PART II

THE ZION CONCEPT IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH

In this study it is accepted that Isaiah xli-xlv are the work of a prophet usually referred to as Deutero-Isaiah. It is also accepted that this prophet produced his work towards the end of the Babylonian Exile. In general, this is the position of orthodox scholarship at the present time. It is true that a minority of scholars extends the work of Deutero-Isaiah to include Chapters lvi-lxvi. However, the grounds on which this position is held are by no means strong. Nevertheless, some passages from Chapters lvi-lxvi are very similar to Deutero-Isaiah's work. These are relevant to the study and are treated in a separate section.

When it comes to a consideration of the unity or otherwise of the Book of Isaiah, there are two main views. One group sees the chapters mainly as a unity, originally delivered in a literary form by a post-prophet. Another group sees the work as being made up of small units, originally delivered orally by the prophet, and later collected and arranged either by the prophet himself or by a scribe. Of course, there are views which do not fit into either of these two patterns. Chayse, for example,


Introduction to Deutero-Isaiah.

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When it comes to a consideration of the unity or otherwise of xl-lv, it is clear that there are two main views.\(^3\) One group sees the chapters mainly as a unity, originally delivered in a literary form by a poet-prophet. Another group sees the work as being made up of small units, originally delivered orally by the prophet, and later collected and arranged either by the prophet himself or by a disciple. Of course, there are views which do not fit into either of these two patterns. Cheyne, for example,

finds that two series of poems, one about the Servant of Yahweh and the other about the restoration of Jerusalem, have been interwoven.¹ Muilenburg is typical of the "literary" school and he perceives Deutero-Isaiah's work as a noble literary achievement, a contrived sequence of poems in which the vast patterns of the divine purpose are revealed, encompassing the eschatological drama of creation, history and redemption.² Westermann is typical of the form critical school, although he finds that there has been orderly arrangement of the poems.³ Chapters xl-xlvi he concludes, are made up largely of short oracles, originally spoken, while xlvi-lv consist of longer oracles, originally written. In addition, the Servant Songs (xlii 1-4, xlix 1-6, L 4-9, lli 13-liii 12) were probably inserted later. Passages containing polemic against idols make up a group of homogeneous additions (xl 19f., xli 6f. xlii 17, xliv 9-20, xlv 16f. 20b, xlv 5-8). Admonitions and accusations were also added (xliv 21, 22b, xlv 9ff. etc.). Further, there are typical "amen"glosses like xl 7c. On the whole, however, Westermann claims that the greater part of xl-lv is from the hand of Deutero-Isaiah.

Perhaps the greatest problem in relation to the unity of xl-lv is the apparent difference between (A) xl-xlviii and (B) xlix-lv.⁴ Some prominent themes in A do not appear

4. Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, pp.ix-1xxiv. (All references to this work are from the Revised Edition, 1917.)
in B. For example, there is no mention of Cyrus or of Babylon in B; the community is addressed as Israel in A but as Zion in B, with rare exceptions; A emphasizes the past as well as the future, whereas B concentrates on the future; there is polemic against idols in A but not in B. However, many points of contact between A and B show that common authorship is probable. For example, the "prologue" (xl 1-11) and the "epilogue" (lv 12f.) are similar; the miraculous highway, so common in A, also appears in xlix 10ff. and the epilogue; a herald of salvation appears both in xli 27 and in lii 7-10; a call to flight is made both in xlviii 20ff. and in lii 11f. Eissfeldt also notes that similar notes occur in both parts and that the main themes are repeated with no absolute break between xlviii/ xlix or anywhere else.\(^1\) Jones perceives the differences between A and B but explains them by proposing that xlix-lv may have been collected later by Deutero-Isaiah's disciples.\(^2\) Levy claims that xlix-lv were written after the return to Jerusalem, maintaining that the address in lii 11 was spoken from outside Babylon and that li 3, 17, represent exhortations to a disillusioned people.\(^3\) Other views include those of McKenzie who accepts unity in general, but with the exception of some polemic against idolatry and the Servant Songs;\(^4\) and those of Anderson who also accepts unity on the bases of content and style.\(^5\)

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2. Jones, Peake's Commentary, 447e.
It can be seen from the above summary that xl-lv are generally regarded as the work of one author, though there is some disagreement as to additions which may have been made, as well as disagreement about how the work was initially composed and later preserved. It is certainly difficult to find a symmetrical pattern of thought in the work. On the other hand, it is possible to agree with North when he claims that there is broad continuity of thought throughout xl-lv and a semblance of chronological order in the presentation of the prophecies.¹

The differences between the two parts of Deutero-Isaiah (i.e. xl-xlviii and xlix-lv) are probably best explained by the changing historical background against which they were produced.² This background indicates that xl-xlviii were probably written between 546 and 538 B.C. xlix-lv, on the other hand, are best explained as being written in the first flush of enthusiasm when it seemed that the Israelites, as well as other peoples, would be allowed to return to their homelands. This could have been just before or just after the fall of Babylon.

The construction of the whole book was probably an arrangement by the author himself of oracles he had spoken or written during the late Exilic period and shortly afterwards. This does not mean that the work is not a literary whole, for the author has so arranged the individual poems (which in any case have a common distinctive

style) that they resemble the various movements of a piece of music, the themes repeating and merging or breaking off and starting again. If the arrangement is viewed in this light the Servant Poems need not necessarily be out of context as some would suppose, but rather represent the deeper movements of the music. In using this technique Deutero-Isaiah anticipated a method well known in twentieth century poetic art.

There are various ways of reviewing the content of Deutero-Isaiah. Eissfeldt, for example, lists the main themes of the chapters as follows: (a) The turning point of Israel's fortune. (b) The return to Jerusalem. (c) Explanation of Israel's misfortune as vicarious suffering. (d) The rebuilding of the temple and city. (e) The approach of the nations to Zion, the religious centre of the world. (f) Yahweh as the only God, the Creator and the Lord of history.1 On the other hand it is possible to analyse the work chapter by chapter as Skinner does.2 (He also discusses the themes elsewhere.) Another scholar, Ackroyd, divides the themes of the work into two main viewpoints: (a) A backward view of the history of the chosen people. (b) A forward look at the salvation of the chosen people and mankind.3 Some scholars approach the work by analysing its use of tradition. von Rad, for example, maintains that Deutero-Isaiah uses three main Israelite traditions: (a) The Exodus tradition (cf. xliii

3. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, p. 120.
16ff., xlviii 20f.). (b) The Zion tradition as in the Zion poems of Chapters xlix-liv. (c) The Davidic election tradition which, however, is only mentioned once (cf. lv 3).² Perhaps Westermann's analysis of traditions is more searching. He divides them into three sections. The first class is historical and includes references to the Exodus (xliii 16, li 10), Zion (liv 11-17 and passim), David (lv 3), Noah (liv 9), the Patriarchs (xliii 27) and Abraham (xli 18). The second class is prophetic and includes oracles of doom (xliii 22-28) and oracles against foreign nations (xlvii). The third class is cultic and includes forms derived from psalms of lamentation (xl 6-8, xl 27) and psalms of praise (xl 12-31, xlv 24-xlv 7). Westermann also analyses the content according to form critical categories as follows: (a) Promise of salvation (cf. xl 2, xlv 23, xl 9, llii 8 etc.). (b) Proclamation of salvation (cf. xli 17-20, xlii 14-17 etc.). (c) Polemic against foreign nations and their gods, often in the form of trial speeches (cf. xli 1-5, 21-29, xliii 8-15 etc.) and polemic against Israel in the form of divine judgment (cf. xliii 22-28, L Iff., xliv 18-25 etc.). (e) Summons to praise (cf. xlii 10-13, xlv 23, xlviii 20f. etc.). (f) Servant Songs (xlii 1-4, xlix 1-6, L 4-9, llii 13-liii 12).² Finally, Muilenburg makes a very thorough analysis. He identifies no less than fifteen main themes which appear to encompass the main subject matter contained in the book.³

1. von Rad, Old Testament Theology II, p. 239.
The following analysis owes something to the valuable surveys listed above, but at the same time depends on an examination of the text itself. The main ideas of xl–lv can best be reviewed under three main heads which are:
A. The nature of God. B. God's relationship with Israel (and antiphonally with Babylon). C. God's redemption of Israel and of mankind.

A. The nature of God.

(1) Yahweh is the Holy One of Israel.

The word ייִיָּעָהּ is used to describe Yahweh and occurs at least eleven times. Often it is in the fuller form ייִיָּעָהּ (xli 14). At times it is combined with other titles (cf. xli 14, liv 5).

(2) Yahweh is the only God.

Yahweh is the One who can say ייִיָּעָהּ (xli 4) without any ambiguity. Further, he states unequivocally, "I am the Lord, and there is no other; beside me there is no God" (xlv 5, cf. xlv 6–8). These statements are set over against satirical pictures of heathen gods (cf. xl 18–20, xli 21–24, 28–29, xlv 9–20, xlvi).

(3) Yahweh is the Redeemer of Israel.

The title ייִיָּעָהּ is frequently applied to Yahweh (cf. xli 14, xliii 14, xlv 6 etc.). This is a traditional conception of God's relationship with Israel (cf. Ex. xv 13).

(4) Yahweh is the Creator.

Yahweh is frequently described as Creator of heaven and earth ( ייִיָּעָהּ) and various forms of the root ייִיָּעָהּ appear sixteen times at least (cf. xlii 5). The word is also used to describe Yahweh as the Creator of Jacob–Israel
(cf. xliii 1). Additionally there are several hymnic passages which describe the wonders of creation (cf. xl 12-16). There are traces of the mythical story of the conflict with the sea monster which, in the Canaanite version, preceded the creation of the world (li 9-10).

(5) Other functions, titles or attributes of Yahweh.

(a) Yahweh's nature is eternal (cf. at xl 28). He is the first (אֶלֶף) and the last (גָּלְגָּל).

(b) Yahweh is King (cf. xliiv 6). The phrase בָּלי is reminiscent of the enthronement psalms (Is. lli 7).

(c) Yahweh is described as יִהְיֶה (cf. xlix 26). His coming as the saviour of Israel is well attested. The root יָּשָׁר is frequently used to describe his salvation, not only for Zion, but for all peoples (cf. lii 7-10, li 5).

(d) Yahweh is the one who comforts (שַׁלֵּשׁ). This verb is used often to describe his activity towards Zion and his people (cf. xl 1, xlix 13, li 3).

(e) Yahweh is a shepherd (xl 10).

(f) Yahweh retains some of the warlike attributes ascribed to him in earlier times (cf. xlii 13).

(g) Yahweh forgives (xl 1-2).

(h) The title Yahweh of Hosts is given to him (cf. xliiv 6).

B. Yahweh's relationship with Israel.

(1) Although the Sinai covenant is not mentioned and the Davidic covenant only once (lv 3), it is clear that Israel
is the covenant people. Also, in recalling the Noachic covenant Deutero-Isaiah states that God will not depart from Zion because his covenant is one of peace ( נֶֽבֶטְלָה יְשָׁרָה). Added to this there are the various historical traditions back to Abraham cited above. The addresses to Israel and Zion throughout the work are in personal terms which imply a close relationship. Israel is נֶֽבֶטְלָה (xl i). Jacob-Israel is described as God's servant whom he has specially chosen (cf. xli 8, xliii 10, 20, xlix 7). The account of Israel's obstinacy through her history (xlviii) is really explained as Israel's failure to keep to the terms of the covenant. Despite this, Yahweh is going to re-create the relationship with a new act of redemption. God's relation with Babylon (xlvii) is really seen as a counter-point to the covenant relationship. She is personified (in contrast to Zion's personification in later chapters) as a wicked woman who has trafficked in the sorceries of false gods. They cannot save her from inevitable doom. (2) Israel is Yahweh's servant.

It is a matter of dispute whether the four Servant Songs describe Israel, some unidentified individual or a suffering servant of the future. To review all the different theories on this subject would not be very relevant to this study. However, it is accepted that the Servant Songs are an integral part of the whole work and that one dimension of the songs explains the meaning of Israel's suffering. This does not preclude other interpretations, which may also be present. At another thought level it is well testified that Israel is Yahweh's servant (cf. xli 8-10, xliii 10, xliv 1 etc.).
(3) Israel is Yahweh's witness.

The people of Israel are described as Yahweh's witness before all the nations that God is all-powerful and that he controls all events (cf. xlii 8-13).

C. Yahweh's new saving act towards Israel (Zion).

This idea seems to have two levels in Deutero-Isaiah's thinking. On the historical level Israel is to be freed from captivity in Babylon and returned to Zion. On the ideal level Israel and the nations are to be freed and led by Yahweh to a transformed Zion where God will rule over all nations. It is not always easy to distinguish between these two levels.

(1) The way is prepared.

In the Prologue an unidentified voice gives the command to prepare a way across the desert for the coming of God (xl 3-5). Zion (or her herald?) is commanded to announce the good news of this advent (xl 9). Yahweh himself, it is claimed, will lead the people across this way (xlii 15-16). Cyrus is going to be the instrument for this preparation and God will make all his ways straight (xlv 2, 13).

(2) The new Exodus.

The new saving act is seen in terms of the Exodus pattern. There are obvious references to the first Exodus, as in xlii 16-17. Israel, however, is exhorted not to remember these things of the past, but to consider the new thing, the new way through the desert that God is going to make (xlii 18ff., cf. xlvii 21, lii 4, li 9-10). There is specific mention of a release from Babylon (xlii 14ff.). Some texts extend this idea of release and return, to
Israelites from all directions, even to the end of the earth (xliii 5-7).

(3) The return to Zion.

The sections concerning Zion, which make up the area to be studied in detail, describe the return to and restoration of Zion. The poems in question are as follows:

xl 1-11. This introductory statement is addressed to Jerusalem. A messenger brings good news, announcing that God will make a highway across the desert and mountains. Yahweh's epiphany is foretold.

xlix 14-L 3. This address is by God to Zion. She is neither forgotten nor divorced. She will be freed and her children will be many.

li 1-23. Zion will be a paradise. An appeal is made to the promise made to the fathers. God will rule the peoples and dispense justice. The cup of "staggering" will be taken from Zion. The ransomed of the Lord return to Zion in a new Exodus.

lii 1-12. Zion, the captive, will be released. The messenger claims that God is King and that he will lead the redeemed to Zion.

liv 1-17. Jerusalem's future is described. The past will be forgotten. There is given an idealized picture of the new Zion.

Three other short passages will need to be examined: xli 26-27, the messenger to, or advocate for Zion; xliv 26-28, restoration of Jerusalem; xlvi 12-13, salvation for Zion.

(4) The conversion of the nations.

All nations are invited to turn to God and be saved.
God has sworn that all shall pay homage to him (xlv 22-23), that his law is for all peoples and that he will rule the world after he has delivered it (li 4-6).

3. Within the context of this general analysis of Isaiah, Chapters xl–lv, the Zion poems listed under C (3) will now be examined in detail.

4. A voice calls out:

"In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

5. Every valley shall be lifted up
and every mountain and hill shall be brought low;
rough ground shall be levelled
and steep places shall be smoothed out.

6. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed,
and all flesh shall see it together;
for the mouth of the Lord has spoken".

7. A voice says, "Call out!"
And one one answered, "What shall I call out?
All flesh is grass
and all its constancy is that of the wild flower;
the grass withers, the flower fades,
when the breath of the Lord blows upon them". (Surely the people is grass.)
Isaiah xl 1-11

1. "Comfort, comfort my people", says your God.

2. "Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and call to her that her servitude is ended, that her punishment is accepted, that she has received from the Lord's hand double measure for all her sins".

3. A voice calls out:
   "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

4. Every valley shall be lifted up and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; rough ground shall be levelled and steep places shall be smoothed out.

5. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken".

6. A voice says, "Call out!"
   And some-one answered, "What shall I call out?
   All flesh is grass and all its constancy is that of the wild flower;

7. the grass withers, the flower fades, when the breath of the Lord blows upon them".
   (Surely the people is grass.)
8. "The grass withers, the flower fades, but the word of our Lord stands for ever".

9. Go you up to a high mountain,  
   O Zion, harbinger of good news;  
   raise your voice with power,  
   O Jerusalem, harbinger of good news;  
   raise it without fear.  
   Say to the cities of Judah,  
   "Look upon your God!"

10. Look! Yahweh the Lord comes with mighty power and his arm rules for him.  
    Look! his reward is with him and his compensation is before him.

11. Like a shepherd he tends his flock;  
    he gathers them in his arms;  
    he carries the lambs on his breast;  
    he guides the ewes to pasture".

Verses 1–2.  
These verses are presented as the speech of God directing unidentified persons to comfort God's people. Attempts have been made to identify those addressed with the heavenly court,¹ or with the spiritual and temporal leaders of the nation;² Targum identifies them with the prophets and LXX with the ; but it is more

likely that the imperatives are rhetorical. Jerusalem, quite plainly here in parallel with "my people", should take comfort, for her time of servitude has ended and her iniquity is atoned for and forgiven. Westermann correctly notes that there is no divorce between politics and religion in this statement.\footnote{Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, pp. 33-36.} This means that God's act of redemption will be manifest on the historical as well as on the spiritual plane. The statement also implies that Deutero-Isaiah is completing the message of the pre-Exilic prophets of doom who prophesied both future judgment and subsequent salvation. The prophet of salvation here speaks to the situation of past judgment.

In v. 1 the message of comfort is presented. אֲשֶׁרֶךְ is the masculine plural of the imperative pi'el of פֹּלַשׁ (comfort), the qal not appearing.\footnote{See B. D. E., p. 637; cf. K. B., p. 608.} The repetition of the word is characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah's style (cf. xliii 11, 25, xlviii 11, 15, li 9, 12, 17, lii 1, 11 etc.). Winton-Thomas argues that the original root meaning was "breathe pantingly or hard" and that several examples of this original meaning exist in the Old Testament (cf. K. B., p. 608). In Gen. xxvii 42 this meaning would certainly make more sense than "comfort", Esau being described as "panting hard" after Jacob to kill him. Arabic and Syriac parallels support such a derivation.\footnote{Winton-Thomas, Ex. T., XIV 1932-3, pp. 191-2; LI, 1939-40, p. 252.} At any
rate, this would indicate that the verb is associated with the heavy breathing of deep emotion. Westermann notes that in other contexts the word usually refers to comfort in a time of sorrow as when Jacob was comforted by his children for the "death" of Joseph (Gen. xxvii 35), or as typically used in Lamentations (cf. i 2, 9, 16f., 21). Deutero-Isaiah, however, coined a new use of the word which points away from lamentation to exultation\(^1\) (cf. xlix 13). Westermann's analysis contains some truth, insomuch as triumph and exultation are closely associated with the use of \(\text{H}^\text{N} \text{J}\) in Deutero-Isaiah. In fact, \(\text{H}^\text{N} \text{J}\) in Deutero-Isaiah practically means "has saved" when God is the subject, as is illustrated by the parallel \(\text{H}^\text{N} \text{J}\) at lii 9. Volz believes that the plural of \(\text{H}^\text{N} \text{J}\) is logical here because it signifies that the comfort is not just for Israel but for the rest of the world.\(^2\) That this comfort has, in fact, proved to be of universal significance is undeniable, but it is unlikely that Deutero-Isaiah used the plural specifically for this reason. It is simply a general rhetorical address to those reading or listening to the oracle.

\(\text{Y}^\text{N} \text{J}\) (my people) brings a very personal note to the verse and makes a very sharp contrast to Hosea's \(\text{Y}^\text{N} \text{J}\) (Hos. i 9). Indeed, this verse is an affirmation that the judgment implied in \(\text{Y}^\text{N} \text{J}\) has been reversed. Hosea also claimed that God had said \(\text{Y}^\text{N} \text{J}\) the people.

\(1 \text{ Loc. cit.}\)
\(2 \text{ Volz, Jesaia II, pp. 1-6.}\)
which Deutero-Isaiah also reverses with the phrase \( \text{שָׁם} \). Of course, Hosea himself prophesied the reversal of his negative statements (ii 23), but Deutero-Isaiah is speaking after the terrible judgment of the Exile which in itself is a striking fulfilment of Hosea's thought. Hosea was speaking in a different situation, but the striking similarity of vocabulary shows the continuity that flowed through the classical prophets to Deutero-Isaiah. Of the phrases "my people" and "your God" George Adam Smith has said that the whole prophecy hangs on the two pronouns "my" and "you".¹ It could almost be said that the whole of the Old Testament is built round these two pronouns! As North notes, the confrontation of "my people" and "your God" is typical of the covenant formula in the Priestly writings.² אֲמַרְתִּי is an imperfect used to show continuous action.³ Marti believes that the verb here has the significance of a participle (cf. \( \text{יְמָרָנָה} \) in v. 3),⁴ and Delitzsch maintains that this use of the verb shows the continuity of the divine commission for many times and places.⁵ It is true that the words of comfort have a general significance beyond the time and place intimated by the prophet. Skinner notes that the wording here is a variation of the normal prophetic formula.⁶

¹. George Adam Smith, The Book of Isaiah II, pp. 72ff.
³. See G.K., 107f.
⁴. Marti, Das Buch Jesaja, pp. 269-75.
In v. 2 God's speech continues with the command that further and more concrete words of comfort should be given to Jerusalem.

is an expression which is used eight times in the Old Testament. The plural imperatives of v. 1 are continued. is probably to be accepted as almost equivalent to meaning "towards". is somewhat ambiguous, for not only can it refer to the "inner man, mind, will or heart", but it can also be interpreted as the seat of emotions and passions. de Boer accepts the meaning "will-power" here and translates "speak convincingly". This is possible, but the "emotional" connections of the word make this seem unlikely. Ibn Ezra notes that this phrase is used along with in Genesis L 21 and concludes that the meaning is "speaking kindly", but this seems rather lukewarm in the context. Skinner claims that the expression means "whisper" or "meditate" if used of oneself (cf. 1 Sam. i 13), but if used of another it means "soothe" (cf. Gen. xxxiv 3, Judges xix 3, Hos. ii 14). North and Delitzsch agree that the expression can be used of deeply emotional speech as to a lover (cf. Gen. xxxiv 3) or merely to show affectionate concern (cf. Judges xix 3). Levy agrees that

1. See G.K. 119d.
5. Loc. cit.
7. Loc. cit.
here refers to the seat of the emotions.¹ Because of the imagery in later chapters where Zion-Jerusalem is described as the wife of Yahweh, it is probable that Gen. xxxiv 3 well illustrates the meaning and that deep emotional involvement is implied. However, the nearest parallel is Hos. ii 14 where the context is similar, Israel being pictured as Yahweh's wife. It can best be concluded that "speak to the heart" in Is. xl 2 is the language of a lover. Hence, a free translation like R.S.V.'s "speak tenderly" is probably most apt.

Jerusalem stands in parallel with "my people" and, therefore, refers to the community rather than to the ruined city. Volz, however, carries the meaning of the symbol beyond its immediate context when he suggests that the concept includes the gathered community of the past, present and future; but his judgment that the emphasis on the symbolic meaning of Jerusalem is due to the fact that the geographical city had little political or religious significance at this time is probably correct.²

† † † † (complete) is acceptable in the qal despite B.H.S.'s suggestion that the pointing should be changed to † † † † † . The reading of IQ Is a( † † † † ) may suggest that † † † , frequently masculine, was regarded as the subject of the verb. The Qumran scribe could thus have dropped the † to obtain agreement between subject and verb.

2. Loc. cit.
In fact, the noun can be either masculine or feminine.¹ North argues that the subject of the verb, which can be transitive in the qal, is "she".² This may be so, but it is not necessary to accept North's view if יְלַעֲפָה can indeed be feminine and hence the subject of the verb.³ יְלַעֲפָה (her servitude) can also mean "host" with reference either to the army or to the angel host, or "warfare". The root verb in the qal means either "to wage war" or "to serve at the sacred tent" (cf. Num. iv 25).⁴ Job vii 1 (cf. x 17), where יְלַעֲפָה is in parallel with עַל עָלֶּל (day labourer), clarifies the meaning of this verse, which is that Israel's bondage is finished. This is possibly a reference by analogy to the bondage in Egypt and the release therefrom. Some evidence suggests, however, that the exiles were not treated as slaves, at any rate in the early period of the Exile (cf. Jer. xxix lff.). For this reason Knight suggests that the bondage was spiritual rather than physical.⁵ There is probably some truth in such a view.

The phrase יְלַעֲפָה יְלַעֲפָה is capable of different interpretations. יְלַעֲפָה is given by B.D.B. as the passive of the qal. יְלַעֲפָה usually means "be pleased with" or "accept favourably", with reference, for example, to a sacrifice. Some commentators translate "is forgiven"

³ See Marti, Das Buch Jesaja, pp. 269-75.
⁵ Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 19-23.
or "is pardoned" (R.S.V.), relating the meaning to the paying off of a debt.¹ Such a translation is appropriate if יָשָׁנ is taken to mean "iniquity". But יָשָׁנ can also mean "punishment", in which case the meaning of the verb is more likely to be "is accepted". The latter interpretation is the more sound.²

Jerusalem has received from Yahweh's hand משפ for all her sins, but what does משפ mean? Levy accepts that the word means "double", comparing the double penalty ( משפ ) required of a thief in the Book of the Covenant (cf. Ex. xxii 4, 7), but maintaining that this is a rhetorical way of saying that Israel has paid in full the penalty for delinquency.³ Skinner also accepts the meaning "double" but emphasizes that this meaning ought not to be pressed theologically.⁴ Delitzsch compares יָשָׁנ in Jer. xvi 18 where Yahweh states that he will claim "double" for Israel's iniquities. The meaning, says this scholar, is not legal, but implies "more than sufficient".⁵ von Rad, on the other hand, argues strongly that both יָשָׁנ in Jer. xvi 18 and משפ here, have the meaning "equivalent".⁶ This argument, however, is not strong, for the proposed meaning of משפ depends on a parallel which is similarly ambiguous. The verb משפ probably means "to double" or "double over" as applied to

² North, The Second Isaiah, p. 73.
³ Loc. cit.
⁴ Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, pp. 2-3.
⁵ Delitzsch, The Prophecies of Isaiah II, pp. 74-6.
a curtain or breastpiece. The only two places (apart from Is. xli 2) where the noun ḫōḏ appears are at Job xi 6 and xli 5. The latter is admittedly a difficult text but at least the meaning "double" gives comprehensibility in both cases.\(^1\) Perhaps Job xi 6 is the better analogy for Is. xli 2. In Job xi 6 God is described as having ḫōḏ which may be literally translated, "he is double in understanding", (or "manifold" in R.V., R.S.V., N.E.B.; "full" in N.E.B. margin). On the whole, the meaning "double" seems most acceptable and there is probably an implicit reference to the laws of the Book of the Covenant where the thief is required to pay a "double" penalty. However, it may be agreed with Delitzsch that this is not to be interpreted mathematically, but ultimately means "paid in full".

The language of v. 2 implies that atoning suffering is necessary before pardon can be given, though this standard is applied here to the nation and not to an individual. The language also implies that the Exile was viewed by Deutero-Isaiah not simply as a political misfortune but as a divine punishment for sin.\(^2\)

Verses 3-5.

A mysterious voice announces a theophany. The hearers are invited to prepare the way of God through the wilderness, a straight highway through the desert. The voice then

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claims that the whole landscape will be levelled, at which
time the Lord's glory will be revealed to all mankind.
Finally, as if in signature, the voice authenticates itself
as the mouthpiece of God.

In v. 3 the identity of the נֵ֣ר הָיִ֔ם has exercised
the minds of commentators. Westermann believes the voice
could belong either to an invisible power or to a member
of the heavenly court.¹ Kissane claims that it is the
voice of an angel.² Volz, comparing the text with Is. vi
lff., Jer. xxiii 22 and I Kings xxii 19, takes the view
that the prophet has access to the divine council.³
Delitzsch⁴ and Marti⁵ agree that the voice represents the
forerunner of a king, preparing the royal way. (See below.)
Skinner maintains that the voice represents an example of
ture prophetic audition, that it is not merely a flight of
the imagination.⁶ However, perhaps it is a mistake to be
too specific. What is written is claimed to be of divine
origin (v. 5). The writer uses the technique of the un-
identified voice to express the mystery of the divine
revelation to him. It is of little avail to try to prise
open the secret of how the prophet came by this knowledge.
It is enough to know that he was privy to the divine will.
At any rate, that is all the text reveals.

¹ Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, pp. 36-40.
² Kissane, The Book of Isaiah II, pp. 7-8.
³ Loc. cit.
⁵ Loc. cit.
Some scholars, for example, Wade\(^1\) and Delitzsch,\(^2\) prefer to translate ʿāry as "Hark!". However, most commentators prefer to translate "voice". (See the English Versions.) Levy supports the latter position on the basis of the conjunctive accents, but this argument is not decisive.\(^3\) G.K., on the other hand, tends to support the former translation in this instance.\(^4\) Both translations are acceptable, but "voice" is preferred for artistic reasons.

B.H.S. adopts the almost universally accepted view that ʿāry should be taken with the words following rather than with ʿēr. Torrey, on the other hand, follows LXX and the Gospels in reading, "A voice proclaims in the desert...".\(^5\) However, the parallelism supports B.H.S. ʿāry can signify a poor kind of grass-land, not quite desert, which is capable of supporting grazing animals at certain times of the year.\(^6\) The parallel ʿeṣṣy, when a common noun as here, refers more specifically to desert country. Skinner rightly maintains that the theme of the way through the desert is too frequent to be merely figurative\(^7\) (cf. xli 17ff.; xlii 16; xliii 19; xliv 9ff.; xlviii 21; lv 12f.). This does not preclude symbolic meanings beyond the reference to the

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4. G.K., 146b.
7. Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, pp. 3-5.
geographical desert between Babylon and Jerusalem. An allusion to the Wilderness Period and Yahweh's guidance through the Sinai Desert is likely. Further, an analogy with the spiritual life and the effect of God's coming on the barren spirit must not be discounted. It is also possible, but less likely, that Jerusalem in its ruined state is part of the wilderness symbol, or that the chaos of the world is envisaged as being transformed by God's creative action.

The verb נָלַג can mean "make ready" in the pi'el, but can also mean "turn away" or "put out of the way". Gen. xxiv 31, where a house is cleared for visitors, shows a good parallel for the meaning here (cf. Lev. xiv 36, Ps. lxxx 9, Zeph. iii 18).

널ג can be used in the literal sense of a path or road, but can also be figurative of the spiritual life. Its parallel, means more specifically "a highway". The word נָלַג is related to the root בָּלַג which means "lift up" or "cast up". Thus, the derivation of the noun implies a raised roadway, or in modern terms, a trunk road. Westermann notes that the "highway" theme was known in Babylonian triumphal hymns as related to a god or a king. North and Volz quote from hymns related to Marduk.

In these hymns worshippers are invited to prepare a way for a god. Wade quotes Justin and Diodorus Siculus to show that special preparations took place to prepare a way before Oriental monarchs. While a recall of a pre-Exilic ark procession is possible (cf. Ps. xxiv 10), it is more probable that Deutero-Isaiah was using the vocabulary of familiar Babylonian worship to explain to his audience how Yahweh was going to act. This deed of Yahweh's, however, was going to be more impressive than any ceremonial procession led by a statue of Marduk. Yahweh was going to perform an apparently impossible task; he was going to lead the exiles home across the desert wastes.

The general picture in v. 4, if taken literally, shows the landscape levelled out to a featureless plain. As a continuation of v. 3 the meaning seems to be that when the highway is made ready all natural obstacles will be removed by the divine power. This statement has to be seen in relation to the various interpretations suggested for v. 3. Westermann maintains that the verbs are jussive, but the future tense is more likely because the following verbs are waw consecutive futures. In any case, to take the verbs as jussive would water down the effectiveness of the prophecy, especially in relation to v. 5c. The meaning can be accepted at two levels, one referring hyperbolically to the return of the exiles and the other in a more general spiritual sense. Smart interprets the "levelling out" as a result of the theophany, the fiery

1. Loc. cit.
2. Loc. cit.
presence of God melting the earth. He quotes Ps. xlvi and Is. li 6 as parallels. This is possible as a secondary interpretation but the similarities to Ps. xlvi are not striking and it is doubtful if Is. li 6 is really to be classified with Ps. xlvi 6.

A valley seems to be an alternative form for and B.H.S. recommends a change of pointing to the latter form; but also appears (Zech. xiv 4) while as a construct form is common. It seems likely that is a legitimate pointing.

is from the verb (be or become low, be abased). The verb is used in Is. x 33 of "bringing low" nations symbolized as trees. The proper noun Shephelah comes from the same root.

only appears here in the Old Testament. The Arabic parallel, 'akabat, means "a difficult mountain path". The root means "be protuberant". (heal) is connected with the same root. This suggests a comparison with the hump of the heel and, therefore, the meaning of "bumpy" or "rough" ground.

(plain level) is from the root (be smooth, straight, right).

is of doubtful meaning. The postulated is derived by B.D.B. from (bind). This etymology is possible but not convincing, the suggested

association being: bound - impeded - mountain. K.B. compares with the Arabic and suggests the meaning "rugged ground", which seems to be the more acceptable derivation.¹

In v. 5 it is asserted that the "glory of the Lord" shall be revealed. This revelation will be manifest to "all flesh". Moreover, it is certain to come about, for "the mouth of the Lord has spoken".

Volz again notes that the theocentric character of Deutero-Isaiah's writing is here apparent.²

\(\text{יִנְאָקָה} \) can mean "abundance" or "riches" as in Gen. xxxi 1. It can also refer to the glory of the external condition of man (Ps. viii 6) or of things (1 Sam. ii 8). Sometimes the word is used of an honoured position (Ps. cxii 9). It can also be used in relation to the reputation or character of a person (2 Chron. xxvi 18). Only in P and Ezekiel does the concept take on the notion of dazzling splendour applied to God. For example, the \(\text{יִנְאָקָה} \) is described as being in a cloud by P in Ex. xvi 10. It is characteristically present in the holy tent in Ex. xl 24, Num. xiv 10. Ezekiel sees the \(\text{יִנְאָקָה} \) almost as a physical entity which can leave the holy place (Ezek. xi 13) or return to it (Ezek. xlii 1-5), as his description at i 26-28 shows.³ Deutero-Isaiah's concept is not as specific as Ezekiel's; nor is the \(\text{יִנְאָקָה} \) viewed as a physical presence which alights in the holy place. Never-

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theless, there is some similarity to Ezekiel's thought in that יִגְדָּה is associated with theophany and with Yahweh's return to Zion. Essentially the word means the outward manifestation of what God is in himself, implying solidity of character.

מִיָּדְכּ probably refers to mankind as a whole. The phrase implies that the whole world will watch the divine revelation. North defines the various meanings of מִיָּדְכּ and concludes that here the intention is to describe man over against God, as in Gen. vi 12f.¹

Volz perceives an eschatological flavour in this verse and this may be one dimension of the prophet's thought, but the immediate concern seems to be the return to the geographical Jerusalem.²

Verses 6-8.

