְׂרָאֵל (=ışı, G-K. 91e). It is not certain that כ read (׳יִשְׂרָאֵל; but that יִשְׂרָאֵל should be rejected as a gloss is fairly certain, and that we should read יִשָּׂרָאֵל (Bredenkamp, al.) not improbable; the presence of יִשְׂרָאֵל disturbs the reference of the pronoun in the next line and makes its own line overlap and the whole difficult of interpretation. The omission of יִשָּׂרָאֵל gives for the whole v. the same rhythm as in ·, viz. 4+2.—ניִשְׂרָאֵל and יִשָּׂרָאֵל, 194, are now generally regarded as forms with substitution of כ for כ of יִשָּׂרָאֵל, whence כ, a thorn: cp. Ar. שׁאַק, to pierce; hence רֹסֵס, to spur on. Rather less vividly כ רֹסֵס; and in יִשָּׂרָאֵל: כ in יִשָּׂרָאֵל, etiyepothontai.—יִשָּׂרָאֵל כ pf.; יִשָּׂרָאֵל future; MT impf. with waw conv.; כ tous kateblovra = יַעֲלֶה יָנוּס.—參 51 cp. 19 n.

12-16. A day of overwhelming disaster.—The first judgment leads to no greater regard for Yahweh (v.12), complete depravity continues (v.16c. d). Consequently Yahweh will bring about a single day of overwhelming disaster when high and low will perish (v.18). The flower of Israel’s youth, its widows and orphans, no longer enjoy Yahweh’s care (v.18). The vagueness of the description points to the strophe being prophetic, not historical. Even Di., who would interpret historically, doubts whether the “day” is a day of battle (cp. v.8), or of revolution, as
when Pekah with fifty companions slew Pekahiah (2 K 15\textsuperscript{25}). In any case the strophe does not refer to any known event, much less to any event known to have occurred between what is described in the preceding and following strophes.

12. The people returned not] Hos 7\textsuperscript{10}, Am 4\textsuperscript{6} etc.—Him that smote them] i.e. Yahweh: cp. Hos 6\textsuperscript{1}, and ct. the entirely different use of the phrase in 10\textsuperscript{20}.—\textit{12b}. Cp. 31\textsuperscript{1}.—Head and tail, palm-branch and reed] the high and the low, or the leaders and the rank-and-file. Cp. 19\textsuperscript{15}, Dt 28\textsuperscript{13}. Ges. cites from the Arabic, "Some are the nose and the rest the tail."—\textit{14}. An annotation,* interpreting "the head" and "the tail" of v.\textsuperscript{13}. Note the characteristic \textit{אנה}, used alike by Jewish and Arabic annotators, the borrowed phraseology (cp. 32\textsuperscript{6}), and the fact that the interpretation agrees neither with the context nor with 19\textsuperscript{15}.—\textit{15}. A variation of 32\textsuperscript{6}\textsuperscript{d}. This v., too, may be a gloss; it neither makes a good sequence to v.\textsuperscript{13}, nor gives ground for the therefore of v.\textsuperscript{16}.—\textit{16}. He will not rejoice over] the phrase (39\textsuperscript{2}) is perhaps too weak for the context, see phil. n.—Young men] Am 4\textsuperscript{10}.—Because he is wholly profane] the pron. refers to the personified nation.—Impiety] cp. 32\textsuperscript{6} n.

12. Originally, perhaps, חם התסה (so one MS); but חם והתי (with both art. and suffix), called in question by Lag., is defended by No. (ZDMG, 1878, p. 402); the suf. is acc. : G-K. 116\textit{f}.—חֲמֹשָׁי [G omits.—\textit{13}. מון] is unnecessary, and apparently disturbs the rhythm.—\textit{15}. מִשְׁלֶמֶת] 3\textsuperscript{12} n.—\textit{16}. בְּנֵי מֶלֶךְ] Lag. מַשְׁלֵמי = מַשְׁלֵיה', 31\textsuperscript{6}: cp. Ex 12\textsuperscript{k}. 25. 27.—אִשֵּׁי] possibly an addition after the intrusion of vv.\textsuperscript{14}. (19).

17-20. Civil War is the fresh element in this third picture of coming judgment: Israelite relentlessly pursues Israelite, tribe is ranged against tribe.—\textit{17}. More punishment must come, for unrighteousness will still pervade the State like a destructive fire which, kindling in inflammable briars of the steppes, spreads to and destroys the forest.—\textit{18}. This land, whose people are wholly unrighteous (v.\textsuperscript{17}), will suffer from the overflow of Yahweh's anger (זָעַר trans. p. 191). So in 10\textsuperscript{6} the "profane nation" of Judah is "the people of, i.e. who provoke, my overflowing anger" (אֶלֶף יְבוּר). The meaning of the vb. in v.\textsuperscript{18a}, left untranslated above, is altogether uncertain; see phil. n.—\textit{18b}. And the people became like] the point of comparison is ambiguously expressed: \textit{בָּא} may

* So Koppe, Ges., and with few exceptions (e.g. Del., Cond.) all writers since.
mean food for fire, as in v. 4, or food for men, or with the alteration of a single letter, devourers of men, cp. Ezk 36:18 (see phil. n.); if the last be correct, v. 18b forms a suitable introduction to the description that follows of the cannibal-like hostility of the Israelites towards one another. On the other hand, 18, however interpreted, forms no suitable introduction to vv. 10-20; in MT, RV, the line recurs to the figure of a fire, though that figure appears to be complete in v. 17; and the people as a whole are represented as consumed by fire before they fall on one another.—18c is out of place in 18: it should follow 19b: see phil. n.—19a. b. The inappeasable hostility of the people is compared to a hunger which is constantly and largely fed but never satisfied.—19c. His neighbour's flesh] see phil. n. 18 has the flesh of his own arm.—20. As participants in the Civil War, Ephraim and Manasseh are singled out for mention, partly because these tribes were the two chief constituents of the Northern kingdom, partly because, as sons of Joseph, they were the most closely related. In prophecy this would be perfectly natural and effective, and in a poetical retrospect of the past scarcely impossible, even though the actual feuds of recent years had not been limited to the two tribes that are named. Winckler, however, thinks that the references to the past are specific and precise; he argues that the characteristic of the period between the death of Jeroboam II. and the reorganisation of Israel by Assyria was strife between the people E. and W. of Jordan, i.e. Ephraim and Manasseh; he sees in Shallum ben Jabesh who overthrew Zechariah (2 K 15:10) a citizen of Jabesh-Gilead in Manasseh (KAT τ 263). However that may be, in vv. 16-20a Isaiah certainly is describing, whether historically or (as is more probable) prophetically, a state of affairs similar to what he actually witnessed in the Northern kingdom. Within a single year Jeroboam II. died, and his successor Zechariah was overthrown by Shallum, and Shallum in his turn by Menahem b. Gadi (2 K 15:18c).—Together . . . against Judah] not altogether easy to explain either historically or prophetically if the words are a part of the original poem. It would be curious in a historical reference to the Syro-Ephraimitish war not even to mention Syria, the chief opponent of Judah. On the other hand, if it is prophecy, the point of this strophe, which is that the Northern kingdom will be punished by civil discord, is
blunted by being made to close with the announcement that the civil discord will give place to union, even though that union be utilised for an attack on Judah. Possibly Eichhorn was right, even though his reasons were wrong, in treating these words as a gloss. They may be the comment of a scribe who had in mind the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and the original text may have brought the strophe to an effective close on the note of civil discord within the Northern kingdom. The distich in the present text is rhythmically peculiar (4 + 3: see above); at need it could be read differently (3 + 3 + 3); then Manasseh, Ephraim, and Ephraim, Manasseh, instead of being a single line, makes two parallel lines in the normal rhythm of the poem. If the next strophe is intrusive (see below), this description of civil war was immediately followed by the description of the Assyrian invasion which is to subdue all these tribes now set against one another. The sequence in this case, and the phraseology at the close of this strophe, may be paralleled by the prediction in the legend of Dibbarra of the wars which are to involve all creation—:

And thus the warrior Dibbarra spoke: Sea-coast (against) sea-coast, Subartu against Subartu, Assyrian against Assyrian, ... country against country, house against house, man against man. Brother is to show no mercy towards brother; they shall kill one another. ... After a time the Akkadian will come, overthrow all and conquer all of them; cited by M. Jastrow, Bab. Ass. Rel. 532: cp. KB vi. 67.

**Arabic** has (a) القأسم، to be late; (b) البأسم، to be clogged in speech; البأسم، suffocating heat; whence الشاشح has been supposed to mean either (1) to be dark, or (2) to be burnt up; but see W. R. Smith in JPh., 1885, p. 61. We are reduced to guessing either the meaning of الشاشح or the word of which الشاشح is a corruption. الناءة، الناءة (v.l. الناءة), § 240 (= הש, 240°);  כי conturbata est.

Kroch., Kit., Che. propose הש, which would be a feeble repetition of the vb. in v. 170; Marti הש (reeds); but whether this or הש (§) is the right word to introduce the next line is doubtful.—םלכשאש MT ס, as in v. 4; but ס
is possible; וְיָיָשׂ is always written וְיָיָשׂ in the Siloam Inscr. Then reading וָיָיָשׂ for וֲיָיָשׂ, Du. obtains like devourers of men.—19. דּוֹנִי] subj.—דּוֹנִי in v. 18b, from which v. 18a is now separated by the misplacement of v. 18a (see above). דּוֹנִי means to cut, particularly to cut in two, or like גָּזַר, to cut off.—[מַשְׁבַּל] read מַשְׁבַּל; note מַשְׁבַּל and the three preceding vbs.—דּוֹנִי read with Secker, al. לָשָׁנָה: מַשְׁבַּל has βραχλόνοις τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ—a doublet in which the first word is secondary; מַשְׁבַּל חַּרְבֵּן.

X. 1-4. The Doom of unjust Judges.—This strophe is curiously unlike those that precede: in each of those, judgment is categorically announced, and the cause for it directly stated; here the coming of “a day of visitation” is assumed in a question put to those whom it will overtake, and the ground of judgment is implied in the description of those to whom the opening interjection of calamity refers. The subject of the first three strophes is an entire people or country, which is throughout referred to in the third person: the subject of this strophe is a particular class—the judges that take bribes and wrong the poorer litigants; and these people are here addressed in the second person.

Largely on the ground of this change some scholars treat 101-4b, or 101-3 (Mart), as intrusive (see above, p. 180). Other reasons urged are that if 105 be original, 526-29 would describe a catastrophe after the catastrophe, that the opening מַשְׁבַּל connects 101-4 with 56-24, that 101-3 forms no advance in the ascending series of punishments, that the care for the widow expressed in 105 represents rather a less severe attitude than that of 916. A further argument urged by some is that this strophe refers to Judah, and is therefore out of place in a poem directed against Israel. Apart from the last (on which see below), some of these arguments taken singly and still more when taken together are weighty. On the other hand, it may be urged, though perhaps with scarcely equivalent force, that it would be curious for an intrusive section to be of the exact length of the other strophes. Even if intrusive, the section is probably Isaianic, and possibly it once formed part of the collection of ‘Ah’s’ in 56-24; it is slightly longer than 522-24, somewhat shorter than 511-17; but the question and the address in 105 differentiates this section no less from the ‘Ah’s’ of 56-24 than from the other strophes of the poem. See in addition to the Commentaries, Giesebehrecht, 10 ff.; Hackmann, 54.

It has been supposed by many* that this strophe refers to Judah. That it could refer to Judah, if it stood by itself, is obvious; but that it must refer to Judah, because it could not refer to the Northern kingdom, holds only, if even then, provided the reading “the poor of my people” in v. 2 be retained. Other arguments prove no more than that the section, if it stood by itself, might refer to Judah: thus it is true that the interjection

* Ew., Che., Di.
is common to the several sections of 5:8-24 and to this; but while it is not certain that the whole of 5:8-24 refers to Judah, it is certain that it also introduces Isaiah's denunciations of Ephraim in 28:1-4. Charges against the rulers of greed and unrighteousness do indeed "run like a red thread through Isaiah's speeches against Judah" (3:14, 5:7-22, 17-26); but the same disorder prevailed in the Northern kingdom (cp. e.g. Am 5:12). Finally, Di. urges that 9:20 forms the transition to Judah; but the allusion to Judah in 9:20 is perhaps secondary (see above), and in any case, though 9:20 may mention, it forms no transition to, Judah; it contains no indication that the poet having spoken of Ephraim hitherto, is now going to limit himself to Judah. On the other hand, if 10:1-4 refers to Judah, it is not both the immediate sequel to 9:20 and the immediate prelude to 5:26-29; it is either intrusive, or the transition has been lost. For, on the supposition that 10:1-4 refers to Judah, and that with 9:7-20 and 5:26-29 it forms a complete poem, we should have this highly improbable result: in three strophes condemnation of the entire people of the Northern kingdom, in one strophe condemnation of a very limited class in the Southern kingdom, in a final strophe the same complete judgment for the two kingdoms, whose cup of iniquity (as described) is so unequally filled.

We must conclude, then, that this strophe, if it formed the fourth of a poem complete in five strophes, referred like the rest to Ephraim; but that if it is not an original part of the poem, it may have referred to either Judah or Ephraim (or both) if "my people" in 10:8 be rejected, but in all probability to Judah only if "my people" be retained.

1, 2. One class of persons, not two (RV), are here denounced, and their evil activity is described by two parallel and synonymous expressions (see phil. n.). The persons referred to are not the makers of laws (Di.)—for new laws, whether good or bad, were not an annual production as in modern states—but the administrators of the laws, the judges or arbitrators; these, being bribed, assigned property in dispute, or determined penalties without regard to the rights of the question, but merely according to the price paid for their decision, so that the poor lost their cases, or the substance of widows and orphans was wasted in trying to pay a high enough price for what was theirs by right. Thus the decrees, or decisions, of these judges are mischievous, or
hurtful to, and entail suffering on, the weaker parties. The force of ἰν, hurt, or mischief, may be illustrated by Pr 12:21 22, Jer 4:15, cp. also Nu 23:21 n.; and of the synonymous λυττ, which is not perverseness (RV), by 59:4, Ps 7:17, and especially 94:20. When the judges are said to inscribe and write the decrees, it is not, of course, meant that they necessarily did the actual writing, but that they were the authors of the decisions and had them written down: this use of the vb. to write, not uncommon in other languages, occurs clearly in Jer 36:28 (cp. v.82), Est 8:8-10, and doubtless often elsewhere, e.g. Dt 24:1 17:18; but cp. especially Job 13:26 “Thou writest (or registerest) (a bitter decision) against me, and causest me to inherit the iniquities of my youth,” where the Kal (הכָּתֵב) seems to be used with the same technical, legal sense as the Piel (מקתב) here.

A very large number of the written records of decisions of the Assyrian and Babylonian law-courts have been preserved; these deal with a great variety of disputes touching inheritance, deposits, partnerships, lands, houses, and other property (see Johns, Bab. and Ass. Laws, Contracts, and Letters, ch. vi.); the procedure in some cases is described, e.g. “two parties dispute as to the possession of a sum which is actually in the hands of a banker. The banker accordingly undertakes to produce the sum and its interest in court, and to pay it over to the successful party in the suit. The decision was written down and the notary of the court gave a copy to the plaintiff, if not also to the defendant, and kept one copy for the archives” (ib. p. 109). Similar Jewish documents of the 5th cent. B.C. have been found; for some of the Assouan papyri are agreements with regard to property drawn up after an appeal to the tribunal. In Jer 32:6-13 we have a precise account of the writing of a deed of sale.

2. See under 1.—The poor] Κυρίων + of my people. But the addition has probably resulted from dittography: it overloads the line, has nothing corresponding to it in the parallel line, and it suddenly introduces the first person, which appears nowhere else in the poem. If my people be original, or an intentional addition to the text, the pronoun refers either (1), least unnaturally, to the prophet: cp. 22:4 and perhaps 3:12 32:13,18; or (2) to Yahweh, as in 3:16 10:24 and perhaps 3:12 (cp. 3:4-15). If (1) be right, the people must be Judah; if (2) either Judah, or Israel, or both, though perhaps more probably Judah.—3. What will ye do (cp. Hos 9:6), ye judges, who have provoked Yahweh by your unrighteous abuse of your office (cp. 1:7 57), when His day comes?—The day of visitation] i.e. of punishment; cp. Hos 9:7
the days of visitation, the sing. and pl. interchanging as in the phrases "that day," or "those days," applied to the great future day when Yahweh will appear.—The storm] tempestuous weather is one of the accompaniments of a theophany, or the means whereby Yahweh executes judgment; see 211ff. 3030, Nah 18. Ps 508, Zec 914, Am 14, Job 917 381 406, 1 K 1911. So here the day of visitation of Yahweh is thought of as a desolating storm already brewing in the distance, noisy with thunder and hail: men would fain flee from it (cp. Ex 918ff.) to some place of refuge for themselves and their glory, i.e. valuable possessions (616, Gn 311, Ps 4913); but Yahweh, the true refuge (e.g. 254, Ps 462), is Himself the cause of this storm, and consequently for the unjust judges here addressed there will be no refuge to flee to. —That cometh from afar] cp. 526 3027 "the conception of distance had a peculiar fascination for the early prophets. For the common Numina were gods 'near at hand': Yahweh alone sees and works in the distance; cp. especially Jer 2328ff. a passage which clearly shows how the conception of a distant god formed the bridge to the idea of the all-present God" (Du.); cp. also Ps 1386.—4. The text of the first line must be wrong (see phil. n.): the translation above presupposes that ה has suffered through the loss of a single letter; possibly the corruption may be deeper; if not, there appears to be a rapid transition from the picture of the storm to that of a battle, in which many fall prisoners to Yahweh and the rest are slain. Lagarde, by a re-division of the words in ח, obtained the meaning Beltis is crouching, Osiris is broken in pieces (cp. 461, Jer 508), and therefore cannot be your refuge. But there is no independent proof that the Hebrew worshipped Beltis (=Isis) at all, nor evidence of any prevalence of the worship of Osiris; yet it must be obvious that Isaiah could only have closed his strophe thus, if these two deities were among those most widely worshipped at that time by Israelites disloyal to Yahweh. At a later date, Plutarch (Isis et Osiris, 15, 16) refers to the worship of Osiris at Byblus; and some, though comparatively few, images of Osiris have been found at Gezer; see Exp., May 1909, p. 440.

1. מַעַשְׁבִּים ... מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים without the art. (ח as well as ח) is probably not parallel to מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים with the art.; nor is מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים מַעַשְׁבִּים a rel. sent., but בַּנִּיהָ is the finite vb. carrying on what was begun with the part. מַעַשְׁבִּים (Dr. § 117; G-K. 116x), and it is strengthened by מַעַשְׁבִּים, which, being in the acc., is
therefore undefined, as, e.g., in Ps 56:9214 (G-K. 1187). The Piel (intensive) of נְדָב occurs here only.—יִנָּדֵב G-K. 9366.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.——.~

X. 1-4

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Osiris is shattered; cp. 46, Jer 50; being a part., the subj. רומח would precede it according to rule (Dr. § 135 (4)); for ידוי (of which ידוי would be merely a later scriptio plena), Osiris, cp., in Phoenician, e.g. ידוי, ידוי, ידוי.

(CIS i. 122: Malta, 2nd cent. B.C.), and the same form in other Phoenician names.

X. 5-34.—Three Poems, together with annotations and addenda.

The poems, or poetical fragments, are (a) vv.5-9. 13-14 (15); prevailing rhythm 3:3 (:3); to this vv.16-18 may also belong; (b) vv.27c-32; prevailing rhythm 2:2; (c) vv.33f.; rhythm probably 3:3. Prose notes and addenda are vv.12. 13, 20-23, 24-26: other addenda are the distich in v.27 and vv.10. 11 (prose?).

Isaiah’s authorship of (a), at least of vv.5-7. 13f., is probable: there are no conclusive positive arguments either for or against his authorship of (b) and (c). The dates of the poems cannot be very closely determined: the prose addenda are late.

A close and detailed interpretation of the passage is the best proof that it lacks the unity of a speech or prophecy written on or for a single particular occasion. Two views that its heterogeneous elements have been welded into a literary unity may be referred to. (1) Di., who extends this literary unity down to 11, remarks, “The passage is, to be sure, a literary, but not a rhetorical unity. . . . The double description of the punishment of Assyria with the result therefrom ensuing for Israel (10:16-20, 24-34) does not leave the impression of having been spoken at the same time; 11 though cleverly united by v.10 with vv.1-9 is yet too dissimilar to vv.1-9 to have been announced in one and the same discourse with it, and 11 again can scarcely have been originally attached to 10:24-34, since there is no indication there of the setting aside, or previous abdication, of the reigning king. The entire passage seems rather to be an artistic collection of the leading thoughts of Isaiah’s speeches between 732 and 716 (at latest 711), possibly made for the purpose of serving as a conclusion to chs. 7 ff. (or 1 ff.).” This theory breaks down if the view taken below of vv.20-27 (see also on v.10f.) be correct; on the other hand, it would still be possible to hold (2) Marti’s theory, according to which 10:5-34 is a skilful arrangement of fragments made by an editor so as to produce a small picture depicting the pangs of the Last Days, and the assembling of the world power of Antichrist before the Gates of Jerusalem, and of its destruction there.

X. 5-17.—The fatal arrogance of Assyria.

After the removal of יכז (v.2 (vv.8-13), which is doubtless an editorial addition, the prevailing rhythm in vv.5-9. 13f. is the line of three accents arranged in distichs or tristichs. Lines of doubtful or different length are vv.5b. 6a. d. 8. 14b. In v.5a. וה may stand by itself (cp. 5-24; see p. 89); in v.13d שֵׁם is two accents. The rhythm 3:3 also appears in v.15, and by
emendation, partly after Gr, in vv. 17. 18a; but in v. 18 it is 6:6. Vv. 20-12 are mostly or entirely prose, and are omitted from the translation.

5 Ah!
Assyria the rod of my anger,
And... the staff of my indignation.

6 Against a profane nation I send him,
And against the people with whom I am wroth I command him,
To take spoil and acquire plunder,
And to make them trampled upon like mire of the streets.

7 But he thinketh not so,
Nor thus doth his heart devise;
But to destroy is in his heart,
And to cut off nations not a few:

8 "Are not my rulers one and all kings?
9 Is not Calno like Carchemish?
   Is not Hamath like Arpad?
   Is not Samaria like Damascus?

13 By the strength of my hand have I wrought,
And by my wisdom, for I have discernment.
I have removed the boundaries of peoples,
And I have plundered their stores (?),
And I have brought down 'in the dust' the enthroned.

14 And my hand hath reached as to a nest
To the wealth of the peoples;
And as one gathereth eggs
I have gathered the whole earth:
And there was none that fluttered wing,
Or opened mouth or chirped."

15 Should the axe vaunt itself against him that heweth there-with?
Or the saw magnify itself against him that draweth it to and fro?
(Nay, that would be) like the rod swinging him that raiseth it,
Like the staff raising (him that is) not wood.
Therefore Yahweh of Hosts will send leanness into his fat,  
And under his glory hath he kindled a kindling as a kindling of fire;

And it shall be . . . consuming soul and body.

And the light of Israel shall become a fire,  
And his Holy One a 'burning' flame;
And it shall devour his thorns and briars ♀,

Assyria, who was being used by Yahweh to punish His disobedient people (cp. 9'-'10' + 5'28-29), had arrogantly attributed all its success to its own power, not discerning that it was a mere instrument in Yahweh's hands: therefore it must be destroyed (cp. vv.16f.).

The allusions in v.9 show that this poem was written after 717 B.C. Further than that nothing conclusive can be said. Some think that it was written in 711 B.C.; others in 701. Che. (Introd. pp. 50 f.) gives a survey of theories and arguments. If v.9 forms no part of the poem (Marti, Comm. p. 104 f.), the date becomes so much the more undefined; and König (Einleitung, p. 315), though he retains v.9, attempts to assign 105-1110 to the years 724-722 B.C.

5 f. Assyria is the rod (Pr 2318f.) with which Yahweh whips His rebellious children (12) for their good; in order to satisfy His righteous anger with His people, He suffers Assyria to plunder Judah and trample it down.—The staff of my indignation] the two parts of the phrase (cp. the parallel phrase) are interrupted in ג by the words it is in their hand; these are probably the note of a reader who had remarked that in v.24 Assyria wields the rod. RV by straining the Hebrew obtains the bizarre figure of a staff holding indignation in its hand.—6. A profane nation] cp. 916.—I send him] the tense may be frequentative, am I wont to send him. Yahweh's will is that His people shall be plundered (cp. 84 of Ephraim) and downtrodden (cp. 2818 56 725); but 7. Assyria thinks otherwise; it is in his heart (634, I S 147, 2 K 1050), i.e. he intends, (a) to destroy and not only to plunder and trample down; (b) to exterminate many nations irrespective of their having provoked Yahweh's anger. Such is the thought suggested by the present connection; it may be summed up in this—Assyria is guided not by the will of Yahweh,
but by its own cruel lust; consequently it exceeds its commission. Assyria's other thoughts are also expressed in vv. 8ff., 13ff., but there the emphasis falls rather on the pride and self-confidence of the nation or its king.—9. All cities are alike before it, is the boast of Assyria. The six capitals of states here mentioned represent the ominous extension of Assyria's conquest towards Jerusalem: Carchemesh, the most remote, begins the list; each following name is nearer Jerusalem than that which precedes, and the list ends with Samaria nearest both geographically and by the tie of kinship of its inhabitants. The order is clearly geographical; it is not chronological. Carchemish, mod. Jerábis on the Euphrates, is about 360 miles in a direct line from Jerusalem, and further by the military and trade route. Calno is in all probability the Kullani of the Assyrian inscriptions (see phil. n.), which was in Northern Syria: the name perhaps survives in Kullanhou, about 6 miles from Tell Arfad (Arpad); see Kat 55, 186, and S. R. Driver's note on Am 62, where other less probable views are also mentioned. Kullani lay about 50 miles S.W. of Carchemish, Arpad lies 13 miles N.W. of Aleppo, Hamath on the Orontes is about 100 miles S. of Arpad and rather more than that distance N. of Damascus, Damascus being again about 100 miles N.E. of Samaria. Some of these places were frequently made tributary and even captured by Assyria; but it is difficult to believe that the mention of Damascus and Samaria refer to anything but the capture of the former in 734 by Tiglath-pileser, and of the latter in 722 by Sargon. Consequently we have here the conquests of Assyria (cp. v. 5; ct. v. 12), not of a single Assyrian king. The references are probably to the captures of Carchemish in 717 B.C., Kullani in 738, the event of that year in the Eponym list, Arpad in 740, Hamath in 720, Damascus in 734, Samaria in 722.

10f. Since the great cities mentioned in v. 9 have fallen, Jerusalem need not expect to stand; cp. 3618f. 3711-13, also Am 62. The argument is sufficiently suggested by the order in which the towns are mentioned in v. 9, and not improbably the original poem adopted the rhetorically effective device of leaving the ominous conclusion to be drawn (cp. 57 n.): for vv. 10f., which indicate the conclusion explicitly, may be an addition: v. 10 seems to be prose, and though v. 11 may be a distich, yet the lines would be longer than those which prevail in the poem.—10. L
As my hand has reached to the kingdoms of the idol(s) (א® n.) and their graven images than (or from) Jerusalem and Samaria, is mutilated (see phil. n.), but the general sense is clear.—II. Shall I not, as I have done to Samaria and its idols, so do to Jerusalem and its images? In another context these might well be words of Yahweh. In the mouth of Assyria they are blasphemy against Yahweh, for they imply that He is but one of the not-gods. V.10 appears to contrast the cities which are said to have fallen (v.9) with Jerusalem and Samaria as still standing, but in v.9 Samaria is one of those that had fallen; v.11 reverts to the standpoint of v.9 and expresses the conclusion, which v.9 suggests, that after Samaria comes the turn of Jerusalem.

II. Yahweh, having punished Jerusalem by means of Assyria (v.5), will round off His work in Mt. Sion by punishing the king of Assyria for his arrogance: in vv.13f. this arrogance appears to consist in attributing success to his own power.—And it shall come to pass when the Lord finishes off all his work in Mt. Sion] for the expressive vb. יָשָב, cp. Zec 4, “the hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations of this house; his hands shall also give it the finishing touch.” The punishment of Assyria in Jerusalem will be the finishing touch in the work that Yahweh has to do there. The v. is prose: of its origin two views may be taken: (1) it is a prose note added by Isaiah or an early editor at the time when the present chapter was pieced together (cp. Cond. p. 95); or (2) it is the note of a late editor or scribe. If (1) be correct, the v. may be the literary germ of the eschatological idea subsequently elaborated, that a great judgment on the nations that had attacked Israel would take place in or about Jerusalem: see Ezek chs. 38 f., Jl 4 (3)12-17, Zec 12-1-9, Dn 11.45. If (2) be correct, it is a summary statement of this idea, or a deduction from it, applied to the specific case of Assyria. Gressmann (pp. 177-179) cites as rare references to this idea in pre-exilic prophecy, Is 8ff. 17ff. 12ff., Mic 4; but in the case of each of these passages either the proposed date or interpretation is questionable: see above on 8ff. —He will punish] so Gr; ¶ I will punish.—Greatness of heart] i.e. audacity, 9® n.; the fruit of audacity is perhaps audacious speech (cp. BDB 826b).—King of Assyria] in the poem, Assyria is the subject: the singular referring to Assyria being taken individually instead of collectively, suggested the king to the annotator.—The height of his
eyes] i.e. his pride: the phrase occurs in Pr 21:4, the idea in Is 2:11.

X 13 f. Assyria attributes its conquests, so easily and completely obtained (v.14), to its own power and wisdom (v.15).—Their stores I plundered] the text is anything but certain, for why should the conqueror plunder only things laid up in store? In Dt 32:55 the word rendered stores seems to mean “the destined future” (Driver, ad loc.): elsewhere it is used of persons ready or prepared to do something (Job 15:24, Est 3:14 8:13, Job 3:8).—In the dust] for the conjecture, see phil. n. ¶ like a mighty one (Job 34:20 La 1:15), or, by a more questionable translation (Di.), like a bull (cp. Ps 22:18 50:13); ¶ cities.—The enthroned] for וּדוּ, to sit (enthroned), see Ps 2:4 29:10, and perhaps Am 1:5-8. If the wider sense inhabitants is meant, cp. “Bring down peoples,” Ps 56:10.—14. In vivid figures the speaker enforces v.13; he has robbed, captured, and silenced the whole earth.

X 15. In attributing all its success to its own power (v.18f.), Assyria had vaunted itself against Yahweh (cp. Jg 7:2), or, being in the terms of v.5 a rod and stick in the hand of Yahweh, had vaunted itself of guiding the hand that used it. Yet this was a vain boast: as a matter of fact, and as everyday life proves, implements such as the axe or the saw have no power of themselves, everything depends on the purpose and power of the man who uses them. So the boast of Assyria is vain: history is the revelation of Yahweh’s purpose, not of Assyria’s might. Such seems to be the thought, but it is awkwardly expressed, for which reason Du. considers it to be a late addition, and Cond. places it after v.7.

X 16-19. The punishment of Assyria.—Something like the substance of these verses is certainly required at this point to carry out the threat suggested by the previous vv.; but a number of scholars have agreed with Du. that this section cannot in its present form be the work of Isaiah; the conclusion is correct, but it might be more widely stated, viz. that in their present form these verses do not represent the work of any writer, but that they have suffered from some transposition of lines and other corruption. For it seems incredible that even a bungling imitator of Isaiah would have made quite such a muddle of borrowed material as is found in the present text. Du. holds that v.16a. b is borrowed from 17:4, 16c. d suggested by 9:4,
17a by 31°, 17b (fire and flame) by 30°, that 17c. d = 917 + (in one day) 915, and that v.18f. (wood and garden land) comes from 3215, and "the child" in v.19 from 116. If all this is really borrowed material, the passage is doubtless the work of a late supplementer. In that case the conclusion of the poem in vv.5. 9. 13. 15 has been lost: it is not to be sought with Che. in 1424-27. Even if the verses belong to the same poem, they may not be the immediate continuation of v.15 (14); the suffixes in v.16 suggest a more recent direct mention of Assyria. The coming destruction is expressed by means of two figures—the one of fatal disease attacking a healthy body, the other of a destructive fire, consuming everything before it save for a few trees that escape. At present the clauses referring to illness, v.18b. c, stand in the middle of the description of the forest fire: it is reasonable to suppose they are misplaced.

16. Assyria, like Israel in 15, is compared to a human body; at present it is in lusty health, fat and flourishing. But into this body Yahweh dispatches leanness that it may waste the man away. The figure is paralleled by 174, the phraseology by Ps 10615 (if the text there be correct). But in spite of this the idea is independently expressed, and with freshness and vigour which by no means suggest a mere imitator.—*His fat* מטמא are the fat parts of the body, cp. 174 (sing.), and, figuratively, Dn 1124; less probably his fat ones (RV), i.e. the warriors, cp. Ps 7881. Fat to the Hebrews was a sign of health and strength; cp. Jg 329.—*Like the kindling of fire* this clause, if the kindling is an actual fire, as is generally assumed, is a mere multiplication of sound and words which may be attributed to the incompetent imitator (Du.), or (?) cp. Gr to textual accretion (Kit., Mar.). But the kindling need not be a literal fire; it may refer to fever: cp. "like a burning fire shut up within my bones" (Jer 209). Then Assyria is conceived as a man not only fat and strong, but gloriously apparelled; under the outward glory, i.e. the splendid raiment (cp. Ex 282-40, Ps 4514 (?), Mt 629), the body burns with fever which consumes both soul and body (v.18e); cp. "consumption and fever which consume the eyes and make the soul pine away" (Lv 2616). V.16 indicates that Assyria will rapidly decay; the figure of fire (v.17) suggests even more sudden destruction, particularly if in that day be original. Other explanations of glory are (1) that it refers to the imposing military might of Assyria
regarded as a mass of inflammable material; so Di., and very similarly Du., who compares 94; (2) that, as in 518, it means the nobility, the nobles of Assyria (Ges.), who are to be burnt up with the fire of war. In no case are both the significance of לֹאֵל and the figure the same as in 174.—17. A fresh figure: Yahweh the light of Israel (cp. Ps 271), illuminating the way along which His people should walk (26), is also a destructive fire, destroying their enemies (Dt 93); the Assyrians (cp. 3027-33), who if the v. occupies its original position must be referred to here, are by the requirements of the figure, the thorns and thistles, in which a fire kindles, forest and garden-land, or orchard, too, to which such a fire may spread.—In a single day] & in that day. The clause is out of place between the two sets of vegetation which the flame consumes. With its omission 174. 18a becomes, like the preceding, a 3 : 3 distich.—Consuming soul and flesh] the clause, being inapplicable to trees (18a), is out of place; see above. —And it shall be ...] the words that follow are doubtful (phil. n.); neither as when a standard-bearer fainteth, nor as when a sick man pineth away, would be in place here; this clause, too, may be misplaced as well as corrupt.—19. The destruction is not quite complete; trees so few that they can easily be counted, or that a child can make a list of them, survive. Possibly the v. comes from a description of Yahweh's consuming fire destroying Israel (Dt 424), but sparing an exiguous remnant (176). The rhythm is not that of vv.17. 18a.

5. אֲרֹב אֵש] a gloss (Hitz., al.: see Che. SBOT); note (a) the 3rd pl. suffix in reference to אֵש contrasts with the 3rd sing. in the poem; (b) the words divide את אֵש, the synonymous parallel to את אֵש (v. 56); (c) their presence creates bad sense and poor parallelism. Probably some word either before (cp. Che. SBOT, p. 195) or after את אֵש has dropped out; את in the first line is outside the rhythm of the distich: see note introductory to 56-24 (p. 89). For את אֵש some MSS have את. —6. יָפַת אֲרֹב [ cp. Ezk 2918 3811]. This and the next line read naturally as a 4 : 4 distich. Are the lines an original part of the poem? If they stand, v.7c, 4 seems to express the excess of Assyria's action over Yahweh's commission; yet is there much difference between trampling a people to mire and destroying it? —— הֲנָה אָרָב] an error, through dittography, for הֲנָה אָרָב (cp. v. 18)? —9. עלָא] MT points עלָא, in Am 62, where the association with הֲנָה makes it fairly certain that the same place is intended, הֲנָה: probably the name was עלָא; cp. ג חֳלָעַננ Assy. Ep. list Къu-лa-ni-i. But ג wrongly identifies this חלעננ with the חלעננ of Gn 1018 and adds the note, inferred from Gn 1018 1124, of δ πιθανον ϕιλοδομηθη; the tower of Babel seems to have been a favourite thought with
Gr. cp. 9. Gr further substitutes Arabia for Arpad and Hamath, and in other respects renders vv. very freely.—10. It is very doubtful whether this v. ought to be made a little more tolerable in its context by reading הלא for הלא and omitting והשעתי (Che. in SBOT; following suggestions of Grätz, Hackm., Giesebrecht): Marti rightly argues that Gr.'s διαλογον (=וליה) is nearer הלא than הלא; certainly Gr.'s ταυτας, in view of its position and the paraphrase in Gr., is no evidence that הלא stood after הלא. —The πιστικα—אשא—commonly explained to be a circumstantial clause and an ellipsis for if, טסילה ביה，则, מברע, קֹנ. 306c; G-K. 133e; but in the alleged parallels the text (Mic 7.4, Pr 18.19), or the interpretation (Koh 47.9, Is 41.24, Ps 62.10) is doubtful, or the cast of the sentence is different; in Job 11.17 a vb. is expressed, and in Ezk 15.9, Ca 5.9, n.m.—13. ירהש . . . יכש] Gr consistently renders all the vbs. of vv. by futures, understanding that what Assyria intends, Yahweh does not allow him to do. This interpretation also underlies the scriptio plena read, ירהש. MT is inconsistent— NSObject, ירהש, but 준비ש. The pf. tenses show that the writer intended 준비ש, ירהש, 'סנה: the scriptio plena and Gr are wrong.—The ויהיה The Ktvr 'ויהיה differentiates the word here from 'ויהיה in Dt 32.38. On the Aramaic colouring of the word, see Driver, Deut. pp. 374f. It would be easy to restore ויהיה; cp. י принסיפס, and see 14. 18—נוכות= nostro (cp. 42.24; see G-K. 68); כנימי ירהש is read by some MSS.—Ktvr כנימי, Ktvr כנימי (17.12 28a), Gr kal כנימי תולעים. Du., combining י and Gr, conjecturally restores כנימי דוד לי (or ראוני); if this is rightly conjectured, כנימי דוד לי was probably the source of both דוד כנימי (3) and כנימי דוד לי (Gr).—14. Gr abbreviates lines a-d, paraphrases e-f; b is short in [i.e.] 15. כנימי] with the like of a staff's shaking; see BDB, s.v. כנימי, p. 454b; cp. Wright, Arabic Gram. ii. 63: or perhaps כ represents a whole sentence. For instruments to boast themselves against the agent (16b) is like claiming to be themselves actually agents.— without the art.: ct. ונה, ובש: this difference is the stranger if הבש refers back to v. 8.—ויהיה כנימי] some MSS read כנימי. The pl. is an attempt by means of the pluralis majestatis to make the reference to Yahweh clear; some MSS more correctly read ויהיה. יプリ ] cp. ששא, 318.—16. ובש] 3 MSS and Gr omit.—הנה] Gr kal els.—17. שורקתי ובש] Gr kal אעגסא אويد אוד ינפ קומעפש י▌; read הוא אעגסא אويد אוד ינפ קומעפש י▌; read הוא אעגסא אويد אוד ינפ קומעפש י▌, which is rhythmically equal, and parallel in sense, to his שורקתי ובש.—18. ויהיה כנימי] Gr dوقفנז dوقفנז אוד dウォーנו קומעפש; ויהיה כנימי] dوقفנז dوقفנז אוד dウォーנו קומעפש; ויהיה כנימי} ויהיה כנימי; ] [and] ויהיה כנימי] Yu terror profugus. These guesses are significant. Later, ויהיה suggested to Rashi ויהיה, a worm, and to Ki. מ, a standard (cp. AV, RVmargin). The similar ending of the two words is suspicious. Like a sick man's melting away, as when a sick man, etc., are very questionable renderings; for ויהיה, to be sick, is without parallel in Heb., and Syr. מ, to be sick, may be derived from ובש! see Che. in SBOT. The text is corrupt.

20–27. An Appendix to the preceding poem, explaining that Yahweh's anger against His people is all but spent; that immediately those of them who have escaped and
remain, will be set free from the bondage of "Assyria," which will in turn become the object of Yahweh's anger.

Two things are clear: (1) vv. 20-27 are connected with vv. 6 ff., for his smiter, v. 20, the rod, v. 24, and the stick, v. 26, are obvious references back to v. 5: (2) these verses are prose, except that v. 27 closes with a distich.

Isaiah wrote prose as well as poetry, but there is no reason to believe that he allowed fine poems to dribble out in prose conclusions. Either (a) vv. 20-27 are due to some disciple of Isaiah, who recalled the substance, but no longer the form, of the conclusion of the poem preserved fragmentarily in vv. 5-10; or, more probably, (b) the verses are the work of some late student of Scripture, who sought, mainly by compiling a cento of Scripture texts and phrases (see references in the notes that follow), to give the old poem greater suitability in an age which required positive comfort for itself as well as a promise that Assyria should be destroyed.

20. And it shall come to pass in that day which the smote him. — The remnant (נוש) of Israel] so the remnant of Jacob, v. 21. Cp. "The remnant (נוש) of Israel," Jer 31, Mic 2, Ezek 11; "of Jacob," Mic 5 ff. Cp. also "the remnant (נוש) of his people," 11. 16 28; "of Syria," 17 n.—And the escaped] 4 n.— Of the House of Jacob] 25 n. Cp here omits the House of.—Shall no more lean for support upon him that smote it] the remnant will no more lean in foreign powers as the nation had done in days of old, as when Ahaz in 744 B.C. relied on Assyria (ch. 7), which smote Judah in 701 B.C. Du.'s epigram, "Ahaz leant for support on Assyria (2 K 16), but was not smitten; Hezekiah was smitten, but did not lean for support on Assyria," is true, for it would be too odd to describe Assyria as smiting Ahaz when, though at a ruinous cost, they gave him the support for which he appealed (Kön. Einleitung, p. 305). The writer is oblivious of the chronology of Isaiah's age: whether Du.'s detailed explanation is correct is more doubtful (see Introd. § 26 f.): according to him, the writer is applying the old threat against the Assyria of Isaiah's day to the New Assyria (cp. Ezr 62, Ps 85?), the Seleucid Empire, which prevailed in his own; under Alkimus and, later, John Hyrcanus, the Jewish community, willingly or unwillingly, rested on the Seleucids and were smitten by them; freedom was expected by the pious as soon as Israel rested solely on
Yahweh.—*Him that smote it* cp. and ct. 9.12.—*But shall lean for support upon* 30:12 31:1, 2 Ch 13:18 14:10 16:16: differently
Mic 3:11.—*The Holy One of Israel*] 1:4 n.—*In truth*] 16:5 38:48: cp. also Jg 9:16, 1 S 12:24.—21. *The remnant shall return*
7:9 n.—*Unto the Mighty God*] 9:5 n. The v. is a proof of what
has been asserted in v.20, drawn not by Isaiah from his own
prophecies, but by a late student from Scripture. Whether
to this student the *Mighty God* meant the Messiah as in 9:5, or
God Himself, is not quite clear.—22. Here the writer seems to
reflect on two prophecies, one foretelling that the *people of Israel
shall be as the sand of the sea* (Hos 2:1 (1:10), cp. Gn 22:17 32:13), the
other that *only a remnant of them will return.* In the 2nd cent.
B.C., and even a century or two earlier, the Jews, including the
millions living in Egypt and Mesopotamia, had become, what
they were not in Isaiah’s day, very numerous; but there were
among them “many apostates, still more indifferentists: those
loyal to the law, the Ḥasidim, the little band who fought for
freedom, were only a little band” (Du.).—22b, 23. This double
aspect of the future will certainly be realised, for Yahweh has
irrevocably determined a judgment which, taking place in the
midst of the earth, will be universal in its scope; it will give *overflowing*
proof of Yahweh’s righteousness (cp. 1:27 5:16) by working
deliverance of the elect, and accomplishing “the annihilation
already decisively determined” (2:22), of the wicked, whether
Israelite or heathen (cp. 59:16:21).

24-27. Sion has nothing to fear from Yahweh’s anger—a
point of view radically unlike that commonly taken by Isaiah,
but resembling that of, e.g., 40:16.—*Therefore thus saith*] 30:12.—
*The Lord Yahweh of Hosts*] 3:1.—*Fear not!*] 7:4 35:4 41:10, 18f. 43:1, 5
44:2.—*My people*] 1:8 40:1 and often.—*Who dwell in Sion*] cp. 30:19.
—*Because of Assyria*] see v.20 n.—*When he smites with the rod*]
v.5 30:1.—*And lifts up his stick*] v.5.—*After the manner of Egypt*]
Am 4:10: here Assyria whips the Jews, as the Egyptians whipped
Israel in Egypt (Ex 5:14-16); in v.26 the stick is used against
Assyria, as it was used against Egypt.—25. There is no need
for Yahweh’s people to fear (v.24), _for within a very little time
(29:17) Yahweh’s wrath (NIV, v.5, Dn 8:19) against them will be spent
(Dn 11:36, cp. Is 26:20): the last blows which His righteous anger
against their sin compelled Him to inflict on them with His rod,
“Assyria” (v.5), are now falling; He is about to scourge Assyria
instead (v. 26). The last clause of v. 25 is commonly supposed to mark the transition from v. 25a to v. 26: assuming a rather harsh and improbable ellipsis, מְרָצוֹן may be rendered and my anger (shall turn) to their destruction; but the style is most awkward, and the use of יָהָע and of the 3rd pl. in reference to Assyria very suspicious. מְרָצוֹן, if the consonants were differently divided, might also mean, and my anger against the world shall be at an end: but this, too, would be awkward; for “the world” in that case must exclude Assyria and refer only to that part which is enslaved by Assyria (cp. 14:17). But if we omit יָהָע, against the world, as a gloss, what remains is an excellent parallel to the previous clause; for the two vbs. הבג and מְרָצוֹן in parallelism, cp. 16:4 and (reading נַחַש) La 3:22.—26. And Yahweh of Hosts will brandish over him] i.e. over Assyria: יָהָע, brandish, as 2 S 23:16.—A source] 28:16.—As when Midian was smitten] 9:8 n., Ps 83:10 (9).—At the rock of ‘Oreb] Jg 7:25, cp. Ps 83:12 (11).—And his stick over the sea—he will raise it after the manner of Egypt] Ex 14:16: see above, v. 24 n.—27. After the opening formula (cp. v. 20), if יָהָע be read for יָהָע, an excellent distich (4:4), a variation of 14:25 (cp. 9:8 n.), is recovered—

His burden shall depart from upon thy shoulder,
And his yoke shall cease from (resting) upon thy neck.

The remaining words of the v. (נַחַש מְרָצוֹן יָהָע) have been slightly mutilated and wrongly detached from v. 28. The attempts to interpret מְרָצוֹן as it stands are the best proof that it is corrupt: the last sentence can, of course, be translated and a yoke will be ruined because of oil, or fat (51 n.); these words, it is said, contain a comparison of Judah to an animal grown so fat that the yoke is broken by the counter pressure of its fat neck, the purpose of the comparison being to indicate that deliverance is to come from within as well as from without (Del.). For other explanations neither better nor worse, see Ges. and Di.

22. המים, ... היהי הכ] Dr. §§ 136, 143.—יָעַשׁ] כּ יָעַשׁ.—בּ ... רָאשָׁ] cp. בּ רָאשׁ עֲנָה Lv 5:9; see BDB 88a (bottom).—מִקְרָצִים] Dt 28:5* (in a different sense).—מְרָצוֹן] the Kal meaning, to determine, occurs again only in Job 14:4; but cp. the Niphal in v. 28; and see Dn 9:26* 11:58, which are, in other respects also, phraseologically connected with this passage.—נַחַש מְרָצוֹן] acc. after verba copiae: G-K. 117*-—23. ומְרָצוֹן] cp. מְרָצוֹן.—אי] G-B om.—הכ] G-K. 55:8, i.—25. וַיִּשְׁתַּם] 16:14 24:6 29:47*.—שָׁנַת] Che. proposes שֵׁם; cp. the parallel שָׁם: but perhaps שָׁם arose by ditography from שֵׁם: see next n.—הכбли יָעַשׁ שָׁם]
a few MSS read מָלַע, which would be synonymous with מִלְפָכָה; for מָלַע from מָלַע would mean a wearing out, destruction. By is used to express direction towards, '...not common except in the sense against' (BDB 757a); but examples of the use of בַּי such as Ca 71, 2 Ch 2012, cited in BDB 757b (under 7c (c)), are really very different from that commonly assumed here. The obvious meaning if it were suitable in the context would be my anger at (roused by) their destruction." Luzzatto proposed מָלַע יִשְׁרַיִּים; this is improbable (see above): on the other hand, מָלַע יִשְׁרַיִּים gives all that seems to be wanted; מָלַע יִשְׁרַיִּים was perhaps the note of some reader who took the verbs מָלַע and מָלַע in their other sense to be fulfilled, and explained the wrath as that which would affect the whole world in the last judgment.—26. מָלַע possibly, through similarity of sound, for מָלַע (v. 24). ה omits.—27. מָלַע rather poor Hebrew. Winckler (ATUntersuchungen, 177) suggests מָלַע instead; but this introduces the suspicious p. suffix: Marti, who still. Perhaps the corruption goes deeper. C renders כִּי יְהוָה צָאצָא תַּחְתָּם תּוֹךְ, תָּאֹר תָּאֹר קַאָרָה דַּלְשָׁאָו.—27. מָלַע this is an early error for מָלַע, which is parallel to and completes the rhythm of the distich 4 : 4. The emendation is due to W. R. Smith (Journal of Philology, xiii. 62 f.).—מָלַע yields no sense: see above and phil. n. on p. 209.

X. 27c-32.—A Dramatic Idyll.

The prevailing rhythm in vv. 27-31 is 2 : 2; in vv. 31b-32 the rhythm becomes more uncertain, and the text at the same time shows signs of corruption (see phil. n.). The poem is probably defective: perhaps two lines at the beginning and four of the last strophe have been lost.

27c He hath gone up from Pené 'Rimmon,'
28 He hath fallen on 'Ayyath;
He hath passed through Migron,
At Michmas he depositeth his baggage;
29 'He hath' passed over the ravine,
(In) Geba is 'his' night quarters.
Ramah hath trembled,
Gibeath of Saul hath fled.
30 Give a shrill cry, ... !
. . . , daughter of Gallim!
Give heed, Laishah!
Answer her, Anathoth!
31 Madmenah hath run away,
The inhabitants of Gebim have sought refuge.
32 To-day . . .
He will swing his hand,
Towards the Mount of the daughter of Sion,
The hill of Jerusalem.
The poet assumes the standpoint of one who is in Jerusalem on the morrow after an invader, marching from the north, has entered Judaean territory and encamped within a few miles of the capital, ready to strike at it the next day.

First, the invader's march is described in a succession of short telling clauses, vv.27-29: from Penê Rimmon, some ten miles north of Jerusalem, he has advanced through 'Ai and Migron to Michmas; leaving his heavy baggage there, he has without delay descended into the deep Wady Suwênî below Michmas, crossed its bottom and made the steep ascent to Geba', where at less than six miles from Jerusalem he has encamped for the night. This concludes the description of the march, for in vv.29c-31 the subject of the verb is no longer the invader, and the towns mentioned do not lie on any single route from Geba' to Jerusalem. The object of vv.29c-31 is to indicate, partly by descriptive tenses, partly by imperatives addressed to the terrified towns, the terror of the country between Geba' and Jerusalem as news reaches them the same evening of the near presence of the hostile army. The poem closes with the inevitable yet ominous inference. To-day the invader will fall on Jerusalem itself, v.82.

Many have supposed that the poem ends not at v.82, but at v.84; in that case Isaiah's purpose in the whole would be to describe the invading army, whether Syro-Ephraimitish or, more probably, Assyrian, advancing right up to Jerusalem, only to fall there before the unseen power of Yahweh. But this is improbable: for (1) the rhythm in vv.83f. is different; (2) the figurative language of vv.83f. has no natural connection with the simple and sustained literalism of vv.27-32; cp. Cheyne, Introd. p. 56.

If the poem concludes with v.82, it threatens Jerusalem without any alleviating promise, and is therefore inconsistent with Isaiah's attitude at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish war (c. 7); but it may have been written by him later, in expectation of some assault by Assyria, though it is improbable that Assyria would ever have followed the line of march indicated.

Isaiah's authorship has been questioned (Du., Marti) on the grounds of (1) the numerous paronomasias: cp. Mic 1:10-15; (2) the special emphasis on Jerusalem; (3) the objective character of the description which scarcely suggests a prophet living in the midst of the circumstances. Against (2), cp. 1:1 n., and note that vv.29c-31 show feeling for the country as well as the city. The number of plays on words, or paronomasias, has been exaggerated; the
supposed play on the name of Michmas, for example, rests on a very questionable etymology.

27c—29b. The Invader’s March.—*He hath gone up*] דַּלְתָּן a yoke: see phil. n., and above on v. 27b.—*Pené Rimmon*] Du.’s conjecture for *pené shemen* (יו). The name means Face of Rimmon; cp. Peniel, Face of God; the deity Rimmon is mentioned in 2 K 5:18. The modern Rammôn lies about 3 miles N.N.E. of Michmas.—28. ‘Ayyath] probably the same as ‘Al, which lay to the E. of and near Bethel (Gn 12:8, Jos 7:2), and consequently a little to the N. of Michmas. It is identified by some with Der Diwân, about 3 miles N. of Michmas.—*Migron*] obviously lay N. of Michmas, perhaps on the site of the modern Makrûn. W. R. Smith,* indeed, argued that the Migron mentioned in 1 S 14:2, which must have lain South of Michmas, was intended here; and that a detachment of the invaders fell upon it and secured it before the main body attempted the difficult passage of the Wady es-Suwenît: but the rendering of בֵּית רִמְמָן by to fall upon is not justified.—*At Michmas*] mod. Muḥmâs, 7½ miles N. of Jerusalem. It lies at an elevation of 1990 feet, distant about 2 miles, and separated by the deep Wady es-Suwenît, from Geba* (2220 feet), which stands on the top of the opposite slope. To avoid the difficulty of transport over this troublesome piece of country, the invader deposits his heavy baggage at Michmas.—29. *He*] so גֵּבָה; גי they, but note the 3rd sing. in other sentences in גֵּבָה.—*Has crossed the ravine*] lit. has passed the passage (מַעֲבֹד), or crossed the crossing, viz. of the wady between Michmas and Geba*; this crossing in 1 S 13:23 is called “the passage, or crossing (מַעֲבֹד), of Michmas.” The passage (מַעֲבֹד) of Jabbok (Gn 32:25) was a real ford; but the Wady es-Suwenît is often dry: the present writer found it so on Feb. 25, 1904: cp. Dalman in ZDPV xxviii. 163 f. Ravine is not a strict equivalent of מַעֲבֹד, but it is used here in order to summon up the picture which the phrase would recall to a Hebrew familiar with the district: גֵּבָה פָּרְסֵלָה פָּרְשָׁא פָּרְשָׁא retains the picture; but RV, they are gone over the pass, suggests an ascent, a passage of the top, and a descent, whereas what is actually described is a steep descent, a passage of the bottom, and a steep ascent.—*Geba* are his night-quarters] see phil. n. גי might best be rendered Geba* be our night-quarters, a dramatic cry of the army as it

climbs the southern slope of the valley to Geba', which lies within six miles of Jerusalem.

29c–31. The alarm of the country-side.—Ramah] is er-Râm, 35 minutes along the crest of the hill W.S.W. from Geba' (Baed. Pal. 248).—Gibêah of Saul] probably Tell el-Fûl, the site of which satisfies the requirements of Jg 19:12-16, 1 S 10:2-7. 10-11: see EBi, and DB, s.v. Gibeah.—Tell el-Fûl lies about 2½ miles S.S.E. of er-Râm, about 3 miles S.S.W. of Geba', and about 1½ miles N.W. of 'Anâta (Anathoth).—30. Three or four towns between Geba' and Jerusalem are dramatically invited to participate in the lamentation which the approach of the invaders occasions.—Gallim and Laishah (which is scarcely el-'Isawiyyeh, between 'Anâta and Jerusalem) are not identified: but cp. "Paltî, the son of Laish, which was of Gallim," 1 S 25:44.—Answer her, 'Anathoth] or, less probably, O poor one, 'Anathoth; in either case there is a paronomasia—'anîah 'anâthôth, or 'anîyyah 'anâthôth. 'Anathoth is the mod. 'Anâtâ, 2½ miles from Jerusalem and on the road that runs from Geba' to Jerusalem through Hîzmeh; another road from Geba' to Jerusalem ran through er-Râm (Ramah).—31. Madmenah and Gebim are both unknown cities.—Have sought refuge] for themselves and their belongings; cp. Ex 9:19, where the obj. of הָעַרְפָּה is expressed, and Jer 4:6 8̅, where, as here, it is omitted: cp. also the use of Kal in 30:1, and the noun הָעַרְפָּה in 17:1.

32. Assault on Jerusalem is imminent.—The text is in several respects uncertain: see phil. n. To-day is the morning after the night spent by the invaders at Geba' (v.29); speaking dramatically, as one risen early on that day and in receipt of the news which has already thrown the places between Geba' and Jerusalem into alarm, the poet draws the conclusion: To-day the foe will take up its position before the walls of Jerusalem.—In Nob] the text is doubtful, and the site of Nob uncertain. Neh 11:82 mentions this place next to 'Anathoth, and as occupied by Benjamites: 1 S 21:2 (1) 22:10 19:1 fails, even if the text be correct, to define the site more closely. Mainly on the ground of the present passage, it has been located at some point on the high ground to the N. of, and over-looking, Jerusalem. See, further, Nob, in DB.

27. קְשׁ יָמְנוּ הָעַרְפָּה yields no sense: see p. 206. יָמָה = יָמָה in Phoenician inscriptions, e.g. CIS i. 43 = Cooke, NSI 6: cp. i6. 33. For יָמָה VOL. I.—14
W. R. Smith (JPh. xiii. 63 ff.) proposed רושוּת כְּנֶסֶת, the waster (i.e. Assyria) from the North; Du. מִכְהָה, which is easier and preferable (see above). אֵּלָת תְּנוֹנָה אֹּבְּנוֹת. 


—תַּעֲבָד = יָעִי, יָעָי (Neh 11:31, 1 Ch 7:28) with retention of the old fem. n. The position of יַעֲבָד between Michmas and Bethel points to identification also with יָעִי. אֵלָת תְּנוֹנָה 'אָגַגאָה (of which כַּל חָּצָי els 'אָגַגאָה in v. 29 may be a variant) should represent יָעִי רָעָי, which might be a text conflate of two variants of יַעֲבָד. 

—תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ] many editions have שְׁמַסְנַה, which is incorrect. It is very questionable whether שְׁמַסְנַה means store-place; שְׁמַס in Dt 32:4 is probably an error for שְׁמַם. In Jer 36:20 37:21 רֹפֶם, to deposit, is followed by תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ; with תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ the vb. may mean to the town of Michmas he entrusts his baggage (Ges.), though the person to whom a deposit is entrusted is elsewhere introduced by רַע (1 K 14:47), or רַע (Ps 31:4), or רַע (Jer 40:7).—29. יַעֲבָד] אֲפַרְלְבָד הַגֶּבַּהּ = יָעִי, or perhaps rather רַע (note יָעִי preceding). The 3rd sing, pf. is right.—תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ] double subj. : G-K. 144m. אְפַרְלְבָד omits the words; but possibly even יַעֲֽמֵשׁ is incomplete, the present line of three accents being a mutilation of a distich 2:2. —תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ] perhaps יָעִי = יָעִי, then for the equivalence of names with and without יָעִי, see HPN 127 ff. —32. יָעִי רַע] this very day (RV) would be a suitable, if it were a less questionable, rendering: יָעִי is nowhere else used with the sense presupposed in it. Dr. in BDB 728b renders "still to-day (such is his haste) will he tarry in Nob." But what day is intended? If the day on which the invaders reach Geba', the clause seems inconsistent with Geba' being the night-quarters; but if the morrow is intended, the clause becomes rather feeble, for Jerusalem is but a couple of hours' march from Geba'. Other established meanings of יָעִי seem equally unsuitable here: for example, still, as he has been doing, will he tarry; again will he tarry; in Nob, moreover (as well as in other places), will he tarry. Probably יָעִי is a corruption: it is absent from אְפַרְלְבָד, and יָעִי may have been a dittograph of יָעִי = יָעִי at the end of v. 31. —תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ] perhaps corrupt: see above and Che. EBi. 3430. אֲפַרְלְבָד דְּדִיוֹ] he must tarry: Dr. § 204. But perhaps יָעִי should be restored, unless the corruption of the text goes deeper. —תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ] the Polel of יָעִי occurs here only; the Hiphil used more or less similarly occurs in 11:15 19:15, Zec 2:13, Job 31:11, Sir 12:18.—תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ] is commonly explained as the acc. of direction (cp. G-K. 118f); but the omission of יָעִי (cp. references in last n.) is suspicious. יָעִי תְּנוֹנָה רָע the K'tib gives an unparalleled phrase: קְרֵא 'אֵלָת as 16:1.—תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ] אֲפַרְלְבָד = יָעִי. The phrase מִלְשָׁנֵי תַּעֲֽמֵשׁ(ה') does not occur again.—The accumulation of unusual, and in some cases suspicious, phenomena render it probable that the text of v. 32 has suffered. It is unsafe, therefore, to assume a change of rhythm (cp. Di.); the last two clauses are 2:2, the dominant rhythm of the poem.
X. 33, 34.—The Fall of the Forest.

V. 33 is of two accents; 33a. 34a. of four, but perhaps יקנ (cp. v. 16) in the one and ירבו (see phil. n.) in the other should be omitted. The original rhythm was then 3 : 3 with the variant 3 : 2 in v. 33c. 4.

33 Behold the Lord Yahweh of Hosts
Is lopping off the branches with a terrible crash;
And those that have grown high will be hewn down,
And the lofty will be brought low.

34 And he will strike away the thickets of the forest with iron,
And Lebanon with 'its' majestic (cedars) shall fall.

Under the figure of a forest of lofty trees felled by the woodman, this brief fragment describes the approaching destruction of some people that have provoked Yahweh's majesty by their pride (cp. 2116ff.).

The fragment, though not the original conclusion of vv. 27-32 (see p. 207), may have been placed here by the compiler in order to suggest that any enemy approaching the sacred city would perish. The figure of a forest occurs in vv. 17. 18a; but there destruction is by fire; for destruction by felling, cp. Dn 411. (14)6, Zec 11, and especially the elaborate description of Assyria under the figure of a cedar in Ezk 31.

34. Thickets of the forest] 917.—With 'its' majestic (cedars)]

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XI. 1-8.—The Righteous Ruler of the Stock of Jesse, and the Return of the Golden Age.

Apart from the first three words of v. 9, which are a dittograph, ת is contained 23 lines. It is argued in the n. on v. 8 that one of these (v. 64) is intrusive and one (v. 76) misplaced; the 22 lines that remain fall into eleven distichs. An alternative theory retains v. 76 and inserts from 6525 a line which there accompanies v. 76: this would bring up the number of lines to 24.
The distichs (3:3, or 4:4) are mostly well-balanced and marked by great regularity of parallelism. Some apparent exceptions are probably due to textual corruption: see notes on vv.4b, 8b; in v.2d read האר (see n.) or makkeph א鳩, the two words forming a single idea. But vv.1a, b and 5 are two distichs 4:3.

Whether we reduce the number of lines to 22, or raise them to 24, or keep them at 23, the main divisions of sense do not give strophes of exactly equal lengths. The first strophe contains 6, the second 8, the third 8, 9, or 10 lines according to the view taken of v.60 and 70. If the poem once possessed complete strophic regularity, it most probably consisted of three strophes each containing four distichs. In that case it is probably the opening distich of the poem that has been lost. At present the poem opens with Waw Conv. and the pf.: yet so also does 2ab.

Du. obtains strophic regularity in another way: he finds four strophes, each of six lines, ending with vv.2, 4, 6 and 8 respectively. But this division involves several improbabilities: (1) v.6 is torn away from the description of the king, of which it forms a part, to be coupled with the first half of the description of the beasts; (2) the description of the beasts is divided into two strophes; and (3) in order to eke out vv.7f. into six lines, v.8b is very mistakenly (see phil. n.) divided into two, with the result that the suckling playing about the serpent’s hole shares a distich with the lion eating straw, while his true mate, the weaned child, stands apart in a separate distich examining the basilisk’s eye.

1 And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse,
   And a scion from his roots shall bear fruit;
2 And there shall rest upon him the spirit of Yahweh,
   The spirit of wisdom and discernment,
   The spirit of counsel and might,
   The spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Yahweh.
3 He will not judge by that which his eyes see,
   Nor by that which his ears hear will he decide;
4 But he will judge the needy with righteousness,
   And decide with equity for the poor of the earth,
   And he will smite the ruthless with the rod of his mouth,
   And with the breath of his lips will he slay the wicked.
5 And righteousness will be the ‘girdle’ about his waist,
   And faithfulness the waist-cloth around his loins.
6 And the wolf shall dwell as a guest with the lamb,
   And the leopard shall have the same lair with the kid;
7c And the lion shall eat straw like the ox,
   And the calf and the young lion ‘will graze’ together;
   With a little child acting as their driver.
7a And the cow and the bear shall be ‘companions to one another;’

Together shall their young make their lair;

8 And the suckling shall play over the hole of the asp,

And over the dwelling (?) of the viper shall the weaned child ‘trip about’ (?)

The poem predicts the restoration of the Jewish monarchy in the person of a king sprung from the family of Jesse, the father of David, who will be equipped by Yahweh’s spirit for all the duties of a righteous ruler, vv.14. Thus equipped, he will in virtue of his wisdom discern what is right, and in virtue of his might achieve it, securing for the weak what is due to them, and smiting down the powerful who do wrong. All that he does will be done in righteousness and faithfulness, vv.3-5. In his days the conditions of Paradise will return; the beasts will no longer be at enmity with one another and with men, but all will live together in peace and friendship, vv.6-8.

The thought of the poet is concentrated on the future of the Jews, though he sees it in the light of conditions (vv.6-8) which will presumably be universal and not limited to Palestine. The larger thought, too, of the world-wide government of the king breaks through in v.4, if the words of the earth be original.

Of the conditions which immediately precede the reign of this king he says nothing directly, nor gives any indication how soon the future which he predicts may be expected. It is possible that an opening distich has been lost (see above, p. 212) which may have resembled 91(9) in its tenor.

The editor, whether Isaiah himself (Di. p. 104), or another (e.g. Marti), who is responsible for the present arrangement of Isaiah chs. 108-12, may indeed have intended that this reign was to begin when the world-power has been destroyed and the destruction of everything opposed to God within Israel and without (108) has been accomplished. But Di., no less than Du., argued that 111 is not the immediate continuation of 108, and in spite of Kit.’s attempt to prove the contrary, this remains clear (see above on 108). It is not even probable that 108, which is certainly not the original continuation of 107-33, contains the opening distich, or distichs, of 111: 108, indeed, if we omit ‘with iron,” is a distich similar in rhythm and parallelistic structure to 112-8, but by itself it forms a less probable beginning than 111. On the other hand, 108 is less similar to 111-8 and is still no good opening; moreover, the elaborate metaphors of 108 contrast with the general literalness of 111-8: the figure in 111 is simple, and 111-8 is, of course,
intended literally, not metaphorically. Finally, the antithesis sought between 10:32 and 11:1—the Assyrian cedar forest is smitten down, the tree of Jesse is rejuvenated—is anything but inevitable—("unverkennbar," Di.), and is certainly not suggested by the order of the words. Had the writer of 11:1 been the author also of the antithesis attributed to him by those who make 11:1 the immediate continuation of 10:34, it is probable that he would have written מְשַׁלֵּל הָרָבָּה לָיַלְאֵל.

It follows that 11:5-8 must be judged by itself and not in connection with 10:34.

If the most obvious is the correct interpretation of v.1, the poem was written after 586 b.c. (see on v.1). A downward limit of date is fixed by the quotation in 65:25. Like 9:6-8 the poem might well have been written towards the end of the Exile when men's minds were turning towards Restoration, and when some may have been setting high hopes on Zerubbabel, of the stock of Jesse, who immediately after the Return certainly focussed such hopes upon himself (Hag., Zech.).

Apart from the historical presuppositions of v.1, which point more decisively than those of 9:6 to an exilic or post-exilic date, the evidence is no more conclusive than in the case of 9:6. The language is certainly compatible with a post-exilic date, and the occurrence of the three words יִיְהוֹו, יִשְׂרָאֵל in v.1 is even better explained by it than by an earlier date. For the significance of the ideas, reference must be made to the commentary.

Among those who assign the poem to Isaiah, much difference of opinion prevails as to the period of his life to which it belongs. For the most part it is connected with 10:6-34, and simply on the ground of that supposed connection assigned to the same period: see, e.g., Dr. LOT 6 210 f., where the date 701 B.C. is suggested, and allusion is made (with references) to other theories placing the prophecy early in Sargon's reign (W. R. Smith, Prophets 3, 296 ff.), or at the end of Sargon's reign. Earlier writers thought of the reign of Ahaz (Vitringa). Finally, Du. groups 11:8 with 22:3-4 32:3 as one of Isaiah's "swan-songs" written in extreme old age, in the reign of Manasseh, for the private use of his disciples and not for publication.

1, 2. The origin and endowments of the Future King.—1. The poem opens with a prediction of the restoration of the Davidic monarchy. This is expressed figuratively. Jesse, the father of David, is compared to a root from which there had grown a tree—the line of Jewish monarchs descended from David; this tree has been cut down; but the roots remain in the earth and a mere stump above ground, i.e. the throne of David has fallen, but the family of David survives; as from the stump of a tree that has been felled there may shoot forth new growth (Job 14:7-9, cp. Is 61:8), so while the family of David sur-
vives, hope remains that some member of it may re-establish the monarchy, and thus, in the terms of the figure, become the new shoot and green growth from the old roots. What the opening distich of the poem asserts is that this hope will be actually realised. The revival, and not the fall of the tree, is the subject of prediction. The fall of the tree belongs to the past; the stump is an existing fact familiar to the poet and his audience. Thus this v. presupposes a period when no Davidic king was reigning. The necessary inference is that the poem was written some time after 586 B.C. This inference can only be avoided by adopting less natural and obvious interpretations: thus (1) Di. considers that the implication of the figure is that each successive king from David downwards was a tree sprung from the root and stump of Jesse; by means of an improbable figure Isaiah would then be expressing the rather jejune idea that as there had already been a dozen kings or more descended from Jesse, one of whom was reigning at the present moment, so there would be another; (2) Du. sees in the passage a prediction that the Messiah will not spring from David, but as being himself a new David will spring from another branch of the house of Jesse, in the terms of the figure from another of the roots (plural)—an unparalleled and most improbable idea; moreover, this interpretation does not explain the assumption that the tree of David has already fallen. On this Du. says that the expression עִנָּה, stock, indicates that before the Messianic age the Dynasty will suffer ill.—A shoot] רְשָׁחַ, Pr 14:8. In Aramaic, early and late, and Assyrian the word meant sceptre (see phil. n.).—The stump] 40:24, Job 14:8. The word עִנָּה is derived from a root meaning to cut, (so جزء commonly); in view of this, of the parallel here, and of the parallel and the context in Job, the word probably meant primarily the part (above ground) left after felling. In 40:24 it seems rather to be used of the bole of a growing, newly planted tree; cp. the New Hebrew usage: see Levy, NHB, s.v.—The stump of Jesse] this phrase well reflects the fact that the Jewish monarchy is no more, though the family, from which it sprang, survives; “the stump of David” would have reflected this less clearly and might more appropriately have been used if the monarchy had merely lost power and glory as at the Disruption.—A scion]
The word נָֽעַ֣מְק comes probably from the root which in Arabic (نصر) means to be fresh and beautiful, and, of the foliage of a tree, to become green; it was presumably applied to vigorous growth from a tree, whether as here and in 60:21 directly from the root, or from some other part; it is used in NH of withies; cp. נָֽעַ֣מְק לְ, a rope of withies; מִלְּ, a basket made of withies (Levy, NHB iii. 431b).

—Shall bear fruit] if the text is right, the 2nd line of the distich goes beyond the first—not only will a new tree grow from the old root, but it will yield fruit; not only will the Davidic monarchy be restored, but the new king will prosper (cp. Ps 18). But שלהי may be an error for הלוי, shall sprout forth (cp. Job 14:9), and the two lines throughout synonymously parallel.—2. The king will be a man on whom the spirit of Yahweh rests (Nu 11:28f., cp. 2 K 2:15, Nu 11:17 n.), and therefore fit for exceptional achievements; as the spirit gives the exceptional craftsman (Ex 31:3 35:21), or the warrior (Jg 6:8 11:29 13:25 14:6–19), or the prophet (Nu 11:28f., Is 6:1), or the interpreter of dreams (Gn 41:8), the power to do or be something beyond the ordinary (cp. 2 K 2:15), so it gives kinglyness to the king (1 S 16:18f.). King and people often seemed to the prophets to forget this, and in consequence to trust in “flesh” rather than in “spirit” (31:3); but the Messianic age will be distinguished by the outpouring of the spirit (32:15, Jl 3:11 (2:28f.)) on all men, and, in particular, the point with which alone the present passage is concerned, on the Messiah. The spirit of Yahweh settles upon the king as a spirit of, or, as we should say, imparting, wisdom and discernment (cp. Ex 31:8), a capacity to discern what rightly belongs to the king’s office and to the right discharge of it, and to detect the right in difficult circumstances (v.8, cp. 1 K 3:9–12 28). The spirit is also one of counsel and might, i.e. the king receives power not only to discern the right, but to execute it, to secure for the weak their due, and to punish and put to death the guilty, however powerful (v.4). By the spirit of Yahweh the king becomes a wonderful, or exceptional, Counsellor and Mighty One (9). In spite of 365, it is very questionable whether the king is here represented as a great soldier. Finally, the spirit makes him careful for the will of God and a true worshipper of Yahweh, and consequently
righteous, v.5; cp. Jer 23:5f: he is possessed of knowledge and fear of Yahweh: knowledge is here not knowledge of his craft, as in Ex 31:8, an idea sufficiently covered by v.2b, but knowledge of God which shows itself in care for the poor and weak: cp. Jer 22:10. The given to the spirit of Yahweh the specialised sense of the spirit of prophecy—an interpretation which made the passage a convenient proof, though it is certainly not the ultimate source of the idea, of “the seven spirits which are before the throne of God” (Rev 1:4); for the idea, see Schöttgen Horae Talmudicae; for its origin, cp. Gunkel, Schöpfung u. Chaos, pp. 294–302; KAT 624f.—The opening words of 3 Ψ are obviously the result of dittography, or of the intrusion into the text of variants (see phil. n.). As they stand they are meaningless: literally translated they read, and his enjoyment of the scent of the fear of Yahweh, or, assuming an awkward suppression of the copula, and the scent that he enjoys is the fear of Yahweh, which is paraphrased by RV into “and his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord”; i.e. himself God-fearing, he will delight to find the fear of God in others.—The real sense of the phrase used in Ψ is clear in Ex 30:26, “Whosoever makes anything like it (this sweet incense), to enjoy the scent of it, shall be cut off from his people”; cp. Lv 26:31. Since the feasts and solemn assemblies of the Hebrews were thick with the fumes of sacrificial victims, it was quite appropriate to say, “I will not enjoy the scent of them (Am 5:21)”; but “the fear of Yahweh,” which is here made the object of the vb., was not a smell. Another meaning that has frequently been tortured out of the words is this, He will scent out the fear of God, recognise at once the God-fearing; but in this sense יהוה takes the simple acc. (Job 39:25).

3–5. The character of the king and his method of government, which will spring from his spiritual endowments (v.2). Here there is certainly no hint that the king will be a warrior: he reigns after war has been abolished (cp. 9:4f). The king will possess something of the wisdom of God; he will know all that goes on in his country (cp. 2 S 14:20), and will be able like God (1 S 16:7), or a prophet of God (1 S 9:19), to probe things to the bottom (cp. Pr 25:2), not being misled by deceitful appearances or lying words, but reading men’s hearts. En 49:4, which may be a paraphrase of the v., gets near to the
meaning—"He will judge the secret things, and no one will be able to utter a lying word before him."—4. As the perversion of justice by which the poor and weak suffered was a constant feature in actual life (117. 23 105), so it is natural that the securing of the rights of these classes becomes a permanent feature of the ideal ruler, cp. Ps 72.—The needy... the poor] 105. ה here has יָּועֵּשׁ, the humble-minded, meek; but the parallel suggests that this is an error for יָּועֵשׁ; the two forms were liable to be confused: see Dr. DB iv. 20.—Of the earth] not required by the parallelism and perhaps an addition. It indicates the worldwide sway of the king (cp. 91); for the rendering of the land* is improbable.—4c. d. The Messianic age is not to be an age free from sin (cp. 6520 325); the conception is thus entirely different from the later conception of heaven. But the wicked will not as now sin on with impunity: the king will make use of the divine power given to him, to smite such sinners dead with a word; cp. 97 n., Ac 51-10.—The ruthless] reading יָּשְׁרָנָה (1311 n.) for יָּשְׁרָנ (הצ), earth or land. Earth cannot by itself mean the godless world (Del.). A real parallel to יָּשְׁרָנ, the wicked, of the next line is required, and such is יָּשְׁרָנ; cp. Job 1520 2713: note also the connections in which יָּשְׁרָנ is used in 2920, Ps 3725, Jer 1521.—The rod of his mouth] i.e. by a mere word: see above. Cp. the two-edged sword proceeding from the mouth in Rev 116. More remote parallels to the idea of speech as a deadly, cutting instrument may be found in Jer 1818, Ps 575(4).—The breath of his lips] this also means speech; cp. Ps 336 "the word of the Lord... the breath of his mouth."—The wicked] the Hebrew term is sing., but, of course, generic in meaning. Nevertheless it is interpreted individually of Antichrist by τ, "He will kill the wicked Armillos," and by Paul in 2 Th 28.—5. The description of the king's character closes with a figure derived from the custom of girding up the clothes before undertaking any active work: whatever he undertakes is undertaken in righteousness and faithfulness: cp. יָּשְׁרָא and נָּחָשָׁא of man, Hab 24, 1 S 2628, and of Yahweh as King, Ps 9618.—It corresponds closely to the justice and righteousness of 91.

6-8. The return of the golden age.—Nature will be

* Du., Che., Box.
transformed in the days of this king; the golden age of the past will return; wild beasts will no longer prey on one another, or be hurtful to men. The harmlessness of the wild beasts is clearly connected in v.\textsuperscript{7c} with the expectation that in the age to come they will cease to be carnivorous and become graminivorous, as they, like man (ct. after the Flood, Gn 9\textsuperscript{3}), were first created (Gn 1\textsuperscript{30}); the same idea may be, but is much less clearly suggested by v.\textsuperscript{6a}, in a passage that depends on the present (65\textsuperscript{25}); this harmlessness of the beasts is rather ineptly heightened by making the serpent continue to eat dust, which was not a feature of the golden age, but part of the curse that fell on the serpent. For security from the present hurtful habits of wild beasts in pictures of the future, see Hos 2\textsuperscript{20} (18); less genially expressed, Ezek 34\textsuperscript{25-28}, cp. Lv 26\textsuperscript{6}. The idea was wide-spread; Virgil’s use of it (Ecl. iv. 21 f., v. 60) is famous, and many other parallels are cited by Ges. i. 425 f. It is far less probable that Virgil is dependent on Isaiah than that both Hebrew prophet and Latin poet are common users of an ancient oriental idea; cp. Gressmann, 193 ff., and Conway’s Essay in Mayor, Fowler and Conway’s Virgil’s Messianic Eclogue.

6a. b. Wolves will no longer devour lambs, nor leopards kids, but these strong and ferocious beasts will dwell together with the others and under their protection! They will be gerim (14\textsuperscript{1} n.: cp. Numbers, p. 175) of these domestic animals.—6c. The calf and the young lion] against the analogy of 6a. b. 7a. c (cp. v. 8a. b). \(\text{\textbar}\) adds a second domestic beast, the fatling (11\textsuperscript{11} n.); apart from \(\text{\textbar}\) it would be fairly obvious that this third term has driven out, or is a corruption of, a verb: the young of oxen and lions will graze on the same pastures. Probably v.\textsuperscript{7c} once formed the first line of this distich, which then resembled the next (v.\textsuperscript{7a. b}) in mentioning the two kinds—the wild and the domestic—in the first line, their young in the second. In this case v.\textsuperscript{6d}, which introduces the little child fearlessly driving young lions as well as calves, was supplied by some annotator, probably from a parallel poem. If these suppositions are correct, the marked parallelism of terms in the two lines of each distich, which characterises most of the poem in any case, would be maintained without break; the one monostich (v.\textsuperscript{7c}) which at present stands isolated among the distichs would disappear; and the poet would complete at once what he had to say of lions, instead of introducing the bears
between the young lion and the lion.—7. After the males (v. 6 and perhaps 79, see last n.), the females—cow and she-bear—(בֵּית, fem., as 2 K 224).—Shall be companions to one another] as Lagarde perceived, one of the two נ's at the beginning of the verse (cp. Pr 224) has accidentally dropped out, leaving in נָּתַן, shall feed, which by itself is pointless; for, since the cow as well as the bear is mentioned, the point cannot be that the bear will graze instead of continuing to hunt (Di.).—7c = 6525; this line should precede v. 6a: see above. Like stalled animals such as the ox (19), the lion will eat chopped straw (Gn 2425, Jg 1919, 1 K 58).—8. Not only with one another, but with man will animals, now hurtful, be friends: the point is expressed by picturing the safety with which the weakest members of the human race, babies under two or three years of age, will approach with safety the most malignant of beasts (Gn 315), the serpent, and make its haunts their favourite playground.—The weaned child] is the child just weaned (cp. 289, Ps 1312), i.e. two or three years old (2 Mac 727).—Shall play about] or take its delight: in any case the vb. suggests more than the mere fact of playing with immunity, it implies delight. Cp. the use of the vb. (שׁוּנָה), or noun (סָתִים), in 576612, Jer 3120, Pr 3810: in Syriac the vb. is used of diverting oneself with hounds, with a ball, etc.—The hole] רֵין occurs in the pl. in 4222, and (differently punctuated) in 1 S 1411 of holes in the ground; in Zec 1412 it is used of the socket of the eye. To infer from the last usage a reference here to the eye of the snake is precarious.—Asp . . . viper] it is impossible and, for the appreciation of this passage, unimportant to determine the precise species of serpents intended: see EBi. and DB, s.v. Serpent.—The dwelling] a term with such a meaning as this is required by the parallel, but it is very questionable whether רָעָה, מִשְׁקָר, which means place of light, meant also specifically lighthole (BDB), den (RV); Di., Du. take the word to mean the shining (thing), i.e. the serpent's shining, glistening eye; unfortunately, if this meaning of רָעָה could be admitted, the parallel would still make it improbable that the poet is here making use of the observation that babies "readily stretch out their hands to shining objects." We should perhaps read רָעָה, hole (Che.), or מִשְׁקָר, lair (Beer).—Trip about] the translation rests on a conjectural emendation; RV put for רָעָה is a conjectural rendering of the very questionable text of מִשְׁקָר.
XI. i–8

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1. רשת, היעל, רשת] all three words "are first found in the later [OT] literature" (Hickmann, p. 149); this is correct and not altogether insignificant. רשת was in use in the Aramaic dialect of N. Syria before the age of Isaiah: cp. Ezek. 27:21; Zinjerli Inscriptions (Hadad), l. 3 = Cooke, NSJ 611; and it is frequent in later Aramaic. פָּרָשָׁה renders פָּרָשָׁה, סכֵפְּרֵה (Ps 45:10), or חַטָּף, staff (Nu 17:21 T). In Gn 30:7 it is used of fresh cut poplar wands, and in Nu 17:17 T of the rod that was to bud. In Syriac ܡunable means staff, rod, sceptre; in Assyr. חטפרט means staff; and ܣunable has, as one of its meanings according to the Kamās as cited by Lane, a branch of a tree. רשת (Pr 14:7) may have been more frequently in use with the Hebrews than the two occurrences suggest.—םunable possibly late (see last n.), but not due to Aramaic influence, for סכפירה (cp. Dr. § 178) does not appear to occur in Aramaic.—2. התיה הארי תעשי] one of the rare instances of two co-ordinated construct cases depending on the same gen. (G–K. 128a; König. iii. 275b). But possibly even this is the result of textual error. V.סunable is at present longer than ס전문, and ל renders התיה הארי by סכפירה without the addition of פָּרָשָׁה. The original text may have had התיה, and this may have been replaced by a correct marginal note explaining התיה to be התיה התיה. —3. התיה התיה [a corrupt dittograph of the התיה התיה תועשי, not (Beer) an error for סכפירה הביתי]. Note that ל renders התיה הארי by פָּרָשָׁה תועשי in v.31, by סכפירה in v.3; v.סunable ל may be the addition of a later hand.—4. תועשי .. תועשי] so read instead of תועשי .. תועשי (cp. 167 n.). The evidence of ל in favour of two different words is strong, for סכפירה, סכפירה are frequently used for both rod, sceptre (and derivatives); here, where both words occur together, סכפירה, which nowhere else renders either word, is adopted in order to preserve the difference.—6. סכפירה read סכפירה: the strongest evidence is given above. After קלאלוש = רְצָה, ל continues דְּמָע בֵּאוֹשׁ תַּחֵט, and also inserts between קלאלוש (= סכפירה) and קלאלוש the words קלאלוש (= סכפירה in a different position from סכפירה).—כָּפָר קלאלוש ל תארו. Di. draws attention to the str. with ל instead of the normal acc., and therefore renders a driver among them.—8. תועשי ] Doubtful, for note (a) תועשי would be the only occurrence in the poem of a pf. tense, and this remains suspicious in spite of Driver, § 147; (b) the length of the line; (c) apart from the possibility of its being found in the proper name ירשי, רishi, the root is unknown in Hebrew: in Arabic and Syriac (אunable, ) it is frequent, and means to lead, direct; yet no trace is to be found in either of these languages of the meaning to stretch out commonly attributed to it in this passage. The second of these objections is merely brought into relief, but not removed, by chopping v.סunable into two lines at סכפירה, for the whole of ס전문 is parallel to ס전문: the halves are parallel neither to one another, nor to v.ס전문. תועשי is an early error, and conceals a single word which was the imperfect tense of a verb parallel in sense to ל安全事故 in v.ס전문, possibly תועשי (38 n.). shall trip about, with the movements natural to a child learning to walk.
XI. 9-16.—The Return of the Dispersion to the Holy Land.