Another (or the same?) mysterious voice commands the listener to cry out. Some-one replies with the question, "What shall I cry out?" There follows a comparison between the evanescence of men (all flesh), who are compared to grass and flowers, and the eternal nature of God's word. Westermann identifies this passage as an account of the prophet's call and his resistance to that call.³

The prophet's objection purports to be that prophecy is pointless when all men eventually come to nothing. The

1. Loc. cit.
2. Loc. cit.
answer to his objection is the eternal word of God. It is true that there is some similarity here to the typical prophetic call and the subsequent doubt of vocation (cf. Jer. i, Ezek. i-iii, Is. vi). The prophet, however, does not identify himself specifically and this is the only passage in Deutero-Isaiah where there is anything resembling a personal intrusion by the writer.

According to Westermann vv. 6b-7 comprise a well-defined form of lament\(^1\) (cf. Job viii 12-13, xiv 2, Pss. xxxix 4-6, xlix, xc 5-6, Is. xxviii 1). This is true, perhaps in the wider sense that poets and prophets have often used this kind of comparison to place man in perspective against the eternal. There is some justification in McKenzie's remark that this is a typical Wisdom riddle.\(^2\) To what does this lament or riddle refer? Kissane believes that the reference is to the doubts of the exiles.\(^3\) Wade maintains that it refers not just to the fading of human life but to the fall of splendid empires like Babylon.\(^4\) These comments may have some truth in them, but it is Volz who makes the most valuable analysis of this passage. He perceives a slowing of the tempo into a reflective mood in which the writer ponders on the invisible and spiritual as it stands over the natural and visible. Also, there is an awareness of the awe of death and the impermanence of human concerns. In this context Deutero-Isaiah dares to preach

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1. Loc. cit.
a word of comfort in the face of the Chaldean power and
over against the "triumphant" gods of Babylon. In God's
difficult school the Jewish people must learn to scale
these difficult heights without any dependence on state,
freedom or temple. The verses enshrine a universal truth
about God's relationship to man.¹ It is difficult to
improve on Volz's general exegesis here.

In v. 6 there is an echo of v. 3 in the introduction
of a mysterious voice.

Levy here translates ʾāhir as "Hark!" over against
his translation of the same word in v. 3. He argues that
the disjunctive accents favour such a translation.² However, on general stylistic grounds it is more likely that
the translation would be the same in both verses, and
"voice" is the more convincing translation.

Many scholars question the pointing of ʾāhir
maintaining that not only would the first person verb be
more logical (cf. ʾāhir) but also obtaining support
from LXX (ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπέλαβεν), Vulgate, 1Q Is.a and R.S.V.
However, N.E.B., Delitzsch³ and North⁴ dissent from this
view. On the principle that M.T. ought to be accepted if
it makes good sense, the third person has been accepted.

ʾāhir literally means "steadfast love."⁵ This is

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² Levy, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 116-17.
³ Delitzsch, The Prophecies of Isaiah II, pp. 79ff.
⁴ North, The Second Isaiah, p. 70.
usually related to covenant love but in this context means "constancy" in the sense of "enduring life". Many scholars have seen difficulty here in applying this analogy to grass, the immediate antecedent, but the double use of $\frac{\mathcal{L}}{L}$ (and logic) show that "constancy" refers to "all flesh" (=mankind). Therefore, the "constancy of all flesh" is compared to grass and flowers in one respect only, that is to say in respect of the quality of evanescence over against constancy. However, in view of the number of interpretations and emendations suggested, a brief survey of these follows. R.S.V. translates "beauty", probably depending on LXX's $\delta \delta \zeta$ (cf. Syriac, Vulgate and 1 Peter i 24) and assuming an emendation to $\tau \tau \tau \tau$, or $\tau \tau \tau \tau$ or $\tau \tau \tau \tau$. Other possible emendations are listed by Kuyper as $\tau \tau \tau \tau$ or $\tau \tau \tau \tau$, the latter being supported by Targum. Kuyper, in fact, argues that $\tau \tau \tau \tau$ can sometimes mean "strength" on the basis of Pss. lix 10-11, cxliv 2, but in the parallels cited "faithfulness" or "constancy" would serve equally well. de Boer here argues that $\tau \tau \tau \tau$ means "firmness", referring to the strength or solidity of mankind. He argues that the word really means "devotion". This is feasible, though North's argument that the word means "constancy" gives the nuance of the word more accurately. Volz translates Anmut on the basis of the Aramaic $\mathfrak{\tau} \mathfrak{\gamma} \mathfrak{\delta} \mathfrak{m}$. This is possible but less convincing than North's suggestion. Levy accepts M.T.

2. de Boer, Second Isaiah's Message, p. 41.
3. Loc. cit.
but on the basis of the Arabic parallel (ni‘ma) translates "prosperity", which is not really very convincing.¹ Marti emends the text to ٍٍٍٍ or ٍٍٍٍ.² Delitzsch accepts M.T. but obtains the meaning "loveliness" as a secondary meaning of ٍٍٍٍ.³ As already stated, only North's translation as "constancy" is really acceptable.

In v. 7 it is claimed that the grass withers at "the breath of God". Most commentators conclude that this is a poetic name for the sirocco, a hot desert wind⁴ (cf. Ezek. xvii 10, Hos. xiii 15).

7c is a strangely inept line. Most commentators suggest that it is an explanatory gloss and follow LXX (which omits the whole verse) by omitting the phrase. B.H.S. recommends its omission and N.E.B. follows. For the sake of accuracy it is better to keep the phrase but to place it in brackets as an indication of its dubiety.

In v. 8 the ٍٍٍٍ of God, which stands for ever, makes a pointed contrast to the frailty of man. This may be compared to the word which "shall not return to me empty" in lv 11 (cf. xlv 23). Wade concludes that this means that the fiats of God will be accomplished.⁵ Certainly, the "word" here implies more than merely the words of the prophecy, which is Marti's suggestion.⁶ The method of creation in Genesis may indicate that the reference is to

3. Loc. cit.
4. See Volz, loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
the active will of God in the world, but more probably
the reference is to God's promise to Israel.

Verses 9-11.
Zion—Jerusalem, the herald or harbinger of good news,
is exhorted to announce God's approach to the cities of
Judah. God will come both as Victor and Shepherd. The
general structure of the passage is similar to that of the
previous two sections in that someone is exhorted to
broadcast a message from God. Westermann classifies the
passage as an eschatological psalm of praise. Within this
form the herald's song is an oracle of salvation.¹

In v. 9 הַרְשֵׁבָה , the feminine singular of the
pi'el participle of רָשֵׁב (bear tidings), can be inter-
preted in two main ways. These are: (a) It could be an
appositional genitive (G.K. 128k) as taken by A.V. and
R.S.V. The translation would then be, "Zion, herald of
good tidings", meaning that Zion brings good tidings to the
cities of Judah. A parallel form is וַתִּרְשֵׁב in Amos v 2. (b) הַרְשֵׁבָה could be in a normal construct-
absolute relationship with Zion (or Jerusalem), as in R.V.,
N.E.B. and the margins of A.V. and R.S.V. The word הַרְשֵׁבָה
would then be a feminine singular, collective (G.K. 122s)
and the translation would be, "You who bring Zion good
tidings" (cf. LXX, Targum, Vulgate and Syriac). North
accepts the former.² Scholarly opinion is almost equally

divided between these two views. Those who accept the appositional sense argue that the feminine form must be descriptive of Zion. Those who are against Zion as the herald quote Psalm lxvii 11 where the feminine plural, pi'el participle is apparently used to denote female heralds. It is difficult to see why the herald, if she is not Zion, should be feminine in this particular case; and Psalm lxvii 11 is not a good parallel for the sense of this verse. The decisive argument is surely the use of הַנְפֵּרִים in Is. lii 7 (cf. xli 27). הָאָרְכָּל certainly brings good tidings to Zion. If the messenger in xl 9 is not Zion why is the word there feminine as opposed to the use of the word in the other two texts? On the whole, the picture of Zion as herald is convincing despite Duhm's contention that this makes a grotesque picture.¹ Duhm is surely being over-literal and fails to understand the poetic nature of the personification.

In what sense can Zion-Jerusalem be appealed to in this way? This is surely a literary device used to give emphasis to the prophet's message, which is that not only will Zion regain her status, but also that the whole of Judah will feel the impact of God's new act.

It is a natural description to envisage a herald as speaking from a hill top (cf. Jdg. ix 7, 1 Sam. xxvi 3). הָאָרְכָּלוֹנִים is an example of the ethic dative which is used to give emphasis to an event for a particular person.

1. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia, pp. 261-66. (All references to this work are from the 3rd Edition, 1914.)
It is usually used with the second person of the preposition preceded by the appropriate imperative.¹ is quoted by Westermann as an example of an introduction to an oracle of salvation, identified by the use of these particular words.² Jones claims that the words are part of the preparation for a theophany,³ while Volz denies that they are theophanic but rather claims that they refer to the doubts and fears of the exiles.⁴ It is possible that Westermann is right in a general sense. The last two interpretations are probably both legitimate, for it is asserted that God will appear in his guise as a mighty warrior, so the exiles need not be afraid.

The message which Zion has to give to the surrounding cities is plainly, "Behold your God!" Volz again notes Deutero-Isaiah's theocentricity.⁵ This phrase acts as an introduction to the descriptions of God in vv. 10-11.

In v. 10 Yahweh is described as a warrior. God's saving activity is more clearly presented as the action of the God who fights for Israel in xlix 24ff. (cf. li 9-10). Levy maintains that the imagery is inspired by the Day of Yahweh,⁶ but he does not indicate whether this was a festival day or a day of victory. Probably, he intends the latter, connecting the concept to the Holy War idea and the associated title "Lord of hosts". There seems to be no

1. G.K. 119s.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
5. Ibid.
implicit reference to the ark of the covenant. On the whole Levy is probably correct in believing that Deutero-Isaiah depended on an earlier tradition in this verse, but there is no specific evidence to connect it with the Day of the Lord. 

\( \text{\textit{pîn}} \) is an adjective meaning "strong". Ibn Ezra suggests that "hand" is to be understood (assuming that \( \text{\textit{pî}} \) can be masculine) in order to explain the unsupported adjective.\(^1\) Duhm and most other commentators repoint \( \text{\textit{pîn}} \), finding support in the Ancient Versions. This is probably the best way out of the difficulty. 

\( \text{\textit{yîn}} \) seems to be a favourite word of Deutero-Isaiah's, but then it is a common enough Old Testament word (cf. li 9, liii 1), especially in relation to God's action.

The meaning in v. 10b (=lxii 11b) seems superficially to indicate that God has some reward and recompense for his action in 10a. \( \text{\textit{rûs}} \) (hire, wages or reward) is from the root \( \text{\textit{rûs}} \) (hire).\(^2\) \( \text{\textit{vîyô}} \) (work, recompense, reward) is from the root \( \text{\textit{vô}} \) (do, make).\(^3\) Most commentators accept the sense of this to be that Yahweh himself receives some kind of reward. North, for example, takes the reward to be the sheep Yahweh has earned (= the exiles), basing his argument on the story of Jacob and Laban (cf. Gen. xxx 32, xxxi 8).\(^4\) Kissane takes the reference to be

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to booty or to the fruits of labour,¹ and Wade takes it to refer to the people brought back.² It is much more likely, however, that "his reward" and "his recompense" are what Yahweh gives to men. θοτ is used in this sense in Ps. cxxvii 3. θοθ is used with reference to the deserts of the wicked in Pss. xxviii 5 and cix 20, while in Jer. xxxi 16 it is specifically used to refer to the recompense of those who will return from Exile. The parallel half-verse (Is. xli 10b = lxii 11b) is in a similar context to this text and could support either interpretation, but the use of θοθ in Is. xlix 4 strongly supports the argument that it is the people who receive their reward from God. This is theologically more sound than to suggest that God receives a reward.

In v. 11 Yahweh is pictured as a shepherd. There is a very striking use of θτ in the gentle sense which makes a skillful counterpoint to its use in v. 10. The shepherd is a common image for God in both Old and New Testaments (cf. Pss. xxiii 1, lxxvii 20, lxxviii 52, lxxx 1, c 3, Ezek. xxxiv, Luke xv 3-7, Jn. x 14). Genesis xxxiii 12-13 gives a good illustration of a shepherd's care for his flock. The kings of the A.N.E. were often described as shepherds. This was especially apt in Judah where the Davidic king was seen as Yahweh's representative (cf. 2 Sam. v 2). There is no reference to the king in this passage. The word θτ (lambs), as North notes, came to be an

epithet for children in Aramaic (cf. the Aramaic ַּלַּתיָה (boy) and talitha in Mark v 41). ¹

General comments.

Most commentators who accept the unity of Chapters xl-lv agree that the poem xl 1-11 acts as a prologue for the whole work. Certainly, the main themes of the work are here summarized. The fact that this poem is addressed to Zion–Jerusalem is a good indication that it is meant to introduce all sixteen chapters, for Zion and Jerusalem are rarely mentioned in Chapters xl-xlviii.

The metre of the poem is mixed with a preponderance of 3 : 2 distichoi (vv. 1, 2, 4b, 9a, 10b, 11a, 11b) and others ranging from 2 : 2 (vv. 3b, 3c) to the heavy 4 : 4 : 3 in v. 7.

The poem divides naturally into four sections as follows:

(a) The voice of God speaks a message of comfort and forgiveness to Zion–Jerusalem (vv. 1-2).

(b) The first mysterious voice calls to the listeners to prepare God's way through the desert, for His glory will be revealed to all mankind (vv. 3-5).

(c) The second mysterious voice, perhaps speaking to the prophet, calls upon him (or some-one) to speak. The one called is full of doubt because of the evanescence of human affairs, but the voice affirms that God's word is eternal (vv. 6-8).

¹. Loc. cit.
(d) Zion-Jerusalem, the herald, is exhorted to carry the good tidings of God's redemption to the other cities of Judah. God will come with might to rule, but he will also be a gentle shepherd (vv. 9-11).

It is difficult to see why some commentators are not satisfied with the unity and order of this short poem. Duhm\(^1\) and Marti,\(^2\) for example, wish to transfer vv. 6-8 to follow v. 11. The four sections are logically enough arranged as they are. God's word of comfort opens the work and this is followed by the invitation to prepare for God's epiphany; doubt, usually intermingled with faith, succeeds this invitation, but the word of God is shown to be eternally valid; finally Zion is called as the supreme witness to God's intervention — and this is the proof of what will come about, that Zion will be restored.

As already noted, Deutero-Isaiah has used previously existing literary/liturgical forms but has adapted them for his own individual use. For example, vv. 6b-7 are in a well-defined form of lament commonly used in the psalms (cf. Pss. xxxix, xlix, xc 5). Further, vv. 9-11 are in the form of a psalm of praise in which God's action as Redeemer and Lord of history are lauded. This is a very common liturgical form. Also, the words "Fear not" may be borrowed from the typical oracle of salvation.\(^3\)

The unity of structure in this Prologue is noted by George Adam Smith who entitles the poem "The four herald

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voices". Thus, the four sections of the poem are held together by an explicit parallelism.

The main interpretation of the poem rests upon its relationship with the following chapters. The poem really gives a summary of and anticipates the main themes of the whole work. In the analysis of Chapters xl-lv the main themes were categorized in three groups. The first of these referred to God's nature, and the most important aspects of this included God's character as Redeemer and Lord of history, both of which are clearly present in vv. 10-11. The second category was God's relationship with Israel. This was seen as based on a longstanding covenant tradition, and more particularly on the Exodus tradition. The recall of the latter is visible in the Prologue both in the reference to the release from servitude and in the emphasis on the "way" through the wilderness. This subject is taken up time after time in the main body of the work. The third category was God's new saving act towards Israel (= Zion), namely the release from Babylon and the restoration of Zion. The release of the exiles is implicit in the whole tenor of these verses, and more particularly Zion speaks with authority, as one who brings good tidings to the whole of Judah. There seems to be little doubt that xl l-ll do summarize Deutero-Isaiah's whole work.

As to the Sitz im Leben of the poem, it is difficult to discern whether Deutero-Isaiah deliberately wrote it as a foreword for his collection of poetic oracles or whether

it was originally an oracle in its own right presented to the exiles. The former seems more likely, as the above analysis shows.

Aspects of the Zion concept in the poem.
(1) Jerusalem is personified as one having a close relationship with God. She is described as "my people". Further, she has sinned, but is now forgiven because she has paid the penalty of sin in double measure (vv. 1-2).
(2) Jerusalem is pictured as having been in servitude. There is an implicit comparison between Jerusalem now and the tradition of the bondage of Israel in Egypt (v. 2).
(3) Zion and Jerusalem are in parallel in such a way that they are synonymous; and Zion-Jerusalem is personified as a herald of good tidings to the whole of Judah (v. 9).

Concepts indirectly associated with the Zion concept.
(1) God is the Comforter of Zion (v. 1).
(2) A highway across the wilderness and desert (with both geographical and spiritual reference) is to be prepared for God's epiphany. This is a possible reference to the building of a highway for a king (vv. 3-4).
(3) The נבר of God will be revealed. Indirectly this implies a return of the נבר to Zion (cf. Ezekiel), (v. 5).
(4) The impermanence of human affairs is contrasted with the eternal word of God (vv. 6-8).
(5) God is pictured both as a mighty warrior and as a gentle shepherd (vv. 10-11).
Concluding comment on the Zion concept in Is. xl 1-11.

In the very first line of his work Deutero-Isaiah sets the tone for his approach to the Zion concept which, throughout the Zion poems, is set in terms of the close personal relationship which God and Zion share. Zion-Jerusalem is defined as "my people" who, says God, are to take comfort, for her long period of trial and tribulation is over. Zion is about to be released from bondage in much the same way as her ancestors were redeemed from Egypt.

The good news of Yahweh's coming is called out to Zion. All who hear it are bidden to help to prepare the way for the return of God to Jerusalem. In fact, Yahweh himself will smooth out all obstacles to his journey by making a highway across the intervening desert, levelling the ground between Babylon and Jerusalem. This glorious epiphany will be witnessed by the whole of mankind.

Doubt is expressed as to whether faith in such an event is possible or worthwhile. What is the point of all these hyperbolical statements when, in the end, all human life, like the grass and flowers of the fields, comes to nothing? Over against this pessimism, the poet affirms that God's word is eternal. The implication is that if Yahweh has announced that he will end Zion's servitude to bring about a restoration, then that word will materialize in events.

The prophet again summons Zion, this time in an effective personification, to shout aloud to all the surrounding towns that Yahweh is coming with power and might to distribute his reward to his people. Like a shepherd he will look after them and guide them back to their pasture in Zion.
At the centre of this beautiful poem is the belief, even the certainty, that God is about to act in the arena of history. The God who had apparently left Israel to her deserts, the One who had abandoned his dwelling place on Mount Zion, is now about to reaffirm his special relationship to his people by redeeming them, as of old, from the hands of their oppressors, by leading them back to Zion and by returning to Zion himself.

16. Indeed I have etched you on the palms of my hands; your walls are constantly in my thoughts.

17. Your sons once speedily;
your destroyers and wreckers depart from you.

19. "Truly, (now) your waste and your desolate places and your devastated land—
truly, then you will be too confined for your inhabitants.

20. Besides, the children of your bereavement will say in your hearing;
'The place is too confined for me;
more over, that I may have room to dwell'.

21. You will say in your heart;
'Who has borne these for me
14. But Zion said,

"The Lord has abandoned me,
my Master has forgotten me".

15. "Does any woman forget the baby at her breast,
having no compassion on the child of her womb?
Even these may forget,

but I will not forget you.

16. Indeed I have etched you on the palms of my hands;
your walls are constantly in my thoughts.

17. Your sons come speedily;
your destroyers and wreckers depart from you.

18. Raise your eyes; look all around;

all of them gather and come to you.

As I live, says the Lord,

truly, you shall wear them all as embellishments

and you shall fasten them on as a bride does.

19. "Truly, (now) your waste and your desolate places

and your devasted land -

truly, then you will be too confined for your

inhabitants.

20. Besides, the children of your bereavement will say

in your hearing,

'The place is too confined for me;
move over, that I may have room to dwell'.

21. You will say in your heart,

'Who has borne these for me
when I was bereaved and barren,
banished and cast aside?
Who has reared these
when I was left alone?
Whence are these?'

22. Thus says the Lord God,
"Truly I will lift up my hand to the nations,
and I will raise my signal to the peoples;
and they shall bring your sons in their arms,
and your daughters shall be carried on their shoulders;
and kings shall be your foster fathers
and their queens your nursing mothers.
Faces to the ground they shall bow down to you
and they shall lick the dust of your feet.
Then you will know that I am the Lord;
those who wait for me in hope shall not be disillusioned."

23. Can a prisoner be taken from the Mighty One,
or can the captives of the Righteous One escape?

24. Truly, thus says the Lord:
"Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken
and the tyrant's prisoner shall escape.
I myself shall contend with those who contend with you
and I myself will save your sons.

25. I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh
and they shall be drunk with their own blood as
with wine.
Then all flesh shall know
that I am the Lord your Saviour,  
and your Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob."

(L)

1. Thus says the Lord:  
"Where is your mother's divorce certificate  
with which I sent her away?  
Or who were the creditors to whom I sold you?  
In fact, you were sold because of your wrongdoing  
and your mother was sent away because of your  
wickedness.

2. Why was there no-one when I came?  
I called and there was no-one to answer.  
Is my hand too short to redeem,  
or have I no strength to save?  
Surely, by my rebuke I dry up the sea;  
I turn the rivers into a wilderness;  
their fish are putrid because there is no water,  
and they die desiccated.

3. I wrap the skies with blackness  
and I make sackcloth their covering".

Verses 14-18.

In reply to Zion's complaint that Yahweh has forsaken her, God replies that although a woman may forget her baby (unusual as it would be), he will never forget Zion. Zion is always in his mind as if he had etched her plan on the palms of his hands. Zion's sons hasten to return; her destroyers are moving out. Those returning will be worn
by Zion like the ornaments of a bride. In v. 14 Zion laments that she is forgotten by God. As Westermann notes, this is a well-known type of lament used in worship (cf. Psalm xxii 1). Time and again Deutero-Isaiah uses such despairing words as a starting point for the great message of comfort that he proclaims. The picture of Zion in this and the following verses is a complex one. The immediate comparison of God's love for Zion to a mother's love for her child is incidental. The main image throughout is of Zion as the barren widow or divorcee who is finally reinstated as Yahweh's bride and the mother of many children. Zion is not only personified as the true Jerusalem, but there is also the picture of the ideal geographical city in v. 16. Zion is seen as an individual but she is also representative of Israel. The destiny of Zion as Yahweh's bride is to be compared with the fate of Babylon (Chapter xlvii) who will know widowhood and the loss of her children. In other words, Zion is seen not only as a political entity and as a city to be rebuilt, but also as the type for God's chosen community over against the rejected community. It is not an exaggeration to claim, as Simon does, that the city, as well as the Servant, has a vocation.

It is an interesting question as to how יְלָהָ should be translated. The suffix is in the plural and this may

indicate a plural of majesty. The singular form of the suffix does appear, though it is not common.¹ The suffix with qameṣ is an M.T. interpretation that the reference is to the divinity. In any case, the reference here is to God - but ought the word to be translated, with Knight, as "my husband"?² (cf. li 22, Gen. liv 6). North, following IQ Is. a, translates "my God". It is reasonable to assume that this word, as opposed to the tetragrammaton preceding it, has a different reference from the name "Yahweh". However, "husband" is not quite appropriate to the imagery in v. 15. Probably, the best answer would be to translate "Yahweh, my Lord", but as the tetragrammaton is being translated "Lord" throughout the study, the difference is shown by translating מָצָא as "my master".

In v. 15 God's love is compared with that of a woman for the baby at her breast. An analogy with a female is a very unusual way of describing the nature of the divine love, but this is typical of Deutero-Isaiah's genius, in that he often explores new territory. The comparison is very effective, for in human terms the love of a mother is one of the strongest bonds imaginable. It is so unlikely that a mother would forget her child that the statement that she may do so is very poignant. In comparison, God's love is perfect. He never forgets his children. This is a strong expression of Yahweh's love rarely exceeded in intensity in

². Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 193ff.

תְּלָהָה is a noun from the root 'ד (give suck) and in this context means "a child at the mother's breast" (cf. Is. lxxv 20). The verbal form is used in Is. xl 11.

דוֹרָה is apparently intended as the pi'el infinitive construct of the verb דֹּרָה preceded by כדי with negative force. This sense is accepted by R.S.V. However, the relation of נֵפֶשׁ to נֶפֶשׁ seems grammatically incongruous, so some scholars repoint the word as דֹּרָה, the masculine singular, pi'el participle, (See B.H.S.), (cf. Psalm cxvi 5). The masculine form for a feminine is paralleled by the Arabic. N.E.B. accepts this interpretation, translating "living mother". If M.T. is accepted then נֵפֶשׁ may be seen as a collective noun, though not necessarily, for Marti translates נֵפֶשׁ as "such" (solche), claiming that it can then refer to a singular. Duhm translates "Mag auch diese ein Weib vergessen", taking נֵפֶשׁ as the object. However, the verb is plural so there is still a problem with the subject. It is probably best to accept נֵפֶשׁ as a collective noun, or that it stands for the typical woman. In English it would then follow that either "these" should be changed to singular or that the collective noun should be given its full force by translating "any woman", or some equivalent.

3. See G.K., 122b(c).
5. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaja, p. 345.
In v. 16 the new Zion is described as already existing in God's plans. This is picturesquely expressed: Zion is etched on the palms of Yahweh's hands and the walls of the city are constantly in his thoughts. It would be taking this statement too literally to argue, with Simon, that the walls must already be standing and, therefore, that the passage must be later than the sixth century B.C.\(^1\) There is disagreement as to whether only the name or the plan of the city is the intended reference. Skinner argues for the latter interpretation\(^2\) while Torrey argues for the former.\(^3\) In Ezekiel iv 1 the prophet is instructed to portray the city on a brick, an apparent reference to a plan. The mention of the city walls as being before God in the second part of the verse seems to support the idea of a plan, rather than the name, being etched on the hands. The reference in Ex. xiii 9 (cf. Deut. xiii 6) to the words of the law being bound as a sign on the hand is not a particularly good parallel. In Is. xlv 5 there is a reference to writing words on the hand but the parallel to this verse is not a strong one.

Duhm claims that the arrangement of this verse interrupts the picture of the mother. He omits the suffix of the verb, making "walls" the object in the first stichos, and translating the second: "Und vor mir bist du beständig..."\(^4\) However, both the metre and the M.T.

\(^1\) Loc. cit.
\(^4\) Loc. cit.
pointing militate against this.

Westermann claims that here begins the proclamation of salvation which counterbalances the lament of v. 14.\(^1\) There is certainly a reversal of mood, but whether this form is deliberately modelled on the psalm of lament is debatable. (See below.)

The verb \(\text{pprl}\) means "to cut in, inscribe, decree".\(^2\) It is used in Ezek. iv 1 to express the inscription of Jerusalem on a brick and in Is. xxx 8 for inscribing in a book. North suggests that the latter reference may have been to a copper scroll.\(^3\) Some scholars suggest convincingly that the reference is to tattooing on the hand.\(^4\) In Is. x 1 the verb seems to be used to indicate the promulgation of a decree. There could be a similar nuance of meaning here in the sense that God has decreed that Jerusalem will be rebuilt.

Blythin perceives a series of doubles entendres in this and the following verses (cf. \(\text{cf. }\) below). He sees in the "walls" and the etching on the hands a reference to the image of a lover as in Song of Songs viii 6 ("Set me .... as a seal upon your arm..."). and in v. 10 of the same chapter ("I was a wall...").\(^5\) With a poet as subtle as Deutero-Isaiah this is certainly possible.

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In v. 17 it is prophesied that Zion's children will come quickly and that the enemies will leave the city. Some commentators prefer to repoint  as  after IQ Is. a, Aquila and the Vulgate. North accepts the repointing but admits that there could be a double entendre in that Zion's builders are her sons. However, Skinner correctly argues that the picture of the children is fundamental to the meaning of the passage as a whole. This position is also supported by Levy. The translation of this verse accepted above follows M.T. which makes sound sense. On the other hand, R.S.V. repoints  to make the comparative (cf. N.E.B.). This, however, is unnecessary.

The accepted interpretation of  is supported by the sense of v. 18 which claims that all of them ( ), that is to say, Zion's children, will gather and come to her. These returned sons are then compared to the ornaments worn by Zion the bride. The metaphors in these verses are rather mixed but it would be a mistake to try to harmonise them too logically. Westermann argues that this description is not to be interpreted aesthetically, but rather refers to honour and status in the eyes of neighbouring nations. A nuance of national pride may well be contained in the verse, though Knight wonders whether the gathering of

1. Loc. cit.
people to Zion does not include Gentiles. A universal view may be included in the parallel verse at Is. lx 4 (cf. vv. 5-7, 10), but it is doubtful whether it is legitimate to read this specifically into xlix 18. On the other hand, there seems to be a wider reference here than to a return from Babylon, which seems to argue that the writer also has in mind a return of Israelites from other countries. In the whole poem there is a curious mixture of possibly implied universalism (vv. 22-23, 26b) and acid polemic against foreign enemies (vv. 25-26a).

Yahweh's oath by himself (cf. xlv 23), is a very strong expression which indicates the writer's certainty not only in God's ultimate power, but also in the transmission of God's word to him personally.

is a collective noun meaning "ornaments". Ornaments of gold are mentioned in 2 Sam 1 24. A description of Jerusalem as a woman decked with ornaments is given in Jer. iv 30, but at that place the interpretation is unfavourable to Jerusalem. In Ezek. xvi 11ff., however, the description, as here, is of Jerusalem receiving Yahweh's favour as a bride, followed by an account of Jerusalem's fall into harlotry. At any rate, the picture has some precedents.

means "gird on". The noun from this root is used in Jer. ii 32 for part of a bride's costume. As well as meaning "gird on" the verb can also mean

1. Loc. cit.
"conspire" or "be in league together".\textsuperscript{1} It may be that there is an underlying implication of unity among the children of Zion.

\textbf{Verses 19-21.}

This section promises that although Zion is now a ruined waste, in the future it will be crowded and will feel too small. Zion will have so many children who were born during the Exile that when they return she will wonder who has borne them and brought them up.

There is no doubt that v. 19a is a little difficult to understand at first sight. Duhm goes to great lengths to try to fit this verbless phrase into the context, rearranging the verses as follows: vv. 17, 19a, 18b, 19b, 20, omitting 18a. By this method he reads the "waste places" etc. as the ornaments of Zion.\textsuperscript{2} Kissane similarly attaches 19a to 18b, changing "D to "J .\textsuperscript{3} Ibn Ezra says it is necessary to assume "n (instead of) in 19a.\textsuperscript{4} B.H.S., followed by N.E.B. and Torrey\textsuperscript{5} recommends a re-pointing of the key words giving the translation, "I did indeed make you waste and desolate, I razed you to the ground...". R.S.V. gives a fairly literal translation with a breaking off and restarting between 19a and 19b. What this could mean is not

\textsuperscript{1} See B.D.B., p. 905; cf. K.B., p. 860.
\textsuperscript{2} Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia, p. 346.
\textsuperscript{3} Kissane, The Book of Isaiah II, pp. 131-3.
\textsuperscript{5} Torrey, The Second Isaiah, pp. 386-7.
immediately clear but a minor adjustment shows that this is the best answer to the problem. It is merely necessary to insert "now" into 19a (implied by the sense), and to translate נְדָע in 19b as "then", because the reference is to the future.

ניַּכְרַן is a plural noun with suffix from the root נָכֲרַה (be dried up, desolate). יַּכְרַנְיָה is a feminine plural participle with suffix from the verb נָכַּר (be appalled, be desolated). יִּכְרָה is a singular noun with suffix from the root כָּר (throw, tear down).¹

In v. 20 it is promised that the children of Zion's bereavement will be so many that she will scarcely have room for them.

ניִּכְרָה לָא is a peculiar phrase. The noun is probably an abstract noun meaning "bereavement", though this is not certain. The root כָּר means "be bereaved (of children)".² Skinner is undoubtedly correct when he claims that the children are those born away from Zion during the Exile.³

ניִּכְרָה literally means "draw near to me", but in this context such a translation is not apt. It is probable that the verb כָּר has been confused with the verb כָּר (press, drive, oppress, exact). The problem here is similar to that in Gen. xix 9 where the two verbs have also

¹. See K.B., pp. 329-30, 988, 243.
². See B.D.B., pp. 1013-14; cf. K.B., p. 969.
been confused. Accepting that the verb is swana, the
meaning is "press for me" or "move over". North recommends
that נָפָל should be translated "for us", but the singular
makes sense as the speech of an individual.

In v. 21 the Zion of the future is pictured as expressing
surprise at all her children and wonders whence they have
come. Knight sees here a reference to Moses' complaint in
Num. xi 12 that the people are a burden to him: "Did I
conceive all this people?". This is possible, though the
purpose of the question is different.

This poses a problem. North notes that this verb
is normally used for a father begetting children (cf. Gen.
iv 18), but accepts the masculine as a special use of the
feminine. Levy maintains that נָפָל is "used generically
for the idea of bearing without reference to the subject". This is probably correct, for to accept it as a normal
masculine would seem unnatural in the context. Skinner
compares the verse with stories in Genesis where slave girls
were customarily used to produce children for a barren wife
(cf. Gen. xvi lff., xxx lff.), but Volz feels, probably
correctly, that the emphasis is rather on the mystery of
the event, that a rational explanation is out of place.

dl (barren) has an

2. Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, p. 197.
3. Loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
uncertain etymology, but it is thought that it is related to the Arabic parallel which means "rocky" or "stony".\footnote{1}

Some commentators follow LXX (cf. N.E.B.) in omitting הַעָלָיוֹן הָעַלָּיוֹנָה, the difficulty being that Zion herself is not in Exile. Levy, for example, believes the phrase to be a corrupt dittography of קַדְמֵי עַבְרֵי, but Kissane is probably correct in saying that the phrase should be kept as a parallel for v. 21e and that the reference is rather to Zion being banished from her husband.\footnote{3}

The former meaning is probably correct here.

Verses 22-23.

In this section God promises that Zion's sons and daughters will be brought back by the peoples at Yahweh's signal. The kings and queens of these nations, in answer to v. 21, are the foster parents of Zion's children, and they will pay homage to Zion. Zion will then know that God is Yahweh and those who trust in him are not put to shame.

Volz sees in these two verses a vision of spiritual unity which is rather similar to later eschatology. In other words, the events do not take place on the historical

\footnote{1. See B.D.B., p. 166; cf. K.B., p. 185.}
\footnote{2. Loc. cit.}
\footnote{3. Kissane, The Book of Isaiah II, p. 133.}
level.\textsuperscript{1} That the vision is idealized is undeniable, but it also has a kernel of historical hope in that a reference to the exiles' return is implicit in most of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecies about the restoration of Zion.

The signal to the nations in v. 22 is a figure which appears both in Proto-Isaiah (v 26, xi 12) and in Trito-Isaiah (lxii 10), one of a number of examples of the continuity in style and thought in the Isaianic corpus.

Schoors gives a good analysis of the use of this figure in various situations. God's signal can mean salvation (Psalm x 3, Ezek. xx) or punishment (Ezek. xxxvi 7, xlv 12, Psalm cvi 26). It can be against Israel (Is. v 26) or against Babylon (Is. xiii 2). It can be a sign of triumph (Jer. L 2). Schoors further argues that Is xi 11-12, as here, refers to a gathering of the Diaspora and he believes that Is. xlix is anterior to Is. xi 11-12.\textsuperscript{2} He could be correct in the latter assertion, though there is little evidence to support it; but if he believes that the Diaspora of Is. xlix refers to the late Persian or Greek periods, then he is making a questionable statement. Certainly, the picture seems to be of Israelites returning from different countries - but that would be natural on the occasion of the restoration of Jerusalem. Israelites must have been spread far and wide during the Exile.

\textsuperscript{1} Volz. Jesaia II, pp. 99-112.
of the outer garment\(^1\) (cf. Neh. v 13, Num. xi 12).

To say that kings and queens (v. 23) will be foster parents is to claim that foreign rulers will have "looked after" exiled Israelites; and that they will return them to Zion personally. This is not, of course, to be taken literally, out of the poetic context.

An \(\pi^\nu\) (participle of \(\pi^\nu\), meaning "to prove steady or faithful, to confirm") is a caretaker of children or a trustee (cf. Moses in Num. xi 12, 2 Kings x 1, Esther ii 7).\(^2\) The feminine form is \(\eta^\nu\) (nurse) but in this passage \(\nu^\nu\) is used instead. This is from the root \(\pi^\nu\) (suck) and means "to wet nurse"\(^3\) (cf. Ex. ii 7, Gen. xxiv 59).

The description of foreign rulers paying homage to or in Zion is not uncommon in Deutero-Isaiah (cf. xlv 14, xlix 7). Knight attempts to circumvent the nationalism of the text by saying that it is to God the rulers will bow down,\(^4\) but this is not quite what the text says, though it is clear that God's power is behind the justification of Zion. Marti notes that this is not a good picture of the participation of the nations in Zion's restoration and concludes that this passage best fits the period of late Judaism when national pride was strong.\(^5\)

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This dating is dubious, but Marti, followed by Volz, also shows that Egyptian court etiquette, as described in the Tell el Amarna letters, demanded such prostration as a matter of course. Levy quotes from a Persian petition to the Shah and this shows that a similar custom existed in later Persia. This scholar admits that this verse is a blot on Deutero-Isaiah's universalistic ideas, but claims rightly that he was, after all, a product of his own age (cf. Mic. vii 17, Psalm lxxii 9).

מָאָס, according to Schoors, is a formula of recognition originally used in a cultic theophany. Further, vv. 22-23 could have been used in a cultic presentation of Yahweh's "appearance". Such hope for a divine intervention is a common theme in laments. However, it would be difficult to prove that these verses were primarily written for use in the cult, though the use by Deutero-Isaiah of forms previously existing in the psalms is probable, in a general sense at any rate.

The verb מָאָס (wait for), here the qal participle with suffix, has a definite association with hope as the cognate noun מָאָס (hope) illustrates. Volz believes that to "wait for the Lord" is a typical phrase of the servant in Deutero-Isaiah.

3. Loc. cit.
Verses 24-26.

It is affirmed that Yahweh's captives, the exiles, cannot be lost to him. It is the Babylonian tyrant who will lose his captives. Further assurance is given that God's power is more than sufficient to overcome the enemies who will be reduced to internal dissensions. All the world will know that Yahweh is the Mighty One of Jacob, the Saviour and Redeemer of Israel.

Westermann takes v. 24 as a lament designed to introduce a disputation (cf. 2'7 in v. 25; cf. Psalms xxxv 1, lxxiv 22). That a kind of disputation appears is certainly true, and v. 24 is its starting point. This device appears elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, and especially in this poem (i.e. xlix 14 - L 3), so the technique is probably stylized in the literary sense. There is, no doubt, some dependence on the psalms in form and style but such techniques are often used unconsciously by a writer of stature.

Verses 24-25 are a good example of poetic inversion, so much so that the temptation to emend p^r^S to s^r^G is strong (cf. LXX 2^B^R^S ; IQ Isa., Syriac, Vulgate). The parallelism as it stands is as follows:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a} & \text{b} \cdot \text{c} & \text{d} \times \text{f} \\
\text{d} & \text{b} \cdot \text{a} & \text{c} \cdot \text{e} \cdot \text{f} \\
\end{align*} \]

(\(=\) noun; \(-\) = verb)

Most scholars wish to emend to:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a} & \text{b} \cdot \text{c} & \text{d} \cdot \text{e} \cdot \text{f} \\
\text{d} & \text{b} \cdot \text{a} & \text{c} \cdot \text{e} \cdot \text{f} \\
\end{align*} \]

This would ensure that every term in v. 24 was repeated in v. 25 - which is so obvious that it is suspect.

Accepting that יִדְרֵשב is the correct reading there are three main ways of taking the statement. The A.V. translates "lawful captive". Delitzsch supports this interpretation, claiming that יִדְרֵshaw is a genitive construction.1,2 Secondly, יִדְרֵshaw could be translated "victor".3 This would preserve the parallelism and would make v. 25 an affirmation that the claim of v. 24 is indeed possible. The difficulties with this answer to the problem are twofold. Firstly, יִדְרֵshaw would normally refer to a righteous victor, which in Deutero-Isaiah's terms does not describe Babylon. Secondly, why should the writer choose יִדְרֵshaw in v. 24 and יִדְרֵshaw in v. 25? If יִדְרֵshaw is the correct reading, then he had a very good reason for choosing the word. In many passages Deutero-Isaiah is given credit for showing great subtlety. Why should he not be showing such subtlety here? The third interpretation, then, claims that there is a deliberate contrast between the יִדְרֵshaw (the Righteous One = God) and the יִדְרֵshaw (the tyrant).4 There is, in that case, a deliberate pun on יִדְרֵshaw which in v. 24 refers to God (cf. Is. ix 5, Psalm xxiv 8, Deut. x 17) and in v. 25 refers to the tyrant. The captives or prisoners are the exiles. In v. 24 these are described as Yahweh's captives,

which in one sense they are. The question asks, "Can Yahweh lose his captives?" The answer expected is, "No". Then comes the contrast. It is the tyrant who will lose his captives. The third interpretation is most acceptable.

In v. 26a comes the description of the enemies eating and drinking each others' flesh and blood. Westermann believes this was part of an old oracle not to be taken literally, for the main interest is not the punishment of Babylon (cf. xlvi 20-25). The picture of civil strife among enemies is fairly common (cf. Is. ix 20, Hagg. ii 22, Zech. xi 9, xiv 11-13). But all the same the wording is very emphatic and the future of Babylon looks black, which stands against Westermann's view. Skinner notes that the theme is common in eschatology, but an eschatological reference seems unlikely here. As Volz states, the reference is rather to the judgment of Babylon. Schoors believes the description is a metaphor for extreme distress and he quotes parallel descriptions from treaties between nations. On the whole, the evidence seems to suggest that this was a stylized way of threatening enemies with punishment.

In v. 26b Schoors recognizes in "all flesh shall know" both the formula of recognition and the motif of goal in universal terms. No doubt Deutero-Isaiah is using typical psalm language, but is he consciously imitating a specific,

detailed form? This seems doubtful.

Saviour and Redeemer are typical titles for God in Deutero-Isaiah, but נְבֵאָד as a title for God appears elsewhere in the Isaianic corpus only at i 24 (נְבֵאָד נְבֵאָד) and in the same form as here at lx 16. The reference is to Gen. xlix 24. (See the notes on Psalms xlvi 8 and cxxxii 5.) This implies a continuity with the past history of Jacob-Israel.

Chapter L, verses 1-3.

This section continues the theme of xlix 14-21. The underlying accusation against God is that he has broken the covenant. This notion is dispelled by two arguments. Firstly, Zion's children cannot produce a bill of divorce which had, in fact, not been given to their mother. Secondly, there is no evidence that Yahweh had sold the children to creditors. In fact, the reason the Israelites were sold into Exile was that they had transgressed and behaved iniquitously. No-one came forward to speak against Yahweh. It is so obvious that he has the power to redeem. He could even reverse the creation process if he so wished: it is he who changes rivers into deserts and brings blackness to the skies.

The form critics classify this section (with xliii 22-28, xlii 18-25) as a trial speech.1 The use of legalistic language supports such a classification. Yahweh stands in court and he puts forward his defence; and then in turn

becomes the accuser. This style of writing is commonly called the ribh pattern (cf. Pss. L, lxxxii).

In v. 1 the חָלֵא מִי is a "deed of dismissal or divorce". The word comes from the root חֲלָא (cut).\(^1\)

Deut. xxiv 1-4 explains the law of divorce. If a man finds fault with his wife he has simply to write out a certificate of divorce. If the wife re-marries she cannot be taken back by the first husband. In Jer. iii 8, 14-17, the northern kingdom is given a certificate but not the southern kingdom. מִּי חָלֵא is also a technical word in the context of divorce.\(^2\)

The law about selling children as slaves appears in Ex. xxi 7. The custom of selling children into slavery when bankrupt is attested in Neh. v 1-5. Levy (writing in 1925) notes that until comparatively recently this was a custom in the caliphate.\(^3\) There is no reason to doubt that such transactions actually took place in Old Testament times. General references to the selling of Israel into enemy hands are common (cf. Jud. ii 14, Psalm xliiv 13) and the reason is usually given, as here, as the misbehaviour of Israel.

God continues his speech in v. 2 and, after pointing out that no-one can dispute his argument, reminds the Israelites of his power in nature.

Levy maintains that the complaint that there was no man

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to answer God means that Deutero-Isaiah's message was not heard,¹ but in the context of a trial speech this is unlikely. Knight sees an allusion to God's loneliness in this statement,² but for the same reason this, again, seems not to be the main point - which is that God's arguments are unanswerable.

There are four main possible ways of interpreting the second half of v. 2. (a) In the drying up of the sea there could be a reference to the creation myth in which God defeated the têhom as Marduk defeated Tiamat (cf. li 9-10). (b) There could be a reference to the Exodus and Red Sea traditions (cf. the plague in Ex. vii 21 and the crossing of the sea in Ex. xiv 19-25.). There could also be a subsidiary reference to the crossing of the Jordan (cf. Josh. iii 14ff.). (c) There could be reference to God's control of nature, especially as a counterpoint to the theme of the fertile desert so common in Deutero-Isaiah, the point being that God can reverse his creative process if he so wishes. (d) There could be a reference to the catastrophe before the final judgment.

It is doubtful whether this passage is intended to be eschatological, but it is probable that allusions to (a), (b) and (c) all appear here simultaneously. In the pun on Rahab in li 9-10 it is clearly shown that Deutero-Isaiah specifically associated the creation myth and the Red Sea tradition; at the same time, a general reference to God's power in nature is undeniable.

¹. Ibid.
². Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 199-200.
The noun הָלָם is formed from the verb הָלָם (rebuke). The verb is used of God rebuking the Red Sea in Psalm cvi 9, while the noun is used in Psalm xviii 16 of a typical theophany in which God rebukes nature and lays bare the foundations of the world.

The מָוָה are also made a wilderness in Psalm cvii 33. The word usually refers to rivers but it can also refer to the currents of the sea, especially with a cosmic reference (cf. Is. xliv 27, xlviii 18, Psalm xciii 3).

The word יָמֵם, the third person singular, feminine imperfect of יָמֵם (stink) is translated by LXX as ἐξενθονοῦντος, presupposing יָמֵם (dry up).

Many commentators are not satisfied with the translation "stink" and argue that יָמֵם has a second meaning. de Boer, for example, on the basis of the Ugaritic b's (be bad) argues that the word here means "distressed". Driver argues from Assyrian and Aramaic parallels that the verb can mean "suffer harm". N.E.B. translates "perished", possibly on the basis of Driver's theory. R.S.V., however, adheres to "stink". Surely the key text for interpretation is Ex. vii 21 where it is stated that because the waters of the Nile were turned to blood the fish died and

2. de Boer, Second Isaiah's Message, p. 53.
3. Driver, J.T.S., XXI 1931, pp. 276-7; cf. Ackroyd, J.T.S., II (New series) 1951, pp. 31-36. Ackroyd argues that יָמֵם has been influenced by יָמֵם and that it can mean "be ashamed". Cf. B.D.B., p. 92; cf. K.B., p. 106.
the water became foul (יַֽעֲשָׂו). Now it is true that the waters "stank" and not the fish, but in an allusion of this kind a transfer of the verb to the fish would be understandable. It can be argued with Skinner that such an allusion is probably intentional and that the translation should be "stink", or a synonymous verb.¹

The blackness of the heavens in v. 3 has been given different interpretations. Knight sees a reference to the blackness of chaos, a result of the reversal of the creation process.² Torrey sees a reference to the plague of darkness in the Exodus story.³ Westermann perceives an "apocalyptic" description of God's transforming action.⁴ Skinner accepts that the reference is to storm clouds and to mourning.⁵ North agrees that Skinner's interpretations are possible but also sees a possible reference to an eclipse;⁶ while Volz denies a reference to an eclipse, believing rather that a sand-storm is involved, and he quotes an example of an Egyptian sand-storm which occurred in 1928.⁷ The word יָרְדִּים is a hapax legomenon, but the verb יָרָד is used in relation to water, to the sun and moon and to mourning.⁸ In Jer. iv 28 יָרָד is used as a sign of mourning while in 1 Kings xviii 45 it is

2. Loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
associated with storm clouds. The use of the word פִּיל supports a reference to mourning. On the whole, however, it is best to accept that there are several dimensions to the image (as in v. 2) and that these were probably deliberate.

Some commentators believe the change between v. 3 and v. 4 is so sudden that either a portion of the text is missing or that the following Servant Song has been inserted later. Yet, reflection shows that the mood of v. 3 makes a suitable introduction to the Servant Song, which is very sober in outlook. The theme of v. 3 is taken up in v. 10 where the servant is described as walking in darkness (םָעַרְפָּן).

General comments.

The poem as a whole can be classified as a disputation between Yahweh and Zion which culminates in a trial speech. Yahweh shows that he has no case to answer in relation to Zion’s accusations.

The metre of the poem is mixed, but certain parts have a regular pattern. The qinah metre is very appropriate in vv. 19-20. Verses 24-26 have a fairly regular metre:

3 : 3 : 3 ; 3 : 3 ; 3 : 3 ; 3 : 3 ; 2 : 3 : 3. Verse 2

in Chapter 2 is also nearly regular: 4 : 3 ; 4 : 3 ; 4 : 3 ; 4 : 2.

There are different views as to the form of the poem. Westermann separates L 1-3 and perceives three sections in xlix 14-26: (a) vv. 14-19 (b) vv. 20-23 (c) vv. 24-26. Each of these sections, he claims, is a disputation by
Yahweh of an assertion by Zion; a lament form followed by a proclamation of salvation. This is a conscious imitation by Deutero-Isaiah of the community lament and oracle of salvation found in the psalms.\(^1\) Schoors' analysis is similar. He finds three sections (slightly different from Westermann's), each of which is a proclamation of salvation. However, each proclamation has ingredients omitted.\(^2\) This form critical approach is certainly useful in relating Deutero-Isaiah's style and use of form to that of the psalms, but it is surely a mistake to try to perceive exact patterns. The genius uses forms and techniques but transcends them. This is the reason why Schoors cannot find complete patterns. At the same time, the form critics have shown that there is a definite relationship between Deutero-Isaiah's poems and the psalms. It is doubtful, however, whether Deutero-Isaiah wrote explicitly for the cult.

North also separates L 1-3, but divides xlix 14-26 into two main sections: (a) vv. 14-21, closely connected with the preceding section. (b) vv. 22-26.\(^3\) Torrey sees Chapter xlix as a unity and divides it into two parts: (a) vv. 1-13, the purpose of God for the Gentiles. (b) vv. 14-26, the purpose of God for Jerusalem and the Jews.\(^4\)

The above analyses of the supposed form of the poem are useful, but Skinner is probably more correct when he

takes the section xlix 14-L 3 as a unity. His analysis is as follows: (a) vv. 14-21, apostrophe to Jerusalem concerning the return of the population and the rebuilding of the waste places. (b) vv. 22-L 3, three oracles concerning the promise to Zion, which are, 1. vv. 22-23. 2. vv. 24-26. 3. L vv. 1-3. He entitles the whole poem, "The Consolation of Zion", which is a good indication of the content.¹ Skinner's analysis has been accepted as being true to the nature of the poem. At the same time, the analyses of Westermann and Schoors have value and throw light upon the growth of poetic forms. (The exegetical analysis above divides vv. 14-21 into parts for the sake of convenience. This is in keeping with R.S.V.'s analysis.)

The general interpretation of the poem must be understood against its political background, but the ultimate purpose of the poem is not political. Deutero-Isaiah probably wrote the poem just before Cyrus' final conquest of Babylon when the exiles found it difficult to believe that God would make it possible for them to return to Zion. As has been shown, the poem is full of doubts and accusations against God. These are dealt with by assurances that God has forgotten neither Zion nor her children (vv. 16-18, 20-23). A firm promise is given that Zion will be restored (v. 16, 22). God is announced as Redeemer and Saviour (v. 26); his power in creation and in his former historical act at the time of the Exodus are recalled (L 2); and God is pictured as the mighty warrior (vv. 24-25).

The enemies of Zion will be reduced to fighting each other (v. 26), while foreign rulers will pay homage to Zion (v. 23). Zion's children were guilty in the past and deserved punishment (L 1) but God is motivated by compassion and love (v. 15). The whole poem is an argument against the probabilities of the historical situation, which make Zion's restoration unlikely, to say the least. Yet, at a deeper, theological level the meaning is that God's relationship with Zion (= Israel) (a) is rooted in Israel's past traditions, (b) will be continued despite the apparent break in the relationship, (c) is concerned with forgiveness of sins.

The picture of Zion as the mother of Israel and Yahweh as her husband is perhaps the central concept of the poem. This is a daring way to speak about God, but it is not original. Isaiah was undoubtedly familiar with Hosea's work and was to some extent dependent on Hosea (cf. Hosea ii). It is interesting to note, however, that in Deutero-Isaiah xlix 14- L 3 it is the children of Zion who have sinned and not Zion herself (cf. L 1).

The Sitz im Leben of the poem was probably Babylon at the end of the Exile just before Cyrus' final conquest. It is doubtful if the poem was written for a cultic situation. It could have been written and handed round for the exiles to read. Alternatively, it could have been read out in a secret gathering of exiles. There is no evidence that Deutero-Isaiah either did or did not make public pronouncements, but in the circumstances it is improbable that he did so before the fall of Babylon.
Aspects of the Zion concept presented in the poem.

1. Zion is personified as a woman, the mother of Israel and the bride of Yahweh. God has neither divorced nor deserted Zion. God's love for Zion is greater than human love (vv. 14, 18, 20-24, L 1).

2. The new city of Zion is etched onto the palms of Yahweh's hands and Yahweh constantly has Zion in mind (v. 16).

3. The children of Zion will be gathered from all directions and Zion will scarcely have room for them (vv. 18, 20-21, 22).

4. The Israelites born during the Exile are still Zion's children. The kings and queens of foreign nations have acted as foster parents (vv. 21-23).

5. Foreign rulers will pay homage to Zion (v. 23).

6. Ruined Zion will be restored (v. 19).

Concepts related indirectly to the Zion concept.

1. God has power over all nations (v. 22).

2. God is a warrior who fights on Zion's behalf (vv. 24-26a).

3. God is Zion's Saviour and Redeemer and the Mighty One of Jacob (v. 26).

4. Israel's guilt was the cause of the Exile (L 1).

5. God's acts in nature and in the Exodus of old show that he will always have power to redeem (L 2-3).

Concluding comment on the Zion concept in Is. xlix 14-L 3. This poem contains the highest expression of Deutero-
Isaiah's description of Zion as a woman personified. A whole range of metaphors within the main personification describes the past, present and future relationship between Yahweh and Zion, between Zion and the Israelites and between Yahweh and the Israelites. Zion is the mother of all true Israelites and the wife of Yahweh; consequently Yahweh must be the father of all true Israelites. Although Zion feels she has been abandoned by her husband, he has neither forgotten her, nor divorced her. Although she appears to have no children, in fact she has countless children who have been fostered out to the kings and queens of other nations. Nevertheless, Zion and her children have been separated from Yahweh, but this was the result of wicked behaviour by Zion's sons. The time has now come, however, for reconciliation. When Zion receives all her children back she will be like a bride again and she will be astonished at the number of children that she really has.

The picture of Zion as a city also appears. The present situation of Jerusalem as a waste and desolate place is set over against the idea that Yahweh constantly thinks of the city, so much so that he has a plan of the city etched on the palms of his hands. This mention of a plan prepares the way for the full description of the glorious, new city in Chapter liv.

Deutero-Isaiah is writing in a situation where such promises seem unlikely to be fulfilled. He therefore emphasizes God's power over nature and his past acts in creation and in the redemption of Israel from Egypt. If
Yahweh has done such things as these, what chance is there for Israel's enemies against him? Their fate is sealed — and it will be witnessed by all the peoples of the world.

Zion's children are scattered far and wide. They are living in other countries besides Babylonia, but all will return. Their present humiliation is contrasted with the glorious way by which they will be brought back by the rulers of all these countries. Kings and queens will be pleased to return their charges to Mother Zion. They will bow down in homage to Zion, the wife of Yahweh, who is the Saviour and Redeemer of his children.

1. Listen to me, you who pursue righteousness, you seek the Lord;
   consider the rock from which you were hewn
   and the quarry from which you were dug out.

2. Consider Abraham your father
   and Sarah who brought you forth in travail;
   for when he was alone I called him,
   but I blessed him and caused him to multiply.

3. For the Lord will comfort Zion;
   he will comfort all her ruined vesture,
   and he will set out her wilderness like Eden
   and her desert like the garden of the Lord.
   Joy and gladness will be found in her,
   thanksgiving and the sound of singing.

4. Attend to me, my people,
   and give ear to me, my nation,
Isaiah li 1 - lii 12.

The section li 1 - lii 12 consists of a series of poems about Zion. The chapter divisions are arbitrary. There seem to be four poems, namely, li 1-8, li 9-16, li 17-23, lii 1-12 (the last including a prose section). Three of these poems are related by their first lines: li 9, li 17, lii 1. The whole section is too long and involved to analyse as one piece. Therefore, each of the four poems will be analysed separately.

Isaiah li 1-8.

1. Listen to me, you who pursue righteousness, you seekers of the Lord; consider the rock from which you were hewn and the quarry from which you were dug out.

2. Consider Abraham your father and Sarah who brought you forth in travail; for when he was alone I called him, but I blessed him and caused him to multiply.

3. For the Lord will comfort Zion; he will comfort all her ruined wastes, and he will set out her wilderness like Eden and her desert like the garden of the Lord. Joy and gladness will be found in her, thanksgiving and the sound of song.

4. Attend to me, my people, and give ear to me, my nation,
for a law will go forth from me
and I will cause my justice to flash forth as a
light for the peoples.

5. My deliverance is near,
my salvation goes forth,
and my arms will rule the peoples justly;
the coasts and islands wait for me,
and for my arm they hope.

6. Lift up your eyes to the heavens
and gaze at the earth below;
for the heavens will disperse like smoke,
and the earth will wear out like a garment—
while those who live on it will die like locusts;
but my salvation will be for ever
and my deliverance will never be ended.

7. Listen to me, you who know righteousness,
o people in whose heart is my law;
do not fear the reproach of men,
nor be intimidated by their taunts.

8. For the moth will consume them like a garment
and the larva will consume them like wool;
but my deliverance will be for ever,
and my salvation is for all generations.

Verses 1-3.
The people of God, described as those who pursue
righteousness and seek the Lord, are exhorted to reflect
upon their long heritage. Abraham and Sarah were the
parents of the nation and they are compared with a quarry from which the nation was hewn like rock. It is significant for the hopelessness of the exiles that their progenitors, though old and childless, were blessed by God and called to be the parents of all Israelites of the future. In the same way, God will comfort Zion (with children? cf. L 22, liv 13) and transform her wild places into a new Garden of Eden where happiness will be found.

In v. 1 Israel is addressed in the plural. The people are described as those who pursue $\mathcal{R} \mathcal{H}$ . As Volz notes, $\mathcal{R} \mathcal{H}$ has two main meanings. It can refer both to ethical righteousness and to salvation. This scholar claims that in vv. 6b and 8b the latter meaning is clearly intended and he accepts this meaning (Heil) also in vv. 1a and 7a, admitting, however, that an ethical nuance is clearly added in v. 7.¹ Levy believes that here $\mathcal{R} \mathcal{H}$ is "well-being" given by right religion.² Although this would accord with the traditional Israelite association of right conduct with prosperity, such a meaning seems less likely than either of the other meanings. North believes that to "pursue salvation" would be self contradictory and accepts the ethical meaning,³ as does Skinner.⁴ However, North notes that the ethical and soteriological meanings of $\mathcal{R} \mathcal{H}$ are difficult to separate in Deutero-Isaiah. (R.S.V. translates "deliverance" while N.E.B. translates "the right").

Yet, North's claim that "to pursue salvation" is illogical could also be applied to the phrase "seek the Lord". The resolution of this problem is surely that grace can be accompanied by works of righteousness on the part of the recipient. The meaning "righteousness" is acceptable here as in v. 7, though it must be remembered that the meaning "deliverance" is also included (cf. Matt. v. 6).

With regard to יְהֹוָה יָשָׁב, Schoors argues that the verb יָשָׁב is usually used of seeking Yahweh's protection (cf. Jer. xxix 13) while יָשָׁב is more often used of enquiring for guidance in the sanctuary. However, the words are used in parallel not infrequently. In any case, the word here is connected with the literature of lament (cf. Psalms xxvii 8, xl 17, lxix 7). This seems to be a fairly clear example of Deutero-Isaiah's dependence on the psalms for his vocabulary.

Many scholars accept that רָפָא (and רָפָא יְהֹוָה) refer to Abraham (and Sarah). Knight, on the other hand, believes that Deutero-Isaiah is quoting Deut. xxxii 4 where רָפָא refers to God (cf. Psalm xviii 2). de Boer takes the argument further. He maintains that the M.T. pu'al forms are a dogmatic interpretation and that the verbs were originally active, as shown by LXX. יָשָׁב refers to God, who is the provider of life and security. However, Jewish tradition and Matt. iii 9 support M.T.,

1. Schoors, I am God your Saviour, pp. 158ff.
as does the parallel use of ע"ע"ו in vv. 1 and 2. The reference of both verses is to the tradition of Abraham as father of the Israelites.

The words ע"ע"ו ע"ע"ו are best translated by the one word "quarry". The root צב means "to pierce" or "bore a hole". The word צב appears on the Siloam inscription (ץב צב צב צב = this was the circumstance of the shaft) which persuades Volz that the reference is rather to a well-shaft. The qualifying word ע"ע"ו, which some scholars wrongly claim is an explanatory gloss, could support this contention, but the image of a quarry is more convincing (cf. R.S.V., N.E.B.). Duhm finds the reference to a quarry rather strange. He believes there may be a mythical reference, as in v. 9, and that there may be a connection with the cave of Machpelah (cf. Gen. 23), Abraham's family tomb near Hebron. The holy tree of Mamre was in the same vicinity and so later racial myths could have been connected with the cave via the cult. Jer. ii 27 could be cited as another appearance of the same myth. If this is the case the connection is not immediately evident. The image of the quarry seems rather to be a picturesque metaphor to show both the common origin and the unity of the Israelites.

In v. 2 the main point is that Abraham received God's promise in most unpromising circumstances. The promise

came true, as the number of his descendants proves. Therefore, God's new promise will also materialize in the new saving event towards Zion, who is also to be the parent of many children (cf. Gen. xii 2-3, xv 1-6, xviii 19, xxii 17, Psalm cxxviii 3ff.). Sarah is important in the comparison, because her original barrenness and later fertility make a good parallel to Zion's position. This is the only mention of Sarah in the Old Testament apart from in the Book of Genesis.

Marti wishes to emend אֱלֹהִים to the perfect, but the imperfect could be a deliberate indication that the fulfilment of the promise was in the future from Sarah's viewpoint. Of course, the Masoretes could have altered the perfect to the imperfect deliberately.

Torrey maintains that לא is not indicate an arithmetical comparison, but rather means "him only" from all nations (cf. Solomon's election in I Chron. 4 x 1). However, Kissane is probably correct to state that לא is antithetical to "multiplied". The reading of 1Q Is. of לא יִלֶל־לָךְ (I made him fruitful) for לא יִלֶל־לָךְ could possibly be original, but as M.T. makes good sense it is better to follow it.

B.H.S. recommends the changing of לא יִלֶל־לָךְ to waw consecutive (א) and this is supported by G.K. who claim that this may well have been a dogmatic emendation.

3. Loc. cit.
by the Masoretes in order to represent a historical statement as a promise. ¹ This seems a convincing explanation.

In v. 3 the promise to Zion is repeated. The theme of the transformed desert appears once again and Zion's future state, it is said, will resemble the Garden of Eden. The joy and gladness then to be found in Zion must refer to the feelings of her restored children. The mention of thanksgiving and song may be an implicit promise that temple worship will be restored.

There is a return in this verse to the third person, feminine singular, another example of Deutero-Isaiah's notion of corporate personality; this also being the point of contact with Abraham and Sarah.

The tenses are perfect followed by waw consecutive. Marti wishes to repoint מִיַּֽעַל to מִיָּעַל,² but North and others maintain that these tenses indicate certainty with regard to the future.³ With R.S.V. he translates all the verbs as future and this is the more satisfactory explanation.

The origin of this comparison with Eden may well be a direct reference to the tradition of Gen. ii-iii. Is. xxxv 1-2, if prior to Deutero-Isaiah, could also have been familiar to him, as the "quotation" (?) in v. 11 of xxxv 12 may indicate. On the other hand, both Deutero-Isaiah and the writer of Is. xxxv could have been subject to the same

¹. G.K., 107b, Note 2.
². Loc. cit.
influences. Deutero-Isaiah may have been familiar with another "garden" tradition (cf. liv 11-12) similar to the tradition in Ezekiel xxviii, but this second tradition will be fully discussed at the appropriate place.

Schoors sees this description, not as Endzeit in terms of Urzeit, but as a familiar popular tradition.¹ Simon² and Knight,³ however, take a thorough-going eschatological view of the passage. That this picture is idealized cannot be denied, but the historical background suggests that it referred to the immediate future of Zion rather than to Zion at the eschaton. This is not to suggest that there is no eschatology in Deutero-Isaiah. However, in this passage the reference need not be eschatological.

Verses 4-6.

The chosen people are addressed in this section, but it is claimed that Yahweh's law and his justice are for all nations. When his deliverance actually comes he will rule over all peoples. At the moment the world waits in hope. The Israelites are invited to compare the evanescence of heaven and earth with Yahweh's eternal salvation.

In v. 4 יָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְיָהְy and יְהֹוָהְיְהֹוָהְיְהֹוָהְy are invited to listen to the divine message. Because of the similarity of this verse to Is. ii 9ff. (cf. Is. xlv 20), Volz and others emend the text of these two words to the plural. Volz

¹ Schoors, I am God your Saviour, pp. 248-50.
² Simon, A Theology of Salvation, pp. 176-80.
³ Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 207-11.
further believes that the verse is universalistic and eschatological.\textsuperscript{1} North also accepts the plural, claiming that the mistake arose by error in audition rather than by deliberate abbreviation. Alternatively he sees the possibility of a dogmatic emendation.\textsuperscript{2} Schoors shows that although twelve mss. and the Syriac support a plural reading for both words, nine mss. support the singular \( יְהֹוֶּה \) and the plural \( יְהֹוֶּהֱּ \), and the latter pairing, he believes, is correct.\textsuperscript{3} Marti accepts that \( יְהֹוֶּה \) is an address to Israel but maintains that \( יְהֹוֶּהֱּ \) is a dittography of \( יְהֹוֶּה \) \( חֹזֶה \).\textsuperscript{4} Delitzsch differs from all the above commentators by accepting M.T., pointing out that \( יְהֹוֶּהֱּ \) is used of both Israel and Edom (cf. \( יְהֹוֶּה \) in Zeph. ii 9) in Genesis xxv 23.\textsuperscript{5} R.S.V. and N.E.B. both accept the singular forms. In fact, there is little justification for adjusting the text, which makes sound sense. Those who do alter it are usually making a dogmatic emendation.

In v. 4b \( יְהֹוֶּה \) and \( יְהֹוֶּהֱּ \) are in parallel. \( יְהֹוֶּה \) is derived from the root \( יָנַה \) (throw, shoot) which in the hiph'ıl can mean "direct, teach, instruct". The noun can, therefore, mean "direction, instruction, law".\textsuperscript{6} McKenzie maintains that Torah here is wider than mere judicial

\begin{enumerate}
\item Volz, \textit{Jesaia II}, pp. 114-16.
\item North, \textit{The Second Isaiah}, pp. 206-10.
\item Schoors, \textit{I am God your Saviour}, pp. 156-7.
\item Marti, \textit{Das Buch Jesaja}, pp. 336-42.
\item Delitzsch, \textit{The Prophecies of Isaiah II}, pp. 248-50.
\item B.D.B., p. 435.
\end{enumerate}
verdicts and this is undoubtedly correct. On the other hand, "law" is the best translation, provided the word is understood as implying divine direction and teaching in relation to a way of life. The probably here an attribute of God the , that is to say his "justice"; although this concept also probably means that this "justice" is revealed in order to lead people to a true knowledge of God's ways. Volz senses this when he translates Wahrheit, signifying "absolute, true religion", or (with Teutonic thoroughness) "moral training and ordered purpose". The translation "justice" is given and this is understood to be related to God's nature and his plan for a just way of life for mankind.

 has been variously interpreted. R.S.V., LXX, B.H.S. and Marti, transfer the word to v. 5 and R.S.V. translates, "My deliverance draws near speedily...". This relates the verb to (disturb) and to (moment). can also mean "be at rest", but such a meaning is not very apt here, though Jewish and earlier English versions accept it. Levy argues strongly for the meaning "will arouse" (in order to make this justice active and evident), noting that the verb is used in this sense in v. 15. Driver, followed by N.E.B., relates the word

3. Loc. cit.
to an Arabic parallel meaning "flash", and translates, "I will make my judgment to flash for a light of the peoples".¹ Levy's interpretation is soundly argued, but the picture of a light being aroused is not very satisfactory. On the whole, Driver's interpretation is best.