This passage is not entirely poetical (Lowth.), nor even with the exception of v. 11 from גָּפִיא to the end (Du., Cond.), but in part prose, as shown below. Che. treats vv. 9-11, 16, Boz 10f. 16, Marti 9-11, as prose. In vv. 9-14 the dominant rhythm in 3 : 3; this is probably not continued in v. 12, though the v. has almost certainly suffered some textual corruption, leaving the exact nature of the rhythm an open question. Marti treats vv. 12-16 as a poem of four strophes each containing two distichs: if this were right, the poem contained a hysteront proteron, see on v. 13.

9 No harm nor destruction shall be wrought throughout all my holy mountain: for the land will have become full of the knowledge of Yahweh as the waters cover the sea. 10 And it shall come to pass in that day the root of Jesse which will be standing for a signal to the peoples—

Him shall the nations consult,
And his resting-place shall be glorious.

11 And it shall come to pass in that day the Lord shall again 'raise' his hand to acquire the remnant of his people, which remains over, from Assyria and from Egypt and from Pathros and from Cush and from 'Elam and from Shin'ar and from Hamath and from the isles of the sea.

12 And he will raise a signal to the nations;
   And he will gather the outcasts of Israel,
   And collect the dispersed (fem.) of Judah
   From the four corners of the earth.

13 And jealousy of Ephraim shall cease,
   And the vexers of Judah shall be cut off;
   Ephraim shall not be jealous of Judah,
   Nor shall Judah vex Ephraim.

14 And they shall swoop down upon the shoulder of the Philistines, westward,
   Together shall they plunder the sons of the East;
   Edom and Moab shall be brought under their dominion,
   And the children of Ammon shall be obedient to them.
15 And Yahweh will 'dry up' the tongue of the sea of Egypt,

   And he will swing his hand over the River . . .

   And he will smite it into seven wadys,

   And make it (a way) to be trodden with sandals.

16 And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people who remain over from Assyria, as there was for Israel in the day that it came up from the land of Egypt.

The well-marked and sustained rhythm and parallelism, which is so conspicuous in vv.1-8, is not continued in vv.9-11. In vv.12-14 something similar reappears, and but for the fact that the tenor and spirit of these verses is different, and vv.1-8 sufficiently complete in themselves, vv.1-8, 12-14 might be regarded as a single poem which has been interpolated (vv.9-11) and added to (vv.15ff.)

Vv.9-16 appear to be a collection of brief pieces, in part prose, in part poetry (see above). They are arranged in no very obvious order, but they deal with related subjects, viz. the future glory of Zion, and its attractiveness, as the home of true Religion, for the Gentiles, vv.9ff.; the restoration of the Jews at present dispersed throughout the world, vv.11f. 15f.; the freedom of the future community from attack and internal dissensions (v.13), and its success in establishing its authority over its neighbours, v.14.

It is very doubtful whether any part of this section is the work of Isaiah: most of it is clearly post-exilic, since it presupposes the Exile and the Dispersion of the Jews as existing facts. The argument for post-exilic date is well and fully stated by Che. in Introd. pp. 59-62.

9 = 6525b + Hab 214. In 6525 the subject of the vbs. are clearly the harmful beasts, and the fact that 6513-25 is a speech of Yahweh's immediately accounts for the first person in the phrase my holy mountain: in Hab, 388 clearly means the earth, and not merely the land of Judah. Here the first person is not accounted for by the context, and both the subject of the vbs. and the meaning of 388 are ambiguous. This closer cohesion of the two parts of the v. with their respective contexts in 6525 and Hab 214 is good reason for holding that their original homes are there, and that here they are quotations carrying out the general thought of what proceeds, viz. that there will be no more
harm and destruction, but not harmonising closely either with the thought or structure of the passage. If, now, v.9 is the original continuation of vv.1-8, those verses must be later than Hab. and 65^25; so, e.g., Hackm. pp. 136-138, 146; but v.9 is rhythmically distinguished, and should be separated from vv.1-8. So long as ch. xi in its entirety was referred to Isaiah, it was naturally assumed, rather than critically maintained, that v.9 was the source whence two later writers derived their words.

Owing to the ambiguities referred to above, the exact point which the annotator, who combined two quotations and inserted them here, wished to make is not clear: possibly that Yahweh's territory will no longer suffer from the nations of the world, for the whole earth will have come to know that Yahweh is Yahweh, and that His people are not to be molested with impunity, a line of thought found in Ezek 39^17-29; but the modification of Habakkuk's phrase, "the knowledge of the glory of Yahweh" (cp. Is 66^18f) to the knowledge of Yahweh, does not favour this. More probably we should abandon the meaning earth, which יְדֵח has in Hab., and seek another interpretation of the subjects of the vbs. They shall not hurt, etc., obviously cannot refer to the weaned child and the suckling, the last mentioned subjects in vv.1-8, nor, since they are incapable of the knowledge of Yahweh, to the wild beasts of vv.6-8. That the thought passes far back to attach itself only to the ruthless and the wicked men of v.4 is altogether improbable: the subjects are best taken in the most indefinite way—no one shall hurt, no hurt shall be done by man, for the knowledge of Yahweh, which restrains from such conduct, will prevail throughout the land.—All my holy mountain] this may mean here the entire Holy Land, for this was a mountain country, and, as belonging to Yahweh, holy; all is then explained, and the phrase is co-extensive with the land in the next sentence. Naturally, of course, Yahweh's "holy mountain," a phrase never used by Isaiah, is Mount Sion.—As the waters cover the sea] the comparison would most naturally suggest itself to one who was thinking of the whole earth (Hab.).—10. The capital of the monarchy of the restored Jewish community will be famous, and the nations of the world will come and consult the king as an organ of the revelation of the one true God; cp. 2^24: but here prominence is given to the vehicle of Yahweh's Revelation; there the nations are said to obtain instruction from Yahweh Himself.—The root of Jesse]
I.e. the new shoot from the old root (cp. v.1), root being used in the same sense as in 532. —Which will be standing] the part. here is in any case awkward, but the future sense (T) is preferable to the present (Y, RV). The pf. tense would be stylistically preferable, but unsuitable in the context.—As a signal to the peoples] cp. 526 (n.): also 4962. That a root should stand as a signal, or banner, is an extraordinary combination of figures; root no doubt, as a technical term, might at once suggest a person, the Messianic king; cp. “my servant the Shoot,” Zec 38; but it remains extraordinary that a person stands like a signal or banner (ct. v.12). Possibly here, as in v.9, the writer is citing phrases from different places without welding them well together. —Him shall the nations consult] so as to obtain oracles (819), or religious instruction (cp. 29), from him.—And his resting-place shall be glorious] glorious things will be spoken of Sion, the city of Yahweh, the resting-place (cp. e.g. Dt 129, 1 K 856) of His Messiah and the birthplace of the nations into a new life (cp. Ps 87); or, perhaps, we might compare 49. הַנַּחַל is used also of Yahweh’s abode in the midst of His people (Ps 9511 13214). Y renders “his sepulchre”; this reflects an exegesis which saw in the “signal” of the first part of the v. the Cross; it is not due to an etymology based on the use of the vb.纫 in 572.

II. The Lord will re-possess himself of the survivors of his people now scattered over the known world. The style is awkward and some details are ambiguous; but the general impression of a wide dispersion of the Jews as an existing fact is too strongly and clearly conveyed for the passage to be pre-exilic: cp. Zec 105-12.—The Lord shall again ‘raise’ his hand to acquire the remnant of his people] taken strictly, this should mean that the remnant has already once been acquired, to wit, when Yahweh brought back some of the exiled Jews from Babylon. But possibly the style is loose, and all that the writer means is that there will be a second acquisition: at the Exodus, Yahweh acquired (Ex 1516, cp. Ps 742) a whole people; He is now going to acquire what remains of His people by gathering the exiled Jews from all quarters of the earth.—From Assyria, etc.] either the clauses define from whom the acquisition is to be made, in which case the clause which remains over is otiose; or there is an awkward breviloquence—the remnant . . . which remains over of (those who were in) Assyria, etc.—Assyria, which as in
Ezr 6:22 (cp. 1c30 n.) may refer to the Persian Empire as the contemporary occupant of the Tigris-Euphrates valley which formerly belonged to Assyria, and Egypt are mentioned first as being the centres of the two great civilisations of the Ancient World. After these two wide terms follow (1) two specific districts of the Nile valley, Pathros and Cush: Pathros is upper Egypt: the Egyptian P-to-rés meant South Land, and more particularly, perhaps, the country extending from a few miles S. of Memphis to Syene (Assouan) at the First Cataract; * Cush (cp. 181 n.) is Ethiopia, and extended southwards from the First Cataract; (2) two specific districts of the Tigris-Euphrates basins, Elam, lying to the E. of the lower Tigris (212 n.), and Shinar (Gn 112, Jos 721, Zec 511, Dn 12), i.e. Babylonia, the district in which the city of Babylon and also Erech, Accad, and Calneh were situated (Gn 1010); (3) Hamath on the Orontes (109 n.), for which Lag., deeming the reference to a city so relatively near Judah improbable, proposed to substitute a more remote district, and the isles, or coastlands, of the Mediterranean sea. The last term, never used by Isaiah, is a favourite with the Deutero-Isaiah, who thereby indicates his far western horizon. W. Max Müller (DB—Pathros) takes a different view of the relation of the terms Egypt, Pathros, and Cush: he would give to Egypt here the limited sense of lower Egypt; then the three terms together cover the Nile valley. So Esar-haddon describes himself as king of the kings of Muṣur, Paturisi, and Ku-si. Some † hold that from Pathros to the end of the v. is a subsequent addition. § has a rather different list.

12. The thought that Yahweh will gather home His widely scattered people, expressed in prose and with geographical particularity in v.11, is here expressed in poetry with poetical brevity and expressiveness. The Dispersion will be brought back from the four corners of the earth (Ezk 72, Job 379); Yahweh will raise a signal (528 n.), in response to which the nations will bring home the exiled people (4922 6620), and indeed the whole of it, Israel as well as Judah, males (יִרְאוּם) and females (חָזָאר) alike (cp. 4922 604).—13. Israel, now called Ephraim (cp. 98), and Judah, thus restored (v.12), will no more be subject to the envy and opposition of the nations, nor will the internal feuds which marked

* W. Max Müller, in DB iii. 693.
† Sta., Du., Cond.; but not Di., Che., Marti.
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the actual history of Yahweh's people (cp. 9^{20} (21)), be renewed in the age to come. For the future unity of Israel and Judah, see Ezek 37^{16f.} and Hos 2^{2} (111); cp. "unto David their king" in Hos 3^{8}; for the cessation of outward hostilities, cp. e.g. 9^{8.6f.} — Jealousy of Ephraim . . . the vexers of Judah — may, of course, mean (G–K. 128^k, 135^m) either the jealousy which Ephraim feels, or the jealousy of which Ephraim is the object (cp. Ezek 35^{11}); and דְּרֵי רִי הָיוֹרֵים either those who had opposed or oppressed Judah, or those in and of Judah who are at enmity with another country (RV marg.). But to treat the genitives as subjective gives an unsatisfactory antithesis: Ephraimite sentiment will change, but in Judah opposition to Ephraim will only be brought to an end by an annihilation of those who will still cherish enmity towards Ephraim. The two distichs of v.^{18} speak of different things; consequently the second is not superfluous, and there is no reason for omitting it with Du., Che., al.—14. Re-united (v.^{18}), Yahweh's people will, as of old under David, exercise dominion over the whole of Palestine, East and West of Jordan; cp. Am 9^{11f}, also Ps 60^{8–10} (9–11).—They shall swoop] cp. Hab 1^{8} (ךִּנְעָה).—The shoulder of the Philistines] the hills between the maritime plain and the Judaean highlands which formed a debatable ground between Judah and Philistia. For the idiom, cp. "the shoulder of the sea of Chinnereth" (Nu 34^{11}), "the shoulder of Moab" (Ezk 25^{9}).—The sons of the East] the nomadic tribes of the desert to the E. of trans-Jordanic Palestine; cp. Jer 49^{28f.}, Jg 6^{3}.—Shall be brought under their dominion] lit. are the outstretching of their hand, i.e. that which their hand stretches out to take possession of: cp. Ex 22^{7.10} (8.11).—15, 16. Cp. Zec 10^{10f.}. The second Exodus (v.^{15}), in which the Remnant will depart as easily from Assyria as Israel of old from Egypt (v.^{16}), would in reality be the prelude to the unmolested life and victorious undertakings of the restored exiles (v.^{18f.}). The present connection, or the order, of vv.^{18–16} is perhaps not the original.—Will dry up] so ג ( = מְסַרַבּ, cp. 50^{2}): יִשְׂרָאֵל, will ban, devote.—The tongue of the sea of Egypt] the Red Sea; tongue is also used for a tongue-shaped piece of water in Jos 15^{2–5} 18^{19}.—He will swing his hand] 10^{92} n., 19^{16}.—The River] probably the Euphrates (7^{20} n.); possibly the Nile (cp. רֹדֶה without the art. in 19^{6}).—With the glowing heat of his breath] or wind (see phil. n.). The clause, if the rendering
at all represents its meaning, goes oddly with *he shall swing his hand*: perhaps it is a gloss on the previous line (Du., al.).—The last part of the v. also is inadequately explained: it is supposed to mean that the Euphrates will be smitten into "seven (shallow) streams" (Che. *SBOT*), so that the returning exiles may easily wade over. But why wear sandals to wade? Why seven streams? And would not this miracle be anti-climactic after the complete drying up of the Egyptian sea? Others think of waterless wadys over which the exiles pass in sandals, *i.e.* dry-shod (Rashi, Ki.). The לִפְנֵי, *wady*, is not specifically a shallow stream; it may be deep and strong enough to carry away those who attempt to cross it (Jg 5:1, cp. Ezk 47:5), and at other times it dried up completely (1 K 17).—16. *A highway*] for the returning exiles: cp. 40:8, the source (Du.) rather than an echo (Di.) of this v.

9. רֹאֶש] cp. 28, Ex 2:4; ct. הָעַר, ii.2. On the acc. וְהָעַר, see G-K. 115a. ש"ת renders מַעַרְתָּא הָאֶשׁ רֹאֶשׁ by וְהַרְתָּא מַעַרְתָּא רֹאֶשׁ, Hab 2:14, Houb., Cond. read "וְהָעַרְתָּא רֹאֶשׁ (cp. v.?).—"a unique form of expression" with more analogy in Arabic than Hebrew: the nearest parallel in Hebrew is Nu 16:5 (P); remote parallels are 14:4, Nu 25:18 (P), Dt 4:42; Dr. § 135 (7) Obs.—11. יְרֵא] many MSS read יְרֵא. יָדַע] תְעֹר a transl. read נַכְש] many MSS read נַכְשָּׁא; read נַכְשָּׁא (Marti). If נַכְש be retained, it is necessary to assume an ellipse of an infinitive dependent on יָדַע and governing וְ.—12. וְניָר] for the omission of dagesh in the י, see G-K. 20m. The Niph. part. of יָדַע is also used of banished, exiled Hebrews in 27:18 568, Mic 4:6 (Zeph 3:9), Dt 30:4 (Neh 1).—14. פֶּנֶש MT is due to erroneous interpretation: cp. ש"ת, and see Dr. § 190, Obs.; the cstr. is פֶּנֶש, which should be read here.—15. The four lines are unequal. The text may have suffered considerably.—16. וְהָעַרְתָא יְשִׁר הָמַעְרָה] יְשִׁיר is a דָּר. ley. In Arabic מַעְרָה means to be cloudy, to become thirsty, to be affected with internal heat (see Lane); but this does not make it very probable that יְשִׁיר is a rare synonym for מַעְרָה, and means in the heat of his spirit, still less that it means in the glowing heat of his wind. Ges. (Thes.), al. read וּדָעַר שְׁנִי (cp. Ex 14:21); whether ש"ת כְּרֹבָנִי בְּלוֹא (cp. ב in fortitudine *spiritus sui*) read this, or guessed at the meaning of יָדַע, is uncertain—16. יְשִׁר הָמַעְרָה . . . יְרֵא] this persistent alliteration may have been intended: there is nothing like it in Isa.—18. ש"ת כְּרֹבָנִי בְּלוֹא] כְּרֹבָנִי בְּלוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹא אַלּוֹvised formula, resembling

XII.—*Songs of Deliverance*: to be sung on the occasion of the New *Exodus* (111. 15).

The chapter consists of two songs, (a) vv.16, (b) vv.4-6, each of which is provided with an introductory formula, resembling
those which introduce similar songs (250 261 272; cp. 1484) in chs. 24–27; and (c) a prophetic promise (v.3).

Each song written for the New Exodus (11111. 110) is suitably enough reminiscent of the song (Ex 151–18) which, according to the tradition already current in the writer's age, had been sung by Moses and the children of Israel on the occasion of the First Exodus; with v.26. d cp. Ex 152a. b; with v.5a, Ex 151.

The first song expresses Israel's gratitude that though Yahweh had been angry (cp. 105), His anger had turned away (1026), and He had comforted His people (cp. 4015), delivering them and restoring them to their land, and to an unmolested (v.2b) and glorious life there (ch. 11). The second song calls for the proclamation to the nations of the might of Yahweh displayed in the restoration of His people, and (v.6) for Sion to cry out joyously at the presence in her midst of her great and Holy God.

It thus seems obvious that the chapter was written to occupy its present position after a collection of prophecies that spoke of Yahweh's anger with His people, but concluded with an account of the New Exodus. Whether this collection of prophecies was 105–1110 only or chs. 1–11, ch. 12, being the sequel to 1110–16, is no earlier than that passage, and, therefore, post-exilic.

The argument as to date just stated is the briefest, and it is sufficient. But the chapter, even if it be regarded by itself and independently of its relation to what precedes, is clearly post-exilic. Ew. in 1840 was the first to detect that it was not Isaiah's: "Words, figures, terms of expression, yes, and the entire contents and spirit, are not Isaiah's: and this is so clear that further proof would be superfluous. . . . The colour and character of the passage clearly refer it to the times soon after chs. 40–66; and an old scribe or reader who found with great delight a fulfilment of the words of 1112 in the release from the Babylonian exile may at that time have enlarged Isaiah's oracle with these exultant words" (Propheten des AB, i. 459, cp. pp. 77 f.). Ew.'s discovery remained for some time unfruitful; but his conclusion was emphatically endorsed by Lag. in 1878 (Semitica, i.), and has since then been widely admitted: see Stade (ZATW, 1883, p. 16), Kuenen (Onl.3 ii. 57), Francis Brown (JBLit., 1890, pp. 128, 131), Di., Du., Kön. (Einleitung, 319), Che. (Introds. 57–59), G. A. Smith (in Hastings' DB), Marti; cp., less decisively, Dr. in LOT; and for a defence of Isaiah's authorship, see W. H. Cobb, in JBLit., 1891, pp. 131–143. A date very considerably later than the Exile seems more probable than that suggested by Ew. in view of the relation of the poem to late Psalms. "In scope and expression, in its conceptions and its hopes, it is closely allied to the late Psalms, such as 118, 138, 145: cp. also 91–100, 107, 111" (Brown).

Rhythm.—In vv.11, balanced distichs—3:3; in 4-6 the distichs are all
balanced, but of different length: the first distich in v. 4 is 2:2, the second 3:3; those in vv. 6 are 4:4, each line being divided by a caesura into 2:2.

1 And thou shalt say in that day:—
I give thanks to thee, Yahweh, for thou wast angry with me,
And thine anger turned away and thou comfortedst me.

2 Behold, God is my salvation,
I trust and dread not;
For my strength and 'my' song is Yah,
And he has become my salvation.

3 And ye shall draw water with joy out of the fountains of salvation, and ye shall say in that day:—
Give thanks to Yahweh,
Invoke his name;
Make known among the people his deeds,
Make mention that his name is exalted.

4 Make melody to Yahweh, for he hath wrought proudly;
Let this be known throughout the whole earth.

5 Give a shrill cry, give a ringing cry, O inhabitress of Sion;
For great in thy midst is the Holy One of Israel.

I. Thou shalt say] Israel, who speaks in the first pers. sing. in the following poem, as so often in the Psalter, is here addressed. Ct. the distributive pl. of v. 4 (ם). —I give thee thanks] the word (ְֹּאֵל) occurs also in v. 4 251 3818.10 and nowhere else in the Book of Isaiah: it occurs in Gn 295, very frequently in the Psalter, and elsewhere most frequently in Chron.; cp. Driver, Parallel Psalter, pp. 461 f. Israel gives thanks because Yahweh's anger had not been drawn out to all generations (cp. Ps 856), but had turned away (ct. 911 etc.). The vb. הב is used here only in the Book of Isaiah; other occurrences of it are worth comparing in illustration of the similarity in tone and temper of this Psalm and late liturgical pieces: see Ps 603 795 856, 1 K 846 (with the following verses). —And thine anger turned away] it is best to assume a slight mutilation of the text (see phil. n.): let thine anger turn away (RVmarg.) is a correct rendering of הב, but leaves Yahweh's anger as the sole ground for giving thanks, which is highly improbable. God] without the art. absolutely of the one
true God, as in Deutero-Isaiah (40:18 45:14) and Psalms (e.g. 16:1 17:6 106:14). Cp. “with us is God” (El) in 88:10, and perhaps “the stars of God (El)” in 14:18; but the predicative use in 31:3 is, of course, different, as also are the remaining occurrences of נב in 1-39, viz. 96:10 (El Gibbor) and 51:6 (with the art.)—

2c. d = Ex 15:2, which is also used in Ps 118:14: see above.—And dread not] 19:10 n.—Yahweh] is inserted in Ps after Yah (cp. 26:4), but it is absent from ג and from Ex 15:2, and it overloads the line.—3. The restored Israelites will rejoice as they draw on the unfailing fountain of Yahweh’s grace; cp. 55:1, Jer 33:10f.; for the figure of Yahweh as a fountain or cistern, see Jer 2:18 17:18, cp. Ps 36:10 87:1.—4. And ye] ג And thou; cf. v.1.—4a. b. c = Ps 105:1.—4d. Cp. Ps 148:18: ct. “Yahweh (not his name, as here) is exalted,” 217.—5. Cp. Ex. 15:1.—Make melody to] this word (ונ) is very characteristic of the Psalter, and occurs outside it only here and in Jg 5:1.—He hath wrought proudly] ותא הושע: in Ex 15:1 ותא־הושע: cf. Ps 93:1 ותא־הושע...ויהי; ותא is similarly used in 26:10, but with different nuances by Isaiah (9:17 28:1).—Let this be known] this with backward reference to the fact of God’s proud and majestic achievements.—6. Give a shrill cry] so 24:14 54:1, Jer 31:7—all, as here, synonymous with פַז: in 10:30 פַז has a different force.—Inhabitress of Sion] Jer 51:56 † : cp. “inhabitress of Shaphir,” “of Maroth,” “of Lachish,” Mic 1:1. What is meant is the entire population of the city.—For great in thy midst] cp. “Great is Yahweh ... in the city of our God,” Ps 48:1 (ו); cp. Ps 99:1.—The Holy One of Israel] this favourite term of Isaiah’s and the Deutero-Isaiah’s is used by this Psalmist in common with two or three other Psalmists: see Ps 71:22 78:1 89:19.

I. יֶבֶט חַשְׁוֵא שֶׁכֶם] MT clearly takes the vbs. as jussives: cp. the fut. of צ, “When I shall have returned to thy Law thy anger will turn away from me and thou wilt have pity on me”; but ג (kal דִּקַּמְתְּרוֹפָאָשׁ תֹּנְאָבְּמָוֵן שְּוֵעָנָא נָא), ש = ובתי (Hiph. ; cp. Ps 78:6, Job 9:17). Read, יֶבֶט חַשְׁוֵא שֶׁכֶם. Marti prefers to read ובתי, assuming a dittography of ‘ in ב; but the coupling of the vbs. (ג) is far more probable, since the real reason (ו) of_Parameter: 1 is first reached in the last two (cp. 54). This point also weighs against the theory that the text is sound and ובתי a “poetically shortened” form for ובתי, a theory that is precariously supported by reference to Hos 6:1 (note preceding i) and Ps 18:12 (ct. 2 S 22:12): cp. Dr. § 174.—2. מַעֲשָׂה מַעֲשָׂה] וּכְּנֶסֶךְ has suffered the loss of י before נ.—3. יֶבֶט for the two pathaḥs, cp. ובתי: from ובתי; in 1 K 18:6 the alternative form ילעופ occurs.—5. יֶבֶט] Ke'ת, Pual part.; Ke'ר ינוים,
Hoph. part. The Pual part. elsewhere means *acquaintance*. The קָרֵּ (Lv 425, 281) is preferable, the part. being gerundial (G-K. 116e); but perhaps יָרֹּת (ח) was the original reading; cp. the || וְתָּל and v.4.

XIII.—XXIII.—Prophecies mainly devoted to Foreign Nations.

This main section of the Book of Isaiah falls into the following subsections:—The Oracle of Babylon, 131—1428; The Fall of Assyria, 1424—27; of Philistia, 1429—32; The Oracle of Moab, 15 f.; The Oracle of Damascus (and Ephraim), 171-11; The Tumult of many Nations, 1712-14; The Land beyond the rivers of Cush, 18; The Oracle of Egypt, 19; Isaiah a sign against Egypt and Ethiopia, 20; The Oracle of “the Wilderness of the Sea,” 211-10; The Oracle of “In Arabia,” 2118-16; The Oracle of the Valley of Vision, 221-14; The Fate of Shebna, 2215-25; The Oracle of Tyre, 23.

The nine, or (including 1429-32) ten, “oracles,” either in whole or in part, not improbably at one time formed by themselves an anonymous “Book of Oracles”; to these the sections not defined as oracles were in that case subsequently added; the addition of the words “which Isaiah the son of ‘Amòs saw” to the title of the first section (131), may indicate that the whole of the enlarged work came to be attributed to Isaiah: see, further, Introduction, §§ 33 f.

XIII. 1—XIV. 23.—Babylon.

The “Oracle of Babylon” consists of (a) a poem predicting the capture of Babylon, “the beauty of kingdoms,” by the Medes, and the complete and permanent desolation of the site of the city, 132-22; (b) a section, part poetry, part prose, explaining that the Fall of Babylon will be the prelude to Yahweh’s restoration of the Israelites to their land, and the subjection to them there of those who at present exact from them the hard service of captives, 141-4a; possibly 13290. d belongs to this section: see Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 353; (c) a song of triumph over a cruel and arrogant tyrant who had conquered and held in subjection the entire world, 14b—21; according to section (b) this king was a king of Babylon (14a); (d) a prose re-statement of the theme of (a)—Yahweh is about to exterminate the Babylonians and make the site of the city desolate; (d) also appears to refer to (c).
Whoever is answerable for the final form of the oracle quite clearly, whether correctly or not, understood the whole to refer to Babylon. The poem in ch. 13 was written at a time when Babylon was the commanding city of the entire world (13:19), and when it was natural to expect that her supremacy, if wrested from her at all, would be wrested by the Medes (13:17); i.e. it was written at some time after the Fall of Nineveh in c. 606 B.C., but before the actual Fall of Babylon in 538 B.C.; not later than 538, for the fate of Babylon is described in 13:19-22 prophetically, not ex eventu; the desolation of the site of the city was by no means what the writer depicts. A date about, or a little before, 550 B.C. best meets the case (see below on 13:17).

Clearly, then, the oracle of Babylon is no earlier than the Exile: it is probably later, for 14:1-4a (22f.) is post-exilic rather than exilic; Babylon to the writer of these verses may be a symbolic name for all those that oppress Israel; the Israelites who are to be restored are to come from many quarters (see 14:1-4b). The song of triumph (14:4-21) judged by itself less clearly reveals its date (see below); but it is fairly safe to infer, if merely from the striking difference in style, that it is not the work of the author of 14:1-4a.

We may then attribute the oracle in its present form to a post-exilic editor who wrote 14:1-4a to connect two poems (13:2-22 and 14:4b-21) which he understood, and in the case of the first at least correctly, to refer to the Fall of Babylon. He, too, may have added 14:22f, and perhaps have introduced some modifications into 13:2-22.

For some two thousand years and more the singularly unfortunate guess of some editor who thought that the entire oracle was a prophecy of Isaiah's (13:1) led to the unquestioning acceptance of Isaiah's authorship of 13:1-14:28. The impossibility of this was perceived by Eichhorn, who, however, though he correctly perceived the terminus a quo, failed to see that ch. 13 at least was written before the end of the Exile. He treated the entire oracle as post-exilic. Ges. correctly dated ch. 13 in the Exile, and with him, as with most succeeding scholars till Du., this was allowed to determine the date of the entire section. Bredenkamp, who maintained Isaiah's authorship of ch. 13, but saw in 14:4b-20 a poem on the fall of Nebuchadnezzar, assigned 14:14 to a third hand. Rejected by Di. as "apologetische Halbheit," this correct perception of difference was utilised by Du., who treated 14:1-4a as a post-exilic editor's link connecting 13:2-22 (to which he thought 14:22f might also belong) and 14:4b-21, the two poems being possibly, but not necessarily, the work of the same author. The analysis has been accepted by Che., Marti,
and others; but with less readiness to admit that the two poems may be the work of the same hand, or that 1^4 supp. may belong to 1^3 supp. "There are such differences in the imaginative pictures of the judgment in the two works, and there is so much more poetic heat in the ode than in the prophecy, that the conjecture (already offered in PI i. 21) of a twofold authorship is a reasonable one" (Che. Introd. p. 75).

But once 1^4th-21 is isolated, the date of it cannot be determined so clearly or so closely as the date of 1^3 supp.; and there have been attempts of late to show that it is earlier and, indeed, the work of Isaiah; see below, pp. 251 f.

That the section 1^3-1^4 cannot in its entirety be the work of Isaiah follows so obviously from the historical situation presupposed in 1^3 supp., that it need not be more elaborately proved here. For such proof, see, e.g., Ges., Di., Che. Introd. 67 ff. For defences of Isaiah’s authorship, see Uhland, Val. Jes. cap. xiii. . . prophetae Jesaiae vindicatum (Tubingen, 1798), the commentary of Or., and earlier editions of Del.

XIII. 1. Title.—The oracle of i.e. concerning Babylon; cp. 1^5 1^7 1^9 21^1-11, 22^1 23^1, Nah 1^1. ἄνδρα, oracle, or utterance, is a noun derived from the vb. ἀναίδος used as in 3^7 (n.) 42^2.—Which Isaiah saw i.e. received by revelation: cp. 1^1 n., 2^1. See further on this title, Introduction, §§ 28 ff.

XIII. 2-22.—The coming Destruction of Babylon.

The dominant rhythm in vv. 2^8 is 3 : 2, in vv. 9^2-22 it is 3 : 3. In vv. 1^8 there are 12 to 14 distichs, most of which are obviously 3 : 2; at most two are 3 : 3, and even these were probably 3 : 2, for in v. 2^9 makkeph ἀναίδος (cp. || ἀναίδος); and in v. 7^9 ἀναίδος may be intrusive (see n. below). Of some 25 distichs in vv. 9^2-22 most are clearly 3 : 3; in MT only one (v. 1^11 a. b) is 3 : 2, though by makkephing καθ’ with the vb. in v. 10^b, 22^d two further 3 : 2 distichs could be obtained. On the other hand, if the makkeph be omitted after ἄνευ, even v. 1^11 a. b is 3 : 3, not 3 : 2.

By omitting a word from the second line of several distichs (viz. in vv. 8^d, 11^d, 12^b, 14^d), by assuming the loss of two words after v. 2^11 a and also after v. 2^11 b, by treating v. 1^6 as two distichs (“Langverse”), and by other hazardous treatments of the text and improbable line divisions, Du. nearly succeeds in reducing the whole of vv. 2^2-22 to what he, and after him Marti, Box, and Whitehouse, claim that it was—42 distichs 3 : 2. Box is less consistent than Du. in his reconstruction, but still boldly claims that the whole is in the rhythm of the Hebrew dirge. But if the 5 successive distichs in vv. 4^d and the 6 successive distichs in vv. 11^e-14 are, as they stand in D (and Box does not emend), in the same rhythm, then there is no such thing as distinction of rhythm in Hebrew. Vv. 4^d are in echoing, vv. 11^e-14 in balanced rhythm.

In both parts of the chapter there are irregularities, i.e. distichs neither 3 : 2 nor 3 : 3; but at least some of these are due to textual corruption; see notes on vv. 3, 6, 8, 9, 18. 18. Note, further, that vv. 1^3, 20^a, b were 2 : 3 unless a
word has dropped out after ררכי in v. 15 and יָשִׁ in v. 20s (see n.); v. 17a. b contains in all only 4 accents; 10c. d is 2 : 2 (balanced, not echoing).

The strophic structure, if such was intended, is not clear, or, if clear, irregular. In the translation, spaces are left where there seems to be a larger pause in the sense. Du., followed by Box, distributes his hypothetical 42 long lines into six strophes each containing exactly seven lines, and ending respectively with vv. 4. 8. 12. 16. 20. 22.

2 "On a bare hill raise the signal,
   Cry aloud to them;
   Wave the hand that they may enter
   Through the gates of the nobles.

3 (For) 'tis I have charged 'to (execute) my anger'
   [The host of] my consecrated ones,
   Yea, I have summoned my warriors,
   My proudly exultant ones."

4 Hark! a tumult on the mountains
   As of much people;
   Hark! the din of kingdoms,
   Of nations assembled.
   Yahweh of Hosts is mustering
   The host of battle.

5 They are coming from a land afar off,
   From the end of heaven—
   Yahweh and the instruments of his indignation,
   To ruin all the earth.

6 Howl! for the day of Yahweh is near,
   As devastation from the Almighty it cometh.

7 Therefore all hands will hang slack,
   And every heart of man faint.

8 And . . . will be dismayed . . .
   . . . . .
   They shall be seized with pangs and pains,
   As a travailing woman shall they writhe;
   They shall look at one another in amazement,
   Their faces will be aflame.

9 Behold the day of Yahweh cometh,
   Cruel with wrath and heat of anger,
   To make the earth a desolation,
   And to destroy the sinners thereof from it.
For the stars of heaven and its Orions
Shall not give their light;
The sun is dark when it rises,
And the moon shall not let its light shine.

"And I will punish the world for 'its' evil,
And the wicked for their iniquity;
And I will make the pride of the presumptuous cease,
And the haughtiness of the awe-inspiring will I bring low.

I will make mortals more rare than fine gold,
And men than gold of Ophir."

Therefore the heavens 'will tremble,'
And the earth quake out of its place,
Through the wrath of Yahweh of Hosts,
And in the day of the heat of his anger.

And it shall come to pass, as a hunted gazelle,
And as a flock with none to gather it,
They shall turn every one to his people,
And they shall flee every one to his land.
Every one that is found shall be thrust through,
And every one that is caught shall fall by the sword.
Their children shall be dashed in pieces in their sight,
Their houses shall be spoiled and their wives ravished

"Behold I am stirring up
Against them the Medes,
Who take no account of silver,
And in gold find no delight.

They have no compassion on the fruit of the womb,
Nor doth their eye look pityingly on children.

And Babylon the beauty of kingdoms,
The glorious pride of the Chaldaeans,
Shall be as when God overthrew
Sodom and Gomorrah.
It shall be uninhabited for ever,
    It shall be undwelt in to all generations:
The Arab shall not pitch tent there,
    Nor shepherds fold (their flocks) there.
But yelpers (?) shall make their lair there,
    And their houses shall be full of shriekers;
And there shall ostriches dwell,
    And satyrs shall dance there.
And howling beasts shall sing in the mansions thereof,
    And jackals in the delightful palaces.
Its time is nearly come,
    And its days shall not be prolonged.

The poem describes the summoning of Yahweh's warriors, vv.20, their assembling and advance, vv.21, and the terror of the people against whom they march, vv.22-23; the effect on Heaven and earth, vv.24-26; the flight of the foreign people in the threatened city to their own lands and the slaughter of those that remain, vv.27-29. In v.30 it is first stated that it is the Medes who are to be Yahweh's warriors, and in v.31 that Babylon is the threatened city. The poem closes with a description of the complete and eternal desolation of the site of Babylon.

The poem is itself, substantially as it stands, or it rests upon a poem which was, the work of a Jew living during the Exile, watching the movements of the Medes, and anticipating that the proud city and empire of Babylon would be overthrown by them; it must have been written about 550 B.C.; see above, p. 233, and on v.32.

Two characteristics of the section, one of its form and one of its substance, suggest that the original poem may have received additions and been subject to modifications beyond those (of which there are many) that are due to ordinary processes of textual corruption. Firstly, there is a clearly-marked change in the dominant rhythm which formally distinguishes vv.1-8 from vv.9-22 (see above). Secondly, whereas in vv.17-19 the poem is quite clearly concerned with actual conditions, and possibilities closely related to them, in other places there appears the vagueness of an eschatological poem; the opening verses might well refer to superhuman armies of
Yahweh,* and by no means obviously suggest a single specific nation—the Medes: so again the darkness (v.10) and the universal commotion are eschatological features, and in v.11 it is not Babylon, but the whole world, that is to be punished. If these eschatological features were limited to the 3 : 2 distichs (vv.1-8), we might suppose that an eschatological fragment has been prefixed to a poem predicting the Fall of Babylon; but they are not; they appear also in vv.9-13.

2-4. Yahweh's warriors summoned and assembled. —Let those whose duty it is to do so make signals to the Medes (v.17) to enter Babylon (v.19) as the executants of Yahweh's anger.—On a bare hill] where the signal will be conspicuous. With רה רות נור, cp. שים, bare hills, e.g. 4118, Jer 322 411.—Raise the signal] Jer 5127, see 526 n.—Wave the hand] clearly as a third way of giving a signal: but this meaning of מנה ינו (115 1018) does not occur again.—The gates of the nobles] apparently the Babylonians are treated as nobles in relation to the other inhabitants of the world (cp. 477). The term is applied to men of rank and position on whom society and government rest; it is parallel to "king" in Job 3418, to "princes" (뛴 in Nu 2118 and Pr 816; cp. also, "It is better to take refuge in Yahweh than to trust in nobles," Ps 1189.—3. On the conjectural emendations underlying the translation, see phil. n.—I] Yahweh.—Consecrated ones] i.e. soldiers; see next line. Cp. "consecrate nations against her," Jer 5127; "consecrate war, rouse up the warriors," Jl 4 (3)9. War was a sacred institution, and therefore those who fought were consecrated and subject to strict laws of purity and taboo: see Dt 2310-15, 2 S 1111, also Jer 64 227, Mic 35; F. Schwally, Semitische Kriegsalterthümer.—My proudly exultant ones] Zeph 311; cp. 222 n.—4. The mountains] of Media.—Kingdoms . . nations] under the sway of the king of Media; cp. Jer 5127f, "Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz . . . consecrate against her the nations, the king

* They were so understood by Eus., who, if the poem has come down in its original form, is rightly criticised by Jer. in his comment on v.8. "Principes et gigantes juxta LXX Translatores Eusebius virtutes Angelicas interpretatur, et pessimos daemones, qui ad eversionem Babylonis missi sunt," and on v.17 "Apertum est quod latebat: quod nequaquam fortes et gigantes, Angeli intelligendi sunt et daemones, sed Medorum gens."
(ἢ) of Media, his governors and all his viceroyes, and all the
land of his dominion."

2. ἀποκριτῇ followed by the acc. as in Ps 100. — 3. ἀν θεία πάντα for ἅ of
the obj. of ἐν, see Ex 122, Jer 322. But the words are probably a mutilated
distich: one of the lost words (ἂν), perhaps shifted down to the next line
which is over long. By a further conjecture Marti obtains two good 3 : 2
distichs:

αἰ αἰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν  | ἅ ὄντος ἀνθρώπου
ἐκ τῆς  ἐπικρίσεως  | ὁ θεός οὗ ἔστιν διαφόρως.

4. ἡμέρᾳ] for ἡ: rare; see BDB 198a. — ἀρχώμενον (MT), which destroys both rhythm and parallelism.—

5-8. Terror at the approach of Yahweh and His
warriors.—5a. b. Cp. 526 4611.—The instruments of his indignation] Jer 5025; cp. "instruments of war" as applied to Saul
and Jonathan, 2 S 127.—All the earth] rhetorical for the entire
Babylonian empire (Jer. al.), or eschatological? See above,
p. 237 f.—6. Howl] Jl 15, 18: and the remainder of v. 8 = Jl 115b; other similarities to Joel occur in vv. 8, 10, 18. Joel is imitative
(Exp. 1893, Sept., pp. 208–225), and may be the borrower, or
second user, of most of these common phrases or ideas; but this
v. is rhythmically peculiar in its present setting; it is a distich
4 : 3, or, apart from howl, 3 : 3; in the latter case the rhythm
is that of vv. 9–22, but not of vv. 1–8 (3 : 2); in the former it re-
sembles the rhythm of neither part of ch. 13. Possibly the v.
was interpolated so as to generalise a prophecy of the overthrow
of Babylon by the Medes into a prophecy of the final and
universal judgment. If original in its present position, the
imperative wail must be addressed to the Babylonians; but it
breaks in awkwardly and forms a less satisfactory antecedent
than v. 8 to the therefore of v. 7. Nothing is gained by putting
vv. 6–8 after vv. 9–18 (Cond.).—As devastation from the Almighty]
or, reproducing the assonance in ἕσσας, as an overpowering
from the overpowerer (Dr., Joel and Amos, p. 45). The coiner
of the present phrase associated the divine name ἕσσας with
the root ἔφω (212 331 etc.), and must have understood it to mean
the Waster, or Devastator. The actual etymology and original
meaning of the term is altogether obscure; Ἔ frequently renders
by ταύτης ὀπτείρον, whence EV Almighty; the later Greek versions
by ἵππος, which is probably also intended by the MT punctua-
tion ὅτι, he that is sufficient. By modern scholars it has been
explained as "שדוע", my lord? (cp. הרג), or compared with the Babylonian epithet of Bel, שדוע רבּ = great mountain (cp. הרג as an epithet of God). The term occurs nowhere else in the Book of Isaiah. Frequent as an archaism in Job and P, it occurs rarely elsewhere: Gn 4925, Nu 244,16 are, presumably, early, and Ezek 124 105, Ps 6815 91, Ruth 120f., late instances of its use. See, further, on the usage, etymology, and meaning of the name, HPN 196 ff.; Dr., Joel and Amos, 81 f.; EBi. 3326; Ges-B. s.v.—7 f. The sequence to v.5; v.6 being parenthetic, if not interpolated. The Babylonians become paralysed with fear. —All hands] The seat of power, cp. Jos 820, Ps 76.—Hang down] helpless: cp. Jer 5048; also 2 S 41, Jer 624, Ezek 717 2112, Zeph 316, Job 48.—Every heart of man] the heart of man without every is quite a general expression: cp. Ps 10416; every heart is a more exact parallel to all hands. Of man is perhaps a misplaced fragment of the mutilated line that follows, or an interpolation intended to modify every (Babylonian) heart into every heart of mankind. In יָד the distich is 3:3, with the omission, like the neighbouring distichs, 3:2.—8. And they will be dismayed] according to Di. the subj. is the owners of the hearts and hands just mentioned in v.7: very improbable; the word יָד is the fragment of a lost distich.—a. d. For the figure of birth-pangs, never found in the prophecies of Isaiah, see 218, Jl 26, Jer 5048 4924, Ps 487.—Their faces are aflame] in feverish excitement; cp. Nah 211, Jl 26.

7. The obvious parallelism of "לכל וניב וניב והמציתית וגו" and the prevalent parallelism within the distichs, makes the theory that "לכל וניב וניב והמציתית וגו (Du., Che., Box) is another, far less probable than the theory of mutilation stated above.—8. [אני] either the obj. them is omitted, or יי is the obj.; for يָהָו with similar objects, cp. Job 1820 (יָד not אֲדֹם) 216 (construction ambiguous).

9–13. Darkness and universal commotion accompanying Yahweh’s judgment of the world for its wickedness.—9a. b. On the text, see phil. n.—10. Darkness: cp. 520 822, Am 89, Ezek 3018 327f., Zeph 115, Jl 210 34 415 Jer 423: see, further, KAT3, p. 393.—10a. b. Possibly a variant of c. (d.). Note the absence of parallelism.—Its Orions] “Orion and other constellations of the same brilliancy” (BDB). But the plural is strange, and was perhaps not read by אדֹם: see phil. n. Other allusions to Orion are Am 58, Job 99 3831+; The identification
of פָּעַם with Orion goes back to ג and is probably correct; if so, the name meaning fool goes back to a myth of "some fool-hardy, heaven-daring rebel, who was chained to the sky for his impiety" (Dr., Joel and Amos, 179); for etymological speculations, see Harper's note on Am 5\(^8\).—**II f. Yahweh speaks.  —The world] יְהֹוָה is never, like יִרְאָה, limited to a single country. The entire world is to be punished for its wickedness and violence; in 14\(^4\) it is the object of the wickedness and violence for which the king of Babylon is to be punished. The following terms, the wicked, the presumptuous, the awe-inspiring (25\(^3\)), may be as wide and universal as the world; but they might also apply specifically to the Babylonians: cp. 14\(^3\) (Hab 14.\(^13\)) for the first; and note that "the most awe-inspiring of the nations" is a standing epithet with Ezekiel for the Babylonians: see Ezk 30\(^10f.\). 32\(^1f.\), 28\(^7\), 31\(^12\).—**II. Gold of Ophir] Cp. Ps 45\(^10\), Job 28\(^16\), 1 Ch 29\(^4\), Job 22\(^24\). This specially prized gold was brought from Ophir, a district reached by ships sailing from 'Esiongeber at the head of the Gulf of 'Akkabah (1 K 9\(^6-8\)). For the understanding of the present passage it is unnecessary to discuss the exact situation of Ophir: for theories, see DB and EBi. s.v.; also Skinner, Genesis, p. 222.—**IIa. b. Cp. Jl 2\(^10\).—The heavens will tremble] so ג: ח, awkwardly continuing the speech of Yahweh (vv.\(^11f.\)), half-way but only half-way through v.\(^18\), I will make the heavens tremble.

9. **הָיוּתַה יְהֹוה אֶת אֲנָוִים יְהוּדָה וּעֲבָדָיו יָרֹאָה the distich is scarcely 3 : 3, still less 3 : 2; nor is the cast of it quite like that of the other distichs. If the text is correct, יִרְאָה is best taken as in apposition to יְהֹוה יְהוּדָה and used as a case of וָאָסָפָה concomitantes (7\(^1\) n.). Possibly ג read read יִרְאָה (acc. of respect: ג–K. 131\(^p\), q). Du. omits יְהוּדָה; but an expressed subject of הִשְׂרָי seems to be required. Possibly, however, יְהוּדָה has been inserted (cp. v.\(^13\)); יִרְאָה would go better with יְהוּדָה than with ה: cp. Job 30\(^21\) (אואו).—**II. cp. יְהוּדָה] ג ol γὰρ διστέρες τοῖς οὐδανοῦ καὶ δ’ ὅπελοι καὶ πᾶσὶ δ’ ἱκάσμος τοῦ οὐδανοῦ: are the last two clauses a paraphrase of יְהוּדָה הָלְבָתֵי קְרֵבָן or did ג read לָבָא, and is the last clause in ג a doublet of the first? Du. omits יְהוּדָה. —**II. read יָמִין: cp. the parallel יָמִין. ג קַדָּד probably = יָמִין—intermediate between יָמִין and the original text.—**II. יָמִין] יָמִין is an error for יָמִין (Ἑπιστήμων: cp. 37\(^20\)).

14-16. Flight from Slaughter and Violation.—All foreigners in Babylon (cp. 47\(^15\), Jer 51\(^44\)) will attempt to flee (v.\(^14\)), but if found there will share the fate of the Babylonians, who will perish one and all.—**II. A flock] ג a wandering (רָעָ֣ש, vol. 1.—16
as 1 S 9:8-20, Ezk 34:4) flock. For the figure, cp. 1 K 22:17, Ezk 34:5.—15f. The Jewish aspiration for vengeance lies behind the description: may the Babylonians be served as they served us! Cp. Ps 137:8f. —Strictly speaking, people who have fallen by the sword (v.16) cannot subsequently (v.16) see their children dashed in pieces (Marti); but it would be precarious to deny the possibility that the present sequence of the vv. is original.—

16b. Cp. Zec 14:2. But the spoiling of the houses stands curiously between the fate of the children and of the women. The text may be in some disorder. Haupt attempts a reconstruction (SBOT, p. 124).

17f. The Medes.—Yahweh speaks again, revealing the instruments of His indignation—the Medes—and (v.19) the object of it, Babylon. Whether the divine speech extends to the end of the poem, and if not how far, is uncertain.—

17. Behold I am about to stir up against them the Medes] cp. Jer 57:11 “Yahweh hath stirred up the spirit of the king (G; ִֽה יֵֽשָּׁמָּל kings) of Media, because his device is against Babylon to destroy it: for it is Yahweh’s vengeance, the vengeance for [what was done in 586 B.C. to (cp. 51:24)] his temple.” The historical situation in both passages is the same; Babylon still occupies a supreme position in the eyes of the world; but the Medes are threatening that supremacy. This historical situation can be closely defined: it existed not earlier than 561 B.C., and it ceased to exist with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B.C. The Medes (מַדָא, Assyr. Madai: in Persian inscriptions Māda) are first mentioned by Shalmaneser II. in the 9th cent. B.C.; and in the 8th century raids against Median chieftains are recorded by the Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser and Sargon. Increasing in power through the 7th cent., the Medes, or Umman (i.e. hordes of) Manda,* at the end of that century, in alliance with, but without the active support of, the Babylonians destroyed Nineveh, and subsequently divided the spoils with the Babylonians. Down to the end of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar friendly relations existed

* Mēda (Herod. i. 106, 185; cp. מדה, Jer 51:20); Umman-Manda (stele of Nabuna’id; ed. Messerschmidt). For some different explanations of the exact relation of the terms Medes, Madai, and (Umman-) Manda to one another, and for fuller discussion of the points summarised above, see KAT* 177, 100-105; S. Langdon, Neubabyl. Königinschriften, 3 ff.; Jeremias, PRE* xii. 491; Sayce, DB, s.v. Medes; Rogers, Hist. of Bab. and Ass. ii. 288 ff., 368 ff.
between the Babylonians and the Medes (or Manda); but these ceased with his death in 561 B.C. From the mention of the Medes only without reference either to the Persians or Cyrus, some infer that the prophecy was written before 549, in which year Cyrus overthrew the Median empire of Astyages (Dr. LOT 6 212).—Who regard not silver, etc.] their attack is not to be turned aside by money payments.—18. The opening words of the v. can be rendered and bows shall dash youths in pieces, but the text is certainly corrupt: see phil. n.—The fruit of the womb] parallel to, and synonymous with, children (or, sons; 12 n.); cp. Ps 127 3, Mic 67.

18. מַשֵּׁל וּמִלְחָם הַשֵּׁרֶשְׁרִים וּמַשֵּׁל דֶּרֶשׁ. The order—subj., obj., vb.—is unusual, but not unknown: Dr. § 208 (3). The vb. being 3rd fem. pl. we cannot be the subj., nor can the subj. be either indef., or the Medes; cp. G, and V sed sagittis parvulos interficiet. מַשֶּׁל must be the subj., if the text be correct; yet it is very doubtful whether bows meant bowmen, or שֶׁרֶשְׁרִים could be predicated of bows: in 2 K 8 12; Ps 137 24 the subj. of מַשֵּׁל is personal. The three words of גֶּדֶנָה occupy the place of a whole distich, i.e. they are the (corrupt) fragment of six words. Du. constructs two distichs out of the three words on the basis of Jer 50 22 18 24; but his distichs are 3:2, and therefore not in the rhythm prevailing in vv. 19–22.

19–22. The eternal desolation of Babylon.—Babylon, still as yet glorious and supreme, will be overthrown as completely as Sodom and Gomorrah: its site will be for ever uninhabited; even nomads will avoid it; it will be given up to solitude-loving and demonic beasts.—19. The beauty] or ornament of the many kingdoms that constituted the Babylonian empire, or perhaps the phrase was intended even more widely.—As when God overthrew] Jer 50 40 (49 18): cp. 17 n.—20a. ב = Jer 50 39b.—The Arab] the Arabs are first mentioned in Jer 3 8: the word means dweller in the steppes, and is applied to the Bedawin of the Syro-Arabian desert.—21. cp. Jer 50 39.—Yelpers] the שָׁרוֹם, whatever the name precisely means (see phil. n.), appear in other descriptions of desolation, 23 13 34 14; Jer 50 39.—Shriekers] סִירָשִׁים; precise meaning uncertain: cp. ה, to cough; ח, a shriek: the Assyr. אַח may mean jackal (Del.), but this beast is probably mentioned just below in v. 22: G echo!—Ostriches] cp. 34 18 43 20, Mic 1 8, Job 30 29.—Satyrs] is commonly used of he-goats, though usually in the phrase יִשְׂרָאֵל, lit. a hairy one of the goats. RV renders he-goats here, but the in-
roduction of domestic animals is improbable. Here as in 34\textsuperscript{14}, Lv 17, 2 Ch 11\textsuperscript{15}, 2 K 23\textsuperscript{8} (point לֵכְיָיָן), we must think of demonic animals, howling after the wont of demons and jinn in unfrequented places, of a hairy nature and perhaps goat-like in form; see EBi. s.v. Satyr.—22. Howling beasts] דָּמוֹן (34\textsuperscript{14}, Jer 50\textsuperscript{89} ג') are perhaps wolves, perhaps jackals, DB i. 620.—Jackals] דָּמוֹן (or wolves, DB i. 620) made mournful noises (Mic 1\textsuperscript{8}), and frequented desolate spots (34\textsuperscript{13}, Jer 9\textsuperscript{10} 10\textsuperscript{82}).

19. תועבטה] nomen verbi (cp. G-K. 45e) with נָעַשׁ; cp. 11\textsuperscript{9} n.—20. בֵּשׁ עוֹל מִלָּה] Jer 50\textsuperscript{89} בֶּשׁ; if בֶּשׁ is inserted here, then v.\textsuperscript{20a. b} is 3 : 3, at present it is exceptionally 2 : 3.—בֶּשׁ] בֶּשׁ: cp. G-K. 68a. (Note.—21. דַּיוֹן] if the text be correct in 23\textsuperscript{13}, Ps 72\textsuperscript{9}, the word may be used of human beings: some therefore derive from the root נָעַשׁ, דַּיוֹן, to be parched, and give it the meaning desert dweller. Another possible derivation is from the root דַּיוֹן, to yelp (Dozy). Desert dweller, or yelper, would be applicable to many animals.

Wild cats (Bochart, Hieroz. iii. c. 14) is badly supported by פַּרְסְחָן, which is from another root. The meaning was already obscure to the early translators: GYS here render by a general term for wild beasts, ט here and in 34\textsuperscript{14}, Jer 50\textsuperscript{9} by נָעָשׂ, which by no means necessarily means monkeys (Walton): in 34\textsuperscript{14} G has δαμάβνα, in Jer 50\textsuperscript{9} ἄνδαλματα, E dracoines.—22. הָדוּשׁ] sing. pred., pl. subj. following (G-K. 145a); yet it is suspicious that this str. should occur in just one of several similar sentences. Whether G's κατουχησουσα implies a reading הבשׁ is doubtful.—אַלְוָתָתוּן] its widows, i.e. deserted palaces! (Ki.). But read read אַחֲרִית הָעָסִיק וּגְזָר] since the pred. precedes, נָעַשׁ was not necessarily meant to be masc. (82\textsuperscript{n}).

XIV. 1-4a. The restoration of Israel.—Babylon must fall (ch. 13), and that immediately (13\textsuperscript{22b, d}); for (14\textsuperscript{1}) it is Yahweh's gracious purpose to set free the Jews from their present captivity, and to re-establish them in Canaan (vv.\textsuperscript{1f}); restored to Canaan, the Jews will sing a paean (14\textsuperscript{4b}. 21) over the fall of the king of Babylon.—These verses are probably an editorial link (see above, p. 233); even the distichs in vv.\textsuperscript{1f} hardly formed the original conclusion of the poem in ch. 13, which is rather to be found at 13\textsuperscript{22} (b or d); and vv.\textsuperscript{2a. 3f}, which are prose, are marked off from both the poem that precedes and that which follows. Whether the editor composed the distichs in vv.\textsuperscript{1f} or derived them from elsewhere (e.g. Zec 17) is uncertain.

Du., al. treat 14\textsuperscript{1-4a} as prose, Cond. as poetry, throughout. It requires some audacity to detect poetry in vv.\textsuperscript{3}.\textsuperscript{4a}; and v.\textsuperscript{2a} would yield but a poor distich 4 : 4, even if the last clause were omitted. But v.\textsuperscript{1a. b. d. e} are as a
matter of fact two distichs (3 : 3) of lines parallel in sense, and \( ^{16} \)a monostich of 3 accents: v. \( ^{20} \) is 3 : 3 or 3 : 2, according as מַשָּׁבָּה be read as one or two accents.

1 For Yahweh will have pity on Jacob,
   And will again choose Israel;
   And he will settle them on their ground.
   And the ger will join himself unto them,
   And they will become members of the House of Jacob.

2 And peoples will take them and bring them to their place, and the House of Israel will possess themselves of them on the ground of Yahweh for slaves and slave-girls,
   \( ^{2b} \) And they will be captors to their captors,
   And the lords of their (former) task-masters.

3 And it shall come to pass in the day that Yahweh giveth thee rest from thy toil and turmoil, and from the hard service which thou wast made to serve, \( ^{4} \) thou shalt utter this taunt-song against the king of Babylon, and say—

I a. b. Cp. Zec 1\(^{17} \) 2\(^{10} \).—I. For Yahweh] The first choice was at the beginning of the nation's history: Dt 7\(^{6} \), Ezk 20\(^{5} \). Yahweh's choice of Israel is a favourite idea of the Deutero-Isaiah's: see 41\(^{7} \) 43\(^{10} \) 44\(^{1} \), and Dr. LOT\(^{6} \), p. 238.—IC. Cp. Zec 2\(^{1} \) 16 and Ezk 37\(^{12} \) 14 "I will bring you into the land of Israel . . . and I will settle you upon your ground." מַשָּׁבָּה is generally used of placing a person in a particular place after his removal from another; cp. 46\(^{7} \), Gn 19\(^{1} \), Jos 6\(^{23} \), Lv 24\(^{12} \), Nu 15\(^{9} \).—The ger] The term originally denoted a person not of the same tribe or people as those among whom he lived, but enjoying at their hands certain conceded (as distinct from inherited) social rights and privileges. Such rights and privileges naturally carried with them some accommodation on the part of the ger to Jewish religious practices; for example, it was incumbent on the Jews to concede the privileges, and on the ger to observe the laws, of the Sabbath (Ex 20\(^{10} \) 23\(^{12} \)); yet as late as the Deuteronomic code the ger was no full member of the holy nation: he might eat unclean food (Dt 14\(^{21} \)). In P the term has become purely religious; persons not Israelite by descent may by accepting the rite of circumcision become as full members of the community as those born Jews, and subject to the same rights and duties (see, e.g., Nu 15\(^{18} \) n.). P seems to
contemplate such persons as were united geographically with the Jewish community in Palestine. Later even this limitation disappears from the word: the ger is any person not of Jewish descent who becomes a convert to the Jewish religion, a proselyte; it is this last sense that the word bore to some of the Greek translators, for in some books ה is rendered by προστιλντος, and with this sense it is used in the Mishna (Levy, *NHB*, s.v.). In the present passage the term probably has much the same sense as in P, and is very nearly equal to convert or proselyte. The restored Jewish community will be enlarged by the inclusion of men of other nations, who, seeing what Yahweh has done for His people (cp. Ps 126), will seek to be united with them. Foreigners who do not become converts will pass into the possession of the restored people, as slaves and slave-girls. The writer contemplates for the world at large two alternatives— conversion to Judaism, or enslavement to the Jews: cp. the alternative presented elsewhere (6οιοης)—conversion or submission.—Join himself נב is used of the close relationship of husband and wife (Gn 29جن), of Levites and priests (Nu 18), and also of religious union which is elsewhere defined as union with Yahweh; see 566, 6, Jer 50, and especially, as parallel to the present usage, Zec 215 "and many nations shall join themselves unto Yahweh . . . and shall become his (ג) people, and they (ג) shall dwell in thy midst."—And they נ the plural pronoun carries on the sing. collective term ger.—Will become members of] נב, too, denotes close attachment: see 1 S 2Θ (Kal), Job 30 (in MT Pual), and especially 1 S 2Θ (Hithp.); Hab 215 is probably corrupt.—2. And peoples shall take them and bring them] cp. 49—To their place נ their country or home; cp. e.g. Nu 24.55.—The ground of Yahweh] Canaan. Cp. "the land of Yahweh," Hos 9; "the holy ground," Zec 216. Restored to their land, the Jews will need slaves, which the later law forbade them to seek from those of their own race (Lv 2544); they will therefore subject to slavery those of the nations who do not seek and obtain incorporation in the Jewish community as gerim (v.1 n.). The tables will be turned: those who had enslaved the Jews will now become their slaves. Babylon for the moment seems to be lost sight of, or rather has become a generic term for all oppressors of the Jews: the writer lives at a time when many nations at one time or another had enslaved the Jews. The
phrase slaves and slave-girls (המְשַׁחלִים) is frequent (e.g. Gn 12:16 20:14 30:48 Jer 34:8ff); as compared with the synonymous אתם, והמשה rather points to more servile conditions, or the more menial nature of the tasks exacted (BDB, s.vv.). Not only the thought, but the phraseology in v.2 seems to be affected by Lv 25:44ff; להרוג is confined to this passage, P (Lv 25:46, Nu 32:18 33:54 34:13), and Ezk 47:18; here and in Lv 25:46 the objects possessed are slaves, in the other passages land. So the vb. הרוג probably echoes Lv 25:43.46.53 and refers to domestic rule, not to political dominion, which RV suggests; שלל, task-master, is used as in Ex 3:7 5:6, Job 3:18; below in v.4 rather differently.—Captors to their captors] Jg 5:12.

3. The exiled nation is now addressed: ct. vv.16.—Giveth thee rest] releases thee from servitude; with this use of תָּשְׁבֵּית, cp. that of תָּשֶׁבֶת in Ex 23:12, Dt 5:14, Job 3:17. In Dt. (e.g. 25:19) the Hiphil is rather differently used: see Che. Introd. 71.—Toil] cp. 88: Ps 127:—Turmoil] וְרָע denotes strong mental agitation proceeding from various causes, here the disquiet of the slave who lives in fear of "the voice of the taskmaster" (Job 3:18, cp. 26).—The hard service] Dt 26:6, Ex 14:6 (P).—In בְּרֶשֶׁת lit. wherewith it was worked with thee, the Pual (Dt 21:3) is the passive of בְּרַע, lit. to work by means of. Lv 25:46, Ex 14, Ezk 34:27 etc.

—4. Thou shalt take up] on the lips, and so utter; cp. 1 K 8:1, Jer 7:29, and the noun נֲשָׁבֵית, 131 n.—Taunt-song] so may be rendered here and in Hab 2:6, Mic 2:4; on other meanings, see Numbers, pp. 299 f., 344 f., xiii f., where it is suggested that the following poem may have been modelled on the ancient נֲשָׁחלִים which used to be actually recited (Nu 21:27), and of which many probably still existed in and after the Exile.

XIV. 4b-21.—The Fall of the Tyrant.

The dominant rhythm is clearly 3:2; parallelism is occasionally between entire periods of 5 accents (see vv.6, 9, 12); but far more frequently it is between the period of 3 and the period of 2 accents. The translation is arranged to bring into relief the more frequent form of parallelism.

Down to v.17b and in 18a, c, 19a, b, 20b-c, 21a, b, the rhythm is for the most part obviously 3:2. But vv.5, 16e, d are 4:2, unless we omit יָשְׂרֵי in the one case and שָׁבֶת in the other; and 9e, f, 10a, b are 2:2, and so also is 12c, d in עִשָּׂר, but prefix יָשְׂרֵי. V.21c, d would be 3:3 if יָשְׂרֵי is part of the line (but see n.). On the obviously mutilated text of v.17c-20a see notes.

The first twenty-one distichs (vv.4b-15) are clearly marked off, as Ew.
already perceived, into three equal strophes of 7 distichs each. It is probable
that this equality of strophes was maintained throughout, but the mutilated
text in vv.17-30 prevents certainty on this point. P contains slightly less than
fourteen distichs between vv.16 and 21: but with the addition of vv.22, 23 it
would contain considerably more.

On the structure of the poem see especially Budde in ZATW, 1882, pp.
12-15, where some earlier theories of strophic division are noticed: Bickell,

I.

4b How hath the Tyrant ceased,
The Terror (?) ceased!
5 Yahweh hath broken the staff of the wicked,
The rod of the rulers;
6 Which smote the peoples in wrath,
With smiting unceasing,
Which angrily trampled (?) on nations,
With 'trampling' (?) unrestrained.
7 All the earth is at rest, is quiet,
They have broken forth into a ringing cry;
8 The fir-trees, too, have rejoiced at thee,
The cedars of Lebanon—
"Since thou hast lain down, there cometh not up
The feller against us."

II.

9 Sheol beneath is thrilled at thee,
Meeting thine advent;
Arousing for thee the shades,
All the bell-wethers of Earth,
Making rise up from their thrones
All the kings of the nations.
10 They shall all of them answer
And say to thee,
"Thou, too, art made weak as we,
Unto us art made like."
11 Brought down unto Sheol is thy pomp,
The music of thy lutes;
Beneath thee maggots are spread,
And (of) worms is thy coverlet.
12 How art thou fallen from Heaven, 
   O Shining One, son of the dawn!
   'How' art thou hewn down to the earth, 
   . . . of 'all' nations!

13 Thou that hadst said in thine heart, 
   "Heaven will I scale;
   Above the stars of God
   Will I set on high my throne,
   That I may sit (enthroned) in the Mount of Assembly,

   In the recesses of the North:

14 I will ascend over the summits of the clouds, 
   Will be like the Most High."

15 Yet to Sheol shalt thou be brought down, 
   To the recesses of the Pit.

4.

16 They that see thee look narrowly at thee, 
   To thee give attention—
   "Is this the man that caused earth to thrill,
   That caused kingdoms to quake;
17 That made the world like a wilderness,
   And overthrew its cities?"

18 All the kings of the nations, 
   They all have lain down in glory,
   Each one in his house;

19 But thou art cast forth 'tombless,' 
   Like an abhorred 'untimely birth' (?)
   . . . . . . . . the slain,
   That are thrust through with the sword,
   That go down to the stones of the Pit,
   As a corpse trodden under foot.
20 Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial,
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5.

20b For thy land hast thou ruined,
Thy people hast thou slain.
Never more shall it be named,
The seed of evil-doers.

21 Prepare a butchery for his sons,
For the iniquity of their fathers,
That they rise not and possess the earth,
And fill the face of the world.

The poem expresses the exultation over the fall of a Tyrant who had treated the peoples of the world with unsparing and unremitting severity: in the first strophe the world-wide terror, which his career had inspired, and the world-wide relief and joy at his fall, are effectively contrasted. The second strophe illustrates in another way the supreme position of the Tyrant in the world of his time: his entrance to Sheol is depicted: he is greeted by all the kings of the earth, who are amazed that one who had been so much greater and more powerful than they, is now weak as one of themselves. In the third strophe the overweening pride and ambition of the Tyrant is pictured: not content with conquering earth, he would have conquered heaven and dethroned the supreme God and King; actually he attains to the lowest depths of Sheol. Such is the fate of his spirit: the fourth strophe dwells on the fate of his dead body: it receives no royal burial in the mausoleum which he had built for himself, but lies unburied, one of a heap of carcases on the battlefield where he fell. The final lines, or strophe (vv.20b-21), are more miscellaneous; first, they find reason for the Tyrant's fate in the fact that he had ruined his own land and people as well as others, and then assert that he and his race shall pass out of memory; and finally they call for the slaughter of his children that no future member of his line may repeat his career.

How far does this poem depict the actual career of a single definite historical individual? How much of it was determined by certain definite events, how much by the imagination of the poet? Of course the speeches of the cedars in v.8, of the shades in v.10, of the Tyrant himself in vv.18f., and of the people on the battlefield after the battle, v.16, all of which betray a keen
dramatic sympathy and power of expression, are due to the poet’s imagination. But how much more? Had the Tyrant actually fallen when the poem was written? Or does the poet merely throw himself forward in imagination to the day and the scene which he feels would be the fitting conclusion to the career of the cruel and arrogant conqueror under whose government he has lived and suffered?

If v.\textsuperscript{19} be imaginative prophecy, then it is simplest to see in the entire poem a paean over Assyria, or Babylon, personified (cp. 10\textsuperscript{5-13}), or “totum corpus Regum Assyriorum et Babylonicorum” (Vitr.), rather than over a particular Assyrian or Babylonian king. So it is of the character and achievements of a people rather than of a single definite monarch that Ezekiel thinks, even when he uses the term “king of Tyre,” “king of Egypt,” in prophecies that have several points of contact with this poem: see Ezek 28–32. For a briefer example of a lament written to suit merely anticipated and not actual conditions, see Am 5\textsuperscript{1f}.

But if v.\textsuperscript{19} refers to an actual historical event, it refers to details of which nothing is otherwise known, whether the king in question be Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar (Jer., Ki.), or Nabonidus (Hitz., Du.). It is indeed recorded that Sargon was “not buried in his house” (cp. v.\textsuperscript{18}); but this does not necessarily imply that he died a violent death, and lay unburied (cp. v.\textsuperscript{19}): moreover, Sargon certainly did not involve his country and people in ruin (v.\textsuperscript{20}): within twelve days of his death his son Sennacherib was recognised as king, and Assyria suffered no serious check for half a century after Sargon’s death.

In *Altir. Forschungen*, i. 193 ff., Winckler attempted to explain v.\textsuperscript{19} as an allusion to the murder of Sennacherib in 682 B.C.; this obviously inadequate explanation with the claim that the poem was written by Isaiah (some sixty years after his Call!) was adopted by W. H. Cobb in *JBLit.* xv. 18 ff. Later, Winckler (ib. pp. 410 ff., *KAT* \textsuperscript{3}, pp. 74 ff.) advanced the far more satisfactory theory that the allusion is to the death of Sargon; an ominous, but through mutilation obscure, reference in the Eponym canon for the year 705 B.C. is illumined by K 4730, an inscription of Sennacherib (also mutilated) in which he says, “the death of Sargon . . . in his house he was not buried . . . (ina bitišu la šiib-ru), the transgression of Sargon, my father by expiation will I expiate: I will [blot out] the transgression which they (?he) committed against a god . . . against the gods of Akkad; because he the curse of the king of the gods up [on himself] brought, in his house he was not [buried]—ina bitišu la šiib-bir.” Recognising that vv.\textsuperscript{20b-21} were unsuitable to Sargon, Wi. held that the ode written in 705 B.C. extended from v.\textsuperscript{1b} to v.\textsuperscript{20a} only. It is
4b–8. The Relief of the World at the Fall of the Tyrant.—How] so v.12: cp. p. 32.—The tyrant] cp. Zec 98; but in v.2 (n.), 93 שמש has a different meaning.—The Terror] uncertain. המרהבה, has been rendered the golden city (EV), the exactress of gold (AVmarg.), the exactress (RVmarg.), tribute (V); but all these renderings rest on the illegitimate assumption (cp. Ki., Ibn Ezra) that a Hebrew noun would be derived from an Aramaic form (הרָעָב, gold) of which the Hebrew form (רָעָב) was in constant use. If ר is, as often, a mis-written ר, the root is רָעָב which is used in 35, in close connection with וב, of the vulgar bluster of the inferior when social restraint is withdrawn; here, where the attitude of the superior, or stronger, is in question, the nuance would be different: Che. renders raging, Box insolent raging. But since in Ca. 65 הרָעָב means something like to terrify and Ar.

Surely, certainly and often means to fear, מרהבה may rather mean Terror, this idea being associated with tyranny or oppression as in 51—5. Yahweh has broken] perhaps originally Broken has been: see note on rhythm.—The staff . . . the rod] cp. 105 98. The genitives that follow each term may be appositional (Kön. iii. 337c. d), so that the phrases mean the wicked staff, the imperious rod; the second phrase is rather differently used in Ezk 1911. The king, or nation, which should have corrected the wicked, has
itself proved wicked: cp. 10\(^5-15\). But if this view of the construction be correct, since the terms מָשָׂא (13\(^{11}\)), מְשָׂא (49\(^7\) 52\(^3\)) are plural, the writer has not in view merely a single individual. —6. Which smote] the sing. הנבּוֹת refers back to rod and staff: cp. v.\(^{29}\).—Trampling] מִשָׂא persecution: but see phil. n.—7. All the earth is ... quiet] מִשָׂא occurs in 18\(^4\), the Hiph. in 7\(^4\) 30\(^{15}\) 32\(^{17}\). It is the vb. used in Judges (e.g. 3\(^{23}\)) of the quiet enjoyed after one of the Judges had delivered Israel from a foreign lord: it is also used of the relief of slaves in Sheol in being quit of their taskmasters (Job 3\(^{115}\) 26).—8. Cp. 37\(^{24}\), Hab 2\(^{17}\). On a rock-relief in the Wady Brissa in Lebanon, Nebuchadnezzar is represented “breaking the cedars with bare hands.” But cedars were felled to satisfy the needs of most Mesopotamian monarchs and of Egyptian monarchs too: see Jeremias, ATAO, p. 494; KAT\(^3\), p. 190. Hebrew poets often represent inanimate objects participating in the joys of others: see, e.g., 55\(^{12}\), Ps 96\(^{115}\): more rarely is the emotion represented as due to a cause peculiarly affecting them alone. See Köberle, Natur u. Geist, p. 105.—Since thou hast lain down] in death; v.\(^{18}\) 43\(^{17}\), Job 14\(^{12}\).

4. הבּית] Del. suggested place where they are made to pine away, from an otherwise unknown הבּית, or הב. Very improbable. It is commonly supposed that גֵּדָה’s הבּיתוּדָּסָּרָס (whence also ס) implies הבּית; but ס is an abstract, הבּיתיט, a personal noun meaning one who presses hard upon another: this would indeed form an admirable parallel to שְׁנַה, but it would require הבּית instead of הבּית. Perhaps ג read הבּיתוּדָּסָּרָס, but in view of the anarthrous הבּית this is not likely to have been the original text. Che. (SBOT, p. 199) conjectures הבּיתוּדָּסָּרָס: cp. v.\(^3\).—6. הבּית] G-K. 130α.—בּיתוּדָּסָּרָס] of non-cessation: a rare use of יָכָּשׁ: BDB, p. 116\(^b\). With יָכָּשׁ, cessation, cp. the use of the vb. in 11\(^{13}\), Am 6\(^7\). In 1\(^8\) 31\(^8\) the noun has a different meaning—apostasy.—כּוֹדֶד ... הבּית the noun should doubtless be cognate with the vb. as in the previous line—כּוֹדֶד ... הבּית. If הב is correct, the noun (cstr.) was הבּית; but הב to rule, though sometimes used of hard or strict rule, does not seem strong enough in the context. Either הב has here exceptionally the sense to trample, like בּוֹדֶד, or to chastise, like בּוֹדֶד: cp. הב in 41\(^8\), Ps 144\(^2\), and in NH to beat, stamp down.—6. הבּית] MT assumes a rare use of הבּית with the finite vb.; see BDB 115\(^b\). Probably הבּית was intended to be an infin. or a noun.—7. הבּית] 44\(^8\) 49\(^{18}\) 54\(^1\) 55\(^{12}\), and, without הב, 52\(^9\), Ps 98\(^4\). The only other occurrence of the root הב is the Piel, meaning to break in pieces, in Mic 3\(^8\). There is no secure pre-exilic instance of הב meaning ioyous cry: cp. Che. Introd. p. 268.

9-11. The Tyrant’s reception in Sheol.—This strophe depicts the excitement and emotions of the inhabitants of Sheol
at the descent into their midst of a monarch whose fame had reported him so great that he seemed likely to escape the common lot that had befallen even monarchs before him. These kings of earlier days, according to a prevalent belief that the distinctions of life were in some degree perpetuated in Sheol (cp. e.g. Ezek 32:21ff., 1 S 28:15), sit each on his throne: they respectfully rise to greet the new-comer and address him with words that reflect at once their sense of his greatness and a certain satisfaction that he is now made weak as they.

9. Sheol] different conceptions of Sheol mingle in the writer's mind: it is a realm beneath (cp. 5:14e) the earth; it is a community of the dead who step forward to meet the newly dead king at his advent among them; it is a person who has all the dead, even the dead kings of the nations, under his control: with this personification cp. 28:15-18, where Sheol is a monarch with whom those who would avoid death would fain make treaties; commoner is the personification of Sheol as a monster with an insatiable appetite for (5:14, Hab 2:6, Pr 11:2 17:20 30:16), or a hunter who snares (Ps 18:6 116:3), the living. On these and other ideas with regard to the dead which appear in this passage, see, further, EBi. 1338 ff.; Hastings, DB i. 739 f., v. 668 f.; F. Schwally, Das Leben nach dem Tode; A. Jeremias, Die Bab. Ass. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode . . . mit berücksichtigung der AT Parallelen; S. Langdon, Baby. Eschatology, in Essays . . . presented . . . to C. A. Briggs (1911), pp. 141-161; and C. Grüneisen, Der Ahnenkultus, pp. 41-60 (with full references to comparative material).—Is thrilled] with excitement at strange and portentous news: יבר, to quake (of the earth, 5:25, 1 S 14:18; of kingdoms, 23:11), is also used of various emotions such as fear, v.16 64:1 32:10f., or grief, 2 S 19:1.—The shades] the עגורים are the inhabitants of the world of the dead, probably so called as the weak (cp. הקז, e.g. 13:7), or enfeebled (cp. v.10), continuations of the strong and lusty living. The term occurs also in 26:14. 19, Job 26:5, Pr 21:8 9:18 21:16, Ps 88:11†, and in Phoenician: cp. e.g. "Mayest thou have no seed among the living under the sun, nor resting-place with the shades" (_MEMBERS מים) — Tabnith Inscr. c. 300 B.C. (Cooke, NSI, p. 26). Whether the term used for the vanished giant race (e.g. Gn 15:20: cp. "the valley of Rephaim," 17:5) is identical in origin, as well as in form, is not absolutely certain; but see, further, Schwally, in ZATW, 1898,
pp. 127-135.—*The bell-wethers* (נְרוֹתֵנִים, he-goats), used specifically of the leaders of the flock (Jer 50:8), and figuratively of human beings as in 34:6, Jer 51:40, Ezk 39:18.—II. No throne in Sheol for the once proud monarch: dethroned and disgraced at the last in life he has nothing in death but a bed of maggots and a coverlet of worms: to this has come the pomp (חָג as 4:2 23:6 60:16) and gay music (ג'14) amid which he lived.

9. מְשָׁכִים ... וְתוֹרְעָה] 3rd pff.: cp. צְפִים ... וְתוֹרְעָה; but if the vbs. were pff. the forms should have been fem. Read therefore מְשָׁכִים ... וְתוֹרְעָה—infin. abs. (G-K. 113b).—II. יָד] Pual 3rd masc.; יָד is acc.; G-K. 121a, b. —3rd pff.] many MSS read יָדָם; יָדָם, covering, 23:18, Ezk 27:7, Lv 9:19; but also with a mere difference of pointing (יָדָם), Gn 8:13 (J) and several times in P.

12-15. The Tyrant attains, not to the heaven of his ambition, but to the lowest hell.—12. The Tyrant is half compared, half (for the moment) identified, with the radiant hero of some astral myth. A similar instance of mingled comparison and identification of an earthly power with a mythic figure occurs in Ezk 28:11-19; whence the myth came, whether from Babylon or Phoenicia,* and what was its exact form is uncertain. The natural phenomenon which gave rise to the myth, and still affects the phraseology of this passage, may be the contrast between the brilliance of a star, such as Venus,† at the seasons when it is apparent, and its total disappearance at other seasons: or it may be “the overpowering of the temporary brilliance of the morning star by the rays of the sun” (EBi. 2828); for other views, see next n. but one.—Shining one] “In the happy realms of light clothed with transcendant brightness.” כָּלִים is to be connected with כָּלִים, to shine (13:10, Job 29:8 31:26 41:10); כָּלִים, to begin to shine: cp. הָלָל, new moon, and Ass. ellen, bright. כָּלִים renders ἡλίος (cp. ἡλιοφόρος, 2 P 1:19); פֹּלָע, Lucifer (cp. Lk 10:18). Cp. the Arabic name for Venus ٧٨٥٧, the bright shining one.—Son of the dawn] so called because the luminary in question shines at dawn: כָּלִים ָּלְעָלָה (cp. Rev 22:16). It would, of course, be easy, if necessary, for וְיָשָׁה to read יֵשָׁה (3:18 n.) and render son of the moon, as Winckler has suggested (Gesch. Isr. ii. 24): then the shining one might be the new crescent moon (לָלָה); or, retaining וְיָשָׁה, we might suppose that

The waning crescent moon (*KAT* 565), which is seen in the morning sky.—*Hewn down to the earth* so the Tyrian king is described as cast down from Eden and the mount of God to the earth, Ezek. 28:16-18. The vb. does not necessarily imply the figure of a tree: see 22:25, Jer. 50:23. The shining one lying powerless on the corpses (יוינ for יונ) of those whom he had led in his warfare against the Most High.—13f. The boast of the tyrant is not merely hyperbolic and figurative; he is identified for the moment with, or represented as renewing the presumptuous rôle of, the mythic hero (v.12). The opening boast (v.13a, b) might indeed be mere hyperbole (cp. Job 20:6), but not what follows: the wicked may in his pride act as though God did not govern the earth (cp. Job 22:12ff.), but he does not think of dethroning the Most High and taking over the administration of Heaven: yet this is precisely what the speaker here means (cp. Ezek. 28:3); he is guided, as Milton very correctly interprets, by

"Ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God."

The Most High, according to the ancient (Babylonian) conceptions which here govern the poet, sat enthroned above the stars of God in the highest point of Heaven, or, as the next line puts it, in the Mountain where the gods assembled in the recesses of the North.—The Mountain of Assembly] cp. "the Mountain of God," Ezek. 28:16; for Assembly (מן), cp. the Tent of Assembly (לאר), which may originally have meant a tent for the assembly of the gods, though to the Hebrews it came to bear quite another meaning (Ex 33:7-11), and may have had a connection with the Babylonian conception of the World-Mountain piercing into heaven, where the gods assembled to determine destinies (Kat 592, cp. p. 355 with references).—*That I may sit] enthroned*; cp. 10:13, Ps. 61:8, and frequently of Yahweh, e.g. Ps 2:9 29:10.—*The recesses*] lit. the two flanks (יתר), but idiomatically the most distant parts: see 37:24, 1 S 24:4, Am 6:10, Jer 6:22. The recesses of the North, in Ezek. 38:16 39:2, has not the

* Gunkel, Schöpfung, p. 133; Che. (SBOT).
same sense as in the present passage to which the difficult passage in Ps 48:3 may be more closely parallel; here, as the context clearly shows, it is the seat of the god. Anu, the chief member of the principal divine triad of the Babylonians, had his throne in heaven, and, apparently, was particularly localised in the Northern heaven, at the north pole: see Kat 352 f.; ATO 20 f.—14. The Most High] יָּרִי here, as in Nu 24:16, in the mouth of a foreigner. Very rare in pre-exilic, but a favourite term with post-exilic, writers: see Che. Origin of the Psalter, p. 84. Note also that, according to Philo Byblus, 'Ελυσών was in use among the Phoenicians (Eus. Pr. Ev. i. 10).—15. The Recesses of the Pit] cf. “the Recesses of the North,” v.18 (n.).—Pit, פֶּת, “poetical and late” (BDB), is a synonym for Sheol (cp. e.g. Ps 88:8, Ezk 26:20 32:18-24), conceived as resembling a vast cistern, roomy below but with a narrow mouth or opening (Ps 69:16—רנְבָּה).