In v. 5 it is claimed that God's deliverance and salvation are approaching. As Knight notes, this statement heralds the end of the Exile.² ṱ because has already been discussed in relation to v. 1. Here, the general context and the parallel word ḫ (salvation) suggest that "deliverance" (R.S.V.) would be a good translation. N.E.B.'s "victory" is also possible but loses the nuance of a "saving" act. Levy translates ḫ as "victory" on the basis of the word's use in Psalm xx 7,³ but again this seems to lose the "saving" characteristic of the word which, after all, has a spiritual connotation in addition to the physical implications of rescue from captivity.

Ḥ (my arms) is less common than the singular form (as in v. 5c) in Deutero-Isaiah. The reference here seems to be to sovereign power.⁴ Torrey rightly claims that ḫ is used in two senses in this verse: (a) in relation to subduing, (b) in relation to helping (cf. Is. xl 10-11).⁵ Ginsberg analyses the use of ḫ in

¹ Driver, J.T.S., XXXVI 1935, p. 401.
² Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 212-3.
³ Loc. cit.
Deutero-Isaiah, especially as related to its use in the psalms, but this analysis is fully discussed under v. 9 in which there is an apostrophe to Yahweh's arm.

is acceptable as a plural even in the context of an address to Israel. It is axiomatic both in the Psalms and in Deutero-Isaiah that Yahweh's power is universal. It is less common to find that the nations are hoping for Yahweh's rule, but this is one of the places where Deutero-Isaiah's universalism breaks the bonds of his inherent nationalism.

implies that God's power will bring law and order into the whole world. To translate "rule" is inadequate: the adverb "justly" is needed (cf. R.S.V. "rule"). To translate "judge" would not really bring out the full meaning here. In any case, the picture of "arms" judging would be unacceptable.

could be translated "coasts" or "islands". N.E.B.'s "coasts and islands" is quite acceptable, for the word is symbolic for the whole world.

In v. 6 Israel is invited to look at the heavens which will disperse like smoke and to the earth which will wear out like a garment. Those who dwell on the earth will perish like locusts (cf. xl 22). In contrast, God's saving power is eternal.

Duhm interprets the verse, not eschatologically, but poetically. Knight, on the other hand, claims the verse is apocalyptical in viewpoint and that this was not a late

2. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia, pp. 354-60.
phenomenon. No doubt the verse contains images typical of apocalyptic writing, but it is not apocalyptic in the technical sense of the word. Yet, it could be argued from this verse that over against the permanence of God the universe as man knows it is doomed to end and hence that there is an eschatological reference. This is not to be exaggerated, however, into a systematic eschatology, and Duhm is probably correct to emphasize the poetic nature of the images.

Aquila and Symmachus both translated "be salty". Driver, followed by N.E.B., associates the word with the Arabic maliha (become greyish), the connection being with מַעַל (salt) which was, in fact, grey. Driver, therefore, translates, "...are murky like smoke". However, the parallelism is against this. The noun מַעַל in Jer. xxxviii lff. signifies "rags". B.D.B., probably on this basis, claims that the verb מַעַל can mean "disperse in fragments". This gives legitimacy to the accepted translation, "will disperse". The perfect tense (cf. the imperfets in v. 6 d-g) seems to refer to the future and may be a prophetic perfect. For similar images see Hos. xiii 3, Psalms xxxvii 20, lxviii 3, cii 4. For the earth or its inhabitants wearing out מַעַל see Is. L 9, Psalm cii 36. Both of the above mentioned images appear in

Psalm cii. This seems to be another example of Deutero-Isaiah's use of traditional psalm language.

The inhabitants of the earth will die Some modern commentators follow A.V. and R.V. by translating "in like manner". In Ex. viii 12-14, however, the word for "gnats" appears in the forms and this has persuaded some commentators to translate as "gnats" here. R.S.V. gives "like gnats" while N.E.B. gives "like maggots". Skinner takes as a collective equivalent for 2 while Volz recommends emending the text to or assuming haplography of (cf. ). However, against Skinner, the singular of is not but in late Hebrew, and against Volz, a similar translation without textual emendation is possible. As long ago as 1935 Reider proposed reading as one word and on the basis of the Arabic parallel to translated "locusts". E.H.S. has accepted this reading, probably because it has been confirmed by 1Q Is. b, and as it does not necessitate consonantal emendation it is the best translation. The translation "in like manner" does not give a logical comparison.

could be the qal imperfect of (descend) or the qal imperfect of (be abolished). A.V. and

1. See de Boer, Second Isaiah's Message, p. 54.
R.V. translate "be abolished"; R.S.V. gives "be ended"; N.E.B. gives "shall (never) wane". LXX's \( \varepsilon \kappa \lambda \iota \pi \eta \) corresponds to \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \gamma \) or could be a translation of \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \) as from \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \) (cf. \( \varepsilon \kappa \lambda \epsilon \iota \psi \varepsilon \) in vii 8 for \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \)). Driver claims that the form is from \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \) (descended-set, abate).¹ North, on the other hand, favours \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \) (=be shattered), noting that the verb is used in li 7 to mean "be dismayed".² On the basis of LXX, apparently followed by R.S.V., the most acceptable translation is "be ended". This is not an exact translation of the Hebrew but the parallelism supports it. None of the other proposed translations is really satisfactory.

At any rate, God's \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \gamma \) and \( \gamma \gamma \gamma \gamma \) (the poetic feminine forms of the words already discussed under v. 5) are never-ending. The words may be translated "salvation" and "deliverance" respectively.

Verses 7-8.

The people who know righteousness, those who seek after God's law, are exhorted not to fear the reproaches or curses of men who, like materials consumed by moths, are impermanent. Again, it is emphasized, the evanescence of men stands over against God's deliverance and his salvation which are eternal.

Smart sees the conflict of the righteous people with other men as internal conflict among the Israelites,³ but

1. Loc. cit.
this theory, of course, is related to his late dating of Deutero-Isaiah. It is much more likely that the other men are either surrounding peoples or the Babylonians, who would possibly scoff at Israelite beliefs. Volz sees the aim of vv. 7-8 as expressing the freedom from anxiety that the people of God experience, not as describing triumph over the enemies.¹ This thought is implicit rather than explicit in the general expression of faith in God. In fact, the existence of real scoffers is difficult to deny. Further, in Zeph. ii 8 where similar words are used, the reference is to Moab and Ammon.

As noted in relation to v. 1, יִדְסָה is accepted here in the ethical sense of "righteousness" though other nuances of meaning cannot be excluded. But what can it mean to "know" righteousness? Volz is careful to note that this is not merely intellectual knowledge, but inner apprehension² (cf. Psalm xl 9, Is. xxix 13, Ezek. xxxvi 27). North agrees and further claims that the participle of this verb in the construct before a noun means "to be expert in" (cf. Gen. xxv 27, I Kings ix 27).³ Moreover, the language used recalls the covenant of Jer. xxxi 33ff.

In English יִדְסָה needs either the definite article or a vocative "0".

יִדְסָה is the singular construct form of the noun יִדְסָה (reproach). יִדְסָה is used only in the plural,

¹ Volz, Jesaia II, pp. 109ff.
² Ibid.
³ Loc. cit.
either masculine, or feminine as here. The feminine singular is ἄχος (taunt).

Westermann notes that the phrase, "Fear not", heralds a proclamation of salvation.¹

As already noted, ὅτι ηὐλό (be dismayed) has a different meaning from the same verb in v. 6.

In v. 8 the thought of v. 6 is taken up and repeated in a slightly different way (cf. Is L 9). Volz sees here the suffering of the dimension of time in juxtaposition with the dimension of eternal splendour² (cf. Rom. viii 18, 2 Cor. iv 17). This is a valid comment.

ὡς and ὅροι seem to be synonymous, both words meaning "moth". ὅροι is a hapax legomenon, but LXX's ὅνος (i.e. ὅνος), the Assyrian ἁςου and the parallelism of the verse all support the meaning "moth".³ In English there is only one common word "moth" so it seems best to translate one of the words as "larva" - which is biologically accurate, for it is the larva which actually consumes the fibres.

General comments.

The poem is a three-fold rhetorical appeal to the chosen people, the purpose of which is to present the promise of God's salvation.

The metre of the poem is mixed, 3 : 3 and 3 : 2 lines

2. Loc. cit.
predominating.

The poem falls neatly into three parts (vv. 1-3, 4-6, 7-8), each of which begins with an appeal to the chosen people to listen (יָשָׁהְתָּנָהוֹן יָשָׁהְתָּנָהוֹן יָשָׁהְתָּנָהוֹן). It is true that some commentators divide the whole poem (li l-lii 12) differently. Torrey, for example, finds two poems: (a) vv. 1-16 (b) vv. 17- lii 12.¹ Skinner agrees, but then divides the poem into smaller sections very similar to the divisions given here.² Kissane gives two poems: (a) vv. 1-8 (b) vv. 9- lii 12.³ Such divisions of what is generally recognized as one long poem are largely a matter of subjective opinion, rather than of objective analysis. In other words, the poem can be subdivided in various ways each of which may be useful. With regard to the proposal to make vv. 1-8 a basic unit, there are two main dissenters from this division. Firstly, Westermann gives li 1a followed by L 10, 11- li 8 with various omissions and manipulations, as a basic unit.⁴ The omission and manipulation of verses in this way is rarely justifiable. Secondly, Holmgren argues strongly for vv. 1-11 as a basic unit. He perceives a chiastic structure, which he analyses in some detail.⁵ However, the three-fold structure noted above speaks against this and Holmgren's analysis is somewhat artificial.

² Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, pp. 117ff., 125ff.
The major ideas presented in the poem are as follows: (a) vv. 1-3. The Israelites are invited to look back to the origins of their race in Abraham and Sarah who, against the apparent probabilities, fathered a great nation. In the same way, against the probabilities, God will comfort Zion by changing her waste places into a garden of Eden where joy will prevail. (b) vv. 4-6. God announces to his people that his law and his justice will be a light for all peoples. His salvation is near, and over against the impermanence of the natural world and its inhabitants, this salvation is eternal. (c) vv. 7-8. God's people are told not to be afraid of men who are evanescent creatures, but to rely upon God's eternal salvation.

With regard to interpretation, Westermann perceives a three-fold address to proselytes, to the heathen and to the chosen people.¹ Those who pursue נַפְּשָׁה are the proselytes while the heathen are the יָוֹדְה of v. 4 (emended to the plural). This interpretation does not stand. The addressees in v. 1a are the chosen people, as are the יָוֹדְה of v. 4. Volz sees the poem as eschatological, particularly with reference to Zion as a Garden of Eden in v. 3.² Similarly, Simon sees apocalyptic, as well as ethical and political elements in the poem. The renewal of Zion, he argues, is for the Messianic community.³

Over against these positions, it has already been shown that the historical background of the poem is decisive in showing that the main reference is to the immediate future of Zion. It is true that this picture has been idealized. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the comparison of the evanescent, earthly sphere with the eternity of God's salvation presents a strand of eschatological thought. But this is not a thorough-going eschatology in which the prime aim is to present a picture of the end of the world. Rather is the aim to show God's power to act in the present. Volz also argues for the universal perspective of the poem. This partly depends on the emendation of יְבִי and הַמּ in v. 4, a course which has been rejected. Yet, in vv. 4b-5 the "peoples" are mentioned as waiting for God's universal rule. It is fair to say, then, that a universal element is present in the poem. On the whole, however, the main interpretation depends on the presentation of the promise of deliverance from Babylon. Several other factors must be noted. An appeal to historical tradition is made in the recall of the story of Abraham and Sarah. Secondly, the idea of God's chosen people is shown to be continuing, which is to say that a new relationship with God is envisaged beyond the Exile. Thirdly, this relationship, as before, will be dependent on the keeping of God's law, the basic demand by God in his covenant with Israel.

The Sitz im Leben of the poem was probably Babylon, just before the end of the Exile, for v. 7 seems to imply that the Israelites are still under Babylon's rule.
Aspects of the Zion concept presented in the poem.

1. Zion is personified as a woman who can be comforted by God (v. 3).
2. Zion in the future will be like the Garden of Eden; her waste places will be transformed (v. 3).
3. It is hinted that there will be a renewed cult system in Zion in which thanksgiving and the sound of song will be found (v. 3).

Concepts indirectly associated with the Zion concept.

1. The chosen people are defined as those who pursue and know righteousness through God's law (vv. 1, 7).
2. The Abraham tradition is appealed to as an example of God's grace in bringing about events which, in human eyes, seem impossible (v. 2).
3. God's justice and law, and his rule, are for all peoples (vv. 4-5).
4. The earthly sphere of men is impermanent over against God's eternal salvation (vv. 6, 8).
5. The chosen people are exhorted not to fear the reproaches of mortal men (vv. 7-8).

Concluding comment on the Zion concept in Is. li 1-8.

In the first two verses stands a remarkable comparison between Abraham and Sarah, the progenitors of the Israelite nation, and Yahweh and Zion the parents of the new Israel. This is not explicitly stated, but following as it does shortly after Chapter xlix, where Yahweh and Zion are
described as parents to Zion's children, the comparison is unmistakable. At first, Abraham and Sarah had no children, but through the power of God they had numerous descendants. In the present situation, Yahweh and Zion have no children, but by the same divine power they will beget an enormous family.

The chapter moves on to a picture of Zion's desert wastes. The address is couched in feminine terms and this interweaving of the language of personification with descriptions of the city itself is characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah. The new Zion will be like the garden of Eden, known to all Israelites as the setting of the golden age of mankind, a place of happiness and freedom from tribulation. In this Utopia Zion's children will sing joyfully and give thanksgiving to God, perhaps in a new temple.

In the age of the new Zion Yahweh will rule justly over all peoples. His time of deliverance is near and people the world over wait for it. Who can doubt that this is so? Yahweh's salvation is eternal, not like the heavens and the earth with its inhabitants, which pass away.

The exiled sons of Zion are exhorted to listen to Yahweh's voice. They are the ones who know God's law, so why should they be afraid of men? Men are impermanent creatures, but God's salvation will last for ever.
Isaiah 11:9-16.

9. Awake! awake! put on strength,
   0 arm of the Lord.
   Awake as in the days of ancient time,
   the generations of the distant past.
   Was it not you who cut Rahab in two,
   pierced the dragon?

10. Was it not you who dried up the sea,
    the waters of the great deep;
    who made the depths of the sea a path
    for the redeemed to cross over?

11. And the redeemed of the Lord shall return,
    and come with ringing cries to Zion,
    and eternal joy shall be upon their heads;
    they shall reach gladness and joy -
    sorrow and sighing shall take to flight.

12. I, I am he, your comforter.
    Who are you that you fear mortal men,
    that you fear the son of man who is made like grass,

13. and have forgotten the Lord your maker
    who extends the heavens and founds the earth?
    (Who are you) that you are constantly afraid
    before the wrath of the oppressor
    when he aims to destroy?
    And where is the wrath of the oppressor?

14. The one who is bowed down is quickly to be freed,
    he shall not die and descend to the Pit,
    nor shall his bread be insufficient.
15. For I am the Lord your God who stirs up the sea so that its waves thrash. The Lord of hosts is his name.

16. And I have placed my words in your mouth and I have concealed you in the shadow of my hand, fixing the heavens in place and laying the foundations of the earth, and saying to Zion, "You are my people".

**Verses 9-11.**

The arm of the Lord is summoned to put on strength as in days of old. The deeds of this "arm" are recalled in the defeat of Rahab, the dragon of the chaos waters, and in the making of the passage across the Red Sea. Then it is claimed that the redeemed of the Lord will return to Zion where everlasting joy will replace sadness.

Westermann sees vv. 9ff. as a community lament incorporating a review of God's saving acts. **V. 9a** represents a cry for help (cf. Pss. xlv 24, 27, lxxiv 22) while vv. 9b-10 recall God's past acts (cf. Pss. xlv 1-9, lxxiv 13ff., lxxx 9-15, lxxxi 10ff, lxxxv 2ff., cxxvi 1ff.). Psalm lxxiv 12-17, which refers both to creation and redemption in similar terms, probably makes the best parallel for this passage.¹ Schoors believes the passage depends on Psalm lxxxix 10ff.² Whether or not there is direct dependence on a single passage is difficult to prove, but the evidence seems

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2. Schoors, I am God your Saviour, pp. 122ff.
to show that Deutero-Isaiah knew some or all of the psalms mentioned above - or was acquainted with a similar collection. The feminine singular, imperative qal of יָּשֵׁב (rouse oneself, awake) is repeated at lli 1 (of Zion) and is used in the hithpolel at li 17 (of Jerusalem).

The יָּשֵׁב of Yahweh is by tradition connected with his power in battle (cf. Deut. iv 34) and is especially associated with the redemption of the Israelites from Egypt (cf. Deut. v 15, Ex. vi 6, xv 16). The use of the word יָּשֵׁב confirms this association of the "arm" with Yahweh's power, which is so often associated with the ark (cf. on Psalm cxxxii 8). In Deutero-Isaiah the arm of Yahweh, as well as being firmly connected with God's power (cf. xl 10), also seems almost to take on the nature of a title for God (cf. liii 1). The apostrophe here also suggests that יָּשֵׁב may be a title. Ginsberg notes that the phrase "arm of Yahweh" is not common outside Deutero-Isaiah. He traces the influence of the psalms in Deutero-Isaiah in this respect and maintains that Psalm lxxxix 11 accounts for Is. li 9, lli 10 while Ps. xcvi 1-3 accounts for Is. li 5 and liii 1. Ginsberg certainly succeeds in showing Deutero-Isaiah's probable dependence on these and other psalm passages, but it is not really possible to show verse for verse equivalents with any certainty.

יָּשֵׁב is the feminine singular of the hiphil participle of יָּשֵׁב (cleave) preceded by the relative יָּשֵׁב.

1Q Is.\textsuperscript{a}, however, reads \( \text{SHHM} \), the equivalent participle from \( \text{SHHM} \) (shatter, smite) which is the verb used of Rahab in Job xxvi 12. North accepts M.T.\textsuperscript{1} while Skinner\textsuperscript{2} and others accept the emendation. In fact, M.T. is most appropriate, for in the original myth of Tiamat the monster was cut in half in order to make the sky. This took place after Marduk defeated Tiamat and her helpers.\textsuperscript{3}

The Ugaritic Yam was similarly defeated by Baal.\textsuperscript{4} Rahab and the dragon (\( \text{SHH} \)) of this verse were both equivalent to Tiamat and Yam. In Job xxvi 12 Yahweh is recorded as having smashed Rahab, a statement which is in parallel with his stilling of the sea (\( \text{SH} \)). In Is. xxx 7 and Ps. lxxxvii 4 Rahab is equivalent to Egypt. The word here is a deliberate pun which enables the writer to unite the myth with the history of the deliverance at the Red Sea mentioned in the following verse. As Jones remarks, the Hebrew genius habitually interpreted myths in historical terms.\textsuperscript{5}

Leviathan, in parallel with \( \text{SHH} \) in Is. xxvii 1, is obviously another name for Rahab, which indicates that the myth was widely known. Westermann notes that the myth is used in a lament in Ps. lxxiv 13ff. (Leviathan) and in praise in Ps. lxxix 11 (Rahab). He also notes that in Gen. i and in Ps. xciii 1-5 the myth is much less apparent, though it has influenced those texts. He assumes that Deutero-Isaiah borrowed

5. Jones, Peake's Commentary, 455d.
directly from a lament, but also notes the possibility that Deutero-Isaiah knew the Babylonian version. The former statement has the ring of truth while the latter certainly cannot be denied. It is possible that Deutero-Isaiah was indulging in polemic against the Babylonian gods by showing that Yahweh was the true victor in the chaos conflict.

The move from myth to history in v. 10 has already been mentioned. Westermann argues that v. 10a still refers to the creation process and that the transition to the Red Sea deliverance takes place in v. 10b. However, v. 10a probably contains reference to both events.

The כְּלָה הָדוֹם is the "great deep" from which dry land appeared. In Gen. i this is the כְּלָה הָדוֹם without any adjective, but the full phrase appears in Gen. vii 11 and Amos vii 4. In Ps. xxxvi 7 God's judgments are said to be like "the great deep". A reference to creation and the appearance of dry land at the gathering (drying up?) of the waters into one place is certainly implied, but a reference to the parting of the waters (drying up?) of the Red Sea is equally implied. This is followed immediately by the statement that God made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over. North argues that רדֹּסִי was originally a participle (only the accent would differentiate), after LXX, but the sense as perfect is acceptable and contrasts effectively with the future tense of the next verse where it

1. Loc. cit.
2. Loc. cit.
is claimed that another mighty act of redemption will take place. It is interesting to note that the redeemed in v. 10 are the יְשֵׁנָה whereas in v. 11 they are the יִשְׁרָאֵל. Both words are commonly used of the Exodus redemption and in these verses the variation is merely stylistic.

The differences between v. 11 (b-e) and xxxv 10 are negligible. This could signify that one author borrowed or deliberately quoted from the other or that the verse was a current saying. There is no need to excise the verse as a gloss. Kissane could be correct when he claims that Deutero-Isaiah was quoting an earlier prophecy. Deutero-Isaiah shows elsewhere his familiarity with Is. xxxv. Is. li 3 is to be compared with xxxv 1, 2, 10, while lii 1 is to be compared with xxxv 8.1

Knight sees a three-fold development of thought in this passage: myth, history, eschatology - comparing it with Rev. vii 16-17.2 As already noted, while the eschatological element may be present, there is more certainly an idealized reference to the return of the exiles from Babylon. Knight further argues that יְשֵׁנָה signifies a joy which comes from God (cf. 2 Cor. ix 7, Acts ii 11, 15). To be sure, the root word is constantly connected with worship.

The verb יְשֵׁנָה is from the root יְשַׁנָּה which is only used in the hiph‘il to mean "reach, overtake". Possibly because he thinks the phrase, "...they shall reach joy and

gladness...", seems odd in English, North wishes to take יְיִשְׁעַ and יְנַהֲשׁ as nominative rather than as accusative, assuming the pronoun "them". However, the phrase is acceptable as it stands and it is not even necessary to translate with R.S.V., "shall obtain" - a translation which loses the force of the metaphor.

Verses 12-16.

This section resumes the theme of the comforting of the chosen people by Yahweh. Why should a man chosen of God fear the impermanent power of men or the wrath of oppressors who, after all, end in Sheol. The chosen are exhorted to remember God's power in creation. Did he not extend the heavens and lay the foundations of the earth? Is he not the One who stirs up storms at sea? God has chosen Zion and her people by entrusting them with the divine words of revelation. God re-asserts to Zion, "You are my people".

Westermann and Schoors both see these verses as the divine answer to the lament. The former scholar recognizes that here is paraphrased an oracle of salvation.

North finds that the section forms the Achilles' heel of any unity of Deutero-Isaiah with no later addition, because the verses are jumpy in sequence. There is some justification for this statement. On the other hand, many of the themes and much of the vocabulary are typical of

1. Loc. cit.
Deutero-Isaiah, so it is difficult to be definite. The inconsequence could be the result of a mangled piece of manuscript.

In v. 12 there are grammatical difficulties. The masculine plural suffix $\text{נְוָו}$ in v. 12a does not agree with the feminine singular $\text{נְוָו}$ in 12b, while v. 13 continues with a second person, masculine singular verb. There is a natural tendency in most versions, both ancient and modern, to harmonize these differences. B.H.S. harmonizes in the second person, masculine singular, reading $\text{נְוָו}$ and $\text{נְוָו}$. The last $\text{נְוָו}$ in $\text{נְוָו}$ could have arisen by dittography but the second and third emendations are less acceptable. Schoors explains the appearance of these forms by arguing that $\text{נְוָו}$ is the female personification of Zion and that the masculine in v. 13 appears because it was the traditional form of the oracle.¹ It seems unlikely, however, that Deutero-Isaiah would blindly accept the latter form, though the former explanation is more credible, especially as the verb is also feminine. As North points out, Hebrew can pass suddenly from masculine to feminine personification.² Perhaps the reconstruction by B.H.S. is the best answer to the problem. In any case, the English pronouns do not differ and the general intention of the verse is clear.

$\text{נְוָו}$ in v. 12b could be translated "how?" (cf. Amos vii 2, 5, Ruth iii 16).³ North accepts this translation,⁴ and

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¹ Loc. cit.
² Loc. cit.
⁴ Loc. cit.
Kissane maintains that the phrase essentially means, "How can you doubt?" The latter scholar compares the question with Moses' question in Ex. iii 11: "Who am I...?" On the other hand, to translate literally with R.S.V. is acceptable English idiom and this seems best.

The former recalls the introduction at xl 6 and together with the use of מְנַעַל reinforces the continuity of theme that is evident throughout Deutero-Isaiah.

In v. 13 the power of the creator is again set over against the supposed power of the oppressors. It cannot be agreed with Morgenstern that the oppressor here is Xerxes because such a late date for Deutero-Isaiah is unacceptable. Marti is clearly correct to see the oppressor as the Babylonian power and to conclude that when the passage was written Babylon had not yet fallen to Cyrus.

The most important concepts in this verse are related to God as creator. Habeb notes that מְנַעַל is used seven times in Deutero-Isaiah (counting the variation in v. 16). He maintains there are two "creator" images in

v. 13, one involving a building (ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ cf. Ps. lxxxix 10-14) while the one under discussion is related to pitching a tent. The "building" imagery is mythical. Habel puts forward the theory that the "tent" imagery may also be mythical. He argues that in Job xxvi 7 Yahweh stretches out the "north" (יִקְרָא, but not directly related to the holy mountain) while in Is. xl Yahweh is pictured as dwelling above this horizon. In Ps. civ 2 the phrase "stretching out the heavens like a tent" is a preparation for a theophany (cf. Pss. xviii 10-12, cxliv 5-7). This shows that the phrase had cultic associations and probably the notion of Yahweh "stretching out the heavens" constitutes the archetype for the cultic tent.¹ Is Habel exaggerating the meaning of a picturesque metaphor? To some extent he is, but not entirely. The main weakness in his theory is that here the verb יִקְרָא appears without the noun "tent", so the association with a tent is secondary. However, his quotations from the psalms show that Yahweh may have been pictured as living in a heavenly tent. To the Hebrew mind the use of the verb alone may have brought out this whole association. Whether the origin of the concept is mythical is to be questioned.

Ludwig examines the concept of יִקְרָא in some detail, together with other similar phrases in Deutero-Isaiah.² He notes that most scholars subordinate the creation tradition in Deutero-Isaiah to the election and

2. Ludwig, J.B.L., XCII 1973, pp. 345-357.
deliverance traditions as symbolized by the Exodus. Against this, he argues that it is necessary to distinguish between direct and metaphorical usage of the creation tradition. There are six verbs used in Deutero-Isaiah in relation to creating or founding the heavens and the earth. He takes three of these verbs which are used with אֱלֹהִים as object, and makes a special study of them. These are יָכַב, יָשָׁב and יַשְׁעָי. He concludes that each phrase is a distinct cultic formula which has been taken over and adapted by Deutero-Isaiah. With regard to יָכַב יָשָׁב, there are parallels in the psalms (5), Zech. xii 1 (1), Prov. iii 19 (1) and Job xxxviii 4 (1). The two root words also appear in v. 16 as יָכַב יָשָׁב and in Is. xlviii 13 as יָכַב יָשָׁב. In most of these passages the phrase is in parallel with the phrase "creating the heavens". The fact that different verbs are used in the latter phrase shows that יָכַב יָשָׁב existed as a separate formula. This formula originated from the tradition involving divine conflict with the forces of chaos (cf. Ps. civ 1-9 especially, and Pss. xxiv 1-2, lxxxix 6-13, Prov. iii 19-20, Job xxxviii). This tradition is preserved in Is. li 9-16 which has a double use of the cultic formula preceded by a description of the battle with Rahab. The primary motif of this poem, which is a unit, is not the Exodus tradition but the cultic tradition of Yahweh's victory over chaos. Deutero-Isaiah is concerned to present Yahweh as the ultimate power and this formula provides a theological basis for such an assertion. The formula is also associated with the founding both of Zion and of David's throne (cf. Pss. xxiv, lxxviii 67-72).
Therefore, Deutero-Isaiah extends the formula to include the restoration of Zion which is introduced by him as a repetition of the cosmogony. (See also the founding of the temple in Is. xlv 28b.) He concludes that יְהֹוָהָּ is a creation formula stemming from a cultic tradition to do with Yahweh's victory over chaotic forces and the ordering of the world. This was used in the Zion cult as a cosmogonic model for Yahweh's founding of both Zion and David's throne. Deutero-Isaiah took over the formula in order to provide theological legitimation for his proclamation of the new creation of Zion.\(^1\) Ludwig has successfully shown the importance of the phrase יְהֹוָהָּ and its cultic origin. No doubt he is also correct in his assumption that Deutero-Isaiah was using a traditional formula to give theological force to his arguments. However, Ludwig's analysis of the passage li 9-16 is over simple. It is not accurate to claim that the main theme of the passage is the creation doctrine. The new Exodus and the new Zion represent Deutero-Isaiah's aims and aspirations: he calls upon the concept of God's creative power by analogy in order to show that these aims and aspirations are feasible. Nevertheless, Ludwig's analysis is extremely valuable in showing the development of ideas present in Deutero-Isaiah.

Westermann believes that v. 14 echoes the lament, but maintains that the verse is unintelligible, M.T. being an attempt to restore an illegible text.\(^2\) However, the state-

1. Ludwig, J.B.L., XCII 1973, pp. 345-357.
ment that the oppressed will speedily be released follows logically on v. 13 and leads to the theme of the hope of Zion at the end of v. 16. It is true that the statements, "...he shall not die and go down to the Pit...", and "...neither shall his bread be insufficient...", seem rather artificial, but then they are probably accepted stylizations of the lament form.

ניָּגַֽה, the participle from the root יָגִֽה (stoop, bend, incline), refers to a person who is metaphorically under oppression. This seems to describe Israel in captivity and it is promised that "he" will quickly be released.

ניָּגַֽה, literally, "...he shall not die to the pit...", is a constructio praegnans, which is to say that it is a kind of ellipsis¹ (cf. Pss. lxxiv 7, lxxxix 40). The Pit is often a synonym for Sheol, but is sometimes used to describe the lowest level of Sheol² (cf. Ps. xvi 10, Job xxxiii 24).

ניָּגַֽה (his bread) does make sense, in that prosperity is promised to the oppressed one in the statement "...his bread shall not be insufficient...". Some commentators are dissatisfied with this statement, however, and re-interpret the word יָגִֽה. Driver, for example, repoints as יָה יָגִֽה (his strength).³ Simon derives the word from יָגִֽה (fight), translating, "...his fighters shall not fail...".⁴

¹. See G.K., 119gg.
Both of these interpretations are possible but there seems to be no good reason to change M.T.

In v. 15 another reminder of Yahweh's power in nature is given. He is the One who stirs up the sea. יָרַח can mean: (a) disturb, (b) be at rest. The latter meaning is unlikely here, for the qal does not appear elsewhere, and the hiph‘il (as in Job xxxi 3) would really be needed. It is unnecessary to emend to יָרָש , assuming metathesis, because the meaning "disturb" is confirmed by the parallel verb "roar". v. 15b-c are "repeated" in Jer. xxxi 35. The most likely explanation for this double appearance is that the words were a quotation from a well-known psalm of praise. Knight is perceptive when he compares v. 15c to Yahweh's signature.¹

North correctly notes that the initial ו wa in v. 15 need not be translated "and". With R.S.V. he translates "for".²

In v. 16 Yahweh claims that he has chosen Zion (Israel) to speak his message. The formulae referring to the creation are repeated with slight variations (cf. v. 13) and a possible textual error. Finally, Yahweh says to Zion, "You are my people". Schoors cannot accept this verse as a genuine part of the original poem.³ His reasons for holding this view are suspect. He claims that no "intervention" by Yahweh should follow the "motif of outcome".

Schoors is surely trying to force the poem into a mould he has preconceived – which is illegitimate as a method. Yet, on the face of it, there is an apparent confusion of thought in the verse, the reference to the creation appearing obtrusive. This may be understood, however, as an expression of the close association of the election and creation doctrines in Deutero-Isaiah's thought.

In what sense can Zion or Israel be Yahweh's spokesman? This is likely to be a general reference to Israel as the chosen people who received Yahweh's words of revelation and formulated them into laws. A reference to Israel's mission to the world may be implicit in this thought, but it is not explicit.

Skinner¹ and Kissane² both perceive in this verse the promise of a new heaven and a new earth. This is by no means certain. Wade believes the reference to be to the original creation, pointing out that the lack of a qualifying adjective is a decisive argument.³ In view of what has been said about the use of creation formulae in Deutero-Isaiah, Wade is more likely to be correct. Yet, as shown in the discussion on v. 13, Yahweh's power in creation is used as an analogy for the re-creation of Zion.

The phrase, "You are my people", recalls the introduction at xl 1.

to \( \text{in order to harmonize the "formula" with v. 13 and other occurrences of the phrase } [\text{in Deutero-Isaiah. This is a strong temptation, but it must be remem-bered that Deutero-Isaiah was not confined by his sources and may well have introduced a deliberate variation. Skinner notes that } \text{can mean "establish" as in 2 Sam. vii 10 and Amos ix 15.} \text{N.E.B. accepts the text and translates "fix in place". This seems to be sound.}

**General comments.**

The poem has some of the characteristics of a lament but also contains elements of the promise of salvation. Another important ingredient of the poem is praise, both of Yahweh's historical acts of salvation and of his power in creation. The metre of the poem is mixed, no specific pattern being predominant.

The poem is clearly divided into two parts: (a) vv. 9-11, an apostrophe to the arm of Yahweh (with v. 11 as a climax of confidence); (b) vv. 12-16, Yahweh's reply. Skinner's analysis of the poem is similar, but it cannot be agreed with him that v. 11 is an insertion.\(^2\) As already noted, it is probably a deliberate quotation by Deutero-Isaiah himself. Westermann's analysis is not dissimilar, though of course he uses the "form critical" vocabulary. He sees vv. 9-11 as lament and vv. 12-16 as proclamation of

salvation.  \(^1\) Perhaps this division is too clear-cut. There are elements of lament and proclamation of salvation in each part.

The content of the poem may be summarized as follows:

(a) vv. 9-11. The arm of Yahweh is addressed and the deeds of the "arm" are reviewed. Two events are recalled, namely, the defeat of the chaos monster Rahab, and the crossing of the Red Sea. The Exodus event is "transferred" to the future and a new redemption, involving a return to Zion, is described.

(b) vv. 12-16. Yahweh announces once more his message of comfort. The works of creation are contrasted with the impermanence of men. Over against God's power, why should Zion fear oppressors? The prisoners (in Babylon) will not die but will be released. God re-affirms his power and gives his name as warranty. He recalls his choosing of Israel, again mentioning the wonders of creation, and says firmly to Zion, "You are my people".

Westermann shows that the poem has clear connections with the psalms. The cry for help in v. 9a recalls the community laments, Pss. xlv 24, 27, lxxiv 22, while the review of God's saving acts in vv. 9b-10 is similar to Pss. xlv 1-9, lxx 9-15, lxxiii 10ff., lxxv 2ff., cxxvi 1ff. The closest parallel is to be found in Ps. lxxiv 13ff.  \(^2\) Deutero-Isaiah's dependence on the psalms in these verses is highly probable. Schoors, in general, agrees but finds vv. 9-10

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2. Loc. cit.
of the poem to be dependent on Ps. lxxxix 11.\textsuperscript{1} Exact
dependence is difficult to prove, however, and the myth
could have reached Deutero-Isaiah through Babylonian liter-
ature. Nevertheless, general dependence on the psalms is
very probable. The interpretation of the poem as con-
taining elements of the lament with complementary promises
of salvation is quite sound. (See above). This must be
seen against the historical background of the Exile. The
return from Babylon is clearly seen as a second Exodus.
Confidence in God's creative power and in his ability and
will to act in historical events are important themes in the
poem. There is no evidence of explicit eschatology even in
vv. 11 and 16. Zion in the former verse is the new Zion of
the near future. The heaven and earth of the latter verse
are those of the first creation. Nevertheless, there is
a transcendental element, especially in the quotation of
v. 11, which gives universal application to the message.

Aspects of the Zion concept presented in the poem.
1. The return to Zion (from Babylon) is presented in
redemptive terms as a new Exodus (v. 11).
2. The return to Zion will be an occasion of great
happiness (v. 11).
3. Zion is equated with "my people" (v. 16).
4. There is a transcendental element in the concept of the
return which gives it a universal application (v. 11).

\textsuperscript{1} Schoors, \textit{I am God your Saviour}, pp. 122ff.
5. Yahweh's creation of the world is used as an analogy for the recreation of Zion (vv. 13, 16).

Concepts indirectly related to the Zion concept.
1. The redemptive power of God is personified as his "arm" (v. 9).
2. The defeat of the chaos monster, "Rahab", is recalled as one of God's mighty acts (v. 10).
3. The crossing of the Red Sea is used as an analogy for the return from Babylon (vv. 10-11).
4. The power of evanescent man is contrasted with God's power in creation (vv. 12-13).
5. The captives (in Babylon) will not die but will be released (v. 14).
6. God has chosen Zion's people to speak for him (v. 16).
7. God, who has power over the sea, is the Lord of hosts (v. 15).

Concluding comment on the Zion concept in Is. li 9-16.

The new act that Yahweh is about to perform is to be compared in importance with two preceding mighty acts of his, namely, the slaying of the chaos monster and the defeat of the Egyptians at the Red Sea. Yahweh's power has not diminished and he will now defeat the Babylonians and bring the Israelites back to Zion. The period of suffering is almost over. A new era of happiness is about to begin, a time in which sorrowing and sighing will be no more. The pattern of redemption presented here follows the pattern of
the first Exodus, which led eventually to Zion; and foreshadows the pattern of Christian redemption which leads to the heavenly Zion. In other words, Deutero-Isaiah is stating, in the setting of his own time, a great spiritual truth.

Once again Deutero-Isaiah reminds his readers that God's power is greater than that of men. However powerful the oppressors seem, they cannot prevent God from restoring Zion. The prisoners who are bowed down with affliction will be released.

God's power over natural forces and his power in creating and fixing in place the heavens and the earth are cited to show how the whole cosmos depends on God's grace. Further, this creative power is not static. The same God who created the world is about to re-create Zion, re-laying its foundations so to speak, and re-forming the Zion community. The people of Israel were always regarded as God's spokesmen, the people who formulated God's laws at his behest. This mission is still valid. Zion is once more to be addressed by God as his chosen people.

21. Therefore hear this, afflicted one,
you who are drunk but not with wine:
22. thus says your master, the Lord, and your God, who argues the case for his people,
"Indeed, I have taken from your hand
the cup of reeling;
the goblet of my wrath
you shall not drink again;

The people of Israel were always regarded as God's spokesmen, the people who formulated God's laws at his behest. This mission is still valid. Zion is once more to be addressed by God as his chosen people.
Isaiah 1:17-23.

17. Rouse yourself! rouse yourself!
stand up, Jerusalem,
you who have drunk from the hand of the Lord
the cup of his wrath,
who have drunk, drained to the last drop
the goblet of reeling.

18. There is no-one to lead her
from all the sons she has borne;
there is no-one to take hold of her hand
from all the sons she has reared.

19. These two things have befallen you —
who will grieve for you?—
ruin and destruction, and famine and sword;
who will comfort you?

20. Your sons have fainted and lie prostrate
at the top of every street,
like sheep with the wine;
they are sated with the wrath of the Lord,
with the rebuke of your God.

21. Therefore hear this, afflicted one,
you who are drunk but not with wine:

22. thus says your master, the Lord, and your God,
who argues the case for his people,
"Indeed, I have taken from your hand
the cup of reeling;
the goblet of my wrath
you shall not drink again;
23. and I will place it in the hand of your persecutors who have said to you, 'Bow down that we may pass over'; and you have made your back like the ground and like the street for those who pass over".

Verses 17-20.

Jerusalem is called upon to rouse herself from the despair which is the result of drinking Yahweh's cup of wrath, his goblet of reeling. No-one, not even any of her sons, is available to take Jerusalem by the hand. Who will comfort Jerusalem in the face of the double catastrophe she has suffered? She has been subjected to ruin and destruction, to famine and sword, but there is no-one to condole with her. Her sons also lie in the streets like sheep as a result of drinking Yahweh's cup of wrath.

The qinah metre is appropriately predominant in this lament. Schoors notes that vv. 17-20, as lament, continue the pattern of lament followed by proclamation of salvation (vv. 21-23).¹ Westermann correctly sees the lament as related to a typical community lament of the Exile, comparing the passage with Lam. ii 21-22, iii 15, 19, iv 11. He sees the whole poem as containing the three parts of a lament: (a) vv. 17b-20b, charge against God; (b) vv. 18-20a, lament over present plight; (c) v. 23, lament because of enemies.²

In v. 17 "יָמִ֑י תָּתָֽה", typically repeated, is a variation of the "יָמִי" of v. 9. The hithpolel imperative

¹ Schoors, *I am God your Saviour*, pp. 128ff.
here is reflexive and ought to be translated differently from \( \text{יִלָּע} \), which N.E.B. neglects to do.

The idea of a cup of wrath or reeling given by God appears also in Zech. xii 2 as \( \text{יָלָע} \), and the same basic idea appears in Ps. lx as \( \text{יָלָע} \) (cf. Ps. lxxv 8, Jer. xxv 15-23, xl ix 12, Ezek. xxiii 31ff.). There seems to be little doubt that Deutero-Isaiah was relying upon a common metaphor for the wrath of God.

\( \text{יָלָע} \) appears only here and in v. 22 in the Old Testament. Knight believes this was the name of a chalice used in the service of Marduk and, with many scholars, asserts that \( \text{בְּדִי} \) is an explanatory gloss.\(^1\) North notes that there are Akkadian, Ugaritic and possibly Egyptian parallels for \( \text{יָלָע} \), and also claims that \( \text{בְּדִי} \) is a gloss.\(^2\) However, in the Ugaritic texts \( \text{כְּבְיָה} \) is in parallel with \( \text{כָּס} \), which seems to indicate that both words were known in at least one other Semitic language.\(^3\) It does seem odd that both nouns should be required, but it is quite possible that the one qualifies the other in order to define a particular kind of bowl. Thus, both nouns could be part of the original text.

Jones notes that God's cup of wrath later became a familiar eschatological symbol (cf. Rev. xiv 10, xvi 10).\(^4\) This, of course, does not mean that the symbol is eschatological in Deutero-Isaiah. It seems rather to be associated

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4. Jones, Peake's Commentary, 455f.
with God's active judgment in the present.

In v. 18 Zion—Jerusalem is pictured as helpless after drinking the goblet of reeling. Her sons are not able to help her.

This verse speaks of Jerusalem in the third person as opposed to the use of the second person in v. 17 and in the following verse 19. This change of address is not unusual in Hebrew poetry. It is not necessary to harmonize the passage from this point of view, though N.E.B. is partly justified in doing so in order to give a better English rendering.

The participle of 'el (guide), is a good parallel for the phrase "take her by the hand", though 1Q Is. reads (to possess you) which seems less convincing. 1

In v. 19 it is claimed that there is no-one to comfort Zion in her terrible position. Two calamities have be-fallen her. These are listed as two pairs, namely, ruin and destruction, and famine and sword. This statement re-calls xl 2 where Zion is pictured as having "received from the Lord's hand double for all her sins".

is the third person singular, imperfect qal of (move to and fro, wander, flutter, show grief). The word probably came to have the meaning "show grief" because of the custom of shaking the head to and fro in times of deep distress. 2

1. See North, loc.cit.
in the first person seems to be out of place. The versions and 1Q Is.\(^a\) give the third person. The verb as it stands is probably a textual error. de Boer gives the most convincing explanation. He maintains that the original text read \(\text{נֶּֽעְדַּֽיָּֽן \ כָּֽפַּֽלָּֽן} \) which could easily have been copied wrongly.\(^1\)

In v. 20 is given a description of Zion’s sons lying in drunken stupor in the streets as a result of drinking Yahweh’s cup of wrath. \(\text{שִׁיְּמַֽו} \) is the third person plural of the perfect pu’al of \(\text{שִׁיְּמַֽו} \) (cover). This seems to be a metaphorical use of the word, the thought being that the sons’ senses were obscured.\(^2\)

Some commentators think that the phrase "at the top of every street" could be a gloss from Lam. ii 19 (cf. B.H.S.), but the picture could easily have come to Deutero-Isaiah naturally or he could have been influenced by the style of Lamentations.

To translate \(\text{שִׁיְּמַֽו \ חַֽיְּמַֽנְּר} \) as "like an antelope in a net" gives a peculiarly inept description of the sons. Each of the two words is a hapax legomenon in the form given. \(\text{שִׁיְּמַֽו} \) has usually been taken to mean "net" because \(\text{שִׁיְּמַֽו} \) and \(\text{שִׁיְּמַֽו} \) (postulated forms) have such a meaning.\(^3\) \(\text{חַֽיְּמַֽנְּר} \) has usually been parsed as the construct form of \(\text{חַֽיְּמַֽנְּר} \) (deer?) as used in Deut, xiv 5. It may be asked why

\(^{1}\) de Boer, Second Isaiah's Message, p. 54.
the sons have fainted and why they lie about the streets. This is surely because they too have drunk of the cup of reeling; certainly the verse states that they are full of the wrath of Yahweh. The metaphor here, then, would be expected to have something to do with wine or drinking. It is probable that the original text read \( \text{ydh\breve{n}h} \) (like sheep with the wine). \( \text{ydh\breve{n}h} \) is either an alternative form for, or a misspelling of \( \text{w\dagesh\breve{n}h} \) and is in the absolute form. This word could just as well mean "sheep" as "deer".\(^1\) To describe a drunken man as "like a sheep" would be very appropriate. \( \text{k\breve{d}h} \) (wine) appears in Deut. xxxii 14 and here it is preceded by \( \text{k\breve{d}h} \). The definite article is needed in translation.

Verses 21-23.

Those who have drunk of the cup of Yahweh's wrath are reminded that God pleads the cause of his people. In fact, he has taken the cup of wrath from Zion and those who persecuted God's people will drink from the cup instead.

According to Westermann the oracle proper begins at v. 21.\(^2\) Certainly, there is a change of note from despair to hope.

In v. 22 the promise is given (as if already fulfilled) that the cup will be taken away from Zion. God is presented as the advocate for his people (\( \text{ydh\breve{n}h} \)), another variation of the new pattern (cf. xlv 9, xlix 25, L 8). The

2. Loc. cit.
picture of God as advocate is carried on in the New Testament (cf. John xiv 16).

In v. 23 it is promised that the cup of wrath will be passed to Zion's persecutors. They are described as those who have made God's chosen people bow down so that they could be trampled on.

North, with B.H.S., believes that the first stichos lacks a parallel stichos and recommends the insertion of ὖλοις ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς, or some such phrase.¹ There is some support for this idea in LXX which adds καὶ τῶν ταπεινωμένων σε and in 1Q Is.² which adds Ἰηρίμ (and those humiliating you). On the other hand, it would not be unusual to have a 2 : 2 : 2 line followed by a 3 : 2 line. There is no necessity to emend M.T., which reads logically.

The feminine singular of the imperative qal of ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς (bow down) may refer to the custom of defeated peoples paying homage. The reference could be metaphorical, however, rather like the modern idiomatic phrase, "to make a doormat of some-one". This is probably the thought behind Driver's translation, "roll on the ground", after the Akkadian śihu.² To hold to the conventional meaning of the verb with R.S.V. seems best, but is the reference to paying homage? There are several Biblical attestations for the custom of standing on people's necks as a sign of victory (cf. Josh. x 24, Ps. cx 1). On the other hand, Zech. x 5

describes mighty men "trampling the foe in the mud of the street", which seems to be a better parallel. Skinner's example of a ceremonial treading on the backs of conquered enemies by a victorious sheikh in 1834 does not really match the context here. The general description of the verse favours a metaphorical reference to humiliation rather than a reference to paying homage.

General comments.

The poem is a lament with the typical proclamation of salvation following.

The metre of the poem is mixed with the qinah metre predominating, especially in the first part.

The poem falls naturally into two sections: (a) vv. 17-20, a lament over the plight of Zion and her sons; (b) vv. 21-23, a promise that salvation will come, that the cup of wrath will pass to Zion's tormentors. Both Westermann and Schoors agree that this is the general pattern of the poem. Westermann further notes that the three typical parts of a lament are present in the poem: (a) vv. 17b-20b, charge against God, (b) vv. 18-20a, lament over present plight, (c) v. 23, lament because of the enemies. Here again, then, there is evidence of Deutero-Isaiah's dependence on the psalms for his use of form. This, however, ought not to be analysed too minutely, for if a poet is lamenting a situation

in which his people are suffering it is only natural that the factors mentioned by Westermann would be present in the poem. The dangers of over close analysis have already been noted with reference to Schoors' remark that no motif of goal is included in the proclamation of salvation in this poem.

The content of the poem may be summarized as follows:

(a) vv. 17-20. Jerusalem is invited to rouse herself from the "drunkenness" she has experienced as a result of drinking the cup of Yahweh's wrath. She is lost because not even her sons are able to guide her. There is no-one to comfort her in her plight. Her sons too are in a drunken stupor after drinking Yahweh's cup of wrath.

(b) vv. 21-23. God, who pleads the cause of his people, has taken away the cup of wrath from Jerusalem and it will be given to those tormentors who humiliated God's people.

This poem must also be interpreted against its historical background. The lament is over the situation of the exiles in Babylon, while the promise refers to their release from bondage.

The Sitz im Leben of the poem was probably Babylon just before the end of the Exile.

Aspects of the Zion concept presented in the poem.

1. Jerusalem is personified as a woman who is staggering after having drunk the cup of God's wrath, but she is called upon to rouse herself (v. 17).

2. She has no sons left to guide her (v. 18).
3. Jerusalem has been subject to devastation and destruction, to famine and sword (v. 19).

4. Jerusalem's sons also are paralysed after drinking God's cup of wrath (v. 20).

5. The cup of wrath has been taken from Jerusalem and her sons. Instead it will be given to her persecutors (vv. 21-23).

6. Although Jerusalem and her sons are distinguished from each other, the personification has the nature of an "inclusive" or a corporate personality (vv. 17-23).

Concepts indirectly associated with the Zion concept.

1. God is the one who pleads the cause of his people (v. 22).

2. The Israelites have been humiliated as if trampled in the streets (v. 23).

Concluding comment on the Zion concept in Is. li 17-23.

These verses represent Zion's suffering and its cause in a further brilliant personification. A woman in a drunken stupor is a pitiful sight. Such imagery implies that the one who drinks is the cause of her own downfall. Yahweh's cup of wrath is only held out to those who deserve it. The practical results of drinking this cup, as they are related to the city, have been several decades of calamity - "ruin and destruction, and famine and sword".

The former sons of Zion, and presumably their descendants, are also characterized as having drunk Yahweh's cup of wrath. They are pictured as lying about in the streets, too helpless to give assistance to their drunken mother. This is a colourful way to describe the plight of the
Israelites in Babylon and perhaps of those who lingered around the ruins of Jerusalem.

Zion is exhorted to rouse herself from her insensible state. She is called upon to listen to the word of Yahweh. Incredibly, the wrath of Yahweh is ended. She need not again drink of that terrible cup. Instead, those who have been the cause of so much humiliation to Zion will receive the cup.

Paradoxically, the same God whose wrath allowed Zion to be destroyed is the One who pleads Zion's cause. This is a theology of judgment and grace.

In this passage, truly inspired by his love for Zion, Deutero-Isaiah shows himself to be, not only a prophet, but also a poet of no little distinction.

3. Thus says the Lord Yahweh, "My people went down to Egypt to sojourn there in former times, and Assyria 4. oppressed them without right. Now what do I find here," says the Lord, "that my people have been taken away for nothing? Their rulers exist," says the Lord, "and continually, every day, my name is assailed.

5. Therefore, on that day my people shall know my name. Assuredly, it is I who speak – indeed it is I.

6. How welcome upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger with good news: the one who proclaims prosperity, the bringer of glad tidings, the one who makes salvation known:

7. Who says to Zion, "Your God reigns".
Isaiah lii 1-12.

1. Awake! awake!
   put on your strength, 0 Zion;
   put on your splendid garments,
   0 Jerusalem, 0 holy city;
   for no longer will there come into you
   the uncircumcised and the unclean.

2. Shake yourself free from the dust; stand up
   and take your seat, 0 Jerusalem;
   loosen your neck bonds,
   0 captive daughter of Jerusalem.

3. For thus says the Lord, "For nothing you were
   sold; neither will you be redeemed for money". For
   thus says the Lord Yahweh, "My people went down to
   Egypt to sojourn there in former times, and Assyria
   oppressed them without right. Now what do I find
   here," says the Lord, "that my people have been taken
   away for nothing? Their rulers exult," says the Lord,
   "and continually, every day, my name is scorned.

4. Therefore, on that day my people shall know my name.
   Assuredly, it is I who speak - indeed it is I".

5. How welcome upon the mountains
   are the feet of the messenger with good news;
   the one who proclaims prosperity, the bringer of
   glad tidings,
   the one who makes salvation known;
   who says to Zion, "Your God reigns".
8. Listen! your watchmen raise their voices; as one, they cry aloud joyfully; for in full view they see the return of the Lord to Zion.

9. Burst forth aloud together with joyful cries, O ruins of Jerusalem; for the Lord comforts his people, redeems Jerusalem.

10. The Lord exposes his holy arm in the sight of all nations; and all the ends of the earth witness the salvation of our God.

11. Depart, depart, be gone from there; touch nothing unclean; go out from her environs, be purified, you bearers of the Lord's vessels.

12. For not in haste shall you go out, and you shall not go in flight; for the Lord will go before you and the God of Israel will be your rearguard.

Verses 1-2.

Zion is exhorted to awaken and put on not only her strength but also the beautiful garments which characterize her as the holy city and as a royal bride. People who are uncircumcised or otherwise unclean will no longer enter the city. In a continuation of the exhortation Jerusalem is emphatically invited to shake herself free from the dust,
to arise and take her seat and to loosen the bonds of her captivity.

In v. 1 the imperative לְיִשָּׁרָה is repeated as in li 9. Here the verb is applied to Zion, whereas in li 9 it is applied to the arm of Yahweh.

There is nothing strange about the use of the verb מָעַשׂ in relation to "putting on" strength, so it is difficult to understand why Westermann needs to emend לְיִשָּׁרָה to מַעַשֶּׂ (ornaments). The use of מַעַשֶּׂ with מַעַשֶּׂ in Psalm lxxxix 18 tends to support the parallel use of the words here.

The מַעַשֶּׂ (beautiful garments) are a symbol of the restoration of Zion to her former glory. The figure probably has deeper significance than this, though it is doubtful whether it is eschatological as Volz suggests.

Knight is surely correct when he maintains that the image is of a bride putting on her wedding garments. This interpretation is suggested by the husband-wife imagery (cf. liv 5, L 10) which Deutero-Isaiah uses to describe the relation of Yahweh and the "corporate" Zion. There is some justification also, for accepting that the picture is of a royal bride, that is to say, of a queen, insomuch as Zion is married to Yahweh the King. This, however, is an indirect allusion and the implications of the image must not be over-emphasized. The picture is in marked contrast to the

stripping off of Babylon's clothes in xlvii lff. Simon's suggestion that the picture of Zion as a bride is a warning against the pagan marriage concept is scarcely justified.1 The list of finery for the daughters of Zion in Is. iii 18-22 makes an interesting parallel. Westermann's analysis suggests that Zion is dressing for a festival,2 while Wade emphasizes the sanctifying effect of wearing newly washed ceremonial garments (cf. Ex. xix 14).3 Such nuances of interpretation are probably legitimate, especially in relation to the concept of ritual uncleanness mentioned in the second part of the verse. Duhm's warning against reading an allegorical meaning into the image of die Prachtkleider4 does not invalidate the marriage interpretation. This scholar is probably aware of the danger of reading eschatological or Christian concepts into the text when, in fact, the imagery is basically poetic and is related to the immediate future, rather than to the eschaton. Nevertheless, Knight is correct to see the theological nature of the language and to note its validity for all ages - if he means that God's acts of redemption form a universal and continuous pattern.5

Marti notes that this is the first time that Deutero-Isaiah has specifically referred to Jerusalem by name as the "holy city" (but cf. Is. xlviii 2).6 During the Exile the

1. Simon, A Theology of Salvation, pp. 188-93.
2. Loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
city had not been holy, for uncircumcised and unclean people had been in control, and at the same time the "holy temple" had been defiled (cf. Ps. lxxix 1). The promise is that the city, and presumably the sanctuary (because of the use of the word מֵמְלָכָה), will in future be cleansed.

The לְמַלְצָה (uncircumcised) and the נָנָה (unclean) will not, in the future, enter the city. The uncircumcised in general are those who have not been introduced into the covenant by the ceremony of circumcision (cf. Gen. xvii 9-14). The uncircumcised, for example, could not take part in the Passover (cf. Ex. xii 48). Quite often the word was used simply to signify foreign enemies (cf. Judges xiv 3, 1 Sam. xiv 6, xvii 26, 2 Sam. i 20). Simon rightly claims that the concept deepened, in that there was a move in emphasis from the purely physical, to the moral significance of the act of circumcision.¹ For example, the house of Israel is described by Jeremiah as being uncircumcised in heart (ix 21, cf. Ezek. xlii 7). Westermann considers that while the passage is genuinely cultic, the reference here is simply to Israel's enemies, in this case the Babylonians.² Jones agrees and claims that the statement does not conflict with Deutero-Isaiah's universalism.³ This is probably true. Jones further perceives a reference to a festival way as in Is. xxxv 8. This is implied in a general sense, but a specific "way" cannot be found in the text here.

¹ Simon, A Theology of Salvation, p. 189.
² Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, pp. 246f.
³ Jones, Peake's Commentary, 455g.
On the whole it is best to accept that יִמְנַע is used by Deutero-Isaiah as a general term to describe the Babylonians. The ritual background, however, is still apparent.

That this is so is indicated by the parallel word מִנְנָי which also has strong ritualistic implications, though in its highest development it could be ethical in content, as in Is. vi 5. In the main, however, the word is attached to people, animals, or places which are regarded as ceremonially unclean. Any contact with an unclean object makes a person unclean and the antidote to this is ceremonial washing and/or a period of quarantine (cf. Lev. 24:1-8; Num. xix 11-16). Any foreign country can be regarded as unclean (cf. Amos. vii 17). Idolatry is a powerful cause of uncleanness (cf. Ezek. xx 30ff.). The reference here is probably to the uncleanness of the Babylonians when they controlled Jerusalem.

In v. 2 Jerusalem is exhorted to shake herself free from the dust, to rise and to take her seat. The vocabulary here is so similar to xlvi 1 that a contrast with Babylon must be intended. At that place Babylon is told to "come down" (גָּזֶר as opposed to גָּזֶר), and to sit (יִמְנַע) in the dust (יִמְנַע). Many authorities emend יִמְנַע to יִמְנַע as in 2b. (So B.H.S., R.S.V., N.E.B., North, Westermann etc.) However, LXX reads καθολέων and the striking similarities to xlvi 1 support this translation.

The seat which Jerusalem is invited to take is presumably a seat of honour, possibly a throne.

Similarly, כַּפּוֹל in the qal means to "shake" or "shake off" but in the hithpa'el as here it is reflexive and means "shake oneself free".¹

Similarly, כַּפּוֹל in the qal means to "open", while in the hithpa'el it means to "loosen for oneself".² Although IQ Is.ᵃ agrees with M.T. Kethibh in reading כַּפּוֹל, most authorities follow the Qere כַּפּוֹל (cf. LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Syriac, Vulgate). The Qere is undoubtedly the better reading.

The כַּפֵּל כַּפּוֹל (neck bonds) are symbolic of Jerusalem's "captivity", or more strictly, the daughter of Zion's captivity.³ However, Jerusalem is in parallel with "daughter of Zion" and this shows that in this text the two are synonymous, i.e. "daughter" does not refer to a daughter city.

B.H.S. recommends the reading בַּפּוֹל. However, the preposition ב is unnecessary, for a verb in the hithpa'el may take an object.⁴

Verses 3-6.

Yahweh speaks to the chosen people. They have been

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3. See C.M. Jones, Old Testament Illustrations, p. 53; for a photograph of a bas-relief showing captives strung together by the neck. This is dated around the time of Rameses III.
4. See G.K., 54f.
sold for nothing and they will be redeemed for no money. The past oppressions of Israel are recalled, specifically the bondage in Egypt and the persecution by the Assyrians, who oppressed Israel without right. The present situation is compared with the past. Yahweh finds that his people have been taken away for nothing. The rulers (of Babylon) shout in triumph while Yahweh's name is despised. But in the future, on that day, people will know his name and they will know it is Yahweh who speaks.

Some commentators follow Duhm in accepting this passage as Deutero-Isaianic, while others follow Marti in rejecting it. Simon summarizes the main arguments for rejecting the passage - though, in fact, he himself accepts it. These are: (a) The argument contradicts Deutero-Isaiah's belief in Israel's responsibility for her sins (cf. xlii 24, xliii 2, 7, 28, L 1). (b) "Here" (v. 5) refers to Babylon, but "there" (v. 11) also refers to Babylon. (c) The phrase "that day" is not used elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah. (d) How could the rulers of Israel still be ruling? One may add (e) This is prose, not poetry.

In answer to (a) it may be claimed that the argument here is not about Israel's responsibility for her sins. Rather is the emphasis on Yahweh's power to save Israel in past and present circumstances. As for (b) both adverbs are natural enough in their contexts. (See below.)

argument of (c) is strong in view of the eschatological associations of the phrase "that day" - but the phrase here probably refers to the near future in a non-technical sense. Mowinckel notes that quite often the phrase is simply "a kind of temporal conjunction or adverb" without any eschatological overtones.¹ In (d) the rulers need not be of Israel, but are more likely to be of Babylon. (e) is perhaps the strongest argument. Why should a piece of prose be found in what is essentially a poetic work? Over against this, the ideas of the passage are Deutero-Isaianic and there is no necessity to suppose that Deutero-Isaiah would not include a stylistic variant. Moreover, the passage could be scanned as poetry, though this would undoubtedly be difficult. On the whole it seems best to accept the passage as original, at the same time recognizing that there are unsolved problems implicit in this view.

In v. 3 Yahweh states that Israel was sold and that she will not be redeemed for money. This statement, according to the relationship of the tenses, seems to apply to the present situation of Israel rather than to the past. has a variety of meanings. In appropriate contexts it can mean "for nought, in vain, gratuitously, without cause, for no purpose, undeservedly".² In this case the parallel phrase ought to clarify the sense and probably the word means "for nothing" in the sense of not for money (cf. L 1). Certainly, there is a parallel for this in Judges

1. The expression has been studied by P.A. Munsch: The Expression bajjōm hāhū', (Oslo, 1936). See Mowinckel, H.T.C., p. 147.
(ii 14 and passim) where Israel was sold for her iniquities. Yahweh himself has received no payment, he is not obligated to Babylon and he has not surrendered his sovereign freedom.¹

Westermann argues that if the words, "Thus says Yahweh", were omitted, then v. 3 could be a continuation of v. 2, and vv. 4ff. could be a gloss on יָהָ֣ה נֶעְרָה.² However, as already stated, it is better to accept the passage (vv. 3-6) as original.

In v. 4 reference is made both to the bondage in Egypt and to the oppression by the Assyrians. Kissane argues that the Assyrian reference is an interpolation because: (a) The prophet is arguing about Babylon, not Assyria. (b) The phrase spoils the antithesis.³ Over against this it can be claimed with justification that the Assyrian oppression is important enough to be mentioned along with the Egyptian bondage as an example of Israel's past troubles. Further, was not the turning back of Sennacherib from Jerusalem an almost legendary act of God?

The meaning of בֵּית לָדָם is debatable. R.S.V. translates "for nothing" while N.E.B. gives "at the end", both of which are feasible. Jones believes the meaning to be "gratis", but in that case why did Deutero-Isaiah not use יָהָ֣ה נֶעְרָה again? Moreover, the phrase is related to the Assyrians here. יָהָ֣ה נֶעְרָה is derived from the verb יִנְסָּה (to cease) and can mean, "end, not any, nobody, nothing, only, without

¹. This is basically the position held by North, The Second Isaiah, pp. 218-20; Jones, Peake's Commentary, 455h; Levy, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 253-5.
cause".¹ N.E.B. seems to take the view that the Egyptian bondage represents the beginning of history while the Assyrian oppression represents the end. This is rather forced. Marti more convincingly argues that the phrase means "without having any right or claim", i.e. "without cause".²

In v. 5 Yahweh asks, "What do I find here that my people have been taken away for nothing?" He continues, "Their rulers exult continually and my name is despised".

This literally means, "Who to me here?" Or, if the Qere is accepted, "What to me here?" The latter is undoubtedly correct. Essentially the question means, "What do I find here?" (So N.E.B.) "Here" is probably a reference to the situation rather than to a place. Duhm believes the question implies the answer, "Cause for anger and grief".³ The conjunction ḫ tends to support his argument.

This means the same as in v. 3, that is to say, "for nothing", in the sense of, "not for money".

The (his rulers; Qere ḫ ḫ) are thought to be Israelites by some commentators. In fact, the sense demands that these should be the Babylonians.⁴

The verb ḫ (wail) with uncontracted ḫ.⁵ Usually this sound is one of distress, but it can refer to cruel exultation.⁶

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5. See G.K., 70c.
support of the latter, Delitzsch quotes a parallel in Lucan (laetis ululare triumphis) and the Syriac battle cry ailel. ¹
Some commentators prefer to follow ¹Q Is.² by changing the

text to ₩₪ (cf. Aquila, Targum, Vulgate). This

is the po‘el of ₩₪ (boast) which in the pi‘el means
"praise" and in the po‘el means "make a fool of".² This

mode of ₩₪ is used in Is. xliiv 25. Normally an object
would be expected, unless the translation "mock" can be

accepted as true to the Hebrew meaning. Another possibility
is to repoint as ₩₪ (B.H.S.) - but the usual meaning
of the pi‘el does not fit the context. On the whole it seems
best to accept the first of these readings (M.T.) which makes
sound sense if translated "exult".

Jos (from Jos) is probably the hithpo‘al participle of Jos which in the qal means "condemn, spurn". Here the verb means "be despised". It is also possible
that the verb is a forma mixta from Jos and Jos. B.H.S. recommends the pointing Jos or an emendation to
the full hithpo‘al form - but the first explanation is
adequate.³

In v. 6 Yahweh says that his people shall know his name. On that day they shall know that it is Yahweh himself who is speaking.

To know Yahweh's name is to know his character or

1. Delitzsch, op.cit., p. 264.
3. See G.K., 55b.
essential being. The people do not know his name at the moment because they do not understand him. A further implication is that Yahweh's name is dishonoured as long as his people are in captivity. His honour demands his intervention.¹

Some commentators follow 1Q Is.², LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate in deleting the second נ.² Kissane emends the text to נ.³ but this seems less convincing. Delitzsch is probably correct in suggesting that the word is deliberately repeated for emphasis.⁴

"On that day" is a typical eschatological phrase. Here, as already noted, it need not necessarily be eschatological, though it may contain a reference to the Day of the Lord (God's victory) or to a festival day (celebration of the Return?). The phrase is not common in Deutero-Isaiah.

According to North "I am he" is a monotheistic formula (cf. xli 4).⁵ This is probably correct. It would certainly be in keeping with Deutero-Isaiah's theology to understand the phrase this way.

Verses 7-10.

The herald to Zion, who comes across the mountains, brings good news of deliverance and prosperity. He announces to Zion that God reigns. The watchmen on Zion's

3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
walls lift up their voices with joyful cries at the sight of the Lord's return to Zion. Even the ruins of Jerusalem are urged to break into song. God has comforted his people and redeemed Jerusalem. He has exposed his holy arm so that all nations, even to the ends of the earth, shall see his salvation.

As Volz observes, these verses contain both national and religious, universal and particular elements. Yahweh, who is the world King, is also Zion's King. The salvation which comes to Zion is witnessed by all the world.

These verses constitute a hymn of praise and a song of victory. Schoors believes that this is technically the only oracle of salvation in Deutero-Isaiah (as opposed to proclamation). This distinction is somewhat artificial and in any case, Schoors is not wholly consistent. He does recognize other oracles. Westermann notes that vv. 9ff. take the form of a hymn to end the long section li - lii 12 (as adjusted by Westermann). He claims that this is a characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah's style, other examples being xlii 10-13, xliv 23. No doubt this is true. It is natural for a poet to build up a climax in a section of his work. Westermann also compares this section with the end of the prologue, maintaining that the "shepherd" image in xl ii is the equivalent of the King image here. There is certainly similarity between the two sections and, moreover,

2. Schoors, I am God your Saviour, pp. 13, 242, 298.
the functions of shepherd and king were closely related in the ideology of Israelite kingship (cf. Ps. lxxviii 71-2). In v. 7 it is claimed that the feet of the messenger who brings good tidings are welcome (or beautiful?) on the mountains.

is thought by some to be the pi'elel of the verb (be comely, befitting) which appears only in the pi'elel here and at Ps. xci 5 and Songs of Songs i 10. The word may in this case be a by-form of the niph'al of (desire). Others believe the verb to be the pa'el of . It can be agreed with North that the most appropriate meaning here is "welcome". This may be derived indirectly from the connection with .