12. וננה] תָּנָה may be prefixed for rhythm’s sake.—ָּוַה MT intends the word to mean howl (151 n.): cp. θῆλον in the morning.—שָׁנִּים by שָׁנִים] סָנִים אֲפֹסְטְלֵדֵד פַּדְנָה פְּדוֹת פָּאָר תְּאֵוְרָה, reading פָּאָר, which must be wrong, for פָּאָר; and before פָּאָר, which may be right. With פָּאָר, cp. Job 14:9, 11:4.

16–20a. The once all-conquering tyrant lies on the battlefield where he fell, a rotting and unburied corpse.—16. Cp. the terms in which Yahweh speaks of His treatment of the proud king of Tyre: “I cast thee out upon the earth, before kings I set thee for them to feast their eyes upon thee . . . I turned thee into ashes upon the earth in the sight of all them that saw thee (דרי לָו, as here). All that knew thee among the peoples were appalled at thee,” Ezk 28:17-19.—Look narrowly] the vb. is also used of peering through a window, Ca 2:9; of the high priest Simon looking out of the Temple, Sir 50:5; of the intense and hungry look of a (poor) man on another’s (well-laden) table, Sir 40:29; of God’s all-seeing gaze out of heaven over men, Ps 33:14: with the last usage, cp. NH וְתָּנֶשׁ, Providence.—16c. d. The same kind of astonished question occurs in 23:7.—17c. 18. It is uncertain, probably owing to textual corruption at this point, whether all or any of the words of these lines belonged to the speech that began in v.16c. From the resumption of the address to the king (cp. vv.12f., 16a. b), we may assume that the speech has ended before v.19, and v.18b. c, which is antithetical to v.19, should naturally also
fall outside the speech. V. 17c (ח: ש omits the last word) may be rendered his prisoners he released not homewards; if כ is substantially correct, then v. 18a all the kings of the nations is best regarded as the second and shorter line of the distich, and as an explanatory apposition to his prisoners (Du.); this, as compared with the verse division of כ, RV, has the merit of maintaining the rhythm of the poem unbroken through vv. 17f, while it still leaves the antithesis of vv. 18b. 6 and 18a. b well stated: all the kings of the nations died indeed, but received honourable burial, and now lie each one in his house, i.e. in the mausoleum which each had built for himself; whereas (v. 19) the king of Babylon is flung forth, dishonoured, one of a mass of common corpses that lie unburied like his own. But this interpretation of vv. 17-19 is open to two objections, the second of which lies even more forcibly against כ, RV. (1) Du. himself perceives, and states, and attempts to meet the first of these difficulties: "Strictly speaking, the kings of the nations cannot have been buried each in his house, if they had not been allowed by Chaldaea to return home. The poet doubtless means that the kings were released owing to the fall of the Chaldaean, so that they recovered their kingdoms and died in peace; and he is guilty of a hysteron proteron in representing them as already dead before the now-expiring Babylonian. But the poet may be pardoned for what would not be tolerated in prose." (2) Unreadiness to release prisoners (ordinary, common captives, according to כ) is not the greatest of enormities; and therefore v. 17c comes as a rather violent anti-climax after the preceding description of the king's creating world-wide desolation and terror. If the main point were the capture of the kings, the anti-climax would be less; and this we could obtain in a slightly emended text from which the מ is omitted as in ש, and נ י ר א נ (כ 1) is read for נ י ר ו נ.

He fettered and released not
All the kings of the nations.

But the hysteron proteron (see above) still remains. Not im-
probably v. 17c is seriously corrupt. — 19-20a. The Tyrant's corpse, unlike those of other kings, which, retaining something of royal state, rest each in its own mausoleum (v. 18), lies outcast, trodden under foot, where it fell pierced with the sword in battle.
So much remains clear: but we have the *disjecta membra* rather than the whole of the distichs in which the poet indicated the contrast to v.18.—*Art cast forth* the vb. is used of corpses left to lie unburied (34^3, Jer 14^16 36^30), or hurried unceremoniously into the nearest available tomb (2 K 13^21), or, like those of malefactors, thrown down to be covered over with stones (Jos 8^29). The vb. is followed in י by יבּרִים, which might be rendered (1) from thy tomb; but the passage is clearly speaking not of disinterment, but of non-interment; or, though much less, naturally after רַבהן, (2) (far) away from thy tomb; see BDB 578a, b. It would be better to treat י as ditographic and read יבּרִים, tombless (Dr.): cp. Ps 52^7 (חמא, tentless), Job 11^16. ג ו אוּסְוְיָ (v.l. אוּסְוַ) probably read אוּסְיַ, on the mountains: see phil. n.—Like an abhorred . . . J the object of comparison is יבּרִים, which is rendered by ס, Theod., and י commonly shoot (11^1 n.). But the adjective and noun in that case seem ill-suited to one another. Di., feeling that abhorred or abominable (cp. Job 15^16; הבנה, abomination, e.g. 1^13) is too strong an epithet for a useless shoot cut out of a tree and thrown away, suggests that combined with the idea of a rejected shoot is that of the scion of a human family expelled and abhorred on account of his badness: improbable. Other versions either gave a different meaning to יבּרִים, or read differently: גבּרִים, Aq. יֹבְרִים, Symm. יַבְרָוֹת, יַבְרָי; and Jer. alludes to sanies as a rendering. Schwally (ZATW, 1891, p. 258) conjectured יַבְרָי, untimely birth (Job 3^16); while Nestle (ib. 1904, pp. 127—129) claimed that יבּרִים meant something like putrefying matter: cp. NH יַבְרָי, decayed matter, liquid and coagulated portions of a corpse.—*The slain* cp. 10^4. יַבְרָי might be a noun (cp. e.g. 63^1), but a garment of the slain is nonsense; better, clothed with the slain, of which יבּרִים with many slain may be merely a paraphrase; but in spite of other rather similar metaphorical uses of יַבְרָי (Job 7^9, Ps 65^14), it is doubtful whether the text is sound here.—*That go down to the stones of the Pit* MT treats יִבְרַי, like the participles that precede, as a plural; and this is probably right. That יִבְרַי is sing. —an instance of יָד campaginis (cp. 1^21, Zec 11^17, La 1^1)—thou that goest down (Du.), is abstractly possible. יבּרִים has those that go down to Hades, which is probably a correct paraphrase, if not the literal rendering of an earlier and shorter text containing the phrase that occurs in 37^18, Ps 36^4 etc. If יַבְרָי, to the
stones of, is not a corrupt fragment that has crept into מ, since
is probably an error for the bases of the Pit, i.e. of
Sheol (v.16 n.), with which cp. the bases of the earth (Job 38), a
synonym with “the recesses of the Pit” (v.16).* Others
understand by the stones of the Pit, the tomb or grave—the
stone or rock tomb of the rich (22; Ges.), or the casual
grave into which an enemy cast a fallen foe, covering him with
stones (2 S 18; Du.), or the stones which were rolled up to
or placed over the mouth of a grave (Mt 28; Hitz.).—20.
With them] with whom? doubtful. Ew., Di. answer, with those
that go down to the stones of the Pit (i.e. the graves of the rich,
see last n.), which clause they extract from v.19 and prefix as a
casus pendens to v.20. Du. prefixes by conjecture thy fathers—
though not to be joined with them.

16a. b. renders briefly, and adds (cp. תָּמָן) an explanatory קא
originally, but is fem.—17.
renders an objection to an objection] on the wider question of the text as affected by exegesis,
see above. Note that read מֵה (without the suffix) or מ (rendered collectively) instead of מ. The emphatic position of the object "who reads it in מ admits of no obvious explanation,
and may be a further indication of corruption. Che., Marti recon-
struct vv.17b-18 as follows:

But a feeble redundancy, whereas it stands in מ is effective. Kit. al.:

But the first of these distichs, though rhythmically tolerable, is still anti-
climactic in sense, and the second distich is rhythmically bad.—19, 20a. After the first five words the rhythmical scheme of the poem breaks down in מ. It differs to some extent, but yields no satisfactory text. If as = כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל (Du., Che.), it is nearer the original text than מ. On תָּסַּדְּמִים
אֶלֶּה, see above. For read כְּלָל and then treated as = כְּלָי כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל (Ezk 16). אֱלֹהִים קָדוֹשִׁים כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל; with א... אֱלֹהִים כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל כְּלָל, cp.

* Gunkel, Schöpfung u. Chaos, p. 133; Che. (SBOT).
Gn 49:—Elaborate reconstructions such as Du. and Che., who regard vv. 19-20 as the mutilated fragment of five distichs, offer, are of necessity very uncertain; but it is unwise to inventemin improbable. Here Then Among, not my fill taken for 40-66, in may not without that Ps been tyranny place the downfall their Assyria, the phrase the downfall of the state and people, that the people have exchanged the rôle of the conqueror for the fate of the conquered? Then this particular trait might fit Nabonidus, or the last king of Assyria, or, perhaps best of all, the personified nation.—Seed of evil-doers] the evil-doer. Even if the plural is correct, the phrase has not quite the same meaning as in 1: here it means the descendants of the evil and hurtful kings.—A butchery] Heb may denote either the act of slaughtering animals, or the place where they are slaughtered.—Fathers] father.—And fill the face of the world] with cities—to subserve their tyranny (Del.): improbable. Many emendations of have been suggested (see below), but the line is rhythmically complete without it (Du., Marti). Both and the face of, which is not expressed by, may be additions; and the original text may have had the common parallelism earth and world (see, e.g., 24, 34).

21. נבש seems to have the force of so that ... not; cp. Ps 19:78. With the exception of two not altogether certain occurrences in Hos 7:9, is confined to the later literature—chs. 26. 33. 35, and 40-66, Pr., Job, 1 Ch., Ps.—Or] πολέμων, which is probably an error for πολέμων (Aq., Theod., Symm., and some MSS of), or πολέμων = Διοί, taken in its Aramaic sense of enemy (Dn 4:16): cp. Τ. Among emendations that have been suggested are סינ (Hitz.), סינ (Ew.), סינ תוב (Di.), סינ, to be taken closely with רשי in v. 21 (Cobb).

22-23. Yahweh promises to wipe out the Babylonians, and to make of Babylon a desolate city.—This is scarcely either poetry or the original continuation of vv. 40b-21: see above, p. 233 f.—I will arise against] 312. The response to v. 21.—Saith] dw thrice in these verses: nowhere else in 13-1421.
—I will cut off name and remnant] and so wipe out of existence and memory: the response to v. 23.
32. The possession of the porcupine] probably Pilpel of נַב, otherwise unknown. For a full discussion of the form, see König, i. 652 f.

XIV. 24-27.—Yahweh's plan to destroy Assyria on the Mountains of Palestine.

The opening words down to נַב נַב fall outside the rhythmical scheme, are absent from כָּר, and may be editorial. The ten lines that follow fall into 5 distichs of equal (or approximately equal) lines parallel to one another in sense. Two, or if נַבָּב be omitted in v. 25a, three, of the distichs are 4:4;
25a. b is 3:3; 25c. d 3:4, or, with the omission of נַב, 3:3.

24 Yahweh of Hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely
As I have thought, so shall it come to pass,
And as I have planned—even that shall be realised;
25 That I will break Assyria in my land,
And trample him on my mountains.
And his yoke shall remove from upon them,
And his burden from upon his shoulder shall remove.

26 This is the plan that hath been planned against the whole earth,
And this is the hand that has been stretched out against all the nations:
27 For Yahweh of Hosts hath planned, who then can annul?
And his hand is the out-stretched (hand); who then can turn it back?
This poem or fragment is unconnected with that which precedes it; it is separated by a concluding and, in 38, by an initial formula; it is also distinguished by difference of rhythm and subject; vv.1-23 deal with the approaching fall of Babylon, vv.24-27 with the approaching destruction of Assyria. It is separated from what follows by a fresh editorial note (v.28). Some see in the fragment a misplaced conclusion to 10-13-15 (Che.), or to 10-16 (Cond.), or to 10 (Ges.), or to 187 (Ew.); but after any of these passages v.24 would be necessary to explain the 1st pers. of v.24b, and v.24a is not rhythmical.

If the fragment is Isaiah’s (cp. e.g. Du., Che. Introd. 79), it may have been written during the campaign of Sennacherib; but the phrase my mountains (v.25), and ideas in v.25 and v.26 recalling Ezekiel and later writers, leave room for the suspicion that it is the work of a post-exilic writer familiar with Isaiah’s prophecies: see Stade in ZATW iii. 16, and Marti.

24. Yahweh . . . hath sworn] cp. Am 42 6 87, Gn 2216, and, probably, Is 56; also, in later writings, e.g. 45-54 549 628, Jer 226, Ps 9511.—As I have thought] Nu 3356: נַעַם occurs also in 107, but it is questionable whether this clause refers back to 107: the subject of the sentence is not emphasised so as to suggest an antithesis between Yahweh’s thought and Assyria’s.—As I have planned] This, like all Yahweh’s (Ps 3311, Pr 1921), but unlike many human (810), plans, will be carried out; for נַעַם or נַעַם, see also 519 1912, 17 239 251 4610, Jer 4920 5045.—Yahweh’s plan is to destroy Assyria, and in order that it may be clear that He is the author of this destruction, the destruction is to take place in His own land (cp. Ezek 3816, 22f. 3921f.), on the hills of Palestine; cp. 1012. n. Yahweh is conceived as a warrior (cp. 63-6) mangling (נָשָׁמ, cp. Jer 1417 1911, Is 3026, Lev 2119) and then trampling (Ps 446 6014, Zec 105) on the prostrate corpse (cp. 1419) of Assyria; for similar personifications of nations, see 13 n. 1018 n.—Assyria] if the term has its primary sense and refers to the Assyrian Empire, this passage was written at all events before the close of the 7th cent., and anticipates the elaboration of the idea in Ezek 38. If, as in Ezr 622, Assyria is used of one of the empires that succeeded Assyria proper, the passage may be late and dependent on Ezek 38. 39.—My mountains] cp. 659, but probably not Ezek 3821. With Ezek.
term “mountains of Israel” is a favourite mode of reference to Palestine: cp. 62f. 19, and, in reference to the scene of the destruction of the world power, 392. 4. 17.—25c. d. Cp. 1c27. The lines may be an interpolation; Judah, to whom the pronouns in upon them and his shoulder must refer, has not been mentioned. —26. Not only Assyria, strictly speaking, is the object of Yahweh’s plan: all the nations of the world also must assemble on the mountains of Judah to feel there the destructive power of Yahweh: cp. Jl 4 (3)12ff. Some understand all the earth and all the nations to be entirely synonymous with Assyria: so Di., who appeals to 1014 89 1712f. 297 3028, and also 135.—The hand that has been stretched out] 525 911.—27. Cp. Nu 2319, Is 4313, Dn 482 (36), job912.

24. נלישו... (ו) for the vbs. and the fem., cp. 77; for the proph. pf., Dr. § 14.—25. רבדות is dependent on ונ Libyan, וקסי, in v.24; in the parallel clause the inf. passes over into the impf.: Dr. §§ 117, 118. —ונכש some would read ונכש: cp. אליגוס. וסר'] overloads the line and inelegantly repeats the vb. of the parallel line.

28–32.—The Fate of Philistia.

The introductory note, v.28, is prose; vv.29–31 consist of 6 distichs, 32c. d is another distich; the opening words of v.33 are not, but look like the fragment of another distich. The distichs consist of balanced lines mostly parallel in sense: the length of the line is 3 or 4 accents. On a possible intrusion of ויה into 30c, which at present overbalances 30d, see n. below; ויה in v.30d should be read as two accents.

28 In the year that King Ahaz died was this oracle:—

29 Rejoice not, O entire Philistia,
Because the rod that smote thee has been broken;
For from the root of the serpent shall issue an asp,
And its fruit shall be a flying fiery serpent.

30 And the poorest of the poor shall feed,
And the needy will lie down in security;
And ‘he’ will cause thy root to die of hunger,
And thy remnant will he slay.

31 Howl, (every) town! cry out, (every) city!
Faint away, entire Philistia!
For out of the north smoke cometh,
And there is no straggler in his ranks.
And what answer will . . . give
... the messengers of the nation (?)?
"That it is Yahweh who hath founded Sion,
And in her the afflicted of his people take refuge."

Some event, presumably the death, overthrow, or enfeeblement of some victorious adversary, who had inflicted severe suffering on the entire Philistine country, has led the Philistines to rejoice (cp. 2 S 1:29). The prophet warns them that their rejoicing will be short-lived, for worse things await them from the same quarter; an army descending from the N. will destroy the Philistines, root and branch.

Appended to (v.32), and at present interwoven with (v.39a, b), this prediction of the destruction of Philistia are promises that the poor (v.39), i.e. the Jewish nation, or the afflicted part of that nation (v.32), will find security in Sion.

So much seems clear; but the identification of the adversary and the determination of the date of the poem are closely related problems which cannot be solved with certainty. Some theories may be ruled out at once as inconsistent with a sound exegesis; unless the unity of the poem be abandoned, so that v.29 is referred to one and v.31 to another poem, the "asp" and the "fiery serpent" and "the smoke from the North" all refer, directly or indirectly, to the person, or power, that is to destroy Philistia. But, since the "asp" and "the fiery serpent" are sprung from the same root as "the rod" that has already inflicted injury on Philistia, we may infer (1) that the writer has the same hostile nation in view throughout, and believes that the same nation that has already smitten Philistia will destroy it; and (2) that this nation is not Judah, for Judah would have attacked Philistia from the East (cp. 9:11 11:14); this power descends from the North: the writer is doubtless thinking of the great coast road from the N. by which alike Assyrian, Babylonian, and, later, Greek invaders came. On the ground, then, of both (1) and (2) we may rule out the theories that "the rod" was Ahaz (or Uzziah; Rashi, Ki.), the "asp" Hezekiah, and the "fiery serpent" the Messiah (Del.; cp. T, Jer.); or that "the rod" was the Jewish, the "asp" the Assyrian, dominion over Philistia (Di.): on the ground of (2) we may dismiss the theory that "rod" and "asp" indicate different periods of Jewish dominion, interrupted by a period of weakness (Ges.); and on the ground of (1) the
theory that the "rod" was the Persian dominion, and the "asp" Alexander the Great (Du., Marti).

But various possibilities remain; though the number is reduced, if we can prove that the poem dates from the 8th century. According to the introductory note, it does so; but the evidence of this note has been much challenged. Some hold that it is an editor's inference from the contents of the poem; interpreting the rod of Ahaz and the asp of Hezekiah, he inferred, so it is suggested, that the occasion of the poem must have been the death of Ahaz, which the poem describes as the breaking of the rod. This is extremely improbable; for Ahaz did not smite the Philistines, but was smitten by them (2 Ch 28:18); it is one thing for interpreters with the note before them, and even then in desperation, to identify the rod with Ahaz; quite another for an editor uninfluenced by the note to stumble on an interpretation so improbable that to avoid it the mediaeval Jewish commentators fell into other improbabilities by identifying the rod with Uzziah, who died several years before Ahaz. The possibility remains that a late editor inferred, on grounds no longer obvious, the date, not the occasion, of the poem, and gave his chronological note the same form as that in 6:1. Yet this is not very probable, and were it not for the suspicious קֵדֶם at the end of the note, might be dismissed; but קֵדֶם may be a substitute for רָבע, or the whole of the last clause may be a substitute for a different conclusion more resembling the form of 20:1.

There is probability, then, that the chronological note is genuinely ancient, and not a mere imitation of an old type of note; its evidence, therefore, must not be lightly dismissed.

Unfortunately, even if the note be correct, the date remains uncertain within limits of a dozen years or so. Ahaz was certainly alive in 728, but some chronological schemes place his death in 727, i.e. in the 6th year before 722 B.C. (2 K 18:10), others in 715 or 714, i.e. in the 14th year before 701 (361), others at some intermediate date such as 720. If 727 be the correct date, the "rod" would be Tiglath-pileser, who also died in that year and had treated Philistia with severity; the event of the year 734 singled out for reference in the Eponym canon is Tiglath-pileser's campaign in Philistia, and we have more particular evidence of his treatment of Gaza and Ashkelon. It can be no objection to this theory that Tiglath-pileser's immediate successor, Shalmaneser, inflicted, so far as is known, no defeat on Philistia; for while the "rod" is matter of history to the prophet, the "asp" is subject of prediction: in 727, Isaiah may have anticipated a renewal of Assyrian hostility against Philistia, which as a matter of fact did not take place till the reign of Sargon, just
as he anticipated the destruction of Samaria a dozen years earlier than the actual event.

It is possible that the death of Shalmaneser (722) and the death of Ahaz nearly synchronised; and some have identified the "rod" with Shalmaneser. But it does not seem probable that Shalmaneser ever troubled Philistia, though the lack of inscriptions by him does not admit of a positive statement on this point.

Rejecting the evidence of the note, many have identified the "rod" with Sargon, whose death occurred in 705. Sargon's treatment of Philistia in 720 and again in 711 (ch. 20) was severer even than Tiglath-pileser's.

Accepting the note and placing the death of Ahaz in 720, i.e. 16 years (2 K 16:2) after c. 735, when Ahaz was already (ch. 7), though he had probably only just become, king, but abandoning the interpretation of the broken rod as a reference to the death of a king, Wi. attributes the joy of Philistia to the effect of the news of the battle Dur-ilu in 721: according to Sargon's own account, he was successful in this battle against the Elamites, the allies of Merodach-baladan; but, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, Sargon was defeated, and subsequent events show that it was certainly several years before Sargon made good his position in Babylon. Che. adopted this theory in Introd. p. 81, but abandoned it later (SBOT, p. 195) in favour of the theory that 14^28-32 is, like 14^4-21, a post-exilic poem referring to Sennacherib's death in 681.

Du. and Marti have also argued for a non-Isaianic origin, and indeed for a post-exilic date on these grounds: (1) v. 32 attributes the foundation of Sion to Yahweh, 29^1 to David; (2) the application of the terms יִשְׂרָאֵל, יִתְנָכָה, יִשְׂרָאֵל in vv. 30a. b. 32; (3) רֹדֶב conjecturally substituted for בְּבֵית in v. 30a. (1) and (3) have no great weight: for if David's battles might be called Yahweh's battles (1 S 25:28), surely David's foundation might also be called Yahweh's foundation: Isaiah surely conceived Yahweh as working through David; יָדָי in v. 30 is anything but certain (see n.). (2) is not without weight: see notes below. But 30a. b. 32, the only parts of the poem affected by the argument, might well be subsequent additions (see especially n. on 30a. b).

28. Cp. 6^1; and on the meaning and probable genuineness of the note, see above.—29. Philistia מֵלָה פְּלִיסְטִיָּה occurs in the OT (v. 3^1, Ex 15:14, Jl 4^1, Ps 60:10 = 108^10 83^8 87^4) only as a poetical synonym for "the land of the Philistines" אבל פְּלִיסְטִיָּה; but Palastu,
Pilistu, occurs in Assyr., e.g. ana (matu) Pilišta in the Eponym Canon for 734, and Pilesēth in Egyptian Inscription of the 22nd Dynasty (c. 945–745 B.C.): see H. Vincent, Canaan, 454.—The staff that smote thee] cp. 105, or the staff of thy smiter (G): cp. 109–24 146 (93); in the latter case the broken stick corresponds directly to the death of the king at whose hands Philistia has suffered; in the former, to the temporary withdrawal from Philistia of the hostile army, probably in consequence of the death of the king. If under the dead king the Philistines were smitten with a stick, under the new king they will be smitten with serpents (cp. 1 K 1214). For suggested identifications, see above.—For from the root of the serpent] rejoice not, for worse is to follow than has yet come and from the same quarter. At present there is an abrupt change of figure: serpent takes the place of rod in the previous line. Possibly serpent (шура) is a gloss on the rare word שׁנ, asp, and the original text ran from its root, i.e. the root whence the rod came. In any case the meaning is that the future greater mischief will issue from the same quarter as the mischief that is past; if asp and fiery serpent refer to Assyrian king(s), so too does rod; and if rod referred to a Jewish king or dominion, so too would asp and fiery serpent. It is quite unsafe to assume that v.29c, d refer to successive stages in a future increasing peril (Di.), and asp and fiery serpent to distinct persons, one succeeding to and proving more dangerous than the other. Certainly, if שׁנ be original in v.29c, it is most natural to explain its fruit as meaning the fruit of the serpent (шура) rather than the fruit of the asp: the two lines are then parallel and synonymous statements of the same fact or anticipation—the future issue and offspring of the root whence the rod was taken will be dangerous serpents. Again, there is no sound evidence that three terms שׁנ, פלד, and פלש refer to reptiles of differing degrees of venomousness. The first is generic (Gn 3), but is used of dangerous serpents (Gn 4917, Am 519, Ec 108, Ps 585 (4)); the second and third refer to specific types of venomous reptiles, actual or mythical: but what particular types are intended cannot be determined. The mentioned here only may be the same as the נו as of 18 59, Jer 817, Pr 2324; for the מ党工委, see 306; and for the meaning of הרש, cp. 62 n., Nu 216 n.—30. The hostile power will destroy Philistia with famine and the sword of war, but will leave Judah unmolested: the Jews will live in peace and plenty
such must be the meaning, if v.50a. b is original; yet the use of the terms poor and needy for Yahweh's people savours more of the Psalter than of Isaiah: 109, of course, being different, probably also 111. Possibly these lines at least are later than the age of Isaiah. In any case they are probably misplaced: for the peace and plenty of the poor, v.50a. b, is no natural sequence (נָוִּי) to the succession to the stick of a serpent (v.29), nor again is the slaughter of the Philistines (v.50c. d) a natural sequence (חָטֵם) to the peace and plenty of Judah; on the other hand, v.50c. d is the sequence of v.29; while 50a. b could find a more suitable place after v.82.—The poorest of the poor [lit. the firstborn of the poor]: the nearest parallels to the idiom are in Job 18:3, Ps 89:28 (27). But the text is open to suspicion; the superlative seems pointless (see line b), and parallelism suggests that the term synonymous with לֹֽאָמְסָה in the next line: דַּרְרָה (Dt 33:28, Jer 49:81: cp. נַֽעֲרָה, Nu 23:9, Mic 7:14) would be suitable, the poor shall feed by themselves, unmolested by the nations (cp. Nu 23:9). Easier palaeographical emendations (see phil. n.) give a definition of place; but this would form a less satisfactory parallel: the line then reads, And the poor shall feed on my meadow or on my mountains (v.25 n.); in this case Yahweh is the speaker.—And he will cause to die . . . he will slay] the rendering rests on the reading מָלַא (אִזְזָר) for מָלַא, I will slay; the subject is the same as in v.29c. d. Many prefer to obtain two vbs. in the first person by following לָעַד instead of לָעַד in the first line, and reading לָעַד instead of לָעַד in the second: in this case Yahweh is the subj.—Thy root] in contrast to the root of v.29, which sends up stronger growth, the root of Philistia will die. But (1) the parallel line does not maintain the figure of a tree; ct. 5:24, Hos 9:18; (2) a dead tree is not a good figure of complete destruction (cp. Job 14:8); (3) trees die for lack of water; the famine of which Philistia is to die is probably the famine of beleaguered cities (cp. 5:18), and some term more immediately suggestive of human beings seems wanted; consequently לָעַד's thy seed (cp. e.g. 54:8) may represent the original text.—31. Town] lit. gate: cp. the Deuteronomistic phrase "within thy gates," i.e. in all thy towns.—From the north] cp. Jer 1:14 22:47:—Smoke] if this is correct, the enemy is represented as capturing and burning the country as it moves southward towards Philistia: the next line,
in spite of the uncertainty of the last word (see phil. n.), suggests that a more personal term may have been used; the enemy moves on compactly and rapidly with no straggler, lit. one who is separated, in his ranks; cp. 527.—32. In contrast to Philistia (vv. 29-31), Sion, the existing city (ct. 2816 n.), is safe, for none other than Yahweh has founded it (cp. 5411, Ps 871): in Sion, Yahweh's people will find a secure retreat (cp. v. 30a, b with n.). So much is clear; but how this idea was introduced and connected with what proceeds is not clear, for the opening words are a corrupt fragment of an entire distich (see phil. n.). It is possible that v. 32 was not the original continuation of v. 31; but if it was, then the odd expression the messengers of (the) nation, if not itself the result of corruption, must imply that the Philistines send envoys to Jerusalem (cp. 184, Jer 273) to seek aid, and receive in response the words of 32c, d—for them a somewhat irrelevant answer. The answer would doubtless be more relevant if addressed to messengers of Assyria demanding the capitulation of Jerusalem; but the difficulty is to establish the connection of an Assyrian embassy to Jerusalem with a threat of the destruction of Philistia; the difficulty remains if we read nations (G).—The afflicted of his people] does this mean that another portion of Yahweh's people will not find refuge there? If v. 32b is in agreement with v. 30a, b and the terms poor and needy here mean Judah as opposed to Philistia, this is improbable. At the same time it is rather unsatisfactory to take מַעְלָה as an appositional gen. and render the afflicted, (even) his people. Possibly מַעְלָה is an error (cp. 102): the term, like those of v. 30a, b, is more easily explicable by post-exilic circumstances than by those of the 8th cent.

28. מִשָּׁרֶה] [G תָּרְפַּה, as in 151, 217, 221, 231.—30. יִתְרוֹ] [S MT יִתְרוֹ, first-born of; Lowth יִתְרוֹ, (the poor shall feed on) my choice first-fruits. Koppe proposed יִתְרוֹ, in my meadows; and many have adopted this or יִתְרוֹ, in my meadow; but see 3053 n.; Che., Marti יִתְרוֹ, on my mountains; but ct. יִתְרוֹ, v. 25. For another suggestion, see above. G's equivalent for 실ו is מִשָּׁרֶה. בֹּאֵת. יִתְרוֹ] [G דָּנָּלֶה ... דָּנָּלֶה; S ... דָּנָּלֶה; 문 ... 단재; ἀντίρρητα ... interire faciam ... interdicam. On the choice of readings, see above.—משו] [G תָּרְפַּה בְּבָא; S בַּבּ.—31. רֶשֶׁת] [H רֶשֶׁת is here exceptionally fem.; Kön. iii. 249m.—בָּעָל inf. abs. Niph.: G-K. 72v, 113bh.—רֶשֶׁת] so pointed, here only; and רֶשֶׁת nowhere has quite the sense required here; the word רֶשֶׁת is explained as the place appointed (-packages) for the soldier, i.e. the ranks of an army. Marti proposes רֶשֶׁת; cp.
in the previous line. On $\Theta$'s rendering of וָאַל by kal oṣēn τῶν ἐλαβεῖ, see Ges. p. 102, and Otley.—32. The verse certainly, if v. 33 is part of the poem in 29-31, these words look like a fragment of a distich. $\epsilon$ reading עִבֵּד for וָאַל, and (cp. also $\Theta$) probably עִבֵּד for נִשְׁע, and כֹּל for מְדָק. The best that can be done with מִשְׁעָה is to treat נִשְׁע as a vb. with an indefinite subject (G-K. 144d), what then shall one answer (RV); cp. $\Phi$: this is obviously unsatisfactory. $\Sigma$ reads וְנַבָּה, what answer shall we give—also improbable. Very unconvincing attempts to complete the distich have been made by Bick., Du., and Che.

XV. XVI.—The overthrow of Moab.

These chapters, containing the oracle (131 n.) of Moab, in part describe and lament, in part, as it seems, predict a great calamity. An appendix, 1613f, treats the entire oracle as a "word of Yahweh," i.e. a prophecy, which was spoken long ago and has hitherto remained unfulfilled, but is now to be fulfilled within the term of three years.

The oracle is probably enough not the work of a single writer. It would be easier to speak with decision on this point if the text were less corrupt, and the interpretation of many details less uncertain.

In the first place, it is to be noted that the major part of the oracle re-appears with many textual variations and much difference of order in Jer 48.* Thus:

Is 151-2b absent from Jeremiah; yet cp. 481518.
152c-7a = Jer 4837a, 38, 34a, 31 (cp. 36a, b) 34b, 5, 34d, 36a, 36b, 36d.
157b-165 absent from Jeremiah.
166-11 = Jer 48329b, 36a, b, 32c, b, a, d, 33, 36a, b.
1612 absent from Jeremiah.

Even in 152c-7a and 166-11 there are a few lines, or clauses, not incorporated in Jer.; the more important are 155b, 6b, 6a, 9a. But it remains remarkable that whereas almost the whole of 151-7a 166-11 is quoted, or has left its trace, in Jer 48, no trace of the long intervening section is to be found there. Was then the compiler of the cento in Jer 48 familiar with Is 15, 16, or did he and the editor of Is 15. 16 alike make use of an elegy over Moab of which the whole or much of Is 157b-165 and 1612 formed no part? The latter alternative seems the more probable; for there is a difference of character between A 151-7a 166-11 and

* Cp. the translation and notes in Dr. Book of Jer. 280ff.
much of B 15⁷b–16⁵ 16¹². A is throughout descriptive, or expressive, of the emotions which naturally find an outlet in elegy: the first person, when it is used (Is 15⁵ 16⁹, 11: also Jer 48³⁴ = Is 16⁷), refers to the poet. On the other hand, in B the first person (15⁹b ? 16¹ ⁴) refers to Yahweh, and the prophetic element is conspicuous; note נִּשָּׁה, 16², 12, and the other clearly prophetic statements in 15⁹b 16⁵. A less significant difference is the dramatic character, as it appears, of 16¹⁴. But this difference of character in the different sections of Is 15. 16 cannot be the reason why Jer 48 does not quote from B as well as A; for Jer 48 has incorporated the passages from A, the elegy, into a whole which resembles B in being prophetic, and in introducing Yahweh as the speaker (cp. e.g. Jer 48¹, 12. 30. 35. 38).

If we are right in this conclusion, we have to inquire whether the extent of the elegy can be more closely determined. (1) Such parts of 15⁷b–16⁵ as are not clearly prophetic may belong to the elegy and have been omitted by Jer., as are a few lines of the remainder of Is 15. 16. Not improbably, then, 15⁷b–⁹a belonged to the elegy; at all events they scarcely formed part of the prophecy, though it is possible that they were variants or parallels not yet incorporated in the elegy when the editor of Jer 48 made use of it. Even 16², if נִּשָּׁה be read for נִּשָּׁה, might have formed part of the elegy; but the awkwardness which is occasioned by the present position of this v. may be due to the certainly corrupt state of 16¹. (2) Possibly enough some of the original elegy has failed of preservation in either Is. or Jer. We appear to have in 15⁶e. d. ⁵a 16⁷ and 16¹¹ a thrice-repeated, though in each case more or less mutilated, refrain. The number of rhythmically similar lines at present preceding each occurrence of the refrain is nearly though not quite equal. If, however, 15⁹b–16⁶, entire or in large part, were included in the elegy, great inequality would result; and this is some confirmation of the conclusion that most at least of that section is really foreign to the elegy. (3) 16⁶ though also found in Jer. is unlike the rest of the elegy (note the 1st plural), and may be a reflection on it which, at an early period of the text, was incorporated in the elegy.

To facilitate the study of the section along lines which seem safest where all is uncertain and many details most uncertain, a continuous translation—in many respects quite tentative—of
MOAB
AND
PART OF JUDAH
to illustrate the Commentary
on Is. X 27-32, XV, XVI
Scale of English Miles
Modern names are in thin type

35°20' Long East 35°40' of Greenwich 36°
the elegy is given first. The translation of the prophetic section 15\textsuperscript{0b}-16\textsuperscript{5} is given below, p. 286, and of 16\textsuperscript{12} in its place.

XV. 1-9a+XVI. (6) 7-11. — An Elegy on Moab.

The text is so uncertain, or ambiguous, that it is difficult to speak with certainty of the rhythm. It is often said to be *kinah* rhythm; but if so, the variation 2:2 for 3:2 is so frequent as to give the poem a very different rhythmical character from 14\textsuperscript{4-2}. Parallelism occasionally occurs between periods of 2 accents: see, e.g., 15\textsuperscript{20} and the distich 15\textsuperscript{6b. c. d}; more often the periods of parallelism are longer—4:4; see 16\textsuperscript{8-10} with phil. n. The rhythm of the refrain (see 15\textsuperscript{4c. d. 5a 16\textsuperscript{7. 11}}) in its original form perhaps, and of 15\textsuperscript{4a. b} certainly, was 3:3. On the strophic division, see above.

I.

1 Because in a (single) night 'Ar has been spoiled, Moab is undone;
Because in a night Kir has been spoiled, Moab is undone.

2 'The daughter of' Dibon hath ascended the high places to weep;
On Nebo and on Medeba, Moab doth howl.
On every 'head' is baldness, every beard is clipped,
Jer 48\textsuperscript{37} [Upon all hands are gashes, and on all loins sackcloth.]

3 In his streets they have girded on sackcloth,
On 'his' roofs and in 'his' squares (Moab), one and all, howls,
Running down (?) with weeping.

4 Ḥeshbon and Ele’aleh cried out,
As far as Yahaṣ was, their voice heard.
Wherefore the loins of Moab (?) 'quiver'
His (?) soul quivereth for himself:

5a My heart crieth out for Moab.

2.

\textsuperscript{5b} For the ascent of Luḥith—he goeth up thereon weeping,
For the way to Ḥoronaim—they raise (thereon) the cry of destruction.
6 For the waters of Nimrim became desolations.
For the grass has dried up,
The young grass is exhausted,
Green things have not grown.
7 Wherefore the abundance he had acquired and their (?)...
Over the Wady of Willows they carry them away.
8 For the cry hath gone round the border of Moab;
As far as Eglaim is the howl thereof,
And (as far as) Be'er Elim is the howl thereof.
9a For the waters of Dimon are full of blood,
16 We have heard of the pride of Moab, very proud,
His haughtiness and pride and overbearing—not right are his
pratings.
7 Therefore 'I' howl 'for' Moab,
For entire Moab 'I' cry out,
For the raisin-cakes of Kir-'hers' 'I' moan.

3.

9a For the tract of Heshbon the vine of Sibmah hath languished,
b The lords of nations its red clusters smote down:
d Its tendrils have stretched out, gone over to the sea,
o Unto Ya'zer have they reached, strayed into the
wilderness.
9 Wherefore I weep with the weeping of Ya'zer,
O vine of Sibmah I drench thee with my tears,
For upon thy grapes and thy (grape-)harvest shouting
(? ) hath fallen,
10 And joy is withdrawn and exultation from 'thy vine-
yards.'
And in the vineyards no ringing cry is given,
The wine 'is not trodden,' in the vats 'none is left';
11 Wherefore my bowels for Moab sound like a harp,
And my inward parts for Kir-'hers' [sound like a pipe].

The first strophe (15-5a) states the disaster, and its effect,—
the destruction of Moab,—and then depicts the lamentation
that spreads with the news through Moab. The disaster ap-
ppears to have been an attack from the South; 'Ar and Kir
(sites to the S. of Arnon), taken unawares, fell before the enemy
almost without a blow (v.1). The news spreads northwards across Arnon to Dibon and to the extreme northern towns of Moab—Heshbon and Ele'aleh (v.4). The refrain in the present text records the emotion of both Moab and the poet (vv.4c, d, 5a).

The second strophe, 15\textsuperscript{5th}-9a (7) 16\textsuperscript{7}: further scenes of lamentation and desolation; the sites mentioned are all uncertain; but some at least probably lay in Southern Moab, though not necessarily, with the exception perhaps of So'ar, in the extreme south, \textit{i.e.} on the Edomite border. The refrain in the present text of Is (emended above) records the emotion of Moab; in Jer the refrain refers mainly to the poet's emotion.

Many writers find in this strophe a description of the flight of Moabite refugees into Edom; this view rests partly on identifying the Wady of Willows with the Edomite border, partly on emending 15\textsuperscript{9a} so as to introduce the word Edom, and partly on a particular explanation of a very obscure v., 16\textsuperscript{1}. An allusion to flight into Edom is anything but certain, even if 15\textsuperscript{9b−16a} formed an integral part of the poem.

Third strophe, 16\textsuperscript{8−11}: a special feature in the disaster—the extensive and famous vineyards of Northern Moab are destroyed; the enemy have fallen on the country in the time of vintage, and there will be no joy of the vintage and no wine for Moab. The refrain records the poet's emotion.

The age of this elegy is very uncertain. It is earlier than the Appendix (16\textsuperscript{18f}), and earlier than the composition of Jer 48; but the dates of these are unfortunately also uncertain. It belongs to an age when the territory of Moab stretched far north of the Arnon. In the time of Omri, Israel held the country as far south as Arnon; Mesha, toward the end of the 9th century B.C., recovered this northern territory, at least as far north as Nebo. Soon after, if we may press 2 K 10\textsuperscript{22f}, it passed back to Israel and then into the hands of the Syrians; and then, possibly after another period of Moabite occupation (cp. 2 K 13\textsuperscript{20f}), if we may rely on Am 6\textsuperscript{14}, 2 K 14\textsuperscript{25} with the more specific implications of 1 Ch 5\textsuperscript{1−17}, it was restored to Israel by Jeroboam II. in the first half of the 8th century B.C. It ceased to be Israelite in 722 at latest, and much at least of it was Moabite at the beginning of the 6th century (Ezk 25\textsuperscript{9}); but there is no definite evidence to show precisely how long before and how long after the time of Ezekiel the Moabites
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held it. But we may infer with great probability that the district both south and north of Arnon was overrun by Arab nomads, who so completely subjugated the ancient population that they gave their own name of Nabataeans, or Arabians, to the population of the country. The chief facts are these: (1) Ezek. in the early part of the 6th cent. foresees such an invasion; (2) Nehemiah (mid. 5th cent. b.c.) couples Arabians and Ammonites; and he may well mean by Arabians, inhabitants of Moab (Neh 4:7, cp. 2:19); (3) in the 2nd cent. B.C. the population of ancient Moab is certainly Nabataean, and Medeba in particular belonged to the tribe of Jambri (an Arab name)—1 Mac 9:66; so, later, Josephus terms the people of this district Arabians (Ant. xiv. i. 4), and the district formed part of the Roman Provincia Arabia; (4) Mal 1:5 attests the northern or western movement of nomads from the Syrian wilderness into the neighbouring country of Edom. (2) and (4) together suggest the 5th century as the period of the Nabataean conquest of Moab of which we have no direct information, but which fell between c. 570 and 170 B.C.—(1) and (2).

Not improbably the elegy actually relates this Nabataean conquest of the 5th cent.; if so, subsequent events showed that the poet was not employing any rhetorical exaggeration when he declares that the fall of 'Ar and Kir signified the extinction of Moab as an independent people. It would accord with this that the attack described in the poem seems to be delivered from the south or east; it is possible, too, that the special emphasis laid on the destruction of the vines reflects the special animosity displayed by the Nabataeans (Diodorus 19:94) towards vine-culture (so Marti). There is nothing in the poem, even if it included 15th-16th, inconsistent with this theory; and the strong sympathy with Moab displayed by the poet would find some parallel in the Book of Ruth, if that book is rightly attributed to the 5th century.

It is still more difficult to determine, even approximately, the absolute date of the Appendix or epilogue (16:35), or of 15th-16th, if this section is rightly judged to be an interpolation. But it will be convenient to say what may be said at this point.

(1) We can hardly simplify the problem by attributing the interpolations in the elegy to the writer of the epilogue; for the epilogue certainly purports to be added to a "word of Yahweh"
concerning Moab, which 15\textsuperscript{1}–16\textsuperscript{12} in its present form is (see 15\textsuperscript{9b}), but which the elegy was not.

(2) The style and language of both epilogue and interpolation is indecisive; due regard being had to the state of the text, they show little or nothing necessarily late, nor again anything decisively Isaianic; for the fact that some of the vocabulary can be paralleled from the prophecies of Isaiah no more proves the passages to be Isaianic than the fact that in part it cannot be so paralleled proves by itself that it is non-Isaianic (cp. Cheyne, \textit{Introd.} 83–85). With this epilogue, cp. that in 23\textsuperscript{172}. So long as the Book of Isaiah was regarded as being primarily a work compiled by Isaiah into which certain interpolations had crept, it was not unreasonable to argue that no sufficient case was made out against the Isaianic authorship of the epilogue; but once it is recognised that the Book of Isaiah is a prophetic collection of the 3rd century b.C. (\textit{Introd.} § 27), it becomes a bold and unjustifiable assumption that this epilogue to a prophecy, which is perhaps not much older than the 3rd century, was itself written by a particular prophet five centuries before; more especially is this so in view of the fact that other “oracles” in chs. 13–23 are clearly later than the age of Isaiah.

(3) At the same time it is no easier to select a period in the age subsequent to Isaiah than in the age of Isaiah itself to which the epilogue can be confidently assigned.

Brief reference may be made to some other theories. Since the time of Koppe and Eichhorn the Isaianic authorship of the elegy at least has been increasingly questioned and is now seldom maintained, though it is not decisively rejected by Driver (\textit{LOT}\textsuperscript{8} 213f.). This is due to the style and manner of the piece—the unrestrained sympathetic emotion, the absence of any reference to Yahweh, “the very awkward accumulation of the particles "u and \(\textup{to} by," the excessive use of paronomasia; see more fully Che. \textit{Introd.} 85f., Di. p. 146, where, however, the list of expressions not found in Isa. includes along with a few which, taken together, have some weight, some which are textually doubtful. The style, however—though this points decisively away from Isaiah—does not point decisively to any particular age: many, therefore, have attributed the elegy to a writer earlier than Isaiah, and, in particular, to the period of the (assumed) conquest of Moab by Jeroboam II. This theory, relying on the supposed reference to a flight of the Moabites \textit{south} in 15\textsuperscript{7}, assumes, in spite of 15\textsuperscript{1–4}, that the elegy describes an attack on Moab from the \textit{north} by Jeroboam II. of Israel; then 16\textsuperscript{1–6}, treated as part of the elegy, is supposed to refer to Jeroboam’s con-
temporary Uzziah (whose friendship was sought by the Ammonites (2 Ch 26\(^6\)), and therefore, it is inferred, might have been sought by the Moabites also) as the king whose protection is sought by the Moabite refugees (61-3). So substantially, among others, Hitz., Reuss, Wellh. (EBrit.\(^9\) xvi. 535), W. R. Smith, Di., Skinner, Whitehouse.

Du. ascribes the elegy to a very recent date: the epilogue only fits a period when the hope was cherished of thoroughly destroying the Moabites and the Nabataeans; such a period is that of Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.). The elegy itself should not be much earlier, and may refer to a Nabataean incursion in the 2nd cent. B.C., the ruler in Sion (16\(^1\)) being John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.).

Marti suggests that the elegy written in the 5th cent. (see above) may, not long after it was written, have been turned into a prophecy by the addition of 15\(^{86}\)–16\(^8\).

Ew. (Propheben\(^4\), i. 380f.) already detected the work of three hands in chs. 15, 16, and assigned (1) 15. 16\(^{7-12}\) to a prophet who lived East of the Jordan between the beginning of the 9th cent. and the time of Amos; (2) 16\(^{1-6}\) to a contemporary of Uzziah, who lived perhaps nearly half a century before Isaiah’s appearance as prophet; (3) 16\(^{13-16}\) to Isaiah.

For modern attempts to defend the Isaianic authorship of the entire section—elegy or prophecy, epilogue and all—reference may be made to Barth, Beiträge (1885), pp. 20–23, and the commentaries of Del. (Eng. tr. 1890) and Orelli.

**XV. 1-5a. First Strophe of the Elegy.**—\(^1\) However \(\text{'Ar}\) be explained and the lines punctuated (see phil. n.), this v. gives the cause of the alarm described in the following verses. \(\text{'Ar}\) (Moab) and \(\text{Kiř}\) (Moab) have been taken by sudden assault; the country was hardly aware of danger till the blow had actually fallen, and its fall had been sealed. In vv.\(^2-4\) follow scenes of the lamentation called forth by the news as it travels northwards through Dibon, Nebo, and Medeba, to Heshbon and Ele'aleh. —\(\text{In a night}\) The suddenness with which the assault was made and the rapidity with which all was over seem to be expressed by this phrase, emphasised as it is by being placed before the vb. Cp. 17\(^14\) “At evening, lo! terror, before morning it is no more.” —\(\text{'Ar (of Moab)}\) one of the chief places of Moab; see Nu 21\(^28\), where the only (other) occurrence of the name in the form ‘\(\text{Ar}\) of Moab is found. But the same place is intended by the abbreviated form ‘\(\text{Ar}\), which on one view of the construction is the form used here, in Nu 21\(^15\), Dt 2\(^9,18,29\), and probably by ‘\(\text{Ir}\) Moab in Nu 22\(^{29}\), ‘\(\text{Ir}\) and ‘\(\text{Ar}\) being indistinguishable, if the text be written without the vocalic consonants. ‘\(\text{Ar}\) of Moab appears to have lain on the upper waters of the Arnon (Numbers, p.
286), i.e. E. of Dibon and S. of Nebo, Medeba, Ḥeshbon and Ele'aleh. G gives for Ar of Moab, as for Moab throughout the section, Ḥ Moabē'ēris; and Buhl (Geog. p. 269) thinks the name covers a district—the region south of Arnon—rather than a city. —Kir Moab] is commonly identified with Kir-ḥeres (167 n.), and so with the modern Kerak, which is situated in the extreme south of Moab on a lofty spur between two ravines whose bottoms lie about 1000 feet below—a position almost impregnable in ancient warfare (Hastings, DB). For fuller description, with illustrations of Kerak, see A. Musil, Arabia Petraea, i. 45 ff. But, as Buhl (Geog. 270) rightly observes, there is no convincing reason for the equation. If it is incorrect, the site of Kir Moab, which is mentioned here only, is quite unknown; from the northward line indicated in vv.2–4 we might infer that it lay somewhere S. of Dibon.—2. Lamentation in Dibon, Nebo, and Medeba. On certain views of the wholly improbable text of NullPointerException (see phil. n.), a fourth place otherwise unknown, Bayith (EV), is mentioned.—The daughter of Dibon hath ascended] reading by conjecture Abel bin Dibon (Du.) for Abel bin Dibon; the daughter of Dibon is the personified population of Dibon (18 n.). Dibon, mod. Dhibān, lay about 4 miles N. of Arnon and 13 E. of the Dead Sea. “Dhibān is usually described as lying on two hills; but there are really three . . . Probably . . . the ancient city comprised all three hills along with the col connecting them; but . . . also spread eastward over the road and the shallow wady beside it to the slopes beyond, on which are many scattered ruins.” “At one period or another the town must have been as large as any in Moab: cp. the epithet Παρμεγέθης applied by Eusebius” (G. A. Smith, PEF Qu St., 1905, p. 41 f.).—The high places to weep] before their god(s); cp. 1612.—Nebo] the modern Jebel Neba, on or near which the town of the same name presumably lay, is about 18 miles due north of Dibon and 5 S.W. from Ḥeshbon. It is about 4 miles N.W. from Medeba (mod. Mādeba), which lies about 15 miles slightly E. of N. from Dibon. The mountain top, which is 10 miles back from, and 4000 feet above, the Dead Sea, commands a very extensive view.* Mādeba lies on a slight elevation rising from the Moabite plateau. Both Nebo (Numbers, 3238 n.) and Medeba (ib. 2139 n.) are mentioned in

* Expositor, Nov. 1904, pp. 322 ff.
Mesha's inscription and several times in the OT. The remains of a stone-circle, as probably its name also, is a token of the sacred character of Nebo.—2c, 3. The description of the mourning continues, with particular reference to the chief rites of mourners—the tonsure of the head (cp. e.g. Am 8:10, Jer 16:6, Lev 21:5), the shorn beard (cp. Jer 41:6), and the girding on of sackcloth (20:2 n.). The greater rhythmical regularity of Jer 48:37, 88a may be due to the text of the poem being better preserved there: in particular, all his, viz. Moab's, heads is improbable; read with כ and Jer on every head: cp. next clause. See, further, phil. n.—In his streets] the pronoun (masc.) refers, rather awkwardly, to Moab (cp. Jer 48:38).—4a, b. The cry of distress raised by the news in Ḥeshbon and Ele'aleh, situated close together in the most northern district of Moab, is heard as far as Yahāṣ. Ḥeshbon, mod. Ḥesbān, famous as the city of Siḥon (Nu 21:21-27 nn.), lay 5 miles N.E. of Nebo; Ele'aleh (Nu 32:97 n.), mod. El'al, about 1 1/2 miles N.E. of Ḥeshbon. The site of Yahāṣ (Nu 21:2-8 n.) is unfortunately uncertain; if Mesha's statement (l. 20), that he took Yahāṣ "to add it to Dibon," really implies, as it would seem to do, that Yahāṣ lay near Dibon, the point of vv.2-4 is that lamentation follows the news of v.1 as it travels northward from Arnon to Ele'aleh and echoes back again through the whole length of this district.—4c. The loins of Moab] so כ יא子孙 ( = יא), 53; cp. Jer 30:6. This gives a better parallel to his soul than MT יא, the armed men; cp. e.g. Nu 32:27. As against MT it is to be further observed that the poet deals throughout with the fate, the actions, the emotions of an entire people, not of particular classes within it. Yet, possibly, neither כ nor יא is quite correct; for this distich describing Moab's emotion at its own fate is followed in v.5a by an isolated monostich expressing the poet's emotion at Moab's fate: cp. 16:11. Not improbably vv.4c, d, 5a are the expansion, due mainly to transcriptional accidents, of a distich expressing throughout the poet's emotion (cp. 16:11): it may have run somewhat as follows:

4c. d Wherefore my loins quiver,
5a My heart crieth out for Moab.

1. יא] possibly affirmative (Di.), Surely (79 n.), or interjectional (Marti), Ah! that; more probably causal, the causal sentence being prefixed as in 28:18
(BDB 4736). The causal sentence may extend over the whole of v.1, ו being repeated, as is 2 with the infinit. rather similarly in Jg 5; more probably the causal sentence ends in each line after ו and רפ respectively; so Jer. Quia in nocte vastata est Ar, Moab conticuit; quia in nocte vastatus est Murus, Moab conticuit. Editions of א, indeed, commonly place the comma after Moab, but Jer’s commentary on the v. implies the punctuation given here (see Migne). Then, מש has a personal subject (cp. 6⁴), and ‘Ar occurs, as most frequently, in its simple form (not ‘Ar-Moab); רפ is unique, so also would אמשש be; and if רפ=ש נ רפ below, a simple abbreviation rather than a different genitival combination is perhaps more likely to occur in the same poem. Du. makes the main pause after רפ; in that case the unusual postposition of the subj. to the 2nd sentence would be due to rhythmical considerations: cp. 4111. —בְּלָה 211 n. Possibly here intened, though wrongly, to be str. (cp. G-K. 1302). —י רַב יִשָּׁן יִשָּׁן is acc. after the pass.; G-K. 121a: or the name of the city is, exceptionally, masc. (Kön. iii. 249a). —יאוה רַע] כּרַכָּא הַמַּעַרְכָּא=fortress of Moab; probably identified by א with mod. Kerak, which in Greek writers appears as Χαράκαμοσ: cp. Musil, Arabia Petraea, i. 58.

2. נֵרִי הָיוֹת הָעָלִי] the least improbable translation of the text, on the supposition that א is correct, is Bayith and Dibon have gone up. Of other attempts to translate, these examples may suffice: One, viz. Moab, hath gone up to the [temple] house and Dibon to the high-places (cp. Ki.): the (royal) house and Dibon have gone up to the high-places (Jer.). Modern interpreters have been unable to improve on these obviously improbable interpretations. The text is at fault. א unfortunately is too obscure to be useful; א יד אנה

( cp. א) apparently read מ before ו and מ before י. נֵרִי הָיוֹת in Jer 4818 may be a reminiscence of the correct text נֵרִי הָיוֹת (see מ). acc. of direction: G-K. 118f. —בְּלָה for this instead of בְּלָה, see G-K. 70c. —ישנה very precariously explained as a colloquial (Ki.), or dialectic (Di.), variation of ישנה. Note the sing. מ in the next clause (cp. Kön. ii. p. 356). Read ישנה with Jer 4857 and א (אֵי נַדְּשַׁיְּס הֵפָלְתָּה) —הוּנָר —the sense to shave (commonly expressed by תַּל), found only here and in the parallel passage Jer 4857, is common in Aramaic, whence הַדְּשַׁי: a barber; הַדְּשַׁי a monk; see also Levy, NHW, s.v. מ. Many MSS have here ו. but מ, used ofrewing off a limb such as an arm (cp. א here), does not occur again in the present sense.—וּרְכָּא —וּרְכָּא the change of gender is rather due to textual corruption than to the fact that the masc. refers to the people, the fem. to the land, of Moab (Di.). After מ, Du., al. add וַּא (cp. Jer 4858)—precariously, for the original text of vv.20, 8, which may have closely resembled that of Jer, is not to be so lightly restored; the suggestion is hardly supported by the fact that א reads כַּל אָבוּרְדוּ = רֵעֶה before מ, whereas א reads כַּל אָבוּרְדוּ = רֵעֶה in Jer 6⁶. א may be an addition to the text under the influence of Jer 42⁴⁸.—לכּי רַע also doubtful, even if with Che. we substitute רַע (22f) for רע. א has no equivalent for רע. For כּי בַּלְיִשׁ הָלָה, Jer א has simply וַאֲבֻרְדוּ and Jer א nothing. The idiom to run down in weeping does not occur again; elsewhere the eye runs down tears, or (streams of)
water, Jer 9:7, Lam 1:6 34. שׁוּעָה ... וּפְעָמִי] here the text of Is is earlier and better than in Jer 48:38; cp. also Jer 48:37 וּשׁוּעָה וֹשֵׁם.——אָדָם שָׁפֵת so כֹּבֵא מְזִיעֵה, יִשְׁלְמָי Moab; but רֹם הַשִּׁפְתּ יִשְׁלְמָי Moab's raid, and similarly ס. Perhaps originally אָדָם was absent and מַעְרַה was intended (see above).—4, 5. מַעְרַה ... וְעָנַי] יִרְשָׁד ... רַעְשָׁיָה ... רַעְשָׁיָה; יִרְשָׁד ... יִרְשָׁד; יִשְׁלְמָי Moab; but cp. Eglath or שָׁפֵת perhaps. See & וֹשֵׁם. Perhaps מַעְרַה was written defectively, both מַעְרַה and מַעְרַה would be most obviously derived from מַעְרַה. The meaning is in any case uncertain. There is no evidence (for Mic 4:9 is corrupt) that מַעְרַה, regularly used of the shout of triumph, was also used of the shout of distress, which would alone be in place here (א). Nor is there any other occurrence of מַעְרַה, to quiver, though this meaning may be inferred as the starting-point of the meanings timidity in certain Arabic derivatives, and curtain in מַעְרַה (an object that easily shakes).—ד' dat. of reference; cp., particularly with יִרְשָׁד, יִרְשָׁד, Jer 4:19.—5. מַעְרַה אֲרָם יִרְשָׁד קָפָדָה יֵשֵׁת מ. It would not be wise to change יֵשֵׁת (יו) into יֵשֵׁת to agree with יִרְשָׁד in v.40; for probably the text of v.40 d has suffered: see above.

5b-9a. Second Strophe of the Elegy.—V.5b is preceded in י by five words which do not constitute a sentence, appear to have no relation either to what precedes or to what follows them, are scarcely intelligible, and are probably corrupt. The first word נִתיָר, absent from Jer 48:34 and rendered in her by כ, has been variously rendered and interpreted: (1) יִרְשָׁד vecet eius, her (i.e. Moab's) bars, which is supposed to be a metaphor for either the defences or the nobles of Moab; (2) her fleeing (ones), fugitives (MT, RVmarg.). Together with the next two words, this is supposed to mean her defences (extend), or her nobles, or fugitives (flee), as far as So'ar.—So'ar] כ שָׁפוֹר, and in Jer 48:34 שָׁפוֹר. So'ar is generally supposed to have lain at the South end of the Dead Sea, and, in particular, in the verdant Ghôr es-Ṣāfiye; a place called by Eusebius Zoopa and Ζοώπ, by Jer. Zoara or Segor (Onom. 258:49 159:24), and by mediaeval Arabs Zughar, Sughar, Sukar. Some have sought for So'ar to the N. of the Dead Sea, and identified it with Tell Shaghûr; but Shaghûr and So'ar are not philological equivalents. See, further, Dr. in DB, art. Zoar; and also Musil, Ar. Petraea, i. 74.—Unto So'ar 'Eglath Shelishiyah] ct. from So'ar unto Horonaim 'Eglath Shelishiyah, Jer 48:34. That 'Eglath Shelishiyah really defined both So'ar and the apparently distant Horonaim is very improbable; but whether Is or Jer is here nearer to the original is uncertain. See, further, phil. n. 'Eglath Shelishiyah appears to mean the third 'Eglath and to be the name of a place, which
was perhaps * identical with Γελεθων mentioned by Josephus (Ant. xiii. xv. 4) immediately after 'Ορώναις = Horonaim, in a list of Alexander Jannaeus' conquests in Moab. On the very questionable supposition that these words can mean a heifer of three years old,‡ 'Eglath Shelishiyyah has been taken as an epithet expressing either the beauty and strength of hitherto unsubdued cities, or as comparing the cry of Moab (杞) to that of a heifer on the point of being broken in, or as alluding to the celebrated cattle-rearing in the Ghor es-Ṣâfiye (Musil, Ar. Petraea, i. 74).—5b. c. He goeth up . . . they raise] the subject is Moab; the change from the sing. (cp. vv.2² 169) to the pl. is suspicious.—Lūḥith] Onom. (276 substances) states that there is between Areopolis and Soʿar a village now called Λούεθα. If this identification be accepted, Lūḥith lay in Southern Moab.¶—The way to Horonaim] Jer 48a the descent to Horonaim: cp. go down to Horonaim (Mesha's Inscript. l. 32). Horonaim (Jer 48² 5. 84 ¶) clearly lay on, or at the bottom of, some descent from the Moabite plateau; the phrase "from Soʿar as far as Horonaim" (Jer 48³ 84) implies that it was remote from Soʿar. It is not mentioned in lists of Israelite towns, whence it is commonly inferred,§ by a precarious argument from silence, that it lay south of Arnon, south even of the Wady Kerak.|| All the other conquests of Mesha lay north of Arnon; but he mentions Horonaim by itself at the end of the inscription: it may therefore have lain further south than the rest. From the order in which Josephus (Ant. xiii. xv. 4) mentions the Moabite towns—Heshbon, Medeba, Lemba, Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices—it would appear that Horonaim lay south of Medeba and Lemba (? = Libb, 3 hours S. of Medeba); not necessarily as far south as Arnon, but possibly somewhere on the descent from Libb to ez-Zara, which is on a "once much frequented natural road" running along the E. of the Dead Sea, and also on an important way striking eastwards up to the plateau: Musil, Arabia Petraea, i. pp. 20f.; cp. pp. 234 ff.—The waters of Nimrim] the name Nimrim may be traced to-day both

* We., Deutsche Lit. Zeit., 1890, 3f.
† GeSt (F) Ki., EVmarg., Del.; but see phil. n.
‡ See S. R. Driver, Exp. Times, xxi. 495-497 (in a paper on the untrustworthiness of current maps of Palestine with regard to many ancient sites).
§ See, e.g., Buhl, Geogr. 273. || See, e.g., Musil (Ar. Petraea, i. 75).
at the S. end of the Dead Sea and to the north of it, to the S.
in Moyet Numère, and the Wâdy en-Numère,* and to the N. in
Tell-Nimrin, some 8 or 10 miles N. of the Dead Sea and 13 E.
of Jordan, and in the Wâdy Nimrin.† Beth-Nimrah (Nu 32:24 n.)
is identical with Tell-Nimrin; but Eus. and Jer. (Onom. 143:1
284:3) connect the waters of Nimrim with Bennamerium, “North
of Zoar.” The question must remain open unless on other
grounds. It can be shown whether the writer is here referring
to North or South Moab.—Desolations] the vb. וַעֲשָׂי and its
derivatives are commonly used of the devastation and desolation
of countries, cities, etc.; its application to water is unusual.
“The waters of Nimrim” may have given their name to a city
situated upon them, though Me-jarkon in Jos 19:46, on account
of the state of the text, is a precarious parallel. If the water is
only, or primarily, thought of here, cp. 2 K 3:26, which speaks of
the stopping up of the springs of the Moabites by their Israelite
adversaries.—6b–d. Absent from Jer.—For the grass has dried
up] this cannot, of course, give the reason for the stopping up of
the waters of Nimrim. The lines are rather, if original, further
parallels to the preceding three lines.—7a = Jer 48:56; 7b–16:5 is
absent from Jer. The text of the v. is very uncertain (see phil.
n.), and consequently the interpretation. Whether the v. really
related the flight of the Moabites with all their substance across
their southern border (Di.) into Edom (Du.), must remain
altogether doubtful. On this assumption, the Wady of the Arabs,
or of the poplars †—either translation is possible—may reasonably
be identified with the Wâdy el-Ahšâ which flows into the Southern
end of the Dead Sea from the S.E., forming the boundary
between Edom and Moab, as it still forms that between the
districts of el-Kerak and Petra (Numbers, p. 283). Apart from
the assumption, the Wady cannot be identified; for on this
assumption also rests the much favoured, but questionable,
identification of the Wady here mentioned and the Wady of the
Arabah (Am 6:14).—He had acquired . . . their . . . they carry
all the pronouns refer to Moab; if the text is sound, which is
very doubtful, cp. for the transition from sing. to pl. v.8.—8a.

* Seetzen, Reise, ii. 354; Tristram, Moab, 56 f.; Buhl, Geog. 272.
† Buhl, Geog. 264; Abel in R.B., 1910, pp. 341 f.
‡ Cp. for the latter meaning the mod. Wâdy Şaššâf (Tristram, Moab, 35,
58).
The cry of distress (cp. v. 4) has passed through the length and breadth of Moab, and has reached, in particular, 'Eglaim and Be'er-Elim. Neither place has yet been identified; the parallel line and the context suggest that they lay at opposite extreme points of Moab: if so, Be'er-Elim is scarcely identical with Be'er in Nu 21:16, nor 'Eglaim with Alephlawt, 8 R. miles S. of Areopolis (Onom. 22861f.).—9a. The waters of Dimon] also not identified. Dimon may be an error for Dibon, or possibly a dialectic variation, like Mecca and Becca, adopted to gain an assonance with dams, blood; Jerome, indeed, asserts that both names Dimon and Dibon were in use in his day.

5. The MT intends this to be plural; cp. G-K. 91k. Du. punctuates ḫē'ē'im = חֵיָ֔ים (cp. G-K. 91e), assuming that the form is sing. with collective force. Certainly a fem. suffix between the masculines of vv. 46e and 5c is strange. קְנָיו, fleeing, occurs in 27:1, Job 26:3; proof of the substantival use (= fugitive) rests on this and one other doubtful instance—43:14. renders שׁוֹין. There is probably some serious corruption. Was ָּנָתָּו a corruption of שׁוֹתָו, and שׁוֹתָו a variant of שׁוֹתָו, Jer 48:34?—תֵּלַע. כֹּכָב, Ki.: see G-K. 80f. Forms with the old fem. ending n occur in Mesha's Inscr., e.g. 1:3, indeed, third, not three years old (Versions), which would be נוֹתָא (cp. Gn 15:9).—possibly an error for, or modification (G-K. 72cc) of, דֵּעָא, Pilpel of דעה. But the text is uncertain; יִשָּׁי, יִשְׁי, and Jer 48:6 has שׁי.6. Jer 48:34:—כֵּלַע. יֵשֵׁי Jer 48:6 was perhaps not read by G.7. The textual question is very doubtful, especially the last word. Jer 48:36 reads הנב', which in v. 8 renders הנב', here perhaps implies a reading הנב'. Jer 48:36 reads הנב (see last n.). It is precarious to invent the meaning store for הנב out of regard to this most questionable passage and Ps 109:6 (ambiguous). renders רָאָה, their boundary, יִוְּסָלָא—a common meaning of רָאָה, but unsuitable here.—אֶחָּאμ subj. the Moabites; —(קָּפַר) refers to the prophet אָחָּא (cp. Dr. 197 (1)).—8. רֹאֵשׁ הַנְּבָאָה לַעֲלֹיָּה חֲלִטָּא (G-K. 119ах) awkward: the fem. suffixes must refer to גְּלָאָה, but ct. the masc. suffixes in v. 2 16. With MT סְלַג, ct. G ʼAgallı̂m, יִוָד גַּלְלִים. Before סְלַג רֹאֵשׁ, see. G-K. 119ах; Perles, Marti suggest that סְלַג רֹאֵשׁ is really one word, In Arielaim (cp. 291 n.).

9b–XVI. 5. Further distress is to befall Moab.—This exceedingly difficult and obscure section seems to be mainly, or entirely, a prophetic interpolation in the elegy on Moab: see above, pp. 276ff.—The rhythm is, perhaps, predominantly, like the elegy, 4:4; but the text is too corrupt, or at least too
questionable, to make it worth while to discuss the rhythm in detail.

9b For I will set...
   For the escaped of Moab a lion,
   And for the remnant of...
16... the ruler (?) of the land,
   ... to the mountain of the daughter of Sion.
2 And like birds in flight, like nestlings sent forth,
   Shall the daughters of Moab be at the fords of Arnon.

3 "Bring counsel, make decision;
   Spread thy shade like the night at very noon,
   Conceal the outcasts, disclose not the fugitives.
4 Let the outcasts of Moab find guest-right in thy midst,
   Be to them a concealment from the spoiler."
   For the extortioner has come to an end, the 'spoiler' has ceased,
   The treader down 'has been' consumed out of the land;
5 And a throne shall be established through loving-kindness,
   And one shall sit thereon through fidelity—
   In the tent of David one who judges,
   And both seeks out what is right, and is swift in justice.

9b. c. The distress described in vv.1-9a ("the elegy"), which has already befallen Moab, does not exhaust Yahweh's judgment: further distress is in store: cp. 1612f. Such appears to be the meaning of these lines and the general purport of what follows down to 165; but the details are most uncertain.—I will set] or put, or lay (cp. e.g. Ex 2122, Nu 1211). This is followed in יו by upon Dimon (v.9a n.), and then by a word which should mean things added, additions: the whole is supposed to mean, I will place fresh calamities on Moab; but neither the vb. nor the object really suggests calamity. Marti has suggested that the clause is a misplaced rubric directing that 159b-165 is to be added to Dimon, i.e. that the passage was to follow
“Dimon” in 15\(^{9a}\). \(\text{G}\) is intelligible, \textit{For I will bring upon Dimon Arabs}; but it may be merely a guess: it would be difficult to derive \(\text{H}\) from \(\text{G}\).—\textit{For the escaped'} 4\(^{2}\) n. Moab has already suffered severely; vv.1-3.\(^{a}\).—\textit{A lion} has been understood to refer to some pre-exilic king of Judah, or the regent of Jeroboam II. (Di.), or Alexander Jannaeus (Du.), or the Assyrian invader (Che.), or lions (cp. 2 K 17\(^{25}\), Jer.). In so corrupt and obscure a passage it would be easier to multiply guesses than to justify them.—\textit{The remnant of] the soil} (MT): \(\text{H}\) might also mean \textit{Admah} (G ‘Adamēn), one of the fellow cities to Sodom and Gomorrah. It would be easy to read \textit{Edom}, if the prophecy really treats of Edom as well as Moab (16\(^{1}\) n.).

\textbf{XVI. i.} Text and interpretation continue most uncertain. In \(\text{G}\) this v. continues the threatening words of Yahweh in 15\(^{9b}\). c.—\textit{I will send the likeness of creeping things upon the land}. \(\text{H}\) might be a continuation of the description of Moab in 15\(^{1-3a}\)—they have sent, etc., or an address to some people, presumably Moabites, send ye (so MT).—The obj. of the vb. in \(\text{H}\) is the lamb of the ruler of the land, which is commonly supposed to refer to the tribute paid in kind by Moab to the king of Israel (cp. 2 K 3\(^{4}\)), or Judah, as overlord of Moab. The words that follow in \(\text{H}\) might mean (1) from Sela to Midbar: Sela is then identified by many with the great Edomite, or Nabataean, emporium, Petra, which was famous from the 4th cent. B.C., or with some place in Edom (7 cp. Jg 18\(^{18}\)) less remote from Moab; Midbar may possibly be the proper name of a place in Moab (Nu 21\(^{18}\)) or (2) from the rocks of the Arnon valley (Wetzstein), or of Moab generally (Baud. cited by Di.), or of Edom (Di.), to the wilderness, which is supposed to mean in the direction of Judah, because Moab and Judah were separated (if an indirect way was taken) by wilderness: this would be much as though we were to speak in England of “sending seawards to Italy.” It must suffice to refer to one or two of the interpretations of the whole v. built up on these uncertain details, on which see, further, phil. notes: Di. sees in the v. advice tendered by the Edomites, or by leading Moabites, to the Moabite refugees in Edom; the refugees are advised to seek the protection of the king of Sion, backing up their request by a present of lambs which they are to send, not by the nearer route north of the Dead Sea and across Jordan, which must be supposed closed to them, but first south over the
rocky land of Edom and then N. through the wilderness. Du. explains similarly, except that he treats הִנָּה as pf. and descriptive rather than imperative and hortatory. Marti, in part following כ, renders the Edomites will send (the refugees) like a swarm of insects on the land to Sion. The assumption that Moabite refugees have fled to Edom is not supported by any clear indication of such a flight in ch. 15; and the following v., if in its right position, is distinctly unfavourable to it: for there the Moabites appear at the Arnon, far away from Edom.—2. The v. introduced by הנה is predictive like 15^2.9, like 16^1 also, if כ's text for the first word (see above) is correct. But if יה in v.1 is correct, the predictive clauses 15^2.9 16^2 are awkwardly separated: Du. therefore places 16^2 immediately after 15^9.—In flight] from the nest: cp. Pr 27^8.—Nestlings] כ, a nest, has here the transferred meaning brood that inhabited the nest.—Daughters of Moab] in Nu 25^1 means the women of Moab; but a limited reference to women seems out of place here. כ reads daughter, i.e. population (16^20, cp. e.g. La 1^15), of Moab. Possibly daughters was a rare variant of daughter in such phrases (cp. ? Ezk 16^27): or perhaps daughters of Moab means the inhabitants of the several towns of Moab: cp. ? Ps 48^12 (11).—The fords] or passages, cp. 10^20 n. Du. gives הבורות here the unproven meaning of banks, and treats the whole phrase, the banks of Arnon, as in apposition to daughters of Moab. Arnon cutting through its lofty канון formed at times the northern boundary of Moab, but at others, as here (15^2.4 n.), it roughly bisected the territory occupied and governed by Moab; cp. Numbers, p. 284.—3f. The fugitive Moabites, thrust forth from their country like birds from their nest (v.2), now arrived in Jerusalem (v.1), supplicate for shelter and protection against the devastator of their land.—Bring counsel, make decision] these peculiar phrases may be due to corruption of the text, see phil. n. A request for counsel is a curious opening for refugees, who want rather what they go on to ask for, protection. It is disputed whether the second clause means (1) settle (quickly) whether we may remain in your country, or (2) decide the rights and the wrongs of the case between us and our enemies; perhaps the original text expressed something entirely different and more appropriate.—3b. Be to us a protection against the hot anger of our foes, like deep shade at high noon-
day.—3c. Hide us also from them, do not discover us to them. 
—4. Let us, driven out from Moab, enjoy guest-rights in thy land, and, among them, the right not to be discovered (cp. Jg 4:20) to those who have already devastated our country and would destroy us.—*The outcasts of Moab*] so G.S. MT, י (by an obviously wrong punctuation) distort the sense of י; hence RV *my outcasts: as for Moab*, etc.: possible also, but improbable, would be the rendering *my outcasts, O Moab*; see phil. n.—Find guest-right amongst thee] be gērim (116 n.) in thy midst; the prep. is ז, in, not ב, with, as in 116.—For the personifying sing. obj. thee, cp. Jos 9:1, a similar sentence.—4c. d. 5. The various attempts, some of which are mentioned below, to explain this passage, as it stands or is arbitrarily emended, in its present connection have been so unsatisfactory as to lend considerable probability to the suggestion that it is an interpolated Messianic passage which has re-acted on the interpretation of v.4a.b, turning what was an address to Σion (v.1) into an address to Moab. Standing by itself, the passage would suggest familiar features of the Messianic age: the land of Israel no more troubled by enemies and war, 2920, ch. 33, Ps 8920-24 (19-23), the throne of David re-established through Yahweh's loving-kindness and fidelity (cp. Ps 8925. 29f. 37f.), and occupied by a just and righteous ruler (96 (7) 114f. etc.). The term יב, king, is not actually applied to this ruler, but the reference to the throne and the tent of David point as unmistakably to a king as does the description in גIsrael, from which the term יב is also absent. It is quite unnecessary, and indeed incorrect, to see here the description of some vassal or viceroy of the king of Israel stationed in Edom (Kn.) or Moab (Di.).—*Through loving-kindness . . . through fidelity*] this translation, which refers the qualities named to God, is favoured by the analogy of Ps 89 cited above: cp. also Is 558. Others refer the loving-kindness to the king (Ges., Di.) who secures his throne by his humanity (cp. 114f. 5, Pr 1612 2028 2914), or to his subjects (Kn.). The fidelity is also referred to the king by some (Ges.), while others again render differently in security (cp. 398, Jer 1418), i.e. uninterruptedly (Di., Marti). Of attempts to interpret the passage as an integral and original part of the prophecy, two may be mentioned: (1) Ges. renders the pff. as prophetic pff., *For the oppression will cease*, etc., and comments, "so that we (Moabites) shall be able to return again to our country, and no longer need
to be a burden to you (Jews)," when the country of Moab is free from the foe: in v. 5 the suppliants urge as a motive for favour the blessing which such humanity would bring on the House of David; (2) Di., adopting Lagarde's conjecture and reading רְעַ instead of רָעַ, translates and interprets until the extortioner shall have ceased . . . out of the land of Moab, and a throne shall be set up for a vassal or viceroy ruling in Moab under the protecting shelter of his over-lord in Sion; i.e. the passage, together with v. 4a, b, is an insincere promise of the Moabites, in return for shelter in their hour of need, to be humble subjects of the Jews hereafter; the Jews, detecting this insincerity, refuse the request of the Moabites (v. 6).

9b. c. [Hes. Thes.] £L "Araqas kal 3p- to στερμα: kal 3p- = יסומא. —
XVI. 1. 490 אָשָׁר יִשָּׁלֶם רַךְ [a] £L es 3p- et αι 7ην γην = יִשָּׁלֶם רַךְ. The sing. of רַךְ, lamb, occurs nowhere else; it is improbable that it is a collective. Grätz proposed רַכָּה. — מְלַשְׁנֵי יִשָּׁמָע £L petra deserti: this is improbable, for note the ᵔ locale; but £L may well be a corruption of some single phrase of place, ר denoting the starting-point and ב in יִשָּׁמָע the goal.—2. With the certainly more or less corrupt text of vv. 16, cp. the more or less corrupt text of Jer 48:9.

—ץנאר חנה £L et 7αδε, 'Arwown, which points to nothing satisfactory. £L is a little suspicious, for (1) there is no obvious reason for the parallelism of the gen. (G-K. 129c) here (ΣF, Rashi), and, indeed, £L (cp. Ki.) does not treat the י as such, but takes יָּרַע as Hoph. part. and renders brought across to Arnon; (2) acc. of place, at the fords (G-K. 118γ), is, as Dr. has pointed out (on 1 S 29:20), all but confined to cases in which the acc. is followed by a noun in the genitive; the only case, except the present, cited by Dr. is 2 Ch 33:20, but ct. £L there. The י would be best accounted for (cp. 18:1, Dt 30:19) if we read יָּרַע יָּרַע, or, assuming that יָּרַע was a synonym of יָּרַע, יָּרַע יָּרַע, beyond Arnon. —3. יָּרַע הַבָּה apparently a synonym for יָּרַע הַבָּה (Jg 20:7, 2 S 16:20), give counsel (to others); but the analogy of the use of יָּרַע in Ps 90:12 would rather suggest the meaning, unsuitable here, take counsel.—נַכְלָה £L: יָּרַע, apparently meaning the office or duty of a יָּרַע, judge or umpire. It is not clear that £L had the same text; the words which seem to correspond to נַכְלָה ישע יָּרַע are נָכְלָה (in v. 4) בּוֹלְסָה תְוֵיָה (וטープ). For יָּרַע . . . ישע, Ketib (£), the Kethiv (ΣF) has ישע . . . יָּרַע—2nd fem. sing. as in the following clauses. £L does not support the reading ישע. —נַכְלָה could be punctuated יָּרַע entiré, complete: cp. £L דָּאָרָא יָרָבָּס. But the antithesis יָּרַע יָּרַע gives probability to MT יָּרַע; on יָּרַע instead of יָּרַע, cp. 211 n.—

4. £L read יָּרַע, rhythmically both words go with יָּרַע יָּרַע, constituting together the first line of a 4:4 (=2|2:2|2) parallel distich; the balance is entirely destroyed, if £L be taken with יָּרַע יָּרַע (MT, RV). —ר- in OT יָּרַע is mostly late: see Gn 27:29, Neh 6:6, Ec 22:118(?), and cp. כָּל, Job 37:8. But £L read יָּרַע, and cp. below instead of יָּרַע. —נַכְלָה the following nouns being anarthrous, this was probably so too; consequently it is little worth while to labour the point that יָּרַע, a squeezer (cp. יָּרַע, squeezing or wringing,
6-12. Conclusion of the second strophe of the elegy, and the third and concluding strophe.—V.6 (= Jer 4830) probably formed no part of the elegy; note the 1st pl. and ct. the first sing. used throughout the elegy. It is very questionable, too, whether v.6 formed an original part of the interpolated prediction (g16b-165): unlike the interpolation, it re-appears in Jer. It is customary, indeed, to see in v.6 Ἑσίων’s reply to the Moabite suppliants (see on v.5), and refusal to grant them protection. This is very doubtful: (1) the words contain no actual refusal; (2) the reply is given in the 1st pl., whereas the community is addressed in the 2nd sing. in vv.8b.4. The v. is best regarded as an isolated reflection on the pride of Moab.