The messenger coming over the mountains makes a picturesque description of the annunciation of the news of salvation to Zion. Jerusalem is quite a hilly area (cf. Ps. cxxv 2). This (cf. on xl 9) is apparently a similar personage to the messenger who brought the news about Absalom (cf. 2 Sam. xviii 19ff.). The mention of watchmen in 2 Sam. xviii 24 corroborates this similarity between the two passages. The difference between the two accounts, of course, is that in the Samuel text the messenger brought bad news. The root is more frequently associated with good news (cf. 1 Sam. xxxi 9, 2 Sam. i 20, Jer. xx 15).

here probably means "prosperity" (cf. on Ps. cxxii 6-8).

2. See G.K., 75x, 85n.
The most important theme in this verse is God's kingship, embodied in the phrase $\textit{ת"u נבך יבש}$. This is probably a deliberate reference to the enthronement psalms. It is true that, in the main, the psalms read $\textit{ת"u נבך}$ (so Pss. xciii 1, xcv 10, xcvii 1, xcix 1), but $\textit{ת"u נבך}$ is used with $\textit{ותיה} yb$ in Ps. xlvii 8-9. Many scholars interpret these enthronement psalms in relation to an autumn festival in which Yahweh's kingship over the universe was celebrated.\(^1\) It would not, however, be the main concern here to discuss the theory of God's kingship in relation to such a festival. The important question is, "What does Deutero-Isaiah mean by stating $\textit{ת"u נבך יבש} $?" Westermann and others are surely correct when they claim that Deutero-Isaiah, though borrowing from the traditional liturgical concept of Yahweh's kingship, has assimilated the idea into his version of the message of God's salvation for Israel. What is represented here, is not a cultic act, but a claim that God is going to act here and now in history.\(^2\)

Jones agrees that this statement is directed towards a historical actuality. He also notes that theories of God's kingship later became the foundation of the eschatological hope.\(^3\) Any view of God as King at the eschaton, however, is secondary to the idea of God as King here and now - a similar concept, perhaps, to the modern idea of realised eschatology.

Stuhlmueller considers the implications of the statement

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1. See, for example, Mowinckel, H.T.C., pp. 80ff., 139ff.; Johnson, S.K., pp. 54ff., 60ff.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Jones, Peake's Commentary, 455i.
He first of all notes that other references to Yahweh as King occur in xli 21, xliii 15, xliiv 6. He claims that in these texts "King" is a title for God which is subordinated to the general context of the message of redemption and election. In other words, no theory of God's kingship can really be surmised from the use of this title in these three texts only. He lists the possible translations of in liii 7 as: (a) Your God has become King. (b) Your God reigns. (c) Your God is King. It can be agreed with him that (b) is probably the best translation. At any rate, the present tense avoids the impression that Yahweh was not king previously.

Stuhlmueller then discusses whether the phrase is related rather to a re-creation of Israel's world or to the theology of creation in the past (associated with an enthronement festival). He admits that "King" as a title for God must have been in common use in pre-Exilic times, for Deutero-Isaiah uses it as an accepted title among other titles (cf. Is. vii 5). Moreover, liii 7 would be nonsensical unless God had previously been considered king. At the same time Deutero-Isaiah does not combine the title "King" with the title of God as Creator of the universe. This is surprising if the titles in combination were in popular use. He does, in fact, combine the title "King" with the title "Creator" of Israel (cf. xliii 15). It can be argued from this that

2. Eissfeldt argues that the enthronement psalms are post-Exilic, but this is not the generally accepted view. See O.T.M.S. (ed. H.H. Rowley) p. 297.
either these two titles were not combined in pre-Exilic
times or that Deutero-Isaiah was not interested in combining
them. It is difficult to say why he kept the two concepts
distinct if they were previously combined. lvi 7 may
possibly reflect a pre-Exilic festival, but not strongly.
Neither is the existence of a festival related to the
Davidic kingship reflected (cf. lv 3), for the emphasis in
Deutero-Isaiah is rather on the people of Israel. Further,
there is no evidence that the work of Deutero-Isaiah was a
factor in promoting a post-Exilic festival in honour of
Yahweh, King and world Creator. It may be stated positively
that Yahweh's royalty is seen by Deutero-Isaiah in the context
of redemption and election and that this Kingship is confined
to Israel, though other nations act as witnesses.

The main thrust of Stuhlmueller's argument seems to be
that Deutero-Isaiah was not dependent on either a pre-Exilic
enthronement festival (for Yahweh) or a pre-Exilic kingship
festival (for the Davidic king). The question of a post-
Exilic festival is less important. To argue that because
Deutero-Isaiah did not noticeably join the King and Creator
concepts, then the pre-Exilic festival may not have existed,
is a very unconvincing argument indeed. It is true, as
Stuhlmueller says, that the use of the title "King" in
three other Deutero-Isaian texts is unprejudicial to the
argument either way. Yet Deutero-Isaiah's dependence on the
psalms is clearly shown at a number of points and it is
difficult to believe that he was uninfluenced by the enthronem-
ment psalms in lvi 7. The theory of an enthronement
festival does not depend on the evidence in Deutero-Isaiah.
For those who wish to argue for the existence of such a festival there is ample evidence in the psalms and elsewhere. It is more probable that Deutero-Isaiah was aware of the existence of such a festival before his own day and that he adapted its contents to his own use. A parallel for Stuhlmueller's main argument could be: the Davidic king is mentioned once in Deutero-Isaiah; therefore, this throws doubt on the existence of a Davidic king in pre-Exilic times. Stuhlmueller is further assuming that Deutero-Isaiah is mentally separating his titles for God — which is nonsensical. Yahweh, in Deutero-Isaiah's view, was both King and Creator. The fact that he does not join the titles is coincidental.

Ringgren, classifying this phrase (יְהֹוָה נִתְנָה) as a "herald's call", agrees that it depends on the enthronement psalms. Such a classification may be a useful way of classifying this particular phrase, but a herald is not often specifically associated with such phrases (cf. Zech. ix 9ff., Ps. xcvii 10) and it is a little misleading to refer to every occurrence of the phrase "God comes" as a herald's call. 1

In v. 8 the watchmen are presented as lifting up their voices joyfully at the sight of the Lord returning to Zion. The first only makes sense if translated as "Hark!". 2 An alternative would be to follow Duhm in emending the text to יְהֹוָה. 3 The former explanation is more satisfactory as it involves no change of text. (So R.S.V. and N.E.B.)

is the masculine plural, qal participle with second person singular suffix of (spy, keep watch). North is right to see the picture as an idealized one. The walls were, of course, in ruins.¹ Duhm notes that this picture of several watchmen is really a figure of speech for all who lived in Jerusalem.² This certainly seems likely. Although the word is often used of prophets (cf. Hab. ii 1, Jer. vi 17, Ezek. xxxiii 2f.) it is unlikely that the reference here is anything more than poetic fancy.³

The expression is a peculiar one in this context. Levy gives the most convincing explanation. He argues that the phrase means "without anything intervening" and that the concept is an anthropomorphic way of saying that the watchmen saw God directly "eye to eye" (cf. "face to face" in Num. xiv 14).⁴ North⁵ and Skinner⁶ agree with this interpretation.

The verb with has a meaning stronger than merely "see". It rather means "gaze".

What the watchmen see is the return ( ) of Yahweh to Zion. Torrey takes the view that means "restore" as in Ps. lxxxv 5.⁷ He claims that the idea of Yahweh returning to Zion is foreign to Deutero-Isaiah. This contention is difficult to maintain. In any case, Torrey is

¹ North, The Second Isaiah, p. 222.
² Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia, p. 363.
⁴ Levy, Deutero-Isaiah, p. 255.
⁵ Loc. cit.
⁶ Loc. cit.
influenced by his theory of a late date for Deutero-Isaiah which he allows to prejudice his translation. Westermann sees the background of the return as the old epiphany. This is possibly true, but his equation of Yahweh's return with the return of the exiles and the restoration of Zion is inexact.¹ Jones' view that the origin of the concept is cultic has much merit.² It may be related to the old ark procession (cf. on Ps. cxxxii).

In v. 9 the ruins of Jerusalem are exhorted to break forth into singing because of the Lord's comfort and his redemption of Jerusalem. This is similar to Deutero-Isaiah's exhortations elsewhere to the heavens and the earth, to the mountains and trees (cf. xliv 23, xlix 13, li 3, lv 12). These are passages in which Deutero-Isaiah shows himself to be truly a poet.

The perfect tenses in the second part of the verse may be perfects of certainty.

In v. 10 comes the answer to the appeal of li 9-10. The Lord has exposed his holy arm so that all nations can witness its action. This arm will bring about the salvation of God. To bare the arm was probably to take it out of the breast-fold in order to free it for action. The most outstanding example of this, despite difficulties in the text, is shown in Ps. lxxiv 11. Wade quotes Statius and Arrian in support of this interpretation³ (cf. Ezek. iv 7, Ps. xcviii 1).

2. Jones, Peake's Commentary, p. 526, 455i.
God's salvation has been achieved in the sight of all nations. Even if the nations are not specifically part of the kingdom in this text, it is implied that they will recognize Yahweh's kingship. The verse is very similar in thought to Ps. xcvii 1-2 and may well be another example of the influence of the psalms on Deutero-Isaiah.

Verses 11-12.

The exiles (those who bear the vessels of the Lord) are invited to depart from Babylon, purifying themselves and touching no unclean thing. This departure will not be in haste; nor will they be fleeing from danger, for Yahweh will be both vanguard and rearguard to the party.

These verses are an adapted version of the Passover legend (cf. Ex. xii llff., Deut. xvi 3). Torrey, indeed, believes the passage to be a rehearsal of the flight from Egypt, maintaining that there is no reference to the return from Babylon. However, Torrey's position is again related to his late dating of Deutero-Isaiah and this is not acceptable. It is true that there are references in the vocabulary both to the Passover and to the Exodus narratives (cf. also Ex. xiii 21, Deut. i 30-33). Yet the context shows that the Exodus is taken as a pattern for the return from Babylon (cf. the return to Zion in v. 8 etc.). N.E.B. is perhaps over tendentious to insert the words "from Babylon" twice, though this is surely the correct interpretation. North notes as a point of style that the verb יָֽשָׁבָה is used

1. Loc. cit.
three times.¹ This places great emphasis on the word. In v. 11 Volz remarks upon the echo effect of יִשְׂרָאֵל in relation to יִשְׂרָאֵל.² Such stylistic ornaments give the Hebrew text great resonance. יֹדֵל may be translated "thence". To Torrey (see above) the reference is to Egypt. Others have disputed whether the use of this word indicates that the writer was outside Babylon. Volz is probably correct to assume that the poet was ideally elsewhere, perhaps Jerusalem.³ In other words Deutero-Isaiah is making use of a literary device.

For the associations of יִשְׂרָאֵל see on v. 1. יֹדֵל is an allusion, perhaps, to Ex. xii 31 (יֵרְדֵּל יִשְׂרָאֵל).

יֵרְדֵּל is the niph'al imperative of יַל ("to purge out", and less commonly "select, choose"). The niph'al means to "purify oneself" either ceremonially as here, or morally as in Ps. xviii 27.

Who were the bearers of the vessels of the Lord? It would be expected, if this were to be taken literally, that either the Levites or the priests would carry them. At the same time it is possible that the Levites were the priests - a definition of priesthood often claimed to be in Deuteronomy,⁴ though the text of Ezra i mentions Levites and priests. However, the style is rhetorical and the reference is probably general, that is to say, to the

¹ North, The Second Isaiah, pp. 223-5.
² Volz, Jesaia II, pp. 121-5.
³ Ibid.
⁴ See North, loc. cit.
Israelites. This is not necessarily to agree with Knight that a theory of a "kingdom of priests" is implied (cf. Ex. xix 6).¹

What kind of vessels were these? They were probably the temple vessels removed by Nebuchadnezzar (cf. 2 Kings xxiv 13, xxv 14, 2 Chron. xxxvi 7, 10, 16f., Ezra i 7-11). Simon argues that this could not be the case because the vessels were given to Sheshbazzar and not ceremonially conveyed.² The fact that they were handed to Sheshbazzar does not however, exclude a procession. In any case, Deutero-Isaiah was speaking about the future.

The question of Deutero-Isaiah's attitude to the cult arises from this text. Volz notes that, over against Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah presents no cultic system with sacrifices, festivals and priests. He inveighs against animal sacrifices (cf. xl 16, xliii 23ff.). In this he belongs to the tradition of pre-Exilic prophecy in that the classical prophets were against formal sacrifices made without spiritual understanding. He does mention the temple in xlv 28 - but this is a questionable text. Only in the mention of the "holy city" (li 1) and the vessels of the Lord (lii 11) does Deutero-Isaiah show an interest in the sacrificial side of the cult. This prophet, in fact, took advantage of the freedom from temple worship during the Exile to prepare for a universal worship not necessarily tied to a cultic system.³ Volz is not quite fair here. The

reference to the temple and the whole concept of the Lord's return to Zion imply a restoration of worship at Jerusalem. The polemic against animal sacrifices (cf. xl 16, xliii 23ff.), as in the case of the pre-Exilic prophets, does not necessarily mean that he was not in favour of sacrifice. Moreover, the mention of vessels in this verse strongly implies that Deutero-Isaiah was in favour of a renewal of the cult system. It would be more accurate to say that he is silent on the question of a specific cultic restoration which gives an impression of ambivalence to the texts where such a restoration might be implied. But to argue from general silence, when there are several instances of a positive attitude towards the cult, is somewhat precarious.

On balance, it may be said that Deutero-Isaiah appears in some places to favour a renewal of the Zion cult but he gives little indication of how he envisaged the details of such a system.

The use of אָמַס (twice) is probably emphatic, and a suitable translation would be "assuredly".

In v. 12 the exhortation to go out of Babylon continues.

The word עָלָה עָלָה (in haste) is intended as a reference to the Passover story. The basic root means "hurry away in alarm or fright". The only other places where the noun appears are at Ex. xii 11 and Deut. xvi 3 which are verses from accounts of the flight from Egypt. The word describes the way in which the Passover meal should be eaten. The roasted lamb should be eaten "that night" with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. No food should be preserved till the morning. It should be eaten, loins girded, sandals on
and staff in hand - and it should be eaten 

The noun (flight) is from the root (flee). A fairly typical use of the word is in Lev. xxvi 36 where enemies are described as being put to flight.

The idea of God, or some symbol of his presence, going before the Israelites to guide them and protect them is not an uncommon one. The ark went before them in the wilderness to guide them to a resting place (Num. x 33); the Lord went before them in a pillar of cloud (Ex. xiii 21); the angel of the Lord went before them as they approached the Red Sea (Ex. xiv 19); God promised that his presence (would go with them (Ex. xxxiii 14).

is the pi'el participle of (gather, take away) with second person plural masculine suffix. In the pi'el the verb more usually means "gather, pick up, receive", but it can also mean "form the rear guard". This nuance of meaning probably developed from the notion of "drawing together" for protection. It is the function of a rear guard to close up the line and to protect it. The parallelism in this verse strongly supports such a meaning. It is interesting to note that the angel and the pillar moved to the rear at the crossing of the Red Sea (cf. Ex. xiv 19).

General comments.

The poetic sections are basically proclamations of salvation with specific reference to the return from Babylon.

The prose section supports the proclamation of the poetry by recalling God's past acts by which he has saved his chosen people.

The metre of the poetry is mixed. Distichoi of 3:2, 3:3, and 4:3 lines are most common.

The words וְיָשָׁרָהוּ (v. 1) indicate that these twelve verses are a continuation of the previous poems (cf. li 9, 17). The first poetic section (vv. 1-2) again calls Zion to prepare herself for the new saving event. The prose section (vv. 3-6) reinforces the message by recalling the deliverances from the Egyptians and from the Assyrians (701 B.C.?). The third section, reverting to poetry (vv. 3-10), proclaims Yahweh's return to Zion. The fourth section, continuing in verse, exhorts all the exiles to depart from Babylon. The content of these four sections may be analysed as follows:

(a) Verses 1-2. Zion is exhorted to put on strength and to dress herself in beautiful garments (bridal, royal or festal) in order to prepare herself once more to be the holy city, Jerusalem. The occupiers of Jerusalem, unclean and uncircumcized as they are, will no longer sully the city with their presence. Again, Zion–Jerusalem is exhorted to rise, to take her seat of honour, to loosen the captive's bonds from her neck.

(b) Verses 3-6. Yahweh speaks. He claims that his people were not sold for money. In other words he had no financial gain from the transaction. He asks his people to remember the sojourn in Egypt and the Assyrian oppression – which was carried out without any right. Here also, he continues, his
people have been carried away gratuitously. The foreign rulers shout triumphantly and his, Yahweh's, name is despised. But his people shall know his name and they shall know who it is that speaks.

(c) Verses 7-10. A messenger of good tidings and salvation is pictured speeding across the mountains to Jerusalem. He says to Zion, "Your God reigns". Watchmen on the walls of the city are joyful because they see Yahweh's return clearly. The ruins of Jerusalem, says the poet, should also sing because of Yahweh's redemption of the city. He has exposed his holy arm so that all nations, to the ends of the earth, can see God's salvation in action.

(d) Verses 11-12. The exiles are exhorted to leave Babylon without touching anything that is unclean. Those who bear the vessels of the Lord must purify themselves as they leave. Unlike the flight from Egypt, the departure from Babylon can take place unhurriedly, for Yahweh himself will act as both vanguard and rearguard.

The interpretation of these twelve verses must be viewed against the historical background of the imminent return from Babylon. The poet expresses what amounts to certainty that the exiles' return to Jerusalem is about to take place. Perhaps Cyrus had already declared that this was to be so, or perhaps Deutero-Isaiah was using his gift of prophetic intuition. The Sitz im Leben of the verses was probably Babylon.

Deutero-Isaiah's consciousness of the continuity of tradition is very prominent. He interprets the new event in terms of the past salvation history of Israel.
There are signs that Deutero-Isaiah had a cultic interest in the restoration of Zion as indicated by the mention of the "holy city" (v. 1), the temple vessels (v. 11) and the concept of ritual purity (v. 11), but these are not definite enough to warrant the statement that Deutero-Isaiah had a specific cultic system in mind.

The phrase, "Your God reigns", probably indicates the influence of the enthronement psalms on Deutero-Isaiah's work, but not necessarily a deep knowledge on his part of any enthronement festival. On the other hand, he would no doubt be aware of the Babylon festival and possibly this statement was an assertion that Yahweh, rather than Marduk, was truly king.

Aspects of the Zion concept which appear in the poem.

1. Zion is personified, probably as a bride or queen (v. 1).
2. Jerusalem (in parallel with Zion) is referred to as the "holy city" (v. 1).
3. Jerusalem is personified as a captive who is to be freed and who will take a seat of honour (v. 2).
4. Zion is informed by a messenger of good tidings that God, her King, is about to return to her (v. 7).
5. The ruins of Jerusalem are exhorted to be joyful at the redemption of the city (v. 9).
6. Possible reference is made to the restoration of a cult system in Jerusalem (vv. 1, 11).
Concepts indirectly associated with the Zion concept.

1. The occupiers of the city are categorized as "the uncircumcised and unclean" (v. 1).
2. The Exile in Babylon was of no benefit to Yahweh and there will be no gain to him in redeeming the exiles (v. 3).
3. The release from bondage in Egypt and from the Assyrian oppression are recalled (v. 4).
4. Yahweh's name is despised by the triumphant rulers but he will make his name known to his people (vv. 5-6).
5. Yahweh is pictured as a powerful warrior (vv. 10-12).
6. The departure from Babylon is compared and contrasted with the flight from Egypt (vv. 11-12).

Concluding comment on the Zion concept in Is. liii 1-12.

A strong personification of Zion stands here in parallel with a picture of Zion–Jerusalem the city. Zion, described as a captive lying in the dust, is exhorted to awake and put on splendid garments suitable for her new, enthroned status as Yahweh's royal bride. This putting on of beautiful clothes is also symbolic of the ritual purity which will once more enhance the city's reputation as the "holy city". Foreigners will no longer defile the city by their presence. Thus, Deutero-Isaiah expresses the conviction that Zion will not only be freed from foreign domination, but also that she will be the centre of a revival of Israelite religious life, the place on earth above all others where Yahweh will reveal his presence to his chosen people.

Deutero-Isaiah compares the present, sad situation of Zion with the past trials of the Israelites. In the same
way that Yahweh saved his people from the Egyptians and from the Assyrians, he will now save Zion from foreign rulers. His people will know once again that Yahweh speaks. Repeatedly, Deutero-Isaiah shows this sense of historical perspective in relation to the Heilsgeschichte.

The annunciation of the good news to Zion is picturesquely portrayed. The special messenger speeds over the hills to the city and calls out to Zion that her God reigns. Watchmen on the ruined walls, who have waited so long in vain, see the approaching King as he marches along the highway to the city. Zion-Jerusalem should sing with joy because of Yahweh's redemption, which will be executed in full view of all the nations. What Deutero-Isaiah promises will come about is not a secret, unverifiable act of God. It is rather the visible action of God in history, verified as such because it is foretold.

The scene then changes to Babylon. The future inhabitants of Zion are bidden to be prepared, purified in body and spirit, for the divine intervention. Yet, there need be no unseemly haste. Yahweh himself will lead and guard the party as it crosses the desert. The new Exodus is about to begin. The imminence of this event is unmistakable in the text.
Isaiah li 1-17.

1. "Shout with joy, O barren one, who never brought forth child; break into joyful cries and shout in exultation, you who have never given birth in pain. Truly, the children of the desolate one will be many more than the children of the married one", says the Lord.

2. "Enlarge the place of your tent and let the curtains of your dwelling place be spread out; do not be discouraged from extending your tent ropes; strengthen your stakes.

3. For to the right and to the left you will spread, and your seed will dispossess nations and people desolate cities.

4. "Fear not, for you will not be ashamed and you will not be insulted - truly you will not be abashed; for you will forget the shame of your youth and you will remember no more the reproach of your widowhood.

5. For your maker is your husband - the Lord of hosts is his name; and your Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel - he is called the God of the whole earth.

6. Surely, the Lord has called you as a forsaken wife who is grieved in spirit,
as a young wife when she is rejected", says your God.

7. "For a brief moment I abandoned you, but with great compassion I gather you.

8. In a flood of anger
I hid my face from you momentarily;
but now I have compassion on you with everlasting, constant love",
says the Lord, your Redeemer.

9. "This is like the days of Noah for me;
as I swore that the waters of Noah
would never again pass over the earth,
so have I sworn that I will not be angry with you
and that I will not reprove you.

10. For the mountains may pass away
and the hills may be moved,
but my constant love will never pass away
and my covenant of peace shall not be moved",
says the Lord, your Comforter.

11. "O persecuted one, assailed by storms and not comforted;
see now, I will set your stones in antimony
and lay your foundations with sapphires.

12. I will make your pinnacles of agate
and your gates of garnet,
and your every wall of precious stones.
13. All your sons shall be taught by the Lord and the prosperity of your sons shall be great.

14. You shall be established in righteousness: you shall be far from oppression - surely you shall not fear; you shall be far from destruction - surely it shall not come near you.

15. Should anyone stir up strife it will not be from me; whoever does stir up strife against you shall fall because of you.

16. Indeed, I myself have created the workman who blows up the fiery coals and forges weapons for their end, and I myself have created the destroyer to ravage.

17. Any weapon made to hurt you shall not succeed, and you shall refute every tongue that rises against you in condemnation. This is the heritage of the Lord's servants, and their vindication is from me" , says the Lord.

Verses 1-3.

Zion, the barren woman, is exhorted to sing joyfully because her children are going to be greater in number than those of the married woman, a reference to Zion before the Exile. Zion is invited to increase the place of her tent and to make it more secure so that she will be able to accommodate all her descendants, who will spread in all directions, dispossessing nations and inhabiting cities
which are now desolate.

This section takes up again the theme of xlix 19ff. The section immediately preceding, however, is the great Servant Song in Chapter liii. As already noted, this interweaving of themes is undoubtedly a deliberate technique. In any case, the theme of suffering is not discarded. It is taken up and transformed in Chapter liv, which serves the same purpose as the motif of deliverance in a lament like Psalm xxii.

The summons to praise here is paralleled elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah (cf. xlix 13, lii 9). Quite often it is features of the natural world which are invited to sing, but here the personified Zion is addressed.

In v. 1 Zion is described as barren and as one not having been in travail of child birth. There is irony present here. Zion has certainly been in travail - but rather because of the lack of children than because of child bearing. Despite this curse of barrenness (often ascribed to God's withholding of blessing, cf. 1 Sam. i 5 over against Psalm cxiii 9) Zion is invited to sing.

Westermann recognizes here the age old lament of the childless woman, in this context transferred to a corporate body, (cf. Lam. i 1). ¹ A reference to Sarah's barrenness is surely implicit in the text (cf. Gen. xi 30) especially when a parallel promise of many descendants is given. Paul, at any rate, quotes the verse and interprets it with reference to Sarah (cf. Gal. iv 27).

¹ Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, pp. 270-3.
is the feminine singular, imperative qal from (neigh, cry shrilly). In the second sense, which is really metaphorical from the first, the crying out can be in distress (Is. x 30) or for joy, as here.

is the third person feminine, qal perfect of (or ) which means "bring forth in labour pains". The original meaning of the root is "whirl, dance or writhe", hence the connection with pain.¹

The desolate one ( ) is contrasted with the married woman ( ). Volz is correct to see this as a historical reference to Zion's position as a city and a people, during the Exile ( ) and before the Exile ( ).²

is the feminine singular of the participle qal of (be desolated, appalled). The same word is used of Tamar (2 Sam. xiii 20) and in the plural, of Zion's children, at Lam. i 16.

(married woman) is the feminine singular of the participle qal passive of (marry, rule over, possess as wife). The word (husband, cf. v. 5) is from the same root.³

In v. 2 the metaphor is continued. Zion as a married woman who will expect many children is invited to enlarge the place of her tent to make it more secure.

probably refers to the area covered by the tent, which could be a complicated erection with different parts. This probably accounts for the plural .

which may be a plural of local extension or amplification.  
(See on Psalms cxxxii 5, lxxxiv 1.)

The יִ֣ים of a tent are the curtains. יִ֣ים is a feminine noun formed from the root יֵ֖ס (quiver), to which the connection is obvious. The noun is used often of the curtains in a tabernacle or tent. In Jer. xlix 29 the curtains are listed as part of the accoutrements of a tent (cf. Hab. iii 7) and they were probably used to divide various compartments of a large tent. At any rate, Zion is invited to allow the curtains of her tent to be stretched out. This does not necessarily mean that the curtains should be made bigger, but that they should be prepared and put into position. The verb יִֽטְפָּה is used to describe God "stretching out" the heavens like a curtain (פָּרָה) in Is. xl 22. It is used of pitching a tent in Gen. xii 8 while in Ps. civ 2 it is used of God "stretching out the heavens like a tent".

With regard to יָטֵף it is probably better to take the meaning as jussive rather than imperfect. This gives the literal translation, "Let them stretch out...", which can legitimately be changed to passive in English: "Let the curtains of your dwelling place be stretched out...".  

1Q Is.a reads יִֽטְפָּה which may be a harmonization of the text. According to B.H.S. some of the ancient versions (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) presuppose the hoph'āl

1. See G.K., 124a-c.
2. So Ibn Ezra, loc. cit.
but this translation could have been obtained (as above) from M.T. An emendation to 

\[\text{with the transfer of the suffix to "curtains"},\]

seems unnecessary.

The curtains, then, need setting out. At the same time the tent cords need lengthening as for a larger tent and the tent pegs need strengthening.

In v. 3 a prophecy is made that Zion will spread abroad in all directions, that her descendants will dispossess the nations and people the desolate cities.

This hope is nationalistic in tone. The reference is probably to the recovery of the nation's historical territory and the vocabulary (\(\psi\)) recalls the account of the conquest of Canaan (cf. also Gen. xv 18-21). Volz sees this process as a restoration of the Davidic kingdom which will be a peaceable process, rather than an act of nationalistic aggression. It is difficult, however, to see how aggression can be discounted if nations are to be possessed or dispossessed. The promise of such expansion is to be seen in historical terms. Little basis for eschatology can be perceived here.

(right and left) is to be understood as meaning "in all directions". The words could be translated "south" and "north" respectively. When facing east the right hand is towards the south and the left hand

1. So Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, pp. 270-3, after LXX.
3. Against Knight's position: Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 81-4.
towards the north (cf. Ps. lxxxix 13). In Genesis xxviii 14 it is promised that Jacob's descendants will spread abroad to all four points of the compass.

םָה (break through, burst, overflow) signifies that Zion's descendants will break over the limits of Zion itself, so many will they be.

N.E.B. repoints הָעַר to הָעַר (regions) but if מָה is translated "dispossess" this is unnecessary.

The verb מָה can, in fact, mean either "possess" or "dispossess", an understandable polarization of meaning. There is a similar promise at Gen. xxii 18 where it is claimed that the descendants of Abraham will possess the gates of their enemies. In some texts, usually when the object of the verb is a person (or people), it is better to translate "dispossess" (cf. Deut. ii 12, 21, 22). The reference is probably to the repossession of the lands formerly owned by Israel and now occupied by the מָה. A parallel use exists in Jer. xlix 2 where it is claimed that "Israel shall dispossess those who dispossessed him" (cf. Amos ix 11-12).

The מָה (desolate cities) are probably the ruined cities of Judah, never properly rebuilt since the catastrophe of 587 B.C. These will be peopled again when Zion is restored. It may be that some of these ruined cities had remained entirely uninhabited, for desolate places were often held in awe as the abode of evil spirits. A similar situation is reflected in Joshua's curse against any who rebuilt Jericho (cf. Josh. vi 26).

1. Levy, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 269-70.
Verses 4-8.

Zion must not be afraid for she will not need to be ashamed. The shame of her youth and the reproach of her widowhood will no more trouble her. God, described as Creator (with an impressive list of his other titles) will himself be Zion's husband. Yahweh has called Zion to return as if she were a forsaken wife. It was only briefly (for the duration of the Exile) that Yahweh had abandoned her, but now he will gather her into his arms. His wrath was but temporary: now, because of his eternal, constant love he will have compassion on her.

The message of this passage is in the form of a proclamation of salvation and restoration. Schoors perceives an "oracle of salvation" with several motifs omitted.¹ Such an analysis seems to disprove itself. However, Schoors sees a relationship between this passage and some psalms—which is a more convincing thesis. The theme of lament over shame appears in Ps. xxv 1-3 (cf. Pss. xxxi 18, lxix 6-8, lxxi 1). It may be that Deutero-Isaiah is dependent on such laments for his general style.

The idea of the corporate Israel as Yahweh's wife is specifically present in Hosea, especially at ii 16ff. (cf. Jer. ii 2, Ezek. xvi 8ff., xxiii). No doubt Deutero-Isaiah was familiar with these writings and it seems likely that he was influenced by them.

In v. 4 it is promised that the shame of Zion's youth and widowhood will be remembered no more, that she need not be afraid now of being put to shame.

1. Schoors, I am God your Saviour, pp. 81-4.
The exhortation not to be afraid (אֲנַחֲךָ אֵלֶּה הָאָבַדְתִּי) is probably related to Yahweh's forgiveness of past iniquities (cf. xl 2). The consequences of sin have been felt in the bitterness of the Exile. Now, however, Yahweh's compassion will ensure the end of the shamefulness of defeat, dishonour and childlessness.

The time of youth (אִיוֹנְבֵּן) and the time of widowhood (אִיוֹנְבֵּנָה) are given as the two main causes of Zion's shame.

אִיוֹנְבֵּן is a noun formed from the root יָנָב (be mature). What can it mean to refer to Israel's youth as a cause for shame? Volz is probably correct in stating that the reference is to the whole of the history of Israel up to the Exile.¹

Marti² and Duhm³ are too specific in limiting the idea only to the bondage in Egypt and the Assyrian oppression. Delitzsch limits the "time of youth" strictly to the Egyptian bondage, the marriage being represented by the Sinai covenant.⁴ Again, this is probably too great a limitation. Schoors takes an original viewpoint which, however, is not convincing. He argues that the root יָנָב is the basis of the noun יָנָב (young man) used of Jonathan's servant in 1 Sam. xx 22. This is paralleled in Ugaritic by glm which can mean "boy" or "servant". Following from this the noun אִיוֹנְבֵּן can mean "bondage". This is the only way to explain why Zion should be ashamed of her אִיוֹנְבֵּן, and both references are to the Exile.⁵

¹. Volz, Jesaia II, pp. 131-5.
³. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia, pp. 378-86.
main fault with this explanation is that the conventional meaning of יְהוָה (youth) does, in fact, make sound sense. Further, Schoors' explanation is forced, since the idea of "servant" is secondary. As already stated, Volz's explanation is the most convincing, and this is supported by other scholars.¹

The widowhood of Zion is recognized by the majority of scholars as a reference to the period of the Exile.

In v. 5 Yahweh is described as Zion's husband. As if to emphasize the almost unbelievable condescension of God in allowing such a relationship with a people, Deutero-Isaiah gives an impressive list of Yahweh's titles: Creator, Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel, Redeemer and God of the whole earth. It could almost be said that these titles are a summary of Deutero-Isaiah's theology.

As יְהוָה is pointed it is the masculine plural participle of the verb יָלַל (marry, rule over) with second person singular, feminine suffix. This could be translated, "The One ruling over you is your Creator". However, the context suggests that a better translation would involve the idea of marriage. Many authorities translate "husband" (so R.S.V., N.E.B.), probably assuming the pointing יְהוָה as presupposed by LXX, Syriac and Targum. North believes that the M.T. pointing is artificial, an attempt to avoid a reference to Baal.² This may be so, but it is probably fair to translate the participle as "husband" in any case.

¹ See for example, Jones, Peake's Commentary, 457b.
It is difficult to explain why these two participles are in the plural form. They could be examples of the plural of majesty, but the other titles, apart from םיעבנה, are in the singular. North argues that the yôdh in ליעל belongs to the root and is not a sign of the plural. The original ליעל assimilated this form, inserting a yôdh. A simpler explanation could be that the forms were originally singular and that the longer vowel forms of ליעל were later inserted and misunderstood. (1Q Is.⁶ gives ליעל, "my husband", but this seems less likely to have been original.)

In v. 6 Zion is reminded of her election which is now renewed as if Yahweh were recalling a forsaken wife or a young wife who had been cast aside.

It is debatable whether the call referred to is a recollection of Israel's original call or an assertion that Zion is called now. The perfect form could support either interpretation. North accepts that it is the original call¹ while Levy and most others accept that the reference is present.² The context suggests that the latter is correct. It must be remembered, however, that this is a renewed call. The form ליעל is unusual but not unique. ליעל occurs with munâh elsewhere, and also in pause.³

The "forsaken wife" is a figure for Zion during the Exile. The "wife of youth" refers to Zion (or Israel)

1. Loc. cit.
3. See G.K., 58g.
before the Exile. North prefers to take the third stichos as a question. He admits that "D is usually preceded by a particle in a question (as in Gen. iii 1), but cites 2 Kings xviii 34 as a similar example to this one.¹ He translates,..."yet who can disown the bride of his youth?"

But 2 Kings xviii 34 is not a good parallel, for the part of the verse concerned follows a specific question and is really part of that question. Is. liv 6 makes sense as a statement (cf. R.S.V.). The expression "wife of youth" is not uncommon (cf. Mal. ii 14-5, Prov. v 18).

In v. 7 Yahweh claims that, in fact, he forsook Zion only for a moment. Now he will "gather" her with great compassion.

隼隼隼 (gather) is more suitable in relation to a group being gathered, rather than to an individual, which underlines the "collective" aspect of Zion's personality. The same verb is used in xl 11 of Yahweh gathering his flock. This, of course, is a wonderful metaphor for God's gracious relationship with men (cf. Jer. xxxi 30, Mic. ii 12 and especially Ezek. xxxiv 11ff.).

隼隼隼 is accepted by most commentators in its conventional meaning of "moment" (cf. R.S.V., N.E.B.). Driver derives another meaning, "with little emotion", from an Arabic parallel, but as this is only by metathesis it is not a sound proposal.² Schoors gives the same translation

¹ Loc. cit.
² Driver, J.T.S., XXXVI 1935, p. 299.
but derives it from the root צל(ש) (stir) as in Jer. 35, Is. li 15. This is a possible meaning but it is not to be accepted in the face of a conventional meaning which provides good, or even better, sense.

Verse 8 again contrasts the brevity of Yahweh's abandonment of Zion with the eternal nature of his love and forgiveness. Westermann notes the similarity of this statement to that of the psalm of praise which claims that Yahweh's "favour endures for ever".  

גס גס is a hapax legomenon. Various suggestions have been made as to its meaning. LXX gives ἐν θύμῳ μικρῷ (cf. Aquila ἐν ἄτομῷ ὁρνῆς) which possibly relates גס גס to the Rabbinic root הב (cut off), leading via "slash" to the meaning "fit of anger". N.E.B.'s "sudden anger" may also be derived from this root. B.D.B. and K.B. relate the word to הב (flood) which is the basis of R.S.V.'s "in overflowing wrath". B.H.S. suggests that the word should really be יב (cut off) which, by analogy with the Akkadian ייסע, would mean "strength" or "vigour". Of these proposals the connection with הב is most convincing because: (a) This would be a natural phonetic development from an existing word in Biblical Hebrew. (b) The word is used in a similar metaphorical sense at Prov. xxvii 4 (גס גס).

The contiguity of הב and the verb הב seems to bring together two concepts of divine love, the latter more

emotional than the former. It is doubtful whether these can be identified with agape and eros respectively, as Knight proposes. ¹ ֶד is really "steadfast love" related to the covenant, whereas ֵחָבֵי (compassion) is a more emotional love, usually used of human relationships, but not of sexual love.

Verses 9-10.

This section compares the present situation with the story of Noah, especially with regard to God's promise that he would not allow another flood. In the same way God has sworn that he will no longer be angry with Zion. God's steadfast love is more permanent than the mountains and hills. His covenant of peace will always remain.

In v. 9 ֳֳ means "for the waters of". The whole line then means (if ֵחָבֵי is accepted), "For the waters of Noah this to me" (cf. LXX, A.V., R.V.). This statement implies a comparison without the use of לֵ. Such a translation could be supported by claiming that the following ֵּּ suggests that the reference is to "waters"; and further by seeing the phrase ֵּּ (a flood of anger) as a deliberate pun. However, these arguments are not decisive. On the whole, it is better to follow R.S.V. and N.E.B. by translating "days". If the two words are joined as ֵּּ a more logical translation results: "Like the days of Noah this to me". B.H.S. recommends a further possible reading ֵּּ (as the waters of). R.S.V., accepting the meaning "days", seems to give a

conflate translation, retaining "D. This could only be obtained by reading "D (for the days of Noah this to me). N.E.B., also accepting "days", paraphrases the line: "These days recall for me the days of Noah". The meaning "days" gives a more logical rendering and by reading "D little alteration is required. The word "as" (or "like") can then be legitimately inserted, giving as the best translation, "This is like the days of Noah for me".

In the Noah story God does not actually swear that the flood will not come again, though God's bare statement is equivalent to a formal oath. Similar cases occur in Pss. lxxxix 35–36 and cxxxii 2 where oaths referred to David do not occur in the historical narrative.

In v. 10 even the mountains and hills are regarded as impermanent when compared with Yahweh's covenant. This may be compared with the statement in Ps. xlvi 1–3 where the idea of God as refuge is set over against the movement and trembling of the mountains. The comparison is especially powerful when it is remembered that in other psalms Yahweh is said to have founded the earth and the mountains so that they are immovable (cf. Pss. xciii 1, xcvi 10, civ 5). No doubt Deutero-Isaiah was familiar with such psalms.

In the second part of the verse, traditional covenant language is used, הָרֵעַ being in parallel with תַּחַ בַּת. הָרֵעַ is only used elsewhere by Deutero-Isaiah at lv 3 where it is also in parallel with תַּחַ בַּת. The latter is a promise of the renewal of the Davidic covenant, whereas the context in this verse suggests a renewal of the Noachic covenant. תַּחַ בַּת is the steadfast love given by God to the
people of the covenant. In return the people are required to give their steadfast love to God.\(^1\) נַעַרְגָּה and יָבָאָה are a fixed word pair in the Old Testament connecting two areas of thought\(^2\) (cf. Deut. vii 9, 12, 1 Kings viii 23, Ps. xxv 10, Ps. lxxxix 29, 34-5). At any rate, Deutero-Isaiah sees God's new saving act in terms of the traditional covenant pattern so central to the Heilsgeschichte of his people. Ezekiel also uses the phrase "covenant of peace", especially related to the renewal of the Davidic kingship (cf. Ezek. xxxiv 25, xxxvii 26). The use of the word נַעַרְגָּה in v. 10 and the mention of an oath in v. 9 seem to relate the passage to the P account of Noah (cf. Gen. ix 1-17), rather than to the J account (cf. Gen. viii 20-22). While it is generally thought that the P documents of the Pentateuch were not completed until after the time of Deutero-Isaiah, there is no reason why the thinking behind P's version of the Noachic covenant should not have been current during the Exile. After all, Deutero-Isaiah's notion of universalism is at least as sophisticated as P's. There seems to be a difference in emphasis here from that of Jeremiah in his idea of a new covenant (cf. Jer. xxxi 31ff.). It is true that Jeremiah refers to the renewal of a Davidic covenant in xxxiii 20ff. but his main conception is of a new, inner covenant of the heart, whereas Deutero-Isaiah's is more traditional in conception and language.

2. Schoors, loc. cit.
Verses 11-13.

Zion is addressed in personal terms as the one who is afflicted, the one who is assailed by tempests, the one who has no comfort. The future city of Zion is described in glowing terms as a marvellous construction glittering with all kinds of precious stones. In this city of the future all Yahweh's sons will be taught by Yahweh himself and they will all be prosperous.

This is a further proclamation of salvation. Several scholars have perceived here eschatological and apocalyptical perspectives, but even so recognize that there is an element of realism present. Simon, for example, describes the passage as an example of apocalyptical realism.¹ He claims that the imagery is typical of apocalyptic but he probably bases his claim on later passages which partially depend on this one (cf. Rev. xxi 18ff. and Tobit xiii 6ff.). However, apocalyptic as a genre has scarcely been formulated at the time of Deutero-Isaiah, though undoubtedly there are elements in earlier prophets which also resemble apocalyptic writing. It is safer to claim that Deutero-Isaiah's vision was later incorporated into apocalyptic writing. With regard to eschatology, Mowinckel argues that the future hope originated in the themes of the autumn festival. He maintains that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by these themes as found in the psalms, especially the epiphany of Yahweh related to the defence of Zion.² A hope for prosperity for the following year had always been expressed in the autumn

festival. When the cult was swept away, and disaster overtook the nation, it was necessary that this hope should be thrust further into the future as a hope for a restoration of Zion and the nation. Deutero-Isaiah "lifts the whole conception of restoration into a supra-terrestrial sphere, presenting it as a drama of cosmic dimensions". Yet, the text here does not yield any comment concerning the end of time. However, it is fair to accept that there is a transcendental element in the description which could be "stretched" to refer to the eternal sphere. Volz sees here an eschatological vision but recognizes that several strands of thought are interwoven. He perceives an emphasis on the city and nationalism rather than on the temple or cult and notes that a concept of a "commonwealth" of Zion's sons is included. This is a sound comment. On the whole, however, it is best to see the passage as an idealized description of the near future rather than as an eschatological vision.

Volz wonders whether the description is given in order to show that Zion's glory will surpass that of the hostile metropolis, Babylon. He feels that the imagery is borrowed from the familiar, splendid buildings which stood all round the exiles. No doubt Deutero-Isaiah had this in mind, but it is possible that he depended more on another source for his description, namely, the garden-mountain tradition of the primeval paradise. It is true that there is a difference between this description of a city as such and any

1. Ibid., pp. 138-9.
description of a garden-mountain. Yet, the connection is probable, for two reasons. Firstly, Zion is addressed and the Zion of tradition is a typical holy mountain of the A.N.E. related in origin to the garden-mountain of Ezekiel xxviii (referred to as Eden), the mountain of assembly in Is. xiv and above all to the mythical Mount Zaphon. (See on Ps. xlviii 3.) Secondly, the list of precious stones here is paralleled to some extent by the description of precious metals and stones in the Eden of Gen. ii 11-12 and also by the list of stones worn by the primeval man in the garden of Ezekiel xxviii 13ff. (Note also the mention of "stones of fire" in Ezekiel.) The actual verbal parallels are not striking. (Ezek. xxviii 13 = Is. liv 12; Ezek. xxviii 13 = Is. liv 11; Ezek. xxviii = (?) Is. liv 11; Ezek. xxviii 14 = Is. liv 12). Yet, the details are unimportant compared with the total concept of a variety of precious stones. In a discussion of Ezek. xxviii McKenzie concludes that an earlier, fuller Eden tradition than the Biblical ones may have existed. This was probably fully mythological at the first stage.¹ The accounts in Genesis and Ezekiel probably represent versions of this earlier account. Further, it is probable that Deutero-Isaiah owes something in his description to the myth, though he has changed the setting from the mountain of God to the city of God - which are equated in Ps. xlviii 3.

¹ McKenzie, J.B.L., LXXV 1956, pp. 322ff.
In v. 11 Zion's present situation is contrasted almost violently with her future situation. There is an odd dual reference to Zion as a person and to Zion as a city. Zion the afflicted one, the one without comfort, is also assailed by storms. The metaphors are mixed but poignant.

יִנְבוּ is an odd form. It looks like a feminine singular of the qal participle of יב (storm, rage).¹ Marti prefers to take it as a pu‘al perfect.² The qal does not make very good sense, a literal translation being, "O afflicted one, the one who storms...". The pu‘al perfect is somewhat better: "O afflicted one, you who are stormed...". Dissatisfied with either of these explanations, Volz maintains that the word is a pu‘al participle.³ A few examples of the pu‘al participle without the preformative י do occur.⁴ On the whole it seems best to take the word as an adjective derived from the pu‘al form. To avoid R.S.V.'s "storm-tossed" with its connotation of storms at sea, the translation "assailed by storms" is given.

Zion's stones are going to be set in יב . The verb for "set" is יָבְּד (lie down) which in the hiph‘il can mean "cause to lie down, cover with, lay". יב may be a black paint or powder for the eyelids, a dark or especially hard mortar, or substances called antimony or stibium.⁵ Jezebel made up her eyes with יב (2 Kings

3. Loc. cit.
4. G.K., 52s.
which was probably kept in a horn (cf. the name of Job's daughter at Job xlii 14). The root יָפָה means "to pulverize" so the substance used as make-up was probably a black powder mixed with water to make a paste. A better parallel exists in 1 Chron. xxix 2 where stones of יָפָה (R.S.V. "for setting") are used to decorate the Solomonic temple. It is quite possible that the image of Zion as Yahweh's bride is intended to colour this description of the city, but the city image is paramount. Antimony (R.S.V.) is probably as good a translation as can be given. This substance would make a suitably poetic setting for the stones. N.E.B.'s "finest mortar" is acceptable but rather prosaic. B.H.S. suggests that the text should be changed to יָפָה יִלְלָה (LXX ὑποθέπακκα) giving the translation "malachite". Marti argues for this change, maintaining that יָפָה is equivalent to the lupakku of the Tell el Amarna Tablets and the Egyptian mf(t) which is green malachite. This seems unnecessary when M.T. makes sound sense.

Volz wishes to change יָפָה יִלְלָה to יָפָה יִלְלָה (dein Fundament) in order to obtain a better parallel for the following stichos. Again, however, a change of wording seems needless in the face of a meaningful text. יָפָה is the first person singular of the qal perfect preceded by waw and with suffix, of יָפָה (found, establish). If this is translated "I will lay your foundations" (R.S.V.) it fits into the context. However, B.H.S.

suggests the reading אֱלֹהִים נַעֲמָה יְהֹוָה (cf. 1Q Is.a), which is followed by N.E.B. to give "and your foundations".¹ As M.T. pointing gives a sensible meaning, it has been accepted and R.S.V. is followed.

ןֱוָאִים can be sapphires (R.S.V.) or lapis lazuli (N.E.B.). K.B. defines lapis lazuli as "limestone impregnated with blue grains of sodalith imported from India".² Westermann claims that the substance is a blue glass paste (חִינָה) stone) which was plastered over bricks in Babylon and was called lapis lazuli or azure stone.³ Accuracy is certainly to be admired, if indeed this claim is correct, but the poetic translation "sapphires" is to be preferred as best fitting the general context. Deutero-Isaiah would scarcely envisage his dream city as covered with an artificial paste. The word appears in theophanies at Ex. xxiv 10 in which God is described as standing on sapphire stone and at Ezek. i 26 where the heavenly throne is "in appearance like sapphire".

In v. 12 the description of the wonderful city continues. The pinnacles of the towers glisten with agate. The word מֶשֶׁר normally means "sun". A secondary meaning probably appears in Psalm lxxxiv 12 where the word may mean "battlement". Ibn Ezra⁴ and A.V. translate "windows" because of the obvious connection with the sun. Levy compares the Arabic שָמַס which can be a round piece of metal, perhaps

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1. See K.B., p. 386.
2. Ibid., p. 664.
used to decorate the pinnacles of buildings much as the crescent is used in Mohammedan countries.¹ On balance the meaning "pinnacles" best fits the context.

ится is usually taken to mean "ruby".² LXX gives ἄκρες, a variety of chalcedony. The New Testament gives χάλκην in a similar description at Rev. xxi 19. Here R.S.V. gives "agate" and N.E.B. "red jasper".

The word is only used elsewhere at Ezek. xxvii 16 where it is an article of commerce. This seems to support a meaning like chalcedony or agate - a stone of secondary worth rather than a precious stone. Yet the present context would support either. There is no decisive argument, so R.S.V. is followed.

The gates of the city are made of Ππρ.X~[X]. The root Ππρ. means "kindle" or "be kindled". This seems to indicate a stone with a fiery glow. LXX gives λίθος κρυστάλλου. Possibilities are "carbuncle" or "beryl" or "garnet" (N.E.B.).³ Carbuncle is an unfortunate choice in a poem - so N.E.B.'s "garnet" is to be preferred.

is best translated as "your walls". The word can mean "boundary, territory, closed area, border". Duhm follows LXX (περιβολῶν οуществ), arguing that an area would scarcely be set with precious stones (but cf. "streets paved with gold") and from this that the place described is a castle or citadel rather than a city, because

the boundary of a city extends over the walls.¹ This is scarcely a sound argument. Yet the Greek translation is a good guide and "walls" is accepted as best indicating the sense.

\(\text{ἐπί} \text{τῶν} \text{μαρμάρων} \text{τάραχα} \text{μαρτύριον} \) means "pleasure, delight, desire". The full phrase literally means "stones of delight" which in English would be "precious stones".

In v. 13 it is prophesied that Zion's sons will be taught by Yahweh himself and that they will have great prosperity (\(\text{οἱ} \text{υἱοί} \text{σου} \)).

\(\text{ἐπί} \text{τῶν} \text{μαρμάρων} \text{τάραχα} \text{μαρτύριον} \text{τῶν} \text{υἱών} \text{σου} \) (your sons), even though repeated in the second stichos, makes sound sense. R.S.V. follows M.T. N.E.B., however, gives "masons", re-pointing as \(\text{ἐπί} \text{τῶν} \text{τοιχών} \) which is given some support by 1Q Is.² LXX accepts M.T. but avoids repetition by giving \(\text{τρίβωσι} \) and \(\text{τέκνα} \). After LXX the words "sons" and "children" are chosen in the accepted translation.

\(\text{ἐπί} \text{τῶν} \text{μαρμάρων} \text{τάραχα} \text{μαρτύριον} \text{τῶν} \text{υἱών} \text{σου} \) is from the root \(\text{τοίχω} \) (learn) which in the pi'el means "teach". The word here could be a verbal adjective (taught) or a noun (disciple).² The word "disciple" has other nuances of meaning, so "taught" is accepted.

\(\text{οἱ} \text{υἱοί} \text{σου} \) may be translated "prosperity", but this does not exclude other shades of meaning. For example, "peace" would be included in the sense.

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Verses 14-17.

Zion will be established in righteousness and she will no longer be subject to fear or destruction. Yahweh will not raise foes against her. If any do attack her it will not be his will, but in any case they will be defeated. At the same time it is true that Yahweh has created the smith who makes weapons of war and also Yahweh has created those who ravage others. But no weapon shall prosper against Zion. Moreover, any who judge Zion maliciously shall be confuted. Such is the inheritance of those who serve Yahweh. He vindicates them.

Westermann¹ and Schoors² agree in classifying this section as a promise of blessing. The parallels in the psalms suggest that the origin of the form was cultic and that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by the psalms. The recipient of this blessing was originally the righteous man and this is a typical wisdom theme (cf. Pss. xci, cxxi, Job v 9b). Specifically, v. 14b may be compared with Ps. xci 5a, 10, Job v 9b; and 13b with Job v 25. The theme of safety from destruction is traditionally part of the promise of blessing (cf. xli 3-4, xci 5-11, cxxi 7-8, cxxviii 5). Proclamation of salvation is combined with the promise. There seems to be little doubt that these two scholars are correct in tracing the origin of the ideas in this section.

In v. 14 it is claimed that Zion will be established

² Schoors, I am God your Saviour, pp. 142ff.
in $n\gamma$ - best translated as "righteousness", but with vindicatory as well as ethical implications.

Zion will be far from destruction. $\gamma \gamma$ (be far from) is in the imperative mood. This could be taken in two senses: (a) Zion must not destroy others. (b) Zion will not be destroyed by others. The context suggests that (b) is the correct interpretation. However, the imperative seems odd in company with two imperfects - which is why B.H.S. recommends emendation to $\gamma \gamma \gamma$. Yet, the imperative may be used to give an assurance or a promise, so the emendation is not essential.\(^1\) The meaning is the same in either case.

Zion shall not be afraid and destruction shall be far from her. $\gamma$ is from the root $\gamma \gamma \gamma$ (be shattered, dismayed). The noun can mean "destruction, ruin, oppression".

In v. 15 Yahweh promises that he will not incite anyone to attack Zion and that if anyone does, Zion will defeat him. This is reminiscent of the "inviolability" concept related to the pre-Exilic Zion (cf. on Pss. xlv 5-6, xlviii 4-8). In this and the following verses, Deutero-Isaiah is foretelling a renewal of Yahweh's protection of Zion. No doubt, again, he is influenced by his knowledge of the psalms - or, of course, his knowledge of the Isaian Zion tradition. The main difference between the pre-Exilic concept and the one presented here is that Deutero-Isaiah sees Zion both as a city and as a community.

1. See G.K., 110c.
\[\text{\text{377}}\]

The verb \( \text{\text{377}} \) is often an equivalent of \( \text{\text{377}} \), but in this case it probably means "if".\(^1\)

The verb \( \text{\text{377}} \) is rightly taken here by the majority of commentators to mean "stir up strife". (So R.S.V. and N.E.B.) The verb can also mean "sojourn" or "be afraid of". Torrey argues for the meaning "sojourn" in the second stichos, translating, "The foe who attacks shall perish by my power; the stranger sojourning with thee shall join thee".\(^2\) Ibn Ezra takes the meaning as "sojourn" in both stichoi, translating, "Can there dwell any stranger with thee in my land, except it be with my will; he who desires to dwell with thee in my land must surrender to thee".\(^3\) However, the following verses must be allowed to dictate the interpretation, in which case R.S.V. is correct.

\( \text{\text{377}} \) (from me) is probably a legitimate variation of \( \text{\text{377}} \), so there is no need to emend it as B.H.S. does.\(^4\)

The smith who makes offensive weapons is described in v. 16 as being a creation of Yahweh.

The Qere reading \( \text{\text{377}} \) is to be preferred. The Kethibh is probably a mistake caused by the \( \text{\text{377}} \) in the previous line.

\( \text{\text{377}} \), used twice, is very emphatic and its use reflects Yahweh's Lordship over all creatures.

\[\text{\text{377}}\]

3. Loc. cit.
has a variety of meanings referring to tools, weapons, utensils and vessels of all kinds. Here it almost certainly refers to weapons. It is a collective noun and can legitimately be translated in the plural.

(Deed, work) qualifies and R.S.V.'s "for its purpose" is a good translation. Kissane prefers to take this word with the following phrase, translating, "For his work I have created the destroyer to ruin it...". The metre is against this interpretation and the generally accepted translation makes sound sense.

In v. 17 it is claimed that none of these weapons shall prosper and that all slanderers of Zion shall be condemned as guilty. This inheritance, that is to say the blessing, prosperity and security just described, belongs to Yahweh's servants. It is Yahweh who vindicates them.

The association of war and calumny is traditional, and this association is understandable (cf. Job v 20-21).

The mention of follows naturally from the previous verse. It is, therefore, difficult to see why Schwarz finds it necessary to emend the text to which he translates as Verderben (destruction). He gives as his reasons: (a) Weapons and tongue do not make a good parallel. (b) The initial letters are similar. (c) M.T. is wrong because of the influence of in the previous verse.

His main reason, (a), is partially discredited by Job v

1. See G.K., 123b.
20-21 where the "power of the sword" (哙ihanna) as well as the scourge of the tongue, are listed among other evils. In any case, why change a text which yields a sound meaning?

The inheritance of the chosen people was traditionally the land of Canaan (cf. Deut. iv 21 and passim). Here the list of blessings as the inheritance is associated with going back to that land.

Psalm xxiv 5 makes a good parallel for the sense here. In the psalm blessing and vindication (יְדֵי יְהוָה) are both from Yahweh. This seems to be yet a further example of Deutero-Isaiah's use and adaptation of psalm vocabulary and form.

General comments.

This poem is a further proclamation. It also contains ingredients of the hymn, the lament and the promise of blessing.

The metre of the poem is mixed. There are scarcely two consecutive lines with the same metrical pattern. The poem is probably a unit with two main sections: (a) vv. 1-10, the theme of which is, "The children of Zion and the covenant"; (b) vv. 11-17, the theme of which is, "The new Jerusalem and the heritage of God's servants".¹ For the sake of convenience the poem is divided into smaller sections, the content of which may be summarized as follows: (a) Verses 1-3. Zion, the childless one, is yet exhorted to sing for joy. Though she is now desolate the number of her children will be greater than those of the married woman.

¹. See Skinner, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, pp. 270-1; Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, p. 151; Jones, Peake's Commentary, 457a-d.
She ought, therefore, to prepare by enlarging her tent and by strengthening it. In fact, her descendants will spread in all directions, dispossessing other nations and inhabiting cities which are now desolate.

(b) Verses 4–8. Zion will not fear for she will not be ashamed. The shame of her earlier life and of her recent widowhood will be forgotten. God who made her is also her husband – the very One who is the Lord of hosts, the Holy One, the Redeemer, the God of all the earth. Zion is called as a grieved or rejected young wife. God forsook Zion only for a moment. Now his compassion will be overflowing and eternal.

(c) Verses 9–10. The present situation resembles the days of Noah inasmuch as then Yahweh swore not to flood the earth again. Even hills and mountains may move, but Yahweh's steadfast love and his covenant of peace will never be moved.

(d) Verses 11–13. The Zion who is afflicted and assailed by storms will in the future be a beautiful city, her pinnacles, her gates, her walls, glittering with precious stones. Her sons will all be taught by Yahweh himself.

(e) Verses 14–17. Zion will be established in righteousness, and fear and destruction will no longer come near her. Anyone who stirs up strife against her is not instigated by Yahweh and, in any case, will be defeated before Zion. God created both the smith who makes the weapons and the destroyer who uses them, but no weapon made for use against Zion will prosper and every slanderous tongue will be confuted. All these things are part of the heritage of Yahweh's servants. Their vindication is from Yahweh himself.
As already stated the whole poem can be classified as a proclamation of salvation. Westermann analyses the various genres contained in the poem in more detail. He perceives the typical vocabulary of the hymn ("Shout with joy, 0 barren one..."); the promise of salvation ("Fear not..."); and the lament ("0 persecuted one..."). In relation to the latter he identifies the three component parts of a lament: (a) Charge against God (vv. 7-10). (b) Lament in first person singular implied in the lament of the childless woman (vv. 1-3). (c) Lament over the shame of suffering as in the community lament (vv. 4-6). While detailed analysis of form is not always valid it can certainly be concluded from Westermann's comments that Deutero-Isaiah was steeped in the liturgical literature of his people.

The general interpretation, as in the case of the poems previously discussed, must be viewed against the background of the Exile and the expected return to Jerusalem. The Sitz im Leben was probably Babylon.

There are several other aspects of interpretation which ought to be emphasized. First of all, Deutero-Isaiah is concerned to see the present situation in terms of the ancient traditions of his people. This is particularly noticeable in the citing of the Noachic covenant, viewed as a precedent for the "covenant of peace" which God is now about to make. Secondly, the concept of Zion presented in the poem, a continuation of the same theme in Chapter xlix,

shows Zion as the mother of a teeming population. In other words the Zion concept bears a resemblance to the idea of corporate personality often attributed to Israel. Thirdly, there is a concept of grace in the poem which bears comparison with the New Testament concept. The transcendent God is also the God who shows compassion and steadfast love. Fourthly, the ancient theme of the promised land and the accompanying idea of a prosperous people are taken up and adapted by Deutero-Isaiah. Zion is going to dispossess (םו) the nations and she is going to recover the blessing of prosperity and the heritage that are rightfully hers. Fifthly, Zion is depicted as a glorious city of transcendent beauty which will be inviolable against the attacks of enemies. This seems to be an adaptation of two themes in the psalter. The first is the concept of Zion as Zaphon, the city of the great king, with all that implies concerning the cosmic mountain; together with a version of the garden–mountain of Eden tradition. The second theme from the psalter is the inviolability of Zion concept as presented in Pss. xlvi and xlviii. This is changed somewhat in Deutero-Isaiah because the Zion concept includes not only the city, but also the people of God.

Aspects of the Zion concept presented in the poem.
1. Zion is compared to a barren and desolate woman (v. 1).
2. It is foretold that Zion will have many more children than the married woman (v. 1).
3. Zion is forewarned that she will need a bigger "tent", for her children will spread in all directions, dispossessing nations and inhabiting cities now desolate (vv. 2–3).
4. The early history of Israel (the youth of Zion) and the Exile (the widowhood of Zion), with their shame, will soon be forgotten (v. 4).

5. God himself, the Creator, is Zion's husband (v. 5).

6. The original call to Israel is given anew to Zion, again personified as a woman (v. 6).

7. The Exile and the abandonment of the city are compared with a brief and angry parting from a loved one who will soon gather Zion with great compassion (vv. 7-8).

8. The city is idealized, despite her present discomfort, as a beautiful place decorated with jewels. There is a transcendent element in this description (vv. 11-12).

9. Zion's future will be a prosperous and peaceful era in which her sons will be taught by God himself (v. 13).

10. Zion will be free from oppression and destruction. If any attack her it will not be divine power and any such will fall because of her (a possible reminiscence of the inviolability of Zion concept) (vv. 14-15, 17).

Concepts indirectly related to the Zion concept.

1. God's action now is compared with his action at the time of the flood in that he has sworn that he will not be angry with Zion (v. 9).

2. The Noachic covenant is compared with God's covenant of peace with Zion. This covenant will not be moved, even if the mountains and hills are moved (v. 10).

3. God is responsible for creating the workmen who make weapons and for creating the destroyer who uses them. Therefore, he has control over them (v. 16).
4. God's servants will share a heritage of prosperity and blessing, as well as being vindicated by Yahweh (v. 17).

5. Five of God's titles are listed in a summary of Deutero-Isaiah's theology (v. 5).

Concluding comment on the Zion concept in Is. liv 1-17.

The past, present and future experiences of Zion are drawn together in a brilliant series of personifications, each one dependent on the other. Zion of the present time is pictured as a widow and as a barren and desolate wife, rejected by her husband. The Zion of the past is described as one who once had children but also as one who led a shameful youth. The Zion of the future is visualized as the wife of Yahweh, blessed with so many children that she will need to enlarge her tent. Each stage of this description indicates the nature of the relationship between Yahweh and his people as a very personal one. Yahweh, the offended husband who has been angry, is also the forgiving husband who now shows great compassion. The wonder of this close relationship of God with a people is emphasized by the sharp contrast between the picture of Yahweh as a husband and Yahweh as the omniscient, transcendent God of the vast universe.

The renewal of God's relationship with Zion is compared with the renewal of the relationship with mankind long ago, in the person of Noah who, together with his family, was saved, when the rest of mankind was destroyed. Just as God promised then that he would not again let the floods cover the earth, so now he promises that he will never be
angry with Zion again and that his love for her will never perish.

The description moves on to the new city, as it will appear in its restoration, a wonderful place built of all kinds of precious stones. At the same time the personification is continued in the personal address to Zion, as well as in the promise of blessing to Zion's sons. An era of peace and prosperity is foretold. The God who controls the destroyer and his weapons will not allow anyone to succeed in an attack on Zion. Neither will those who speak against Zion have any success. In other words, Yahweh is resuming his role as the special protector of Zion.

The purpose of the passage is to proclaim a new beginning for the Israelites, Zion's sons. Yahweh has never ceased to care for them. That he has allowed a temporary separation to take place is obvious - but it is equally obvious that this subjection of Zion to God's wrath was deserved. However, the new covenant of love that is to be made will blot out all Zion's wrongdoings and will make her forget the brief Exile.
Other Zion passages in Deutero-Isaiah. xli 27.

27. I first gave to Zion her favour at no cost, to Jerusalem a herald of good tidings.

This statement is set in the context of a trial speech in the section vv. 21-29.¹ The theme of the passage is that Yahweh is the only God because he alone determines the future. The heathen gods are challenged to come forward to foretell the future - but there is no reply. It was Yahweh who stirred up the conqueror from the north (Cyrus) and He has told this beforehand to Zion as an act of free grace. Heathen gods cannot do this because they are illusory figments of men's minds.

What does v. 27 assert in relation to this general message? The verse is a crux interpretum to which several possible solutions have been given. The main difficulty lies in translating יִתְנְבוֹא יְהֹוָה which literally means, "...behold, behold them". This does not make sense. B.H.S. gives four possible emendations, all of which are verbs: יָתַן יִתְנְבוֹא (I have placed, provided); יָתַן יִתְנְבוֹא (I have placed, provided); יָתַן יִתְנְבוֹא (I will assign) יָתַן יִתְנְבוֹא (I have declared). Some of these interpretations are related to re-interpretations of the whole verse (over against the traditional view). Driver, for example, suggests that either of the first two emendations listed above would be acceptable, that יָתַן יִתְנְבוֹא is a legal term meaning "leading

¹. See Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, pp. 81-91.
"counsel" and that נבון (= נבון in Aramaic) means "the one who refutes". He translates: "I put up a first speaker for Zion and I appoint one to refute (her opponents) for Jerusalem". The main difficulties with this translation (which is followed by N.E.B.) are: (a) A radical textual emendation is necessary. (b) נבון is used elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah with a different meaning. (c) נבון does not normally mean "first speaker". Thomas offers a different rendering. He accepts an emendation to נבון (cf. LXX δώσω), interprets נבון as a forerunner (cf. 2 Sam. xix 20-21) and translates: "A forerunner for Zion I appoint...". This translation suffers from similar faults to Driver's. North follows 1Q Is. in emending the text to יָנָה (the speaker). He relates this participle to יִנָּה (utterance) and to יִנָּה ("to speak" in late Hebrew) but argues that it is given as from יָנָה . He translates: "I appoint leading counsel for Zion...". While this emendation is not too radical, the explanation of the form is not very convincing. Mc. Eleney finds that the main difficulty lies in the identification of the subject speaker with Yahweh, because the transition from an address to the gods is too abrupt. The answer is to see v. 27 as spoken by the gods, i.e. none of the gods has said, "The first news for Zion: behold here they are!" Or, "To Jerusalem I am sending a messenger". The difficulty with

1. Driver, Nötscher zum 60 Geburtstag, pp. 46-7.
this interpretation is that the translation of \( \text{Qß,1} \) is still not very apposite. Moreover, Mc. Eleney's premise is incorrect, for the statement fits best in a speech by Yahweh, a deliberate contrast being made between what he has said and (implied) what the gods have not said. Mc. Eleney's translation is even more abrupt than the original. Levy quotes an emendation to \( \text{qñj;} \) (comforter) as possible, but advocates an emendation to \( \text{nñj;} \) (or \( x/j \)), believing that a participial parallel for \( \text{qñj;} \) is necessary. This root appears in late Hebrew as \( ñ\text{j;}zn \) (enjoyment) and is used in the Arabic for "good health". The translation, then, should be: "First unto Zion one gratulateth, and to Jerusalem a glad herald I give". \(^1\) This emendation, however, is fairly radical and the result is not very convincing. R.S.V. accepts the emendation \( ñ\text{j;}zn \) and translates: "I first have declared it to Zion...". The trouble with this and most suggested emendations is that they propose a serious alteration of the consonantal text. None of the above interpretations can be said to be really satisfactory.

A very simple suggestion is made here. \( ñ\text{j;}X \) should refer to each part of the sentence. The difficult \( ñ\text{j;}zn \) should be emended to \( ñ\text{j;}zn ñ\text{j;}zn \). The line may now be translated: "I first give to Zion her favour at no cost, to Jerusalem a herald of good news". From the visual standpoint the emendation is very small and the development to the present text easily comprehensible. \( ñ\text{j;}ñj; \) is accepted as having the same meaning as it has elsewhere in

1. Levy, Deutero-Isaiah, pp. 142-3.
Deutero-Isaiah. 

This verse, then, reiterates what is stated elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, that God's grace is freely given to Zion and that God has appointed a messenger to announce the news. Cyrus is to be the instrument for actualizing the prophecy, which refers to God's action in history. In the context of the trial speech this proves that so-called gods do not exist. Only one God exists and acts and foretells the future. The significance of the word \( \text{ψέφων} \) is to show that God gave the good news first via his prophet before anyone else was aware of it. The use of \( \text{ψέφων} \) here is similar to li 7 (over against xl 9) for the messenger is not Zion herself.