7. Moab’s emotion at her fate; but the original text, like Jer 4831, perhaps expressed the poet’s emotion at Moab’s fate; see phil. n., and cp. v.11 below, also v.9 and 15th.5 n.—The raisin-cakes of Kir-herēseth] Jer. the men of Kir-herēseth; cp. Ἐρωίς καταυκοῦσαν Δέοιθ. Raisin-cakes, i.e. cakes of dried grapes, were an article of food; see Hos 31, 2 S 619, Cant 25. Foundations (Σ, Κι., Ges., AV) is an improbable alternative translation of ᾿ἀζημία. If Kir-herēseth is Kerak (151 n.), and its raisin-cakes rather than its inhabitants were here mentioned, it is to the point to observe that there is much vine culture, “for eating only,” round Kerak in modern times (Seetzen, Reisen, i. 415), and interesting to recall that, as Marti points out, cakes of pressed grapes and fine meal are still prepared in Cyprus for festivals—an inheritance of the Christian Church from old Phoenician custom. The allusion, like that in v.9, points to autumn as the season when disaster fell on Moab.—I moan] μὴ ὠμολογέω; Jer 4831 he moans; by some emended to they moan. μὴ adds utterly stricken, which being pl. implies, if correct, a plural subject to the vb.; for it more naturally forms an attribute to the subj. of the sentence.
than to raisin-cakes. — 8-10. For the famous vines of Northern Moab the poet now weeps, v. 9. They have ripened not for the Moabites to gather with the customary joy of the vintage, but for the enemy to destroy. Of these verses 8a, b and 9b are absent from Jer 48; while 8c, d is found there (v. 82) with considerable variations. — *Tracts* cp. Dt 32: other occurrences of מֶרֶשֶׁה, the etymology and exact meaning of which are unknown, are in Hab 3:17, Jer 31:40 (קֶרֶם), and in two passages where the text is doubtful, 37:27, 2 K 23:4. — *Sibmah* “between Ḥeshbon and Sibmah there are scarce five hundred paces” (Jer.). A site 2½ miles W.N.W. of Ḥesbān bearing the name Sūmīa may give an echo of the ancient Sibmah. From Nu 32:3, 38, Jos 13:19† we should infer that the place lay in Northern Moab though not necessarily so close to Ḥeshbon as Jerome’s Subama, or the modern Sūmīa. — 8b. So famous was this vine that kings — lords of the nations — drank and became smitten down (281), i.e. drunk, with the wine of it. Less probable is the view that the line gives the cause of the destruction of the vine; for it is doubtful whether the vb. would be suitable, the reason for specifying the lords is not obvious, and the cause of destruction would scarcely correspond to the suggestion of line a. that the vine dies for lack of water. — *Red-clusters* מֶרֶשֶׁה: cp. מִרְשׁ, 52 n. Other suggested readings here are vine-tendrils, or choice plants. — 8c, d. These lines, translated above in the better order d, c (cp. Jer 48:32), give a hyperbolical description of the size and ramifications of the celebrated vine; the site of Ya’zer (Nu 21:24 n.) is uncertain,* but according to Eus. it lay 15 (Roman) miles N. of Ḥeshbon (Onom. 264:8ef). Westwards the vine stretched out, i.e. extended to, or perhaps rather across, the Dead Sea, the N.E. corner of which lies about 16 miles in a straight line from Ḥeshbon and some 4000 feet below it. Eastwards the vine extends till the cultivated land passes into the vast Syrian desert. — 9. *I weep with the weeping of Ya’zer*] the poet joins his tears (cp. 22:4 n., La 1:6) to those of Ya’zer; but why he singles out Ya’zer is not clear, unless, indeed, we could believe that he was himself a man of Ya’zer (cp. Du.), and therefore a Moabite. — Ḥeshbon and [Ela’aleh] 154 n. — *Thy grapes . . . thy grape-gathering* Kēšēk . . . kēšīrēk; for the sake of the alliteration the writer appears to use the wide term kēṣ, summer fruits (284), instead of ‘anābim, grapes, * See S. R. Driver, Exp. Times, xxi. 562f.
and 'ēṣērēk, cutting, harvest, instead of 'ēṣērēk, vintage: Jer 48\textsuperscript{33} preserves, or substitutes, 'ēṣērēk.—Shouting hath fallen] דוהי is the joyous shouting of the grape treaders, Jer 25\textsuperscript{30}. Not you, but the enemy will shout with joy over your grapes, and over yourselves who will become their vintage; all this may be suggested by the context and the predicate. But the reading of Jer, the spoiler (דוהי), may be correct. כ differs from both, but is wrong.—\textsuperscript{10} No joy of the vintage, no wine for use: the general sense is clear: the text is in considerable disorder, see phil. n.—None is left] lit. it has been caused to cease (cp. כ); מ, I have caused (it) to cease, the subj. being Yahweh; cp. 15\textsuperscript{9}, but between vv.\textsuperscript{9} and 11, where the first persons cannot refer to Yahweh, the reading of מ is most improbable. Even the passive is doubtful; נטש, it has ceased, may be the true text.—\textsuperscript{11} = Jer 48\textsuperscript{38} the poet's emotion; here as in v.\textsuperscript{9} the first person is certain; ct. 15\textsuperscript{4th}.\textsuperscript{5} 16\textsuperscript{7}. The second line has perhaps lost a clause of two words, supplied in the translation, comparing the inward emotion to the resounding of flutes; cp. Jer.—My bowels are sounding] \textit{i.e.} my compassion is stirred: cp. 63\textsuperscript{15}, Jer 31\textsuperscript{20}; for other instances of bowels as a term for the seat of deep emotions, see Jer 4\textsuperscript{19}, Ca 5\textsuperscript{4}; and of the vb. הביא, to sound, murmur, of the organs of emotion, intelligence, and the like, see Jer 4\textsuperscript{19} (רל), Ps 42\textsuperscript{6} (שמ).—\textsuperscript{12} No attendance in the sanctuary, no prayer will avail Moab. The v. is absent from Jer, and introduces a religious turn not found in the verses common to Is and Jer; not improbably it was added to the elegy over Moab by the same hand that added 15\textsuperscript{4th}—16\textsuperscript{5}; note the common use of הני here and in 16\textsuperscript{8}. In its present form the v. is unrhythmical. It may be rendered, \textit{And it shall come to pass, when Moab shall have appeared, when he shall have wearied himself on the high place and shall (or, then he shall) enter into his sanctuary to pray, he shall not prevail; but either when he shall have appeared or when he shall have wearied himself, should probably be omitted as due to dittography; in the former case the inconsistency with 15\textsuperscript{2}, where Moab is depicted as being actually and already on the high places, which might doubtless be attributed to the carelessness of the interpolater, disappears. For the wearisome practices of the heathen, cp. 47\textsuperscript{13}, 1 K 18\textsuperscript{20ff.}}
represented in Β: the last was misread خير. Jer 4829 reads reads as a compound noun, the untruth (of his prating); but it is questionable whether such combinations as ἡμῶν in 316 (G-K. 152a footnote) were ever so completely treated as a single word that they could be used in the construct. (cf. א to א is predicative; cp. Β).—7. the repeated יָּלַע (so א) is probably an error (cp. 115 n., 267 n.): Jer 4831 reads יָּלַע but יָּלַע or יָּלַע note also that in Jer יָּלַע governs by means of יָּלַע, and 유ָּלַע by means of יָּלַע, as in Is 152.8 respectively. On the question of 1st pers. or 3rd (in Jer א and pl. imper.); see above. In spite of יָּלַע remains awkward, whether we interpret Moab howls for (over) Moab (Ges., Di.), or Moab howls to Moab, i.e. they howl to one another (Marti). Nor is it altogether satisfactory to place the caesura before Moab: for entire Moab he howls.—וששנ] Jer והשנ לא = א here.—וששנ] So 2 K 32 6; but v.11, Jer 4831.36 קְרָה רב. —nowhere Jer 4831; ג here μελετησας=מרחת: read novamente; others conjecture וו (η dittographic from המה) or וו. —וששנ] not in Jer. א קא ויקנפרג. If the text is correct, for מָצְבָּה, cf. מהגא, ה, Pr 1513 1722, and the Niph. of the vb. Job 3046; ב, utterly, as in 1911; see BDB, s.v.—8–10. Most of the ten or eleven lines in these verses are certainly of four accents; but v.10. at present are of six. Possibly the same שֹׁבֶךְ and שֹׁוֹךְ and שֹׁוֹךְ שֹׁוֹךְ סָּגַרְתָּן are glosses: note that the 2nd sing. fem. suffixes in v.9 refer naturally to the sing. שֹׁוֹךְ and not to the pl. שֹׁוֹךְ שֹׁוֹךְ שֹׁוֹךְ Sh. [the sing. after the fem. pl. שֹׁוֹךְ would be abnormal in spite of Hab 317 and G-K. 1450; on the other hand, if שֹׁוֹךְ be omitted (see last n.), the sing. masc. before the fem. שֹׁוֹךְ would be normal (G-K. 1450): cp. 217 918 11411 etc.: yet cf. שֹׁוֹךְ פֵאָלָא, 247.—חכמיש] א יָּלַע יָּלַע יָּלַע יָּלַע אָרְנִים; rather red-clusters (cp. פְּשַׂיָּה of the colour of horses in Zec 19), whence the פְּשַׂי (5th) vine receives its name.—9. יָּלַע] an error for יָּלַע with retention of the final radical (G-K. 75dd); on the form, see Sta. 634e: Kön. i. 589 f.; in א the penultimate letter must have been.—10 Jer 4832 om.—דְּדֵה] Jer דְּדֵה: א here קא דְּדֵה. —10. פְּשַׂי יָּלַע sing. before a compound subj.; G-K. 1450; Jer פְּשַׂי; G-K. 146f. g.— Jer פְּשַׂי עֲבָרָה, which carries us back half-way to נוּיָּלַע, the reading of Is קַא פַּוָּל (א קַא פַּוָּל פַּוָּל פַּוָּל פַּוָּל פַּוָּל), and probably the original text. The clause is followed in Jer by פְּשַׂי וּם, which is a fairly obvious gloss explaining that the whole country and not only the garden land will grieve. In א there follows פְּשַׂי וּם, which looks at first more likely to be original, but the first word is probably merely a corrupt variant of פְּשַׂי, and פְּשַׂי is an explanation of the following פְּשַׂי after that corrupt reading had arisen. We thus explain the absence of פְּשַׂי וּם from Is and of פְּשַׂי וּם from Jer.—יעש... פְּשַׂי cp. Zeph 314; but the forms are probably no original part of the text: see preceding and following notes. As they stand they are impersonal passives:—an amplifier, which is probably the original text or quite close to it: note that it is a line of four accents equally divided by the caesura. The overlined words in א are amplifications,
partly due to glosses and partly due to dittography. In Is 9, moreover, יָעַז is a corruption of (יָעַז, for הַיָּעַז corresponds to this and not to יָעַז below (note the order in ג). Perhaps הַיָּעַז (Jer 9) is preferable to Is 9, cp. the use of the Niph. in 17 and of the Hiph. in Lv 26, Jer 36. — In time past the whole v. as a protasis, and supplied from Jer 48 as an apodosis only. — Moreover, it is absent from Jer.—he shall meet with no success: for the absolute use of the vb., cp. Ps 21, Jer 522. 20.

13, 14. A Prose Appendix (cp. 216f.) to the foregoing Oracle of Moab, probably by a later hand (see above). In three brief years all will be fulfilled: Moab, as yet still honoured and numerous, will become despised and almost exterminated.—13. The word which Yahweh spoke] this description suits the interpolated section 15b—16; for the speaker in 15b is Yahweh, but the speaker throughout the parts common to Jer and Is is not.—In time past] the phrase יָנָכ may refer to a past falling within the speaker’s own mature life (2 S 15), or to a more remote past (Ps 92, Pr 828). In 44, as here, it refers to old prophecies.—As the years of a hireling] years strictly reckoned; the hireling works no longer than he must. Du. explains differently: it will only be necessary to hire the mercenaries (ומַשָּׁב as in Jer 46) for the usual period of 3 years, and sees an allusion to the use by Alexander Jannaeus of mercenary troops.—The glory of Moab] cp. the glory of Assyria, 10; of Kedar, 21.—14. The glory of Assyria, 10; of Kedar, 21. — The text is faulty; but there can be little doubt that the poem consisted mainly if not exclusively of distichs of balanced and, generally, parallel lines. But the length of line varies in different distichs; vv. 4b, 11a, b are clear instances of 3 : 3, which was probably the most frequent rhythm, and v. 6c, d of a longer distich, probably 4 : 4.

The original poem contains three equal or nearly equal strophes; the first and second each consists of 8 lines and an additional line containing a concluding formula; the second, like the third, strophe contains also an opening formula: the third strophe contained 10 lines, unless we reject two as intrusive.

Vv. 27 appear to be an addition to the poem (see comm.), and are placed at the end of, and separated from, the poem itself in the following translation.
I.

1 Lo! Damascus is about to be removed from being a city,
   And it shall become a ruin 'forsaken for ever';
   Flocks shall possess 'her cities,'
   And lie down, with none to terrify (them) away.

3 And Ephraim shall lose (her) fortress,
   And the sovereignty [shall be taken away] from Damascus;
   And the remainder of Aram...
   Like the glory of the sons of Israel shall they be—
   Is the Oracle of Yahweh of Hosts.

2.

4 And it shall come to pass in that day,
   The glory of Jacob shall be diminished,
   And the fat of his flesh shall become lean;

5 And it shall be as when a reaper gathereth standing corn,
   And his arm reaps off the ears;
   Or as when an olive-tree is struck,
   And there remains thereon something to glean—

6c Two or three berries on the uppermost branch,
   Four or five on the boughs of the fruit tree—
   Is the oracle of Yahweh, God of Israel.

3.

9 In that day
   'Thy' cities shall become forsaken (ruins),
   Like the forsaken (ruins) of 'the Amorites and Hivites,'
   Which they forsook before the children of Israel, and it shall become a desolation.

10 Because thou forgattest the God of thy salvation,
   And didst not remember the Rock, thy Refuge,
   Therefore (though) thou plantest plantations of Adonis,
   And puttest in (vine-)cuttings of an alien (god),

11 (And though) on the day thou plantest, thou make (it) grow,
   And (though) on the morrow thou make thy seed blossom—
   The harvest has fled (?) in the day of sickness (?),
   And incurable pain...
In that day shall man regard his Maker,
And his eyes shall look towards the Holy One of Israel;

And he shall not regard the work of his hands
Nor look upon what his fingers have wrought.

The first strophe is devoted mainly to the fate of Syria, but incidentally also to that of Ephraim. Syria is to lose its independence: Damascus, the capital, and other cities are to be reduced to perpetual desolation. The last two strophes are devoted exclusively to Ephraim, i.e. the Northern kingdom of Israel: in strophe 2 the almost total depopulation of Ephraim is depicted under three figures: strophe 3 dwells on the inutility in the day of disaster of those cults to which Ephraim had devoted itself. In vv.7f. the point of the last strophe is universalised: all mankind will be convinced in the coming day of the inutility of works of men's hands, and will turn instead to the Holy One of Israel, who is also Maker of mankind.

The poem was composed before the Fall of Damascus (732 B.C.), and, as we may infer from the coupling of Ephraim and Damascus, after the formation of the Syro-Ephraimitish alliance (ch. 7), which took place about 736 B.C.

The predictions were in large part fulfilled: Rešon (7 n.) was the last native sovereign of Damascus; he was slain by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 169), who was not in the West after 732 B.C., and with him "the sovereignty was taken away from Damascus" (v.8), which became an Assyrian province (KAT3 135). Though less complete and lasting than Isaiah expected (for Damascus never actually became an uninhabited spot), the devastation of Damascus and the neighbouring country in 732 B.C. was great. Tiglath-pileser speaks of cutting down numberless gardens and plantations, carrying off many captives with their property, and wasting 591 cities of 16 districts of the land of Damascus: see his Annals, ll. 203–209. The full fate of Ephraim was not simultaneous, as Isaiah seems to have expected it to be, with that of Damascus: Samaria survived till 722 B.C.: then the fall of the city was followed by such extensive deportations of the Israelite population as go far to justify the terms of vv.4f.: see 2 K 17 and Sargon's annals.

1. The Oracle of Damascus] 13 n. The title is taken from
the first important word only, and so ignores the main subject of the piece—Ephraim.

1–3. The fate of Damascus.—On the emendations adopted in the translation, see phil. n.—1. *Is about to be removed* immediately: not present tense *is taken away* (EV), nor in v.² are forsaken: those renderings are, indeed, grammatically legitimate (7¹⁴ n.), but unsuitable here.—2. *Flocks shall possess* §¹⁷ n.—*Her cities* i.e. the towns of the country dependent on Damascus: cp. Jer 34¹ 49¹⁵ 51⁴. (not (E)) reads the cities of *'Aro'er*; this strange phrase, which is really due to corruption of the text, has been explained, unsatisfactorily, in various ways: (1) the two cities of the name of *'Aro'er*, one on the northern edge of the defile of the Arnon (¹⁶² n.: cp. Nu 32²⁸⁴ n.), the other near Rabbath-Ammon (Jos 1³²⁵); (2) the cities dependent on the more northern (which is, however, the less important) of the two *'Aro'ers*; both (1) and (2) are hazardously understood to mean the country E. of Jordan: both *'Aro'ers* are remote from Damascus; (3) Di. gives *'Aro'er* an appellative force, so that the phrase means the ruined cities: feeble and improbable.—3. *Fortress* perhaps Samaria *the capital*, or, giving a collective force, all the fortresses † of the Northern kingdom are intended; but on either of these interpretations this line anticipates v.². More probably Damascus ‡ is meant; owing to its geographical situation, Damascus first invited the attack of the Assyrians coming E., and so formed a bulwark or fortress of Ephraim. On this interpretation the line, in common with the rest of v.³, threatens Damascus, while at the same time together with the following words, like the glory of the children of Israel (cp. v.⁴), they form a transition to vv.⁴–⁶, ⁹–¹¹ which threaten Ephraim exclusively.—The sovereignty] see above.

I. העתוי...וסר...הנה] fut. instans (Dr. § 135 (2)), followed by the pf. with waw conv. (ib. § 113). The change from חשש (Du. חשש) to העתוי is strange, unless חשש is acc. to חשש (cp. e.g. Ps 8⁷; G–K. 121(6).—ועֵר] a poetical breviloquence for רע רע: cp. ⁷⁸ ⁵²¹⁴; BDB ⁵⁸³a.—I, ². העתוי חשש העתוי רע רעキャンペーン] (ק) kal ἐσταί αἱ πόλεις καταλειμμένη αἱ τῶν αἱβών=העתוי חשש רע רעキャンペーン). The non-form שיש in (Hebrew) is a scribal error later than (E): not, however, for העתוי (Di.), but through dittography of [ך]ヌ. For the rest, (E) is near the original text: read רע העתוי חששキャンペーン(ך) העתוי, which balances the preceding

* Ges., Hitz., Che. (SBO7), Whitehouse. † (E), Del. ‡ Jer., Eichh., Ew., Di., Du., Skinner, Marti.
parallel line, and then is used as subj. of הנייתו; with רע חצוב cp. סלע חצוב, Jer 20:17b, and see Kön. iii. 3367. The detection of ניני is due to Lag. and Du.—
нлпцр] here †, but ולפז, 2318 252†.—3. If the poem showed any other trace of the 3 : 2 rhythm, the text of ו down to/csaw no suspicion; the
remainder too, could, of course, be construed, ום ראש being casus pendens before תיי (RVmarg.) rather than a clause coupled with csaw (RV); but
however taken it would be rhythmically quite unlike the rest of the poem, and
also lacking in parallelism. The first and third lines seem to be correct;
each of the intervening clauses has probably lost a word: after csaw perhaps
רבעה, shall pass away, or ןפ: (cp. 84), has dropped out. כ paraphrases
throughout, and on the whole remarkably well: it is doubtful whether it read
differently except for הבוהכ and perhaps וית for ימי. Du. proposes רכש
for הבוהכ; but it is hazardous to claim כ for this, for כיר יד belshon el is
probably a paraphrase of הבוהכ, and kal תָּֽשִׁי הדַּ֣עַת אִּיבְּרִ֥ו at the end of the v.
a subsequent addition to כ.

4–6. The fate of Ephraim.—4. The nation is personified
(cp. 16 n.) as a man whose glory, i.e. reputation among his
neighbours, will become slight (through lack of children: cp.
Hos 9:11–16; ct. Ps 127), and whose once well-nourished body will
become lean (cp. 10:16). Or possibly, with the precarious
support of 10:16, we might render his glory . . . will become
impoverished (cp. adj. ג), i.e. Jacob will exchange the outward
marks in dress, etc., of a prosperous man for the garb of a pauper.
Glory is not, as in 5:18 (n.), dignitaries, the nobility; for this would
make Jacob the literal nation in v.48, the personified nation in
v.4b.—5, 6. The point of these verses is clear: compared with
what the population was before, the survivors in the Northern
kingdom will be as few as the ears of corn left uncut, or dropped
by the reapers, or as the olive berries still left on a tree after it
has been beaten (מעך, 24:13, cp. 10:24; עבן, Dt 24:20) with poles to
bring down the crop. But in ו these comparisons are awkwardly
expressed. V.5a. b alone sufficiently suggests the figure from
corn harvest: still it may have been followed by a distich com-
pleting the figure by reference to the few ears left for gleaners:
cp. the completion of the figure of the olive crop. But v.5c (left
untranslated above), which is rhythmically defective, instead of
completing the figure, starts off as if it were a fresh figure, And
it shall be as a gleaner of ears of corn in the vale of Rephaim,
a fruitful vale in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (Jos 15:8).
These words are probably either a gloss (Marti) or a mutilated
distich. In v.6 the difficulties are even more serious; יִֽֽלָּֽֽלְּֽֽלָּֽֽי means the gleaning of grapes, or olives, not the gleaning of grain,
which is expressed by וְלָקֵד (so v. 5b); consequently v. 6a is no proper continuation of v. 5c; and כ, therein, or thereof, cannot refer to the vale of Rephaim. RV is thus doubly misleading, for gleaning in English without any qualification suggests gleaning of grain. Further, in יְהֵשׁ the figure of the olives, which is the real parallel to v. 5a, can refer directly to Jacob only if כ, meaning of him (13 n.), resumes the distant לָקֵד of v. 4; otherwise it is a comparison within a comparison. For Marti’s emendation adopted above, which avoids these improbabilities, see phil. n.—

Reaps off the ears] in reaping, the stalks of corn were reaped near the top, so that little more than the ears were cut off: see EBi., Agriculture, § 7, with illustrations.—6. Two (or) three . . . four (or) five] an indefinite but trivial number: cp. 2 K 992, Hos 63, Jer 368, and see G–K. 1345.—The fruit tree] hap-порיyyah, with a punning reference to the popular etymology of Ephraim; Gn 4924, Hos 1316.

5. יִרְבָּק] harvest, would be superfluous before לַקֵד: either יִרְבָּק also meant harvester, or לַקֵּד must be read.—רֵבָּק . . . וְחָסֵד] one of the rare instances of יִרְבָּק being masc. (G–K. 122n; Kön. 249d); or an instance of the “double subject” (G–K. 1441, m).—5, 6. Against the present text, see Comm. ישלחכ שלישים בענים ראופין is a gloss or mutilated distich: then by transposition read ישלחכ חמשים יתנו בּוּעָן תָּשָׁר וְכַהֵנָה. —The meaning is a glos or a gloss or a gloss or a glos, &c. by transposition read ישלחכ חמשים יתנו בּוּעָן תָּשָׁר וְכַהֵנָה: ct. 149 2619. Che. rather precariously reads.setAdapter. see the authority of סropolis. —תְּשָׁרל] possibly, as in NH (see Levy), this meant not only gleanings, but berries picked after the crop had been gathered (cp. AV): then again יִרְבָּק in the next line may be a gloss: its omission assimilates lines 6b. c and gives a better balance.—אֶזְרִי] v. 8, Gn 4921, both doubtful: in Gen. the meaning upper branch, crown, would be suitable: for evidence that the root implied height, see BDB 558.—יִרְבָּק] read יִרְבָּק כְּסֶפֶם יִרְבָּק: it is not a case of the anticipative suffix (G–K. 131n).

7, 8. Mankind will reject their idols and turn to the God of Israel, the Maker of all men.—The insertion of this passage, with its universal outlook, between vv. 1–6 and 9–11, which are strictly limited in their outlook to Damascus and Ephraim, may be due to an interpolator; as an alternative it might be held that the verses are a misplaced conclusion to the poem: they would stand less awkwardly after v. 11. The ideas rather suggest a relatively late writer: cp., with the thought of Yahweh as Maker, 5113 545; of the idols as man made, 449–20. On the other hand, the wide outlook has its parallel in Is (210, 11, 17, cp. perhaps 220 3029, Hos 814); cp., further, 129; and note בָּאָרָאשִׁים (14 n. 126 n.) and לָי (224) יִשְׂרָאֵל (311).
8. The work of his hands . . . what his fingers have made] these parallel and synonymous expressions mean idols: cp. 28 317 3710, Hos 14, Mic 512, Dt 428. An early annotator, whose notes have crept into the text, destroying the rhythm and spoiling the style, erroneously understood by the first term the (multiplicity of) altars condemned by Dt., and by the second, less erroneously but too specifically, the Asherim, i.e. the wooden pillars which stood beside the old Canaanite altars, but which were forbidden in the worship of Yahweh (cp. Ex 3418, Jg 625, Dt 1621), and the hammanim (279, Lv 2630, Ezek 64, 2 Ch 144 34474, ct. 2 K 23), which were objects, probably of stone or metal, associated with heathen altars, and perhaps a special form of massebah (1919 n.). The rendering sun-images (RV), which suggests that these objects were specially or exclusively used in the worship of the sun, rests on a questionable derivation from the late Hebrew word הָעֲלָה, sun: see Moore in EBi. 2976; G. A. Cooke, NSI, p. 104; Ges-B. s.v.; L. B. Paton, art. “Baal,” in Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics, especially pp. 287 f.

8. לְפָנֵי בָאָלֶל either the first waw is the waw explicatum that is often found in glosses (Haupt in SBOT), or the two waws=both . . . and (BDB, 253a).—[ם] cp. in Palm. והשלם . . . ויהיו עליה השמם, this hamman and this altar . . . to Shamash—Cooke, NSI, no. 136 (A.D. 85): cp. Lidz. Eph. ii. p. 280 (A.D. 108). In the frequent Punic epithet שמש, שמש may be attributive (cp. שמשה), rather than the cult object in the gen.

9-11. Ephraim in the hour of calamity will get no help from her heathen cults. — 9. Thy cities shall be abandoned] so G; Ἡ has instead the cities in which he finds refuge, or asylum; with השם, asylum, cp. שמה, 1031 n. Ἡ, with its transition from the 3rd pers. of vv. 46 to the 2nd pers. of address at the beginning of the strophe, is preferable to Ἡ, where the same transition does not take place till v.10.—Forsaken (ruins) of the Amorites and the Hivites] cp. Ἡ; this may be correct, though the reference to Hivites, who apparently formed a rather insignificant part of the old Canaanitish population, is a little suspicious; for Amorites, cp. Am 294. Ἡ is supposed to mean, like the forsaken (ruins) of the wood and the mountain top; for a defence of this, see Del. Ἡ supplies, what Ἡ does not, a personal antecedent for the following words, which they forsook (so far Ἡ only; Ἡ om.) from before the children of Israel—a prosaic clause, and probably an annotation.—And it shall
become a desolation] these words, too, are rhythmically suspicious, and the context does not explain the subject: they may be a further gloss (Du.), or perhaps a fragment of another distich.—

10a. b. To the ideas and expressions of these lines many parallels may be found in Deut. and later literature; see, e.g., Dt 811-19 3218; and for the God of thy salvation, Ps 1841 ("my rock") 255 279 627; for the Rock thy Refuge, see Ps 318, and compare the similar combinations in Ps 628 8927 951 9422. On account of this late ring about the v., and the generality of the charge against Ephraim, Marti thinks the lines are a glossator's attempt to assign the cause for Ephraim's fate.—Adonis-plantations . . . (vine-) cuttings of an alien (god)] the adj. ר, alien (18 n.), appears to be an abbreviation here for the full phrase alien god (Ps 4421 8110), cp. רח, another = another god, in Ps 164 This parallelism suggests that נכסים in the previous line refers to some deity, though direct proof that Tammuz (Ezk 814), known to the Greek as Adonis (אֲדֹנִיס), was known in Syria by the name or epithet Na'aman is not forthcoming. But whatever be the exact explanation of נכסים, there is little doubt that the prophet is alluding to a custom similar to, if not in all respects identical with, the gardens of Adonis described by Greek writers. These gardens "were baskets or pots filled with earth, in which wheat, barley, lettuce, pease, and various kinds of flowers were sown and tended for eight days. . . . Fostered by the sun's heat, the plants shot up rapidly, but having no root, withered as rapidly away. . . . These gardens are most naturally interpreted as representatives of Adonis or manifestations of his powers. . . . The rapid growth of the wheat and barley in the garden of Adonis was intended to make the corn shoot up."* Some think that the prominent part taken by women in these rites accounts for Israel being here addressed in the 2nd pers. fem. The point of the prophet seems to be: you may resort to foreign gods, they will leave you helpless in the day of calamity; you may plant these symbols of fertility and bring them without difficulty to leaf and blossom, but the harvest you wish to secure thereby will never come. The text of the last two lines is uncertain and the exact meaning doubtful (see phil. n.): if the day of calamity is there described as the day of sickness and incurable

* Frazer, Golden Bough2, ii. 120, 121; see, further, the authors cited by him, and in EBi., art. "Adonis": Che. SBOT, p. 146 (with illustration).
pain, Du. may be right in inferring that the women used the plants of Adonis, or their produce, as magical cures.

9. [G al πάλεις σου ἐγκαταλελυμέναι=ουσ ν. τ. θυ.] Cond. proposes ἔσχατος as, 

thy strong cities—possible, but not the reading of Ενν. [G δύν τρόπον κατέληκαν as Αμορραίοι καὶ οἱ Ἐβραῖοι οὖν προσόντων τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ=σὺ γενίν πιστὺς; Εἰναὶ either neglects, or more probably did not read, ὅτι, a phrase which may have been inserted between the date of G and the transposition and corruption of יִהוּדָּה שָׁהָר.] if this is a "double" pl. (G–K. 1249) of παλαις, meaning plantations of Ναδαμα (cp. Gk. κήπων 'Αδωνίδος), it is a unique instance of the genitive being a proper name. G paraphrases both שְׁנֵי here and ש in the next line by διαφώτων, probably detecting in each case a reference to false worship. — But the suffix is supposed to refer to the place of planting, which may be understood from, but is not mentioned in, the context. More probably the should go with ש in v.11 and παλαις (G–K. 470), or perhaps, and 2nd fem., like the neighbouring vbs., was originally read here.—11. שֵׁשֶׁת should be Pilpel of בָּשׁ or בָּשָׁה; בָּשׁ, בָּשָׁה, and בָּשָׁה do not occur elsewhere in Heb., and בָּשׁ, to wander, with which G connects it, yields no sense. Ges., Di., RV, BDB connect the present form with בָּשָׁה (Ca 74†—common in Aramaic), to fence about: Kt., Ibn Ezra, AV, Du., Marti give it the meaning to cause to grow, cp. וָשֹׁש, וָשֹׁש, to grow, grow great.— ר] G (eis), T perhaps read ש, which is hardly right; but see Ges–B. MT (AV, RVmarg.) ש, a heap (of water, Ex 15), Jos 313, Ps 337 78184, is very improbable; ש, 3rd pf. of בָּשָׁה, to flee away (cp. 2115 223), is more probable; but even this is doubtful.—נה lazים שין] G נל וַתִּהְיֶה מִכֵּן קַלָּרָדָה תֶּן וֹלֹא שֶׁמֶן: this perhaps rests on a longer text than נל. נל in v.11c, d is doubtful; see the preceding notes, and note that the rhythm is questionable. Cp. Jer 3015 נל מְבַלֶּשׁ שֶׁמֶן.

XVII. 12–14.—The roar of the peoples stillled.

The opening interjection ש ה stands by itself (see p. 89): the first five words of v.12 (omitted in the translation) are a ditto (with one slight variant) of the last five words of v.12; וַתִּהְיֶה has accidentally shifted from v.12a to ד; in v.12d makpeph בָּשַׁהּ; v.13a is short in נל, but ש should be added; and 13b is a short concluding line unless ש be original (see phil. n.) and קַלָּרָדָה be read as two accents. The little poem consisted of 3:3 distichs, two distichs making a strophe.

Ah!

12 The booming of many peoples!

Like the booming of seas they boom!

And the roar of mighty nations!

As with the roar of waters do they roar! ▲ ▲ ▲
13 But [Yahweh] shall rebuke him,
   And he shall flee far away and be pursued—
   Like chaff of the mountains before the wind,
   And as the whirling (dust) before the tempest.

14 At eventide—lo! terror,
   Ere morning he shall be no more.
   This (shall be) the lot of them that spoil us,
   And the portion of them that plunder us.

The poem describes a future that unfolds itself to its prophetic author; under the figure of a stormy sea, suggested perhaps by the ancient myth of the conflict between the primeval flood and the Creator, the first strophe depicts the onset of a vast army; the army's goal is not stated, we may pretty safely assume that Jerusalem was in the poet's mind. The second strophe predicts the scattering and flight of this menacing power; this is to be the result of the rebuke of One who, in the present text, is unnamed; unquestionably Yahweh is intended. The third strophe dwells on the suddenness and completeness with which the peril will pass, yet in its closing distich alludes to the spoliation and plunder to which the poet's countrymen (the Jews) are subject as he writes.

Thus the poem seems to imply an invasion (of Judah), and the writer's conviction that worse is yet to threaten, but at the last moment, and suddenly, by the will of Yahweh, to be averted.

The poem is thus the prophetic anticipation of such a course of events as is attributed in ch. 36 f. (cp. especially 37^8ff.) to Sennacherib's campaign against Palestine, and in particular Judah, in 701. It is therefore assigned to Isaiah, and referred to that date by many scholars; by others with much less reason to other periods of Isaiah's activity—to 735 (Hitz., Del.) or c. 723 (Che. Introd.).

Since Assyria is not mentioned, it is, of course, possible that this poem, like Ps 46, was not actually written at the time of Sennacherib's campaign, but is merely reminiscent of the story of that campaign, and predictive of a similar issue out of like dangers in some later age.

Mainly on the ground of the reference to "many nations" (v.12), Sta. (ZATW, 1883, p. 16) and Marti consider the poem to be later than the age of Isaiah, and to refer, like 5^80 10^38ff., Jl
414, Ps 46, to the fruitless assault of the nations of the world on Jerusalem. But it may be questioned whether this view so well accounts for the transition from the plurality of nations in v.12 to the singular in vv.13-14th, as the more commonly accepted explanation that the nations of v.12 are the many diverse peoples that composed the Assyrian army, and that the singular of v.13f., as in 525-29 105 etc., is Assyria itself; in v.14c. d the plural is distributive, the Assyrians, rather than a resumption of the plurals, nations, peoples, in v.12.

The arguments against the Isaianic authorship are inconclusive; those in favour of it are as strong as from the nature of the case could be expected.

The question has been much discussed whether 1712-14 is (a) an independent poem or (Lowth, Eich., Che., Marti) fragment, or (b) the conclusion of 171-11 (Del. al.), or (c) the introductory strophe of a poem completed in ch. 18 (Ges., Ew., Di., Du., Cond.). Against c. is the fact that 1714 certainly reads like the end of a poem (cp. Jg 531), as is admitted by Ges., and that 181, with its apostrophe to a land not contemplated in 1712-14, is best taken as independent. The similar outlook in 1713f. and 183-6 does not prove that both passages formed part of the same poem; and even if 18 calls for an explanation of the pronoun they, 1714 supplies it very ill. Far less probable is the view that 1712-14 is the conclusion of 171-11; not only is the strophic structure of the two pieces apparently different, but no satisfactory connection can be established.

12. Cp. 134 of the tumultuous onset of the Medes against Babylon, and Jl 414 of the final and fruitless assault of the nations on Jerusalem. With the present comparison of an army to threatening waters, cp. 87.—13. Yahweh] since the word is emphatic it can scarcely be supplied in thought, but must have fallen out of the text.—Him] Assyria: cp. for the use of the singular, 520-29.—For the power of Yahweh’s rebuke, which is but a special form of the power of His word (97 n.), see Ps 96 767 1047 1069.—Like chaff of the mountains] chaff winnowed on the lofty and windy places which were chosen by preference for winnowing. For the figure, see especially 295.—Whirling (dust)] הָעֵדֵר parallel here to מִשְׂפָּד as in Ps 8314 to עָשָׂר.—14. Suddenly all is over: cp. especially 3736f., also Ps 306, Job 2719.

12. הם] pl. as in Gn 110 (P), Dn 1145, and poetry of all periods, e.g. Jg 517, Gn 4918, Ezek 274, Ps 7847.—הָעָלָיו] for the radical הָעָלָיו and the ending ו, see G-K. 75u and 47m. See also 318, and in late passages 2112 2611 331415.— tümkk][אַמַם] symmetry of structure and rhythm with v.12b. is obtained by transposing כְּרִים and placing it after כְּרִים; a trace of this

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reading is perhaps to be found in Κ τον νωτον ἐθνῶν πολλῶν ὡς ἔδωρ ἡχόντει.

—13. πάντως . . . τοις Ισραήλ] Κ omits; the words are dittographic. — βασιλεὺς] both the shortness of the line and the need for direct reference to τοῖς ἀναφέρειν; 

In these chapters several prophecies dealing with Cush and Misraim (Introd. §§ 68 f.), i.e., on the usual interpretation of these terms, with Ethiopia and Egypt, are here grouped together. One of these was derived from the “Book of Oracles” on foreign nations (see 191), the rest probably from different sources (Introd. § 34).

XVIII.—The Dismissal of the (Ethiopian) Envoys.

Special Literature:—H. Winckler, Das Land Kus u. Jes. 18 in ATUntersuchungen, 146-156; Stade, de Isaiæ vatic. Aeth., 1873.

Vv. 3-6 consist of distichs of lines parallel in sense (except v. 4a. b), and balanced in rhythm (except v. 6a. b which is 4 : 2, and 6c. d which is most easily read as 3 : 4). The length of the balanced distichs is mostly 3 : 3, but it is 2 : 2 in v. 3a. b and 4 : 4 in vv. 4c. d. 6a. b. In vv. 1, 2 both rhythm and parallelism have probably been disturbed by textual corruption; v. 2a. b is 3 : 3; v. 2c. g look at present like isolated stichoi; what intervenes between 3b and 6 is perhaps an expansion of a distich; for suggestions with regard to 1b. 2b. g see below. In vv. 3-6 two distichs form a strophe.

1 Ah! land of the whirring (?) of wings,
   Which is beyond the rivers of Cush!

2 Which sendeth envoys (?) on the sea,
   And vessels of papyrus on the face of the water.

   Go, ye fleet messengers,
   To a nation tall (?) and of polished appearance (?),
   To a people terrible . . .
   A nation mighty (?) and down-treading,
   Whose land rivers dissec (?).
All ye inhabitants of the world,
   And dwellers on earth,
When a mountain-signal is raised, see!
   When the trumpet is blown, hearken!

For thus hath Yahweh said to me,
   I will be quiet and look forth in my abode,
Like the dazzling heat above the light,
   Like a cloud of night-mist in 'time' of harvest.

For before the harvest, when the blossom is over,
   And the seed-berri becomes a ripening grape;
The branches shall be cut off with pruning-knives,
   And the tendrils removed, cut away.

They shall be abandoned one and all to the carrion birds
   of the mountains,
   And to the beasts of the land;
   And the carrion birds shall summer upon them,
   And all the beasts of the land shall winter upon them.

An obscure and difficult poem, obscure too, if, as Marti has
   argued, it is rather a combination of different short poems
   (vv.1.2.4; 3.5.6—the last being the misplaced conclusion of 17:1-11).

The poem opens with an apostrophe to a land (v.1) which
   has sent (or, is sending) envoys by water, v.2a.  b. V.2c-g contains
words addressed to these envoys, bidding them depart to a
people some of whose national characteristics, such as their
   might and their power to inspire terror, are particularised, and
whose land is described as dissected (?) by rivers. V.3 is a
warning, addressed to the world at large, to give heed when
   signals of war shall appear. In v.4, the poet claims to have
received a revelation that Yahweh will watch immovable, unseen,
unshaken.  V.5, under the figure of a grape-crop ripening to the
vintage, predicts calamity and destruction, which in v.6 are more
literally described—certain people, unnamed, will perish and lie
long unburied, a prey to carrion birds and beasts.

Not to speak here of difficulties of connection between the
   parts (see below on vv.8 and 9), the poem yields no clear and
unambiguous answer to the following questions among others
   which are yet necessarily raised by it:—1. What is the land
addressed in v.1? 2. Who delivers to the envoys the message recorded in v.2? 3. Who, or what, is figured forth by the ripening crops of v.5? 4. Who are the people that are to lie unburied?

V.1b seems to distinguish the land apostrophised in v.1a from the land of Cush as one more remote from the Jewish writer: nevertheless it is customary to identify "the land beyond the rivers of Cush" with the land of Cush itself. Further, with the exception of Winckler,*—who at one time regarded Cush as Kash, i.e. Southern Babylonia, a land of canals, swamps, and reed-thickets, and infested with insects,—most writers identify Cush with "Ethiopia," with the country, that is to say, which the Egyptians called K's and Kš.

If we disregard v.1b as being a gloss, or rendered unintelligible through corruption, we may perhaps infer from the description in v.2b. d-f (see notes) that the unnamed land apostrophised is Ethiopia, and see in vv.1-2 some trace of "wonder at the mysterious country and of regard for its people who by their advance against Egypt had won [from c. 712 B.C. onwards] a place among the leading powers of their time" (A. Alt, Israel u. Egypten, p. 83). V.2g is less favourable to this identification.

As to the second question: the general tenor of the message in v.20-g is against the view, implied by the insertion of saying in EV, that it is addressed to the envoys by those who despatched them; it rather contains the words in which the poet himself bids the (Ethiopian) envoys depart from Jerusalem and return home. Yet the use of the word Go, rather than return, makes it particularly difficult for the reader to seize the dramatic movement of the poem. Did some such line as "Return to your place, ye envoys," originally precede, and form the parallel to, the now isolated line, 2e?

Questions 3 and 4 may be answered together; if v.2 is the courteous refusal on the part of the Jews of help from Ethiopia, vv.5f. are best regarded as a prediction of the overthrow of the Assyrians. Still this interpretation is anything but obvious, and would remain so even if 1712-14 were the opening verses of the poem (see p. 305). If 185f. stood after 1711 (Marti), the reference would suit the Ephraimites equally well. Another alternative (Jer.), that the people who are to perish are the people

* ATUntersuchungen, 146 ff.; but see later, KAT 271 n. 1.
of the land apostrophised in v.1, has in its favour that these are the only people yet mentioned in the poem, but against it that the tone of vv.1f. scarcely suggests such a conclusion.

If the poem refers to an Ethiopian embassy to Jerusalem, it was written not earlier than the foundation of the Ethiopian dynasty by Sabako about 712 B.C. (Intro. § 71), and may, with most probability, be assigned to the year 702 B.C.

I. *Ah l* ] simply exclamatory: cp. 551, Zec 2106 (sf.), Jer 476; ct. 14 58 105 1712.—Land of the whirring of wings] or land of winged locusts, are the safest renderings of Ὠ. “Merchants will have brought home the usual travellers’ tales of the wealth of the distant country in insects, in order to maintain a high price for the wares brought thence and to frighten rivals away” (Du.). But on this or any such interpretation the polite address to the envoys (v.2) begins with an offensive apostrophe—O insect-infested land! Ges. interprets wings as meaning armies (cp. 88?); Che. in SBOT (Eng. tr.), p. 160, with more ingenuity than probability, combines both meanings: “the flies of Ethiopia, with the metallic clang of their wings, are a symbol of the swarming and warlike population of that country.” Other translations that have been proposed are (1) land of winged, i.e. swift, boats: * this is philologically ill-supported, and anticipates v.2; (2) land of the shadow of both sides; this has been supposed to mean either (a) the land over which shadow is cast by mountains on both sides of it, to wit, the mountains which flank the Nile valley on the E. and the W.; or (b) the land where objects at noon-day sometimes cast a shadow to the N. and sometimes to the S. This phenomenon was indeed observed some centuries later (Strabo, ii. 5. 37), but it is highly improbable that it is alluded to in the present obscure phrase. The text may be corrupt; as it stands it seems to be unintelligible: the interpretations cited here and others that have been offered are either philologically unsound or, in the context, of doubtful fitness; see, further, phil. n.—Which is beyond the river of Cush] cp. “from beyond the rivers of Cush they shall bring tribute,” Zeph 310; in Zeph. a vague term for a remote region is in place:

* Ew. ; cp. Ge, T, Ki.; the comment of the last is, “he describes the land as ἄ η κε ἤ ἂν on account of the number of boats in it. For when their sails are spread, they resemble wings, and the boats move by means of them as birds fly by means of their wings. And the sails cast a shadow (55).”
not so here; the country in question is one which has sent envoys who are now in Jerusalem. Cush is the Egyptian K's or Kš. The Egyptian government district of Kš extended from Elephantine at the first cataract to the fourth cataract just above Napata.* At Napata the Ethiopian dynasty which Sabako, about 712 B.C., established over Egypt had its capital, and from Napata any Ethiopian embassy would presumably have come. But from Elephantine to Napata, and indeed for some distance further south, the country is a country not of rivers, but of a single River, the Nile. Some way south of Napata, at about 18° and 15° North respectively, the Nile is joined by important affluents from the S.E. Though the Egyptian province of Kš did not extend so far south, the name Kš may have covered this remoter country, and the rivers of Cush may be the Nile and one or both of these affluents. A land beyond these rivers should naturally be a land more remote; and if we should be right in treating the Nile and its first affluent as the rivers of Cush, the land beyond should be the district of Meroe; in his description of Moses' campaign southwards against the Ethiopians Jos. (Ant. ii. 103) describes this district as "encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers Astapus and Astaboras made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them," i.e. to Josephus, Meroe lay beyond the rivers. But historical difficulties would beset this interpretation: it was not until after the overthrow of the Ethiopian dynasty towards the middle of the 7th century B.C. that the Ethiopians appear to have moved their capital to Meroe,† and at no time after this is there any probability of an Ethiopian embassy to Jeru- salem. Earlier interpreters endeavoured to escape some of the difficulties of the phrase by illegitimate translations, substituting on this side of, or along the side of, for beyond: thus Jer. and among modern commentators Hitz., see in the country intended not Ethiopia, but Egypt. But most modern interpreters, except Winckler as cited on p. 306, rest content with assuming that a country can be described as lying beyond its own rivers, although that country is a country of a single river, or at least has no second river until its remotest parts are reached. Even if

* See Breasted, History of Egypt, pp. 136, 255, 325, and Ancient Records, ii. 1020, 1025; W. Max Müller in EBi, s.v. Ethiopia.
† Breasted, History of Egypt, 560f.
the plural נֵרָה could mean not the rivers, but the (great) river (Haupt in SBOT), lying beyond the river of Cush would still be a strange way of describing Cush itself, for Cush is the narrow strip of fertile soil on both sides of the Nile. A phrase so difficult of interpretation in the context seems little more likely to be due to a glossator (Du., al.) than to the author of the poem: but if v.1b is a gloss, the 2nd line of the original opening distich of the poem perhaps survives in the now isolated line 2c (Che., Marti).—2. Envoy] מְצֵּרָן; so 579 (as here after מַלְיָן), Jer 4914 =Ob1 (followed by מֵלְיָן), Pr 1317 (|| מלך: cp. v.2 here) 2518 (דֵּר). Possibly there is an error for מְצֵּרָן (Wi.), galleys (3321), which would be a more exact parallel to vessels of papyrus in the next line (G, not ה).—The sea] probably here and in 196, Nah 38, the sea means the Nile, though this is disputed by Wi. So in mod. Arabic the Nile is called El-bahr, the sea. Perhaps the Euphrates also is once or twice called the sea in the OT: 211, Jer 5186?.—And vessels] cp. ג (see phil. n.); ה and in vessels; if envoy is rightly read in the previous line, perhaps in vessels was the original reading here. But the parallelism of on the sea and on the face of the waters suggests that v.2b was parallel and not complementary to 2a.—Vessels of papyrus] boats that were light and, therefore, swift, suitable for the Nile, but not for the open sea; cp. the synonymous expression נָה נָה, Job 925 and see EBi. 4478. The word נָה, papyrus, or rush (357, Ex 2, Job 811†), does not necessarily point to Egypt, for see 357, but it entirely fits in with the theory that the envoys come from the Nile valley.

2c–g. Isaiah bids the Ethiopian envoys depart; Judah cannot accept the alliance they have come to proffer. This interpretation * assumes great compression, not to say obscurity, but it is preferable to the alternative that makes the words an address of the Ethiopians to their envoys as they set out on their mission to the Jews.† The nation, or people, to whom the envoys are hidden return (or go) are described in lines d. e. f. by a series of epithets; of these epithets the meaning of one only is clear and unambiguous; but since a terrible nation is in the context a complimentary epithet, we may assume that the others are of like character. Probably line d. describes characteristic

* Adopted by Ew., Del., Du., Che., Marti, Whitehouse.
† כ, Jer., Rashi, קש, AV, RV.
and admired features of the people, e. its fame, and f. its conquering might. Tall is an unparalleled meaning of מותש, inferred* from meanings which would more usually be conveyed by the words drawn, drawn along, as, e.g., a waggon (518), or prolonged (cp. Ps 3611). Ges. infers the meaning strong, and refers to other guesses. Hitz., as an alternative to polished, suggests (whose days are) prolonged: cp. “the long-lived Ethiopians,” Herod. iii. 17, cp. 23. Ki., keeping nearer to the normal meaning, understood the epithet to refer to the Jews dragged away by the nations of the world: hence AV scattered, RVmarg. dragged away. Of polished appearance,† is an unparalleled meaning of מותש which would more commonly mean with hair plucked out (cp. 506), or scoured, polished (of bronze utensils, t K 745). RV smooth, embodies an interpretation given by Del., “polished especially by depilation and, therefore, not marred by a disfiguring growth of hair”; but the numerous derivatives from the root מותש in Heb., Arabic, and Syriac refer to an undesirable removal or absence of hair. If the meanings of מותש and מותש given above are approximately correct, we may compare 4514 and Herodotus’ (iii. 20) description of the Ethiopians as “the tallest and most beautiful of men.” There is no reason why the Hebrews should not have admired the burnished copper colour of the Ethiopians, for even Jer 1323 need not be interpreted as though the ancient Hebrew shared the modern white man’s objection to colour.—Terrible] far and wide, or from its beginning onward, are renderings proposed for the words מותש מותש מותש מותש that follow terrible. Possibly they are a corruption of a second epithet meaning famous, or something similar: see phil. n.—Mighty] uncertain (see phil. n.), but RV that measures out, viz. in allotting the lands which it has conquered, is not more probable.—Down-treading] down-trodden (cp. AV, RVmarg.) would be also possible, if the epithets were not complimentary; see above.—Whose land the rivers divide] and render fruitful seems to be the suggestion; but the meaning of the vb. is uncertain: see phil. n. Ethiopia is divided by a single river, the Nile: see above on v.1b. Omitting land, Marti places this line, which the rivers divide, immediately after 1a.

3. A warning addressed not in particular to the envoys (v.2)

* E, Koppe, Ew., Del., Di., Che., Du., Marti.
† Hitz., Che., Di., Du., Marti.
or their countrymen, but to the world at large. Yahweh is about to manifest His might to the nations: when the signals are given, let all men give heed. Possibly the v. is the work of an eschatological suplementer (Marti) to whom the embassy of v.² was of no importance, and who had no particular interest in the land from which it came; note that ḫan, frequent in later literature, never occurs elsewhere in Isaiah: cp. 1311 n. For the raising of the signal, see 526 13², Jer 51²⁷; for the blowing of the trumpet, Jer 4⁵ 51²⁷.—Mountain-signal] mountain is required neither by the parallelism nor by the rhythm, and should perhaps be omitted: see phil. n.

4. Go away: we need no human alliance; for Yahweh has assured me of His purpose: He is sufficient. Such seems to be the connection. In real life it would have been inconvenient to leave unexpressed what most concerned the Ethiopians, viz. the refusal of their alliance; but the poem is not a précis of Isaiah's interview with them; it was written not for them, but for his countrymen.—4a. So 811.—4b-d. I will be quiet and look forth] the two verbs might be freely rendered untroubled I will watch. The clause expresses not unconcerned inactivity, but observation free from anxiety as to the issue. It is true the verb לֵבַשׁ may be used of God's inactivity, so Ps 83²: cp. Jer 47⁶f, Is 62¹; but it is also used to express freedom from annoyance or care; see Ezk 16⁴², Ru 3¹⁸, and, especially, the uses of the Niphil in reference to men in 7⁴ 30¹⁵ 32¹⁷. The vb. לְבַשׁ, look forth, is used of the divine observation of the world and its inhabitants and needs; so Ps 33¹⁸f, 80¹⁵, La 5¹, Is 63¹⁸.—The world may be in turmoil, but Yahweh undisturbed keeps watch, in readiness for action in His sure abode which cannot be shaken—"ut Judaei putant, in Templo; ut nos, in coelestibus" (Jer.). Whatever the reference, and Jerome was probably right, the term (אֶדֶם) is significant, and is inadequately represented by dwelling-place (RV): it is a place which is firmly fixed, which endures and cannot be shaken: cp. the use of the vb. in Ps 93⁶f, and see ² n.—Like the dazzling heat above the light] this line contains, like the next, a comparison rather than, as many * have supposed, a note of time (see phil. n.). But neither the translation nor the point of comparison is free from ambiguity. יִתְנַע readily expresses both the ideas of glow and of dazzle; cp. "a glowing

* e.g. Ges., Del.
wind," Jer 4:11, a "dazzling" (white) skin, Ca 5:10 (adj.), La 4:7 (vb.). Above the light, is but one possible rendering of רָּאָה הַלַיְלָה; others are, at time of light (cp. the use of הַלַיְלָה in Jer 8:18, and see BDB 754b); or, on the ground of, on account of, light (Di.: cp. BDB 754a). The word רָּאָה, light, means, once at least (Job 31:26), specifically the sun; yet the phrase can scarcely mean at mid-day (ךֵי), for in Neh 8:19 רָּאָה is contrasted with mid-day as the light of the earlier part of the day. If the clause is temporal, it means when it is (sun-)light, in sunshine, a specification that adds little to the idea of dazzling heat. Possibly, therefore, Du. is right in supposing that the dazzling heat is defined as that which seems to be above the sun, not proceeding from it, but belonging to another sphere, and regarded by many people as the region of the highest gods.—Like a cloud of night-mist] a comparison from the night, as was the last from the day. The word cloud, יָדוּ, elsewhere expresses clouds as the source of rain (5:6), or as high in the sky (1:14, Job 20:6), or as moving swiftly across the sky (6:8). The יָדוּ in time (ךֵי), or heat (ךֵי), of harvest, is not the atmospheric moisture condensed by the cooling of the ground, i.e. dew proper, which forms during spring and autumn in Palestine, but the night mist, or rain, which is an invaluable feature of the hot season from May, and especially from August, to October. The westerly winds bring much moisture from the Mediterranean, and this condenses under the action of the cool night air into something like a Scotch mist; see Che. in EBi. 1094 f. (on the basis of Neil, Palestine Explored, 129–151). To the Hebrews this moisture, which might be sufficient to drench the hair of those out in it (Ca 5:3), seemed to descend from heaven (Gn 27:28, Dt 33:28) by night (Nu 11:9, Jg 6:37-40), returning thither early in the morning (Ex 16:12f., Hos 6:4); what, then, is the point of the comparison? Do the figures enforce the stillness, or the watchfulness, or the fostering care of Yahweh? (1) Di. remarks—just as in the harvest season, glowing heat by day and heavy dew by night, both necessary for the ripening of the crops, continue constant over the country, so will God remain unmoved, undisturbed, though still ripening the plans of the Assyrians. (2) Marti sees in the glowing motionless heat, and in the lofty clouds driven by no wind, out of sight but pouring down the dew in harvest, altogether admirable figures for the unseen but all-seeing God, exalted far above
all that is human, undisturbed by the movements of the world, but carrying through His will. Like heat and dew-cloud, Yahweh can remain quiet while events in Asia excite the famous, powerful, and distant people of Ethiopia; even so should Yahweh's people remain quiet, confiding in Him. More than this is not told the Ethiopians, nor needs to be said to the Jews, who should know that in quietness lies their deliverance (74-9 2816 3015).

5. If תֹּכַּב should be rendered then he shall cut away, Yahweh being the subject, the words of Yahweh in v. 4 are here continued by the explanation of the prophet, cp. Am 31-8. If the subject be indefinite, then one will cut away, or then will be cut away, vv. 5 and 6, like v. 4, may be the words of Yahweh, though even in this case that is not very probable. If Marti's theory, that vv. 5, 6 originally followed 178-11, were correct, the words would not be Yahweh's, and the indefinite construction would be appropriate enough. Neither the indefinite subj. nor the unexpressed subj. implying Yahweh seems altogether satisfactory, if v. 6 is the direct continuation of v. 4. If, however, the connection be original, the line of thought must be somewhat as follows: Yahweh quietly watches (v. 4) the ripening vintage of the Assyrian plans, because he has determined just before the crop is ripe to slash the vine to pieces (v. 5), i.e. (v. 6) Yahweh permits the advance of the Assyrians, but just as they expect to gain the object of their invasion He will destroy them; one and all will lie unburied in the land they have invaded: cp. 1712-14 1424-27 3636f. — Before the harvest] יִשְׁלַ֖ק is here used of the vintage; so probably 1711 (cp. 1710), and certainly 169 (ct. Jer 4838). In v. 4 the word appears to have its usual meaning of grain-harvest; in any case the harvest of v. 6 is not the same as the harvest of v. 4, which is generally the harvest of any year, and introduced merely to complete a figure. This verbal coincidence combined with difference of sense is somewhat awkward; on the other hand, if as 526-29 became separated from 97-104, so 185f. became separated from 171-11, the verbal connection may have led an editor to attach the fragment to 184. — Ripening grapes] the יָסָ֔ב is a fully formed but immature and sour grape, as the use of the term in the proverb (Jer 3129) sufficiently shows. —

6. The invaders will fall in such numbers that carrion birds and beasts will feed on them year in year out; cp. Ezek 3911ff.
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*Carrion birds of the mountains*] The phrase does not recur; cp. Ezk 39:4 "on the mountains of Israel . . . shalt thou fall to the carrion birds." **G birds of heaven**; cp. 1 S 17:44, 46, Jer 7:88.

7. A prose appendix, probably added to the poem by a later hand. In the age to come the people described in v.2d will bring tribute to Yahweh in Sion; cp. Ps 68:9 72:10 76:12, Zeph 3:10. —From a people] so **G**; cp. the next clause in **G** and **H**. Owing to the obvious loss of נ before the first נ, the text of **H** makes the tribute consist of the people themselves! Cp. RV.—The place of the name of the Yahweh] i.e. the place where Yahweh causes His name to dwell, where He manifests Himself, where all acceptable offerings must be brought; Dt 12:5, 11.

There is a remarkable difference in **G**’s rendering of the matter common to this v. and v.2. This may be due to the fact that v.7 was rendered by a later hand, and added to the translation of the main body of the chapter, which may have been translated before **H** contained v.7. Yet it is to be observed that v.7 contains the transliteration σαβαώθ, which is a striking characteristic of the Greek version of the entire book (Introd. §21).

1. **םשנמה בָּשָׁנָה** בָּשָׁנָה may be cstr. of a form בָּשָׁנָה, or (Stade, §241) of the form בָּשָׁנָה (Dt 28:14), which out of pause would be בָּשָׁנָה (see G–K. 299; Driver on 1 S 15:23). בָּשָׁנָה in Dt 28:14 denotes an insect, apparently of the locust kind; (cp. Ges–B. s.v.). Hence the translation winged locusts (?) is obvious; yet in the parallel expression עֵנִים עֵנִים, winged birds, the sing. of עֵנִים is used. No instance of בָּשָׁנָה=whirring, buzzing, is found; but it is in no way venturesome to assume the meaning, for the root בָּשָׁנָה=שָׁלָל=בָּשָׁנָה, particularly in reduplicated derivatives, expresses the idea of a noise; so בָּשָׁלָל, בָּשָׁלָל expresses the emission of noise when, e.g., iron is struck by iron, as a helmet by swords, or the tinkling of bells; בָּשָׁלָל בָּשָׁלָל, בָּשָׁלָל are cymbals, so called from their clanging sound; בָּשָׁלָל, a whirring insect, prob. the locust (?); בָּשָׁלָל, the harpoon, which whizzes through the air; בָּשָׁלָל is the name of a bird (see Lane, and BDB, s.v.). For the root בָּשָׁלָל, the meanings shadow, to cast a shadow, and so forth, are, of course, very well established; but reduplicated forms from this root are rarer, though one such seems to be the NH בָּשָׁלָל, which denotes some overshadowing object smaller than a נֶפֶשׁ (Levy, iv. 195). Di., indeed, divides בָּשָׁלָל into בָּשָׁלָל, which should mean many shadows rather than twofold shadow (cp. G–K. 123c); בָּשָׁלָל then becomes a somewhat awkward acc. instead of a gen. For the meaning boats, Ew. appeals to בָּשָׁלָל, which in the קָמָם is interpreted בָּשָׁלָל.
boats; but Lane suggests that this is an error for *umbracula*: this
seems probable, and in any case the meaning boats is rare and derivative in
Arabic, and, therefore, a poor support for such a meaning in Hebrew. So
also Gr’s rendering *οὐάλ γῆς πλατών πέτρωτες* leaves it very doubtful whether
*heb* had this meaning: and ṣe, which is very paraphrastic, is still more in-
conclusive. Che. (*SBO T*, p. 104) obtains *winged vessels* by reading
instead of *'כֵּל לְהַשָׂב* beyond the rivers of Cush: cp. Dt 30:18
*םֹּרֶכֶת, beyond the sea; מֹּרֶכֶת, beyond Jordan* (Nu 22:1 and often). The
sense beyond, region beyond, is the only meaning in such geographical
expressions that is justified by usage; see BDB, s.v. *יֹב* (p. 719). That
טֹּנֶר could also mean exactly the opposite, viz. *on this side*, was formerly
assumed by some scholars; see Vitr., Hitz. Even the neutral sense, *on the
side of, along*, adopted here by Grotius (ad *flumina Ethiopian*) and Ew.
(*längs den Strömen*), cannot be admitted; the idioms in which *יֹב* is taken
to mean side (BDB, s.v. *יֹב* 2) are different in character. To express along,
Hebrew employed a phrase with *ד*, especially *ד יִת*, e.g., Nu 13:20; see
BDB.—*שִׂדְמַן*] Haupt’s contention (in *SBO T*, p. 108f.), that this means
the Great River of Cush, is abstractly possible, but quite improbable. The
well-established uses of the amplificative plural are of a somewhat different
case: its use here would create an awkward and unnecessary ambiguity;
and all of Haupt’s parallels are capable of satisfactory explanations as
ordinary plurals. That the great river Euphrates by itself is intended by the
abbreviation of Ps 137:1 is altogether improbable, since the Euphrates is so regularly
 hailed as the river, or simply river; and again it is unlikely that in 7:18 10:6
(37:25) (which in Ex 7:18 must mean the Nile arms) means the Nile stream,
single and undivided. That triple-peaked Hermon is not only called
Hermon, but once the Hermons (Ps 42:7), is natural enough and no real
parallel to the single undivided stream of either the Euphrates or the Nile
being called the rivers.—2. *ירכִּים*] Gr kal *εἰς θαυμάζων;* this, or *טָלַבְּבֵּב,* seems preferable to *טְל.* Gr’s unique rendering of *טְל* by *טְל.* was probably suggested
by the parallel clause: in Job 9:26 Gr also fails to render *ships of papyrus.—
*טְל* part. Hoph. of *טָל* with suppression of the preformative *ד* (G-K. 525).
The form might also come from the root *טָל*; but this yields no more
probable sense in the context. Whether *טְל* (*טָל*?) read *טָל* is uncertain;
but ṣe *מָנוּ, ᵒָהלּ* *דָלַכְרָטָל, may be free renderings of *טָל.*—
*אֶלְּהָלְהוּ דֹאָמ* has been commonly treated here as a conj. = *דֹאָמ,* and the
whole phrase rendered *from where it is and onwards,* i.e. far and near; or
*from where it was and onwards,* i.e. from the beginning of its history.
Doubtful: but if *אֶלְּהָלְהוּ דֹאָמ* = *דֹאָמ,* cp. *נֹעֶשׁ,* Gn 48:15; with אֶלְּהָלְהוּ, cp. *סֹעֶשׁ,* 1 S 18:8
*אֶלְּהָלְהוּ דֹאָמ*; for אֶלְּהָלְהוּ embracing the pred. in itself (BDB
216a), cp. the very similar, but doubtful, אֶלְּהָלְהוּ, Nah 2.9. Not improbably
the text is corrupt, *אֶלְּהָלְהוּ* being a corrupt dittochart of אִנָּהְמָך* [5*], and אֶלְּהָלְהוּ a
corrupt second epithet, perhaps לָעַלְּהָלְהוּ: this would restore a line of 3 accents.
—*וּיְד* if the makheeph be omitted, the form (cp. G-K. 840, π) perhaps
means *might,* cp. Ar. *טָל* with that sense. Improbable alternatives are
(nation of, i.e. using, or subjected to) *measuring line (upon) measuring*
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line; or (nation of, i.e. given over to) line (upon) line (cp. 28:10), i.e. rites and superstitions (Vitr.; cp. Del.). AQ. ὑπολόγεων, Jer. expectantem connected ἔρχεται, to hope; ct. גָּאַלְפָּרֶס. — נודי possibly a parallel root to סִּדְכָה to cleave: cp. סִּדּו, Aram. סִדָּכָה. Others (cp. AV) have treated it as parallel to צר, to plunder. It is not clear that the word was read by גָּאַלְפָּרֶס. — 3. אֶשְׁדָּכָה 14 n.—ונַה יָד סִדּו[. — The force of the gen., if it means a signal on the mountains, is curious and not quite explained by G–K. 1287., x. Perhaps שִׁירָה (Hiph. Inf. of שִׁיר) is a misplaced variant (cp. 49:22 62:10) of נַה[. — 4. הנעך על . . . נַה מִדָּכָה] before an infin. and, rarely, before a verbal noun, או denotes time (BDB 454b): but it is never a temporal conjunction; the rendering when there is clear heat (RVmarg.) is therefore questionable. נַה[. — 5. נַה] if correct, a pausal form (G–K. 297) of נַה, Hiph. pf. of an otherwise unknown root נַה, or (cp. G–K. 676) נַה. Pointed נַה it might be Hiph. of נַה, which in NH means to strike off the head (of a man or animal). For the asyndeton נַה יָד, cp. G–K. 121g.

XIX.—The Oracle of Egypt.

The ch. consists of (a) a poem or poetical fragments, vv.1-14 or 15; (b) a prose section, vv.16-25. The attempts of Lowth, Ges., and recently Cond., to represent vv.16-25 as poetry, are unsuccessful.

The poem conceives Yahweh as about to visit Egypt in person, and to punish it by bringing about civil war, the dominion of a ‘hard lord,’ and the complete destruction of the entire country by the drying up of the Nile. Vv.16f. also speak of a plan of Yahweh to punish Egypt, terrifying them by means of Judah. But vv.18-25 are in an entirely different tone: here the expectation is that Egypt and (though this point comes out rather allusively) Assyria also will be converted to Yahweh.

Vv.1-15, 16f. 18-25 succeed one another, but it cannot be said that there is any real transition from the theme of vv.1-15 to the very different theme of vv.18-25; certainly no such transition exists in vv.16f. which bring us no nearer than vv.1-15 to vv.18-25.

Probably the original oracle extended down to v.14 or 15 only; the remainder of the chapter, like chs. 18 and 20, were subsequently added to this ‘oracle’ as dealing also with the Nile valley.

1-15.

The following translation contains 42 lines, distributed as follows: 1 monostich, v.4c; 3 tristichs, vv.2 & 14; 16 distichs. Possibly vv.2 and 8 were originally distichs and have been expanded by the incorporation of glosses, viz. v.2b and in v.14 יִשָּׁאֲדָה and יָמָן.
In vv.5-10 the rhythm is 3 : 3, except, if the text be sound, so far as v.7c (two accents) and 8o are concerned. In vv.1-4, 11-15 distichs 3 : 3 scarcely occur; v.18a, b might certainly be so read, and v.2 if it ended with תקמ; but scarcely v.12a or 12b. The dominant rhythm is 4 : 4; but conspicuous exceptions to this are due to the lines of two accents in vv.1b, 2b; moreover, in vv.2o. d. 4a. b. 11a. b the lines balance one another very ill. In v.12b מֶ֫בֶר might be omitted. Parallelism more or less complete marks most of the distichs. Absence of parallelism and conspicuous rhythmical irregularity coincide in vv.1a. b. 19.

1 Behold Yahweh is riding upon a swift cloud, And he will come to Egypt, And the idols of Egypt will tremble at his presence, And the heart of Egypt will melt within him.

2 "And I will spur on Egypt against Egypt, and they shall fight, Every man against his brother, and every man against his neighbour, City against city, and kingdom against kingdom.

3 And the spirit of Egypt within him shall be emptied out, And his plan will I confound; And they will go to inquire of the idols and the mutterers, Of the ghosts and of the familiar spirits;

4 And I will deliver (?) the Egyptians into the hand of a hard lord, And a mighty king shall have dominion over them": Is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh of Hosts.

5 And water shall be dried up from the sea, And the river shall be parched up and dry;

6 And the river-branches shall stink (?) having dwindled (?), And the (Nile-)arms of Egypt shall be parched up. Reeds and rushes moulder,

7 'And all the sedge-grass' on the brink (?) of the Nile shall shrivel away (?)'.

And all that is sown by the Nile shall dry up, It is driven away and is no more.

8 And the fishermen shall mourn and lament, All they that cast hook in the Nile, And they that spread nets on the water have languished.
8. 9 And they that work flax are ashamed,
    ‘The (women) that comb’ and the (men) that weave
    ‘have grown pale.’
10 And those of her who ‘do textile work’ shall continue
    crushed,

All who earn wages (?) shall be vexed in soul.

11 Utterly foolish are the princes of So’an,
    Pharaoh’s wisest plan-makers are (makers of) a witless
    plan!

How can ye say to Pharaoh,
    “A son of the wise am I, a son of ancient kings”?
12 Where, then, are thy wise men that they may tell thee,
    And make known (to thee) what Yahweh of Hosts
    hath planned against Egypt?
13 Befooled are the princes of So’an, deluded the princes of
    Memphis,

And the chiefs of her tribes have led Egypt astray.
14 Yahweh hath mingled within ‘them’ the spirit of distortion,
    And they have led Egypt astray in all her works,
    As a drunkard goeth astray in his vomit.
15 And there shall be no work for Egypt,
    Which head or tail, palm-branch or reed, can perform.

It has been questioned whether this poem is a unity: many
have suspected that vv.6-10 are from one poem, vv.1-4, 11-15 from
another; Marti holds both vv.5-10 and 11-15 to be later additions
to 1-4. Exegesis (see below on 5-10 ad init.) and rhythmical
differences (see above) give some justification for the suspicion.

In vv.1-4 the writer appears to have certain definite historical
circumstances in view: he is doubtless predicting, yet he appears
to live at a time when there had already ceased to be any
effective central government in Egypt, but when (yet see Dr. LOT 215) some soldier or monarch had already made a name
for himself, and seemed likely to make Egypt subject to him.
Unfortunately such circumstances, though they existed in the
time of Isaiah, were recurrent in the history of Egypt; and until
it is possible to fix the date of the prophecy on independent
grounds, the identification of the “hard lord” of v.4 must
remain a matter of guesswork.
Many guesses have been made; it is not even agreed that the hard lord is aforeigner, though this would seem to be the intention of the poet. On the assumption that the poem is the work of Isaiah, interpreters have identified "the hard lord" with the Ethiopian Piankh (Stade, De Is. Vat. Aeth., 1873: withdrawn, ATTheol. 226), or Tirhakah (Corn.), or one of the Assyrian kings (Kî., Ibn Ezr.), whether Sargon (Hitz., Driver in LOT 215, tentatively), or Sennacherib (W. R. Smith, Prophecy, 333). Many have identified the hard lord with Psammetichos i. (663-609 B.C.), who established his rule over the (contending) nomes, or kingdoms, by the help of foreign mercenaries; see Herod. ii. 147-154: Diod. Sic. i. 66; and, for the history of the period in the light of most recent evidence, Breasted, Hist. of Egypt, c. xxvi. This view was taken, according to Ges., by Grotius "and most of the best interpreters since"; by himself too, but with an attempt, which later knowledge has shown to be impossible, to throw back the rise of Psammetichos to the lifetime of Isaiah; by Del. also, who, however, considers the poem a detailed prophecy of Isaiah and not, as Eichhorn had already argued, the work of a contemporary of Psammetichos. This view has been recently revived by Steuernagel (Theol. Studien u. Kritiken, 1909, pp. 8-12), who argues that among the mercenaries employed by Psammetichos were Jews supplied by Manasseh, for which he was condemned in Dt 718; that when the poet says Yahweh will fight against Egypt, he means these Jewish mercenaries will be employed against Egypt; and that some of these mercenaries were the founders of the Jewish community at Elephantine the existence of which has been brought to light by recent discoveries; see Sayce and Cowley, Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan, 1906; Sachau, Drei Aramäische Papyrusräuberkunden aus Elephantine, 1907. Descending later, we may find a suitable "hard lord" in Cambyses, at whose invasion the Jewish temple at Elephantine was spared, though the Egyptian temples were destroyed (Sachau's Papyrus, i. 13 f.); "it is most natural to explain 19 as referring to the mad fury of Cambyses," and "at any rate probable that 19 was written sometime between" 525 "(final defeat of Psamtik 111. by Cambyses) and 485 (reconquest of Egypt by Xerxes)"; so Cheyne, Introd. 117. Still later Artaxerxes Ochus, by his cruel treatment of Egypt in 343 B.C., at the end of a period of internal strife (see on v. 2), would fit the rôlë: so Du., Marti. Finally, Kennett (pp. 53 f.) finds in Antiochus Epiphanes (1Macc 15, Dn 820) the "hard lord" of this poem.

If vv.11-15 are of a piece with vv.1-4, we must seek a period of origin for both when (1) there was a Pharaoh, and (2) So'an (Tanis) and Memphis were of importance: (2) determines nothing, for So'an and Memphis were important at any period that could be considered for this poem (see on v.11): (1) should probably exclude the period of Persian (525-404, 343-332 B.C.) and Greek (332-31 B.C.) dominion, but scarcely perhaps the period immediately preceding Psammetichos i. (so Alt, Israel u. Ägypten).

Yet see Kennett, p. 54 n. 1.
p. 90), or the similar period of decentralisation before the establishment of the Ethiopian dynasty (712 B.C.).

It is difficult, as the divergence of views cited above must suffice to indicate, to give the poem any secure place in Isaiah's literary and prophetic career. As an example of attempts so to place it, we may cite W. R. Smith (Prophets, 333): "While Isaiah does not cease to concentrate his chief attention on Israel . . . the largeness of the historical issues involved in the downfall of the supreme world-power carries the prophetic vision far beyond the narrow limits of Judah . . . and so when Babylon had fallen (2310) and Sennacherib at length began his destroying march upon the western provinces, Isaiah followed his progress with absorbing interest. First, he announces the speedy discomfiture of the Arab tribes (2118f). . . . And next . . . the stroke shall fall on the proud city of Tyre (ch. 23). . . . And still the career of the destroyer has not reached its end, 'Behold Yahweh . . . cometh unto Egypt'" (ch. 19). Yet it is questionable whether this assumed period does real justice to v. 2: Smith evades the point by making the advent of Sennacherib dissolve the government of Pharaoh and set free the intestine jealousies of the Egyptian nomes (p. 335); but this is contrary to the order of events predicted in the poem.

In the style and ideas there is nothing that positively supports an Isaianic origin, for the occurrence of some words and phrases used by Isaiah and collected by Cheyne (Introd. 112) cannot do so. On the other hand, there are usages and ideas which favour, if they do not absolutely require, a post-exilic rather than a pre-exilic date. The frequent and inelegant repetition of Egypt (5 times in vv. 14, 4 times in vv. 19-16) may, indeed, tell more against Isaianic authorship than in favour of any particular date, for we cannot safely assume that there were no inelegant writers before the Exile. Ew. (Propheten, p. 480), while recognising peculiarities, was content to attribute its "duller colour" and "deadened fire," of which he was conscious, to the advanced age at which this "the last writing of Isaiah" was written; cp. Skinner, p. 145. Many of the peculiarities of vocabulary or style collected by Cheyne (pp. 111 f.) are entirely inconclusive as to date, and among these מלח (3725 n.) should be included. Others are textually doubtful (see below on דונה, v. 6; רועה, 7), but others have late Hebrew or Aramaic affinities; see notes below on ליה, v. 5; קֶלֶל, v. 6; אֶנָּמִים נַשָּׁ, v. 9.
Very significant is the use of רָד in v.8; see n. there; and the structure of v.12 (n.) is noticeable. Possible, but not absolutely certain, implications of v.2 (see note on And come) and v.3b would also indicate a late date.

If more were known of the circumstances and outlook of the Jews at the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, we might be able with some probability to assign the poem to that period.

1-4. Civil War and the "hard lord."—Yahweh is about to descend in judgment on Egypt: He will give over the country to civil war (v.2) and the domination of a cruel and mighty king (v.4). So both civil war and foreign invasion figure in the prophecy of Ephraim's fall (97-10 526-29).

1. At Yahweh's advent in Egypt, gods and people will tremble.—Yahweh is riding] He will make a swift descent, riding through heaven (cp. Dt 3326) on a cloud-chariot: cp. Ps 1810f. (97) 6834 (33) for similar conceptions; the idea of Yahweh's cloud-chariot is elaborated in Ezk 1. ro. 1122f.—Will come] the vb. is used of Yahweh's advent to judgment (e.g. Ps 9618). For Yahweh's advent in person to the land which He is about to punish, cp. Jer 4938 and ct. Is 97 (6); whether such a representation any more than that in Am 92f. is necessarily inconsistent with the idea of Omnipresence (Jer 2324, Ps 139), and, even if so, whether it is necessarily inconsistent with Isaiah's conceptions (cp. 64), may be doubted. By reason of Yahweh's presence (72 6319), the idols (28 n.) will tremble (64 72) with fear, and the heart of Egypt—the people personified (15 n.)—will melt (137), i.e. their courage will vanish (cp. Dt 208, 2 S 1710).—2-4. Yahweh speaks: in E the first person begins in v.8. It is preferable.—I will spur on] 910 phil. n.—2b. Cp. 36. City against city and kingdom against kingdom] the two clauses are almost synonymous: the "kingdoms" are the nomes (Ε) of Egypt. The form of the prophecy in this v. would be best accounted for if it was written in a period when there was no effective central government and no strong Pharaoh (v.11) able to control the monarchs. Such a period was that which preceded the establishment of the Ethiopian Dynasty, c. 712 B.C. (Breasted, History of Egypt, 547 f.); another such followed the fall of the same dynasty (ib. 565 ff.). So, too, the period between 404, when the Egyptians recovered their independence of the Persians, and 342 B.C. was "filled with internal discord.
Three dynasties (from Tanis, Mendes, and Sebennyus) and at least nine kings... are mentioned” (W. Max Müller in EBi. 1247).—3. Timorous in v.¹, fraticidally courageous, or at least pugnacious, in v.², the Egyptians are now pictured as witless and perplexed. The various pictures are unrelated: there is no psychological development from v. to v.—The spirit within him shall be emptied out] Egypt is personified, as in v.¹. The phrase means the Egyptians will lose their wits; cp. the parallel line. The use of הון is significant: הון is here an essential and permanent part of the personality. Originally הון denoted an invading spirit temporarily taking possession of a man, and was thus distinguished from the ושנ, or personal soul, which could not be separated from a man without leaving him dead or unconscious. This distinction is largely maintained in pre-exilic literature, but became increasingly obscured later: "ruach is not used of the breath-soul in man in any pre-exilic document," nor is it “used with psychical predicates in any pre-exilic passage, though from the Exile onwards this usage becomes frequent, whilst in Psalms and Proverbs the term is practically employed as a synonym of nephesh and ‘heart’ to denote the inner life in general... By the time of Ezekiel, we find that ruach has come to denote the normal breath-soul, as the principle of life in man (Ezk 37₅-₆, ⁸) ... from this point onwards we find ruach following a line of development similar to that of nephesh, with which it is used in parallelism (e.g. Is 26⁹).”*—3c. d. In their perplexity the Egyptians will turn for counsel to their idols and to the spirits of the dead; but they will get no help: their idols are as frightened (v.¹) as themselves. It seems unnecessary to regard the consultation of the gods as a proof of the senselessness of the Egyptians, and consequently to see in this trait an indication of a dogmatic and unsympathetic monotheism (Du.). There is nothing specifically Egyptian in the forms of divination mentioned: for the first term idols, see 2⁸, for the ghosts and the familiar spirits, 8¹⁹; the second term פוג occurs here only; the Arabic ל¹ means “to emit a moaning or creaking sound”; mutterers is but a third term for the dead, who give their responses with a thin and low voice (8¹⁹ 29⁴).—4. Even if the writer had some

definite individual in his mind whom he expected to subdue Egypt, the adjectives by which he describes him tell us little, unless, which is unlikely, he intends some native Egyptian who had gained a reputation for severity. Any conqueror would ipso facto be mighty: any foreign ruler as the imposer of hard, i.e. foreign, service would from the point of view of the conquered, especially in expectation, be a hard lord. For various guesses at identification, see p. 321. The phraseology in some respects resembles that of the curse of Eshmun'azar on the individuals who should tamper with his tomb: “May the holy gods deliver them up (יָדָו) to a noble prince (אר נמלמל תחא), who shall rule over them” (CIS i. 39 = Cooke, NSI, p. 30).

2. יָנֵס [קָל] כָּלְקַלְקָלִים הָיוּ [קָלַק]. G-K. 67dd. —איסאיאס] 1313 n.—4. יָנֵס [קָל] כָּלְקַלְקָלִים הָיוּ unless this is an error for יָנֵס [קָל] כָּלְקַלְקָלִים (Ezk 3013), the root מָסַר, Assyr. sikēru, meaning to dam up water, shut up the mouth or ears and the like, developed also the meaning to deliver up: cp. the Hebrew development of the similar root דָּשֹׁנ (BDB, s.v.). —הָשָׁנָה] pl. of majesty (G-K. 1242) with sing. adj. (G-K. 124g). כָּלְקַלְקִים render by a pl.—ץ קיומ] כָּל om.

5–10. The Nile is to dry up.—Between vv.14 and 11–15, which prophesy political disaster, comes this prediction that the Nile and the Nile-streams will run dry; that all vegetation dependent on them will wither away; and that all classes of people directly or indirectly dependent on the Nile or the vegetation promoted by it will be distressed. The sequence within these verses is natural and good, but as between vv.5–10 and 11–14 it is as poor as within vv.14–1 (see above); for in spite of the fact (see Ges.) that changes of Moḥammedan dynasties have occasionally coincided with a low Nile (far more than which is intended here), the drying up of the Nile is no natural sequence to the accession of a hard lord: either might well be conceived as a judgment from Yahweh, but they go ill together: the combination in Ezk 3010–12 of the slaughter of the Egyptians by Nebuchadnezzar's troops and the drying up of the Nile is less unnatural, for no picture is there suggested of Nebuchadnezzar becoming the ruler of the unpeopled desert: ct. still further Ezk 3219–15, where the waters flow on in a country desolated and depopulated by the sword.

5. The sea] the Nile; 188 n.—5b is = Job 1411b; and line
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a. is but a variant of Job 14:11a.—*The river* the main stream of the Nile: ct. 7:20 n.—6. *River-branches* the artificial conduits made from the Nile for purposes of irrigation; so נрова is used of the canals of Babylon, Ps 137:1, and קנה of a particular canal, Ezk 1:3, Ezr 8:24.—*The (Nile-)arms* the branches into which the Nile divides in the Delta may be specially intended, though נחל is not limited to these: 7:19 n. If נחל is a loan-word from Egyptian ('iotr, 'iôr, water-course), and not an old Semitic word (see Ges–B. s.v.), it may at first have meant specifically streams of Egypt; but any such limitation of meaning was lost later (see Dn 12:5, 7), and then the addition of Egypt (cp. 7:18 37:28) was not superfluous; cp. river (נחל) of Egypt in Am 8:9—probably late passages.—6c–7. In four lines of which 7a certainly, and 7c possibly, are corrupt, the rotting and withering of the vegetation are described.—7a. Very uncertain; see phil. n. Meadows (RV) is a very conjectural rendering of חוץ, which should mean bare places.—*All that is sown* דוד ורוג may mean either *all land that is sown*, or *all seed that is sown*.—8. In the dry river-bed no fish can live. This would deeply affect the whole of the poorer classes, who largely fed on the abundant fish supply of the Nile: Nu 1:5 (n.).—*Shall mourn and lament* cp. 3:26; to separate the vbs. (RV) destroys the 3:3 rhythm.—9. The distress of the flax-workers. Much flax was grown in Egypt, and the growth and preparation of it formed an important industry. Failure of water meant failure of the crop. Two processes in the manufacture of flax are here particularly referred to: (1) the combing of the stalks whereby the poorer fibres, which were used for tow, were separated from the better fibres, which were used for (2) weaving into material. Cp. Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptians, iii. 138 f.—*They that work in flax . . . the women that comb* so omitting a single letter. יי apparently means *they that work in combed flax*, i.e. those that work the superior fibres of the plant into material; the adjective distinguishes them from another class who may have made the tow into wicks; but it is questionable whether this distinction is probable here: hence, and on rhythmical grounds, the emended text in this and the next clause is preferable, yet perhaps not quite correct, for the distribution of the work between women and men cannot be satisfactorily explained.—*The men that weave have grown pale* the vb. (זואר) || to "are ashamed," as in 29:22†.
For the conjectural reading רוהִי, יִרְוָה, which is conjectured to have the same meaning as רוהִי, white stuff, linen or cotton, Est 16 8 18: יִרְוָה might then be rendered weavers of white stuff—

10. The distress of another set, or two sets, of people is here described: unfortunately the text or meaning of the terms is uncertain. A generalising conclusion would not be inappropriate; but whether the terms mean the foundations (cp. Ps 119) and workers for hire respectively, and therefore either (a) the entire population—the leading classes on whom the state rests, and the rank and file who work for hire, or (6) the entire proletariat, the two terms being regarded as synonymous, is very doubtful. Possibly v.10 continues the description of the flaxworkers begun in v.9. An allusion to the “makers of dams” (RVMarg.) would be belated. See, further, phil. n.—

5. רָשִׁים] MT Niph.†; Kal, 4117, Jer 5130 †.—6. רָשִׁים] an error for רָשִׁים (G-K. 53p) rather than a unique instance of a denominative formed from an elative (Ew. Heb. Gr. 1268); but corruption of the text may go deeper; for the meaning stink, which occurs nowhere else in OT, we may, indeed, compare רַצָּי; to stink; but the versions do not recognise the meaning, the parallel does not secure it, and “stinking” would be more in place after the rotting of the reeds (v.8).—דָּשִׁים] doubtful: note (a) for דָּשִׁים †, 3814, Job 28 have דָּשִׁים; see G-K. 67aa, cc; (b) יִרְוָה all prefix 1, and יִרְוָה seems to have read the word as a second noun; (c) neither יִרְוָה, vb., nor יר, adj., is elsewhere used of water. The prevalence of the 3 : 3 rhythm in vv. 5—10 suggests that דָּשִׁים, or whatever it stands for, went with v.6a, not with v.6b.—דָּשִׁים, Is 33† ; cp. דָּשִׁים, to be mouldy.—7. רָשִׁים] Ἵς, he who is not pleased (Heb., etc.) would be more fitting for Ἵς] the absence of a vb., the variations of the versions, the unsuitability of ὅς, which means if anything bare places (not meadows), the dissimilarity of the neighbouring lines, all point to textual corruption. רָשִׁים means here look like variants. יִרְוָה is difficult; the mouth of the Nile is scarcely a place likely to be chosen in illustration of fruitfulness, and the suggestion that יִרְוָה here means banks (Du.), a meaning which would be appropriate, rests on the precarious argument that as יִרְוָה means one bank (e.g. Gn 418), mouth means both banks: the analogy of such expressions as the mouth of a well, a sack, and so forth, shows that, naturally enough, mouth stood for openings, not for what surrounded or enclosed an opening. יִרְוָה has קָלָה הַבּוֹס הַבּוֹס יָדָה יָדָה the reference to land and water, the pattern righteousness of the sea, and omitting וב, which might be overlooked before וב. The line, over-short even in יִרְוָה, is perhaps corrupt.—8. רָשִׁים, יִרְוָה, יִרְוָה, יִרְוָה] 311 n. —דָּשִׁים] if taken, as commonly, with what precedes, spoils the parallelism; if with v.6 it is otiose; possibly its presence here is not unconnected with
corruption in vv. 8b. 9. תֹּֽהַשׁ is probably masc.; it is plural of תֹּֽהַשׁ (Gezer Calendar Inscription, PEF Qu. St., 1909, pp. 2, 5), not, of course, of the nomen unitatis תֹּֽהַשׁ (Di.). If תֹּֽהַשׁ is masc., תֹּֽהַשׁ certainly does not go with it. In any case there are other considerations (see above) against taking תֹּֽהַשׁ with 9b; either תֹּֽהַשׁ is itself a nomen agentis, or, more probably, an original תֹּֽהַשׁ part. pl. fem. has been wrongly written plene.—יֵדַע] see comm. above; if a vb. were not more probable here than a noun, we might restore רַּע, treating the as ditto graph of the following 1. G renders רַּע בְּנֵסָוְּר. 10. תֹּֽהַשׁ] there is nothing in what immediately precedes for a 3rd fem. sing. suff. to refer to; both the word and the suffix cause difficulty; the comparison with Ps 118 was made by Ki. and Ibn Ezra. The renderings of the versions are, G οἱ ἱματιζομένοι αὖρά; S omits; T ἢ ἁπαίτησιν τίνι ῥᾳ, the place where they weave textures; Ê irrigua eius. C, and probably G too, connect the word with a root רַּע, to weave, which is used in Aram., and whence the Heb. noun רַּע, warp, is derived; punctuate in this case רַּע, or, since the masc. אֱמֶר follows, read רַּע, which, if the meaning were not entirely unsuitable, might also be rendered those who drink it.—רַע הָאֵשׁ if the phrase had anything to do with hire (commonly רַּע), it should rather mean those who actually obtain wages, than those who work for them (cp. Pr 118), though it is true the former meaning would be less suitable here; the latter meaning is expressed by רַּע. G S render רַּע by strong drink (רַּע). T F, Rashi, Ki., Ibn Ezra, AV, RVmarg. render רַּע, assumed to be an orthographic variation of רַּע, by dors, or sluices; cp. the use of the vb. in Gn 82. This meaning is probably intended by MT; but it is altogether improbable; for (a) it would return to the fishermen, who have already been fully dealt with in v. 8; (b) it was suggested to the earlier interpreters by an impossible view of דָּוָא, which they took to mean fools of soul(s) (i.e. fish!), in apposition to רַּע. דָּוָא is rather an adj., occurring here only, meaning troubled, depressed; cp. with the harder guttural פָּלַג הָאֵשׁ, Jb 3025; both forms occur with this sense in the Rabbinic writings—Hebrew or Aramaic; see Levy, NHB iii. 618, i. 21, and Chald. Worterbuch, i. 8, ii. 222, though the form with ד is commonly, or always, merely a variant of the form with ו. Cp., further, Assy. agâmu, to be vexed; מָרַע, to loathe; מְלָאֵשׁ, to be depressed.

II–15. The futility of the wise men.—The wise men of Egypt, princes of the old and famous cities of Tanis and Memphis (v. 13), are proved foolish by the event: they gave advice and formed plans, which Yahweh frustrates (v. 8), but they never discerned Yahweh’s plan (v. 12), which is carried out. Consequently deceived by Yahweh (v. 14a), they delude themselves and their country (v. 18f.), and Egypt achieves nothing.

II. Soan] RV Zoan. Heb. Soan and Gk. Tâves are both transliterations of Egyptian S‘int (Coptic Dja(a)në), the name of the capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt.* The city was

* W. Max Müller in EBi., s.v. Zoan.
situated in the Delta, on one of the Eastern arms of the Nile near its mouth, and was thus one of the nearest of the great Egyptian cities to Palestine. It was an important city, as excavations have shown, as early as the 12th (c. 2000–1788 B.C.; Breasted), and probably as early as the 6th (c. 2625–2475) dynasty. The 21st dynasty (c. 1090–945) sprang from So'an; so also, according to Manetho, did the 23rd (c. 745–718 B.C.); but this is doubtful (Breasted, Hist. of Egypt, 535). Egyptian records show that So'an was a residence of Egyptian kings as early as Ramses II. (13th cent.), and that it was, probably, the Egyptian residence of the kings of the Ethiopian dynasty (c. 712–666). Stelae of Ramses II., Osorkon II. (c. 874–853), and Tirhakah (c. 691–666) have been found there; and the temple of Amon at So'an made a considerable contribution to Nitocris in 654 B.C.; see Breasted, Ancient Records (references in v. p. 58). The Greek geographers still speak of So'an as a "great city" (Strabo, xvii. 1, 20); it survives to-day as a small fishing hamlet, Šân. Its importance attracted the attention not only of Isaiah (30^4) in the 8th, but also of Ezek (30^14) in the 6th cent. Other OT references are Nu 13^22 (n.), Ps 78^12. 48.—IIb is parallel in sense to v.11a, but the text or construction is uncertain: see phil. n.—IIc. d. The poet dramatically asks these Egyptian counsellors how, being really devoid of wit and wisdom, they have the effrontery to remind their king that they are, each one of them, by right of descent men of wisdom and rank. Professions, including those of the priests and wise men, were largely hereditary among the Egyptians.—I2. "The structure of v.12 is a favourite one since Jeremiah's time (cp. Jer 2^28, Dt 32^37ff., Is 47^12ff.)": Che. Introd. p. 112. The Pharaoh is now addressed: if he has any wise counsellors they could tell him what Yahweh is about to do to Egypt; but no such counsellors are to be found in Egypt, or among the priests of the Egyptian gods. From the point of view of late Jewish thought the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of all wisdom: those who fear Him, alone know His plans. Cp. 47^12ff.—Memphis] Heb. RV Noph (see phil. n.). Memphis occupied a site at the southern end of the Delta, about 10 m. S. of Cairo. Till the 18th dynasty (c. 1580–1350 B.C.) Memphis was the most important city of Egypt; at that time it yielded first place to Thebes, but maintained undisputed the claim to be the second
city of the Empire. Stormed by the Ethiopians in the 8th cent., by the Assyrians in the 7th, by Cambyses in the 6th, it does not appear to have suffered any considerable depopulation, and, outliving Thebes, continued to be populous under the Ptolemies and second only to Alexandria.* The other references to Memphis in the OT are Hos 96, Jer 216 441 4614.19, Ezek 3018-16(9); in Ezek 3013 (if not also in Jer 4619) Memphis seems to be regarded by the Hebrew writer as the most important city in Egypt, and, as here, it is mentioned in close connection with So'an (Ezek 3014).—13b. The chiefs of her tribes] cp. Jg 208, 1 S 1438, Zec 104 for the use of הָגְּד, lit. a corner-stone. The phrase is best taken as subj. of the sentence and synonymous with princes in the preceding line: see, further, phil. n. The tribes of the Egyptians may be the inhabitants of the several nomen. There is no good ground for giving the word the sense of castes, and then making the whole phrase mean the chief, i.e. the priestly, caste.—14. Yahweh is the cause of the folly that precedes the fall of Egypt; He allows a spirit to possess them that distorts their judgment.—Within them] so: the pronoun refers to the princes or advisers mentioned in the last v.; these with judgment warped, so that they see nothing right, lead the whole nation to its doom. נָחַר reads within her; if this is right the suffix refers to Egypt as a whole: possessed by the spirit of distortion, the people are led on by their leaders to their doom. —The spirit of distortion] cp. “the spirit of deep sleep,” 2910, “the spirit of falsehood” in the prophets of Yahweh (1 K 2223), “the evil spirit” that terrified Saul (1 S 1614), all alike performing Yahweh’s purpose. The distortion (שֵׁן) which the spirit was to achieve was distortion of mind or judgment: cp. the distorted or perverted mind (נַעֲשׂ לָו) which produces the opposite of wisdom, Pr 128. In all that they undertake, the Egyptians have no more power to go straight than a drunken man; for the figure, cp. 287, Job 1224.—15. Expresses awkwardly much the same idea: neither high nor low (918 n.) will achieve anything.

11b. הָגְּדִים [the line seems at least one word too long; is הָגְּדִים intrusive, and הָגְּדִים an error for זָקַן? The construction of נָחַר, in spite of such partial analogies as הָגְּדִים (Ps 1094; cp. Dr. § 109 (2)), or the usage of נָחַר, is abnormal; we may treat נָחַר זָקַן מִי כְּסִיס as a casus pendens and נָחַר as resumptive, but if we render the wisest of Pharaoh’s counsellors—a

* Based on W. M. Müller in EBi. s.v. Neph.
witnessless council are they, we place on ἐναντίων, counsel, or plan, a sense which it bears nowhere else; again, if we render the wisest, etc.—witness is (their) counsel (ὢ and virtually RV), we assume a most improbable ellipse of the pronoun (ὥς for ἐναντίων) which cannot be defended by reference to Ps 97, for that is a corrupt passage. For the superlative force of ᾧς ἐναντίων, cp. G-K. 133h.—ὡς . . . ἐναντίων the pl. is distributed: cp. Jer 27;—12. ἐναντίων] ἐν Ἐφραὶ MT; preferable is ἐναντίων (Ἑναντίων); cp. 473h.—13. ἐναντίων many MSS and the versions ἐναντίων. —ὑπὲρ ἕναντίων] ἐν Ἐφραὶ φυλάσσ. ὑπὲρ was probably intended to be read as a pl. (Ἐ) if sing. (MT) and subj. of ἐναντίων, it has a collective force (G-K. 145b, c). For the order vb., subj., subj., see Dr. § 208 (4): it emphasises the subj.-rather unexpectedly here, where the subj. seems to be merely parallel to the unemphasised subjects of v.13h.—14. θὰ ἔσῃ περὶ ἐναντίων] in 52h and elsewhere ἐναντίων is used of liquids, and means to mix. Ges., al., suggest that it has here lost its full force, and, like the Gk. κεφάνειν in Apoc 14h, for example, means merely to prepare: cp. Εν Ἐφραὶ ἔσῃ ἔναντίων. In 29h the phrase used of ἔσῃ is ἐναντίων, in ἐναντίων—but see n. there; Du. proposes so here. For ἐναντίων should perhaps be read: cp. Εν Εφραὶ, and see comm.—ἤτιον] see 21h 24h nn., and BDB, s.v. ἔσῃ, ii. ἐναντίων connect with ἔσῃ, ἔσῃ (BDB, ἔσῃ, ii.; cp. Dr. on 1 S 20h), to err from the way.—ὁ ὑμεῖς] read ἔσῃ, ἔσῃ; note the pl. in ἐναντίων, and the 3rd fem. suffix in ἐναντίων, v.13h.—15. θὰ ἔσῃ ἐναντίων] for the use of ἐναντίων, cp. 7h. ἐναντίων may mean for, and denote the source—no work shall be performed by Egypt.

16 f. Judah a terror to Egypt.——Egypt will tremble at the impending judgment of Yahweh, and will shudder at the mere mention of the land of Judah.—16. In that day] so vv.18h, 19h, 21h. 23h, 24h.—Egypt] personified and construed with the masc. sing. as in vv.1h, 3h: ct. v.18h (fem. sing.), vv.21h (masc. pl.).—Shall be like women] Nah 3h; Ges. compares Xerxes' speech at the battle of Salamis of μὲν ἄνδρες γέγονασι μοι γυναῖκες (Herod. viii. 88).—And shall tremble] δροῦ of women, 32h; of a city, 10h. —And be in dread] unlike Israel (12h), secure in Yahweh's help. The vb. ἄνθρωπος repeated in v.17 is a favourite with late writers. The noun occurs in Is 2h.—Because of the swinging of the hand of Yahweh] cp. 11h and phil. n. on 10h, also 30h. The meaning may be that the Jews (cp. v.17), by the help of Yahweh, will overwhelm, or spoil, the Egyptians; cp. "battles of swinging," 30h, and for the idea Ex 14h, Zec 21h (9h), 2 Ch 14h, 18h; or the writer may have had in mind some other miraculous intervention of Yahweh, cp. 11h. —17. And the land of Judah will become a terror (see phil. n.) to Egypt, either because Yahweh's conquering hosts will pour down from Judah on Egypt (see last n.), or because, dreading Yahweh, Egypt will dread his residence also (Di., Marti). Moreover, whoever mentions it, viz. the land of Judah, to him, i.e.
Egypt, will be in dread. — 

The cast of sentence monotonously repeats v.\textsuperscript{16b}. — The plan of Yahweh verbally a connecting link with vv.\textsuperscript{1-15}, see v.\textsuperscript{12}; the writer may have in mind what Ps 2\textsuperscript{7} calls Yahweh's decree, according to which Israel was to treat with severity all nations which failed to serve them. Other terrors planned by Yahweh for those who do not submit to Israel are mentioned with specific reference to Egypt in Zec 14\textsuperscript{12-19}.

\textbf{16. more effective than \textit{נוהי}}. The use of the expressed subj. with the part. is normal (Dr. § 135 (6)) at all periods: cp. e.g. Ex 5\textsuperscript{6} (JE). — 17. אֵשֶׁל] אֵשֶׁת, כֶּלֶשֶׁת, כֶּלֶשֶׁת; cp. LXX. The ending נ is an Aramaizing equivalent of נ (G-K. 80\textsuperscript{b}); the root is הב, cp. בַּֽעַת, Ps 107\textsuperscript{27}; if this means (BDB) to reel (as from festival excess), such a derivative meaning may well be late; in any case the sense required for the noun here is only paralleled within the OT by the sense of the vb. in the late Psalm passage. — ולכ לְכִץ בָּיִד חַיֶּשׁ אֵשֶׁת אָדן[ וּפֹלֶנֶז] awkward, and really rather pointless however construed. For the translation above, cp. הב with acc. of the thing and הב of the pers. in Gn 40\textsuperscript{14}. Less probable is the rendering every one (i.e. every Egyptian) to whom one mentions it is in dread; but whenever one mentions it to him, he (Egypt) is in dread, would give excellent sense, if 1 S 2\textsuperscript{18} proved that הב could mean whenever. Improvable is the rendering whosoever makes mention of it, to him he turneth in dread (בַּֽעַת, as Jer 36\textsuperscript{16}).


The unity of the section has been questioned, v.\textsuperscript{18} or \textsuperscript{18b} or \textsuperscript{23–25} having been by various writers suspected of being interpolations. The somewhat disjointed character of the section, marked off by many repetitions of In that day, gives some ground for such suspicions. But, as the commentary that follows must be left to show, it is by no means difficult to interpret the several parts as coherent.

Neither style nor ideas admit the probability that vv.\textsuperscript{18–25} were written by Isaiah: note on the one hand the constant repetition of Egypt and in that day, and the absence of anything characteristic of Isaiah: on the other, the prominence given to the ritual element in religion, vv.\textsuperscript{19, 21, 23}.

The style does not point conclusively to any definite date, though it is just such as a late writer familiar with the Scriptures might have written.

The determination of date rests in the first place on the question whether the entire section is prophecy, or whether it is
in part history clothed as prophecy. In the former case it seems easier to account for the prophecy of an altar (or rather in this case altars), and a *massēbah* or *massēbahs* to be erected in Egypt (v.19) before the publication of Deuteronomy (ch. 12; 16:22) than after; though the idea is not easily associated with pre-exilic prophecy. If the reference is to a particular altar and *massēbah* already existing, no known facts explain the reference to the *massēbah*, and the only known fact which might explain the allusion to the altar is the Temple at Leontopolis erected about 160 B.C.* It is altogether improbable that the exiled high priest Onias had no sympathisers in Judah: and it is possible that one of these, dealing not with an idea, but accepting the *fact* of a temple in Egypt, saw in its erection the realisation of what had long ago been pre-determined by Yahweh as a means of bringing Egypt to Himself. What those, who had driven Onias to Egypt, had intended for evil, God had intended for good, to bring much people to Himself (cp. Gn 50:20).

18. The "City of Righteousness" in Egypt.—There will be five cities in Egypt speaking Hebrew and acknowledging Yahweh: one of these will be distinguished from the rest, possibly as being the legitimate seat of Jewish worship in Egypt: in this case the reference would be to Leontopolis, where from about 160 B.C.—73 A.D. there stood a temple built by the Jewish refugee Onias iv., after the model of the Temple at Jerusalem (Jos. Ant. xiii. 3, War. i. 11, vii. 10:4).

The specific reference to Leontopolis, or the Temple of Onias, has been recognised alike by many who see in this v. a prophecy written in the 8th cent. B.C., and by many who regard it as a piece of history clothed in the form of prophecy, and forming the prelude to actual prophecy in vv.20-25, just as on a larger scale history clothed as prophecy forms the prelude to actual prophecy in Dn 7. Others question the specific reference (see more fully below).

In another respect affecting the general sense of the v. interpreters have differed: some see here a prophecy that a few Egyptian cities, as the firstfruits of the whole land (vv.24f.), will become converted to the Jewish religion, and in proof of their conversion speak Hebrew (so Del.): others, with greater

* An historical reference to both the erection and destruction of this temple given in the form of prophecy is found in Orac. Sibyl. v. 488–510.
probability, understand the five cities to be Jewish colonies in Egypt.

Five cities] the writer may well mean five definite cities, though these need not necessarily be Heliopolis, Leontopolis, Migdol, Daphnae, Memphis (Hitz.). Others treat five as a round number: so that the meaning is among the 18,000 to 30,000 cities or townships of Egypt, as they were computed at different times (Herod. ii. 177; Diod. i. 31), a few cities will speak Hebrew. The least hazardous parallels to such a use of five are 1 S 17:40 21:8, for there as here the use of any number is unnecessary, unless five were meant strictly. Many of the instances cited by Ges. ad loc. and König in DB iii. 564 are obviously not to the point; for instance, Benjamin's fivefold gift (Gn 43:24 45:22), five fleeing before a hundred (Lv 26:8, cp. 1 Co 14:19), five sparrows for two farthings (Lk 12:6).—Will be speaking the language of Canaan] i.e. Hebrew; the five cities will be Hebrew-speaking; Hebrew, not Egyptian, Greek (or ? Aramaic) will be in these cities the regular language of intercourse. Coupled as this clause is with the next, and swear allegiance (cp. 45:23, 2 Ch 15:11) to Yahweh of hosts (G to the name of Yahweh), the language (lit. lip; cp. Gn 11:6. 7. 9, Ps 81:6) of Canaan can scarcely mean anything but Hebrew; yet why this is not expressed by speaking Jewish, as in 36:11 (cp. 36:13), is not clear, and is, indeed, strange, for in Neh 13:24 Ashdodite and Jewish (i.e. Hebrew), though both languages of Canaan, are sharply distinguished.—One of them shall be called] one of these five cities will be distinguished from the rest by its peculiar character or function: the idiom to be called (ם יָשָׁם, 4:3 n. 32:6 62:4, cp. 1:26 n.), expresses an actual quality possessed, or function exercised, not a mere name to express which a different idiom would be used (Gn 10:25, Ex 1:15 18:8, Nu 11:26, Ru 1:4, 2 S 4:2); and יָשָׁם, one, can scarcely here mean each; for in cases where one seems to have such a meaning (e.g. Nu 7:3, 2 K 15:20; BDB 25b) the distributive idea is suggested by repetition, or by a distributive preposition, or by the context. Unfortunately what this city was to be called is uncertain; there are various readings, and the interpretation of the variants is ambiguous. But the context, in the light of what has been already said, allows us to affirm: 1. that the name must be of favourable import, 2. that it must not be merely the actual name of some city, insignificant in the
context and serving merely to identify the city intended: the
writer's purpose is not to disclose the actual name of one of the
five cities, leaving the remaining four unnamed, but to indicate
some essential peculiarity of this one city; 3. the name must
not by implication speak unfavourably of the other four, for they,
as well as it, are obviously cities of Yahweh's approval. Many
theories which have been suggested may be immediately dis-
missed as violating one or other of these conditions. The
readings with the most probable translation attached in each case
are as follows:

(a) πόλις ἁσιδεκ, εὐρύζων, א = רֹאשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, י = City of righteousness. This reading, since it contains a trans-
literation, certainly goes back to a Hebrew text.

(b) יִשְׂרָאֵל רֹאשׁ, City of Destruction: so most Heb. MSS, Syr. εὐρύζων, א (see under (c)), and possibly Aq. and Theod. who trans-
literate apes; but this might also = רֹאשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (cp. Jg 8:18 εὐρύζων).

(c) יִשְׂרָאֵל רֹאשׁ, City of the Sun: so some Heb. MSS, Symm. (πόλις) ἡλίου, Jer. civitas solis. א appears to combine (b) and (c): it renders אב יִשְׂרָאֵל רֹאשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, City of the house (i.e. temple) of the sun which is about to be destroyed.

The oldest attestation, that of εὐρύζων, א, say c. 150 B.C., is in favour
of (a); but the readings (b) and (c) both go back at least to the
1st or 2nd cent. A.D. If any of these readings be the original
one, the choice lies between (a) and (c), and must really fall on
(a)—City of Righteousness; the name recalls יָדֶה, and means
that one of these cities will be the Egyptian Jerusalem. But
Jerusalem to the writer is not, as in Isaiah's ideal, the city of
just or right government, it is the city of just or correct worship,
the place where sacrifices of righteousness (Ps 51:21), i.e. legitimate
sacrifice, can be offered. Thus interpreted the name satisfies all
the conditions of the context—it is of favourable import, it is
not an actual proper name, it does not by implication reflect on
the other cities: only one of them could be the Egyptian
Jerusalem, the city of correct worship, all of them might have-
been cities of righteousness in any wider sense of that term.

The reading יִשְׂרָאֵל רֹאשׁ can only mean, as εὐρύζων correctly understood it, city of
destruction, i.e. doomed to destruction (Ki., Rashi, and most moderns). To
avoid this meaning, impossible in the context, Secker suggested the artificial
interpretation city of the destruction (of heathen altars, etc.): so Del., Orelli,
and Che. (in PI, but not later). The claims of the reading יִשְׂרָאֵל to originality
may therefore be rejected decisively on two grounds: (a) the meaning is impossible in the context; (b) reasons for the origin of the reading are obvious: it is certain (Jos. Ant. xiii. 3) that v. 19 and the neighbouring verses were early understood to refer to the temple at Leontopolis, and that this temple provoked the displeasure of the Palestinian Jews; some Palestinian scribe substituted for a reading agreeable to the context a reading that expressed his feelings with regard to the schismatic temple. The reading of a few MSS עת התת, city devoted (to destruction), if it had any serious claims to consideration, would be dismissed on the same grounds. The theory (Du., Marti) that עת means lion, because ורס and ורס, derived from ורס, to be voracious, are used as epithets of a lion, would be philologically most hazardous; and it is out of harmony with the context, for then becomes a mere proper name—Leontopolis.

The reading עת has been generally interpreted City of the Sun, occurring once certainly in OT (Job 9, not Jg 14) as a synonym of סת. It is assumed by some that עת is here an equivalent, synonymous in meaning with the Greek Ἡλιων πόλις (Ε's regular rendering of the Heb. מנות), of the Egyptian city On. The meaning then is—one of those cities is On, Heliopolis. This is probably the correct interpretation of the reading; but it does not satisfy the requirements of the context, though quite good enough for a scribe aware that the passage was supposed to refer to the temple of Onias in Leontopolis, which was situated in the nome of Heliopolis. But why, if the original writer merely meant this, did he not say On (as in Gn 41:45, 50, 46, Ezk 30:17), or at least שמש ור (cp. Jer 43:18, Ḥ not ג)?

If, however, we suppose that עת means, indeed, City of the Sun, but was not used here as a mere translation of the Egyptian name of the nome, what quality of the city was it intended to express? Certainly not that it was to be a city distinguished by the worship of the sun! yet this would be the obvious force of the phrase (cp. מנהי ור, 6014). Unless some more suitable meaning can be discovered than hitherto, this interpretation at least, if not the reading itself, must be dismissed.

But עת has been otherwise explained as meaning (1) potsherd(s)—Jerome, as an alternative meaning to sun: עת is NH orthography for צות; (2) deliverance, so Ges. on the strength of the Arabic חרס, to rescue. But neither meaning gives anything unique for a single city as against the five. Jerome, indeed, takes it as forming a proper name—Ostracine; but this on other grounds is to be dismissed.

Whether עת or עת is the earlier reading it is difficult to say. For though עת as a noun occurs nowhere else, yet the vb. is very common; and it is easier to account for the substitution of this word of sinister meaning than for עת with its neutral meaning; עת, too, is very rare, and unless similarity of form to עת suggested the choice of the rare word, we should naturally expect a scribe, who was substituting a mere place name for a complimentary epithet, to select the common term שמס.

* In section 1, Jos. makes Onias cite part of v. 19 and add, "and many other such things did he (Isaiah) prophesy relating to that place."
It would be extremely hazardous to seek indirect support for the priority of מדר by assuming, on the ground of the reading αἰσθ ἔλον in Ε, that Ε's Hebrew text read יֵלַע (Che., Burkitt, cited by Ottley, p. 201; EBi. 2018). The reading of Ν is conflated; cp. the interpretation of Αστεδεκ by δικαίωσιν ἔλον (Lag. Onom. 187). It would be extremely strange if a mere accidental addition of εκ to an original αἰσθ should have given the exact transliteration of מַדר. Finally, מַדר will not stand as the original reading, for such a quality would attach to all five cities equally.

Against the originality of מדר is the fact that neither an Egyptian scribe would have had any compelling reason to substitute מדר, nor a Palestinian to substitute מדר. If a word of neutral significance had stood here originally, it would have been likely to maintain its place. The textual facts are best, if not completely, accounted for by assuming that the chronological order of the readings is מדרים, מדרים, מדרים.

19-22. An altar and a maçsebah will be erected to Yahweh in Egypt (v.19), reminding Him that He has worshippers there; when, therefore, His Jewish worshippers (scarcely His Egyptian worshippers: Skinner) are oppressed and cry to Him, He will send and deliver them (v.20); He will, thereafter, make Himself known to the Egyptians, and they, coming to know Him, will also serve Him with sacrifice and offering, and pay their vows to Him (v.21). Thenceforward, being Yahweh's worshippers (and people, v.25), Yahweh will treat them as He had treated Israel in the past, smiting them, indeed, to discipline them, but also, and as often as they turn to Him, hearing their prayer and healing them.

Since it is only after the erection of the altar to Yahweh (v.19) that the Egyptians come to know Yahweh (v.21), the writer cannot mean that the Egyptians themselves erected this altar: he thinks of aliens resident in Egypt, viz. Jews (cp. v.18). Attempts have been made to avoid this conclusion: Del. virtually inserts all twice over in v.21, so as to create an antithesis that does not exist in the text: v.18f, according to Del., asserts that Yahweh reveals Himself first to a few cities in Egypt, and then (v.21) "extends knowledge of Himself to the whole of Egypt, and throughout all Egypt there arises the knowledge of God." Cond. rearranges the verses in this order: 16f. 22. 21. 18-20. 23f., which removes one χυστήρον πρότερον only to create another, for it makes the Egyptians offer sacrifices to Yahweh before they erect the altar.

19. An altar in the midst of the land . . . and a maçsebah at its border] Ges. suggests that the terms are to be taken collect-
ively and the parallelism (cp. 11:12 18:6) interpreted thus: There will be altars and massebahs from the centre of the land to its circumference. This would have more probability if there were more parallelism and poetical style in the section, and if the one city (of righteousness) in v.18 did not make a reference to a single altar in that city natural. Che. (Intro. 106) overrides the reference to a definite altar even more boldly and with much less probability; what is meant is, he claims, "neither more nor less than this, that the regular worship of Yahweh should be set up in Egypt. Synagogues were, of course, just as much a 'sign' and a 'witness' (v.20) as literal altars, and the spiritual sacrifices... of prayer and obedience were infinitely more acceptable than mere animal sacrifices (הבע and התהנמ are mentioned to preserve the illusion of Isaianic authorship; cp. 11:11. 18)." It is safer to conclude that the altar is a real and definite altar; and so with the massebah. In this case the altar and massebah to which the writer refers were remote from one another, one being in the centre, the other at the extremity of the country; and it is not necessary to assume that the massebah was one connected with an altar or with worship, and consequently an object such as the Deuteronomic Law condemned (Dt 16:28, cp. 1 K 14:23, 2 K 17:10 18:4 23:14). We cannot safely argue that even the Deuteronomic school and H (Lv 26:1) would have condemned commemorative* massebahs, or steles, such as are mentioned in Gn 31:45 35:20, 2 S 18:18, and such as still exist bearing Phoenician inscriptions, for example the "marble obelisk, about 5 ft. high, terminating in a pyramidal or gabled top," found at Kition and dedicated to the memory of a certain Eshmun-adoni; see Cooke, NSI, p. 60 = CIS i. 44 (with illustration in Table VIII.). As according to Gn 31:46 a massebah marked the boundary between the Aramaeans and Hebrews in Gilead, so according to this passage a massebah is to mark, or rather already marks, the boundary of Egypt. May we surmise that at some place, such as Daphnae, on the North-eastern boundary of Egypt, one of the five cities of v.18, perhaps, and connected by the Jews of the time with the Exodus, there stood

* Even "commemorative monuments" were condemned by Abd el-Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabis (Hogarth, Penetration of Arabia, 73); and similar extremes are familiar expressions of the reforming spirit. But idealists, such as this writer was, need not share all the extreme views of reformers of religious practice.
an inscribed obelisk celebrating Yahweh’s deeds? If this were prophecy, it would be easy to understand a prediction that Egypt, like Canaan, should have its own place of sacrifice (cp. Mal r11); but a prediction that there should be a massebah at the boundary would be rather insignificant, if not positively meaningless. On the other hand, if such a massebah as we have surmised actually existed, it might still find mention along with the altar. The altar, if not ideal and the subject of prophecy, but really existing at the time when these words were written, is most readily understood of the altar at Leontopolis (cp. v.18 n.). Leontopolis occupied the site of Tell-el-Yehudiyyeh; this place has been excavated and the remains of the Jewish temple laid bare.* This place lies north of Memphis, but at the southern end of the Delta, and therefore quite strictly in the midst of the land. It is certain that the priests of Leontopolis in the 1st cent. A.D. applied this passage to their temple. Onias, according to Josephus (Ant. xiii. 31), in making his petition, which was granted, to build a temple at Leontopolis, wrote to Ptolemy and Cleopatra as follows: “I pray you grant me leave to build a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem. ... on behalf both of myself and my wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony with one another, for the prophet Isaiah prophesied, ‘There shall be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God.’” We cannot, of course, assume that Josephus had the correspondence of Onias and Ptolemy before him: he is rather in this form giving the regular apology of the priesthood of Leontopolis for their temple. An allusion to the altar and temple of the Jewish colony at Elephantine, built before 525 B.C. and destroyed in 411 B.C., has been suspected by Steuernagel (ThSK, 1909, pp. 8-12); but (1) Elephantine lay not “in the midst of the land,” but on the southern frontier, as Ezekiel was well aware (Ezk 306 2910); (2) we have no evidence, and it is improbable, that Elephantine made any such claim to a distinctive position among Jewish cities in Egypt as is made in vv.18-20a.—20. The existence of the altar in the centre and the massebah, or inscribed obelisk, on the frontier of Egypt, will serve Yahweh as reminders; for this kind of נַחַל, unlike that in 714, cp. Ex 139, Gn 911ff.; thus the rainbow is a sign, נַחַל, which reminds Yahweh

of His oath not to destroy the earth by a flood; so when He sees the altar and *massebah* in Egypt, He is reminded of His people there; and therefore *when they cry to Him because of oppressors* (Jg 2:18), *that He may send them a deliverer* as of old (Jg 3:18). *He will intervene,* lit. *content,* or *conduct His case* (cp. especially Ps 74:22f.), *and deliver them.* Others render (but see phil. n.), *when they cry to Him . . . He sends them a deliverer,* and *He* (the deliverer) *contends for them and delivers them,* or *when they cry,* etc.; *He sends them a deliverer* and a champion, and *He delivers them*; and some who render thus think that reference to actual historical events still continues; *but* if so, the identity of the deliverer is obscurer far than that of the altar. More probably the transition to prediction which has certainly taken place in v.21 has already taken place in v.20.—21. **By delivering His people in Egypt,—whether because in delivering them He delivers the Egyptians also is not clear—Yahweh makes Himself known to the Egyptians** (cp. Ezk 38); but not merely with the result, on which Ezekiel lays so much stress, that they realise that Yahweh is Yahweh, *i.e.* realise all His might and power; this writer looks forward to a conversion of Egypt to the Jewish religion, which could be summed up as a "knowledge of Yahweh." The Egyptians *will know Yahweh* (cp. 13:11f. n.); but the knowledge, or religion, of Yahweh, for this writer (ct. 11:2 13), manifests itself in ritual (cp. v.19; ct. 11ff.), and therefore the converted Egyptians will give proof of their conversion by offering sacrifice to Yahweh; they will participate in the service of the altar (in Leontopolis ?).—22. **Become Yahweh's people** (cp.25), Egypt will experience that goodness of Yahweh's which shows itself in fatherly chastisement, and "leads to repentance" and healing. **[Smiting and healing]** cp. Hos 6:1. *As often as they return* from the evil ways to which, like Israel, Yahweh's first people, they will be prone, *He will let Himself be entreated of them,* they will pray to be healed, and *He will heal them.*

23–25. **The triple alliance of Egypt, Assyria, Israel.** These three powers, blessed of Yahweh, will be a source of blessing in the whole world. The conversion of Egypt, which must precede this, has been dwelt on in v.21f.; that of Assyria is merely, but certainly, implied. The co-operation of Assyria and Egypt implies, too, a general state of peace which enters into many a prophetic picture of the ideal future; what is
remarkable here, and almost unparalleled, is the co-ordination of Egypt and Assyria with Israel; they are not to be subjects of Israel, and in virtue of so being, objects of Yahweh's regard; they are to be as directly related to Yahweh as Israel itself. This unlimited universalism, this entire elimination of racial prerogative to the favour of Yahweh, was too catholic a thought to be immediately and generally accepted; $G$ misses the point of the equal co-ordination of the three nations by rendering in v.23 "Egypt shall serve Assyria," and reduces v.25 to a mere reference to the Jews at home and in the Diaspora, rendering, \textit{Blessed is my people which is in Egypt, and which is in Assyria and the land, my inheritance, Israel}; cp. $S$ and even $Y$. $T$ likewise paraphrases away the great idea as follows: "Blessed is my people whom I brought out of Egypt, whom because they sinned before me I exiled to Assyria; but when they repented they were called my people and my inheritance, Israel."

23. There will be easy communication by means of a \textit{highway} \((11^16 40^3)\) which Assyrians and Egyptians will use equally for friendly passage to one another's country.—\textit{Assyria} if the verses were written before the last decade of the 7th cent., this refers to the Assyrian Empire; if later, to one of the Empires which succeeded to the command of the Euphrates valley—the Persian or the Seleucid; see \(11^16 10^24\) n.—\textit{The Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians} grammatically the sentence is ambiguous: it might equally well, and even more obviously, mean \textit{the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians}; but a subjection of Egypt to Assyria is incompatible with the entire outlook of the verses, with the co-ordination of Egypt and Assyria (Egypt being mentioned first) in the next v., and the repetition of exactly the same phrase (ct. $G$) for the passage of Assyria to Egypt and Egypt to Assyria. The service in which Egypt and Assyria are to cooperate is (ritual) service to Yahweh; cp., of Egypt, v.21.—24. \textit{A blessing in the midst of the earth 25 which Yahweh of Hosts hath blessed, saying} so, following $G$ in reading for \(כְּבָרֶה\), which cannot be satisfactorily explained (see phil. n.). For \(כְּבָרֶה,\ \textit{a blessing, cf. Gn 12}\).—\textit{My people} Egypt, in Ex 37 and often elsewhere of Israel.—\textit{The work of my hands} the term used of Assyria was in itself of the widest importance once the belief in Yahweh as Creator had developed; note, however, the use of the term in reference to Israel in 6021 647.—\textit{My inheritance} of
Israel as often: so 47\(^6\), where it stands in parallelism with my people, also meaning Israel.

20. הָדוֹן is the entire sense of v.\(^{19}\) (cp. Kön. iii. 323c), i.e. the existence in Egypt of הבוא and עבאד; 3rd m. sing. as in Gn 11\(^{11}\) etc. 17\(^{11}\). Less probable is the view that the following sentence יִנָּה יִלָּה the subj.—ὅτι ἐστιν οὖσα, that is the subj.—ὥσπερ τάξιν ἐστίν οὖσα;—ὅτι ἐστίν that he may send: this is the normal force of simple waw with the impf. (Dr. § 62); and again, the normal apodosis to a sentence beginning with י and an impf. begins with waw consec. and the pf. (דר) here; the waw with the impf. is in such cases very rare (Dr. § 136\(^{3}\), cp. § 125). Moreover, the subj. of בּית and מִלְיָד is quite naturally Yahweh on the view here taken, less naturally עליה on the other. MT בּית means וב to be taken as a part. : so 151 (G\(\) ambiguous); but after גֹּורה this is very otiose; on the other hand, in the light of Ps 74\(^{22}\) בּית, then he will intervene, is effective enough.—22. עֲנָן יִרְאוּ for the hypothetical force of the double waw conv. with pf., see Dr. § 149. For the Niph. of יִשְׁנָה of those whose supplication is permitted and granted, cp. Gn 25\(^{21}\), Ezr 8\(^{23}\).—21. הָדוֹן הָנוּ מְצֻמָּת G\(\) καὶ ἐργαλείποντος δυνατά. But הָדוֹן is rather a technical term meaning to discharge a (religious) service or duty : cp. Ex 13\(^{5}\); and v.\(^{29}\) below. With the acc. of the material used in the service, cp. Ex 10\(^{36}\).—25. דִּבְרֵי רֹבֶנֶךָ G\(\) מִי אֲוִילָטִקָה, whence we may read הָדוֹן וְשָׁמָן, the suffix referring to נָא. Retaining MT, some explain.wherewith (or because) Yahweh hath blessed him, i.e. Israel, or distributively, each one of the three—all awkward and improbable.

XX.—Misraim and Cush (Egypt and Ethiopia) are to be taken captive by Assyria.

For three years, including the year of the capture of Ashdod by the Assyrians, Isaiah by command of Yahweh went about “naked” (i.e. half-clad) and barefoot, like a captive, as a portent that Misraim and Cush, on whom the Palestinian states at this time relied for help against Assyria, would, so far from giving help, themselves be taken captive by Assyria.

Sargon’s inscriptions (see below) enable us to date the capture of Ashdod; it took place in 711 B.C. These inscriptions also state directly that Judah was drawn into the revolt, and into the appeal to Pir’u, king of Muṣur, for help against Assyria. Isaiah’s conduct was directed, though unsuccessfully, towards keeping Hezekiah and Judah out of an anti-Assyrian alliance with the neighbouring states.

The date is particularly significant if, as has commonly been assumed, Miṣraim and Cush are here, as usually in the OT, Egypt and Ethiopia (18\(^1\) n.) respectively. For the siege of
Ashdod falls a year, or perhaps as much as three years, after Sabako, in establishing the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt, had re-established a strong central government in the Nile valley. Isaiah, in this case, is affirming that the new government in Egypt, though it may be stronger, will nevertheless bring no strength to the Palestinian states against Assyria. His expectation that Assyria would take captive and carry into exile the people of Egypt and Ethiopia was not fulfilled; it was a full generation after the capture of Ashdod before an Assyrian army even entered Egypt. But it is obvious that Isaiah was right in expecting that the Palestinian states would receive no effective aid from outside; it is not said whether the appeal to Musur for help met with any response; but it is directly stated that the king of Meluhha, identified* by most scholars (not Winckler) with Ethiopia, delivered over the leader of the Ashdodites, who had fled to his kingdom for refuge, to the Assyrians.

But the identification of the Misraim Cush of Is 20 and the Musur and Meluhha of the Assyrian inscriptions, relating the revolt of Ashdod, with Egypt and Ethiopia, formerly accepted by himself,† so far as Musur = Egypt is concerned, has been most recently denied by Winckler, who now‡ regards all three terms, Musur (Misraim), Meluhha, Cush, as districts of Arabia. Alt (Israel u. Aegypten, 68 ff.) adopts an intermediate position, holding that Pir'u, king of Musur, to whom the Ashdodites and their Jewish and other allies appealed for help, was an Arabian ruler, but the king of Meluhha who delivered up Yamani to Assyria was Sabako the king of Ethiopia (and Egypt).

It will be convenient to gather here the details of the affair of Ashdod given in Sargon's inscriptions (ed. Winckler, 1889)—Annals, 215-228; Great inscriptions (Prunkinschrift), 90-112 (KB ii. 65 f.), and a Clay Prism (ed. Winckler, 186-189). In the Annals (l. 208) the date is given as the 11th year of Sargon, i.e. 711 B.C.; in the Clay Prism (l. 1) as the 9th year. The latter date may be due to a different mode of reckoning, or more probably it is the date of the earliest reasonable proceedings in Ashdod, while

* See, particularly, E. Meyer, Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme (1906), where the identification Meluhha = Ethiopia, is re-argued at length against Winckler.
† ATUntersuchungen (1892), 143 f.
‡ KAT§ 70 ff. (where references will be found to his earlier arguments); Die jüngsten Kämpfer wider den Panbabylonismus (1907), 29 ff.
711 is the date of the fall of the city (KAT 370 ff.). Note the three years' duration of Isaiah's portent. The course of events was as follows: Azuri, king of Ashdod, determined to withhold his tribute to Assyria, and invited the kings of his region to join him in his anti-Assyrian policy. Sargon punished this conduct by deposing Azuri and making Azuri's brother Aḥimiti king in his place. The Ashdodites refused to accept the Assyrian nominee, and set up against him one, Yamani by name, who had no right by descent to the throne, and who was, perhaps (KAT 370 n.), an adventurer from Cyprus (Yamna) or Arabia (Yemen). Yamani fortified Ashdod, and (at his instigation) the Ashdodites, in common with other Assyrian vassal-states **"situated on the sea"** (a-ši-bu-ut tam-tim), viz. the Philistine cities, Judah, Edom, Moab, brought presents to and sought, whether successfully or not is not stated, alliance with Pir'ū, king of Muṣur (Pharaoh, king of Egypt, or yarā, king of a district in Arabia?). "Quick as lightning" Sargon('s army) marched from beyond Tigris on Ashdod. At the first news of his approach Yamani fled a-na i-te-e māt mu-ṣ-ri ʾa pa-at māt me-luh-ha, i.e. according to different interpretations, to the boundary (or, in the direction) of Muṣur, which is on the side of (or, belongs to the territory of) Meluḫḫa. Sargon's army captured and spoiled Ashdod, Gimiti, and Ashdothimmu, and Sargon made Ashdod the seat of an Assyrian governor. The king of Meluḫḫa, whose capital was very remote from Assyria, and whose fathers had not sent messengers or paid tribute to Assyria, alarmed by Sargon's exploits, sent Yamani bound to Assyria.

The chapter is probably in the main derived from an early biography of the prophet—not from the autobiography from which chs. 6–8 are drawn; for in v.3 as well as in v.2 Isaiah (the son of Amos, v.2 as in the titles 11 21 131) is referred to in the 3rd person. In form the ch. consists of two divine oracles, v.2b and vv.3–6, separated from one another in time by three years, and a brief introduction, vv.1–2b, defining the occasion of the oracles. The awkwardness and ambiguity of vv.1–3a (see notes below) may be due to subsequent amplification of the extract from the biography, possibly by the insertion of v.2, or to abbreviation (cp. ch. 7). Both introduction and oracles seem to be in prose (Che., Du., Cond., Box). The attempt to represent the oracles as poetical in structure (Lowth, Skinner) is not successful.

I. In the year] 711 B.C.: see above.—That the Tartan] 2 K 817. In Assy. turtānu, tartānu, is the name of the officer, or officers—for as early as Sargon's time there seem to have been two—who ranked in the Assyrian army next after the king; see Johns in EBi. s.v. Tartan; E. Klauber, Assyrisches Beamententum (1910), pp. 60–63.—Came to Ashdod] mod. Esdud,
about 33 miles almost due E. of Jerusalem and 2 or 3 miles from the coast.—When Sargon, king of Assyria] from 722–705 B.C.—Sent him, and he fought against (7^1 n.) Ashdod, and took [it] all this fell within a single year. The Hebrew narrative means that the Tartan, and not Sargon in person, conducted the operations against Ashdod. Sargon in his inscription says, “I marched on Ashdod . . . I besieged, I conquered (it)” (Annals, 224 f.); but this seems to be merely a case of a king recording the events of his reign as his own personal exploits.

—2. At that time Yahweh spake] or Yahweh had spoken, are equally legitimate renderings (Dr. § 7. 16); neither expresses well what appears to be meant, viz., that three years before the capture of Ashdod, Yahweh bade Isaiah go barefoot. If we date the oracle of v. 2, directing Isaiah to go barefoot, in the year of the capture of Ashdod, then in v. 8, Yahweh said to me, means really Yahweh said to me three years later. The v. is an awkward parenthesis, perhaps an insertion (Marti); but if so, an insertion based on a fuller narrative and not merely elicited from this passage, for v. 8 does not suggest the curious reference to the prophet’s sackcloth.—By the hand of Isaiah] Gr to (πόσ) Isaiah. Later writers, particularly P and Ch., are specially fond of the phrase, Yahweh spake by the hand of such and such a prophet: see, e.g., Hag 1^1. 8, Lv 10^11, 2 Ch 10^15; and for some twenty instances in P, see Carpenter and Harford, The Hexateuch, i. 219, no. 180. Earlier examples of the usage are, e.g., 1 K 12^15 17^16 (cp. Hos 12^11, 1 S 28^15, 17). Its occurrence here is extraordinary, for the communication concerns the prophet alone, and is not to be passed on to some one else.—Saying, Go and untie the sackcloth from about thy loins] except in a few passages where it means a sack (of grain, etc.), παλίν always denotes an article of dress worn in mourning, or as a token of distress. Consequently, “to untie some one’s sackcloth” is a figurative expression meaning to cause, or give to, any one joy (Ps 30^19). In the present passage παλίν certainly seems to require, and has commonly received, another interpretation; it is said to be a distinctive but regular dress of the prophet, and is compared with the “hairy garment” of the prophets, who are slightly referred to in Zec 13^4, or the camel’s-hair raiment of John the Baptist, or the sheepskin, or the like, which, it is precariously argued, was Elijah’s official dress; cp. 2 K 1^8 and Ἐρασίων μυλωνία for ἱλασία.
in 1 K 19:18-19, 2 K 7:12f. — *Half-clad*] wearing the inner garment only instead of the two which constituted the normal attire; so Mic 1:8 and, perhaps, Ezek 18:16; Is 58:7. The Hebrew words יָדָע, דֹּק no doubt commonly meant absolutely naked (Gn 3:7, 10f.); but, like γυμνός, nudus, they had also the meaning of half-clad; even in this condition Isaiah would have exposed himself during these years to jeers and contempt (cp. 2 S 6:14, 20). It is only incidentally from the following oracle that we learn the duration of Isaiah’s conduct; yet the last half of v. 9 would stand far more naturally in v. 2; and it is not improbable that the original biography ran, \(^2\) *And he did so, going half-clad and barefoot \(^3\) for three years as a sign and a portent \(^8:18\) against Misraim and Cush.* — 3, 4. The meaning of Isaiah’s conduct: *And Yahweh said, As my servant (cp. Am 3:1) Isaiah has gone half-clad and barefoot . . . so the king of Assyria will drive away the captives of Misraim and the exiles of Cush, young and old, half-clad and barefoot.* This explanation of Isaiah’s conduct is only given three years after it had begun; what had happened in the interval? Had Isaiah given no explanation to questions which his conduct must almost certainly have invoked? Did he himself attach no significance to conduct which he had practised at the express direction of God (v. 2)? We may suppose that at first he explained it differently, making it perhaps significant of the exile that awaited Ashdod and Judah if they trusted in Misraim and Cush; and that the first point of the second oracle is that not only will these countries give no help to the Palestinian states, but will themselves become the captives of Assyria. — *With buttocks laid bare*] cp. 2 S 10:4. The clause, which re-enforces *half-clad and barefoot* as a description of the captives, may be an addition to the text. — *The genitalia of Misraim*] so the clause must be translated; it is probably a note giving a more seemly expression which was to be substituted (so Gr) for *buttocks* in the text. RV, *to the shame of Egypt*, places on הָעַל an unknown and improbable meaning, and produces a very trite conclusion. — For the custom of stripping captives, see 2 Ch 28:15 (cp. Is 47:2, 2 S 10:4): Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs illustrate it: see, e.g. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, fig. 119.

5, 6. The effect which the captivity of Cush and Misraim is to have on the Philistines and their Palestinian allies; *And they
shall be dismayed (8° n.) and ashamed because of Cush their hope (מַמְבָּא), to whom they looked (נֶבֶר, 228.11) as a source of strength for help, and because of Misrāim of whom they had made their boast, as being with all its irresistible might on their side; and the inhabitants of this coast shall say in that day, Behold thus is our hope become whither we fled for help to deliver ourselves from the king of Assyria; how then can we be saved? The subject of the vbs. in v. has to be gathered from the suffixes in הבָּאָם, הבָּאָם; it is not more explicitly stated till v.; Marti accounts for this awkwardness by assuming that is a gloss, Du. with more probability by assuming that the original biography has been abbreviated at this point.—The inhabitants of the coast] Sargon, not unnaturally, at a distance of 400 miles, groups together the inhabitants of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab as those that inhabit the coast; but it is strange for a resident in Jerusalem to use, if he does so, the phrase so comprehensively: in 232.6 “the inhabitants of the coast” are, naturally enough, the Phoenicians; and in Zeph 25 “the inhabitants of the region of the sea” are the Philistines. Possibly we have again some awkwardness due to abbreviation. —How then shall we escape] the pron. is emphatic (cp. 2 K 101); it refers to that part of the inhabitants of the coast who had not previously fled.
discuss other reasons, is against the alternatives: (1) Walked (being thus) a sign for three years (Del.); (2) in the third year a sign, etc., i.e. a sign of what is to happen three years hence—probably intended by accentuation of MT.—4. יַהֲזָת . . . יָשָׁה] abstract for concrete. Gr omits יַהֲזָת; for the punctuation יַהֲזָת, see G-K. 95c.—הָיָה הָיוֹז] acc. of the state in the sing. after plurals: cp. Job 24:14, see G-K 118a.—שְׁפַן] MT treats the word as a sing. (G-K. 87b); שְׁפַן was intended.

XXI.

The chapter consists of three poems (a) vv.1-10; (b) vv.11f.; (c) vv.13-15; and a prose note, v.16.

The poems are correctly distinguished from one another by titles characteristic of chs. 13-23 (see 131 n.) prefixed to them. Not improbably the poems are the work of a single writer, and were composed in Palestine shortly after the middle of the 6th century B.C. “Common to all three are (a) the obscure oracular utterance . . . , (b) the strongly marked visionary element in the writer’s experience, and (c) a certain readiness of sympathy with the foreign nations concerned in the predictions” (Skinner); also (d) the dominance of a rhythm produced by the succession of lines, or clauses, of two accents is common to vv.1-10 and 11f.

A date between 549 and 538 B.C. best satisfies the historical situation presupposed in vv.1-10; the language in vv.11-15 points to a date considerably later than Isaiah’s.

XXI. 1-10.—A vision of the approaching fall of Babylon (before the Persians).


The lines, or portions of lines marked off by | (cp. p. 76), in the following translation, correspond to two accents, except that v.9a. i is 3 : 4 (or omitting 'שה, 3 : 3), and that v.9b. e could be more easily read as 3 : 3 than as 2 : 2.

Parallelism prevails though not quite uninterruptedly; it is commonly between periods of two accents, but in v.9a. b between a combination of two, and in v.9 of three such periods.

1 [A roaring?] as of storms
As they sweep through the Negeb
It cometh from the wilderness,
From the terrible land.
3 A stern vision has been told to me:—
   "The violator is violating, 
    The spoiler is spoiling. 
   Go up, O 'Elam, 
    Lay siege, O Media, 
    Cause all the . . . to cease."

3 Therefore filled are | my loins with writhing, 
   Pangs have seized me | as of a woman in travail. 
I am bent (with pain) at what I hear, 
I am dismayed at what I see. 
4 My mind wandereth, 
   Shuddering has affrighted me; 
   The twilight that I longed for 
   Has been turned for me into trembling.

5 They are arranging the tables! 
   They are spreading the carpets! 
   They are eating, they are drinking! 
   "Rise up, O princes, 
      Rub the shields with oil."

6 For thus said | the Lord unto me:—
   "Go station the watcher, 
      What he sees, let him tell. 
7 And if he see a riding company, 
      Horsemen in pairs, 
      A riding company on asses, 
      A riding company on camels, 
      Then let him attend attentively, 
      With great attention."

8 And he cried . . . 
   "Upon a watch-tower, O Lord, | am I standing | continually by day; 
   And upon my guard-post | am I stationed | all the nights.

9 And, behold there, coming, 
   A riding company of men,
Horsemen in pairs."
And he resumed and said,
"Fallen, fallen is Babylon,
And all the images of her gods are shattered to the earth."

O my threshed one and my child of the threshing-floor!
What I have heard | from Yahweh of Hosts | the God of Israel,
I have told unto you.

The poem describes four scenes seen in a vision, or a
succession of visions:—(1) the horrors of war are proceeding,
and a cry is heard summoning Elam and Media to attack a city,
v.2; (2) preparations are made for a banquet, and the banquet
is proceeding when suddenly there comes the cry, To arms!
and the princes, or captains, are called from the table to the
field, v.5; (3) troops mounted on horses, asses, and camels are
advancing, v.8a-c, cp. v.7; (4) Babylon is captured and all her
gods shattered to the ground. V.1 is a prelude, in vv.8f the seer
describes the horror with which the first scene fills him, in v.7f.
the manner in which he receives the visions, and in v.10, address-
ing his own much-afflicted people, he ascribes his revelations to
Yahweh as their source.

The city (implied by the term "besiege") of the first scene
can hardly be other than that of the fourth, viz. Babylon; the
banquet of the second scene is a Babylonian banquet. The cry
in the second scene carries events in the city down to the time
after the advance of Elam and Media in the third scene, at a
distance from Babylon, has begun: the fourth scene depicts
the fall of Babylon before this attacking force of Elam and
Media.

Thus the capture of Babylon is still future to the writer, so
also probably is the advance of Elam and Media; but we may
infer that a political situation, which made such an advance prob-
able, already existed. Such a situation existed between 549
B.C., when Cyrus had united under his sway Media as well as
Elam, and 538 B.C., when Babylon opened its gates without a
struggle to Cyrus' Median and Elamite army. And to these
years we may refer the oracle. It was not written after the
event; for Babylon avoided "falling" (in the sense probably
intended by the writer) by immediate capitulation, and Cyrus, so far from shattering, made a point of honouring, the gods of Babylon.

The language, even though it does not demand it, is quite compatible with the date suggested.

The horror and dismay with which the first scene fills the seer contrasts, it is true, with the buoyancy and hope which the career of Cyrus brings to the author of chs. 40–55. But if this writer is also the author of vv. 11f., while he shared with the author of chs. 40–55 the conviction that Babylon would fall and her idols be destroyed, he did not share with him his optimistic estimate of Persia; he rather thought that a change of masters might mean no amelioration of the condition of the Jews; and in any case he is apprehensive that the horrors of war will in the immediate future affect not only Babylon, but also her captives. The background of his vision is uncertain: the foreground is fiercely lighted with the plunder, the violence, the cruelties of war.

A brief reference to two alternative theories must suffice. They have this in common, that they assign the oracle to a time when, not Babylon, but Assyria was the oppressor of Judah, with Babylon as its chief opponent, who as such would be likely to command sympathy among the Jews. (1) Kleinert refers the oracle to 710 B.C., when Sargon’s conquest of Babylon crushed the hopes that Hezekiah (but surely not Isaiah) had placed in Merodach-Baladan (2 K 20:18ff.); on this view v. 3b. e describes not Babylon but Assyria, and the Elamites and Medians of v. 3d. e are tributaries serving in Sargon’s army. (2) Wi. argues that the situation presupposed is that of about the year 648 B.C., when Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon had formed a great coalition, including Manasseh of Judah, against Asshurbanipal of Assyria.

The fatal objection (notwithstanding 22b) to both these theories is that Elam on both occasions was acting with Babylon, whereas in the vision Elam is acting against it. This also rules out the possibility that the oracle refers to Sennacherib’s siege of Babylon in 689 (cp. Che. Introd. p. 124).

1. Title.—Oracle (131 n.) of the wilderness (see v. 1a). Ἡ adds of (the) sea; but this is absent from Ἥ, and no tolerable explanation of the phrase wilderness of the sea has ever been offered. It has been supposed to mean the country bordering on the Persian Gulf and separating Elam from Babylon; but this is marsh (Wi.), not wilderness. Probably δι in Ἠ is a corrupt fragment of the first word of the poem, which may be missing; in Ἢ, v. 1a has but one accent.
In the opening lines of the poem the seer explains how there has come to him, like tempestuous weather, news from a land that had ever been a cause of fear.—*A roaring*] a trace of a word (?) חָרָה, Marti) with some such meaning may survive in רָה which in Heb forms part of the title.—*As they sweep through the Negeb*] This vivid touch is more probably due to personal experience than to mere literary suggestion; the writer was probably familiar with the Negeb as a resident in its neighbourhood. The Negeb, so called from its dry and comparatively verdureless character, stretched some 60 miles northwards from Kadesh (Numbers, p. 138); the seer, like the author of Ps 29, had seen this country "shaking" with storms, and had watched the march of tempests such as, to the minds of Hebrew poets, accompanied Yahweh when He came from His ancient home through this district to the help of His people (Jg 5, He 3, Zec 9). It is very improbable that Negeb here means the desert south of Babylon (Di.).—*It cometh*] the indef. subj. is explained by what follows in v. 2a.—*The wilderness*] between the fertile land E. of Jordan and the Euphrates; the Syrian desert.

2. First Scene.—*A stern vision has been told to me*] by the watcher, or second consciousness of the seer (v. 8 n.), or by Yahweh (v. 10). It is far less probable that some other recipient of visions is thought of. The vision (יִרְאָה, 29)) is one of the stern (נֶשֶׁר, Ps 60, 1 K 14) realities of war. V. 2b. refers to the Persians descending from their mountain home, spreading ruin and disaster as they go (Du.), rather than to the still continued violence and treachery (cp. 33) of Babylon, which Elam and Media (4. e) are called on to stop (Di., Che.). The term חָרָה, often used of treachery in social relations (e.g. of adultery), in passages like the present and 24 33, Hab 1, appears to cover in general all the deceits and treacheries, and all the violations of the social order, that accompany war.—*Go up*] סַבֶּה, which gives an assonance with סַבֶּה, is not strictly correct; a Persian, or almost any other, army would actually go down in to Babylon. The writer, resident in Judah (see on v. 1), transfers to an advance on the capital of Babylon the term which was appropriately used of approach to Jerusalem (7 n.).—*Elam*] is the great plain E. of the lower Tigris, together with the mountains enclosing it on the N. and E., and Media is the country N. of Elam with its centre at Ecbatana (cp. Ezr 6).
The combination of these two terms is the natural mode of reference by a late exilic writer to the dominion, or army, of Cyrus: post-exilic writers (cp. v. 3) might have used the term Persia, Persians; cp. EBi. 3661.—Cause all the . . . to cease] the vb. רציח should most obviously be, like the two that precede, 2nd fem. imper. MT I have caused to cease, suddenly introducing Yahweh as speaker, is improbable. The obj. of the vb. in יָם is sighing; but this cannot be satisfactorily explained in the context, whether we understand by it (1) the sighing of the Babylonians, for then the phrase would express bringing joy to Babylon (cp. Hos 213), or (2) the sighing of the Jews or of all Babylon's victims, for this would form a most improbable introduction to the distress of the seer described in vv. 26; see phil. n.

3, 4. The seer's emotion at what he has seen (v. 2).—I am bent (with pain) at what I hear] or I am too bent . . . to hear, and similarly in v. 6.—4. My mind wanders] הָזְלָה, heart, as often of the organ of mental activities (BDB 524b); the seer sees a vision and can describe it, but has lost the wits to fathom its fuller meaning; he is prophetically mad (Jer 2926); "he here reveals himself not indeed as a great prophet, but as a true visionary." (Du). רִרֶה means wanders (287 n.), not panteth (RV).—Shuddering] מָעָשָׁה denotes the physical effects of terror; see Job 216, Ezk 718, Ps 556: cp. חָרָשׁה, Job 96.—The twilight] 511 n. the cool of the day, generally longed for, brought on this occasion not pleasant rest, but this bewildering vision.

5. The second scene.—This picture of the banqueting Babylonians (cp. Jer 5139) is prophetic, not historic. It has, it is true, some resemblance to the legendary accounts of the capture of Babylon given in Dn 5, Herod. i. 191; but it is sufficiently natural as a prophetic vision, and not sufficiently particular to render it necessary to regard it as an historical, or legendary, addition to the prophecy. The picture does not correspond to the actual course of subsequent events as recorded in the Nabona'id-Cyrus Chronicle (KB ii. 2, pp. 134 f.); according to this, Nabona'id fled from Sippar, which was captured without resistance, to Babylon, which two days later likewise yielded without resistance.—They spread the carpets] on which to recline at the banquet. The rendering is not certain, but more probable than they set the watch! See phil. n.—Rub the shields with oil]
that they may not cut into the flesh of those that wear them; less probably, polish the shields to make them shine.

6-9. Third and fourth scenes.—The Persian advance on Babylon and the fall of Babylon are reported as seen not by the speaker himself, but by a third person (cp. v.²) called הנופל , the watcher: nevertheless the substance of the 3rd scene is communicated direct to the speaker by Yahweh (v. 7): all that the watcher has to do is to report when he sees what has already been particularised. Thus the revelation of what is coming is made in the first instance to the seer; so in v.¹⁰ no intermediary of revelation between Yahweh and the seer is recognised. The watcher is the prophet’s second self, whom the seer objectifies and orders to make ready to receive a divine communication. The nearest parallel in the OT seems to be Ezekiel’s ecstasy, in which it seemed to him that his conscious self was borne away from the midst of his companions in Babylon to Jerusalem, and, after seeing much in Jerusalem, returned, and enabled him to tell his companions what Yahweh had shown him (Ezk 3¹-⁵ 1²⁴f.). Analogies in some respects closer are obtained by the comparative study of psychical phenomena.

For the comparative data, see Tylor, Primitive Culture ³, i. 438 f.: “Such temporary exit of the soul has a world-wide application to the proceedings of the sorcerer, priest, or seer himself. He professes to send forth his spirit on distant journeys, and probably often believes his soul released for a time from its bodily prison, as in the case of that remarkable dreamer and visionary Jerome Cardan, who describes himself as having the faculty of passing out of his senses as into ecstasy whenever he will, feeling when he goes into this state a sort of separation near the heart, as if his soul was departing. The Khond priest authenticates his claim to office by remaining from one to fourteen days in a languid and dreamy state, caused by one of his souls being away in the divine province. . . . The Turanian Shaman lies in lethargy while his soul departs to bring hidden wisdom from the land of spirits. . . . The Norse chief Ingimund shut up three Finns in a hut for three nights, that they might visit Iceland and inform him of the lie of the country where he was to settle: their bodies became rigid, they sent their souls on the errand, and awakening after three days they gave a description of the Vatnsdael.”

6. Station the watcher] הנופל; Hab. (2¹) uses the same figure of the prophetic activity, but without the implication of dual personality which has just been discussed.—Let him tell] to the prophet’s first self: cp. “told to me” (v.²), and “I have told” (v.¹⁰).—7. There is some uncertainty about the precise
meaning of the terms in this v. (see phil. n.), but the scene is probably of the advance of a hostile army with horses, asses, and camels, in particular of a cavalcade advancing in double file, partly mounted on horses, partly on asses, and partly on camels. It is less probable that the asses and camels are here introduced as baggage animals. According to Herod. (i. 80), Cyrus largely owed his victory over the Lydians to placing riders on his camels, and the Scythians were much hindered by the asses in Darius's camp (iv. 129). Whether, however, the Persians used asses for riding in battle is doubtful: Ges., whose note on this point is full, cites some evidence of the use of asses for riding in battle, though not by the Persians in particular.—And if he see] AV, RVmarg. "And he saw," is an illegitimate translation (see phil. n.). Del.'s exegesis is based on a similarly erroneous interpretation of בֶּן שׁוּפְיָה הוֹרָה; v.⁷, according to him, describes how the watcher sees the cavalcade appear and disappear, hearing nothing; v.⁸ his cry of impatience that he has stood so long seeing nothing more; v.⁹ how his complaint dies on his lips as he sees the cavalcade re-appear, this time bringing the news of the fall of Babylon. This would be an attractive mode of surmounting difficulties if it were not philologically impossible. 8. ⁹a the watcher announces that he now sees the cavalcade which he was to expect (v.⁷).—Then he cried] יָנָשׁ + as a lion, which has been explained by reference to Rev 1⁰, a very poor parallel, for the ominous cry of the angel there might well be compared to a lion's terrifying roar (cp. Am ³); but why should the watcher roar lion-like to God, or even (if we point יָנָשׁ rather than יָנָשׁ) to the seer? The comparison with a lion cannot simply indicate impatience (Del.), even if that were in place here. Equally unsatisfactory is, Then he cried, A lion! The word יָנָשׁ is probably corrupt: see phil. n. The remainder of v.⁸ seems to imply that the watcher stood long, at least many days and nights, on the watch to which he was appointed (v.⁷), before he saw anything. But this allusive and inferential way of marking a long interval is not altogether natural, and v.⁴ perhaps implies that the whole series of visions came on a single evening; moreover, v.⁶ leads us to expect that the watcher will address the seer and not God (v.⁸b). Marti omits v.⁸b. a as a gloss suggested by ⁶₂⁶. But the purpose of such a reflection
just here is not obvious.—9a-­c. The vision of the cavalcade summarily related. The sequence is rather awkward; for it is rather forced to say, with Del., Di., that as he begins to complain (v. 8, which does not in itself at all necessarily suggest complaint), the vision comes and makes him break off his complaint. Yet the only escape from some such attempt is to assume either interpolation (with Marti) or mutilation.—9d. e. See above, p. 350 f.—10. The divine revelation, which he has just received, the seer now declares to his long and much-afflicted people who have been held in thrall by Babylon. The figurative singular terms my threshed one and my son of the threshing-floor, pass over into the distributive plural to you at the end of the v. For other uses of the figure of threshing to express the hard or cruel treatment of a land or people, cp. 4115, Am 18, Mic 418, Hab 312. With son of my threshing-floor, cp. Jer 5183 “The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor at the time when it is trodden,” i.e. trodden down hard, in readiness for the threshing (see Dr. ad loc.).

1. מֶרֶב (an unparalleled plural); Che. מַסְרָה; both improbable; see above.—בְּקַלָּה] Dr. § 205. בְּקַלָּה is used of a flood in 88, of wind in Hab 11.—2. קָנָב מְנָח] acc. with the pass. as 171 (G-K. 1216); less probably acc. of the state (G-K. 118n).—רָצִים . . . וְיָלְא] fem. as 72 4211, Jer 5010, 2 S 83: see G-K 122i. ג, incorrectly, וְיָלְא וְיָלְא, and oi προσβείς = at both] ג וְיָלְא וְיָלְא וְיָלְא וְיָלְא וְיָלְא וְיָלְא וְיָלְא may imply a longer text (cp. Ruben, Crit. Remarks, p. 8); the suggested מִיָלְא] cp. 247: the rest is uncertain.—הָנַחַש] with иֵשֶׁה (MT) means sighing (G-K 99g); מִיָלְא, her sighing. Both are difficult; see above: possibly the word is an error for מִיָלְא (cp. 1311) or מִיָלְא (cp. Jer 724).—3. מֵיסְפָּר נַחֲלָה] cp. מֵיסְפָּר נַחֲלָה, Nah 211.—בְּקַלָּה] cp. Ps 387; Ar. מֵיסְפָּר means to bend, twist (e.g. a bow, rope).—סִפְרָה] מֵיסְפָּר itself is causal (Du.), as in 48, Dt 712. 928, 2 S 311, rather than negative or comparative.—כַּלָּה] the subj. is indef.: G-K. 144a. —5. מִיָלְא נַחֲלָה . . . הָלָע . . . וְיָלְא] G-K. 113ff.—הָנַחַש מִיָלְא not set the watch (RV), for (1) מִיָלְא means to watch, or in Piel to watch closely, (2) מִיָלְא is not a probable form for watchman; (3) the idea is differently expressed in v. 6; (4) the meaning is not very suitable to the context. Watch (in) the watch tower (AV) and observe the horoscope (cp. Ew.), apart from other objections, are also not probable in the context. Both noun and vb. are rather from the root מָיָל, which in Piel means to overlay (with metal); the Kal may have meant to lay, the noun something laid (cp. מַכְּבָּה, a mat, matting), i.e. a carpet, or, as others think, a table-cloth: see, further, Che. Introd. p. 126, n. 1.—6. מָיָל אֵשֶׁר נָתַן בַּעֲשָׂר] so v. 16, save that the order there is לָא וִינָדָר; also (with מִיָל) 818 314. מָיָל, make to stand, station (cp. e.g. Nu 1124 JE) is not
necessarily late: see Dr. LOT 503 (8535), no. 4; Köppel (ZATW, 1910, pp. 58-60) is less discriminating. \( \Psi \) can be read as a watchman (Buhl, ZATW viii. 157 f.); or a statement, which, assuming a construction harsh in itself and improbable in view of v.\(^8\), might be rendered, \( \Psi \) stand on the watch-tower (Stade, ZATW viii. 165 ff. cp. Kautzsch in DB v. 674 n.). Either of these readings, if all the consequential changes of 2nd or 1st for 3rd persons in vv.\(^7-9\) were also adopted, would remove the representation of a double consciousness in the prophet (see above). But in criticism of Buhl and Sta., see Du. and Che. Introd. p. 125.—Jewish \( \Gamma \) vs. \( \Psi \) \( \tau \delta \eta \\gamma \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \lambda \nu \sigma \) : so (v.\(^7\)) \( \epsilon \lambda \delta \omega \) instead of \( \nu \alpha \rho \). But in v.\(^9\) \( \Gamma \) agrees with \( \Psi \) in reading \( \nu \alpha \rho \) \( \nu \iota \iota \) in the 3rd pers. Cp. last n.—7. ג"ש קדחי ... nasıl] Dr. § 149. And he saw (RV) would be אָנָנ. —בְּכָנ a collective noun (277, cp. Ar. רָכִּב), or the part. בְּכָנ used collectively (208 n.), meaning riders, a riding company. Cp. 22\(^7\), but in 2 K 7\(^14\) the pl. בְּכָנ is perhaps more probable.—8. ג"ש] an early (cp. \( \Gamma \)) error (see above); Marti reads ג"ש, and by omitting the rest of v.\(^8\) (see above) obtains the phrase ג"ש ג"ש ; cp. Zee 21.\(^5\) etc.—9. ג"ש ג"ש] ג"ש is enclitic as in 1 K 19\(^9\), 2a 28\(^\text{st} \); see BDB, p. 261.—ג"ש] collective: cp. Jos 9\(^6\), Jg 20\(^1\), Mesha's inscription, ll. 10, 13. Ct. the genitives of the animals ridden in v.\(^6\) (cp. Ar. רָכִּב גֵּמל). Sta. omits, appealing precariously to \( \Gamma \) : rhythmically some word seems required here.—ג"ש ג"ש] cp. Dt 7\(^20\) 12\(^8\). \( \Gamma \) ג"ש ג"ש ג"ש kai \( \Gamma \) \( \chi \epsilon \rho \rho \rho \iota \eta \tau \eta \) \( \alpha \nu \rho \gamma \), which is possibly a doublet of an early text which read \( \tau \alpha \delta \mu \alpha \tau \tau \eta \) \( \tau \alpha \rho \tau \eta \) ( = לֶבּ בְּ, Jer 51\(^47\) ) or הָיָמָן, only.—10. \( \Gamma \) is very free, but not briefer.

XXI. 11, 12.—An ambiguous answer to a question from Edom.

The distichs are 2 : 2 (cp. vv.\(^1-10\) ; v.\(^1\)\(^a\) has 2, but v.\(^1\)\(^a\) 3, accents.

11 Unto me one is calling from Seir:—
"Watchman, how far is the night spent?
Watchman, how far is the night spent?"

12 The watchman said,
"The morning hath come,
And the night, too;
Would ye inquire, inquire,
Come back again."

A brief, but obviously complete, oracle. Some Edomites inquire of the seer how far gone is the night of oppression through which they are now passing. The seer replies that a change is coming, but whether with it any permanent relief is at present obscure to him. If his questioners care to do so, let them ask again another day.
If this oracle is by the same author and approximately of the same date as vv.1-10 (see p. 350 f.), it was written between 549 and 538 B.C.; the night that now is, is the Babylonian oppression; the morning which he sees to be coming, is the imminent (cp. v.10) overthrow of Babylon by the Persians; the night beyond is the dominion of the Persians from which Edom and Judah will not escape, and which may prove as veritable a night as that of the Babylonians. The vision of the Persian advance is here a vision of night, as in v.8 it is a vision filling the seer with anguish.

Apart from its probable connection with vv.1-10, there is nothing that would closely define the date of this oracle. The language suggests a relatively late date, say not earlier than the exile. The vbs. תַּעֲלָה and רֹעַס are the regular Aramaic equivalents of קָנָה and לֵשׁ; רֹעַס in the Heb. of OT occurs elsewhere only in Ob. v.6; תַּעֲלָה, though not the form תַּעֲלָה (G-K. 75rr), occurs more frequently, viz. (1) in late writings, e.g. 7 times in Deutero-Isaiah; (2) as a synonym of בֹּשׁ in Dt 332; בָּשׁוּר, Dt 3321, is doubtful. The multiplication of the forms with the third radical י (1712 n.; G-K. 75u) is also significant.

Of other theories of date two may be mentioned: (1) Buhl (Gesch. der Edomiter, pp. 68 f.) refers the oracle to the time of “increasing impatience and feverish unquiet” occasioned by Tiglath-Pileser, who exacted tribute of Kaus-malaka, king of Edom; (2) Che. (Introd. 130 f.) dates the prophecy in 589 B.C., when Nebuchadnezzar moved into Syria; this would be four years after Edom united with Judah in rebelling against Babylon (Jer 278), and just before it “purchased by its malignant conduct the undying hatred of the Jews.”

II. The Hebrew title, The oracle of Dumah, presents an unsolved riddle; no important Edomite town of the name of Dumah is known, and it is wholly improbable that an oracle concerned with Edom as a whole would be named after some insignificant place. Oracle of silence (הָרֶס, Ps 9417 11517†) would be contrary to the analogy of the other titles, whether it be explained as meaning oracle of (the land that is to be reduced to) silence, or as a poor witticism suggesting that the oracle does not say much; see also phil. n.—Is calling[3] urgently and insistently, as the repetition of the question suggests.—From Se'ir] Edom; so, e.g., Gn 3314, Dt 24. It is the nation as a whole that asks
the question, but as the reply is to a plurality of persons, the question was probably conveyed to the seer by certain Edomite individuals. People of one country might consult the seers of another (2 K 12*); so, apparently, the fame of this, to us unknown, Jewish seer extended to Edom, on or near whose borders his home may have lain (21 n. on Negeb).—Watchman not he, one looking out (for a foe), but a guardian, or night-patrol; Ca 5, Ps 127, 130, Is 62; cp. מטמור, v. 7, Hab 21.

XXI. 11-15.—Fugitives escaping from war into Arabia.

Clauses of 2 (v. 14a) or 3 (vv. 14b. 18) accents. These are combined (cp. 26-18) into units of 6 accents, parallel in sense, in v. 15, and also in v. 14 if מְאָמֵר is a parallel to אִּשָּׁבֶת מִזֶּמֶר, and to be connected with v. 14. V. 13 is doubtful, and probably corrupt.

18... in... must ye spend the night.

The caravans of Dedanites | 14 to meet the thirsty | brought water;

The inhabitants of the land of Tema | met the fugitives with bread.

15 For from the sword had they fled, | from the sharpened sword,

And from the bent bow, | and from the stress of war.

These lines, probably a fragment, are ambiguous. V. 14 may be imperative, O caravans... bring, O inhabitants... meet; and the caravans of Dedanites may belong to v. 14 (MT), as it is generally understood to do. But if the above translation be correct, the fugitives are not defined in the fragment. On the other hand, if the correct translation is, Ye must spend the night, O caravans of Dedanites. To meet the thirsty bring (or they brought) water, etc., the fugitives of v. 15, though there spoken of in the 3rd person, may be the Dedanite caravans addressed in v. 18. Then we might assume that the situation is as follows:
Arab caravans, instead of finding their usual mart and returning with merchandise, have found war, and have fled without being able to provision themselves; to avoid being overtaken they have turned aside from the caravan track and the regular stations on it where water would be found. Consequently their friends in Tema meet them, or are bidden to meet them, with food and drink. Even on this interpretation the place whence the fugitives flee is undefined: probably enough in any case, and certainly if this fragment be from the same hand as vv.1-10, it is Babylon, though the Dedanites traded also elsewhere (e.g. Tyre, Ezk 2720). As to the language of the fragment, note וביה (see above, p. 358).

If the piece is from the same hand as vv.1-10, then v.14 and (if not imperative) v.15 also probably describe what is seen in vision, rather than an actual historical flight.

13. Oracle . . . ] the oracle is defined by וביה, the second word of the poem (cp. v.1); the meaning is uncertain, see below. The title is entirely absent from כ, and may have been added by a later hand than that to which the titles in vv.1-11 are due.

According to כ (also כ), the persons addressed are to spend the night וביה, in the forest (cp. e.g. 72), or thicket, scrub (cp. Mic 312 and Syr. |תלע, a thicket). The point of this is not clear, nor its suitability to Arabia; but it is precarious to infer that וביה has here exceptionally the sense of the Arab וביה, rough, stony ground. A second definition, possibly also of place, follows; וביה may, indeed, mean in the evening (so כ; cp. Ps 306); but it has also been rendered: (1) In Arabia, yet elsewhere in OT וביה is the coll. term for the people, the Arabs; or (2) in the steppe; in this case וביה here = וביה (339 408 4119 etc.). All very uncertain.—Caravans] cp. Gn 3726 and, in spite of different punctuation, Job 618f.—Dedanites] The references in OT (Gn 253 (J) 107 (P), 1 Ch 182, Jer 2523 498, Ezk (2519) 2720 3818) and in the Minaean and Sabaeans inscriptions suggest that “Dedan was a tribe with permanent seats in S. and central Arabia, and trading settlements in the N.W.” (EBi: 1053). In Jer 2823 Tema is mentioned immediately after Dedan.—14. On the connection of vv.13f. and on the ambiguity of the verbal forms in v.14, see p. 359.—The thirsty] וביה, like וביה, is coll., the thirsty ones. RV creates an unreal distinction by rendering him that is thirsty and then pl. fugitives.—Met . . . with bread]
cp. Dt 23\(^5\). — *Tema*] Gn 25\(^15\), Jer 25\(^23\). Tema, mod. Teima in the Hejaz, in N.W. Arabia, is a place with a famous water-supply, and was for long an important commercial station. Tiglath-Pileser III. refers to it (smaller inscriptions, i. 27, ed. Rost; cp. Annals, 218); and native Aramaic inscriptions, probably of the 4th or 5th cent. B.C., indicate its continued importance, as also the influence on it of both Egyptian and Assyrian influence: see *CIS* ii. 113 ff.; Cooke, *NSI*, pp. 195 ff.

14. ᴴестественн] Hiph. of ᴴ-sama with quiescence and loss of *; cp. Jer 12\(^8\), and see G-K. 68\(^7\). Imperative, or (G-K. 76\(^2\)) pf.—*בְּשֹׁם* so *CIS* 113; in Job 6\(^19\) ᴴ-sama.—*שֹׁם*] ᴴ-G 143 = *שֹׁם*.—15. *משום* an error for, or parallel form to, *הָשֹׁם*—*דַּבֵּר*] cp. *תַּבּוּר* הָשֹׁם, *Jg* 20\(^8\); 'ם דַּבֵּר, 1 S 31\(^3\).

16 f. *A note* in prose added to the last poem, and announcing the almost total destruction of the Arabs within a definitely fixed time. The future of the Arabs is darker here than in vv.13-15; there Arabia is the place of flight from danger, here no escape is possible. The language is "Isaianic" throughout (Di.) in the sense that the vv. probably contain no word which Isaiah did not use, or might not have used: but the truth is, the language is too general to afford any criterion of date.

For thus hath the Lord said unto me] cp. v.\(^6\) n.—*Within a year*] cp. 16\(^14\). Perhaps, as in 1 S 13\(^1\), a number has dropped out; note the pl. (יוּנֵי, not ᴴ-G) in the following phrase, as *the years of a hireling* (16\(^14\)).—*Kedar*] in Gn 25\(^13\) a particular Ishmaelite tribe, but here and in some other passages (42\(^11\) 60\(^7\), Jer 2\(^10\)) it is probably a comprehensive term for nomadic peoples of the deserts E. and S. of Palestine.

16. ᴴ-noon] so in the gloss 7\(^8\); so also, e.g., Gn 40\(^13\). Ct. בֶּן שָׂלֹשֶׁב, 16\(^14\).—*תָּשֹׁם* followed by five genitives: cp. 10\(^12\).—*הָשֹׁם* the pl. would be expected; Houb., Lowth, *al.* transpose *הָשֹׁם* תָּשֹׁם, *warriors of the bow* = archer-warriors.

XXII. 1-14.

The rhythm is neither clear nor, apparently, the same throughout. Vv.\(^8-11\) seem to be mainly prose, vv.\(^12-14\) may once have been throughout, as v.13c. d is still, 4 : 4; see n. on v.\(^12\); but v.\(^14a\). b is 4 : 6 unless we omit two words in v.14b.

In vv.\(^1-5\) the prevailing rhythm is of an echoing type: 4 : 2 in v.\(^2a\). b and \(^5\). d (but see phil. n.); 4 : 3 in v.\(^3\) (but see phil. n.); the rest may be 3 : 2.
In v. 6, probably also in v. 7, and clearly again in 11b. the rhythm is balanced.

1 What meanest thou, then, that thou has gone up,
   One and all to the house-tops,
2 Thou with uproar filled, tumultuous city,
   Exultant town?

   Thy slain are not slain with the sword,
   Nor dead in battle;
3 All thy chieftains have taken to flight
   Have fled far away.

4 Therefore I say, "Turn away from me,
   Let me weep bitterly;
   Be not insistent to comfort me,
   For the destruction of the daughter of my people."

5 For a day of panic and trampling and confusion
   Hath the Lord Yahweh of Hosts.
   In the valley of vision . . .
   . . . to the mountain.

6 Elam took up the quiver,
   And Kir drew from its cover the sword.
7 Thy choicest valleys were full of chariots,
   And the horsemen set themselves in array towards
   the gates.

8b And 'ye' looked in that day to the weapons in the House
   of the Forest,
   And perceived the breaches in the city of David;
9a But ye looked not to Him that wrought it,
   Nor perceived Him, that planned it long ago.

12 And the Lord Yahweh of Hosts hath called in that day
   To weeping and lamentation and baldness and
   girding on of sackcloth;

**9 And ye collected the waters of the lower pool; 10 and ye numbered
   the houses of Jerusalem, and pulled down the houses to fortify the (city)
   wall, 11 and a tank ye made between the two walls for the waters of the
   old pool.
And lo! joy and rejoicing,
Slaying kine and slaughtering sheep,
Eating flesh and drinking wine,
Eating and drinking, “For, to-morrow, we may die.”

And Yahweh of Hosts hath revealed Himself in mine ears—
“Surely this iniquity shall not be expiated for you till ye die!”

Clear and insistent in this section is the contrast between the prophet’s dark vision of destruction and the light-heartedness and recklessness of the people, who give themselves up to revelry, either because they do not perceive the issue of things, and see in a temporary alleviation a permanent relief, or because, feeling the insecurity of the present, they are determined to drown their cares in wine and feasting (v.13f). But whether the section is a unity, and, if not, of how many different elements it consists, are difficult questions, especially the last: the details given in prose in vv.9b-11a certainly look like an incorporated note; but of the poetical parts, separated from one another in the foregoing translation by lines, which (if any two) formed originally parts of the same poem? There seems to be some distinction of rhythm (see above), and details of connection are discussed below in the notes. All that need be attempted here is to indicate some general features which have been differently interpreted.

Interpreters have differed as to whether this section is a prophecy of the future, or a narrative describing the present or the past, or partly the one, partly the other. The prose note 9b-11a may be safely pronounced to be narrative. Moreover, it is quite rightly claimed (Di.) that the prophet is unlikely to have condemned the people (v.14) for sins they had not yet committed; it follows that the revelry described in v.13 (and, if it belong to the same poem, in v.1) is present or past. On the other hand, v.5 is a prediction of the coming day of Yahweh (see below on v.5).

We may briefly then indicate a possible, and on the whole most probable, interpretation as follows: in vv.1, 2a the poet depicts the city of Jerusalem as he sees it actually—noisy,
exultant, swarming up to the housetops to watch some spectacle: in vv.2c-3 he describes (prophetic pf.) his vision of the real issue of events to which the city is blind—the city forsaken of its leaders, captured by the enemy, and its citizens ignominiously executed. In v.4 he rejects the efforts of some of the "maffickers" to cheer him up; he turns from them to bewail the still future, but to him certain, destruction of his people,—to him certain, for (v.5) he knows that the Day of Yahweh is at hand and what it means: it is a day of tumult in the valley of vision, of panic in Jerusalem. If vv.6c are a real sequence, v.6 describes some of the elements (Kir and Elam) in the army which on the day of Yahweh will attack Jerusalem, and v.7 reinforces v.5c.4; again, if vv.8-11, apart from the incorporated prose note, are a real sequence, 8b, 9a, 11b, c (8a is altogether obscure) describes the people of Jerusalem, thus attacked, attending to the material defences of the city, while neglecting Yahweh. Vv.12-14 brings us back to an historical situation similar to that of v.1, and a similar estimate of its outcome: instead of mourning, to which Yahweh has called them, the people are given over to feasting, therefore their fate is irrevocably sealed: they must die.

The period to which we might most probably assign vv.1-5, 12-14 is that of Sennacherib: what is described is the revelry to which the city gave itself up when the Assyrian king in 701 B.C. raised the siege, or blockade, of Jerusalem. It is doubtful whether v.6 fits into the political circumstances of that time (see below).

A few different theories of analysis, interpretation, and date may be briefly referred to: Among modern writers, Di., Hackmann (pp. 92-97), and Cond., for example, maintain the unity of the entire passage, and Cond. regards even vv.9b-11a as poetry. Du. treats vv.1-7, 8-14 (omitting 9b-11a) as two different poems, the first written before Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem, the second somewhat later. Che. distinguishes vv.1-5 from 6-14; in 6-14 he regards 9b-11a as interpolated, and suspects omissions between vv.5 and 6, 6 and 7, and 7 and 8: both poems he refers to the removal of the Assyrian blockade. Marti refers 1b, 12-14 (not necessarily parts of the same poem) to the period of the raising of the blockade; in 6-11 he sees an interpolation, later than Deutero-Isaiah, by some one who interpreted the day of panic (v.5) of Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem. On Sayce's theory that the date of the prophecy was 711, and the occasion a hypothetical siege of Jerusalem by Sargon, see Dr. LOT6 217 f. Accepting Du.'s analysis into two poems, vv.1-7, 8-14, Wi. (Alterientalische Forschungen, ii. 253-259) eliminates v.4 and in v.6 the words הָשֹׁרְאָה יָשָׁרְאָה as the interpolation of an editor who errone-
ously understood the city referred to, to be Jerusalem. In what remains Wi. sees an “Isaianic” poem referring to the attack of Halludāš, the Elamite, on the Babylonian city of Sippur in 694 B.C., and expressing the hope that Elam, the great rival of Assyria, may succeed. The theory requires us to read ṣw for ūs in v.3, ṣm for ṣmā in v.4, and to understand ṣw in v.1 as a proper name. The theory itself is most improbable; but it draws attention to the real difficulty occasioned by the reference to Elam. Corn. (ZATW, 1884, pp. 96 f.) doubts the Isaianic origin of the entire section on account of its incompatibility with 106ā 32. 33: Stade (ib. p. 257), questioning rather chs. 32. 33, regarded 22 as at one time connected with 28–31, and 223–14 as a prophecy delivered by Isaiah in the temple on the occasion of a feast.

1. Title.—Oracle (131 n.) of the valley of vision (v.5 n.).

1–5. The gay city and the prophet’s vision of disaster and death.—1–2b. A rhetorical question addressed by the prophet to the merry-making city which has swarmed up to the flat roofs to watch thence (Jg 1627) the spectacle of Sennacherib’s retreat (cp. 3722), or something similarly pleasing, such as the entrance into the city of the captive Assyrian vassal Padi, king of Ekron (Du.). The careless merry-makers (514 248 n.) think all danger past; Isaiah thinks otherwise, and sings to them 2c–3 a few lines of a dirge depicting what he foresees, the slaughter or plight of the city’s defenders, involving, as v.4 (cp. v.14) shows, the destruction of the people.—Thy slain are not slain with the sword] nobly fighting, but have been executed ignominiously after the capture of the city, or, perhaps, have died of hunger during the siege: cp. La 49.—3. Chieftains] 10 n.—Between v.3a and 3b there intervene in Ḫ several words which are probably intrusive and almost certainly corrupt: rend.—without the bow they have been bound; all that were found of thee (G all thy mighty ones) were bound together. Without the bow has been supposed to mean after the bows had been thrown away, or before there had been time to use the bows; the rendering because of the bow is no more satisfactory, and by the archers (RV) very questionable.—4. Some of the merry-makers try to cheer up the prophet, who weeps (cp. 169, La 16) at this sad vision; he refuses to be comforted for the destruction of his people.—Destruction] 136 n. —The daughter of my people] i.e. the entire population: cp 18 n.

This phrase is not used again by Is; but see, e.g., Jer 411 810.—

5. For a day . . . hath Yahweh of Hosts] the phrase is exactly the same as in 212 (n.). The “day of Yahweh” is always a
future event to Hebrew writers; and it is altogether unsafe to assume (Di.) the contrary here. The day is one of מָהֳמָה—hanumah ṣaמְבָּ֣סָה um'basah ṣm'būkah; note the assonance: cp. Nah 211; מָהֳמָה—hanumah is distraction, frenzy, panic, such as makes men in battle turn their arms against one another, cp. 1 S 1420, Zec 1418; מָכְבָּ֣סָה um'basah (182 n.) is the trample of the soldiers; cp. the use of the vb. in Zec 105; מָכְבָּ֣סָה um'basah (Mic 74†) is confusion or perplexity; cp. the use of the vb. of Israel losing its way (Ex 143).—In the valley of vision] if the clause goes with the first part of the v. (MT, RV) the sentence is a breviloquence for Yahweh hath a day (when He executes judgment) in the valley of vision: cp. Jer 4610. It is not a day directed against the valley (T), which would require ב (cp. 218) instead of ד. More probably the clause goes with the last part of the v., which seems to be corrupt. What the valley (סֵינָה, 281) intended was, and why it was so named, is uncertain. If an attack on Jerusalem is intended, the valley is not the entire city (T), or שָׁמְיָ֣ו (T), as a site that is surrounded by higher hills, but one of the valleys dissecting the city, like the Tyropoean, or surrounding it, like the valley of Hinnom. Suggested explanations of the name are that Isaiah lived in this valley (Di.), or that it contained an ancient oracle (Du.): of the two the latter explanation has the more probability. The words left untranslated above are very uncertain (see phil. n.): no less improbable than any other suggestion is RV a breaking down of the walls, and a crying to the mountain. The valley as the weakest part of the city, it is explained, is attacked first and the walls of defence broken down by the enemy. יָשֹּׁב is a cry for help; hence Ges. suggests that the meaning is:—the cry of the frightened people in the city resounds to the surrounding hills: this, though improbable, is the best that can be done with the text.—According to Ew. יָשֹּׁב, Shoa' (Ezk 2323), and also the preceding רֹפ, Kir (cp. רֹפ, v.6), are proper names of elements in the besieging Assyrian army: see next v. But the position of the subj. Kir after the part. נְפָר (Dr. 135 (4)), in contrast to the position of the subjects in v.6, is against this view; and also the fact that the vb. is left without an object: moreover, the last clause would be weak—In the valley of vision Kir breaketh down, and Shoa' is toward the mountain.

1. מֵתוֹמָה] 315 n.—נֶקֶט] 192. —דְבֵּר MT יָשֹּׁב (instead of יָשֹּׁב, 1429) gives an assonance with יָשֹּׁב; cp. G–K. 91ε. For the entire city thus regarded en masse,
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cp. 15\(^3\); but there the masc., here the more usual fem., is used. For an elaborate reconstruction of vv. 2–6, see Che. *SBOT*, p. 197. —2. המֵאָשְׁתָּן acc. before המֵאָשְׁתָּן: cp. Nah 3\(^1\). With the תַּרְעֹת תָּרֹעָת, cp. שָׁנָה תַּרְעֹת תָּרֹעָת, Job 39\(^2\). Other occurrences of המֵאָשְׁתָּן are Zec 4\(^7\), Job 30\(^2\) 36\(^29\). —הוֹי (31 n.—

nu'\(^1\) with הוהי, 32\(^1\); so of רע, Zeph 2\(^1\); see also 23\(^7\), and in pl. 24\(^8\) 13\(^7\); Zeph 31\(^8\).–3. הוהי: [G kai oi ἀλόγιες κηλώτος δερημένοι εἴσολ, kai oi λέχουσιν εἰς σοῦ.] Apart from the addition of kai twice, G represents three variants: (1) for הוהי רָע (S = Ū), הוהי (?) ונַיָּה, whence Du. הוהי רָע קַיָּה: cp. 2 Ch 25\(^4\) הנע וְיהוה, Ca 3\(^8\); but יהוה does not occur with רָע; (2) for רָעָה, G read רָעָה (cp. 28\(^9\), Am 2\(^2\)) thy mighty ones, which, if parallel to רָעָה, would be preferable; (3) G (and also S) omit יהוה; רָע קַיָּה: this may well be correct; the occurrence of the words after יהוה ייוא... יהוה is poor. Possibly, however, the whole of the words from יהוה (or רָעָה) to יהוה is the result of glossing and conflation (Marti); ייוא狂欢 원 | רָע קַיָּה | gives a good kinah line.—הוהי רָע | without; Jer 48\(^2\); BDB 578; or, in consequence of, by, ib. 579b (bot.).—4. ייוא so 30; BDB 577b. –5. המֵאָשְׁתָּן] G רָעָה יַזָּה | לְאָשִּׁיא | a doublet rather than a variant.—בֹּס מֵאָשְׁתָּן so G; but possibly the second word which adds little to the sense of המֵאָשְׁתָּן is an early dittography: by omitting it, and also רָע קַיָּה (G) in the next clause, a good 3 : 2 line is restored.—רָע | כֹּר] the text is uncertain: G has לְאָשִּׁיא לַמְּכֹר | מְכֹר מְכֹר, which seems to presuppose a different and perhaps a fuller text; but cp. *JThS*, 1902, p. 583 n.; Introd. § 21. If, however, ט were omitted as dittographic, לַמְּכֹר | מְכֹר מְכֹר would give a 3 : 2 line. כֹּר is ambiguous, and the sing. rather suspicious: it generally means the wall of a house, but is used exceptionally of a town-wall, for which the regular term is המְכֹר (Numbers, p. 468 f.). כֹּר in NH (but not in Nu 24\(^17\), where it is an error for כֹּר) means to tear down (the walls of a house, or a city; Levy); כֹּר might be the part of this, one tears down, with subj. unexpressed (Dr. 135 (6)); or a verbal noun. The sense is not recognised by T.S.J.—הוהי ייוא] G לְאָשִּׁיא | לַמְּכֹר | דֶּלֶת. It would be easy to read יַשָּׁה, resounds (lit. has been heard), for ייוא; but this gives no really satisfactory sense or rhythm.

6, 7. *Elam and Kir*, i.e. soldiers from these two countries or peoples, engage in the attack in Jerusalem. On the question whether these vv. form part of the vision of vv. 2\(^b\) 3, 5, see above, pp. 363 ff.

6. The second line in הַי—left untranslated above, is probably both corrupt and intrusive, for it separates two lines which exactly balance one another and correspond to one another, term for term. The words may be rendered with chariot(s) (or, a riding company, 21\(^7\) n.), man, horsemen (or, horses). Omitting, with G, the prep. with (ב), reading בָּא for the scarcely distinguishable בָּא, and assuming a doubtful construction of בָּא (acc. of the animal ridden), some have rendered *Aram mounted* (or, rode
The horses; but (1) the introduction of horses between the far nearer parallels quiver and shield is improbable; (2) ct. the post-fixed subj. with the pre-fixed subject in lines a. and b. The line may be a gloss slightly corrupted (מלוע having become מיר) from 217 (Marti); or due to the intrusion of variants on המיל and בָּּוֹרֶב in v.7; in any case, the words are best neglected in attempting to determine the real purpose and significance of vv.6f.—Elam] 1111 212 nn. Throughout the period of Isaiah’s activity “Elam is the opponent of Assyria, and its rival for the dominion in Babylon” (Wi. Altur. Forsch. ii. 257): Sayce briefly sketches the relations of the two powers thus: Umman-nigas, king of Elam, “in 721 assisted Merodach-baladan against Sargon . . . He died in 718, and was succeeded by his sister’s son Sutruk-Nankhundi, who in 711 again assisted Merodach-baladan, but this time to no purpose. Sargon defeated and captured his general . . . and added the Elamite districts of Iatbur, Lakhiru, and Rasi to Assyria. After a reign of eighteen years, Sutruk-Nankhundi was imprisoned by his brother Khalludus, who seized the crown. He captured Babylon in the rear of Sennacherib . . . and the Babylonian king, who was a son of Sennacherib, was carried captive to Elam” (DB i. 675b). Thus though certain districts of Elam were captured by Sargon, Elam itself formed no part of the Assyrian empire in the latter half of the 8th cent. as it did of the empire of Cyrus (212 n.). In the light of these facts other alternatives are: (1) to understand Elam as equivalent to such few Elamite mercenaries as might serve in an Assyrian army though Assyria and Elam were opposed to one another, or soldiers from those small portions of Elam which Sargon temporarily annexed in 711; (2) to see in the verses the work of a later writer (cp. 1111 212); (3) with Wi. to treat the poem as a celebration of an Elamite attack, directed against the interests of Assyria, on a Babylonian town (Sippar).—Kir] a district of this name is mentioned as the original home of the Syrians (בָּּוֹרֶב) in Am 97, as the place to which the Syrians were to be exiled in Am 15, and as the place to which they were actually carried captive by Tiglath-pileser III. in 2 K 169. The references in Am 15, 2 K 169 may be the result of late inferences from Am 97 (see Kir in DB). Whether Kir belongs to the original text of this v. (see phil. n.) or of v.5; and if so, whether it is identical with the Kir of the
passages just cited: whether זפ (Ezk 23:23) is a miswritten רפ, or רפ here a miswritten זפ; and where קר was situated—all this is entirely uncertain. See, further, DB and EBi. s.v.; also the references in Ges-B. s.v. רפ. No place or people of the name has been discovered in the Assyrian inscriptions.—Drew from its cover] lit. made naked, laid bare; cp. 317.

7. The valleys round Jerusalem are filled with, and the city itself beset by, hostile troops.—Full of chariots; and the horsemen have set themselves in array] dividing the sentence differently, and treating נש (commonly taken to be Inf. Abs. strengthening the verbal idea) as a proper name, Wi. (as cited on p. 368) renders full of chariots and horses, and Shot sets itself in array, identifying Shot with the Sittakenians; but see phil. n.

6. מירש פא ככרל]大专תא开发利用 פה יתנוש. 大專תא is a legitimate rendering of ככר (see 217 n.); but riders, men (collect. sing.), horsemen is an improbable group of words. Another improbable makeshift is Du.'s among chariots, men, horsemen, an appositional phrase to הלע, מירש being prefixed to מירש to show that the latter does not here mean horses! The reading of a few MSS מירש (cp. RV) is pretty clearly secondary, and does not greatly improve the line.—MSS Arnold (JBLit., 1905, p. 45 ff.) argues that 's always means (war-) horses, never horsemen.—G נבגוגה פארגאועס, i.e. רפ is omitted, and מירש, which is never rendered פארגאועס, may have been read differently; but G read מירש, which is virtually מירש. The meaning of מירש is unusual; but it is at least safer to accept it than to correct to מירש with an even more problematical meaning (to raise (the shield)), in order to gain a paronomasia with מירש, such as does not exist in the parallel line, nor, perhaps, originally in v.6—7 מירש could well be spared: it interrupts the sequence of vv.6-7; but it was already in G in the form מירש. מירש the choice of: cp. 3724. Wi. suggests that in all passages where this word occurs, it means simply the total of, all, like the Assy. napharu.—מירש מירש G-K. 113 n.; but it is questionable whether מירש needs strengthening any more than other vbs. in the context. The view that מירש is a proper name and subj. of מירש (see above) would be more probable, if the clause immediately followed those of v.6 which also contain proper names, and if מירש מירש more certainly went with line a. מירש is not recognised by גיק: perhaps it is a mere dittoograph: then הערת מירש מירש is a line of three accents like those in v.6 and (neglecting מירש, and retaining the makkeph of MT) 7 מירש, מירש more certain. Du. prefers to omit the art. from מירש מירש and to connect it with ככר; this gives a poor 3:2 line down to מירש, and makes it necessary to suppose that the last half of the next line was lost. For the use of מירש, cp. Ps 31; there it is followed by מיר, here by the acc.

8-11. The main thought of these verses clearly is that the people of Jerusalem have looked to the seen and not to the
unseen: they have attended to the material defences of the city, they have left out of account the Maker of all, the author of the long-formed plan, which works itself out in human history.

At present the two points are presented with a striking difference of elaboration—attention to the seen in vv.\textsuperscript{8b-11a}, inattention to the unseen in v.\textsuperscript{11b}. Probably each point was originally confined to a single distich, and either vv.\textsuperscript{8b-10} or vv.\textsuperscript{9} (from דְּבַרְךָ to \textsuperscript{11a}) are intrusive: for note (a) the un-rhythmical character of most of vv.\textsuperscript{8-11}; (b) the remoteness of the verbal antithesis וְהֵם, v.\textsuperscript{8b}, and וְשָׁבַשׁ אִלּוֹ, v.\textsuperscript{11b}. The distich describing the people's attention to the seen may have been vv.\textsuperscript{8b-9a} (Du., Marti, and in the translation above), or possibly

And ye looked to the weapons in the House of the Forest,  
And ye made the tank between the wall,  

the second line being an allusion to some much talked of undertaking of the time (2 K 20\textsuperscript{20}, 2 Ch 32\textsuperscript{2-5}). There are certain points which make the view that the distich was \textsuperscript{8b-9a} doubtful: (a) מָשָׁר in v.\textsuperscript{9a} (to see with concern) is not used with the same nuance as in v.\textsuperscript{11}: (b) the prosaic נַע occurs in v.\textsuperscript{9b}.

A further question is this: are vv.\textsuperscript{8-11} or the two distichs contained in them the continuation of v.\textsuperscript{6f}, or from a different poem? The attention to the defences of the city seems belated after v.\textsuperscript{6f}; on the other hand, neither v.\textsuperscript{8a} nor \textsuperscript{8b} is the commencement of a new poem; if not the continuation of vv.\textsuperscript{6f}, these verses are a fragment.

\textbf{8a. An isolated line, ambiguous in meaning. The subject of the vb. is hardly the enemy of v.\textsuperscript{7} personified, or (in the present position of the v.) Yahweh: it is indefinite (cp. 21\textsuperscript{4}, phil. n.) and the vb. may be rendered by a passive—And the screen of Judah was removed.} The vb. הָלַל appears to be used here as in 47\textsuperscript{2} of bringing about exposure by removing a covering. The noun מָסֶס (\textit{to cover, screen}) is something that screens from view, such as the cloth spread over the well-mouth to hide refugees (2 S 17\textsuperscript{19}), or hangings of the tabernacle such as that which screened the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place (Nu 4\textsuperscript{5} n.), or the cloud which screened the Hebrews from the Egyptians (Ps 105\textsuperscript{38}). The sentence may therefore mean Judah, personified as a woman, is disgraced by exposure (cp. 47\textsuperscript{2}); but in spite of such uses of the vb. as occur in La 3\textsuperscript{43}, Jg 3\textsuperscript{21}, it is curious that מָסֶס should here be used of wearing apparel. The usage of מָסֶס gives still less justification for understanding the removal of the screen as an exposure of Judah to attack; and it is extremely improbable that the clause means that Jerusalem
(not mentioned) has been exposed by the capture of the cities of Judah (2 K 1818), which formed the screen of the capital; and equally improbable that it means that Judah awakes to its true state because the covering over its eyes has been removed.

8b. Weapons] כפלי is a general term, cp. 2 K 10, Job 20, and כפלי ועם, day of weapons, i.e. battle, Ps 140, cp. Job 39. —
The house of the forest] of Lebanon—was that part of the royal buildings on Σιόν where the weapons were kept (1 K 72-6 1017); cp. 39, Neh 3. —In that day] probably an addition when the whole passage came to be read as a prophecy.—The City of David] i.e. Σιόν; “and David dwelt in the stronghold (הָרָדָן), and called it the city of David,” 2 S 5; G. A. Smith would limit the “City of David” strictly to that part of the East Hill lying south of the Temple (Jerusalem, i. 155 ff.).—9b. The statement about the collection of the water of the lower (αὐς οἶνος, as in v. 10) pool comes between v. 9a and v. 11 which deal with the walls, and is separated from v. 11b which refers to the making of another reservoir; some misplacement of clauses is not improbable. The lower pool (mentioned only here) may have lain at the southern end of the Tyropoeon valley: we read of an “upper pool” in 7. On the more or less ancient and still existing reservoirs, and for theories of identification, see G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 112 ff. The water was gathered together in the pool by constructing new conduits into it, or opening incoming conduits which had been temporarily stopped (cp. Ges.). The vb. בְּנִים can scarcely mean, as recent commentators mostly explain it, that the outflow from the pool was stopped and the water thus held back (cp. also G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 225). What is referred to here is a provision for a supply of water within the city, not as in 2 Ch 32 to cutting off the supply outside so as to deprive the attacking army of water. בְּנִים, commonly used of gathering many persons or, more rarely, things from different places into one, is, as here, applied to a liquid in 62; but there the gathering of wine refers either to the bringing together of the grapes, or the drainage of the pressed juice into the wine-vat.—10. The houses of Jerusalem are numbered, and the houses selected for demolition are demolished to furnish material wherewith to render the (city) wall (খাদ) inaccessible (חָלַק, as Jer 51), by filling up its present breaches, or otherwise strengthening, or repairing, breaches which will be made by the assailants: cp. Jer 33
"the houses of this city . . . which are demolished (to make a defence) against the (siege-) mounds and against the sword." The vb. רָפָה even in Kal seems at times to mean more than merely to count; see Job 14:16 31, and cp. the force of the Piel and the noun; so that here we may interpret it as meaning almost to make a list of. Keeping to the narrower meaning, Ibn Ezra understands the first clause to refer to the numbering of the house-(holds) of Jerusalem to discover the number of men available for the war.—IIa. The tank or reservoir here mentioned is also unidentified (see on v.9), but it lay within the city; so, too, the two walls (cp. 2 K 25, not necessarily the same) between which it was situated; it is suggested that they were the walls running respectively West of the East and East of the West Hills; for other suggestions see G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, i. 226 f. The tank was constructed to receive water from the old pool (unidentified), either because this lay outside the city, or, if within, to receive its overflow.—IIb. Cp. 5:18; for רָשָׁה, to frame (in thought), predetermine, see 37:20 n., and for מֵרָה, 25. See, further, pp. 369 f.

12-14. The unpardonable sin of Judah.—Regardless of Yahweh's power to help (8-11), the people are regardless also of His call to fasting and lamentation: if the prophet warns them that their state is desperate, they admit it—to-morrow we may die, but find therein reason, not for repentance, but merely for revelry and feasting while opportunity offers; hence, as Isaiah has learned by direct revelation, their offence is unpardonable; they must die. The situation in v.18 resembles that depicted in v.1, and the condemnation in v.14 the minatory vision of vv.2-5 (?). —12. Cp. Jl 2:12ff.: for the mourning rites, see Is 15:4 nn., 32:11ff. —13. We may compare, for the attitude of the people, the Egyptian rule of life cited by Marti from Erman's Aegypten: "Enjoy the cheerful day and think of joy ere that day come when you fare to the land that loves silence": or, again, the early Babylonian wisdom cited by Barton on Ec 9:4ff.: "Since the gods created man, death they ordained for man, life in their hands they hold, thou, O Gilgamesh, fill indeed thy belly, day and night be thou joyful, daily ordain gladness, day and night rage and make merry." The attitude is too obvious and natural for it to be necessary to assume that Isaiah's contemporaries borrowed it from their Egyptian allies, or that, like so much else, it had been
adopted still earlier from Babylon. St. Paul cites from these words of Isaiah in 1 Co 15:22, admitting the soundness of the doctrine, "if the dead are not raised."—I4. Cp. 1 S 3:14, and for the opening words Is 5:9 n.—Saith the Lord Yahweh of Hosts] the words are absent from G, and, being very superfluous after the opening clause of the v., are probably intrusive.

8. הַדָּוִד אָמַר לָהֶם] καὶ ἀνακαλύφωσιν τὰς πύλας Ἰούδα, not better than הַדָּוִד אָמַר לָהֶם, obviously corrupt.—אָמַר לָהֶם] G καὶ εὐβλέφωνται; so all vbs. in G are 3rd pers. pl. to the end of v.10; in v.11 in agreement with לָהֶם they are 2nd pl. At present in לָהֶם the vbs. of address are 2nd sing. fem. (of personified Judah or Jerusalem) in vv. 1-3:7: 2nd pl. masc. (addressed to individuals distinguished among the preceding whole), v.4; 2nd sing. masc., v.8; 2nd pl. masc., vv.9-14. It is improbable that all these variations occurred in the original text. V.4 occasions no difficulty; but שָׁבָה, isolated between 2nd fem. sing. in vv.1-7 and 2nd pl. in 9-14, is improbable. If the clause goes with what follows, restore שָׁבָה. The consistent use of 2nd sing. fem. in vv.1-7, and, except for שָׁבָה, the consistent use of 2nd pl. in vv.9-14, may be due to the two sections being from distinct poems.—10. שַׁבָּה] G–K. 20m.—11. הַשָּׁבָה] fem. suffix to express the neuter הת, viz. what happens: G–K. 1227 with footnote.—12. והלך inser] perhaps an addition as in v.8: possibly also והלך is added: these omissions would make the v. 4:4.—וְהָשָּׁבָה ... הַשָּׁבָה] both must be regarded as Inf. Abs.; it is suggested that והלך is preferred to the normal form to gain an assonance with והלך: G–K. 75n.

XXII. 15–25.—The Disgrace of Shebna and the promotion of Eliakim.


V.18 consists of two rhythmically balanced distichs (3:3) marked by parallelism. Similar, but shorter (2:2) and isolated distichs, may be intended in vv.19 and 21 (down to והלך). For the rest, the section consists of what seems clearly prose (vv.15, 20, 24f.), or of what may have been once rhythmical, but has been rendered irregular or prosaic by corruption and misplacements. In the following translation the attempt to represent poetical structure is limited to v.18; this attempt is extended by Du. to vv.15-23, by Cond. to vv.15-24 (both omitting from the "poem," v.15b).

15b Against Shebna who (had charge) over the Palace. 15a Thus said the Lord Yahweh of Hosts, Come go to this steward (and say),
What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here,
That here thou hast hewn thee a tomb?
Thou that Hewest thy tomb in the height,
That cuttest out a habitation for thyself in the rock!

Behold Yahweh will hurl, will hurl thee, O mighty man!

And I will thrust thee from thy post, and "pull" thee down from where thou standest.

And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my servant Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, and clothe him with thy tunic, and thy sash will I bind about him, and thy authority will I give into his hand, and he shall become a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the house of Judah:

And I will put the key of the house of David over his shoulder, and he shall open and there be none to shut, and shut and there be none to open.

And I will drive him in as a (tent-) peg in a firm place, and he shall be a glorious throne for his father's house.

And they will hang upon him all the glory of his father's house, the offspring and the offscourings (?), all the least vessels, both the bowls and the pitchers.

In that day, is the oracle of Yahweh of Hosts, shall the peg which was driven into a firm place give way, and be hewn down, and fall, and the burden, which was upon it, shall be cast off, for Yahweh hath spoken.

This prophecy, which contains the only piece of personal invective ascribed to Isaiah (but cp. Am 7:16ff, Jer 20:14ff.), is addressed to Shebna (363), an official of high rank. It predicts his exile and death in a foreign land, vv.15-18, and the promotion to his office of Eliakim (362), of whom it is asserted, under the figure of a peg, firmly fastened, that he will be firmly established in his position, vv.20-23. In vv.24ff. it is further predicted that the firmly secured "peg," weighted down by his family connections, will ignominiously fall and come to ruin.

We thus have three stages in the future predicted: the fall of Shebna, the promotion of Eliakim to succeed him, the fall of Eliakim. Were all these three things predicted at one and the
same time? Scarcely: for it is certainly improbable that a prophet should at the same moment, in an address to the person to be deposed, predict both the promotion and the disgrace of his successor. Several ways of escape from this improbability have been sought: some by desperate exegesis distinguish the "peg" of v. 25 from the "peg" of v. 23, making v. 24 refer to the overthrow of Shebna: * others make vv. 24f. a warning to Eliakim by means of a conditional prophecy: † Eliakim will come to ruin, if he practises nepotism; such a warning addressed to Eliakim himself might be fitting enough; there is no probability that it would be addressed to Shebna: others ‡ again regard vv. 24f. as a subsequent addition to the text made when, as a matter of fact, Eliakim, or his family, had disappointed the expectations set upon him. This last explanation is the least difficult: vv. 24f. read by themselves no longer imply that they were addressed to Shebna. Obscure clan struggles, or changing hopes, are elsewhere more or less clearly reflected in the text of the Old Testament; see Numbers, p. 193 on Nu 16: and cp. the almost certain elimination of Zerubbabel's name in Zec 611.

Del. inclines to the view that Isaiah wrote down 2215-25 at one sitting, after the fate of both dignitaries had been revealed to him at two different times; in this way the Isaianic authorship and literary unity of the passage is maintained; but the form of the prophecy is then a fiction: it was never addressed to Shebna. Very improbable. Cond. limits the extent of the appendix to v. 25, interpreting v. 24 as a continuation of the description of Eliakim's glory. Also improbable.

Is even vv. 15-23 a unity? or to a threat addressed to Shebna (vv. 15-18) was the promise concerning Eliakim (vv. 20-23) subsequently added, whether by Isaiah himself,§ or a later hand? ||

The two sections are certainly distinguished from one another by the fact that Yahweh is spoken of (3rd pers.) in the former, but Himself speaks (1st pers.) in the latter, v. 19 in the present text being half in the 1st and half in the 3rd person. If vv. 19-23 could be regarded as an entirely independent prophecy, this difference might well be significant; but inasmuch as the promise no less than the threat is addressed to Shebna, vv. 19-23 must from the first have been intended to follow vv. 15-18. This being so, the change from the 3rd to the 1st pers. requires explanation in any case: for was a supple-

* Rashi, Ḳi., Di., Kamph. † Kön., Orelli.
‡ Hitz., Du., Che., Marti, Skinner. § Box. || Du., Che., Marti.
menter more likely than the original writer to make the awkward change which exists in the present text? Was the first person originally used in vv.16-18 also? Has he replaced them in v.17? and has 'nu replaced 'nu shifted back from the beginning of v.17 (cp. 77) to v.15? Further arguments adduced by Du. in favour of vv.18-28 being an addition are—(1) the use of 'nu in v.20; (2) the presence of the words 'nu and 'nu (see notes below on v.21); (3) that v.19 is "post festum": if the major-domo has been hurled into exile (v.17f.), Yahweh does not need to depose him; (4) that though Isaiah might threaten a bad minister, he would not so far encroach on the royal prerogative as to designate his successor. Arguments (1) and (2) have some weight. The third and fourth are of doubtful value: if v.19 is a mere resumption, why should a supplemener have inserted such a superfluous link? If, on the other hand, it is argued that v.19 was intended to correct v.17f. and to imply that by the time it was written, Shebna, instead of having suffered the fate predicted for him in v.17f., had merely exchanged the highest for another very high office of state (36f.), we may well ask whether it is probable that Isaiah or a disciple of his would have set the high hopes expressed in v.21f. on a coalition of Eliakim and Shebna: and again, whether the terms of v.19 are not over strong, if the reference is merely to an exchange of offices?

It is doubtful whether the difficulties that beset the assumption that vv.15-23 as a unity are greater than those that beset the theory that vv.19-23 were added to vv.15-18.

The date of the prophecy can only be determined by the relation of the circumstances here implied to those described in ch. 36. Unfortunately this is not clear, or rather the indications are conflicting. On the one hand, the promise concerning Eliakim, since it contains no suggestion that Eliakim had previously filled the office in which he is to succeed Shebna, should fall before 701 B.C., when Eliakim occupies the position (37f) of a secretaryship held by Shebna in 37f. might quite as well have been a stage in his advance to the higher office held by him here, as a stage in his falling fortunes; and it is certainly strange if Isaiah had recently fulminated against Shebna in the terms of v.17f., that Hezekiah should have selected him as one of the confidential messengers who were to intercede with the prophet on the king's behalf. On the whole it is preferable to date the prophecy before 701 (37f). To escape the conflict by assuming that two different persons (v.15 37f) contemporary with Isaiah bore the same unusual name is unwise; it would be preferable to question whether the official of v.16 was called Shebna (see n. on v.15).
There are enough unsolved problems in this section to excuse attempts at new and bold solutions; but the data are inadequate, and the newer may prove as little convincing as the older solutions. Brief reference may be made to one such solution. Fullerton regards vv. 15-18 as a prophecy of Isaiah's later than 37 and delivered at the beginning of Manasseh's reign; then, developing an unfortunate suggestion of Che.'s that the language of vv. 20-23 is "almost Messianic," he interprets vv. 20-23 as a promise of the crown, made by a disciple of Isaiah's on behalf of a prophetic and revolutionary party who were scheming to overthrow Manasseh. The revolution actually came off, but was unsuccessful, and vv. 24 express the contemptuous exultation of the prophetic party over Eliakim's fate.

15-18. A prediction of the disgrace, exile, and death of Shebna, the governor of the palace.—15a. This looks like the misplaced title of the section (see phil. n.). It is not impossible that the title is merely a late and incorrect inference from 36, that Shebna as a matter of fact never was governor of the palace, and that the object of this invective is really anonymous.—Come, go] Gn 45, Ezek 34; as those two passages show, we are not bound to render go, enter in; consequently we cannot infer that Isaiah was to seek Shebna in his house, or in the enclosed grave-ground, though v. 16 would be particularly appropriate if addressed to him in the act of superintending the preparation of his costly tomb.—This steward] the term ככ, like the pron. this (cp. 6 n.), may convey a suggestion of contempt: the masc. form does not occur again in the OT, but the fem. is used of the maiden who was to be sought out for David and to serve him by giving warmth to his aged body. On the other hand, in Phoenician the term was used of important officers or deputies of the king: in an inscription belonging to an age not later than Isaiah's a donor in Cyprus appears as "ככ of Carthage, servant (רָבִישׁ) of Hiram, king of the Sidonians" (CIS i. 5; Cooke, NYI, pp. 52 f.); and in Tell-el-Amarna Tablet 237 zu-ki-ni glosses the term rabihu used of the king's officer before whom the king of Bihishi takes flight. In Hebrew, too, this honourable sense may have attached to the word, and the term, like the English minister in its political usage, may have been applied quite respectfully to the highest officers of state.—Shebna] it is commonly assumed that Shebna was a foreigner, but the assumption is unsafe (see phil. n.); that he was a parvenu is a safer inference, for between two other officers whose fathers' names are given, he stands without his father's name (36 and elsewhere):
this gives point to the invective in v.16.—*Who is over the House* of the king; the Palace, not the Temple (Y), is meant. Great private persons might appoint persons “over their house,” and the position of such persons was one of great trust and influence (cp. Gn 39:4 44:4); persons appointed over the king’s house, governors of the palace, naturally enough ranked as a high, if not the highest, officer of state: Jotham during his regency is described as “over the house” (2 K 15:5), and the occupant of this office takes precedence, at least so far as order of mention is concerned, of the *יְהוּדִיְתֵי* and *יְהוּדִיְתֵי* people, who were also high officials (36:3 n.); see, further, 1 K 4:6 16:9 18:3, 2 K 16:5. Little detailed information as to the duties of these governors of the palace, or major-domos, is given; but the rank and influence of the office can be understood in the light of that of the masters of the palace in the mediaeval courts, and especially of the Frankish “mayors of the palace.”—16. The intolerable insolence of Shebna: he is preparing a tomb for himself where he has no right, or family claim. Not in a tomb in the height, such as received the bodies of kings (cp., for instance, 2 Ch 32:28) and people of rank and family, but down in the valley among the graves of the common people (Jer 26:28, 2 K 23:8), would have been the fitting place for this man, whose father was unknown (36:9). It is the place, perhaps also the fact that Shebna prepares the tomb himself in his lifetime, that rouses ire.—*What hast thou here*? what right have you to be doing what you are doing here? None. The land is not yours by inheritance.—*Whom hast thou here*? what kinsman have you in possession of this grave-ground to secure your lawful admission to it. Since no early sepulchral Hebrew inscriptions have been discovered, it is uncertain how far Hebrew burial custom was like that of the later Nabataeans, who stringently limited the use of their sepulchres to direct relatives, or otherwise duly legitimised users: cp. *e.g.* the inscription of El-Hejra, b.c. 1 (CIS ii. 197=Cooke, *NSI*, p. 217): “This is the sepulchre which *Aidu* , son of Kuhailou, son of Elkasi, made for himself and his children and his posterity, and for whomsoever shall produce in his hand a warrant from the hand of *Aidu* . . . and may Dûshara and Manûthu and Kaishah curse every one who shall sell this tomb, or buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or let it, or frame for it any other writ, or bury any one in it except those who are written above”; cp. the
inscription of Petra, 1st cent. A.D. (CIS ii. 150 = Cooke, p. 241):
“No man shall be buried in this sepulchre save him who has in writing a contract to bury.” It is possible that merely in preparing his own tomb in his lifetime Shebna was doing something out of the custom, so commonly practised later by the Nabataeans at Hejra and Palmyra, was exceptional among the Phoenicians, who were closer both in time and place to Isaiah (Lidzbarski, *NSE*, p. 139 f.).—That thou hast hewn for thyself here] the emphasis falls on here, and perhaps for thyself: in making a hewn tomb Shebna merely followed the usual practice (cp. Benzinger, art. Tomb, in *EBi.*—In the height] by cutting out the tomb on an inaccessible face of rock, it was better secured against violation (Benzinger, ib.).—A dwelling-place] cp. the use of house, 14

17 f. Behold] not therefore: v.18 alludes to the occasion, not the full cause of the fate of Shebna, which is rather summed up, though unfortunately far from clearly, in the last words of v.18; he had been the shame of his master’s, the king of Judah’s, house: but how? by fostering the Egyptian alliance? Therefore he is to die far away in the wide plains of Babylon, the land stretching far in both directions (a phrase used of the vale of Shechem in Gn 34; of the country round Dan in Jg 1810). These are possible, but not altogether certain implications of the text.—Yahweh will hurl, will hurl thee, O mighty man] cp. Ps 5427 “Why boastest thou thyself of mischief, O mighty man . . . God will pull thee down for ever.” Of the vb. *ךְָמָּל* the Pilpel occurs here only, but cp. the Hiph. in Jer 2226 “I will hurl thee and thy mother . . . into another land, and there ye shall die.” This parallel suggests that the phrase will hurl thee, O mighty man, should be followed immediately by into a far-stretching land: at present there intervene several words, some of doubtful meaning but constituting, however interpreted, a hysteron proteron to hurl, and a less satisfactory introduction to the words into a far-stretching land. Not improbably there is some textual corruption: the intervening words may perhaps be translated and he will grasp thee forcibly (or, he will wrap thee up closely), and will entirely wind thee up (or, make a complete turban of thee) like (or, into) a ball: see phil. n. The point of the comparison in like a ball into a far-stretching land has given play to ingenuity: Ki., followed by Del., thinks of the unending flight of a ball that meets with no obstacles: Du.
of Shebna bent backwards head to feet, so that he becomes defenceless, and can be slung away like a ball. Neither interpretation relates the figure to the main point of vv.16-18, which clearly is that Shebna is to die, not in honour in Palestine, but in dishonour in Babylon; note the repeated there in v.18, emphatically pointing the contrast to the repeated here of v.16. It is very doubtful whether Isaiah used any term meaning ball here: see phil. n.—And there the chariots of thy glory] i.e. thy glorious chariots, sc. shall come (Martii), shall be (Jer, RV), or shall become inglorious (T: cp. Ges.). But in any case the clause reads curiously; both the special reference to chariots, a symbol of a man's rank and greatness (Jer 17:25, cp. Ec 10), in itself, and still more the reference to them after the reference to their owner's death, is suspicious. Far more correspondent to v.16 would the words run and with biting irony, if chariots is a corruption for tomb: and there shall be thy glorious tomb! So Cond.—Shebna will be deposed and his office become vacant for (vv.20†) another to fill. Whether this transitional v. is original, is discussed above.—And I will thrust] the pron. must refer to Yahweh; cp. vv.20-23.—And pull] θ and he will pull; see phil. n.

20-23. A prediction of the promotion of Eliakim to the office vacated by Shebna, and of his glorious administration.—Shebna is still addressed, but by Yahweh Himself (ct. vv.16-18).—20. Eliakim the son of Hilkiah] in 368 occupies the position held now (v.15) by Shebna.—My servant] 20. Eliakim will be clothed with the robes of his office, consisting of a distinctive tunic (חנוכ) and sash ( покаנת, elsewhere only in P): so also the priests were distinguished by special tunics and sashes, and their accession to office was solemnised by a ceremonial investiture with these and other distinctive articles of clothing, Ex 28. 39f., Lv 8. 13. With the insignia, Eliakim will also receive the authority (כנתפשה: cp. משל, Gn 45) of the vacant office; but exercising it, unlike Shebna, wisely and well, he will become a father of those whom he governs, the people of Jerusalem and Judah (cp. 1 n.), in caring for their needs (cp. 9, Job 29): even in Gn 45 father is no mere title; Joseph had cared for Pharaoh's interests.—22. Eliakim will also receive the key of the house of David, by which we may again understand a symbol of his office rather than the actual key
with which the palace was locked; another less probable view is that the whole is figurative, meaning merely, I will lay the burden of administering Judah upon him. In any case, the phraseology reflects the custom of carrying the long and heavy keys commonly used over the shoulder. Che. in SBOT (ET), p. 160, reproduces from Bonomi, Nineveh and its Palaces, a picture of a modern Cairene merchant thus carrying his keys. The authority symbolised is extensive, and includes the command of the royal chambers and the right to admit to the royal presence, or to refuse admittance: cp. Mt 16\(^1\), Rev 3\(^7\).—23. By means of two figures the security of Eliakim in his office, and the lustre which his position will shed on his entire family, are expressed. For the figure of the ăr, which commonly denotes the tent-peg, but also a peg on which articles may be hung (Ezk 15\(^3\)), cp. Ezr 9\(^8\), Zec 10\(^4\), Sir 14\(^24\) (G, not Ψ): also the Arabic example cited by Ges. from the Life of Timur, when the pegs (autâd) of Mohammed ibn Muṣaffir were firm, meaning when his authority was secured; this illustrates, too, the development of the figure here, Eliakim is as secure as a peg driven into a place that can be trusted to hold.—A glorious throne] by no means proves that Eliakim is destined to be king (Fullerton): the throne (ܢܕܐ) was not a seat confined to kings; see especially 2 K 4\(^10\).

24 f. The peg (v.\(^23\)), being misused, falls to the ground.—The peg here, whatever its meaning in v.\(^23\), is a peg driven into a wall. The meaning of the figure is clear; all sorts of cheap articles are hung upon the peg, till, being altogether improperly weighted with this motley assortment of goods, not even the best of holds is of any service, but peg and burden come tumbling down together in undignified and indiscriminate ruin: so a governor, a peg of state, if all his relatives insist on his giving free play to nepotism, is brought at last to ruin. But is this a prediction that Eliakim will be a gross nepotist and, in spite of being firmly secured in Shebna's office, himself come to ruin? That such a prediction was delivered in the same breath with the prediction of his glory, and in an address to Shebna, seems incredible; quite as much so, however, that the peg of v.\(^24\) refers to a different person from v.\(^23\), viz. to Shebna. To treat vv.\(^24\) as a hypothetical—but if Eliakim practises nepotism, he will come to ruin—is an improbable makeshift in spite
of its abstract grammatical possibility (Kön. iii. 390); there is too much detail and contemptuous passion in the protasis for this to be probable (see, further, p. 375 f.).—All the glory of his father's house] contemptuously, and perhaps playing on the root meaning of דֹּֽבר, all the weightiness of his family.—The rest of the v. develops the idea of the burdensome family, first by means of two (?) literal terms for the offspring, or connections, of a family, and then by terms used figuratively to suit the figure of the peg. דֹּֽבר, offspring, is a term elsewhere confined to Is 341, 40–66, Job; see 341 n. The exact force of דֹּֽבר is doubtful: it may refer either to hangers-on as distinguished from actual members of the family, or rather to the ignobler members (see phil. n.).—Least] not in size, for neither bowls (מָד, Ex 246, Ca 73) nor pitchers (3011, Jer 4812) were this, but in value: cp. La 42.—25. In that day] on which the peg was overloaded; that the same phrase occurs in v.20 by no means necessarily synchronises the two vv., and certainly does not show that the peg of v.25 is a different person from the peg of v.23.

15. התו כי אני... גס omit one of these words.—נהז] גס om.—by... ל] גס els... πρός. The repetition of מ is would have been normal (G-K. 131); but the substitution of the stronger prep. מ is not; the instances cited in Kön. 319o are either doubtful, or not real parallels.—whether] גס שֹׁטֵט. The ending מ is (so also 375, but מ, 2 K 1816, 26) does not prove that Shebna was a Syrian (or North Arabian: Che. EBi.). Hebrew hypocoristica also end in מ: cp. מל, 2 S 68 (= מ, 2 S 63); אבר, אבר, אבר, אבר: see Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, ii. 7 ff.; see, further, Addenda.—יהו בה ] גס + kal elîn aô-terminal.—16. ויהי] 3rd pers. after a vocative: cp. 541, and see G-K. 1446.—17. בָּלַשׁ] גס בָּלַשׁ, assuming the מ to be not the fem., but a case ending. If the construction were crstr. and gen., it would be better to re-divide, בָּלַשׁ מ, though גס read בָּלַשׁ. The pointing ב, strong man, is to be preferred to ב (MT), though even the latter, according to a Rabbinical explanation, implied a violent hurling, because a man is stronger than a woman! see Rashi.—כָּל] nowhere else in Heb. has כָּל (to be enveloped, to wrap oneself, e.g. 5917) a trans. force; but Lane cites in Arabic גָּחַךְ הָשָׁם, young manhood clad him. So possibly כָּל כָּל means and he will surely unwrap thee, and is more or less synonymous with the next clause. Or possibly כָּל here is from another root; cp. רָעָם, vi., to take (with the hands); then render, he will surely grasp thee (Ges., al.).—18. ויהי כי אני... בָּלַשׁ] גס kal τῶν στέφανων σου τῶν εὐδοκεῖν καὶ πίφει σε: the last clause (cp. 'Ι ς et mittet te) has influenced EV, which inserts without any warrant in ע and loss thee. כָּל, like הָלַשׁ, is most probably a mere additional strengthening of the verbal idea; others take it as an acc. of product, will wind thee into something
wound. The vb. יָס occurs but once elsewhere, in Lv 16:4, and there means to wind round (the head), to put on (the turban); otherwise the root in Heb. is confined to nouns meaning turban (e.g. צֶּר 62:9). Whether, as is commonly assumed, יָס meant to roll up as well as to wind round, is not quite certain. יָס seems to give the vb. first a privative sense and then the meaning to surround: it renders he will take away from thee the turban, and enemies shall surround thee.—[דעם] אֲבַי anticipated mediaeval Jewish and modern interpreters in extracting the meaning ball from this word; but it is disputed whether י is radical and דעם a comparatio decurata, or whether דעם is the noun and י the particle. דעם, ball, occurs in NIH and Aramaic (Levy, NHWB ii. 295 f.); the comparison of the Assyr. kudaru, circle, boundary (cp. 29:1), does not increase the probability that דעם in the age of Isaiah meant ball. It is quite as questionable whether on the strength of this passage alone, where the point of comparison with a ball is anything but obvious, we ought to infer that דעם, period, circle (of time), also meant ball: see, further, BDB 189b, 462a with references.—[ינד] it is unnecessary to take this pregnantly, thither (coming) thou shalt die; for דעם = יָס, cp. Gn 43:10, Jos 2:1; BDB 1027b.—[אנֵלַש] אוֹבְּחָה, in which Cond. claims as supporting evidence, an intermediate step to an original כֶּר (see above). Possibly יָס is an error for דעם dwelling-place(s), in the sense of tomb (cp. 57:2, Ezk 32:20).—19. דֶּרֶךְ ... דֶּרֶךְ] the change of pers. is precarious and is not infrequently confused; and it is certainly easier to emend the 2nd vb. to מהז than with Cond. the 1st vb. to ומָהו.—21. דֶּרֶךְ is used from the end of the 7th cent. onwards; see Cheyne, Introd. 137 n.—24. יָסָּה] some ignoble flavour may attach to the word, if it is from the same root as יָס, פֶּשׁ (Ges.), which gives דֶּרֶךְ, dung, Ezk 4:14, and פֶּשׁ with the same meaning. If not from this root (BDB), it is from one of unknown meaning.—[יָסָּה] יָסָּה] superlative: G-K. 1334, and (on יָס a neuter subst. in the gen.) 128w.

XXIII.—The Oracle of Tyre.

This consists of a poem, vv.1-14, on the ruin of Phoenicia, and a prose appendix, vv.15-18, predicting the restoration of the commercial prosperity of Tyre.

1-14.—The Ruin of Phoenicia.

The text is too uncertain to make a detailed analysis of the rhythm useful. Some of the distichs are clearly 3:2. Parallelism is as frequently absent as present. The poem is divided into three nearly equal strophes, by something resembling an initial refrain.
1. Howl! ye ships of Tarshish,
   For 'your fortress' has been spoiled!
   . . . from the land of Kittim it was revealed to them.
2. Be astounded, ye inhabitants of the coast,
   Merchants of Sidon,
2c Who passed over the sea (?)
   'Whose messengers were' on many waters,
   'Whose harvest was the seed of Shiho,
   Whose revenue the traffic with the nations.
4. Be ashamed, O Sidon, . . . saying,
   "I have not travailed, nor brought forth;
   And I have not brought up youths,
   Nor reared virgins."
5. When the rumour (comes) to Egypt,
   They will travail 'for' Tyre.

2. Pass over to Tarshish, howl!
   Ye inhabitants of the coast.
7. Is this your (city ever-) exultant,
   From the days of old,
   Whose feet in olden time did carry her,
   Afar off to sojourn?
8. Who hath planned this,
   Against Tyre the crowned (city),
   Whose merchants were princes,
   Whose traders, the honoured of the world?
9. Yahweh of Hosts hath planned it,
   To profane (what was their) pride (?),
   All beauty to dishonour,
   All the honoured of the world.

3. . . ., 'ye ships' of Tarshish,
   There is no girdle (?) more.
11. His hand hath he stretched out against the sea,
   He hath made kingdoms quake.
   Yahweh hath commanded touching Canaan,
   To destroy her fortresses.
And he said, Thou shalt no more exult, 
Thou oppressed daughter of Sidon!
Arise, pass over to Kittim:
There, too, thou shalt have no rest.

Howl! ye ships of Tarshish,
For your fortress has been spoiled.

The poem opens and closes with the same distich, in which the Phoenician mariners are summoned to lament for the destruction of their "fortress." The first strophe extends this appeal to the inhabitants of Phoenicia generally, especially the Phoenician merchants. In the second strophe the Phoenicians are bidden to pass over to Tarshish, and told that the humiliation of Tyre, the home of merchant princes and the city of ancient seafaring fame, has been decreed by Yahweh. The third strophe asserts that Yahweh has also given the word for the destruction of other Phoenician fortresses, and has rendered the Phoenician colonies insecure. In particular, Cyprus will be unable to give asylum to the Phoenicians retreating from their ruined homes. Other details filled out the poem in its original form, but the insecurity of the text has left them uncertain or obscure.

Opinions differ greatly as to the occasion and exact subject of the poem. In v. 2, and even in v. 4, Sidon may mean Phoenicia (v. 2 n.); but v. 12 should refer to the fall of the city of Sidon, and vv. 8f. to the ruin of Tyre. It is true that the two names Tyre and Sidon as written in Phoenician inscriptions (ץו, תו), and doubtless also in the earliest stages of the text of the OT, must have been liable to confusion. Possibly, therefore, Tyre in v. 8 (and 5) is a miswritten Sidon, or Sidon in vv. 24 a miswritten Tyre; in which case the original subject of the poem may have been exclusively Sidon (Du.), or exclusively Tyre. The authors of the title and appendix certainly understood the poem to refer to Tyre, but whether exclusively or not is uncertain; as in 171, the title may refer to one only of two subjects of the poem that follows.

We cannot, then, with any assurance attempt to date the poem by considering which of the many sieges of Tyre or Sidon most answers to the details here given; as a matter of fact, these details are too general or too uncertain to point decisively to any particular siege.
Nor is it wise to draw conclusions from the doubtful and unintelligible reference to the Chaldaeans (or any name conjec-
turally substituted for this) in v. 38.

Nor, again, do language (except in v. 18) and ideas point clearly to any known writer, or to any particular period. The vocabulary, naturally enough, contains words and phrases used by Isaiah; and others that do not occur in his extant writings; for details, see Di. or Cheyne, Introd. p. 142; but observe that the words and phrases cited as used by Isaiah are, with one or two insignificant exceptions, not peculiar to Isaiah, or even particularly characteristic of him; and they occur also in later writers (so, e.g., מָזוּ, vv. 8f.; וָלָּא, v. 11).

Some theories of date may be briefly referred to—i. Dates within the lifetime of Isaiah.—(a) Some, guided mainly by the supposed reference in v. 18 to a destructive attack of Assyria on Babylon, place the prophecy near one of the years 709, 703, 696 B.C., in all of which Babylonia was ravaged by the Assyrians. On the last of these occasions Sennacherib says of Babylon, "The city and houses from its foundation to the upper chambers I destroyed, I dug up, in the fire I burnt" (RP ix. 28). But any argument as to the date of the poem based on v. 18 is very precarious (see on v. 18); moreover, none of these years synchronises with any known disaster to Tyre, though Sidon suffered in 701 from Sennacherib, who at that time dethroned Luli, king of Sidon. (b) A more adequate occasion for the poem is the long siege to which Tyre was subjected by Shalmaneser (727–722 B.C.). According to Menander (in Jos. Ant. ix. 14), the Assyrians ravaged the whole of Phoenicia; the other cities submitted, but Tyre held out and endured a five years' siege. If this is the occasion of the poem, it does not describe an actual destruction of Tyre, but merely predicts a destruction of the city which did not occur. This view is defended by Cheyne in Introd. p. 144; earlier (PI) he had adopted (a); later he abandoned both (EBi. 2197) in favour of the theory that the poem relates to a conquest of טֹאְכָה (so read for ט and יֵשָׁ) at some undefined date (Crit. Bib. 28).—ii. Dates later than Isaiah.—Merely noting that Esarhaddon made Sidon "like the ground" in 678 (Rogers, Hist. of Bab. and Assyria, ii. 224), and blockaded Tyre in 672 (Rogers, ii. 226), and that Ashurbanipal subsequently (Rogers, 255) conquered though he did not destroy the city, we come to the long siege of Tyre in 585–573, for which see Jos. Ant. x. 11, c. Ap. i. 21, and cp. the predictions in Jer 27, Ezk 26–28; see also Rogers, ii. 336 ff. In this siege some have found the occasion, or the subject, of the poem (cp. e.g. König. Einl. 320). But once again it can only be the subject, if the poem is a prediction unjustified by events: Tyre was not destroyed, cp. Ezk 29ff., written in 570 B.C. The earliest capture of Tyre known to history, the earliest event, therefore, of which this poem can be a description, is the capture of the city by Alexander the Great: see Arrian, ii. 16–24, and cp. e.g. Holm, Hist. of Greece, iii. 331–333, 337. Du. and Marti, who consider Sidon to be the subject of the poem,
find the occasion of it in the destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes Ochus in 348 B.C.

1-5. First strophe.—1a. b. Cp. v.14; the difference between the two occurrences of the distich in ¶ EV is due to textual corruption: see phil. n.—Ships of Tarshish] 216 n.; here ships actually returning from far distant Tarshish (in Spain?) are meant; for recent arguments that Tarshish lay not in Spain but on the Persian gulf, see Hüsing in Memnon, i. 70-79; cp. R. von Lichtenberg, Einflüsse der ägäischen Kultur (1911), p. 30.—1c. From the land of Kittim] i.e. Cyprus: Kitt (נדו) frequently mentioned in Phoenician inscriptions, was strictly the name of a town in Cyprus (Gr. Kition); cp. Nu 2424 n. Cyprus would be the last stage on the way from Spain to Phoenicia; here, according to this line, which reads like a gloss (note the 3rd pers., and ct. the 2nd in vv.1a. (b. 1a)), the crews of the returning ships hear of the disaster. The phrase is preceded in ¶ by מנה, which may be a corrupt dittograph of מנה; MT accents and EV connect it with v.1b (corrupt), (for it is spoiled, so that there is no house), no entering in. It has been recently rendered since leaving the land of Kittim, and assumed to imply that the news was heard not while the ships were touching at Cyprus, but by signals from passing ships or otherwise, between Cyprus and the Phoenician coast. This is most uncertain; מנה normally means to enter in, arrive, not to go out from, leave.—2. Be astounded] lit. be dumb, with grief or astonishment; cp. La 210, Ex 1518: see also phil. n. It is no doubt a formal inconsistency, but scarcely a rhetorical impossibility, to call on the same persons to be dumb and to howl (v.8).—The coast] Phoenicia, rather than either the island on which Tyre stood, or collectively the islands or coasts (1111 n.) of the Mediterranean. See also 208 n.— Merchants of Sidon] merchants of the city of Sidon, or more widely Phoenician merchants; so Sidonians are Phoenicians in Dt 39, Jg 39, 1 K 1651; in Greek, too (Il. vi. 290), and Assyrian; and later in Phoenician itself Tyre is called סדרון שד, metropolis of the Sidonians; see EBi. s.v. Sidon.—2c, 3. Very uncertain: see phil. n. MT may be rendered:—2b The merchants of Sidon, 2c the traversers of the sea did fill thee (fem.). 8 And on many waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile, was her revenue: and it (the revenue), or she (the coast: elsewhere masc.), was the merchandise of nations. But (1) this implies that the passage is unrhythmical; (2) the waters are
an unnatural place for revenue; (3) the last clause is obviously unsuitable: RV translates unjustifiably mart (ct. v.18) of nations. — The seed of Shihor] the identification of Shihor with the Nile (cp. Jer 218) is found in V, and has been commonly accepted; but it was not admitted by Г either here or in Jer 218, and it has recently been disputed; Du., who with Г omits νην, of the Nile (196 n.), identifies Shihor with the Shihor-libnath in Asher (Jos 1926), which district he considers actually did supply Sidon with corn (cp. Gn 4920, Ezk 2718). For other views, see Che. in EBi. s.v. Shihor. That the Phoenician cities drew on Egypt * as well as on the Palestinian hinterland for their corn supply, is certainly probable, and an allusion to a remoter source would be rhetorically more effective. Even if the Nile be a gloss, it shows that a reference to Egypt was early detected here.—4c. д is an excellent 3:2 distich, and its meaning is clear; but the preceding part of the v. is too long for one distich, too short for two. Difficulties of interpretation make it additionally probable that the text of 4a. б is in disorder, and it must remain doubtful whether Sidon, Tyre, or the Sea is the childless woman. If the text of Б is retained, Be ashamed, O Sidon, for the sea hath said, the fortress of the sea, saying, etc., nothing better can be suggested than Di.'s sufficiently improbable interpretation: Sidon, i.e. Phoenicia (as in в.2), is to be ashamed, i.e. disappointed in her hopes, because the sea, or more precisely the fortress (v.14: cp. в.1 n.) of the sea, i.e. Tyre, has had to confess the loss of her children in battle, or by capture. Even more improbable is this interpretation, if the fortress of the sea be identified with Sidon: — be ashamed Sidon, for Sidon hath said! By following up a suggestion of Olsh., and omitting the words the fortress of the sea, saying, as a gloss, Du. obtains a more attractive meaning and a rather poor 4:2 line: Sidon is to be ashamed, for the sea has become childless, and the sea is poetically regarded as the mother of the Sidonians: if this be correct, there may be traces here of an old myth according to which gods and men sprang from the sea. By less extensive conjecture it is possible to obtain a good distich; omit в with Г and read вне[א] instead of вне, and render,

Be ashamed, O Sidon, mother of cities,  
Fortress of the sea.

For *mother of cities*, cp. 2 S 2010; G. A. Cooke, *NSI*, p. 352. Still even this is uncertain.—*I have not travailed nor brought forth*] a city robbed of its population is said by a rhetorical exaggeration not even to have had children: cp. 541 of Şion; cp. also 4921.—*Brought up . . . reared* 12 n.—5. Whether a gloss (Du.) or not, the v. is very awkwardly expressed and seems prosaic: it is certainly not a normal 3 : 2 line. It is commonly supposed to mean that the fall of Tyre will be ominous for Egypt, who will be distressed when the news is received.

1. לֹּשְׁנָה the masc. could be explained as a *estr. ad sensum*, but at the end of the v. (14) the fem. suffix (15) is used. Cp. G-K. 1106.—*יהו* 151.—*יְבַעְשֶׁה* cp. G-K. 1199; but the word is really a corruption of בַּעַשׁ; G kal ovkt = בַּעַשׁ; Che. unnecessarily substitutes בַּעַשׁ, *your haven* (Ps 10930) for בַּעַשׁ.—see] G perhaps read בַּע; but the omission of a subject makes it difficult to treat this as original and explain by Dr. §§ 167, 169.—*הָנַו* it, viz. the overthrow of the stronghold, has been revealed: G-K. 1446. The prosaic, and probably unrythmical, character of the line raises the suspicion that the line is a gloss (Ols., Di., Che.). it occurs in Is only in 306, and then is doubtful; it was misread by G, ṣbL. For הנַו, G seems to have read הנַו א.ו. —2. שב] imperative; it might also be pointed וַּשָּׁב, pf. (cp. ג). It is hardly necessary, out of regard to v. 6 (see above), to suppose a unique occurrence of והשׁ, *to walk*, cp. Assyr. damamu with that meaning (see BDB): or to emend to וַּשָּׁב (Che., Marti) which follows רבא in 151, or וַּשָּׁב (Du.).—*יחָרָה* these words may be safely taken, against the accentuation of MT, as the synonymous parallel to אִישׁ וַּשָּׁב; the 2nd part of the 3 : 2 distich characteristically echoing the first. The words that follow are certainly more or less corrupt: G is not improbably nearer the original text in virtue of the absence from it of רבא, possibly a gloss on רבא, and יְבַעְשֶׁה, probably a corrupt dittography of הָנַו[הוֹ].

G further differs from ב in omitting יְבַעְשֶׁה and inserting וְּאֶלֶף (ם, or simply ב) between רבא (read as רבא) and יְבַעְשֶׁה; but elosophomévov corresponds nearly, if not exactly, to יְבַעְשֶׁה. Du. follows G in omitting רַבַּא and יְבַעְשֶׁה: he also reads וַתִּשְׁמָר for וַתִּשְׁמַר (STY omit the י before יְבַעְשֶׁה) for יְבַעְשֶׁה, and would point יהוה instead of יהוה. Neither of the two lines thus obtained is 3 : 2; the first is 2 : 3 (an occasional variant on 3 : 2), and the second 3 : 3.—4. וַּשָּׁב G omits.—5. וַּשָּׁב for the awkward occurrence of a noun after יהוה, cp. 268. Grätz, al. read יָשָׁב: then cp. Neh 67 for the construction.—— based] G περὶ Τόρου. If ב is correct and 2 is really = *at the time of* (188 2830 3010; Di.; BDB, p. 454b), the v. is most awkwardly expressed: *when the report comes . . . they will be in travail at the time of the report.* RV sorely pained at would require יָשָׁב; cp. Dt 225, Jer 522.

6–9. Second strophe.—Now that Tyre, their ancient, proud, and famous capital, has fallen by the decree of Yahweh, let the Phoenicians of the Palestinian coast-land flee lamenting to Spain,
taking passage in the ships that have come thence (v.1)—yet only to be turned back again from the haven that is no more (v.10).—7. The question rhetorically points the contrast between then and now; cp. 1416, La 215.—Exultant] 22^ 32^, cp. v.12 below.—Since the days of old] the antiquity of Tyre was considerable, though, according to later testimony (Strabo, xvi. 2, 22), reputed less than that of Sidon. The priests of Tyre told Herodotus (ii. 44) that “it was a period of 2300 years since their people began to live at Tyre.” The actual age of Tyre may have been considerably less (cp. e.g. EBi. 3732), but the writer here appeals not to fact but to fame. So, too, the actual antiquity of the Phoenician colonies or trading stations to which v.7b refers, unlike the fame of them (cp. Herod. i. 1), may not have been very great; Meyer (EBi. 3736) asserts that in the time of the Amarna tablets (c. 1400 B.C.) there were no Phoenician colonies. The term to sojourn (ר י, 14^ n.) corresponds well to the character of these settlements, and the connection of them with Tyre to the generally current theory: “all the Phoenician colonies were anciently regarded as having been founded from Tyre; and, so far as the towns of Cyprus and North Africa are concerned, this is confirmed by all our other information. It cannot be shown that any other of the Phoenician towns planted colonies” (Meyer, EBi. 3737).—Whose feet did carry her] The expression is curiously chosen for the sea-voyages of the Phoenicians; but the meaning flag for ל is far too uncertain (Nu 2^ n.) to render Bredenkamp’s easy conjectural emendation (ר ל for ר ל), whose flags did carry her, probable. Nor can it mean her feet will carry her into captivity; for the vb. ר י in the next clause is unfavourable to this, and even ל י (ct. 2 K 216).—8, 9. Question and answer, as in Ps 24^ sf. 9. 10.—8. Is Tyre, the home of merchant princes, called the crowning (מ) city, as one that founded small kingdoms, or as the city that sent a golden crown to the advancing Alexander; or the crowned (ל) city, as the city which at the time was supreme over the Phoenician cities? ל certainly means the crowning, מ may have been ambiguous (H דלפ).—Whose traders] 2^ n. G omits this, or whose merchants.—9. The answer to v.8: it is Yahweh who has planned the disgrace of Tyre. The v. has probably suffered some disarrangement; see phil. n.—Pride . . beauty] 4^ 13 60.
7. [again] ethic. dat., rather than (Is this what has happened) to you (Del.).—

[again] anarthrous voc.: G-K. 126, n.— unfairly [3726.]—anarthrous [is commonly
given the sense of origin (cp. ישק, Pr 8:26) and taken with מש as אל, ל,—but the
v. gives two better echoing lines if it is taken with המ, either as a form like
 nettish (G-K. 90), in ancient time, or pointed ספירה, in her antiquity.—9. If
the v. consists of two 3 : 2 distichs, the first should end at מ; but this leaves
מר rather awkwardly undefined; vì is also rather awkwardly placed, yet
if we transpose ממר למר (Che.) we make the antithetic terms מפח and ממר
remote from one another. ממר looks like the first part of a
3:2 distich.

10-14. Third strophe.—Let the ships from Spain return
home (?) ; the ruin of Phoenicia is irremediable, for it has come
to pass by Yahweh’s decree. The ruin extends as far W. as
Cyprus.—10. מ and כ differ, and probably neither entirely
preserves the original sense. מ may be rendered, Pass through,
(Dt 2:18) or overflow (8:), or pass over to (v.6, Am 6:9), thy land,
like the Nile, O daughter (18 n.) of Tarshish: there is no more a
girdle (מ, Ps 109:19; מ, Job 1:21). This has been explained
as meaning that the harsh dominion of Tyre over her colonies,
typically represented by distant and important Tarshish, has with
the fall of Tyre come to an end, and the inhabitants of these
colonies may now walk through the length and breadth of their
land (cp. Gn 13:17) as the independent owners of it. But, not to
mention other difficulties, the last clause cannot imply release
from servitude; the girdle is no mark of bondage: but its
removal is a mark of defencelessness (Job 1:21); so, freely but
correctly, Symm. rendered, Jerome approving, you will no longer
be able to resist. כ read, Till thy land: for indeed ships come no
more from Tarshish. Originally the line resembled v.1, or v.6, or
both, more closely than it does now; see phil. n.—11, 12.
Phoenicia is undone; for Yahweh has decreed the destruction of
all the fortresses along the Palestinian seaboard, and He has
threatened and shaken all the Phoenician colonies scattered over
the Mediterranean. Consequently the inhabitants of Sidon
after the fall of the city will in vain cross over to Cyprus; the
colonies there will have suffered likewise, and will furnish no
resting-place to the fugitive Sidonians.—11. V.11a, כ and 11b, כ have
perhaps been transposed: the named subject Yahweh first
appears v.11c; and the threatening of the colonies in מ precedes
the threatening of Phoenicia proper.—His hand hath he stretched
out] 5:25: also in later writers, e.g. Zeph 1:4, Ex 7:5 (P).—He hath
made ... quake] used of the earth 1416, of the heavens 1313; the Kal is used of the effect of Yahweh's manifestation on peoples (641).—**Kingdoms**] as the term is applied to parts of Egypt in 192, so here to the various Phoenician city-states which were governed by their own kings. Phoenician inscriptions speak of a king of Gebal (CIS i. 1), a king of Kition and Idalion (e.g. CIS i. 111), as well as of a king of the Sidonians (e.g. CIS i. 3); see Cooke, NSI, p. 116. —**II. Canaan**] Phoenicia; the usage, found in Phoenician (Cooke, NSI 350), does not occur again in the OT; but note Jos 51 יתני יִהוּד, גֶּלְפָּל יְאשֶׁר סיוון.-12. And he said] probably this is a gloss, and this v., like the rest of the poem, was the speech of the poet. —**Exult**] cp. "exultant," v.7. —**Daughter of Sidon**] rhythm favours this, the reading of ג, as against ה, Virgin daughter (18 n.) of Sidon. This being so, no sufficient reason remains for giving נַעֲשֶׁה the otherwise unknown nuance *deflowered*; the antithesis is rather between the exulting, domineering, wealthy city of the past, and the ruined people of the present, who must suffer the harsh treatment commonly measured out to the poor and helpless; cp. the use of פְּשָׁע in 524, Dt 2829-33.—According to the analogy of similar phrases, daughter of Sidon should mean the population of the city of Sidon; it is very questionable to make it mean Phoenicians in general, or Tyre, as being the daughter city of Sidon.—**Pass over**] v.6.—**To Kittim**] Cyprus, v.1.—13. This v. as a whole, and especially in its context, is quite unintelligible; it is, moreover, not in the 3:2 rhythm which appears in, or may underlie, the remainder of vv.1-14, though the last two words, *He hath made it* (Cyprus? Tyre? Sidon?) a ruin, might be the second and shorter half of such a distich. Attempts to interpret the v. fall into two classes: (1) those which read into the present awkward text meanings which are not there; (2) those which conjecturally correct the text, or omit parts of it, as glosses. It would be easy to hazard fresh guesses of this type, but, as they would be as unconvincing as those which have been offered, it must suffice to refer to one or two explanations of each type that have already been offered. ג finds in v.18 an alternative to v.12; how far its text was different from ה, and how far it is merely paraphrastic, it is difficult to say; in ג, 12b-13 runs thus, and if thou goest to the Cypriotes, neither there shalt there be rest for
thee, and (if) to the land of the Chaldaeans, that, too, has been laid waste by the Assyrians, its wall has fallen. In what follows the italicised words represent the actual literal rendering of מ, the rest, the meanings read in by interpreters in order to create some intelligibility:—Behold the land of the Chaldaeans; this is the people which until recently was not of any account; Assyria founded it, i.e. the land of Chaldaea, for the Chaldaeans, who had hitherto been inhabitants of the desert (1321 n.); they, the Chaldaeans, set up his, viz. the Chaldaeans' watch-towers (3214 n.), they have laid bare the foundations of its (Tyre's) palaces; he, (the Chaldaeans) hath made it a ruin. The point of all this is supposed to be: Tyre will be destroyed by the Chaldaeans; so Lowth, Ges., and others; but the interpretation labours under historical, as well as stylistic, improbabilities; the Chaldaeans were settled in Babylon at least as early as 900 B.C. and probably centuries earlier, and, therefore, even if it were a proved fact, and not merely an unsupported and improbable inference from this passage, that it was the Assyrians who settled the Chaldaeans in Babylon, it was no recent event even in the days of Isaiah. Others would make the v. mean Chaldaea has already destroyed Assyria, i.e. Nineveh (607 B.C.), and will destroy Tyre; by assuming that רשא is a casus pendens, and straining the meaning of א, which means to found creatively (so even Ps 1048), the crucial clause for this interpretation is rendered, it, viz. Chaldaea, has appointed Assyria for desert-beasts, i.e. for destruction (cp. Mal 18); so at one time Del., reviving a suggestion of Paulus mentioned by Ges. Others (e.g. RV) with rather less improbability give this clause the opposite meaning: Assyria has destroyed Chaldaea (in 709? or 703? or 696 B.C.). A further objection to both these interpretations is that the remainder of the v. can then only naturally be taken to refer to the fall of Babylon, and thus the v. falls entirely out of relation to a poem on the fall of Tyre. Ew. conjecturally substituted Canaanites, i.e. Phoenicians (v.11 n.), for Chaldaeans; but this necessitates retaining the questionable sense appointed for א, and giving אלה סל the very questionable meaning is no more (RV). It has been suggested that the words א Nhân סל, this is the people, it was not Assyria, are an annotation that has intruded into the text, drawing attention to the fact that Chaldaea and not Assyria destroyed Tyre: cp. Cond., Che. (Introd. p. 140),
but see Dr. Isaiah\(^2\), 219. Du. extracts from the v. the following distich:

Behold the land of Kittim,
He hath made it a ruin—

the point of which is that there will be no rest for Cyprus, for Cyprus, too, is in ruins. The rest of the v. on this theory is a note on Kittim; by the help of some emendations the note is restored as follows: This is the people which were a foundation, i.e. a colony, of the seafarers who set up its watch-towers, its cities, and its palaces; very doubtful.—14. See on v.\(^1\).

10. [K] ἔρυξαν τὴν γῆν σου καὶ οὐδὲν θέλοι . . . ἐκ Καρχηδόνος=συνάχθησαν αἱ άνθρωπος καὶ αἱ νησίδες καὶ οὐδὲν θέλοι; from Ε and Κ we might conjecture ἔρυξαν, but this, like both Ε and Κ, seems over-long for the first line of a distich. Perhaps ἔρυξαν is a dittoograph of ἔρυς at the end of v.\(^9\); and the original opening of v.\(^10\) was 'ν αι άνθρωπος, Weep, ye ships of T. (cp. v.\(^1\)); see Du., Marti.—[οὖν] an error for ὡς (vv.\(^11\)-\(^14\))? or for ἁρπάξας, if this meant haven?—11. ἔρυξαν Ε + συνάχθησαν.—[ἐποτιμᾶν] the 1 is an error rather than a resolution of the reduplicated ἔρυξαν (G-K. 200).—12. [ἐποτιμᾶν] the attributive is prefixed for emphasis: cp. 22\(^2\).—τῆλθεν Κ om.—[οὖν] some MSS οὖν; an obvious error.—[οὖν] cannot be a vocative; but the name of the people is used for the country: cp. Ezk 11\(^24\). But in v.\(^13\) οὖν is used.—13. Kleinert, Bredenkamp, ἐρευνάριον (cp. Gn 14\(^3\)); Ges-B. (vielleicht) οὖν, which would give a good parallel to οὐδὲν θέλοι if all that intervenes is a gloss.—[οὖν] this, [οὖν] scarcely this people, in spite of Ex 32\(^1\), 1 K 14\(^14\), Ps 104\(^28\) (BDB, 200); but this is the people, which certainly reads like the beginning of a gloss. Marti, following up Du.'s suggestion, restores the gloss as follows:—[οὖν] according to MT accents this means was not, did not exist: cp. BDB, s.v. [οὖν], iii. 1; but is no more would be expressed by means of οὐ and ρύο. In a late gloss [οὖν] might mean it was not Assyria: cp. the use of [οὖν] in 2 Ch 18\(^9\) (ct. 1 K 22\(^39\)).—[οὖν] Κατιβ, Καρχη, Кαρσ, neither form occurs again unless [οὖν], 32\(^14\), should be pointed [οὖν] or [οὖν].—[οὖν] Pofel of [οὖν], here only; cp. Kal 32\(^11\), Pipel and Hithp. Jer 51\(^38\).—[οὖν] 17\(^1\) n.

XXIII. 15-18.—The Restoration of Tyre for the benefit of the Jews.

This appendix was not necessarily, nor even probably, written by the author of the poem in vv.\(^1\)-\(^14\). It is prose, not poetry; predictive, not descriptive. It was written, presumably, while the ruin, which vv.\(^1\)-\(^14\) describe, still continued, and after rather
than before the Exile; for note the ideas in v.\textsuperscript{18} and the probable indebtedness of the writer to Jer 25\textsuperscript{11f.} and Ezek, chs. 26-28. See, further, Che. \textit{Introduct.} 138\textsuperscript{f}.

In the following translation the ditty (2 : 2 : 2 || 2 : 2 : 2) cited in v.\textsuperscript{15} is given, at the expense of one or two departures from literal rendering, in a rhymed version, in order to bring out its difference from its prose setting:

15 And it will come to pass in that day that Tyre will be forgotten for 70 years, like the days of one king. At the end of 70 years Tyre will be like the harlot in the song:

\begin{verbatim}
16 Take thou the lyre,  
   Walk with the throng,  
   Harlot whom all forget;  
   Play, play with fire,  
   Sing oft (thy) song,  
   To be remembered (yet).
\end{verbatim}

17 And it shall come to pass at the end of 70 years, Yahweh will visit Tyre, and she shall return to her hire, and play the harlot with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth. 18 And her gain and her hire shall be a sacred gift to Yahweh: it shall not be stored up, nor treasured, but her gain shall belong to them that sit before Yahweh for food in abundance and for stately clothing.

15. \textit{Shall be forgotten\ldots} and so lose her trade: cp. v.\textsuperscript{17}.—\textit{Seventy years} are (a) the normal term of human life, Ps 90\textsuperscript{10}; (b) the length, according to expectation or conventional reckoning, of the Jewish captivity in Babylon, Jer 25\textsuperscript{11f.} 29\textsuperscript{10}, Zec 1\textsuperscript{12} 7\textsuperscript{5}, Dn 9\textsuperscript{2ff}, 2 Ch 36\textsuperscript{21}.—\textit{As the days of one king\ldots} various explanations, none very satisfactory, have been offered of this phrase; it has been said to mean the full span of human life (Ges., cp. \textit{G})\textendash or full years, measured liberally as befits a king, in contrast to the “years of a hireling” (16\textsuperscript{14} 21\textsuperscript{16}; Eich.), or a period free from change (Del., Di.), or the duration of a dynasty (cp. Dn 7\textsuperscript{17}), whether that of Nebuchadnezzar (Ibn Ezra), or of Alexander and his Ptolemaic successors (Du., Marti). On the last theory, allusion is made to the fact that Tyre was eclipsed by the foundation of Alexandria; Tyre’s prosperity returned when Phoenicia passed from the dominion of the Ptolemies to that
of the Seleucids.—At the end of seventy years] these words have perhaps intruded here from v. 17; if they stand, vv. 16b. 16 and v. 17 are synchronous, which is scarcely suggested by the opening of v. 17, or else the writer had in view two successive periods of seventy years, which is improbable.—16. The song is rather some popular ditty cited by the writer than one specially composed by himself (Di.). The ditty is sarcastic, for obviously the worn-out and discarded harlot would not win much success by her wiles; Tyre is to be restored not by her own artifices, but (v. 17) by Yahweh’s favour. The conduct described in 16a. d. e corresponds more to that of the Ghawzee of Modern Egypt (Lane, Mod. Egyptians, ch. xix.) than to what is elsewhere said of harlots in the OT. The רֶבְּעָה, lyre, appears elsewhere as an instrument of dissolute music, 512.—Walk with the throng] lit. go about in (בְּשַׁבַּע, as Ca 32) the city.—Play thou with fire] more lit. play skilfully, play your best: cp. 1 S 1617, Ezek 3382, Ps 333.—17. Will visit] with favour: cp. Jer 2910. Yahweh will restore the commercial prosperity of Tyre; the figure by means of which this is expressed is suggested by v. 16; cp. Apoc. 183, where, rather more naturally in a minatory context, trading and harlotry (figuratively) are closely connected. Even in figure it is surprising to find the harlot’s price (תִּנָּה) made a gift to Yahweh; ct. Dt 2319.—18. Gain] from trade; cp. v. 8 n.—Hire] synonymous with gain, but implying the figure of v. 17.—A sacred gift] יָדֶה, as Jos 619. The gains from trade will no longer be stored up (Zec 98) by Tyre for her own use, but will be paid into Yahweh’s coffers, whence it will be given over by Him to them that sit before Him, i.e. the priestly nation of the Jews (615f). The thought that the wealth of the nations will flow into the restored Jewish state is frequent in exilic and post-exilic literature: see 4514 4925f. 606. 9-11, Hag 211.

15. הנהבנוי it is scarcely possible that this is a part. (G-K. 44f, 116p; Dr. § 159); not only should a pf. with waw conv. naturally follow הנהב, but if הנהב were a part. הנה should naturally precede it (Dr. 135 (4)). Unless הנהב should be read, it is a form like הנה (Dt 3226), preserving the original n of the fem.—17. הנהב] the suffix is here written with הֶ רוּפֵה; cp. v. 18,—הנה) the vb. here only in Heb.; cp. the noun הנה, 336 etc. In Aramaic (e.g. Dn 722 Haph.) the vb. means to take possession of.—יָדָה] here only; for the sense, choice, surpassing, attaching to the root and its derivatives, cp. יד in Pr 818 and עָדִיקת of what precedes, and so is choice.


“Post specialem singulorum gentium correptionem, Judaeae (1–12), Babylonis (13–14), Philistim (14), Moab (15 f.), Damasci, Israel (16–11), Aegypti (18 f.), deserti maris (21–10), Idumaeae (21) et Arabiae (21–15), vallis visionis (22–14), et ad extremum Tyri (23) . . . nunc quid totus orbis in consummatione passurus sit, propheticus sermo describit, et nequaquam de singulis, sed de cunctis pariter prophetatur.”

Jerome here correctly seizes the fundamental difference between chs. 24–27 and the preceding parts of the book; at times, indeed, in chs. 24–27 the wider eschatological ideas appear (see, e.g. 13 f.), and in chs. 24–27 there are allusions in particular and by name to Assyria, Egypt, and Moab, as well as to Jerusalem; nevertheless, broadly the distinction holds: in chs. 1–23 we have in the forefront the particular circumstances or fates of definite and particular nations—Jewish or foreign, in chs. 24–27 the future both of judgment and of promise that awaits the world at large. We pass from prophecy to apocalypse.

The contents of these chapters, very briefly described, are as follows:—Yahweh is about to visit the world in judgment, and His judgment will culminate in the punishment and imprisonment, with a view to subsequent and final judgment, of the “host of the height” and the kings of the earth; He will Himself become universal king and lord, reigning gloriously from Jerusalem (ch. 24); and at His accession He will give a feast in Mount Sion to all the peoples of the world—the subjects of Himself as universal Lord; victorious over all enemies (2421), He will also destroy death and, under His rule, there will be no mourning: in particular, He will remove the reproach which His people the Jews have been suffering (256–8). Between the account of Yahweh’s accession and coronation feast is inserted (25–5) a song in which the (Jewish) community, hitherto poor and helpless, celebrates Yahweh’s victorious career, which has
rescued it, and must exact homage from the "strong people" and the city of "the awe-inspiring." Another song (256-12), introduced as such by an introductory formula, follows the account of the coronation feast: in this, those who have waited for Yahweh's salvation now express their exultation in it. This song also contains, or is followed by a section which contains, a prediction of the ignominious destruction of Moab. A third song, introduced by a formula directing that it is to be sung in the land of Judah, follows in 261-19: this song contrasts Jerusalem, as Yahweh will then have made it, in its strength with the "city (now) set on high," which Yahweh will then have abased; it refers to the loyalty of the Jews to Yahweh under the foreign dominion to which they have been subject: and it concludes with the prediction, rather than the mere hope, that the Jews who have died will come to life again as members of the community, whose centre is the City which Yahweh will have made strong. At the end of this song comes a short section in which the writer exhorts his people to keep at home while the wrath of Yahweh goes forth to punish the inhabitants of the earth and the two Leviathans and "the dragon which is in the sea" (2620-271). Then follows another song in praise of Yahweh's "delightful vineyard," which closes with, or is followed by, the statement that Israel shall flourish and "fill the face of the world with fruit" (272-6). The connection of the following verses is loose, but they contain (1) the promise that Israel's iniquity will be purged by destroying (illegitimate) altars, 'asherim and ḥammānim (279), and (2) a description of the desolation of the fortified city of a people without understanding and without claim on its Maker for mercy (2710f.). The entire section closes with a promise that the Jews within the ideal limits of the land of promise will be carefully (separated from the heathen?) and gathered together, and that the Jews of the dispersion in Egypt and Assyria will be summoned by a great trumpet and will come up to worship Yahweh in Jerusalem.

More than once in these chapters we seem to come on allusions to clearly defined and particular historical events or circumstances; but as Del. well observes, "like will-o'-the-wisps, they elude any attempt at following out and grasping them." The allusion to the city of Jerusalem in 262 is, of course, unmistakable though it is not here, as it is in 2423, mentioned by
name; but what are the “City of Chaos” (24^10), “the fortified city” (27^10), the city set on high” (26^4, cp. 25^12), the citadel” and “the city of the awe-inspiring” (25^26)? are they one and the same? if so, what city is meant? and if they are different, how many and what cities are intended? what people are described as the “strong people” (25^8)? It seems clear that the writers had a definite city, or definite cities, and a definite people in view, but unfortunately the descriptions are so vague that they are satisfied by any of the many cities with which at different times and by different writers they have been identified —Nineveh, Babylon, Shushan, Tyre, Samaria, and so forth.

But though the definite and particular references are elusive, certain general conditions are clear and significant: the Jews are poor, distressed, and helpless, waiting for the intervention of Yahweh to deliver them in some marvellous and miraculous way (25^9-14 26^6-12. 16-18 27^7), politically dependent (26^13), with no king of their own, but with the priesthood as the highest rank (to be inferred from 24^2), an object of reproach throughout the earth (25^8) over which they are scattered (27^13 and, probably, 24^14-18), few in number in their own land of Palestine (the present situation implied by the prediction of 26^1), and even there mingled with the heathen (27^12 probably). All this implies that we have to do here with a work of the post-exilic period; and even one or two points, such as the references to Assyria (27^13), and to idolatrous objects (27^9) still needing to be destroyed, that to some have seemed to suggest an earlier period for at least the groundwork of the whole, are not really incompatible with a post-exilic period: indeed, the allusion to Assyria occurs in a passage where lateness of circumstances, language, and ideas is conspicuous (see below, and cp. Smend, p. 193 n.). It remains possible, and as we shall see probable, that the entire section is not a unity; but the general conditions of the post-exilic period are reflected throughout.

Not less decisively do the ideas that find expression here point to the post-exilic period; and with probability, indeed, to a very late part of that period. The ideas convinced Del., who originally maintained the Isaianic authorship of chs. 24-27, that it was post-Isaianic (p. 419). The difficulty, indeed, when we consider these, is not to decide whether we are dealing with a pre-exilic or a post-exilic work, but to see how any part of the
prophetic canon can be late enough to contain them. The
totally explicit and well-established belief in the resurrection of
individual Israelites (26^19) carries us far below Ezekiel, beyond
the Book of Job, and into the region of Daniel and Enoch
(i.e. c. 165 B.C. and later). Certainly the history of this belief
among the Jews cannot be written with precision, and we know
that some Jews (Ecclesiastes, the Sadducees) rejected it long
after the majority held it firmly; but could the argument of the
Book of Job have proceeded as it does, had any considerable
section of the author's fellow-countr ymen held the belief expressed
in Is 26^19, which gives no indication whatever of being a mere
idiosyncrasy of the writer? But to say that a work is later than
Job is to fix it by reference to a book whose date is itself disputed,
though few now maintain that it is earlier than the exile. It is
otherwise with Daniel; and the question arises, was Is 26^19
written even as much as a century and a half earlier than Dn
12^2, that is to say, in the age of Alexander the Great, to which
many have referred it? Possibly; but failing conclusive argu-
ments from other data to the contrary, the nearer any theory
brings this part at least of the whole to the Maccabean period,
the more likely is it to approach the truth. Not less remarkable
is the prediction of the abolition of death (25^8); and the
earliest close analogy that we find in Jewish literature to the
imprisonment of the heavenly host (24^22) is again to be found in
the Book of Enoch. Other ideas demand, or find their most
natural explanation, if we admit a post-exilic origin for chs.
24-27: 27^1 may contain ancient mythology, but it is probably
late Jewish thought; but, not to repeat here what is said below,
it must suffice to refer to the notes on Yahweh's visible
enthronement in Sion (24^23), the conception of the nations as
violators of the eternal covenant (24^5, cp. v.20), the echo or
development of the Deutero-Isaiah's universalism in 25^64, the
idea of the great trumpet that is to summon the elect (27^13), and
of the Jews as a righteous nation, loyal to Yahweh (26^2.7f.13; ct.
27^2-6 with 5^1-7), with perhaps a section of wicked members (26^3,
cp. Dn 12^1). See also Che., Introd. 151-153; Smend, 199-202.

Finally, a third independent line of proof points to the con-
clusion that 24-27 is post-exilic: the style and language may not,
indeed, be late post-exilic, yet they are certainly post-exilic. The
style in brief is that of reproductive prophecy or apocalypse:
apart from passages where the text is corrupt, and these are numerous, the style is fluent; it is that of a writer whose mind is retentive of, even saturated with, earlier prophetic writings, including, but by no means confined to, those of Isaiah. This may be safely said, even though in individual cases it may be open to question, whether this writer or another later writer is the borrower. Many of these correspondences are noted in the commentary or notes that follow, and they have been collected together by Smend (p. 196) and Cheyne (Introd. 147).

But along with this reproduction of the words and phrases of earlier and later writers, there are considerable peculiarities of vocabulary, and one or two of syntax: and, though the lists of Smend (pp. 196–198) and Che. (pp. 148 f.) contain some peculiarities that may be merely due to textual corruption, the evidence of peculiarity is too extensive to be greatly affected by one or two words more or less. Moreover, the combination of peculiarities is such as we should find, not in any pre-exilic writer, but rather in an author writing ± 400 B.C. If Is 24–27 were much later than 400 B.C. (cp. p. 400), we should expect certain features (see p. 464) which do not appear there; but the absence of these does not, perhaps, render such a later date impossible (cp. p. 465). See, further, below, pp. 463–472.

A striking characteristic of this section, not necessarily indicative of date, but rightly claimed as constituting a dissimilarity to the style of Isaiah, is the constant use of paronomasia and, in 272–5 and occasionally elsewhere, of rhyme. Isaiah, indeed, makes use of paronomasia to emphasise an important saying (cp. 123 57 79); but, though such a use may be found in 2417f, for the most part paronomasia with this writer is rather a mere, though sometimes an effective, ornament of style.

Chs. 24–27 are, then, a work of the post-exilic period. But are they a unity? Did the author, saturated as he certainly is with older literature, borrow in bulk from now lost earlier prophecies, say from Isaiah in 279,12f, from a 7th cent. prophecy in 256–8 (10f) (so Ew.)? It is a reasonable question to ask, but the attempts to analyse these chapters so as to recover any such Isaianic or pre-exilic basis have not been successful: see p. 399 on 2712f. Or has the main work with which we have to do here been enlarged by later interpolations? One thing is clear even
on the surface: the entire section is not of one character; it is for the most part a prophecy of a world-judgment and the New Age which is to follow; but the prophecy is interrupted at several points by the introduction of songs: see 25:1-5, 9(12) 26:1-19 27:2-5 (6). Three theories are possible: the songs may be earlier than the prophecy, originally written for it, or subsequently inserted. But in any case they are not separated widely in time, for the ideas, the circumstances reflected, and the style of songs and prophecy alike point to a late post-exilic period.

It does not seem impossible, or indeed altogether improbable, that the writer of the prophecy should himself insert songs, whether written by himself or another, to be sung by the citizens of the new and glorious kingdom of Yahweh; and if, as may well have been the case, he knew Is 1-12, he would have had a model in the songs of Is 12. But the first song, 25:1-5, interrupts the closely connected passages 24:23 (the accession of Yahweh) and 25:6-8 (His coronation-feast) in a manner which may more naturally be attributed to the necessities of an editor who had songs to insert, than to the free choice of the original writer, who might have arranged his material differently. The connection of 25:6-8, especially v.8b, and 26:20-27:1 also seems to suffer from the intervention of 25:9-26:19, though less seriously and less obviously. The song 27:2-6, and the following verses 27:7-11 seem at best loosely connected with, but the last verses 27:12f. may complete, the prophecy contained in 24. 25:6-8 26:20-27:1. In any case the theme of the prophecy can be best understood by reading it in the first instance without the songs; consequently the translation of 24. 25:6-8 26:19-27:1 and 27:12-13 is given consecutively with merely an indication of the points where the songs come in. The translations of the songs will be found at their proper places in the commentary.

Modern analytical theories of 24-27 start with Du., though Ew. had already observed the close connection of 24:23 and 25:6-8, and re-established it outwardly by transposing 25:6-12 and 25:1-5. Du. analysed the chapters into (a) prophecy, 24. 25:6-8 26:20-27:1 27:7-13, but with the remark that the last section is full of difficulties, and that 27:12f. would attach best to 27:1; (b) songs or other added matter. Cheyne and Marti have adopted Du.'s analysis, except that they both definitely reject from the original and prophetic groundwork 27:7-11.

Earlier, Koppe had analysed the section into three independent pieces—24:1-16 24:18-23 25. 26. 27:1 27:2-6 27:7-11 27:12-13. The improvement in the later analysis will be seen to be largely due to Ew.'s detection of the connection of 24:23 and 26:6-8.
It remains to notice briefly some of the theories that have been held with regard to the particular historical circumstances which called forth this prophecy as a whole, or any of its various parts. None of them can be regarded as established.

So long as the Isaianic authorship of 24-27 was unquestioned, the threatened city was obviously Nineveh: it was, of course, not easy to connect the prophecy with the known circumstances of the 8th cent., and Michaelis is cited by Ges. for the significant confession that he was utterly unable to explain the historical relation of the prophecy. Hitz. placed the prophecy in the 7th cent. just before the fall of Nineveh (c. 607).

Ges. identified the threatened city with Babylon, which seemed to him clearly indicated, though, like Rome in Rev., not mentioned by name. He therefore saw in chs. 24-27 a work contemporary with chs. 13 f., 21. 40-66, as Eichhorn and de Wette had done before him.

Ew., who held that the author of these chapters incorporated older material (see above), and conjectured that it may have been the author of ch. 12 who wrote and added to chs. 1-23 the present section of the book, sought an occasion for this prophecy in Cambyses' preparations for his Egyptian campaign (525 B.C.), which must have appeared peculiarly threatening to Palestine (though, as we now know from the Elephantine papyri, he treated Jewish settlers in Egypt with consideration): 251-5. 11 26fr. 271fr. refer already as past to the overthrow of Babylon by Darius Hystaspes, and 2614-19 to Jerusalem already re-established, though in poverty, after the Exile. Di., Del., Dr. (LOT 210 f.) agree that it belongs to the early post-exilic period; Di. urges that 2618-19 was written within 60 or 70 years of the restoration of Jerusalem, and 279. 1 not too long after the pre-exilic period; Dr. suggests as a possibility that it may have been written as an encouragement when the calamity referred to in Neh 1f. was impending. Oo. places it in the 5th cent., but before the governorship of Nehemiah, when Moab became Nabataean.

Many have referred the entire section to the 4th cent.; so, e.g., Kue. Onderzoek9, ii. 99; Vatke, in his posthumous Einleitung; Kirkpatrick, Doctrine of the Prophets, p. 475. In favour of this date, see especially the elaborate and valuable discussions of Smend and Cheyne (Introd. 145-162); Kennett (Comp. of the Book of Isaiah, pp. 35 f.) argues against it. Smend treats the section as a unity, and interprets the whole in the light of 2518-15; Moab, the one people openly referred to, with the exception of the Jews themselves and in 271fr. Assyria and Egypt, is the special object of the writer's hostility, and some city, not to be determined, of Moab is the 'city set on high,' etc. Cheyne argued that the 'Apocalypse' (256-8 260-271 271fr.) was called forth by the calamities produced by Artaxerxes Ochus (359-338 B.C.), that 272-10 was written twenty years later, after this 'smiter' had been smitten (277) by Alexander at Issus (333 B.C.), 261-19 a little later (332 B.C.), when Alexander had spared Jerusalem, and in the same year 251-5 259-11 272-8. Later, Cheyne tacitly withdrew this theory in favour of the supposition that in their original form the component parts of this 'singular literary mosaic'
had a Jerahmeelite background, and that their present form is due to a "late" redactor, who is responsible, among other things, for introducing the idea of the abolition of death (Crit. Bibl. 30-33).

Vatke in 1835 (Bibl. Theologie, p. 550) anticipated Du., Marti, and Kennett in referring this prophecy to the 2nd cent., and, in particular to the Maccabean period. Du. and Marti refer the several sections, into which they analyse the whole, as follows: (1) the main apocalypse, to a date shortly after 128 B.C.—the year in which Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who had conquered Jerusalem, which was still feeling the effects (247-12), was defeated by the Parthians, the plunderers of 2418-18 and one of the three powers symbolised in 271; (2) 255-5 celebrates the destruction of Samaria in 107 B.C., and 261-19 praises God for the same event, and 272-5 is of the same period; (3) 258-11 a song of triumph over the defeat of Moab at the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus, or the beginning of that of Alexander Jannaeus; 277-11 between 128 and 111 B.C.

The foregoing summary may serve to emphasise the indefiniteness of the historical allusions; and in conclusion it may be added that some writers consider the apparently definite references to be typical rather than literal. Dr., for example, who recalls the fact that Babylon continued to be an important city down to 332, thinks that Babylon is the unnamed city, yet not the literal Babylon: "Babylon becomes a type of the powers of heathenism, which the prophet imagines as entrenched behind the walls of a great city, strongly fortified, but destined in God's good time to be overthrown" (LOT 210; cp. Baudissin, p. 374); and Cheyne asks, "Why should not 'Moab' be an imaginative type of all the proud enemies of Israel" (Introd. 159).

But whether the "city" and Moab be literally or typically intended, the particular historical circumstances remain evasive: the general political and social conditions, as well as the language and style, compel us to refer the prophecy to the post-exilic period: the ideas should warn us that any theory which refers the prophecy to an early part of that period is hazardous.

XXIV., XXV. 6-8, XXVI. 20, 21, XXVII. 1, 12, 13.

An Apocalyptic Poem.

There are in places conspicuous rhythmic irregularities, or great corruption of the text (e.g. 2413. 161. 29); and 2711th reads almost like prose: but for the most part parallelism is maintained and a balanced rhythm. There is no trace of the echoing rhythm 3 : 2, though occasionally in the present text the lines of the distichs are in the rhythmical relation 4 : 3; see 24th. c 2690.
The most frequent rhythm is $3 : 3$ (rarely $3 : 3 : 3$); this clearly appears in $24^{4a.} b. 8-12. 14a. b. 17. 18c-19. 50c. d. 21b. c$ $25^7. 26^{21c.} d$, possibly also in $24^{3a.} b (G)$, $24^8$ (neglecting $17^{2b.}$; cp. n. on v. 7, p. 89 top), $24^{20a.} b$ (where $G$ omits $6n$, and $\sigma\gamma\rho\nu\mu\mu\mu$ may be read as two accents), $24^{23c.} d$ (see phil. n.). The rhythm $4 : 4$ (or $4 : 4 : 4$) appears in $25^7. 26^{21a.} b. 27^1$ and may possibly be traced in $24^1$ (see phil. n.), $24^2. 4c. 8a$ (see n.), $24^{18}$ (neglecting $6n$), $25^{6h.} c$. Rarer are the rhythms $2 : 2$ ($24^{2b-d.} 22a. b$) and $2 : 2 : 2$ ($24^7$, but see phil. n. on v. 8); and $6 : 6$ ($27^{12h.} e$).

1 Behold, Yahweh is emptying the earth and making it bare;
   And he will distort its surface, and disperse its inhabitants.

2 And so the priest shall be like the people,
   The master like the slave,
   The mistress like the maid,
   The seller like the buyer,
   The borrower like the lender,
   He of whom interest is taken like him that taketh interest.

3 The earth shall be wholly emptied,
   And ‘the world’ shall be wholly despoiled,
   For Yahweh hath spoken this word.

4 The earth hath mourned, withered,
   The world hath languished, withered;
   And the earth hath become polluted under its inhabitants.

Because they have transgressed laws, overstepped statutes,
   Broken the eternal covenant.

6 Therefore a curse hath devoured the earth,
   And they that dwell therein have paid penalty;
   Therefore the inhabitants of the earth are scorched,
   And few shall be the mortals that are left.

7 The must hath mourned,
   The vine hath languished,
   All the joyous-hearted have sighed.

8 The merriment of the timbrels is still,
   The noise of the jubilant has ceased,
   The merriment of the lute is still.
9 With song they shall not drink wine (any more),
   Bitter shall strong drink be to them that drink it.
10 The City of Chaos is broken,
   Every house is closed so that it cannot be entered.
11 There is outcry in the streets for the wine,
   All joy has reached its eventide,
   The merriment of the earth is exiled.
12 Desolation is left in the city,
   And the gate shall be crushed into ruins (†).
13 For thus shall it be in the midst of the earth,
   Among the peoples as when olives are struck off,
   As at the gleaning when the vintage is complete.

14 They shall lift up their voice,
   They shall ring out their joy in the majesty of Yahweh,
   They have given a shrill cry from the sea (†).
15 Therefore in the . . . glorify Yahweh,
   In the isles of the sea the name of Yahweh, the God of Israel.
   From the extremity of the earth we have heard songs,
   "Beauty for the righteous! A A A Woe to A the disloyal" A A

17 Terror and pit and gin
   Are upon thee, O (every) inhabitant of the earth!
18 And he that flees from the sound of the terror, shall fall into the pit;
   And he that cometh up from the midst of the pit, shall be caught in the gin.
   For lattices have been opened in the height,
   And the foundations of the earth have quaked.
19 The earth has utterly broken asunder,
   The earth has utterly split,
   The earth has utterly shaken
20 The earth shall stagger like a drunkard,
   And sway like a night-refuge;
   And its rebellion shall weigh heavily on it,
   And it shall fall, and arise no more.
21 And it shall come to pass in that day Yahweh will punish
   The host of the height in the height,
   And the kings of the earth on the earth;
And they shall be gathered, as prisoners are gathered, into the pit,
And imprisoned in the prison;
And after many days they shall be punished.

And the moon shall be abashed,
And the sun shall be ashamed,
For Yahweh of Hosts will have become King in Mount Sion,
And in Jerusalem and before his elders shall he show himself glorious.'

[25^1-5. A song: see p. 425.]

And Yahweh of Hosts will make for all peoples in this mountain,
A feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees,
Of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well-refined;

And he will annihilate in this mountain
The veil that veils all the peoples,
And the web that is woven over all nations;

He hath annihilated death for ever;
And, the Lord Yahweh will wipe away tears from all faces,
And remove his people's reproach from all the earth:
For 'tis Yahweh hath spoken.

[25^9 (-12). A song: see p. 431 f.]

[26^1-19. A song: see p. 435 f.]

Go, my people, enter into thy chambers,
And shut thy doors about thee;
Hide thyself for a brief moment,
Until Wrath pass by.

For behold Yahweh is coming forth from His place,
To visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them;

And the earth shall reveal her blood,
And shall no more cover her slain.

In that day Yahweh shall visit (iniquity)
With his fierce and great and mighty sword,
Upon Leviathan the fleeing serpent,
And upon Leviathan the twisted serpent,
And he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.
COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH

[272ff. A song: see p. 453.]

12 And it will come to pass in that day,
    Yahweh will beat off (olives) from the current (?) of the
    River to the Wady of Egypt.
    And ye shall be picked up one by one, O children of
    Israel.

13 And it shall come to pass in that day
    (A blast) shall be blown on a great trumpet;
    And they that were lost in the land of Assyria,
    And the outcasts in the land of Egypt shall come,
    And worship Yahweh
    In the holy mountain in Jerusalem.

XXIV. 1-3. A world-judgment is imminent—On two
points, which divided interpreters in the past, a general agree-
ment in the sense just indicated has now been reached. The
object of Yahweh's judgment is the world,* not the northern
kingdom of Israel,† nor, at least exclusively, Judah;‡ the time
is the immediate future,§ not the past.|| As to the last point,
the part. with הנה normally denotes the immediate future: linked
to a preceding narrative, it may, it is true, particularise a scene
in the past or an occurrence in the present; but here, if the
reference was to the past, the use of this cstr. instead of the pf.
at the outset would be motiveless (Dr. 135 (3) with Obs. 1);
that the normal future force is here intended is proved by the
tenses in vv.²f. (יהיה, קובב), and the concluding formula in v.³b.
There is more reason to consider the possibility of ינש having
the limited sense of land (RV marg.) of Palestine, rather than
earth (AV, RV text); for if the whole earth is emptied, whither
are the inhabitants dispersed? Moreover, in v.² the author may
well seem to be describing the country of Judah, where (after
the Exile) the priest was the leading feature; and v.⁵ may seem
to refer to the violation of the law revealed to Israel. But the
first point must be attributed to a certain vagueness in the use of
figures, which the writer multiplies; in v.² he thinks of the
society, and in vv.⁷-¹¹ of the economic conditions, of the world

* Ki., Vitr., Del., Di., Du., Cheyne, Marti.
† Rashi and many interpreters referred to by Ki.
‡ Ges.: cp. Smend (p. 164), "the whole world, but in the first instance
Judah."
§ So already Ki.
|| Ges.
at large in the light of his own; and v. 5 has another meaning; see n. there. That the earth is intended, is shown by the use of the parallel and unambiguous *יָרָא, world, in v. 4, and the virtual equation of יָרָא and peoples in v. 18—not to speak of the inappropriateness of the wide and general eschatological outlook to the denunciation of a single land; cp. especially 256-8.

I. Yahweh is about to empty the world of its inhabitants and transform its very appearance.—Yahweh is emptying the earth] “first by means of plunderers, then by means of the natural phenomena that accompany the world-judgment” (Du.); cp. vv. 8, 16ff. The vb. יָבַב occurs also (in Kal, Niph., or Piel) in v. 8 19, Jer 19 51, Nah 2 (an interpolation), and its meaning is most safely determined by these occurrences; it is supposed to derive its meaning to empty from the gurgling noise made by a bottle when being emptied (cp. בִּית, to make a gurgling noise).—And making it bare] the word יָבַב (Nah 211 Pual) is very rare in Heb.; cp. בּוּבּ, a desert land, destitute of vegetable produce and water, or of human beings, inhabited by none but jinn (Lane). With the paronomasia בּוּבּכָּא, cp. בּוּבּ כָּא, um*būkah, um*bullakah, Nah 211.—And he will distort its surface making it unrecognisable by destroying places, plantations, and the like upon it (cp. Rev 614b), is Di.’s explanation. Uncertain; see phil. n. EV “and turneth it upside down” is too strong.—And disperse its inhabitants] cp. Gn 118.—2. All classes alike will be affected by the coming judgment: rank, mastery, wealth will be of no avail: the point is not exactly the same as in 31-5 (Du., Marti). Living under the post-exilic hierocracy, the writer takes the priest as typical of rank (cp. Ezr 105), and the (common) people as the antithesis. In Hos 49 the priest is introduced as the one who has had, and ought to have imparted, knowledge of Yahweh to the people of all classes.—The seller . . . the buyer] Ezek 712.—The borrower . . . the lender ] Pr 227.—He of whom interest is taken, etc.] for דְשָׁם, cp. Dt 2411, 1 S 222, Jer 1510.—3. The world] see ה; ה omission. The utter plundering of the earth is certain, for Yahweh hath spoken (120 n.) this word; the addition of the obj. in this formula is peculiar to this passage; yet cp. 5814 ה.

* Smend (p. 166), however, still asserts that יָרָא may have a sense corresponding to the limited sense of יָבַב.
4-13. The world suffers for its sins, and “the city of Chaos” falls into ruins.—It is disputed whether vv. 4-12 are, like vv. 1-8, 13, prophetic of the future (Smend), or descriptive “of the tokens in the present of the coming world catastrophe” (Marti). The pf. tenses which predominate in vv. 4-12 may, of course, be descriptive of the actual past or present, or they may be prophetic pf.; and again the impf. tenses or pf. with waw in vv. 6, 9, 12 may be vivid touches in a description of the past (Dr. § 36), in which case v. 9 may well describe recurrent action in the present, or they may be simple futures interchanging with the prophetic perfects (Dr. § 14). But the formula at the end of v. 8 possibly indicates, as Di. argues, that the prophetic announcement is for the moment concluded, and gives place to description in vv. 4-12.

4. The whole world mourns and loses vital power. לֵבָנָה, to mourn, often appears joined, or in parallelism, with vbs. such as לִפְשָׁא, שַׁבָּא, denoting loss of power or vitality; cp. e.g. 198 339, Hos 4, Jer 124. לִבְנָה, to wither, occurs most frequently of flowers or leaves withering and falling (e.g. 180 281 344 407), and from the root is derived לִבְנָנ (a) lifeless (body), corpse; לְבָנָא is used of cessation of fertility in women (1 S 2, Jer 159), field (168), trees (v. 7 Jl 112).—The highest of the people of the earth languish] lit. the height, etc.; cp. glory for glorious ones, 518 n. 1614. A very slight and easy emendation would give The height (i.e. heaven) and the earth together languish; but if the writer wished to introduce the coming judgment on “the host of the height” (v. 21) here, he would scarcely have devoted two
and a half lines to earth and only a half to heaven; moreover, in what immediately follows heaven passes out of consideration. Even the specification of a particular class of the inhabitants of earth seems rather out of place (cp. v.5). Possibly the line is a gloss explaining what “earth” means and includes; in that case v.4 was originally a distich; or, perhaps, v.46, now corrupt, was the first line of a balanced distich (4:4), of which v.6a was the second.—5. The cause of all this is the pollution of the earth by the transgressions of its inhabitants, more especially by bloodshed; cp. 2621. The idea of the profanation of the land of Israel by the conduct of its inhabitants in shedding blood, committing adultery, or practising idolatry, is found in Nu 3538, Ps 10668, Jer 39; cp. Dt 2110, Gn 410f, Job 1618. But the shedding of blood was one of the things forbidden not only to the Jews, but to the whole of the descendants of Noah, by the eternal covenant, i.e. the covenant made after the Flood between God and “all flesh which is upon the earth” (Gn 9117 P). Among the laws or instructions and statutes (for the phraseology, cp. the quotation from the Sibylline books given below in v.20), which men at large have transgressed, the writer may also have had in view such practices as are alluded to in Zec 97, a passage which also shows the influence of P; cp. also Rev 920f. In view of בְּהֵמָה in v.4, נֵרַנִים here cannot be limited to the land of Canaan, nor the transgressors of the laws to the Jews (cp. above), nor the eternal covenant to that of Sinai (Smend, p. 165). The nations, as transgressors of statutes imposed by God, are termed “all the nations that forget God” in Ps 918.

6-9. Consequences of the corruption of men—a curse devours the earth, men are reduced to a few in number, joy departs.—6. A curse hath devoured the earth] cp. Zec 53f: such bold personifications in describing the working of a curse came easily to those who attributed objective existence to solemnly uttered words (cp. Numbers, p. 327 f.).—Paid penalty] suffered punishment for their guilt: for this sense of בְּשָׁם, cp. e.g. Ps 3422f, Jer 23.—The inhabitants . . . are scorched] Rev 168 records that, as a result of the pouring out of the fourth vial of God’s wrath, “men were scorched with great heat.” The vb. is also used of “burning with fever”; but where this sense is intended, the parts affected are specified (Job 3030; Niph.
Ps 102:4. The sudden introduction of so particular a punishment, which is not decisively suggested by the vb. devour (cp. 5:24 10:17) in the previous line, is a little curious; hence some emend to רוה, have ceased (to be); unfortunately, this would make the next line anti-climactic (see phil. n.).

7–9. No more grapes, no more merry feasts with wine, music, and song. The writer has in mind 5:12, 14, Jl 1:10, 12 (note also ḡনא, v.7; differently used in Jl 1:18).—The must mourns] here שרי seems used of the juice in the grape (cp. 65:8) which "mourns" or dries up.—8. The jubilant] careless merrymakers: cp. 22:8, Zeph 2:16 for the force of jubilant (פולא).

10–12. The destruction of a city now becomes the theme, the passing away of its glad throngs, the broken gates, the desolation that remains.—The city of Chaos] the city is probably the capital of the world-empire under which the writer lived—whether Nineveh, Babylon, Susa depends on the age in which he lived. Unfortunately the writer (or some subsequent editor) has chosen a term and description so ambiguous that the v. cannot form the starting-point in a discussion of the origin of his work. It is not even admitted by all that he has a single particular city in view; the noun, it is said, is collective (e.g. BDB, s.v. שרי), and renders every city. V.12 does not favour this view, and still less the view that "city" means two particular cities, Sidon and Jerusalem (Che. Introd. 155). Again, as to the significance of Chaos, there is doubt: the most appropriate and probable kind of phrase (cp. Jer 49:29) is obtained by taking רוה, chaos, in the sense which it bears in 1 S 12:21, cp. Is 41:29; the city of Chaos is the city of idolatry, of sham gods, in contrast to Jerusalem, "the city of God"; it is essentially, as the capital of the world-empire which is in rebellion against God, the embodiment of those powers which claim to be somewhat, but are truly unreal (cp. vv.21-23). Much less natural is the alternative view which regards רוה, chaos, as used prophetically—the city (or cities) which will become a chaos (cp. 34:11) when it has been destroyed. In this latter sense the phrase is almost necessarily taken by those (e.g. Du., Marti) who identify the city, not with the capital of the world-empire, but with Jerusalem! It was natural for Ges. to take this view, who limited the scope of judgment to Palestine, but it is by no means natural to take it so in a description of a world-judgment; for in such a connection city (וריה,
is by no means as obviously Jerusalem as πόλις was Athens to Greece and urbs Rome to the Romans; still less would יריע הַגָּדָה immediately suggest, even if it could without much explanation ever suggest, Jerusalem.—Is broken] cp. "Babylon is fallen and broken," Jer 51:8, like a cup (ib. v.7). Possibly the writer has this v. in mind, for the use of הָעַשֶּׁר of the destruction of a city is uncommon. It refers, here at least, perhaps, to the breaking down of the walls, 10b. The city is open to the assailants, and, therefore, the citizens shut up their houses against intrusion (cp. 26:20); this seems the best interpretation of the line, though it forms a curious introduction to v. 11; if every one is shut up in his house, whence 11a (cp.JI 15) the lamentation in the streets of the city (v. 11) for the loss of wine (cp. 32:12)? It is very doubtful whether רֶפֶשׁ will bear the meaning required by an alternative interpretation—every house is so blocked with fallen masonry and the like, that no one, even of the owners of the houses, can get in; this would leave v. 11a a little less out of place, though Ges. pertinently remarks, "In a city destroyed by a barbaric foe, in which thousands had perished, there might, one would have supposed, have been more important things to bemoan than that there was no wine." Possibly, however, 11a (which at present, whether regarded as a monostich or as constituting with 11b, c a tristich, interrupts the sequence of distichs) is out of place, and once stood in another connection in which חָרֵן had the meaning of (country) outside (the city), open country, as in Job 5:10, Ps 144:13, Prov 8:26 (?) 24:27 (RV alway "field(s)"); it may have shifted to its present position in the account of the city (vv. 10-12) by one who took the word in the commoner sense of streets. Possibly it once stood after 7a, while 7b formed a distich with 8b now shifted out of place, leaving 8a, c as another distich (yet see phil. n. on v. 8).—11b. All joy has reached its eventide] the sun of joy is set; but the existence of this fine figure in the original text is unfortunately not quite certain; the vb. בָּרָע, to become evening, is only paralleled by Jg 19:9, where the text of בָּרָע is wrong! The use of the Hiphil in 1 S 17:16 scarcely establishes the present use of Kal; hence many transpose and read בָּרָע, has passed away.—12. Instead of gates, מִקְרָא speaks of houses; see phil. n.—13. Whatever be the case with vv. 4-12, we here move again in the sphere of prediction (רֶפֶשׁ); yet וֹ, for, is difficult, if vv. 4-12 describe the past, for how is something
future the ground of something past? For the rest the v. is clear; few will survive the judgment that is about to affect the whole world; to express this the writer uses the figures employed by Isaiah in 176 in reference to Ephraim and Damascus only.

4. הָלָּסָל (I)הָלָּבֶּסֶּר [G om.]; and so, very precariously, on metrical grounds, Kit. In יִב* לַכַּת בַּיִת v. 4a, b is 3:3, like, e.g., vv. 10. — possibly G did not read רַעַת אָרוֹנָה יָדִים הָלָּסָל [a pl. vb. with a noun having a collective sense (G-K. 1456–d)], if יִב* is correct. Slightly modifying a suggestion of Gun. (Schöpf. u. Chaos, p. 48), we might read רַעַת אָרוֹנָה יָדִים הָלָּסָל; yet see above. Possibly G (S) did not read רַעַת; it renders עֵשֶׂה רַעַת רַעַת: but cp. the apparent neglect or omission of רַעַת in the rendering of a parallel phrase רַעַת יָדִים in Job 12. There may be serious corruption in the last three words of יִב*, and הָלָּסָל (from הָלָּסָל in the last line) may have accidentally supplanted a vb. parallel to רַעַת in v. 5a. —5. שֵׁלֶג here only in the sense to transgress; but the synonymous רַעַת is frequently so used.—רַעַת [G] om. —6. שֵׁלֶג אֱלֹהִים הָלָּסָל [note the sustained assonance].—רַעַת פְּרָקִים, either a guess, or for לַז; if the latter, the proposed reading רַעַת (if correct) by the loss of one letter became יִב*, of another G. Grätz proposed רַעַת; cp. 60. —7. לַכַּת [of number, 164].—רַעַת [G] om. פְּרָקִים, 212 3510; vb. and noun are “mostly poet. and late” (BDB, q.v.). —8. שֵׁלֶג כָּלְכֶל רַעַת, וּכְלָכֶל וּכְלָכֶל רַעַת] possibly variants (Du.); if so, another apparent tristich becomes a distich. If not variants, the second שֵׁלֶג may be an error (11n.) for another word (יָדִים; G פְּרָקִים). In this case perhaps v. 8b is misplaced, and once with v. 7a formed a distich; vv. 7, 8 together then consisted of three distichs, not as at present of two distichs.—11. פְּרָקִים] for the use of ב, cp. 30a. G יַוְעֵיתָן=שָׁב: wrongly. —10. אֵרֵךּ הָרֶם הָרֶם G הַרְכָּזֹת פָּנָא פָּנָא, פָּנָא לָנָה, פָּנָא אֱלֹהִים הָרֶם, יִב*, attrita est civilis vanitatis. G scarcely implies a different text (cp. Liebmann); פָּנָא may be an interpretation, or, even more probably, due to the transposition of לָנָה from the following clause where G did not read it.—11. מַחְנֶה יְדִים הַכֹּסֶל G אָנוּמֵשֶׁה, קֵלָת=יח. Hitz. proposed (ZWTh. xviii. 201 f., as cited by Di.) that מַחְנֶה יְדִים הַכֹּסֶל (cp. Ps 144, Jer 14, Prov 26)]: Siegf.-St. 'הַכֹּסֶל הַכֹּסֶל יָנִעְשָׂה—emendations which only in part meet the real difficulties of יִב* (see above).—רַעַת] G פְּרָקִים (=שָׁב, v. 9), פָּנָא פָּנָא, חֲלָכֵל [שָׁב: wrongly] om. —12. פְּרָקִים כָּלְכֶל רַעַת] יָנִעְשָׂה is acc. of the product (G-K. 117ii, 121d). הַכֹּסֶל Hoph. of הכֹּסֶל (G-K. 67g, y). G (kal oikou ἐγκαταλειμμένου ἀπολογίασε) had a different text, perhaps הַכֹּסֶל יָנִעְשָׂה (Lieb.). —13. פָּנָא יָנִעְשָׂה G פָּנָא פָּנָא. —14—16. Praise, and a summons to Praise. — These verses are exceedingly obscure and uncertain. According to the present text, different sets of people are introduced as speaking: note they (v. 14); ye, v. 15 (MT, but ? יִי and not G): we, v. 16; I, v. 16 (but they G). A large part of the difficulty of interpretation consists in attempting to determine who these
different speakers are, and the exact purport of their sayings. But v.\textsuperscript{16} seems to be seriously corrupt; it is really unintelligible, in spite of ingenious attempts to interpret it, and the rhythmical and parallelistic structure of the poem breaks down in it. The latter half especially reads more like prose than poetry. Vv.\textsuperscript{14, 15} also are probably not free from corruption, but it is less serious. Any attempt to interpret the verses must, therefore, be tentative, and no complete and satisfactory interpretation of them in their present position seems possible. It is not unreasonable to suspect either that the verses are out of place, or that something has been lost between vv.\textsuperscript{18} and 14. If, however, v.\textsuperscript{14} is the original continuation of v.\textsuperscript{18}, then 현, they, at the beginning of v.\textsuperscript{14} must be explained by what precedes. It cannot be determined by v.\textsuperscript{16} to the effect that it is the antithesis of the I of that v. (Di., Du., Marti); for (1) the reading in v.\textsuperscript{16} is uncertain; and, what is far more important, (2) if there were the strong antithesis between the sentiments of they in v.\textsuperscript{14} and I in v.\textsuperscript{16}, which the hypothesis supposes, it would have been necessary to express the pronoun in v.\textsuperscript{16}—אני instead of ו. It is only necessary to compare the very passages cited in support of this theory to perceive the insecure linguistic basis on which the theory rests; see Jer 17\textsuperscript{18} “Let them be put to shame that persecute me, but let not me be put to shame” ( nieuwe), and so in the following and parallel sentence: Ps 20\textsuperscript{8} (7) “Some of horses and some of chariots, but we will make mention of the name of Yahweh” ( אלהו הכרב ... והנהו בשמ ו), Ps 120\textsuperscript{7} “I am for peace, they are for war” ( אני שלום ... והם לבלתמה), (3) the remoteness of the supposed antithesis makes it most unsuitable to determine the sense of אים against the suggestion of what precedes. If we seek to explain אים by what precedes, its only possible reference is to those who escape the judgment; that small remnant which has just been compared (v.\textsuperscript{13}) to the olives left after the striking, and the grapes on the vine after the vintage. Of whom then does this remnant consist, of Jews or Gentiles? Does v.\textsuperscript{14} describe the joyous praise of Yahweh by the Jews who shall escape in the great world-judgment, or the confession by Gentile survivors of the “God of Israel” (v.\textsuperscript{15}) as the true God of all mankind? The tone of the v. no doubt rather favours, at first sight at least, the view generally taken that v.\textsuperscript{14} refers to Jews; but the other view is in itself by no means impossible;
and it is at least worth observing that 17, which is the model of v.18, is immediately followed (177) by a statement that all mankind will turn "to the Holy One of Israel." Though 177 did not originally follow 17, it probably stood in its present position as early as the age of this writer. Again, it is not improbable that among the many other passages of scripture that haunted the writer’s memory was Ps 47, which speaks of the joyful hand-clapping and ringing cries (חג ילד, Ps 47, cp. here יד ראה) with which the heathen that survive will welcome the accession of Yahweh in Mt. סיון (v.28) as king of all nations (Ps 478, 9); cp. below 25, Yahweh’s coronation-feast for all nations. The connection in vv.16f. is on this view, as on any other, difficult, and perhaps impossible, to establish; but it is barely possible that it is as follows: because the heathen will praise God, therefore (ye scattered Jews) glorify God throughout the world (v.15); from the end of the earth we who exhort you have heard (prophetically?) songs celebrating the glory of the righteous (16a: 16b corrupt and unintelligible). Or, treating נביר as pf. rather than imperative (MT): —Therefore, they will by celebrating Yahweh (v.14) have fulfilled the promise (4210-12) that Yahweh’s praise should be in the isles: they will glorify Him, saying, We have heard songs from remote Jerusalem to the effect that glory belongs to the righteous. Certainly vv.15f. greatly increase the difficulty of interpreting v.14. Before proceeding to the discussion of details, it may be convenient to indicate yet another attempt to explain the sequence of ideas,—v.18 predicts that mankind must be yet further destroyed than it has already been (vv.4-12); vv.14-16a relate that the Jews of the Diaspora are already singing songs of joy at some great event that has happened; but the writer, a Jew of Palestine, differs: such songs, he urges in vv.16b-20, are out of place; no glory yet, but more violence: so Marti, substantially following Du. But (1) this involves defining מ分校 in v.14 by v.16; for though the remnant from the judgment (v.19) might be Jews of the Dispersion (see above), yet on the present hypothesis מ分校 cannot refer to them, for v.18 belongs to the future, v.14 to the present or the past; (2) this very change of time assumed is most unnatural; if וי of v.18 refer to the future (as it must), the next imperfects (ואדי, ירי), nothing suggesting the contrary, can only naturally be taken in the same sense, and ליה (if the text be sound) is prophetic pf.; (3) the
arrangement would be most inept; neither v. 18 (nor the preceding verses) explain either who the singers of v. 14 are, or the reason of their joy; on the other hand, v. 18 does contain what, on the hypothesis, ought to have made them, like their com patriot in Jerusalem, "lean," not joyful; (4) the therefore of v. 15 is admitted to be awkward, but its presence is accounted for as forming part of a quotation: a possible explanation, but equally serviceable to help out any other interpretation; (5) the theory rests on the extraordinary and improbable interpretations of the existing text of v. 16b.

I 4. In the translation the first two lines represent a distich 3:3; the last line then stands isolated, probably on account of textual error and dislocation (see phil. n.). If, however, the text of v. 14 is sound, it consists of a distich 4:4—

They shall lift up their voice, they shall ring out their joy,

Of the Majesty of Yahweh they have cried aloud from the sea;

The parallelism in this case is less neat.—They] the survivors from the judgment (v. 18); as to whether these will be Jews or heathen and for another interpretation of the pronoun, see the preceding discussion. For הָעַשְׂנֵן (lift up the voice) and ףִּי (to ring out joy) in parallelism, cp. 528; co-ordinated asyndetos, as they would be if the distich is 4:4, they do not recur again.—The majesty of Yahweh] cp. Ex 157, Mic 53, "his glorious majesty," Is 210 (הָעַשְׂנֵן as here): also 2610 125 (הָעַשְׂנֵן).—They have cried aloud] הָעַשְׂנֵן, 126 n.—From the sea] may mean from the west (1114); then, on one interpretation, the Jews of the Asiatic coastland or of Egypt, living west of the writer's standpoint, Jerusalem, would be referred to. But the limitation of jubilation to the survivors in one quarter of the world only would be curious.—I 5. Wherefore] see above, p. 416. The word that follows is מִּקְזָסְיָא, in the lights; it is very doubtful whether this means the East as the region of light; but some term for East in antithetic parallelism with the isles of the sea (v. 15b), i.e. the West, may very well have stood here.—Glorify] GL can be equally well rendered they have glorified. On the subject of the vb. in either case, see above.—Yahweh, God of Israel] this term for God would be particularly suitable if the heathen are the subject of glorify; but there is plenty of analogy for its use if Jews alone are the subject:
cp. e.g. 21\textsuperscript{10} 37\textsuperscript{16} 41\textsuperscript{17}.—16. From the extremity of the earth for the sense of נדן, cp. 11\textsuperscript{12}, Jl 37\textsuperscript{3} 38\textsuperscript{15} (all pl.). It is questioned whether extremity here is an error for extremities (Gr), or being used collectively is equivalent to the pl.; or, if one extremity be meant, whether that extremity be the Eastern, Babylon (Di.) or Persia (Kit.), or the Southern, Ethiopia (Du.). But the question cannot be answered.—We the prophet in Palestine and his companions? see above. The purport of the songs (הרה, 2 S 23\textsuperscript{1}, Ps 119\textsuperscript{64}, Job 35\textsuperscript{10}, Is 25\textsuperscript{5}) seems to be given in the words Beauty for the righteous; cp., for the occurrences of the word יבת, beauty, which may illustrate this passage, 4\textsuperscript{2} 28\textsuperscript{1} 4 13\textsuperscript{19}, Ezek 26\textsuperscript{6} 15, Dn 11\textsuperscript{18} 41. No longer will great worldly but unrighteous empires like Babylon appear beauteous, but the righteous nation (26\textsuperscript{2}; also Hab 1\textsuperscript{4} 13\textsuperscript{2} 24), i.e. the Israel of the future and those who, as fearing the One True God, attach themselves to it. The suggestion that the righteous means Yahweh has now been rightly abandoned. It is not improbable that the rest of the v. originally consisted merely of an antithesis, Woe to the disloyal (לעבניתא), to those who instead of becoming righteous by the observance of the Law of Yahweh, deal treacherously and disloyally; cp. Hab 1\textsuperscript{18}, where בְּכֵן יבָרֵץ is parallel to וְשֶׁהוּא (the antithesis of קדימ), and Ps 25\textsuperscript{8}, where it is antithetical to "those that wait on Yahweh" (the equivalent of the "righteous" here), and Ps 59\textsuperscript{6} where כֵּן יבָרֵץ is parallel to "all the nations." The present text of יי may be rendered literally, And I said, I have leanness; I have leanness; Woe is me; plunderers have plundered (cp. 21\textsuperscript{2} n.) and plunder plunderers have plundered; Gr reads, And they shall say, Woe to them that set at nought; as for them that set at nought the law (then follows v.17). It is noticeable that in Gr the first pers. sing. of יי entirely disappears. The interpretation of those who consider יי the original text and intelligible is well put by Marti: "Our poet judges otherwise (than the voices which have spoken in vv.14-16c). No, he says, not זָעָר, but זָוַר; not victory (Sieg), but sickness (Siechthum); not the dawn of the Bright Age, but continuance of illness. The prophet proves this by the prophecy, 'Plunderers plunder.'" Against this it may be remarked (1) that the divergence of Gr renders it all uncertain; (2) even if correctly pointed, cannot without the expression of the pronoun mark the strong antithesis required; (3) the
meaning of 장 is most uncertain (see phil. n.); (4) the sickness, on this theory of interpretation, is not personal; consequently the change from the 1st pl. in v.16a to 1st sing. in 16b is unexplained and most improbable; (5) whereas in vv.4-12 perfects mingled with imperfects describe the past, here, on the hypothesis, a single pf. is used to describe the real Future as against that pictured by others.

14. The Ar. יד has been very precariously used to place on隐身 the sense North; see Ges., who also discusses other views. Unsatisfactory emendations are מֶשֶׁנָּה (cp. ס) and מְפַשָּׁה. 16. יד יד כורע פסי om. The other versions and MT (יר) understand יד to mean my secret; יד is in Aramaic a loan word from Persian; it is used in Sir 8:18 and may well have been used by some glossator here. Most modern scholars treat יד as an otherwise unknown derivative from המ, to be lean (cp. Niph. 174); in this case it should be pointed יד; but the meaning leanness is expressed by יד 10:18, Ps 106:18.—ять וּיַמְכֵּב נִעְבֹּר יד פסו om. This is a possible derivative from נָעָר, which may possibly be the correct reading and the original immediate sequence to יד יד כורע פסו. פסו paraphrases the remainder of the v., ol αὐτοὺς τὸν νόμον. On v.16b, see Lieb.'s full discussion: the problems are far from solved.

17-20. The completeness of the World-Judgment.—After the difficult and obscure parenthesis (vv.14-16), the prediction of judgment on all mankind is resumed; and, first, 17, 18a. b, by means of a different figure the thought of v.13 is emphasised: few will escape altogether, for to escape from one disaster will merely be to fall into another; cp. Am 5:19. The lines recur with slight variations in Jer 48:43, where they are applied specifically to Moab. The germ of the saying seems to occur in La 3:47, though it is by no means improbable that it is ultimately borrowed from popular speech.—18c-20. The physical phenomena that will accompany or form the judgment: floods will descend from
heaven, the foundations of earth will quake, and earth itself will
split and crack and sway to and fro and fall to rise no more, like
one vast house which cracks, sways, and topples over when its
foundations are shaken by an earthquake. Few will survive
(vv. 18, 17, 18a, b), for all this will happen; strictly speaking, when the
dissolution is in train, a vast house will fall as the tower of Babel,
then earth and heaven, the ark, and all flesh. Would that the
writer had not been compelled by the long line of thought to
belabor his double meaning of "fountains of the great deep" (Gn 7:11)
and to repeat it (26a) and (26b). Few, or rather no one, can
imagine human life as a vast house, with its foundations putting
out during a downpour which will not stop until the house is
broken up and the earth is left without a dwelling place. This
is the poet's picture of the universal catastrophe in the days of
Babylonia. When the lattices of heaven have been opened, "the
waters, which are above the firmament," stream down, whether
to destroy (Gn 7:11 8:2 (P)), or to fertilise (2 K 7:2, Mal 3:10).
Here a destructive downpour such as was part cause of the
Flood is in the writer's mind; such another downpour will form part
of the judgment. Yet not by water can Yahweh again destroy all flesh (Gn 9:16); this time "the fountains of the great deep" (Gn 7:11) will not break loose; there will be no need of an ark to preserve the remnant, but they must hide themselves from the storm (26b). In figures (18d, 19), meant, however, literally
enough, not too compatible with this picture of the downpour,
and incompatible with hiding in houses with doors shut (26b),
the writer predicts that the earth will burst and quake (cp. 13:18,
Hag 2:6f.).—In the height] of heaven: לם, as in v. 21, is a
synonym for heaven, used in other (late) parts of the Book of
Isaiah and by other (late) writers: see 32:15 57:15 58:4, and below,
p. 472, no. 6. Burney (JThS xi. 446) suggests that it usually
means "explicitly or implicitly, the north pole or zenith of the
Ecliptic (Babylonian Anû), i.e. the highest point of the
heavens, regarded as the abode of Deity." How much might be
implied by the downpour from heaven may be illustrated by
Sibyl. Books iii. 689 f., "And God will judge all . . . with over-
whelming rain, and sulphur will come down from heaven, storm
and hail, much and violent."—20a. b. The swaying of the earth
is depicted by means of two bold figures—the unsteady gait of
a drunkard (cp. 29:9, Ps 107:27), and the unsteadiness of a slight,
temporary shelter (cp. 1:8).—20c. The cause of all this is man's re-
bellion (פנ, cp. 2 K 11) against Yahweh (cp. v. 5 26b), the King
of all.—20d. Almost verbally from Am 5:2, where it is predicated
of Israel. Du. well remarks that the poetic effect of the descrip-
tion of the "birth-pangs" of judgment in vv. 18b-20 is undeniable,
the constant repetition of the word יָאָקָם, the striking picture of
the colossal convulsions of Nature by means of the Hithpolels and Hithpolals, and of the bursting and swaying of the earth by the assonances, and the grand way in which (v.20) the ethical ground for the wild seething of the elements is allowed to appear. He cites as a parallel Sibylline Books iii. 675 f., “Earth mother of all things will in those days be moved by the immortal hand, and the fish in the sea, and all the beasts of the earth, and the innumerable kinds of birds, and all souls of men, and the entire sea will shudder at the immortal Face; and there will be terror. The precipitous mountain tops and the vast hills will be rent, and black darkness will become visible to all. Dim rents in the mountains will be full of corpses: the rocks will stream with blood. The finely built walls of hostile men will all fall to the ground, because they have not recognised the law of the great God and His judgment, but have all brutishly raised their spears in attack on the Temple.”

18. דעט . . . [טד] Jer 4842 ננ . . . ינשת.—19. In a. read ינד for the abnormal ינ, and יפכ (as in b. c.) for יפכ; in both cases י is dittographic. ג hiding omits c. The vb. ינד is an Aramaism for ינד. Other occurrences (mostly questionable) are Ps 29 (MT), Jer 1116 15.12, Job 34224, Pr 2510 (Kal); Pr 1824 (Hithpo.); on 8s 8 see n.—דוע ל contacted ש (R 1 K 191); with ינד (Poel, Ps 7431) cp. ינד, to split.—20. ינד] ג does not render this; cf. v.19.

21-23. Judgment on the host of the height and the kings of the earth: Yahweh becomes King in Sion.—21 f. Yahweh will at that time judge all His foes both in heaven and on earth, imprisoning both the host of heaven and the kings of the earth, who had opposed Him, till the far off day of their ultimate punishment. This is the last act before the terrors of the end (vv.18, 17-20 and 7-12), which are succeeded by the New Age of Glory for the survivors (v.23). The writer is obviously alluding to ideas which he presupposes as being well known; the best commentary on the passage is to be found in the (earlier parts of the) Book of Enoch, which may have been not much younger than this prophecy. Some details in the later writer may have been developed by reflection on Scripture, pre-eminently on this Scripture, but much that is there expressed is the suitable and, therefore in all probability, the actual background of the present description—in particular is this the case with the double judgment on the offenders, human and super-
human, imprisonment now and punishment at the end of days; for Di.'s attempt to give יָשָׁר in v. 220 a favourable meaning, "be visited," so as to make the line assert that the persons concerned will after imprisonment be restored, like Jehoiachin (Jer 52:31), to Yahweh's favour and employed by Him as regents, breaks down. On this and other details, see, further, below. Not only is much that first appears in Enoch as old as this writer, but the fundamental ideas are older still, and to be traced back to Babylonian mythology; but this does not necessarily mean, nor is it probable, that their emergence in Jewish thought, or at least their use in Jewish theology, was also early.

21. Yahweh will punish] lit. visit upon: cp. 27 .—Host of the height] height, as in v.18, means heaven: hence host of the height is the equivalent of the term "host of heaven" frequently occurring elsewhere; and this meaning stands even if the clause in the height and on the earth, omitted by Gr, be not original. In view of the parallel kings of the earth, the particular reference in the host of the height is to those superhuman beings who had been conceived of as rulers over men or as receivers of men's worship, who had thus rebelled against Yahweh and intruded on His sole sovereign rights, the ἀρχαὶ, δυνάμεις, εὐγοιαὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (or τῶν ἀέρων, or τῶν σκότων), θρόνοι, κυριαρχίας of the NT (Ro 8:38, Col 1:16, Mt 24:29, Lk 21:26, Eph 1:10 2:2, Col 1:13, 16, Eph 1:21, Col 1:16). Such superhuman beings might include the sun, moon, and stars, who, as "the host of heaven," had received men's worship (Dt 4:19 17, Jer 8:2, and often); and Enoch refers explicitly to the imprisonment of "the stars of heaven, and the host of heaven," but the sin charged against them by him is that "they did not come forth at their appointed time" (18:14f.; cp. Jude 13). This writer is alluding here more particularly to the patron angels (connected with the stars in Dt 4:19) of the nations (Dn 10:13, 20f., Sir 17:17, Dt 32:8 Gr; the "gods" of Ps 58. 82).—The kings of the earth, who, spurred on by the angels,* have rebelled against Yahweh and His anointed people (Ps 2), will also be punished, that Yahweh may reign in undisputed majesty and glory on Mt. Sion (v.23).—22. Rebellious angels

* Cp. En 56£ "In those days will the angels return and hurl themselves upon the East, upon the Parthians and the Medes, to stir up the kings and to provoke in them a spirit of unrest, and rouse them from their thrones ...; and they will march up to, and tread under foot, the land of his elect ones."
and rebellious human beings alike Yahweh will imprison in
a great subterranean prison, the Pit (cp. 14\textsuperscript{15} n.). For the
subterranean prison, cp. 2 P 2\textsuperscript{4} and En 10\textsuperscript{4} “Bind Azazel hand
and foot and place him in the darkness: make an opening in
the desert . . . and place him therein, and place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness”; and 10\textsuperscript{12}
(of the bastard offspring of angels and women) “bind them fast
under the hills of the earth.” To limit, as Di. does, the
punishment mentioned in v.\textsuperscript{22} to one half only of the subject of
v.\textsuperscript{21}, viz. the kings of the earth, and to interpret the pit of such
a pit as Jeremiah was committed to (Jer 37\textsuperscript{16}), is altogether
unreasonable. The fact that in v.\textsuperscript{23a, b} a part of the host of
heaven is specially mentioned after v.\textsuperscript{22} is no reason for
exempting the whole of the host of heaven from the subject of
shall be imprisoned in v.\textsuperscript{22}, and so limiting the punishment of the
host of heaven to a loss of their brightness and of the human
worship rendered to them. If we had no other evidence of the
belief in the imprisonment of superhuman beings, such as we
have, we should be bound to infer it from this passage. The
general idea of such imprisonment is, however, differently
applied; here it is punishment for intruding on Yahweh’s
sovereign rights, in En. for the violation of the natural order
established by Yahweh.—\textit{And after many days they shall be
punished} [lit. visited. The vb. \textit{visit} can be used of either a
gracious (23\textsuperscript{17}, Gn 21\textsuperscript{1}, Jer 27\textsuperscript{22}), or a punitive, visitation: the
context must decide; as there is no indication in the context of
a change from punishment to favour, it must here mean \textit{to
punish}. The contrary cannot be argued from the fact that the
long detention before punishment is pointless; for, however
the idea arose, the idea existed; cp. En 10\textsuperscript{12} 91\textsuperscript{12f}, 2 P 2\textsuperscript{4}.—
23. Yahweh’s reign in glory on Mt. Šion. The white \textit{moon} and
the glowing \textit{sun}, such is the force of the poetical terms here
used (cp. 30\textsuperscript{26}), will pale before the coming manifestation of
Yahweh’s glory. So well known was the idea, that the writer
does not need to state the cause so explicitly as in 60\textsuperscript{10f}, and
therefore, instead of saying: For Yahweh will be instead of sun
and moon, he says, briefly and tersely bringing out the main
climax which he desires: \textit{For Yahweh will have become king} (cp.
52\textsuperscript{7}); no more rebels (v.\textsuperscript{21}) in heaven or earth, but the ever-
lasting kingdom, which all kingdoms shall serve and obey (Dn
will have its centre in Sion (cp. Ps 2). The writer is dominated by the same ideas that govern the "accession" Psalms. Cp. e.g. Ps 96: there, too, Yahweh has become king in Sion (Ps 96<sup>8f</sup>), universal king over gods (Ps 96<sup>4</sup> = "host of the height" here, v. 21), and the whole earth (cp. here "the kings of the earth" and Zech 14<sup>9</sup>), which is called upon to sing to Yahweh (Ps 96<sup>11f</sup>; cp. here ? v. 14); earth and heaven, instead of mourning (Is 24<sup>19f</sup>), exult (Ps 96<sup>11f</sup>), and the earth, instead of cracking, splitting, and quivering on its breaking supports (Is 24<sup>10b, 20</sup>), will become firm and unshaken (Ps 96). The emendations (see phil. n.) adopted, partly from א, in the translation of these lines does not materially affect the sense, with which cp. 4<sup>5</sup>, but secures a better couplet. As once on Mt. Sinai (Ex 24<sup>9f</sup>), Yahweh will manifest His glory to His elders, i.e. the elders of His people. Thus this writer finds no place for a Messiah, or for any other king than Yahweh Himself. When will the glory of this kingdom be manifested—before or after the second and final judgment of the host of heaven and the kings of the earth? If we press the order of the sentences, the later term would seem to be the correct one, and this would correspond, it is claimed (Du.), to the expectation in En (91<sup>15f</sup>) that the new heaven and the age when "sin will no more be mentioned for ever" follows "the great eternal judgment," i.e. the second and final judgment on the angels (cp. Rev 20<sup>11-14</sup>). At the same time, once the rebels were securely imprisoned, there could be no hindrance to the actual completeness of the kingdom. The next scene is the Coronation Feast which follows the accession to the throne (25<sup>6-8</sup>); the sequence is interrupted by a song, 25<sup>1-5</sup>.

21. א om. "עלים" אפשא אפרים and governing is especial in the acc. (cp. 11<sup>9</sup> n.); but read אפשא אפרים; cp. 3<sup>34</sup>.—22. אפשא אפרים enforcing אפשא אפרים and governing אפשא אפרים in the acc. (cp. 11<sup>9</sup> n.); but read אפשא אפרים; cp. 3<sup>34</sup>.—23. אפשא אפרים; but was not applicable to the duration of punishment?—23. אפשא אפרים; read אפשא אפרים. Possibly also רם and א prá should be omitted with א, and also רמא prá; then an excellent balanced distich 3:3 remains. א could be taken as a rather rough 4:4 distich.

XXV. 1-5.—A song to be sung by Israel in celebration of Yahweh's wonders in deliverance.

The lines as marked in the translation are of three accents except v. 25b, which in א is four, in א three; and 14 which is four. Two distiches 3:3
form a strophe; the latter part of v. 4 and v. 5 seem to be seriously corrupt; see, further, ZATW, 1911, pp. 117-123.

1 Yahweh, thou art my God,
   I will exalt thee, give thanks to thy name;
   For thou hast achieved wonders,
   Plans (formed) long ago, in perfect faithfulness.

2 For thou hast made the city a heap,
   The fortified town a ruin;
   The palace of the 'presumptuous'
   It shall never more be built.

8 Wherefore the strong people shall glorify thee,
   The city of the awe-inspiring shall fear thee;

4 For thou hast been a stronghold to the poor,
   A stronghold to the needy in his distress.

The noise of the presumptuous dost thou subdue
The song of the awe-inspiring 'dost thou' humble.

This poem lacks a rubric such as those which introduce the other songs of this section (25 26 27). Yet, like the other songs, this, too, is intended to be sung after the world-judgment (ch. 24). The speaker is the Jewish community, which is now poor and hard pressed by some undefined oppressing power. Yahweh's wonderful deeds, which are the subject of the song, will have been wrought in accordance with His counsels formed long ago; the wonderful deliverance of His people will not only call forth their praise, but will so impress the mightiest people and city of the world that they, too, will do homage to Yahweh and become His worshippers.

What particular city is intended is as obscure here as in 24 (see n. there); moreover, it is not clear whether the ruined city of v. 2 is the same as the homage-rendering city of v. 3, or whether "the awe-inspiring" of v. 3 and v. 5 are identical.

Ia. b. Cp. 12 n., Ps 54 118 138 145.—Achieved wonders] Ex 15, Ps 77 78.—Long ago] cp. 22 37 n.—In perfect faithfulness] two synonyms פָּשֵׁת הָדוּשׁ are combined to give a superlative force; cp. 3 16: but the second does not occur
again, and may be a liturgical addition Amen (cp. Gς); the
distich balances better without it. For the construction pre-
supposed in the translation, see G–K. 118q; an alternative
translation would be plans are (perfect) faithfulness; i.e. plans
long since formed are now actually performed and thereby
proved faithful: for the construction in this case, see Ex 1712;
Dr. § 189 (2).—2. The city . . . the town] the article is not
expressed in H on account of poetical style: so the anarthrous
(mode are used of Jerusalem in Jer 3018: cp. also 2710
below. It is possible, but less probable, that H means any city
indefinitely (Che. SBOT), or, collectively, cities (Gς, Box).—
Palace] 3214 and in pl., 3413 2318 (?), Am 14 310 etc. —The
presumptuous G 7ov 8oεβων = νομίμων: cp. 1311 n.; H νομίμοι, aliens
(17 n., 615), is less expressive and, as the commoner word, the
easier and less probable reading; yet see 29 n.—3. The mighty
and terrible nation which oppressed the poor Jews, when it has
experienced the judgment of Yahweh (v.2), will recognise in
Him a mightier than themselves, acknowledge His glory, and
become His worshippers; or, since again the terms in H are
anarthrous,* the meaning may be that the overthrow of the
oppressing power will lead many another strong people to glorify
God.—Awe-inspiring] 1311 n., H (not G) + nations; see phil. n.
—Glorify thee] acknowledge Yahweh's glory (63 n.) displayed
(2423 2615) in nature or, as here, in history; see 2415 4320,
Ps 2224.—Shall fear thee] shall become fearers, i.e. worshippers,
of Yahweh (νομίμοι αντίρι): cp. Ps 658 (8).—4. Stronghold] a place in
which one seeks and finds refuge from weather or enemies: cp.
302 n. and phil. n.—The poor . . . the needy] the Jews at present
suffering and oppressed (cp. 2616): cp. 1430 (n.) 269 4117 for the
terms used as here, or with a more limited force, e.g., 102 114.—
What follows the distich (4n. b) down to the opening clause of
v.5, in so far as it shows rhythm and parallelism at all, differs in
character from vv.1–4a; either it contains, together with expansions,
a distich, or it is entirely intrusive matter that has caused the loss
of a distich which once stood before the distich preserved in v.5;
see, further, phil. n.—A refuge from the storm . . . a shade from
the heat] the clauses occur in an amplified form in 4; cp. 322.—
For the breath of the awe-inspiring is like a winter storm] this
reads like a note on the previous clauses: the shelter and shade

* Oo. prefers to emend and read υψω, and to point την.
of God was needed, for the breath of the awe-inspiring (v. 4), breathed out in hostility on the poor Jews, was like a storm or heat: this is the only passage in which the breath of wicked man is regarded as destructive of others; elsewhere it is God's breath that consumes, or burns, or floods away, those whom it affects (see 30:28, Job 4:9; cp. Ps 18:9), or the breath of the Ruler of the stock of Jesse which slays the wicked (11:4), or the breath of the wicked consuming themselves (?), 33:11.—A winter storm] or downpour, before which who can stand unheltered without suffering (cp. Job 24:27, Ps 147:17)? So probably ול (ל, as Gn 8:22). MT as a storm of a wall, has been explained hazardously as a storm that overthrows a wall (Rashi, Ges.), or both ineptly and hazardously as a storm that beats ineffectually against a wall (Del.).—5. As heat in a dry place] the clause is best taken as a second comparison completing the last clause of v. 4. MT takes it with v. 5, thus destroying rhythm and parallelism and creating a most bizarre figure. מ, a dry place, occurs in 32:22—ב is the sense of heat in 4:6, Gn 31:40.—The noise of the presumptuous] cp. “the noise of them that rise up against thee,” Ps 74:23: for the presumptuous (כ), ול has the aliens, cp. v. 2 n. For ו, the noise (17:12), Du., al. read, ול, the pride (cp. 13:11, also Job 40:12); but, unless with Du. we reject the last line of the v. as a gloss, noise is a better parallel than pride to song.—At the end of line a. there stand in ול the words heat with the shadow of a cloud, which is taken by some as a comparison: as heat is brought low by the shadow of cloud, so is the song of the awe-inspiring. Most improbable. The words are either a ditto graph of the similar clause at the beginning of the v., or another gloss.

I. ול ] C om.: wrongly.—אֶּבֶן] instead of the pausal אֶּבֶן, to rhyme with וְפֹאָאָמָה.—רֵאֵשׁ מַלְכָּא] parallel terms rather than a single clause (Che. SBOT), wonderful plans (cp. 9:5).—2a. רְעִישׁ] can only be very artificially explained as a case of ב privative: thou hast made (the city) away from (being) a city a heap. Read רְעִישׁ. כ πόλεις = רְעִישׁ (cp. 24:10) rather than רְעִישׁ. לְּבַע also take no account of the ו.—טֹּב] rather טֹּבְּיָה: כ εἰς χῶμα. —2c. וְשַׁמָּא] scarcely collective (Di.), nor is כ’s αὐτῶν τὰ θεμέλια good evidence that a reading needn’t existed.—רְעִישׁ] not to be a city: the privative force of ב is more possible here than in a.; yet the vbs. in such a passage as 7:17 far more readily suggest its use than does now here. לְּבַע agree with ול, but כ πόλις points to רְעִישׁ. Possibly owing to the eye of a scribe passing back after writing ול and before writing נָאָבָה to the רְעִישׁ before 5:12, רְעִישׁ was accidentally substituted for the word which originally stood here, and which may have been either a third
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synonym to יָשָׁר and הָשָׁר, though not the non-form (171 n.) יָשָׁר, or a vb. meaning "thou hast (or is) overthrown, or the like; scarcely, however, רָשָׁא (J. D. Mich.: cp. פָּרָך, to change).—3. If דַּוִּים, which was absent from ג, be omitted, this v. consists of two exactly balanced (3 : 3) and parallel lines. It is, therefore, a mistake by disregarding the parallelism, and by conjectural additions or transpositions, to represent it as containing two distichs (Bick., Che., Du., Marti, Box); Che. e.g. after Bick. restores as follows:

עַל כָּנִיבָר
עַל וּרְקָת נוֹם
ועֵרֵיוֹר רֵיוֹר
וּכְעַר [worthless words]

For fuller criticism and discussion, see ZATW, 1911, pp. 118-121.—עֹשֶׁה
כִּי אֵאָס וּפָרָךְ=עָשָׁי עַשָּׁה; not to be preferred to ע; note the parallel, and see Lieb.—4. מַשָּׁה...استعمال one of these may have replaced a parallel and synonymous term such as מַשָּׁה: cp. 11n. ג does not render the first.—4c-5. The textual problems here are complicated and far from solved. It must suffice to refer here briefly to points more fully discussed in ZATW, 1911, pp. 117-123: see also Lieb. At the end of v.5, if עֹשֶׁה ונָשָׁה be omitted as a dittograph or a gloss, there remains a distich marked by the characteristic balance (3 : 3) and parallelism of the poem; substituting עֹשֶׁה (ה) for עָשָׁה (יה) and הנָשָׁה for הנָשָׁה, this runs:

שָׁהַנָּה רִי הָנָינָה
יָרֵי רִעיָנָה הנָנָה
The second line is absent from ג, and is rejected as a gloss on the first by Du.: yet it is curious to find נָשָׁה glossing נָשָׁה, and the gloss rhythmically equal and parallel to what it glosses. Du. al. obtain a distich by combining v.4c and the first of the foregoing lines (see under):

שְׁמַשָּׁה נַחֵםָא אֵל מַהְרָב
ואָנָא רוֹמָא חֲכָנָא
but this lacks both balance and parallelism. It is possible that כן was a correct and misplaced variant of כן in v.4c or b: the following words יַנָּה מַהְרָב were read by ג כַּנָּה מַהְרָב, but not read by כ or rendered וְנָשָׁה וְנָשָׁה, and all that corresponds in ג to כן is only פָּרָךְ לְוַיָּרָךְ מַהְרָב. 6-8. Yahweh's coronation Feast.—The continuation of 24:23; translated, p. 407. As a feast formed part of the ceremonial of the coronation or solemn recognition of a king (1 S 1115, 1 K 10ff. 25), so, after his accession to universal sovereignty in Jerusalem (24:23), Yahweh gives a feast to all His subjects—not only to the Jews, but to all the peoples. The kings and the patron angels, who hitherto have confused the peoples and kept them from recognising Yahweh as their sole lord and king, have been put out of the way (24:21ff.); the writer does not express, even if he
entertained (cp. 26^21 n.), the idea that the peoples, rid of their kings, will withhold homage from Yahweh, and therefore does not need to mar his picture of joyous feasting by referring to the destruction (60^12), or misery (65^18f.), of any who may refuse to acknowledge the king in Sion. He rather thinks of the incorporation of all nations in the new and universal kingdom which will have its centre at Sion (cp. Ps 87), and of Yahweh's gracious and tender care of all those of whatever nation who had suffered under other kings (cp. 1 S 811-18) than Himself. His next picture is of mankind with face hidden under the veil of mourning; the peoples come up to Sion (cp. 2^2-4), still wearing the garb of mourning, of mourning for all their sufferings (2413.17-20), for they have not yet realised that affliction is past (cp. 33^18f.); Yahweh sees the veil and, tearing it off, destroys it; and on the face revealed, when the veil is withdrawn, he sees the tears with which recent anguish, and mourning for those who have died, have stained the face, and He wipes these away—the last tears of mankind, for death itself He has now destroyed. The passage closes with a special reference to the Jews, Yahweh's peculiar people: all over the earth, the Jews of the Diaspora as well as those of Palestine, have in the days of anguish that are now past suffered the reproach of the nations that knew not God; this reproach Yahweh will now remove.

The ideas that struggle for expression in these few verses are many and great; and it needs some imagination to expand the hints and recover all that filled the mind of the writer. The foregoing argument is in some of its details necessarily uncertain. But there seems no reasonable room for doubt that we have here one of the most catholic passages in the entire Old Testament, and one of the tenderest presentations of Yahweh. The writer has certainly not thought himself so clear of national limitations as to make Mount Sion a thing indifferent in the future (Jn 4^21), and it is probable enough that he conceived the kingdom of Yahweh with other Jewish limitations; but we may with even more confidence infer that he extended to the nations of the world all that is tenderest in the Hebrew thought of Yahweh's relation to Israel. There is no justification in the text for the narrow turn given to the thought in T and by Kj., and, more elaborately in recent times, by Grätz: T paraphrases v.6 "Yahweh of Hosts will make for all the peoples in this mountain a meal; and though
they suppose it is an honour, it will be a shame for them, and great plagues, plagues from which they will be unable to escape, plagues whereby they will come to their end."

The idea of the abolition of death is an advance on the expectation of greatly prolonged life in the New Age (65\textsuperscript{20}); it is expressed here in an isolated monostich between the account of the abolition of the veil which reveals, and the removal from the face of the tears revealed; and for this reason Du., al. suspect that the line is an addition.

6. **Yahweh of Hosts**] these words would be unnecessary when v.\textsuperscript{6} formed the immediate sequence to 24\textsuperscript{28}: they make the line in 

For all the peoples] repeated in v.\textsuperscript{7} with the parallel all the nations.—In this mountain] Mt. 

Feast] the same word that is used in 5\textsuperscript{12}: for the phrase to make a feast for, i.e. to give a feast to, see, e.g., Gn 19\textsuperscript{3} 26\textsuperscript{30}.—The feast of those who attain to the New Age, though without special reference to Yahweh's accession, is referred to in Apoc. Bar. 29, according to which the feast will be furnished by the flesh of the great monsters Behemoth and Leviathan (cp. also 4 Es 6\textsuperscript{2d}, En 6\textsuperscript{24}), and the same general idea underlies several passages of the NT; see Mt 8\textsuperscript{11}, Lk 13\textsuperscript{28} 14\textsuperscript{15} 22\textsuperscript{4ff}, Rev 19\textsuperscript{9}. The feast will consist of food, fat and rich, and of wine that has acquired strength and flavour by remaining on its lees (cp. Jer 48\textsuperscript{11}) after the first fermentation, and has been rendered clear by being filtered before use.—7. The text is uncertain, and seems to have been read differently from 

the face, i.e. the outward surface turned towards the beholder, of the veil: a curious expression after the vb. 

The veil] the same word, differently applied, occurs in 28\textsuperscript{20}. It is a parallel to the veil of the previous line, and does not signify a covering of the eyes which renders spiritually blind (Del.: cp. 2 Co 3\textsuperscript{15}).—8a. Correctly paraphrased in Rev 21\textsuperscript{4}, 

kai ὁ θάνατος
oôk éstâi êti; cp. 1 Co 15 cp. kâtopôdê ó bâvaros eis vîkos. The vb. can, of course, be pointed as passive ὑπῆρχε, but between vbs. of which Yahweh is the subj. it is most properly treated as act.; so MT. St. Paul's eis vîkos (so Aq., Theod.) rests on an Aramaic sense of ἦσσε (cp. e.g. Am 11 in Ĥ), and is incorrect. See, further, above.—For 'tis Yahweh hath spoken] 24 n.

6. On Ĥ, which is in no respect preferable to Ἠ, see Lieb.; but he is wrong in tracing χρωτσταρι μêrov to ὑπῆρχε in v.7: this clause, representing ἦσσε ἄκρος (cp. Am 68), is all that Ĥ has for the last four words of v. Ἠ. It is a mere accident that ὄλι (cf. kôma) is omitted in MS Ken 23.—[a feast of fatnesses] a feast of fatnesses, i.e. of rich foods: cp. μακάρων ἤ ἄκρος of a rich and fertile valley, and the use of ἦσσε, adj., and ἦσσεν of what is eaten, 308, Gn 4950, Neh 810.—[see dregs] lees, dregs (Jer 4811, Zeph 12, Ps 75) is used by a striking breviloquence for μακάρων ἤ; that wine, not dregs, is intended, is clear from the last clause of the v. Note the assonances in the v. μακάρων—μακάρων and μακάρων—μακάρων.—[see dregs] ἄρτου.—a derivative from ἄρτος, marrow. On the form, see G-K. 75dd.—7. On Ĥ, see Lieb., but with the qualification noted on v.6. Ĥ omits ἄρτου; in place of ὅτι ἦσσε ἄρτος ἤ ἄκρος it has παράδεστον ἀρτον ταῦτα, and for ἦσσε ἄρτος ἀρετήν, ἥ ἄρτος βουλή αὕτη. For ἦσσε ἄρτος ἀρετήν, ἤ (cp. Ἠ) has ἦσσε ἄρτος, the ruler that rules (i.e. Death), but ἦσσε creates a difficulty in the way of accepting this otherwise attractive reading.—[see dregs] best taken as part. act., veiling: G-K. 72p; it might equally well be pointed as part. pass. ἦσσε (cp. 1 S 2110).—[see dregs] ὅτι ἦσσε ἄρτος ἀρετήν, And death shall swallow them (i.e. the nations) up: Grätz proposes κατείβει, And death shall swallow them (i.e. the nations) up for ever: this, of course, would only be possible on the improbable interpretation of v.6 that the feast is intended for the confusion of the nations; the transition, moreover, from the general reference to the nations to the special reference to the Jews only takes place after v.8b; ἦσσε] absent from Ĥ, is probably another late addition to Ἠ: cp. Lieb.—[see dregs] ὅτι ἦσσε ἄρτος ἀρετήν: cp. 24 n.

XXV. 9-12.—A Song of Deliverance; and the humiliation of Moab.

V.9 contains an initial formula and four lines arranged in two 3:3 distichs (see n. on v.9). In vv.10-12 the rhythm seems irregular; but the text is very uncertain.

9 And it shall be said in that day:—

Behold, this is our God,
We have waited for him that he might deliver us:
This is Yahweh; we have waited for him:
Let us rejoice and exult in his deliverance.
10 For the hand of Yahweh shall rest on this mountain, 
   And Moab shall be trampled down in its place, 
   As straw is trampled down in a dung-pit. 
11 And he shall spread out his hands . . . 
   And his pride shall be brought low . . . 

And the fortifications the height of thy walls he hath abased, 
Brought low, laid level with the earth, even to the dust.

9. The opening formula, and it shall be said in that day, does not state that the song which follows will be sung by Jews (ct. 26^), but the contents of v.\(^9\) prove that this is intended; it is not to be sung by “all the peoples” of vv.\(^6^f\), but by those last mentioned (v.\(^8^c\)) who have long waited for, and have now experienced, Yahweh’s favour. The song is, perhaps, confined to the two 3:3 distichs (cp. 25^1^c^) of v.\(^9\), and Di. may be right in regarding vv.\(^10^\text{-}12\), or perhaps rather vv.\(^10^b\text{-}11\) as the writer’s comment: the song will have been justified by the overthrow of Moab. Du., al. extend the song to v.\(^11\), and see in v.\(^12\) a variant of 26^5^: certainly the vocatives of v.\(^12\) differentiate it somewhat in tone from either v.\(^9\) or 10^f^.—This is our God or, our God is such: if the rhythm of the v. is 3:3, MT is right in taking יִתְנָה demonstratively (cp. Ps 48\(^1^c\)) and not as a rare instance of יִתְנָה relative (see BDB 26^1^d^).

10. The hand of Yahweh shall rest] Apparently this means: the power of Yahweh will manifest itself, Sion will become the centre of the universal kingdom (Du.): the idea is then that of 24\(^2^c\), but the expression of it is curious. For the vb. יִתְנָה in different connections, see 7\(^2\) 11\(^2\), and cp., especially, the noun in 11\(^1\). The absence of an expressed obj. leaves it doubtful whether אָדָם is right in omitting יִתְנָה and treating יִתְנָה (so read instead of יִתְנָה = מַלְאָק) as Hiph., God (or, Yahweh) will give rest, viz. to Israel.—In this mountain] Sion: cp. v.\(^8^c\).

10b. Instead of the national enemies of Israel in general, Moab is here singled out, as elsewhere Edom (ch. 34. 63\(^1^f\)) in similar descriptions. Saadia, therefore, renders Moab by “the nations” (Ges.). Why Moab is thus singled out is obscure, but see above, pp. 403 f. Other descriptions of calamities befalling Moab, or prophecies of the punishment of that people, are to be found in chs. 15 f., Jer 48, Zeph 2\(^8^\text{-}10\), Ezek 25\(^8^f\). The tone here,
if the text of \( \text{ נ } \) may be trusted, is more than usually contemptuous, and the comparison of proud (165) Moab’s end with that of a man drowned in dung-water recalls the malignancy of the saga that told of Moab’s birth (Gn 19:30-37).—In its place] in its own land: this idiomatic use of נָחַם is not uncommon: see, e.g., 467, 1 S 14, 2 S 23.—As straw is trodden down in a dung-pit] so קֵרֵה: קַטִּיב in the water of a dung-pit. Madmenah, with which mathben, straw, forms an assonance, is not only a common noun meaning dung-place or dung-pit, but also, if the text of Jer 485 may be trusted, the fem. form of the proper name of a Moabite town. At most a double entendre is intended: the writer certainly did not mean merely in the water of Madmenah.

II. And he] viz. Moab personified; cp. 16 n.; the point of the v. is pretty clearly this: do what he will, Moab will not escape, but his pride will be humbled; but the text is very uncertain: see phil. n. \( \text{ נ } \) may be rendered literally, And he shall (or, and though he: Dr. §147) spread out his hands in his midst as a swimmer spreads out to swim, (and) one shall bring low his pride together with (or, adopting a very rare use of בַּיִל (Neh. 5:18), in spite of) the artifices of his hands. The idea of swimming in a dung-pit while being trodden down is extraordinary: Kennett (p. 68, n. 1) suggests that “Moab is not thought of as swimming, but as lying on the ground in the attitude of a swimmer. A man who lies flat on his chest with arms and legs extended, with the foot of his enemy planted on his back, is in a most helpless position.” But had this been intended, passives in v.11 would have been more natural, and “arms” rather than hands would have been specified: and his arms shall be spread out like the arms of a swimmer would require a very different text from the present. \( \text{ ג } \) does not recognise any reference to swimming, and the original text may rather have referred to Moab’s fruitless prayers to his god to save him in his distress (see phil. n.).—12. See above, and cp. 265.

9. \( \text{ הָּלָּא } \) כָּל הָּיִשׁ עַשׁ עַז הָּיִשׁ הָּיִשׁ כָּל הָּיִשׁ קָנָּה [the original text of \( \text{ ג } \) omitted the overlined words, but rather owing to homoioteleuton, which subsequently led to the omission of the same words from MS Ken. 30, than to their absence from the Hebrew text of that time. \( \text{ ד } \), al. omit פָּה הָּיִשׁ הָּיִשׁ כָּל הָּיִשׁ קָנָּה, but retain פָּה הָּיִשׁ כָּל הָּיִשׁ קָנָּה.—10. המָרֵכְּנָה כַּמָּרֵכְּנָה Kַטִּיב כַּמָּרֵכְּנָה, Kֵרֵה כַּמָּרֵכְּנָה; but probably enough even the Kַטִּיב is a vocalic addition to כַּמָּרֵכְּנָה which arose from רככֶנְּה by dittography of the "ו. The Versions certainly did not read כָּל; VOL. I.—28
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whether they read μον or δ cannot be determined. — For ἔχον, Κ has ἐμέκενοι = μον, ἔχον or μον is commonly used elsewhere of the gesture of prayer: see, e.g., 115, Ps 143:6; and this sense it may possibly have had here in the original text: see following notes. — The masc. sing. suffix does not refer naturally either to μον or μον. The word is possibly not original: Κ omits it. — The και καίναι ὁθος: since this makes no very obvious or easy sentence in Κ, we may infer that Κ actually read ἔχον instead of ἔχον. — The και καίναι Κ και ἑπεδιάθεσεν τοι διότι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ (ἢ δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι Κ και ἑπεδιάθεσεν τοι διότι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι since the figure of swimming is very uncertain, it is unwise to postulate unknown meanings for δεικνύῃ, such as his rising, which might suit the figure better. — The και καίναι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι since the figure of swimming is very uncertain, it is unwise to postulate unknown meanings for δεικνύῃ, such as his rising, which might suit the figure better. — The και καίναι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι δεικνύῃ = δεικνύῃ. — The και καίναι δεικ

XXVI. 1–19.

Du. appears to have perceived correctly the remarkable and unusual rhythmical structure of vv.1–19. The poem consists of periods of six accents, which are divided into two equal sections (3:3) by a caesura, or into three equal sections (2:2:2) by a double caesura (cp. 12). Parallelism occurs, though it is by no means consistently used. Where the rhythm is 3:3, parallelism, if it occurs, occurs between these sections of the entire rhythmical period; where the rhythm is 2:2:2 the parallelism is between two of the three sections; or there is partial parallelism of the middle section with each of the other two; so in v.2.

In the translation the lines correspond to the sections of the periods of six accents, and the arrangement will show whether these periods divide into 3:3 or 2:2:2.

The words in small print destroy the regularity of the rhythm: in some cases there are independent reasons (see Comm. and phil. nn.) for suspecting that they are intrusive. In addition the following irregularities, whether original or due to textual corruption, are to be noted: — V.5d is longer by a word than 5c: if לְּשׁוֹנָו לְּשׁוֹנָו be retained: 7b in Π is 3:4, but Π is almost certainly corrupt: v.8 in Π is irregular: Du., Cheyne make it of two irregular periods, first 3:2 and then 1:1:2; see below for other possibilities: vv.9b–12b contain several uncertainties of rhythm, and also much that is textually uncertain (see below). V.19a–d Π (not Κ) is 2:2:2:2.
In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah:

A strong city is ours,
Salvation doth he make
Its walls and outworks.

Open the gates,
That the righteous nation may enter,
(Even he) that keepeth faith.

The steadfast disposition
Dost thou maintain unharmed,
Because it trusteth in thee.

Trust ye in Yahweh for ever,
For Yahweh is an everlasting Rock.

For he hath brought low
The inhabitants of the height,
The city set on high;
He abaseth it even to the earth,
He bringeth it even to the dust.

The foot shall trample it,
The feet of the poor,
The footsteps of the needy.

The path of the 'upright' is even,
The track of the righteous thou levellest.

Yea, for the path of thy judgments—
O Yahweh we have waited for thy name,
And for thy memorial hath been the desire of our soul.

With my soul have I desired thee in the night,
Yea, with my spirit within me do I seek thee earnestly.

When thy judgments (come down) to the earth (?),
The inhabitants of the world
Learn righteousness.

[No] favour shall be shown (?) to the unrighteous;
He hath not learnt righteousness
In the land of truth;
He acteth wickedly . . .
And seeth not
The majesty of Yahweh.
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11 Yahweh thy hand is exalted;
   They behold (it) not;
   They shall behold and be ashamed.
   Yea, a fire shall consume thy adversaries.

12 O Yahweh
   Thou wilt appoint for us welfare;
   For even all our works
   Hast thou done for us,
   O Yahweh, our God.
   (Other) lords (?) beside thee have owned us,
   But of thee (?) only we will make mention, (even)
   of thy Name.

13 The dead shall live not,
   The shades shall rise not;
   Therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them,
   And caused all their memorial to perish.

14 Thou hast added to the nation, Yahweh, thou hast added to the
   nation, thou hast shown thyself glorious;
   Thou hast greatly extended all the borders of the
   land.

15 Yahweh in distress 'we' sought (?) thee,
   'We cried out because of oppression,'
   When Thy chastisement was upon 'us.'

16 As a woman with child,
   When she is near giving birth,
   wriethes cries out in her pangs,
   So were we
   Because of thy presence, O Yahweh;
   We were with child, we wriathed, when we gave birth, (lo!)
   wind.

   We could not make the land safe,
   And the inhabitants of the world did not fall.

17 Thy dead shall live,
   'Their' corpses shall arise;
   They that dwell in the dust,
   'Shall' awake and give a ringing cry.
   For the dew of . . . is thy dew,
   And the earth shall give birth to shades.
The rubric, v. 1, fuller than in 25^9 27^1, quite clearly defines what follows to be a song which is to be sung in the land of Judah in that day, i.e. at the time when Yahweh will have delivered His people, and begun His glorious reign in Jerusalem (24^23). The rubric does not, of course, define the limits of the song; and it is only the opening verses which are strictly suitable to the occasion. Moreover, in vv. 1-6, with the exception (in the present text) of v. 8, Yahweh is the subject and is spoken of in the 3rd pers.: in vv. 7-10 Yahweh is addressed. For these reasons we might regard the song as closing with v. 8; but it has been very pertinently observed in regard to vv. 1-10 that "the verse-connection is as a rule very close, and just at those points where some critics have recognised a discontinuity of thought (e.g. after v. 7 or v. 10 or v. 18) the phraseology presents indications of a studied transition. The poem, indeed, is remarkable for its concatenated structure: that is to say, a word or idea is taken up from one verse and suggests a new thought for the next (vv. 2f. 3f. 7f. 8f. 9f. 10f. 11f.)" (Skinner). An additional common feature that binds together vv. 1-10 is the peculiar rhythmic structure: see above.

Either, then, an already existing poem (cp. pp 401 f. above) was here inserted on account of the suitability of the opening verses, or else the influence of the ideal situation with reference to which the opening verses were written weakens as the poem proceeds, and the writer expresses his hopes and reflections during the night (v. 9) of sorrow through which he is passing rather than the triumphant joy in Yahweh's deliverance and the overthrow of "the city (now) set on high" (v. 5) which he expects His people to experience when night has given place to morning.

There are several corrupt or obscure passages in the poem, and these are discussed in detail in the Comm. as they arise; but the line of thought and the relation of ideas within the poem seem to be as follows:

The Jews exult in Jerusalem made impregnable, v. 1, and refilled with righteous observers of the law, v. 2, but only with such, v. 10; they find in Yahweh's maintenance unharmed of those who steadfastly relied on Him, v. 8, and whose loyalty to Yahweh no temptations had shaken, v. 13, ground for continued and enduring trust in him, v. 4. The other side to the exaltation of Jerusalem is the humiliation and destruction of the City now set on high, vv. 5f.; and of all Yahweh's adversaries, v. 11f.
All this has not yet happened; but there are steadfast minds, v. 8, waiting for Yahweh’s judgments, vv. 7 ff., or renewed judgments (cp. v. 9), to teach the world righteousness. But even in Judah, the land of true religion, there are wicked men who are contumaciously neglectful of the law, and blind to the majesty of Yahweh that was to be revealed, and even then was revealed to the eye of faith, vv. 10 ff.

The Jews of themselves had achieved nothing; all that has yet been achieved is Yahweh’s work, the pledge of what He will do for His people who, though aliens have exercised political dominion over them, have never swerved in their religious fidelity to Him, vv. 12-18. But once these tyrants have been destroyed by Yahweh (v. 116), they being dead cannot rise and again afflict the Jews, v. 14.

Already in fact, or to faith, the Jews have grown and their land has been enlarged, v. 15; but once again the writer insists that the misery—“the night” of v. 9—through which the Jews have been passing as a chastisement for their sins (v. 160) had not been (or will not have been) escaped by their own efforts: they had not made the land of Judah safe (cp. v. 2), nor overthrown their foes (cp. vv. 5 ff. 116); this was Yahweh’s work alone, vv. 16-18. Nor will the power of Yahweh be exhausted in re-establishing His people who have survived on earth the perils past: He will raise from the dead the Jews who had died, and these will resume on earth the ordinary earthly life, and join their fellows who had not died in praising God in the land of the living, v. 19.

1-6. Jerusalem made impregnable; the city set on high destroyed.—I. The strong city that belongs to those who in the land of Judah sing this song is, though unnamed, unquestionably Jerusalem; the unnamed subject is Yahweh rather than indefinite. The walls and outworks, or outer wall (57; cp. 2 S 20 15, La 2 8, Nah 3 8), are made impregnable: cp. 33 20f. The words might have been written for an ideal situation (see above), or for some such actual occasion as the solemn dedication of the rebuilt walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12 27-43). According to an alternative, but less probable, interpretation, the v. means that Yahweh’s saving presence will serve the city instead of walls; cp. Zec 2 9, Ps 125 2. Another, but improbable, alternative would identify the city with God (cp. Ps 61 4): “urbs
fortitudinis nostrae Salvator est, id est Jesus. Et ponetur in ca
murus et antemurale. Murus bonorum operum, et antemurale
rectae fidei, ut duplici septa sit munimento" (Jer.).—2. Under
the form of an address, not to angels (Jer.), but to the gate-
keepers (cp. Ps 11810), it is made clear that those only will have
right of entry into the city who are righteous (cp. 126; ct. v.10),
and keep faith with Yahweh by observance of the law: cp. 33
14 358-10, Ps 15. 24.6.—3. The steadfast disposition] מטمتاز (cp. Ps 1128)
means well-stayed (on God), steady, undisturbed by fear, and
expresses very much what Isaiah expresses differently in 74 30.15.
The noun רצ (cp. the vb. in 2211 3720) commonly denotes in OT
the purpose formed by man (Gn 69 821, Dt 3121, 1 Ch 289 2918),
but here rather disposition—a transition to the meaning in the
Rabbinic technical terms רצ והרצו והם הבונים, the good and evil
impulse formed by God; and this Rabbinic usage may have
affected ע, vetus error abiit.—Unharmed] cp. Job 524; or we
might render in welfare: cp. e.g. Gn 4327, and see 96 n.: RV
in peace is less satisfactory. The repetition of the word in ע
would imply a superlative idea (G-K. 133k), perfectly unharmed;
but it is not supported by ע, and is probably due to dittoigraphy.
—Yahweh] ע in Yah (12 n.), Yahweh; but see phil. n.—Rock]
1710 n.—5, 6. Yahweh has just given proof that the trust (v.4) of
the righteous (v.2) in Him is well founded: for He has, according
to His wont (Ps 755-11), exalted the poor and lowly (v.6), and
humbled the proud (v.5). He has laid in the dust the City that
seemed out of reach, too high (not הבנה, cp. Dt 260, Ps 202 699 9114
1396, Pr 1810 2925) to be taken, challenging His sole exaltation
(cp. 211 124 335), and has brought low (cp. 29.11) its inhabitants,
who deemed themselves high up out of harm's way, secure in the
height (cp. 3316, Ps 756); He has given over the city to be trampled
under foot (cp. Mal 321 (48)) of the righteous Jews whom by its
oppression it had made, and in its pride regarded, as poor (254 n.)
and needy (3146).
6. וְיִהְיֶה the 3rd rhyme is נְתַנֶּה within a few words.— יִנָּה רַגְלֵי] another case of dittography? But the mere omission of בַּר (גֵּשָׁה) would leave the rhythm irregular. Lieb. rejects בַּר and conjecturally supplies רַגְלֵי after מַעְלָה: this would make v. 6 a distich 3:3. The sing. vb. might stand before either בַּר sing. or (G-K. 1454) pl.—osaic read יִנָּה: cp. לָיוֹ, and see גֵּשָׁה.

7-11. Waiting for Yahweh’s discriminating judgments.—7. God makes for the righteous a smooth way of life free from stumbling-blocks such as cumber the way of the wicked and cause them to fall: the righteous thus pass through life easily and free from disaster. Cp. for the phraseology or ideas of the v., Ps 16, Pr 36 426 56, 211 115. It is most improbable that-name refers to God, Thou that art upright (RV); but on the text see phil. n.—8. Speaking in the name of the community, the writer claims that they have patiently and longingly waited (259) for the manifestation of Yahweh’s power.—For the path of Thy judgments] this entire clause is perhaps made up of a dittograph from path in v. 7, and a gloss (Thy judgments) on Thy name; the original rhythm of v. 8 would then have been normal (3:3); or, if the rhythm was abnormal (3:3:3) the clause may be taken as the object of the vb. emphatically placed first, and then resumed by an equivalent expression (cp. Dr. § 197, Obs. 2); but either Thee (ם), or Thy name (ג) would be a
strange permutative of the path of thy judgments. Reading יָדִּים we might render, For the path . . . have we waited; For thy name and for thy memorial, etc.; but this (like MT, RV) would give a very abnormal rhythm (4:4), and would crowd two parallel terms into a single line.—Name . . . memorial] the expressions are synonymous: see Ex 3:15, Ps 30:5 (4). Yahweh makes His name remembered (Ex 20:24) by some striking manifestation of His presence and power.—The desire of our soul] this, the reading of G, is doubtless correct: it is tacitly adopted by RV. H omits our.—9. Reinforces v.8; but, if H is correct, with a transition from the 1st pl. to the 1st sing., such as often occurs in the Psalms: see, e.g., Ps 44:3-5 (4-6).—In the night] cp. 21:11f.—Within me] cp. Zec 12:1, Ps 39:4 55:4 (4) 109:22. G omits the word altogether.—9c. d. e, 10. The desire for the manifestation of Yahweh’s judgment or power is based on experience (תַּפֹּס pf. of experience): when the judgments of God no longer remain high out of sight of the wicked (Ps 10:6), allowing him to flatter himself that he can sin on with impunity, but come down to earth, then the inhabitants of the world at large learn righteousness, though the wicked do not do so, with the result that the wicked are punished (Ps 9:18(17)). Something like this seems to be intended, if H is in the main correct; but the text of H and G differ considerably, and the original text cannot be detected with any certainty, and some of the more exact turns of thought remain very obscure; but apparently this writer distinguishes, whereas the author of Ps 9:18 seems to identify, the inhabitants of the world (18:3), i.e. the heathen nations, and the unrighteous. Convinced by Yahweh’s judgments of His power and Godhead, the nations learn righteousness of life from the God of the Jews (cp. 2:4). But there is a class of wicked people who persistently shut their eyes (5:12 n.) to the majesty of Yahweh (12:8) and refuse to learn and follow the way approved by Him, though they live in the land of uprightness. If the last phrase means, as it probably does, the land of Judah, then the unrighteous of v.10 are not heathen (13:11 14:6f) but Jews, and the meaning is: when Yahweh manifests His power the very heathen will adopt His ways; but the ungodly Jews are past recovery in their wickedness, and (v.2) will have no right of entry into Jerusalem. —[No] favour shall be shown] for the conjecture and views of the cstr., see phil. n. H might be translated shall the unrighteous
receive favour? (No), he hath not, etc.—In the translation above of vv.9c-6. 10 ἡ is closely followed; an alternative translation based on a text tentatively reconstructed with reference to Γ as well as to Η and to rhythmical considerations is now given:

9c For thy judgments are a light;
The inhabitants of the world
Have learnt righteousness (cp. 601-8).
10 The unrighteous shall cease to be
That learnt not righteousness
In the land of uprightness.
The wicked shall be taken away (cp. 571),
And shall not see
The majesty of Yahweh (cp. 2423).

II. The wicked (v.10) do not yet perceive the power of Yahweh, that it is He who really achieves all things (v.12), but they soon will see it is to their confusion: Yahweh will consume them with fire (cp. 3083 3314).—Thy hand is exalted] cp. Dt 3227; the uplifted hand is power in action as the dropped hand is absence of power, or power held in check; cp. 2 S 41 172 2416.—Line d. omitted from the translation above is corrupt; instead of the three words required by the metrical structure two only survive in Η: Γ, ξηλος λημψηται λαὸν ἐπάθειντον, may have had more; but see Lieb. Η makes no sense, whether connected with what precedes (cp. RV) or with what follows. It is altogether improbable, apart from the violation done thereby to the regular metrical structure of the poem, that ὃν ἀνόητον, jealousy for the people, is acc. to they shall see (line a.) in spite of the intransitive vb. intervening, so that the sentence would read they shall see, and be ashamed, the jealousy for the people. Mic 716, to which Di. appeals, is a good parallel for the general sense, none at all for such an extraordinary construction. RV really implies two conjectural emendations—the transposition of the two vbs. ἦν and ἐσθήσετε, and and for ὅν. Others take ὃν ἀνόητον, or, emending, ἰμάντα, as a first subject of the vb. at the end of the v., and render jealousy for (or, of) the (or, thy) people, yea, the fire of (i.e. ordained for) thy adversaries will consume them. Jealousy of the people might mean either jealousy displayed by the people, i.e., the Jews, or jealousy (96) displayed by Yahweh for (cp. Ps 6910)
the Jews. Originally line d. probably consisted of three words, and was parallel in sense to line e. (Gr) as translated above.

7. The v. contains seven words, whereas the rhythm requires but six. 

7. The v. contains seven words, whereas the rhythm requires but six. resh in its present position is not satisfactorily accounted for, whether explained as a vocative addressed to God, as in apposition to the subj. of אֱלֹהִים, or as a second acc. to that vb. Du., al. therefore reject it. More probably resh is the misplaced parallel to קָוָה in line b.; omit קָוָה, which, coming up from line b. קָוָה[265], drove out resh, and read resh דָּאָש. For other examples of accidental repetitions of the same term to the exclusion of one of the synonymous terms in parallel lines, see 248 n. 118 n.—8. עֶזֶר[266] read with Lowth, al. עֶזֶר.—ןָּא הויי יִרְשָׁם מִשָּׁם] Gr ה ה יִרְשָׁם Kupiov Kplois.—رسم[267] GST renders: in W the suffix was lost before resh.—9a. b. Gr omits וְאִתָּא אֵשָׁם, וְאֵשָׁם, and יַעֲקֹב, but adds b שֵׁדָה at the end of b. W is to be preferred.—9b. . . . שֵׁדָה[268] each word is a "double subject"; 1029 n.—10. רָה[269]אשא[270] Gr ὅμωπετ [271]; but it is questionable to read on this account וּמְשָׁתַת and above וּמְשָׁתַת—vbs. 3rd sing. fem.—10b. וּמְשָׁתַת[272] Gr διδοὺς φῶς = רָה אל ב or (88 n.) רָה[273]. Possibly Gr is right, and וּמְשָׁתַת, which would then overload the line, a gloss. Bick., Du. omit וּמְשָׁתַת as a prosaic variant of רָה. If וּמְשָׁתַת be retained, cp. for the form of sentence 238.—10. וּמְשָׁתַת[274] this would be a very exceptional form of hypothetical sentence (Dr. § 155: cp. 136v). Either b ḫ was lost through haplography after הב (Marti), or וּמְשָׁתַת is an error for לִבְיָה (or לִבְיָה): Gr רְפּאֵנִי גָּרְפָךְ.—11. לִבְיָה וּמְשָׁתַת[275] Gr διδότως ὅ ὅ στιν ἐπίτηδει γυναῖκα πληροῦσαι ἐπὶ [276]στιν πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦσαι πληροῦş


12–19. The Jews achieve nothing for themselves, but Yahweh everything for them, including the raising from the dead of those of them who had died. Cp. Ps 4418.—12a. If the rhythmical structure is maintained, two words have been lost here.—12b–d. National welfare (v.8 n.) must come from Yahweh; the Jews themselves can achieve nothing.—13. Politically the Jews have passed into other ownership (cp. 18) than that of Yahweh (cp. 6319); lords (194), i.e. foreign rulers, have made Judah part of their property; yet, though the Jews have not been politically free, they have not acknowledged the right of any except Yahweh to own them: they have been loyal to their religion, not confessing any other God (cp. Ps 4418–23 (17–22)). Gr, if correct, would express very indirectly what W, which is not free from difficulty (see phil. n.), expresses directly.—14. No more will a foreign yoke rest on the Jews, for Yahweh has destroyed these alien rulers, banished
all memory of them, all that would call them to mind, such as foreign coinage, taxes, and the like; these lords are dead men all, shades (14) that will never return to vex the earth (14, Jer 5158, 57). The writer shares the old view (cp. Job 14) that, so far as mankind at large is concerned, there is no resurrection, no ascent from the realm of the shades to a fuller or higher life. For the Jews he has a different expectation (v.19): resurrection is national, not universal.—Therefore the therefore indicates not “a consequence of v.9 but the development of what is implicit in it” (cp. 617, Jer 23852, Job 3425 (BDB 487a).

15-19. The writer is certain (prophetic pf. in v.15) that Yahweh will magnify the Jewish nation and extend far and wide the borders of their land (cp. 96 3317 542f). His chastisement (v.16) had meant distress, foreign domination, and decaying population, and that the Jews could make no headway against their foes (v.18b); but Yahweh will listen to the cry of His people, withdraw His chastening hand, achieve for them (cp. v.12) what they could not achieve (cp. v.18), making their land secure, enlarging it, and filling it with inhabitants by calling back to life those Jews who had died loyal to their religion (v.19, cp. v.19).—15. Thou hast added] “spoken from the standpoint of the future” (Dr. § 20 n.). Di. objects that this is “impossible” after the perfects of vv.18f.; but on his own view the perfects of vv.13-16 refer to different periods: vv.18f. recent past, v.16 the days of David and Solomon, v.16 the recent past again. His alternative view, that the sentence may be interrogative—Hast thou increased the people as thou didst promise (Hos 21f, Mic 212f, Is 1114 4910ff. 541f, Jer 3019, Ezek 3610ff.—is most improbable. Others give the imperative a precative force: Add to the nation (cp. Giz); but this is illegitimate (Dr. § 20), unless we prefix י as in 6319 (Cond.), and then the form of the wish is not very natural: O that thou hadst added to (Dr. § 140); in the hour of distress their wish would have been for deliverance rather than enlargement. The only alternative to the view taken above which is worth considering, is that, like vv.18f., it refers to the recent past: Yahweh has already not only overthrown the foreign domination, but also widely extended the borders of Judah; Du., Marti, who interpret thus, see in v.15 a reference to the extension of Jewish territory by John Hyrcanus. But this fails to do adequate justice to v.18b, and less naturally leads
up to v.19.—Thou hast shown thyself glorious] cp. 24\textsuperscript{28} as emended, Ezk 28\textsuperscript{22} 39\textsuperscript{18}. \textit{He} could be rendered glorious things, an acc. to thou hast added (Oo.); but the parallel supports MT.—Thou hast greatly extended] lit. thou hast made far away, viz. from the centre of the land: for the sense of great distance suggested by Nữ and its derivatives, see, e.g., 6\textsuperscript{12}, Ps 103\textsuperscript{12}.—All the borders of the land] of Judah: the same phrase with another sense in Ps 48\textsuperscript{11} 65\textsuperscript{6} (5).—16. In distress] 25\textsuperscript{4}.—We sought] \textit{He} has they sought; but note 1st pl. in \textsuperscript{12f} and \textsuperscript{17f}, and that there are signs of corruption in this v.—We cried out because of oppression] the translation follows Cheyne's emendation. \textit{He} is altogether improbable: it ought to be rendered they melted (Job 28\textsuperscript{3}) a charm (3\textsuperscript{n}, Jer 8\textsuperscript{17}, Ec 10\textsuperscript{11}: cp. Is 3\textsuperscript{20\textsuperscript{1}}), and this has been supposed to mean, they poured out a whisper, i.e. they prayed * (in a low voice). Lieb. attempts a different reconstruction of the text, which might be rendered, thy visitation involves distress, thy chastisement of us constraint and oppression. See, further. phil. n.—

17, 18. The elaboration of the figure (cp. Hos 13\textsuperscript{13}, Mic 4\textsuperscript{10}) in this connection may have suggested the later technical term for the troubles which were expected to herald the Messianic age, יָנוּר הָמֵשָׁא, "the birth-pangs of the Messiah."—So were we] \textit{Ge} + to the beloved: on this (? Christian) addition see Lieb. i. 42—44.—Because of thy presence] to chastise us (cp. v.16), \textit{Ge} διὰ τοῦ φόβου σου: for the phrase, cp. e.g. 64\textsuperscript{1} (63\textsuperscript{20}), Jer 4\textsuperscript{26}.—18. When we gave birth, (lo! ) wind] rhythmically the words appear to be superfluous, and they may be a gloss intended to complete the figure so as to make it applicable to the two following lines—all our distress issued in wind, i.e. nothing; cp. 41\textsuperscript{29}, Ec 1\textsuperscript{14}. Ges. discusses at length the supposed reference to the symptoms of pseudo-pregnancy.—18b. c. We could not, as Yahweh can and will (v.1), deliver our country from the enemy: the inhabitants of the world (v.9), who were all attacking us, did not fall before us in battle. This interpretation gives to the lines parallelism. Modern commentators,\textsuperscript{†} however, have generally given to the line c. another sense: inhabitants of the world, "an artificial poetical expression" (Du.), meaning "young, new-born 'mortals'" (Del.), do not fall, viz. from the womb, i.e. are not born. On either interpretation the phraseology is

\* e.g. Ki., Ges., Del.

\textsuperscript{†} Coccejus, Ges., Del.; Di., Cheyne, Du., Marti.
unusual. There is no direct evidence that לַכָּל in the Kal meant to be born; yet it is not improbable that it did; for the Hiph. probably means to give birth to in v. 19, the noun לַכָּל means an untimely birth, and the Arabic כתא, to fall, also means to be born; see illustrations of the last and of the Greek πίπτω, καταπίπτω (Wis 7:3) in Ges.—19. G's text is shorter by one, and possibly by two words (see phil. n.) than לַכָּל: and one of the lines a.-d. may be an addition (see note on the rhythm), but the essential idea is expressed more than once. The Jews who have died will not share the common lot of man (v. 14), but they will rise from their graves, not as spirits of the dead, but bodily, and to resume with gladness life upon the earth, in the new vast territory of the Jews (v. 15). This remarkable expression of what must have been already a well-defined and clear belief in a bodily resurrection of Jews who had died before the New Age began (cp. Dn 12:1), forms an abrupt but effective close to the poem; abrupt, for v. 18 would naturally have had as its sequence a repetition of the opening thought: thou, Yahweh, will secure our safety: what we could not achieve, Thou wilt; effective, for it uses the belief in resurrection with all its emotional richness at once as an answer to the question how shall the nation be increased (v. 15), and as a climax to the whole poem.—Thy dead] Yahweh is still addressed: Yahweh's dead are those who died loyal to Him, or even were slain for His sake (cp. Ps 47:23 (24))—"mortui tui, qui interfecti sunt propter te" (Jer.).—Shall live] not may they live (Di.), even if the imperatives of לַכָּל in line d. are correct; but even if 19a. b were taken optatively, the remainder of the verse shows that we have not to deal with a hope in resurrection that is merely breaking through, as in Job, but with a belief well established in the circle to which the writer belonged, though not necessarily, nor probably, throughout the entire nation (ct. Eccles. and later the Sadducees), which included wicked unbelievers in this, as in other things, that the power of Yahweh could achieve.—Their corpses] לַכָּל my corpses, i.e. the dead bodies of the writer's fellow-countrymen; but the expression would be unnatural. The writer emphasises the belief that the actual body that died will be revivified, that it is no mere ghost that is to arise; and the same idea is implicit in the next line, they that dwell in the
dust (cp. Job 21:8, Ps 22:16), now sleeping there the sleep of
death (cp. Dn 12:2), which is not to be for them eternal (Jer 51:59,
Job 14:12), will awake and ring out their joy.—Shall awake and
give a ringing cry] cp. ג: דוד Awake, and give . . . ye that dwell,
etc., which makes the clause an address to the dead, interpolated
between clauses addressed to Yahweh.—For the dew of . . . is
thy dew] God’s dew, or more strictly night-mist (184), falling on
the graves of His dead, and, descending to the bodies that rest
there, will cause them to live again; in the case of God’s dead
there is not the difference that Job bewailed between the vegeta-
table world, which, when apparently dead, is revived by water,
and man (Job 14:7-12), who, once dead, cannot revive. For the
importance of the dew or night-mist for the life of vegetation
in Palestine, see 184 n. Ges. quotes parallels to the thought
of the moistening of the dead body with rain: e.g. “visit Ma’an
and say to his grave, May the morning clouds water thee with
rain upon rain.” The definition of the dew that is to restore
life to the dead Jews is unfortunately obscure; ג and כ differ—
Daniel, כ hadde or אדס (see phil. n.). If כ was correct we
should render literally for thy dew is the dew of (their) new flesh;
as God revives the vegetable world by dew, so He will cause new
flesh to sprout (588) and cover the skeletons (cp. Ezek 37:6) of the
Jews now lying in the grave, thus preparing them for re-birth
(cp. Ps 139:12-16). The meaning of דוד is obscure: דוד in
2 K 4:29† is a term for herbs, hence the rendering of EV here,
“the dew of herbs,” which should mean that the dew that is to
fall on the dead will be as reviving in their case as the dew that
falls on herbs (Ki.)—very improbable. Most modern commen-
tators see in דוד an intensive pl. of דוד (Ps 139:12, Est 8:18)—
and in the dew of light “the dew of the highest heavenly region,
where is the light with which Yahweh wraps Himself” (Ps 104:2),
as Marti explains, or, light and life being “interchangeable
ideas” (Ps 56:14 (18), Job 3:20 33:30), as Di. puts it, the dew that
restores to the life of light.—The earth shall give birth to (the)
shades] the rendering is not certain: on ביך, to give birth to,
see v.18 n.; כ’s text of 190 leads up to the idea of birth. Shades
are in v.14 dead men in general, here dead Jews. Other
renderings labour under the disadvantage of giving the line a
poorer connection, and shades an entirely different sense from
that in v.14: thus and the land of the Rephaim, i.e. giants (e.g.
COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH

Dt 2:11), regarded as impious (G), dost thou bring down (in ruin).

12. קָטַּחְתָּא נַעַשׁ with the meaning to appoint (G, ὁδός) occurs here only in OT; in 2 K 4:28, Ezk 24:4, Ps 22:16 ὁδός has other meanings: see BDB.—13. קַזְּבַּנָּא דֹאֵנָא וַתִּלַּכְתָּא דֶּבֶרֶבְּרָא נָרִיָא רֶהְמָא [1] everywhere else נַעַשׁ is used with a negative; (2) cannot be satisfactorily explained: Di. treats נ as the object (cp. 48:1, Ps 20[5]) prefixed to רֶהְמָא, נַעַשׁ being in apposition to it; Ges., al. make נ mean by means of thee, of thy help. In the text of G both these doubtful points disappear: G reads κτησαί ἡμᾶς ἐκτὸς σου ἄλλον ὅνοι ὀλθμαῖν, τὸ δυνάμα σου δυνάμαοιν, which represents not יֵצָא (cp. Lieb.), but

ילך בְּלִידִי עִיֵּנוּ נְנוֹכיָא שָׁמְךָ

Be our owner, O Lord;
We acknowledge none beside thee,
We make mention of thy name.

We might adopt this, but that it gives us no antecedent for the 3rd pl. pronoun of v.14 (דרש). This we could obtain, though in a rather bare way, by reading נַעַשׁ וַתִּלַּכְתָּא לְּדָבְרָא נָרִיָא רֶהְמָא: Lords (i.e. other lords) have owned us, (but) none beside thee do we acknowledge. For נַעַשׁ=none beside, cp. 1 K 12:20, 2 K 24:14.

—15. קָזְּבַּנָּא אֲדֹתָא שְׂדוּאָא קָאָא, קְפָּרָא, פְּרֹדָתָא קָאָא תִּזֵּז environment γίς. To what extent G's text differed from יֵצָא is not clear; it does not seem to have been in any respect superior. On G and various unconvincing emendations that have been proposed, see Lieb. יֵצָא probably preserves the sense, though if we may assume that the rhythm was regular throughout the poem, יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא is an amplification of the original text.—16. קָזְּבַּפְּרָא G ἐμφασθησεν (HP 14 ἐμφασθησθείσει) σου=ברקָא or קְפָּרָא; Cheyne, ר[3]ךֹס; Lieb. קָאָא. בְּדָקָק occurs here only of man's seeking God.—19. קָאָא שְּדוּאָא קְפָּרָא שְּדוּאָא קְפָּרָא for ἀλλοι read ὅλοι: so ἡμᾶς, and cp. 1st plural in vv.126, 176. שְּדוּאָא קְפָּרָא is also corrupt; not only is the meaning commonly extracted from יֵצָא most questionable (see above), but the form of the 3rd perfect pl. with י is anomalous and open to the gravest suspicion even in the latest OT literature: see Dr. § 6, Obs. n., and G–K. 441. The anomalous form is avoided, but a sense no more probable is obtained, if we point קְפָּרָא שְּדוּאָא, and assume that שְּדוּאָא is a πρ. λεγ. having the same meaning as πρόθεσις (823) or πρόθεσις (828), and render constraint such as is enforced by a charm was thy chastisement (Koppe, Di.). G εν δῆλης μικρά scarce=יפח, but it is ambiguous, perhaps יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא? Cheyne, modifying a suggestion of Houb., proposes יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא (cp. 65:14); Lieb. (who discusses other less probable suggestions) יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא. Lieb.'s emendation of 165a. b keeps nearest to the evidence of יֵצָא and לְאָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא Yאָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא Yאָא יֵצָא יֵצָא יֵצָא Yאָא יֵצָא יֵצָא Yאָא יֵצָא יֵצָא Yאָא יֵצָא יֵצָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא Yאָא  
XXVI. 12-19, XXVI. 20- XXVII. 1

stands in Ψ. Cheyne has argued that the original text of G rendered two words less, arguing that the overlined words are doublets, each rendering וָֽעַ֖ר יִשְׂיִ֣ם; but this is far from certain, for ol εν τοις μυμγελοις is an admirable rendering for ἄροι ἐν a passage where its common equivalent νεκροὶ has already been used. Nor in view of 38 is it certain that ἀναφηγοῦμαι = ἀναφηγοῦμαι (as in v.14) rather than ἀναφηγοῦμαι. But [D] is to be preferred.—הָרֹ֣עֶת לְהַרְעֵ֣עַ] the unsuitable is derived by dittography from the following the word (א) is scarcely the original reading, rather מֱלַכָּ֣ה לְהַרְעֵ֣עַ (א). מֱלַכָּ֣ה is frequently used collectively as here.—נִלְבַּ֣שְׁנִי יָשִֽֽמְנ֖ו read שִֽׁמְנָֽה לְנִלְבַּ֣שְׁנִי; (cp. G).—נִלְבַּ֣שְׁנִי G πεοίηται, i.e. בַּֽלִּים, which would be ambiguous, but might be rendered, But the land of Rephaim will fall, i.e. come to ruin: this certainly explains the order of the words; but against it, see above. For the order, subject, object, predicate, see Dr. 208 (3).

20-XXVII. 1. The Jews are to keep safe, while Yahweh is abroad in the world exacting from it penalty for its crimes.—Continuation from 25: translation on p. 407. Before the final consummation, when Yahweh is to ascend His throne in Шיו (24), give His coronation feast to all peoples (25⁴), and remove for ever the reproach of His people, the Jews (25³), there will be a moment during which His anger will be abroad, exacting from the inhabitants of the world penalty (cp. 24¹⁷-²⁰) for their deeds of blood which the earth will then reveal (cp. 24⁵) ; during this moment of wrath, let the Jews keep close at home, in their chambers with closed doors (cp. Ex 12²²f, also Job 14¹⁸). At the same time, Yahweh will punish all that is opposed to Him in heaven: as of old He pierced the dragon, the personification or leader of Chaos, before creating the present world, so now is He about to slay these monsters who have mislaid His creatures, as the immediate prelude to a new heaven and new earth over which He will exercise sovereignty (24²⁸). In the same way in Babylonia the killing of a monster precedes Marduk’s accession to sovereign power (KAT³ 499).—20. Hide] not in terror, as in 2¹⁰, for Yahweh now intends to do His people no hurt, but as a precaution, lest the wrath of God, as it roams abroad, should unintentionally do hurt to the Jews as well as to others. — Wrath] can scarcely be here the last expiring traces of Yahweh’s anger against His people (1ο²⁵ n.), which are to vanish completely when Yahweh proceeds (v.2¹) to punish the world (Di.); v. ²¹ is rather a reason why an explosion of wrath is about to take place, from which the Jews must keep out of the way.—21. From his place] heaven; Mic 1³.
Inhabitants of the earth] cp. 24:17: sing. collective in 164b. 21c. d. When Yahweh comes to punish, the earth will lay bare the blood of the slain which it has drank in, and the uncovered blood will cry aloud to Yahweh to avenge it: cp. Gn 4:10f., Job 16:18, Ezk 24:7. Line d. is simply parallel to line c.: it does not introduce the new thought that the martyrs themselves, as well as their blood, will arise to testify (Del., al.).—XXVII. 1. Does this v. refer to war in heaven or war on earth? Do the two Leviathans and the dragon belong solely to the host of heaven? or do they symbolise three earthly kingdoms, or a single earthly kingdom, or indefinitely all earthly powers opposed to Yahweh and to Israel? If the reference is to earthly kingdoms, what were these kingdoms? On all these points interpreters have differed, and continue to differ. The close correspondence of 24:21-23 and 26:20-27 strongly favours the view that this v. refers to that “war in heaven” (Rev 12?) which must precede the birth of the New World as it preceded the birth of the present (cp. Gunkel, Schöpfung u. Chaos, 367-371; KAT 507 f.); 26:20-27 carries us back to the time before the removal of the reproach of the Jews (25) and Yahweh’s glorious reign in Jerusalem (26:23c. d), and is therefore parallel in time to 24:21-23b; as 26:21 corresponds to Yahweh’s visitation on “the kings of the earth” (24:21c), 27 might well correspond to the punishment of “the host of the height in the height.” The host above and the kings are doubtless related (see n. on 24:21), but we need not seek for any specific identification of the three heavenly beings with three earthly kingdoms. Those who do seek such identification, whether including or excluding any heavenly reference, differ much: e.g. Ki., Rashi think of Assyria, Egypt, Tyre; Del. sees in the dragon which is in the sea, Egypt (cp. 57:9, Ps 74:13, Ezk 29:8 32), in the fleeing serpent, Assyria situated along the rushing, rapid Tigris, and in the twisted serpent, Babylon situated along the Euphrates, “which has many turns and labyrinth-like windings”; Cheyne and Box equate the dragon with Egypt, and the two Leviathans with Babylon and Persia; Du. agrees as to the dragon, but equates the fleeing serpent with the Parthians on account of their well-known manner of fighting, and the other serpent with Syria. Ges., a representative of the view that all three descriptions signify the same monster, identifies this monster with Babylon. It will
be seen that there is no agreement except with regard to Egypt; and it should be observed that in some of the passages quoted above more than one of these mythological epithets is conferred on Egypt: e.g. in Ps 74:13 Egypt is both the dragon and Leviathan. The point, then, of the whole v. is just this: Yahweh will make an end of all that is opposed to Him in heaven, even as He executes punishment on all who have offended Him on earth (26:21); and in order to make this point the writer avails himself of current mythological ideas and terms. Fundamentally, according to this mythological theory, the opposition was between the gods of order and the power of disorder—the Chaos-monster: there is, therefore, a certain element of truth in the view that the three designations—the two Leviathans and the dragon are a single being; but the Hebrew writer clearly intends three distinct objects and, possibly, as Dr. Burney has recently suggested,* the three conspicuous constellations of serpentine form. It is conceivable, as Zimmern remarks (KAT² 501 n. 2), that several constellations were at one and the same time regarded as representatives (Entsprechungen) of the Chaos-monster.—His sword] the conception of the mighty sword of God "is, no doubt, ancient (cp. Gn 3:24), but it is specially prominent in late eschatological descriptions; cp. 34:6, 66:17, Zec 13:7, En 90:10, 34:9, 12:1, Rev 1:16, 12:2 etc." (Cheyne, Introd. p. 151). It is suggested that three epithets are applied to the sword to gain symmetry (Du.) with the three monsters on whom it is to be used. The first epithet, חרב (כ חרב, holy), may mean fierce, relentless (cp. 19:4, Jg 4:24), or, perhaps, well-tempered, doing much work without becoming blunted, a meaning which would have its nearest analogy in the application of the adj. to a stiffened neck. —Leviathan] a mythic serpent; cp. Job 3:8, Ps 74:14, 104:28, En 60:7-9, 24f., 4 Es 60:52, and see EBi. 520 ff. The ideas doubtless go back to Babylonian mythology in which the conflict of Marduk with mythical serpentine monsters plays a conspicuous part (cp. Zimmern, in KAT² pp. 498 f., 500-504), but the term Leviathan has not yet been found in Babylonian: its origin is obscure, perhaps it means the wreathed or twisted (垍ח). The duplication of Leviathan here and in the next line is curious; but it is scarcely due to the fact that the writer needed

* JThS, 1910, pp. 443 f.; see also Smend’s earlier identification with the same constellations, ZATW iv. 213.
three names for three different world-powers, and therefore used Leviathan twice, differentiating by means of different epithets (Gunkel, p. 47); if he merely needed another name, Rahab was at his disposal (cp. 51\textsuperscript{9}, Job 26\textsuperscript{13}): others think that the two Leviaths denote two closely connected kingdoms, such as two in the Euphrates-Tigris valley. The first Leviathan is described as the fleeing serpent, which in Job 26\textsuperscript{13} is intimately associated with the sky. Burney would identify this Leviathan with the constellation Serpens with which Ophiuchus, "the serpent-grasper," is closely associated. The conception of Yahweh smiting with a sword a serpent that flees from Him, has its analogy and probably its origin in a Babylonian myth which is pictorially represented, for example, on a Babylonian seal of a serpent pursued and about to be smitten, presumably Tiamat pursued by Marduk; see illustration in Cheyne, SBOT, p. 206, and cp. KAT\textsuperscript{78} 503. The second Leviathan is the crooked or twisted (נֶלְחַפֶּשׁ) serpent: this is identified by Smend and Burney with the constellation Draco, "which winds its long-drawn length between Ursa major and Ursa minor." Gunkel, on the other hand, traces the epithet to the association of Leviathan the primeval monster with the sea, which, according to Babylonian and also Greek conceptions, flowed twisting round all lands.—The Dragon] cp. 51\textsuperscript{9}, Job 71\textsuperscript{2}, Ps 74\textsuperscript{13}; also Ps 148\textsuperscript{7} (pl.). The dragon is described in י as that which is in the sea (absent from ג), and the whole according to Di. means the crocodile which is in the sea, i.e. the Nile (19\textsuperscript{n}), a symbol of Egypt. But if, as is more probable, we have here to do with constellations, the sea is the celestial ocean, and the constellation is Hydra, which lies south of the Ecliptic in that part of the Heavens which ranked with the Babylonians as the ocean (Burney, p. 445).

20. נֶלְחַפֶּשׁ] Ktib; נֶלְחַפֶּשׁ K'rb. The latter assumes an otherwise unknown form נֶלְחַפֶּשׁ: if sing. (ג יִנְהָפְנָא שֶׁעַר), as in 2 S 13\textsuperscript{17}, 2 K 4\textsuperscript{33}, point rather נֶלְחַפֶּשׁ.—דִּֽמְרֵךְ G omit; but cp. Jg 3\textsuperscript{23}.—הָנָּ אא not fem. (G–K. 7597), a view for which Del. offers a Rabbinical explanation; but the form is either an Aramaic 2nd masc. sing. (Oshl. 2352; Kön. i. 623), or point נֶלְחַפֶּשׁ נֶלְחַפֶּשׁ.—21. וַיַּעֲקֹבּ G freely אֲפִּּוּרְוֹ צָוִּוניּ.—וַיָּֽעֲשֶׂהֻ נְאָרָבָּם יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא יִנְהָפְנָא Yēh is doubtful how far G differs from יִנְהָפְנָא; see Lieb. With the cstr. of יִנְהָפְנָא, cp. Am 3\textsuperscript{2}. 14.—דִּֽלָה] G omits: יִנְהָפְנָא is correct.
XXVII. 2–6.—Yahweh's delightful vineyard.

The song consists of short lines of two or three accents for the most part grouped in distichs. A remarkable feature of it is the sustained rhyme in πη in vv. 2–3. The text and, consequently, in detail the structure, are very uncertain.

A delightful vineyard—
Sing ye to it (?)

8 I, Yahweh, am guarding it,
Constantly I water it;
Lest its leaves be missing,
Day and night I guard it.

4 Wrath (?) have I none (?)
O that I had thorns, briars (?)
In battle would I step (?) on them,
I would burn them altogether

5 Or else let him lay hold on my refuge,
Let him make peace with me,
Peace let him make with me.

6 . . . Jacob shall take root,
Israel shall blossom and bud,
And they shall fill the face of the world with fruit.

In these verses, as in most of this chapter, either the text is corrupt and unintelligible, or the thought of the writer is expressed obscurely and in very remarkable ways. But apparently we have here a kind of contrast to the song of the vineyard in 5:7: there, Yahweh exercises all possible care, gets no return from it, and in anger hands over the vineyard to be wasted and trampled down: here, Yahweh constantly tends His vineyard, and His hostility is reserved for thorns and briars, which seem to symbolise Israel's enemies; these, He will wage war on, and burn with fire, unless they come to terms with Him. In any case the vine of Israel will grow marvellously and fill the world. Such is as probable a view as any of the meaning of ה; but ה is curiously expressed, and ט, from which, however, it would be even harder to extract any intelligible meaning than from ה,
may have had a very different text.—For another view of the interpretation, see on v. 4a, b; for some of the variations of G, see the phil. nn. below, and see, further, Lieb.—2. In that day . . . ] unless the words are corrupt, something has dropped out, probably either shall be said (cp. 259), or shall be sung (261). Di. suggests, indeed, that v.2 as a whole constitutes an artificial variant on the introductory formulae in 259 261, and that we should render, On that day a delightful vineyard—sing of it, i.e. the following song of the delightful vineyard will be sung. Of this Du. reasonably remarks, “Even the most helpless writer would not stammer thus.”—A delightful vineyard (G and some Heb. MSS) is a vineyard which is an object of desire (216 phil. n.), or delight; cp. Am 511, and “delightful fields,” 3218; cp. also the use of the vb. in Ps 6817(16), Ca 29. 454 read תֶּה, wine, occurs elsewhere only in Dt 3214; but תֶּה, vineyard, are regular terms for wine. The following words, תֶּה, may be rendered, sing ye to it (cp. Nu 2117), or sing ye of it (cp. 51); neither seems very probable, and the text may be suspected.—I, Yahweh, am guarding it] cp. 263, or am its watchman, cp. Job 2718, Pr 2718; also Is 18.—Constantly] cp. Job 718, Ezk 2616.—3c. This line may be rendered, lest its leaves, shrivelling and dropping from lack of water (ct. Jer 178), be missing, or lest visitation be made upon it (cp. Nu 1629); by giving to יָעָל a shade of meaning not supported by usage, we could obtain something more natural than either, lest any hurt it (RV). Very probably the text is corrupt.—4. Wrath] This is merely one way of interpreting נא; equally possible renderings are wall (וה), e.g. 261, or sun or heat (וה, 2428, Ps 197). None of them gives a satisfactory sense. Lowth adopted wall (ות), and, treating vv.1-6 as a dialogue between Yahweh (vv.3, 4c, d, 5a, 6) and the ungrateful vineyard (vv.4a, b, 5b, 6), saw in v.4a, b a complaint of the vineyard, I have no wall for my defence: O that I had a fence of thorns and briars. Most modern interpreters agree in rendering wrath, but differ as to the object of the wrath: if the meaning is,* I am not angry with my vineyard (ct. 55f, Ezk 1710f.), it seems very superfluous after v.3. On the other hand, Di. (cp. Ew., Hitz.) has

to assume an antithesis which is in no way indicated when he interprets: Now that judgment has been executed, I have no wrath against any one, but (v. 4 b- d), if occasion arise, I would take the field again.—O that I had] an optative phrase (G-K. 151a, b), lit. who will give me.—Thorns, briars] 5°. The asyndeton is improbable: supply and; or omit briars as an accretion. But corruption of the text may go deeper: if not, the thorns and briars on which battle is to be waged (cp. 7 24, 2 S 23 6 f) by Yahweh must symbolise His enemies, i.e. the enemies of Israel.—Step] the vb. ἠποδεικνύω occurs here only in OT; but the nouns ἀποδεικνύω, στῆς (i S 20 5), and ἀποδεικνύειν ( = ἀποδείκνυε, 2 S 10 6), buttocks (i Ch 19 4), are found. In NH and Aram. the vb. means to step, and in Syriac with ὺπ (ct. 2 here), to trample on. —5. Let him, i.e. one of the offenders symbolically called “thorns and briars” in v. 4, if he does not wish to share the fiery fate of his fellows, lay hold of (cp. i K 1 50 2 20) my refuge (30 3), i.e. let him seek my protection.—6. As in the other song of Yahweh’s vineyard, the vineyard is at the end of the poem openly identified with Yahweh’s people, Israel, Jacob, who are, with a slight modification of the figure, now depicted as a gigantic vine, deep-rooted, spreading over even vaster tracts than the vines of 16 8, Ps 80 11 f (cp. also 37 21, Hos 14 6 f), filling the whole world with its produce, i.e. the Jews will cover the earth or be a blessing in its midst (19 24).—Shall blossom and bud] the reverse order, Ps 92 8; on these and other terms of growth, see Numbers, p. 216 f.
proposes כמות, be torn off. MT קות is best explained as a case of the indef. subj. י is doubtful, but none of the emendations proposed are convincing: from Lieb. these examples may be quoted of substitutes for the Yusm י of י: דקנ (Ec, Lowth), יפות (Bredenkamp), יפנש יכ (Grätz), יפות ינ (Ruben), יפנש יכ or, in place of the whole clause in י, יפנש only (Lieb.). If the י of י be correct, the sentence may depend on what precedes (Du., Cheyne), or on what follows.—4, 5. י ילא ינהה[. Ruben proposes י ילא ינהה—]

There is a considerable amount of parallelism and of balanced rhythm (3:3 or 4:4) in these verses; but the text (see v.8) is not always certain, and it is very doubtful whether the verses were originally continuous. The balance in v.10, though scarcely the sense, would be improved by taking בָּרֹכָה with v.10; v.10b. b balances badly, and the balance of v.11a-b would be improved by omitting בָּרֹכָה.

7 As his smiter is smitten did he smite him?
Or as his slaves are slain was he slain?

8 ... by dismissing her dost thou contend with her;
He hath removed her by his fierce wind in the day of the sirocco.

9 Therefore on this condition shall the iniquity of Jacob be expiated—
And this shall be all the fruit (?) of removing his sin—
That he make all altar-stones like pounded chalk-stones,
That asherim and hammānim stand erect no more.
For the fortified city is desolate,  
An abode deserted and forsaken like the wilderness,  
There the calf feeds,  
And there lies down and consumes the branches thereof;  
When the boughs thereof are dry, they are broken off;  
Women come, make a fire of them;  
For it is not a people of understanding,  
Wherefore its Maker shall show it no mercy,  
And its Framer shall show it no favour.

The connection of these verses with what precedes and with what follows is loose, and they probably formed no original part either of the apocalypse, or still less of the song (vv. 2-6). It is not certain even that they are all of a piece: the internal connection is in places very far from clear: see on vv. 8. 9. 10f.

7. The meaning probably is: Has Yahweh made Israel suffer as severely as those who had inflicted suffering on Israel? No, for Israel at least survives for a glorious future (v. 6), his smiters (10^20) are annihilated. Cp. Jer 10^24f.—8. The fem. suffixes, which distinguish this v. from v. 7, where both suffixes and participles are masc., and הרהבת (cp. הנישה, v. 10) form some point of connection between this v. and v. 10. It may perhaps be a gloss on that v. (Du., Che., Marti) that has crept into the text. Of attempts to connect the v. with the context, that of Di. is no more unsuccessful than others; according to him, the meaning is: Israel has been punished by expulsion and exile only, and has therefore suffered less than her enemies (v. 7); following J, from which G differs, he renders the first line, By expulsion, by dismissing her (as a divorcee), dost thou contend with her (49^25, Job 10^2); and he explains the use of the impf. tense—inadequately—as due to the fact that the time of Yahweh’s disfavour is not yet quite over (26^20). Smend explains: “finally, Israel’s enemies must suffer far more severely than Israel itself. The storm wind will carry them off, and they will perish for ever.” This does more justice to the impf. of v. 8a, but fails to explain the 3rd fem. sing. suffixes. The first word of the v. is particularly uncertain: since J, many have connected הנמצא ב with הנמצא, the third of an ephah, which is supposed to bear also the general sense measure: הנמצא is then supposed to be a contraction for הנמצא הנמצא, and to mean either (i) measure
for measure; so כ, "with what measure thou metest shall it be meted to thee who didst dismiss and oppress them"; or (2) with exact measure: cp. RV. All this is most improbable. Others, including apparently כ (μαχόμενος), see in the form a Pilpel infin. preceded by ב, and followed by the fem. ending, or as in הַנֶלַשׁ by the fem. suffix; then it is guessed from the context that meant to expel: the etymological support for such a meaning is precarious in the extreme: the Arabic לָאָס means to make the noise made by camel or donkey-drivers to hurry up their beasts; hence it is inferred the word may have come to mean more generally to expel!—8b. Seems to describe a very severe fate: cp. Hos 13:15, Jer 18:17, Job 27:21. That a sirocco as blowing from the east is symbolical of the Eastern peoples, Assyrians and Babylonians (Di.), is not very probable.—The sirocco] the east wind of Palestine, blowing from the wilderness, is hot and suffocating, and destructive of vegetation (Gn 41:6, Hos 13:15); it may also be very violent (Ezk 27:28, Ps 48:8), and carry all before it (Jer 18:17, Job 27:21). It has been frequently described by modern travellers: see, e.g., G. A. Smith, Hist. Geog. 67-69, and cp. Dr. on Am 4:9.

9. Israel's iniquity will be wiped out, and his sin with all its grievous consequences removed, by His purging His land from all illegitimate worship and objects of worship: this seems to be the meaning of the v.—Therefore] can only be laboriously explained: because Yahweh is more favourable to Israel than to his smitters, and does not annihilate him, therefore on this condition, i.e. the condition defined below (v.6c. d), he can be rid of iniquity and its consequences; נָאָב is resumed by בֵּית מֹעֵד, exactly as by נָאָב in Gn 34:22: cp., too, 1 S 11:2.—The iniquity of Jacob shall be expiated] ct. 22:14.—The parallel line instead of running, and on this condition his sin shall depart (cp. 6:7), reads in ה thus: and this is all the fruit of making his sin depart. Cheyne once (PL) explained the two lines as meaning that Israel's repentance was at once the cause and effect of its forgiveness; "Justice and mercy are combined in the removal of sin and guilt according to the Old Test. as well as the New." Such excellent theology fortunately does not rest alone on so strange an expression of it as is given, if given at all, here; כ reads "and this shall be his blessing when I remove his sin."—Altar-stones] altars, 'ashērim and ham-
mānim (cp. 178 n.) are seductions from the sole worship of Yahweh, and all such will be absent from an ideal community: the altars are the altars other than the legitimate altar at Jerusalem, such as the altars that survived from, or were restored after, Josiah's reformation; or, if the prophecy were so late, altars on which the Hellenizing and apostate Jews offered (cp. 1 Mac 225-26).

10 f. Description of a once strong and fortified city that is now desolate, a spot where cattle feed (cp. e.g. 517) and women come in search of firewood—a vivid trait peculiar to this passage; the reason of this fate was that the inhabitants were without understanding and, therefore, obtained neither favour nor mercy from its maker. What city is intended is altogether uncertain; some think it is the capital of the world-empire oppressing the Jews;* others, that it is Jerusalem;† others,‡ Samaria, the home of the people without understanding (Sir 5026). For is a difficulty in any case.—10. A fortified city] cp. 252 263. — Is desolate] alone, dwelling apart; of Jerusalem, La 11.—An abode (3413) deserted] lit. expelled, i.e. an abode from which the inhabitants have been expelled: cp. an expelled nest, 162. —And consumes the branches thereof] i.e. the branches of the bushes and trees that had overgrown the long-deserted spot, cp. 3413; but the expression of the idea is curious and the text doubtful. Du. by emendation (see phil. n.) substitutes for 10d as it reads in H, And thorns and briars grow branches: cp. 3213 3312.—II a. b. The dried and broken-off branches (ץןפ, Ps 8012, Job 149 1811 2919+) serve women for firewood.—For it is not a people of understanding] this might apply to Israel (cp. 13), or Samaria (Sir 5026); but since heathen nations can be described as doomed to Sheol because forgetful of God (Ps 91716), any such nation might well be described as failing to obtain mercy from God because without understanding, i.e. knowledge of God's ways (cp. 4418, Ps 7418-22). It is, indeed, a characteristic of late Jewish thought that the nations must get instructed in Yahweh's ways (22-4), that if they fail to do so or to act upon their knowledge, they will perish (6012).—Its Maker . . . its Framer] the pronouns refer to Israel, 431 442; but they might certainly refer, if the context required it, to other nations: for Yahweh has made all nations (Ps 869).

* Di. † Del., Du., Box, Skinner. ‡ Marti.
COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH

7. [probably this was originally either κομβός or κομβίνα,] or κομβίνα (S), and either κομβός and κομβίνα or κομβήνα. The pass. νους, MT, is in any case most improbable.—8. [κομβός, MT, is in any case most improbable. 

Continuation . . . To be noted is the fact that, in the translation, cp. With these cp. of the supposed already change as intends, perhaps the passage as intended. For Cond. proposes απλομοιο (cp. 14:23). See, further, the full discussion in Kön. i. 655-658; and for sundry proposed emendations, Lieb. MT probably intends the form to be 3rd pf. of νους, to muse, meditate: cp. C. This, of course, is impossible. 

The form by reference to La 16 (Cheyne), or to the doubtful 2 S 20:18 (Du.), as Hiph. of νους with the suffix, νοθή, is less satisfactory.—9. [a curious change of masc. and fem.] Fruit, suggests result; J. D. Mich. (cited by Lieb.) proposed יר, the bullocks, i.e. offerings, required for removing his sin; though this is quite improbable, it shows a sense of the difficulty of יר which modern attempts at explanation have failed to surmount satisfactorily (see above).—10. [a curious change of masc. and fem.] Cstr. as 5th n. With hez, to stand erect, cp. the use of the Hiphil, to erect, e.g. in Jos 4:9. —11. as in Am 2:1. אָרָר יִשְׂרָאֵל (Aravaita) ; אָרָר יִשְׂרָאֵל in Am 2:1. אָרָר יִשָּׂע (ו. י. אָרָר יִשָּׂע). —12. On גֵּר there is a full discussion; but he is wrong in representing ג as absent from ג יֵרְשִׁנָּה in the form רָשִׁינָה which is represented by שֵׁרֶשׁ בָּשׁוֹד in a clause at the end of v. 9 which is incorrectly rejected by Lieb. as a Greek gloss. —13. For רָשִׁי רַעַקֶּשׁ תְּלִלְה הַשְּׂפָה, Gn 30:7, and nov to רָשִׁי רַעַקֶּשׁ תְּלִילָה בָּשְׁם (cp. Jer 4:29), but below רָשִׁי רַעַקֶּשׁ מַעְלָה רַעַקֶּשׁ מַעְלָה הַשְּׂפָה. —14. On גֵּר there is a full discussion; but cp. מַעְלָה, 40:14, and see G. K. 124e.

12, 13. Conclusion of the Apocalypse. . . Continuation of v. 1; translation, p. 408. The Jews will be gathered together, whether those who dwell scattered (and mingled with the heathen (?)) within the limits of the ideal boundaries of the Land of Promise (v. 12), or those who have wandered, or been exiled, beyond those limits, eastwards or westwards; these latter, now too far dispersed to do so, will come and worship Yahweh in Jerusalem. The more detailed meaning and significance is unfortunately obscure, especially in v. 12; but the situation presupposed is similar to that in 25:8-14, possibly also to that in 26:20f., or, as Marti puts it, these verses give us the positive side of those passages and the conclusion of the Apocalypse: the reproach of the Jews will cease (25:8), those who reproached them will be punished (26:20f.), the Jews themselves will be gathered to Jerusalem (27:12ff.) and to the glory of Yahweh's reign there (24:23).
— Yahweh will beat out (grain) from the corn-ears of the River to (those of) the Wady of Egypt, or Yahweh will beat off (olive-berries), or beat out (grain) from the current (cp. Ge) of the River to the Wady of Egypt: both translations can be defended, neither can be maintained with complete confidence. The vb. נבש (2827) means either to beat out grains of corn with a stick, Jg 611, Ruth 217, or to beat an olive tree so as to bring off the berries, Dt 2420; the noun נבש means either an ear (not grain, the object of נבש in Jg 611) of corn, e.g. 178, Gn 418, or else a flow, or current, of water, Ps 693-16 and, probably, Jg 126. The use of נבש is in either case unnecessarily awkward: for in the neighbourhood of הבש it is natural to take it of ears of grain; but, on the other hand, attached to a term for water like river, its most obvious meaning is current: the river Jordan flowing past suggested testing the fugitives by the pronunciation of Shibboleth in particular (Jg 126), though, of course, any word beginning with ש would have done equally well. Again, there seems no particular point in saying from the current of the River instead of from the River simply; but it is equally difficult to see why, if the writer meant, Yahweh will beat out corn from the River to the Wady, he chose to say instead, Yahweh will beat out from the corn-ears of the River to the Wady;* נבש must, moreover, if this is intended, be taken as a collective, though it is so used nowhere else. Again, נלע, gleaning, takes place before הבש, beating, of wheat (Ru 217); but berries would be picked up after they had been beaten off the tree. On the whole, the awkwardness seems less if הבש can be taken of olive-beating. But in either case the figure seems to be badly expressed. Ges. understands the meaning to be that Israel's territory in its widest extent will be as thickly and quickly populated as though men fell from trees; Smend (pp. 192, 207), that Yahweh will gather the entire Jewish community, now scattered between Egypt and the Euphrates, together, without exception, as individual olives at the gleaning are knocked off the trees and collected. Many modern commentators explain much as Marti, "Yahweh institutes a great threshing, the Jews are the good corn, the heathen the straw; the Jews are

* Unless, indeed, as Del. suggests, the writer intended a "beautiful [7] dilogy" which might be roughly represented in English by, "Yahweh will pick from the currents of the River," etc., meaning "Yahweh will pick currants from the River to."
picked up one by one, the heathen removed." The straw in this case might also perhaps include unworthy Israelites: cp. Zec 5:1-4. — The River] the Euphrates, 70 n. In 24:18 olive-beating is a sinister figure. — The Wady of Egypt] mod. Wady el-'Arish, the ancient Rhinocolura (so ג here) which flows into the Mediterranean at el-'Arish, about half-way between Gaza and Pelusium; see Numbers, p. 454. For the River and the Wady of Egypt, as ideal boundaries of the promised land, see Gn 15:18, which mentions both; Ex 23:8, Dt 7:7, Jos 14, which mention the River; and 1 K 8:65, which mentions the Wady. — 13. A great trumpet] the summoning of the elect by means of a trumpet-blast appears frequently in late eschatology: see Mt 24:31, 1 Co 15:52, 1 Th 4:16; cp. also the different use of trumpets in Zec 9:14, Rev 7. 8. — They that were lost] מארים, i.e. away from home in a strange and unfamiliar land. So is דב used of sheep that have been allowed to stray off their owner's land, and so become lost, and consequently exposed to peril of perishing: cp. Jer 50:6 "Lost sheep have my people become: their shepherds let them go astray . . . they have gone from mountain to hill, they have forgotten their place of lying down (נベン: cp. Is 27:10); Jer 23:1 "Woe to the shepherds that have let the sheep get lost (מעבדים) and scattered. . . . Ye have scattered my sheep, and cast them out (นอกจากים); Ezk 34:4f. "The outcast (מהלך) ye brought not back (home), and the lost (תרבה) ye sought not, and they were scattered from having no shepherd, and became food for all the beasts of the field"; vv.12-16 "As a shepherd seeketh out his flock . . ., so will I seek out my sheep, and rescue them from all the places whither they have been scattered; and I will bring them out from all the peoples, and collect them from all the lands, and bring them to their ground; and I will feed them on the mountains of Israel. There shall they lie down in a good home-stead. . . . I myself will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down. . . . The lost (תרבה) I will seek, and the outcast (תרקינן) will I bring back (home)." Cp. also Ps 119:178 and (of asses) Is 9:3, 20. So in the liturgy of Dt 26 the Israelite at home in the land of promise (vv.1) contrasts (vv.3, 9, 10; 5) his present position in his own land under the constant care of Yahweh with that of the
father of the nation who was יִרְמֵי וָאֵם, a lost, i.e. a homeless, Aramaean, passing down into Egypt, a country not his own, to live there as a גֵּר (14 ק. n.). As the homeless children of Jacob were once brought out of the alien land of Egypt into their own home-land, so will the Jews, now again away from home, in the alien lands of Egypt and Assyria, return home to Jerusalem.—The land of Assyria] not necessarily the land of the Assyrians of Isaiah's time, so that we must suppose the v. to have been written before the fall of Nineveh, or that a later writer looking back to that time means in particular the ten tribes who were exiled in Isaiah's day to Assyria (Di.); but Assyria, as in Ezr 6 כפ, is the same district, retaining its old name after the fall of the Assyrian Empire: cp. the classical use of Ἀσσυρία, and see on 11 כפ—a passage which the present in other respects closely resembles.—The outcasts] מֵעַלְפִּי וָאֱלֹהִים : cp. 11 כפ בפ , cp. the terms in which Marduk proclaims Merodach-baladan II. (728–701 B.C.) king, “This is the shepherd who brings together the scattered” (נִפְּחָה הִירָוָה רֹבִי, see KAT ס, p. 382; Gressmann, Eschat. p. 267.

12. רָאָשׁ רַם] cp. רָאָשׁ רַם, Ec 7 כפ : for the punctuation רַם, see G–K. 130 כפ : the form is not cstr. (cp. Gn 43 כפ, 2 S 17 כפ).

ADDITIONAL NOTE

ON THE STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF XXIV.–XXVII.

It has been claimed above (pp. 401 f.) that the style and language of Is 24–27 independently point to the post-exilic origin of these chapters. A number of peculiarities have been pointed out in the Commentary and philological notes, and reference has been made to the lists of peculiarities given by Smend and Cheyne. But a synopsis, such as is given below, of some of the peculiarities in the words used, or the meanings with which certain words are used, and of certain significant forms, may enable the reader more readily to appreciate the linguistic character of these chapters.

These peculiarities and the affinities with later writers are the more noticeable because they occur in the work of a writer who was well versed in Scripture (p. 401), and who, apparently, endeavoured to reproduce the style of prophecy.
At the same time, it is important to bear in mind certain dissimilarities between Is 24-27 and most late post-exilic writers. The style of Is 24-27 forms no such transition as does Ec. to the New Hebrew or Rabbinic style, nor is it marked (except in corrupt passages) by that uncouthness* which characterises Chr., Dan., and Est. Yet even a writer as late as the 2nd cent. B.C. could write with ease and fluency. "The language" of Ben Sirach "is classical Hebrew, the syntax displaying no traces of the peculiar New Hebrew constructions, such as occur, for instance, so frequently in Ecclesiastes. . . . The style is occasionally a little heavy, but this may sometimes be due to corruption of the text. Otherwise (especially chs. 44 ff.) it is remarkably easy and flowing. It stands throughout on an altogether higher level than that, for instance, of Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, or the Hebrew parts of Daniel."†

And not only in the general character of the style is Is 24-27 distinguished from most late post-exilic works except Sir. It contains no Greek words such as (though few in number) form such a significant feature of the Book of Daniel; nor, unless נא meant secret, and formed an original part of the text (but see n. on 2418), does it contain any Persian words, such as appear in Ec., Cant., Est., Dan., Chr.,‡ and even, in spite of its generally more classic style, in Sir.§ (e.g. נא, secret). And, further, Is 24-27 may be said to be relatively free from such marked Aramaisms as occur in Jon., Pss 139, 144, Sir., as well as in the late post-exilic writings already mentioned; see Dr. LOT, references in Index i. s.v. "Aramaisms," and the glossary in Cowley and Neubauer’s edition of Ecclus.

Che. finds the style of chs. 24-27 artificial, and the chief elements of its artificiality in "the singularity of many phrases . . . the sixteen paronomasias (cp. esp. 241. 3. 4. 6. 16-19 256. 10 268 277), the numerous rhymes (241. 8. 16 251. 6. 7 262. 13. 20. 21

* Cp. Dr. LOT 505.
† Cowley and Neubauer, The Original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus (xxxix. 15-xlix. 11), pp. xiii f.; cp. Norbert Peters, Hebr. Text des Buches Ecclesi. 855. It must, however, be remembered that the judgment cited above was based on chs. 39-49 only, and could hardly be passed on all the portions of Sir. that have been discovered since. Still, even chs. 3918-4911 alone are between three and four times the length of Is 24-27.
‡ See Dr. LOT, references in Index, s.v. "Persian Words."
§ But see p. 466 n.
27\textsuperscript{3, 5}), the antitheses (24\textsuperscript{4, 8, 19} 27\textsuperscript{7}), the emphatic doubling of words (24\textsuperscript{16} 25\textsuperscript{1} 26\textsuperscript{3, 5, 15} 27\textsuperscript{5}), characteristic also of the II Isaiah, which indicate a consciousness of poverty in the writer (or writers)." But mere artificiality of style does not closely define the age of a writer; and the phenomena correctly described by Che. do not justify any more precise conclusion than that which he draws, viz., "that they point to an age much later than that of the true Isaiah, and later even than that of the . . . Second Isaiah." And so Smend, after citing several singular expressions, discreetly leaves the definition of time somewhat vague: "these modes of expression belong essentially to rhetoric; but, taken in conjunction with the dependence of the author elsewhere on other writers, they indicate a conscious striving after originality, and thereby betray a later age" (p. 197).

The synopsis that follows must be left to make good the claim that the style and language of Is 24–27 independently prove its post-exilic origin. They cannot, as the ideas probably can, be safely used to show that Is 24–27 is a late post-exilic work. And if the ideas contained in these chapters were compatible with an early post-exilic date, it would be simplest to account for the dissimilarities between the style of Is 24–27 and of such works as Chr., Dan., Est., Ec., by the assumption that it is earlier than they. If, however, the ideas compel us to seek the origin of Is 24–27 in one of the centuries that saw the production of Chr., Dan., Est., Ec., Sir., we must suppose that the author having, like Ben Sirach, "much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers," was as successful in avoiding the uncouthness of Chr., Dan., Est., and somewhat more successful in preserving the classicism of his vocabulary, avoiding (probably) altogether the

* But most of these were probably not present in the original text; see notes above on 24\textsuperscript{16} 25\textsuperscript{1} 26\textsuperscript{3, 5, 15} 27\textsuperscript{5}. The same is true of some of the paronomasias (see n. 24\textsuperscript{1, 16}); yet the number of paronomasias remains strikingly large. Moreover, the use made of paronomasia is different from Isaiah's use of it (see p. 401), and more resembles that made of it by Ben Sirach (see a collection of paronomasias in Sir. in Norbert Peters, Ecclus. p. 85*). So far, indeed, is the writer from resembling the earlier prophet in his use of paronomasia, that he might rather be described as being in this respect a degenerate from Isaiah.
use of Persian words and the particle כ (for מֵאָם), and making less use of Aramaisms.*

To guard against misunderstanding, it may be well to state explicitly that not every word or usage cited below, even though no example of pre-exilic usage can be given, was necessarily unknown before the exile. It is the multiplication of words or usages for which little or no early evidence exists, but for which Aramaic or late analogy can be found, that is significant.

i. Particles:

All that is peculiar in the use of the particles is confined to the song in 261-19.

1. כ, one of the Phoenician negatives (Cooke, _NSI_, p. 33), is in Hebrew confined to poetry; moreover, (1) it often occurs aggregated 3-7 times in one passage: (2) it is particularly frequent with the vb. מָלַשׁ (Pss 106 168 172 218 307 466 931 9610 = 1 Ch 1680, Pr 1380 128, Job 4115: ct. מָלַשׁ with נָשִׂי, Ps 158 1126 1251 6287, Is 4020 417). In OT it occurs 69 times (BDB), and of these occurrences 7 are in Is 2610, 11, 14, 18. Proof of pre-exilic usage rests on two uncertain occurrences in Hosea 916 (Koresh), 72 (ם, but see כ), and, as some would claim, on certain occurrences in Is 33, Psalms, and Proverbs. Apart from Is 26 and Hos. the usage is as follows (for references, see Mandelkern, _Conc. Minor_):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is</td>
<td>1421</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      | 3320, 21, 23, 24 | 7
|      | 359         | 1
|      | 4024 (3 t.) 4317 448f. (4 t.) | 8
| Pss. | (10 (5 t.). 16 (4 t.) | 1
|      | 17 (3 t.). 21 (3 t.). 30. | 1
|      | 32. 46. 49. 58. 78. 93. | 1
|      | 96. 104 (3 t.). 119. | 1
|      | 140 (2 t.). 141. 147 | 31
| Pr.  | 10          |
| Job  | 1           |
| 1 Ch | 1680 (=Ps 9610) | 1

* It is important, however, in making this comparison, to allow for the probability that the text of Ben Sirach has suffered considerable contamination in transmission, and that some of the late words may not have stood in the original text.
2. הָּ֖ק, 26 supra. The use of this particle is very characteristic of Is 40–48 (25 times): see Dr. LOT, p. 240; but the particle, mainly poetical, is not confined to post-exilic literature: see, e.g., Jg 520, Dt 333, 20, 28.

3. יְ֖ע (264) is (probably) etymologically the earlier form of יְ֖ע; yet in OT it occurs mainly, perhaps even exclusively, in post-exilic writings: see Nu 2420, 24, Is 6518, Pss 8318, 928, 10:4, 13212, 14, 1476, Job 74, 205†. So also יְ֖ע (for יְ֖ע) occurs in Job 322, 520, 1522, 2919†.

4. יְ֖ע, 2614, 16 (but in v.16 rd. יָ֖ע). Elsewhere as follows:

- Pre-exilic Prophecy: Is 305 (?), Hab 27 (? Is 164, 231)

- Other pre-exilic Poetry: Gn 926†, Dt 332 bīs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Times</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is</td>
<td>1 time</td>
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<tr>
<td>358 (?)</td>
<td>438, 447 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pss. 2, 28 (but read לְכוּ)</td>
<td>44, 49, 55, 56, 58, 59, 64, 66, 73, 78, 80, 88, 89, 119</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dt</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lam.</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>2320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>10 times</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Cp. G–K. 917: “the termination וְ֖ע ... like וְ֖ע and וּ֖ע occurs with the noun (as with the vb. § 58g) almost exclusively in later poets.” Of other particles, to the use of which Che. (p. 148) draws attention, a brief notice may suffice: the relative use of וְ֖ע in 259 is uncertain and indeed improbable; וְ֖ע in 2510 (Kετέ) is textually doubtful; and וְ֖ע (2617, 18) and וְ֖ע (2618) have no significance in reference to date.

ii. Forms and Constructions:

- יְ֖ע, unless it is an orthographic anomaly for יְ֖ע, is a rather striking Aramaism (see 2620 phil. n.).

יִ֖לְע and יִ֖לְע are both examples of the ending י, ה attached to the feminine ינ and not direct to the third radical. The only other example of this in the Hebrew of the OT appears to be
which Lagarde (BN, p. 205) treated as a loan-word. On the other hand, in Aramaic the formation is far from infrequent; Barth (NB, § 207e) cites amongst others these examples: סָמָּה (Dn 77), פַּלְפַּל, מַדַּד, Mandaic מַדַּד הָאָמָה. As against the significance of these facts, it should, however, be observed that הָאָמָה shows the peculiarly Hebrew development of the old Semitic ending -אָמ (retained in Arabic, Assyrian, and Aramaic).

The hapax legomenon הָאָמָה (which is, however, from a root early in use, see Is 611 1712) is of a formation for which NH showed a particular fondness (Strack, Lehrbuch der Neuhebr. Sprache, 39c), yet which was not unknown in early Hebrew; cp. e.g. בָּאָמ, Ex 2125. The new Hebrew nouns of this form are mainly "nomina actionis."

The multiplication of intensive plurals is probably not insignificant; for the instances cited in G-K. 124e are largely late. In Is 24-27 note מֵימֵים (262), נֵמֵים (2610), בֵּיתוֹת (2618), בֵּיתוֹ (2711), and יַבְרָא (2613), and יַבְרָא (2415).

Che. (p. 149) claims that there is "neglect of Waw Conversive"; but at most this neglect is very relative as compared with the conspicuous neglect of it in Ec. (Dr. Tenses, § 133). For the Impf. with Waw Conv., see 246a. 18 2614; and for the Pf. with Waw Conv., see 24. 20. 22. 23 256. 7. 8. 10. 11 2621 27. 10. 13. Moreover, the author of Is 24-27 does not discard the old construction of Waw Conversive in favour of the later construction with the simple Waw (yet see, perhaps, 246d), which is what Koheleth does do (except in 117 41. 7); his avoidance of Waw Conversive is mainly due to another characteristic of style less indicative of date, viz., his fondness for asyndeton: cp. e.g. 244 (similarly 339, but ct. Hos 48, Jer 124) 245 (last three clauses) 247. 8. 9. 10. 11. 13. 14. 15. 19 251. 2. 3 265. 7. 14. 15. 17. 18. 18a. b 2711. But though there is no such preference for simple Waw as would point to a late post-exilic date, the use of Waw Conversive cannot be treated as proof positive of early post-exilic date; Ben Sirach also employs the construction: see Cowley and Neubauer, p. xiii n.

iii. Vocabulary and meanings of words:

Certain peculiarities in the application of words, such as the use of מָרְאָה (2619) of rising from the dead, פַּרְרָא (2416) in reference
to Israel, הירבד (245) with a religious meaning (though not quite the same as attaches to הירבד in Is 40–66; Dr. LOT 240) are not classified here; they are certainly significant, but their significance falls to be treated under the religious ideas characteristic of the writer (see above, pp. 399 f.).

Included in the list of hapax legomena given by Smend and Cheyne, are several words which are textually uncertain, or which may be glosses: such are מים (2415), וי רו (2416), נחמן (2422), ורש (251), ור (Hophal, 261), ערכו (2610), הרא (2610). These are discussed above in the notes, and need not be further considered here. It would be unwise to attach any weight to them in determining the date of Is 24–27.

The following unique or very infrequent usages are mostly commented on in the notes above, but may for convenience be grouped together here: הנושי (see under ii., p. 468), ומ (274), שמחיר (258), matured wine (elsewhere, lees, dregs), שלמה (denominative of שם, 256), Pháp (257), מצילים (258). With הנושי used with ב and the omission of the acc. (2616), cp. וה with על and the omission of the acc. in 2 Ch 9 (ct. 1 K 107).

The following are (A) words the use of which is suggestive of late date; (B) words used with peculiar meanings, or meanings suggestive of late date. It is true most of these are attested independently as occurring by or before the close of the exile: but a few suggest a later date; and in the aggregate, taken in conjunction with those on pp. 466–9, they seem to suggest a date as late as ± 400 B.C.

A.

1. והउלמי, 264 (הउלמי). Cp. שנהו עולמי, Ps 776; 'גר וה�למי, Ps 519; 'גר נחנה, 4517; 'גר ונחנה, Ps 14518; זכר וה�למי, Dn 924. In such genitival phrases the singular נהל is a frequent alternative to the pl. in the later literature: in the earlier literature it is exclusively employed; see אל עהל, Gn 2133; נבוח והיל, Gn 4926; זכר והיל, Dt 2733.

Evidence of the early use of והיל (though not in such phrases as those just cited) consists of 1 K 813 ויל, זכר והיל, C . . . επὶ καυσόρητος; in 2 Ch 62, where the passage is cited, C renders επὶ τοὺς
aiōnas. Some might claim Ps 615 (םותא הנורה) as another pre-exilic occurrence. But in any case the great majority of the occurrences in OT are exilic and post-exilic, see Is 4517 (b) 519, Ps 776, 8 14518, Dn 924, Ec 110†: and so in the Aramaic of Dn 718 244 we find וָהֵמֶל, and in 24 (ct. 1 K 131) 44 39 510 לְהֵמֶל. The pl. of הנְּלֵמֶל also occurs in נ; see, e.g., Ex 1518 וָלְהֵמֶל וָהֵמֶל, and in Ps. This is the regular equivalent of חֵמֶל. Cp. also CIS ii. 1979, a Nabataean Inscription of 1 B.C., חֵמֶל לְעֵיִם.

2. דָּעָה, 264: also 6518, Ps 8318 928 13212, 14†. On רָע, see above, i. 3.

3. דָּעָה, 279: also Dn 55 (Aramaic)†. See 279 phil. n.

4. דָּעָה, 2411: also Jer 144 4612, Ps 14414†; vb. יָעַה, Is 4211†. Note that in נֶאֶה, מַעַה render משך, משך, וָאֶה the earlier Hebrew equivalents of יָעַה, יָעַה: see, e.g., Gn 2724 וָיֶעַה וָיֶעַה נִחֹלָה; נֶאֶה נִתְנָה: see also 2 K 212 41, Jer 498.

5. יָעַה.Kal and Hithpo. 2419. The Hithpo. is not a 어. יָעַה, as Sm. and Che. claim, if יָעַה יָעַה (Pr 1824) be rightly taken as Inf. Hithpo. of יָעַה (see Dr. in Exp. Times, xi. 230 f.). The use of the Aramaic יָעַה for the Hebrew equivalent (יטר in נ = יטר in נ) appeared in Hebrew as early as Jer., if יָעַה in Jer 1116 is derived from this יָעַה, and if the text of Jer 1512 can be trusted. For the other occurrences (several questionable) in OT, see 2419 phil. n.

6. יָעַה (distinct from יָעַה, whence יָעַה, to annul), Kal and Hithpo., 2419†. In addition to יָעַה, cited above in the phil. n., Ges–B. cites Aram. יָעַה.

7. יָעַה. Also Sir 332 יָעַה יָעַה יָעַה. יָעַה יָעַה. It is noticeable, too, that in נ several times renders the Kal of יָעַה; see Ps 468 יָעַה יָעַה יָעַה, בָּעַה, נְּיָעַה מַעַה מַעַה מַעַה, נְּיָעַה נְּיָעַה נְּיָעַה נְּיָעַה נְּיָעַה. See also Ps 9418 1218.

8. יָעַה, 271: also Ps 7414 10428, Job 38 4025†. See above, ii.

9. יָעַה, 279: also 178 (gloss), Ezk. twice, Lev. once, and Chr. three times. See 178 n. (for references).


The particular phrase "לֹא נִשְׂרָא מְשַׁרָא" used in 24 is a variant on the early Hebrew מְשַׁרָא מְפָסְר (e.g. Gn 34: cp. מְשַׁרָא מְפָסְר, Ezk 12: 16). It may be worth observing that whereas כֹּלֵר keeps close to מְשַׁרָא, rendering כֹּלֵר מְשַׁרָא (cp. Is 10: 16: 14: 29: 17), it departs further from מְשַׁרָא מְפָסְר, rendering by לֹא מְפָסְר (cp. לֹא מְפָסְר מְפָסְר), e.g., in Gn 34: 20.

12. אֲנָגָם, 24: also 11: Est 10: 1. The use of אֲנָגָם pl. is mainly late: the use in 24 is somewhat different from that in Is 40–66 (Dr. LOT 239).


B.

The following are examples of words used with peculiar meanings, or with meanings that are found mainly or exclusively in exilic or post-exilic writings:

1. נַחֲלֶה, disposition, 26 (see n. there). Cp. Sir 27: See n. there. Also (with the context) 15: 14
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... and presumably 1731 (30) 2111 232 373 (see Smend, Sirach). See, further, Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, pp. 37 f., 148–152, 159; Jewish Encyc. xii. 601 f.; Porter, The Yezer Hara, in Biblical and Semitic Studies (Yale Bicentennial publications), 1901; and Charles, Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs, pp. 161 f. (on the in and ir in the Twelve Patriarchs and Rabbinic Literature).

2. סָמַך, to appoint (cp. סָמָך, שִׁם), 2614. See n.
3. וּלְהָלָה (with הָלָה as obj.), to transgress, 245. See n.
4. קָהָה, Kal (probably meaning, to be born), 2618 and Hiph. (probably) to give birth to, 2619. Cp. וּלְהָל, an untimely birth, Ps 589, Job 316, Koh 63; also (by conjecture) Ex 2122. Cp. Aram. יְקָל to give untimely birth to:

e.g. Ex 2122) "יְקָל אִמְּתוֹ" (Levy, NHB and Chald. Wörterbuch, s.v. יְקָל).

5. פֹּלָה, Pual, to be refined, 256 (of wine †): elsewhere (chiefly of metals): Kal, Job 281 3627; Piel, Mal 39; Pu., 1 Ch 2818 294, Ps 127.

6. מַשָּׁה, height, as a synonym for heaven, 2418 n. 21 n. (in 244 and 265 the sense is probably different); also Mic 66 (מַשָּׁה), Jer 2530, 2 K 1922 = Is 3723 (?), La 113, Is 3215 353 3814 4026 5715 584, Ps 78 1817 (= 2 S 2217 hence Ps 144) 6819 7119 934 10220 (מרומ ביש).† Note also the use of the sing. in Jer 1712, Ps 929 105, and of the pl. in Is 3316, is scarcely to be classed with the foregoing; but see, further, Sir 1617 (מרומ אֶמָּה) 439 (מרומ אֶמָּה) and 244 (בָּהַר מְרוש or בָּהַר מְרוש).
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