24. ... "I am the Lord..."

26. ... who confirms the word of his servant,

who fulfils the counsel of his messengers;

who says of Jerusalem, 'She will be inhabited';

and of the cities of Judah, 'They shall be built up and I will restore their ruins';

27. who says to the deep of the sea, 'Be dried up,

I will dry up your rivers';

28. who says of Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd,

and he shall fulfil my will completely,
saying of Jerusalem, "She shall be built up", and of the temple, "You shall be founded". This is part of a section about the choice of Cyrus. Yahweh is speaking. He characterizes himself as the God who redeems and creates, the God who chose Israel from the womb. It is he alone who stretches out the heavens and the earth. It is he who makes diviners and wise men look foolish but who confirms the word of his servant. It is he who says of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah that they will be inhabited again, that their ruins will be raised. Moreover, he is the one who has power over the deep and over the rivers; at a word he can dry them up. Yahweh says also that Cyrus his shepherd will fulfil his purpose. Not only will Jerusalem be rebuilt at Cyrus' command, but also the temple foundations will be laid.

As far as the Zion concept is concerned this passage presents the following statements: (a) Jerusalem and the surrounding cities will be rebuilt. This is an unequivocal historical statement. (b) The foundations of the Jerusalem temple will be laid again. (c) Cyrus will be God's instrument in carrying out this programme.

If this and the previously discussed passage (xl 27) are not prophecies in the strict sense of the word, that is to say in relation to events which will come about - then they are meaningless. In a more technical sense Westermann categorizes the passage as a royal oracle similar to Psalm ii and with some resemblance to the statements of the Cyrus cylinder. However, Psalm ii is a liturgical composition

while the Cyrus cylinder is a quasi-historical record. What Deutero-Isaiah is doing is rather different. He is specifically stating before the events that Jerusalem will be restored and that the temple will be rebuilt. With regard to the latter prophecy, some commentators believe v. 28, in whole or in part, to be a later gloss. The similarity between 26a and 28c and the awkward phrasing of 28c, added to a doubt whether Deutero-Isaiah had any policy about a new temple, furnish the reasons for this belief. However, there is no reason to doubt that Deutero-Isaiah believed the temple would be rebuilt and to omit the verse is to prejudge the case.\footnote{1 See Westermann, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 183-6.} As to the phrasing, it does seem rather odd that after three lines beginning with נַחְזַ נ a fourth should begin with נַחְזַ נ . The most logical explanation of this is that the words are spoken by Cyrus and not by Yahweh as the previous lines are. The wāw is awkward in any case and it seems best to follow the Syriac by omitting it. The absence of נ before נ is another difficulty as is the difference in person of the verbs. Even so, it seems best to attribute the speech to Cyrus and to assume that the incongruencies are the error of some copyist.

The first part of Deutero-Isaiah, Chapters xl-xlviii, was probably written before 537 B.C. and after 546 B.C. (See introduction.) The \textit{Sitz im Leben} of the prophecy was probably Babylon at a time when Cyrus was beginning to rise to power.
13. I will bring my deliverance near - it is not far away; and my salvation will not be slow in coming; I will set salvation in Zion; my glory is for Israel.

This is part of a section comparing the impotent Babylonian gods with the all powerful God. If anyone cries to an idol which is made by man and carried on men's shoulders, there is no answer. There is no other god - God is God and there is no other. He has declared from ancient times things which will happen in the future. He has now spoken and what he has spoken will come to pass - for he calls a bird of prey from the east and the man of his counsel from a far country. (Thus v. 11 is a further reference to Cyrus.)

What is to come to pass is then defined in vv. 12-13. The מִלְיָה מְנָהי, who are, apparently a long way from deliverance will nevertheless be delivered. מְנָהי is an adjective meaning "mighty, valiant". In this context it probably refers to being stubborn, so the phrase may be translated "the stubborn of heart". God's salvation will not be slow. He will place ( יִשָּׁב ) his salvation ( יִשָּׁב הַיּוֹהֵשׁ ) in Zion for Israel, his glory. Zion is a geographical location in this text and the chosen people are described as "Israel". This nomenclature is typical of the first part of Deutero-Isaiah (xl-xlviii) - whereas in the second part (xlix-lv) the chosen people is almost invariably referred to as Zion. These two verses (vv. 12-13) can be categorized
as proclamation of salvation.¹ With some justification Jones claims that these verses contain the "gospel of the Old Testament according to Isaiah".² If there existed a school of Isaiah's disciples proclaiming a continuous tradition, which is fairly probable, it is interesting to note that for Isaiah of Jerusalem and for Trito-Isaiah (?) Zion was just as clearly associated with both salvation (גואל) and deliverance/righteousness (נ ISSN ל), as is shown in Is. i 26ff. and lx 17ff.

2. See, for example, Scott, The Second Isaiah, pp. 5-13; cf. Scott, History and Theology in Second Isaiah.

2. Jones, Peake's Commentary, 453c.
Zion passages in Isaiah lvi-lxvi.

It is the generally accepted position of modern scholarship that Isaiah lvi-lxvi are not by the same author(s) as Isaiah xl-lv. Nevertheless there are similarities between these two sections of Isaiah which have persuaded some scholars to argue for common authorship. Such similarities are particularly prominent in the Zion passages, as for example, in Chapters lx-lxii. Snaith argues for the inclusion of these three chapters with xl-lv. The analysis of the Zion passages in Isaiah lvi-lxvi given below is intended to clarify the relationship between Deutero-Isaiah and Chapters lvi-lxvi, at any rate, as far as is relevant to this study. The passages considered are as follows: lix 20, lx-lxii, lxxvii 17-25, lxxvi 7-14, 18-23. The exegesis is more general than that given on Isaiah xl-lv.

lix 20.

The whole of Chapter lix is probably post-Exilic. A date in the fifth century is possible but a late sixth century date is more probable. One of the main themes of the chapter is a criticism of the Israelites for sins against social justice. This implies at least a measure of

2. See, for example, Torrey, The Second Isaiah, pp. 5-13; cf. Smart, History and Theology in Second Isaiah; Simon, A Theology of Salvation.
independence and social responsibility which would be in accord with the situation in Jerusalem several decades after the first return of exiles from Babylon.

The chapter is similar in form to the community lament. In vv. 1–8 corrupt behaviour and flagrant breaches of the moral code are described. In vv. 9–15a the people recognize that they are lost and they confess their sins. In vv. 15b–21 the typical change of the lament to a hopeful note is presented. God is described as a warrior who undertakes the work of salvation. As a result enemies are destroyed and Yahweh's glory is manifest the world over. He will come to Zion as redeemer; he promises a covenant with the righteous and the gift of the divine spirit to them.

God's appearance in Zion as Redeemer, then, is part of a general promise of salvation. This coming will be universally recognized (v. 19) but redemption is only for "those in Jacob who turn from transgression" (v. 20). This phrase differentiates the statement from the typical Deutero-Isaianic one of li 11 (cf. xxxv 10) in making the redemption more specific. However, there is a similarity to the statement of Isaiah i 27-28 where it is claimed that those who repent will be redeemed while those who forsake the Lord will be consumed. Chapter lix similarly presupposes a situation in which transgressors have separated themselves from the devout. יָדְ blobs! is ambiguous. LXX translates "from Zion", but this is less convincing than "to Zion".

The translation "for Zion" is possible, and this would imply that Zion, in parallel with Jacob, would be a collective term for the Israelites. In the traditional epiphany God
appeared from Zion to defend it from external enemies. It may be that in the unhappy situation of post-Exilic times Yahweh was envisaged as still absent from Zion. At any rate, the translation "to Zion" is accepted.

Chapters lx-lxii are similar in many respects to parts of Deutero-Isaiah. It is difficult to be as definite as Westermann in claiming that these three chapters form the nucleus of the work of a Trito-Isaiah who wrote between 537 and 521 B.C.¹ Yet, the late sixth century is a plausible dating. There is a unity of style and vocabulary within Chapters lx-lxii which separates the chapters from those preceding and following. The main theme is the proclamation of salvation to Zion.

Chapter lx is a complete prophecy in itself. It describes the new Jerusalem. There are four main sections in the chapter.

(a) Verses 1-3. Zion-Jerusalem is bidden to arise, for the light of God's glory has risen upon her. Although the earth and all its peoples are in darkness, Yahweh's glory will be visible upon her and nations and kings will be attracted by her brightness.

The main image here is of a city glittering in the morning sun, more reminiscent of the wonderful city in liv 11-12 than of the strong personifications in xlix 18ff. and li 17ff. Yet the passage is not a second rate copy of liv 11-12 but has its own originality. The two passages together form the basis of Rev. xxi 18-26. The background

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may be the epiphany, as shown by the manifestations of light and glory - but the elements of Yahweh as the leader of the war host and of the accompanying natural phenomena are missing. In other words, the epiphany is generalized. There may be a secondary dependence on the psalms of the New Year festal liturgy (cf. Ps. xcvii 1-6). As a matter of style it is worth noting that the opening of v. 1 uses two imperatives, but of two different verbs (cf. li 9, 17, lxi 1). In v. 3 there are similarities to Is. ii 2-4 but the wording is closer to Is. xlix 7, 23.

(b) Verses 4-9. Zion is exhorted to look around and see the returning procession of her sons and daughters. She will be glad because the wealth of the nations and the abundance of the sea will be hers. Caravans of camels will come from all directions, bringing gold and frankincense, by which act they will proclaim Yahweh's praise. Flocks of sheep and rams will be brought from afar to be sacrificed in the sanctuary as a tribute to God's glory. All those who come are like a cloud or flock of doves. Distant parts of the world wait for Yahweh's coming and for his sake they will bring Zion's sons to her as well as their riches.

The idea of kings, nations or all the earth worshipping or paying homage to Yahweh appears in many psalms (cf. xxii 27-28, lxi 4, lxxii 11, lxxvi 9, cii 21-22). However, the immediate antecedent of the passage is most probably Is. xlix 22-23 (cf. xlv 14). Yet, there are differences from Deutero-Isaiah's presentation. Firstly, this description is more detailed than Deutero-Isaiah's. Secondly, v. 7 shows an interest in a sacrificial system and this is not
explicit in Deutero-Isaiah. Whether this presupposes the existence of a temple is debatable but the phrase יִהְיֶה הַמִּקְשָׁב suggests that the temple was actually standing. Thirdly, all this tribute is for the renown (ם'ר) of Yahweh and this motivation differs from Deutero-Isaiah's description.

If the passage is post-Exilic why is it necessary to prophesy a "return"? The reason may be that the first "return" to Jerusalem was carried out by only a small number of Jews from Babylon. Even decades after 537 B.C. Jerusalem and its environs were but thinly populated. The prophet expects a greater number of dispersed Israelites to return, not only from Babylon, but also from other countries both near and far. Thus, "returns" kept on happening for quite a long time.

The description is idealized and represents a hope in the historical sphere rather than an eschatological hope.

(c) Verses 10-16. In the new Zion the walls will be built up by foreigners, and kings will serve Zion. Zion's plight was caused by Yahweh's wrath, but now his will is to show compassion. Night and day Zion's gates will be open to all the kings of the nations to bring their wealth. Any nation which will not serve Zion will be destroyed. Timbers from the Lebanon will be used to beautify the sanctuary so that the place where Yahweh treads will be glorious. The descendants of former oppressors will bow down to Zion and she will be called Yahweh's city. Although she has been forsaken in the past she will be eternally full of majesty and joy. Zion will be mothered by nations and kings. She will
know that God is her Saviour, her Redeemer and the mighty 
One of Jacob.

The גרי in v. 10 are foreigners in general. 
There is a nationalistic element in the statement but the 
whole chapter implies universal acceptance of Yahweh as 
Lord. In 10b there is a definite echo of liv 7-8 in the 
juxtaposition of judgment and mercy. The mention of 
"building the walls" in this verse may date the passage as 
before the time of Nehemiah (cf. Neh. ii 13, iv 1). The 
opening of the gates for tribute in v. 11 is an interesting 
counterpoint to xlv 1 where it is said that gates will be 
opened before Cyrus. There is a distinct nationalistic 
tone in v. 12 where the destruction of nations who do not 
bow down to Yahweh is prophesied. There is no need to 
dismiss the verse as a gloss for the belief in both univer-
salism and nationalism is quite typical of the period (cf. li 
5, 23). In v. 13 the promise of trees from Lebanon for 
the temple is, of course, reminiscent of Solomon's temple. 
Timbers for the temple are mentioned in Neh. ii 8 but these 
are not from Lebanon. "The city of the Lord" with reference 
to Zion in v. 14 is reminiscent of Ps. xlviii 3, as is the 
phrase "a joy from age to age" in v. 15. The forsakenness 
of Zion in v. 15 echoes Deutero-Isaiah at both xlix 14 and 
liv lff. The picture of Zion as dependent on the milk of 
nations and of the breasts of kings (!) in v. 16a recalls 
xlix 23a where kings and queens are described as foster 
parents. 16b is almost a direct quotation from xlix 26b. 
These similarities to Deutero-Isaiah are best explained as 
the result of discipleship by the author of this chapter.
After all, even while there are similarities, there are also differences in style and content, as already noted in relation to vv. 4-9 and v. 1.

(d) Verses 17-22. The prosperity of the future community is described. Gold and silver will replace bronze and iron, and bronze and iron will replace wood and stone. Instead of harsh overseers and task masters, prosperity and righteousness will rule over Zion. There will be no more violence or devastation. Instead, Zion's walls will be called Salvation and her gates Praise. The lights of the sky will be superfluous, for God's glory will shed light on Zion. The period of mourning is over. All the people will partake of salvation and they will possess the land for ever as the work of God's hands, to his glory. A great expansion in the number of Zion's sons will take place and Yahweh will bring this about soon.

The great concepts of peace and righteousness, salvation and praise, associated with Zion in vv. 17-18 are traditional in the psalms and quite central in Deutero-Isaiah. The writer of this chapter, however, adapts the concepts by making them into personifications of Zion's overseers or attributes of parts of the city. In v. 19 the image of God's glory as illuminating Zion is taken up again from vv. 1-3. The brilliance of this glory will make the sun and moon unnecessary for Zion's illumination. This can scarcely be described as apocalyptic, though superficially similar (cf. Gen. i 14-15, viii 22). The righteousness in v. 21 may refer to moral perfection, but it probably means also "partaking of God's deliverance". Neither nuance of
meaning can be excluded. The old promise of possession of the land is restated (cf. liv 3, 17), but in this case it will be "for ever". The increase in numbers mentioned in v. 22 is a corollary to the whole idea of Zion's sons returning both in this chapter and in Chapter xlix. It is not often that אֲלֵהֶם is used of Israel. A reference to God's promise to Abraham is implied (cf. Gen. xii 2). Increase of descendants is part of the traditional blessing.

Chapter lxi has a similar theme to that of Chapter lx, namely, the proclamation of good news to Zion. However, prominence is given in this chapter to the mission of the speaker. The chapter has three main sections. (a) Verses 1-3. The speaker describes himself as anointed by the spirit of Yahweh. His good news is for the afflicted, the broken hearted and the imprisoned. He is proclaiming liberty to captives, for this is the year of the Lord's favour, God's day of vengeance. Those who mourn in Zion, and those who wear ashes and are faint-hearted, will wear a garland, will be anointed with the oil of gladness and will wear a mantle of praise. They will be like righteous oaks planted by God.

The description of the messenger is superficially similar to that of the Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. (The use of מִלָּה echoes the Servant Song at xlii 1.) However, there are differences. Firstly, the writer proclaims redemption but is not himself instrumental in bringing it about. Secondly, the picture is rather of a man conscious of a prophetic call, than of a suffering servant. It is Israel who suffers, but he is not obviously identified with Israel.
The use of the verb 'ψτ' in v. 1 is an echo of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. xl 9, xli 27, liii 7). This announcement, however, is much more detailed in its description of the addresseees. The poetic balance of vv. 1-3 betokens the hand of a literary master. For this reason it is tempting to attribute the verses to Deutero-Isaiah or to suggest that the writer here incorporated some of Deutero-Isaiah's work into his own. Yet, if chapters lx-lxii are a unity, as they seem to be, they are probably not Deutero-Isaianic and it must be supposed that the writer was almost as exceptional as his predecessor. The phrase "release to captives", when coupled with mention of "the year of the Lord's favour", indicates that the metaphor relates to the Jubilee Year in which release was proclaimed throughout the land (cf. Lev. xxv 10, Ezek. xlvi 17). The day of vengeance (v. 2) is probably related to the Day of Yahweh (cf. Is. ii 12ff., xxxiv 8ff., Amos v 18, Joel ii 1). In its earlier conception this was related to the defeat of enemies, but later to the judgment of the nations, including Israel. The use of the word "vengeance" (τυγχανει) suggests hostility towards opponents. These could either be neighbouring nations or internal dissidents, probably both.

Jesus read this passage in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv 16ff.); but the quotation ends at the first stichos of v. 2, unless the rest of the passage is presupposed.

(b) Verses 4-9. The ruins of Zion and the surrounding cities will be raised from their former devastation which has lasted for some generations. Foreigners will work on the land, acting as shepherds, ploughmen and vine dressers;
but to those who belong to Zion will be granted the privilege of priesthood among the nations. They (Zion's inhabitants) will be supported by the wealth of the nations, receiving a "double portion" instead of shame, and rejoicing instead of dishonour. Yahweh loves justice and hates robbery, but they will be recompensed, for God will make an eternal covenant with them. Their descendants will be acknowledged among the nations as a people with God's blessing.

The main message of the passage is a proclamation of salvation and blessing for a people who have suffered shame. Foreign nations seem to take a subservient role (v. 5) over against the chosen people who will be privileged as priests (v. 6). This is probably not to be taken literally but rather as an expression of the special relationship of Israel to Yahweh (cf. Ex. xix 6). The double portion (נְּפָרִים) is an interesting comment on the double punishment (נְפָרִים) of Is. xl 2. The use of the verb נָפְרַת in relation to the land is a reference to the old promise to the chosen people that they would possess Canaan. This is closely related to the covenant and blessing mentioned in vv. 8-9. As already noted (cf. on Is. liv 14-17) the promise of blessing is probably cultic in origin.

(c) Verses 10-11. In reply to the promise a voice speaks on Zion's behalf; possibly the prophet identifying himself with Zion. He rejoices because he is dressed like a bride or bridegroom in the garments of salvation and righteousness. In the sight of all nations God will cause righteousness and praise to grow like plants.
Over against descriptions of Zion in Deutero-Isaiah, images of both bride and bridegroom are ascribed to Zion. It is not really implied that God should therefore be pictured as a female, for the images are general and do not express a strong personification. The image of Zion wearing beautiful garments in v. 10 recalls li 1 - but as in other cases the writer develops the image further than Deutero-Isaiah. The use of the words יִשְׂרָאֵל and יִשְׂרָאֵל is typically Deutero-Isaianic, but the comparison of יִשְׂרָאֵל with a growing plant is not (cf. Is. iv 2-6).

Chapter lxii contains an expression of hope and an intention of prayer for Zion's salvation, with a description of her future glory. The chapter has three main sections.

(a) Verses 1-5. The speaker states that for Jerusalem's sake he will not remain silent until her righteousness and salvation are shining brightly. This vindication will take place in the sight of the nations and kings. Zion will be given a new name by God himself. She will be like a crown or diadem in God's hands. The old names "Forsaken" and "Desolate" will be replaced by new names, "My Delight is in Her" and "Your Land Married". God will rejoice over Zion like a bridegroom over a bride.

Most commentators agree that the speaker is the prophet. He indicates that he will and must speak his message of salvation until salvation comes about. This could be a reaction to criticism of Deutero-Isaiah's message in a period of disappointment. The awareness of nations and kings of Yahweh's vindication of Zion is prominent in lx-lxii (cf. lx 3, 10-12, lxii 5-6, 11) and is typically Deutero-Isaianic.
The new names of vv. 2 and 4 are an adaptation of Deutero-Isaiah's image of Zion as a bride and mother (cf. xlix 14ff., lii 1, liv 1, 4ff.) resumed from 1x 4ff. and lxi 10. The image is presented here, however, in a way which resembles the style of Hosea (cf. Hos. i 8–9, ii 1) rather than the style of Deutero-Isaiah. Yet, the intention and basis of the imagery are borrowed from Deutero-Isaiah. Zion will be no longer forsaken or desolate but will be like a married woman. An original feature is that besides comparing God's relationship to Zion with that of a husband and wife, the sons of Zion are also said to be going to marry Zion (cf. liv 5). It is possible to avoid such a contradiction by emending the text to מֵלֵא הָאָרֶץ meaning, "Your builder (Yahweh) shall marry you", (cf. Ps. cxlvii 2), but the plural verb ought not to be changed without good cause. These similarities to, but differences from Deutero-Isaiah strongly support the theory that the writer was a disciple of Deutero-Isaiah. The new names given to Zion are, in fact, names customarily given to people (cf. Azubah in 1 Kings xxii 42 and Hephzibah in 2 Kings xxii 1).

(b) Verses 6–9. The speaker has set watchmen who will never be silent on Jerusalem's walls. These will cause Yahweh to remember the city until he establishes it. Yahweh has made a solemn oath that foreigners shall not eat Zion's produce: only those who have laboured for it will be allowed to eat it.

The speaker is probably the same person as in v. 1. This indicates that the watchmen (עַרְגָּפָה, not עַרְגָּי as in lxi 8 and 1 Sam. xiv 16) are the prophet's helpers and disciples rather than angelic beings. Their constant watch
and refusal to be silent are symbolic of importunate prayer. The walls of the city were probably still in ruins, but the description is symbolic in any case. These watchmen are also רכמָ̄יִן of Yahweh. A good English translation is difficult. Literally they are the "remembrancers of Yahweh", those who cause him to remember Jerusalem because of their watchful prayer. A רכמָ̄י was an official at David's court, probably a keeper of historical records (cf. 2 Sam. viii 16, Is. xxxvi 3). The aim of this vigil is to remind Yahweh to keep his promise by establishing Jerusalem. In vv. 8-9 the answer to this prayer is given as a prophetic oracle. Reference is made to Yahweh's oath. The appeal to the right hand and mighty arm of Yahweh is a call to Yahweh's power reminiscent of the "war God" formula used in Deuteronomy. Here the reference is a general one, to his ultimate power. It seems from the situation described that some Israelites were living in or near Jerusalem but their crops were subject to the depredations of their enemies, perhaps raiders from neighbouring territories or Persian overseers (cf. Neh. v 15). When the new Jerusalem is really established the Israelites will gather and eat their own produce and present the first fruits as they ought in the Jerusalem sanctuary (cf. Deut. xii 17ff., xiv 23ff., xvi 9-17). These conditions presuppose a post-Exilic date for this composition.

(c) Verses 10-12. A rhetorical appeal is made to the listeners that they should go through the gates to prepare the way for the people, to build up a highway and to clear it of stones for them, to raise a standard for the peoples.
Yahweh has proclaimed to the ends of the earth that it should be announced to the daughter of Zion that her salvation is at hand, that Yahweh's reward and recompense are with him. The people of Zion shall be called a holy people, the redeemed of Yahweh. The name of Zion will be "A City Sought and not Forsaken".

Verse 10 resembles in various respects several Deutero-Isaian verses (xl 3 "preparing the way"; xlix 22 "the ensign"; lii 11 "go out from there"). It is difficult to be certain whether the gates belong to Babylon or to Jerusalem and whether the highway is for the return of the exiles or for a general return of dispersed Israelites. In relation to the preceding verse the balance is slightly in favour of the gates belonging to Jerusalem. The preparation, therefore, is either for a further return from Babylon or for a more general return. The plural "peoples" in the last stichos indicates that Jerusalem will act as a rallying point for all races (cf. the singular and plural of Dv at li 4).

Similarly, v. 11 has a Deutero-Isaianic ring about it. There is a direct quotation from xl 10: "Indeed his reward is with him, and his recompense is before him. (See xl 10 for comment.)

On the other hand, v. 12 has no clear parallel in Deutero-Isaiah. The use of this title for the city seems to be original (cf. v. 4).

This combination of allusions to Deutero-Isaiah (vv. 10-11) and diversions from Deutero-Isaiah's style (v. 12) may best be explained by the assumption that a disciple wrote
this section, and indeed all three chapters (lx-lxii). It is possible, but less likely, that Deutero-Isaiah himself wrote the passage, deliberately alluding to his earlier work.

Chapters lxv and lxvi both seem to reflect a similar situation in which conflicting parties have arisen some time after the Exile (cf. lxv 11, lxvi 5). There are sections concerning Zion at lxv 17-25, lxvi 7-14, 18-23.

The first part of Chapter lxv inveighs against unorthodox cultic practices. Those who take part in such ceremonies will be cursed while Yahweh's servants will be blessed. As a contrast to this vv. 17-25 give a description of the new Jerusalem. Yahweh promises that he will create new heavens and a new earth so that past things will not be remembered. Jerusalem and her people will be full of joy and there will be no more weeping in her. In this new city longevity will be the norm, though those who sin will still be cursed. Houses will be built and occupied by a people undisturbed; vineyards will be planted and harvested without any molestation. The work and the children of the inhabitants will be blessed. Their prayers will be answered immediately. On God's holy mountain there will be harmonious relationships among the animals.

This passage represents a longing for the ideal community in the holy city. This hope is set against a background of disunity and strife. The Exile is past but the new Jerusalem has not arrived. This poet continues Deutero-Isaiah's message, maintaining that the salvation of Zion is at hand; the perfect society is about to be created. Although there is no specific eschatological reference the
writer must have realized that the transformation was not to happen in the very near future. This tendency to imagine an ideal future for Jerusalem is analogous to the hope of a future king who would fulfil the hopes of the Davidic dynasty. Neither ideal was actualized. Hence, the ideal was seen as a distant one. This description could be said to represent a stage in the growth of eschatological ideas. At the same time the blessings associated with the ideal city are of this world, not beyond the dimensions of time and space. Yet, there are transcendental elements in vv. 17 and 25.

There are several echoes of both Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah in the passage, which seem to indicate a continuity of tradition. The creation of new heavens and a new earth (v. 17) is reminiscent of the "new thing" that God promises to do in xlii 19, especially in the statement common to both passages that the "former things" will not be remembered (cf. xlii 9, xlviii 6). The new act in Deutero-Isaiah was release from Babylon, but the new creation here is the transformation of an unsatisfactory world in which the Exile is already a memory (except, of course, for those who were still abroad). The verb יִקְרָא , used here both of the new world and of Jerusalem, is typically Deutero-Isaianic, not only in relation to the first creation but also in relation to the new act that God is about to perform (cf. xlviii 7). The verb in this passage means "create" in the sense of "transform". The statement in v. 19 that Jerusalem will be full of joy and that there will be no more weeping is distinctly reminiscent of Is. li 11. The hope for
longevity in v. 20 is not specifically Deutero-Isaianic but is certainly a traditional part of God's blessing. The description of a prosperous and peaceful land in vv. 21-22 may echo liv 14-17 but not with any specific parallel. This is a restatement of the theory of Deuteronomy that the possession of the land is part of the divine blessing. The gift of posterity who are blessed (v. 23) is also a traditional part of the blessing. The promise of immediate answer to prayer in v. 24 seems to be a reaction against a situation in which prayers were apparently unanswered - a problem for faith in all ages. The description of harmony in the animal world on the holy mountain in v. 25 is without doubt a paraphrase of what must at that time have been a famous prophecy in the Isaianic school, namely, Is. xi 6-9. It is noteworthy that the ideal ruler of Is. xi 1-5 does not at the same time appear.

As in the passages already examined, it can be seen that this section does follow up Isaianic and Deutero-Isaianic prophecies and that the writer uses the typical vocabulary of his predecessors; but at the same time there are new features which show that a later writer than Deutero-Isaiah is probably at work.

In Chapter lxvi there is a similar antithesis to that presented in Chapter lxv. The apostates will be cursed but the faithful will be eternally blessed. In vv. 1-5 the devout of heart are contrasted with those who "have chosen their own ways". Then v. 6 introduces the voice of Yahweh speaking from the temple. The remainder of the chapter constitutes Yahweh's speech.
The Zion poem at vv. 7-14 seems to be a unit which may be divided into two sections. In the first, vv. 7-9, the theme of Zion and her children is renewed (cf. xlix 17–21, liv 1, lx 4). Zion is presented as giving birth in a special way, instantaneously and without labour. It is unprecedented that a land and a nation should be born in one day. Then follows an apparent contradiction – God himself has brought Zion to the birth and it is unquestionable that the birth will take place, that Zion's womb will be opened. Thus, there is certainty followed by doubt. The best way of interpreting these statements is to see the first as a reference to the first return from Babylon after Cyrus' edict – the miraculous rebirth of the nation in one day; and to see the second as an assertion that though all that was promised has not yet taken place, the birth will indeed be fulfilled and Zion will have her many children. The difference between these statements and similar statements in Deutero-Isaiah is that here partial fulfilment has already taken place and disappointment has also appeared. In v. 8 the land (אֶ֖רֶץ) and the nation (נָ֖אֶשֶׁר) are unusually in parallel. This is one of the few cases where Israel is classified as a נָ֖אֶשֶׁר. In v. 9 it is implied by the form of the questions that scepticism about the new Jerusalem has been prevalent. In reply to these doubts the hearers are reminded in vv. 7–8 of the miraculous birth of the nation after the Exile. Then in v. 9 it is asserted that God would not allow Zion to come to the point of labour without bearing sons. In other words, Zion's bearing of children seems to have come to a halt after the first
enthusiastic return; the prophecy of salvation has not been fully implemented. This, the writer claims, is not really the case. God must be trusted to fulfil this prophecy of salvation by making possible the birth of many sons for Zion.

In vv. 10-11 those who mourn over Zion are invited to rejoice with her, to receive satisfaction from her consoling breasts, to drink from her abundant glory (or "from her bountiful breasts").

In vv. 12-14 the prosperity of the future Jerusalem is described in terms similar to the description of Is. xlviii 18-19 but with the addition of the mother image. Her prosperity will resemble a river and the wealth of the nations will come to her like an eternally flowing stream. Her sons will be comforted by their mother, fed at her breast, carried at her hip and sat upon her knee. Their hearts will rejoice and their bones will flourish like grass. All shall know that God's hand is with his servants and against their enemies.

The figure of the river as a symbol of prosperity not only appears in Deutero-Isaiah at xlviii 18 but recalls the stream "whose courses make glad the city of God" in Ps. xlvi 4 and the river which flows from the threshold of the temple in Ezekiel xlvii. The image of Yahweh as a mother in v. 13 is similar to the metaphor in xlix 15. The "bones flourishing like grass" is a peculiar phrase which

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1. On the basis of a Ugaritic parallel; see Jones, Peake's Commentary, 464d.
does not appear in Deutero-Isaiah. It may, however, be an example of the influence of Ezekiel, for there is a similarity to the description of the valley of dry bones (cf. Ezek. xxxvii).

The whole section vv. 7-14, though deriving the image of Zion as a mother from Deutero-Isaiah, is quite different in detail.

The section vv. 15-17 describes Yahweh coming in furious judgment upon all, but especially against those who have departed from orthodox cultic practices.

The Zion passage vv. 18-23 then describes the "evangelization" of the nations and the return of scattered Israelites to Zion. The descendants of Zion will continue for ever and all nations will worship on Mount Zion. In v. 24 there is a final warning to the apostates who are threatened with a terrible fate.

In v. 18 Yahweh states that he is coming to gather all nations and tongues who will come to see his glory. This probably means a gathering for worship in the Jerusalem temple (cf. vv. 20, 23). (The first stichos of v. 18 is difficult but not related to this study - see B.H.S.) Whether קַדְשֵׁי is to be seen in the same terms as Ezekiel presents it is problematic, though dependence on Ezekiel is apparent in v. 19. The phrase "all nations and tongues" is typical of apocalyptic (cf. Zech. viii 23, Dan. iii 4, vi 25), which may indicate a later date for this Zion passage than for the others under discussion. Yahweh will set a sign ( אֱלֹהִים ) among them (v. 19) and from them he will send survivors to the nations near and far; and they shall declare
Yahweh's glory among the nations. Who the survivors are is not quite clear, but probably they are those who survive the judgment described in vv. 15-16. The distant nations are encompassed in the word อ่ำะ (coastlands, islands). The named nations, Tarshish, Pul (Put?), Lud, Tubal and Javan are all mentioned in Ezekiel (cf. xxvii 10ff., xxxviii 1ff., xxxix 1ff.) and some of them are associated with the defeat of Gog's host. The similarity may be coincidental but this seems unlikely. The main thrust of the verse is to state that the survivors will tell of God's glory throughout the world. Then in v. 20, which is very similar to Is. xlix 22 and lx 4-9, it is claimed that the nations will return dispersed Israelites to Jerusalem, using all kinds of transport. It is significant that these will be brought as an offering to the holy mountain and that a comparison is made with the Israelites' bringing of cereal offerings. This and the following verses show the great cultic interest of the writer. Whether v. 21 refers to the restored exiles or to the nations is not clear, though the latter is more probably the reference - otherwise there would be little need to state so emphatically that also some of them would be taken for priests and Levites. This definition of ministers in the sanctuary may not be technical, but could rather be general, the point being that in the ideal epoch some foreigners would be allowed to serve in the temple. In v. 22 the new heavens and the new earth echo lxv 7 but the phrase is used as a comparison here, the eternal nature of the new cosmos being compared with the lastingness of the posterity of the chosen people. This is rather similar
to the psalmist's claim that "the world is established and it shall never be moved" (xciii 1). In this new age, v. 23 claims, all nations will worship in Jerusalem at every new moon and on every sabbath.

The above passage is nearer to apocalyptic writing than any other Zion passage considered. Though there are echoes here of Deutero-Isaiah and of other Zion passages in Is. lvi-lxvi, these verses seem to be a composite, later addition to the collection.¹

Conclusion to the discussion of the Zion passages in Isaiah lvi-lxvi.

In every Zion passage discussed similarities to the work of Deutero-Isaiah have been noted. At the same time, differences from Deutero-Isaiah in vocabulary, style, content and historical background have also been noted. This confirms the conclusion of most modern commentators that Chapters lvi-lxvi were not written by the author of Chapters xl-lv. The most feasible explanation of these differences from and similarities to the work of Deutero-Isaiah (and in some cases Proto-Isaiah) is that there was a school of disciples who preserved and augmented the Isaianic corpus of prophecies.² This is the main reason for the inclusion of this section in the study. However, the Zion passages in lvi-lxvi may not legitimately be included in the comparison between the Psalms and Deutero-

¹. See Westermann, Isaiah 40-66, pp. 418-29.
Isaiah, for it has been shown that they do not belong with the work of Deutero-Isaiah. These passages are, therefore, not included in the final conclusions of the study.
Conclusion to the discussion of the Zion concept in Deutero-Isaiah

This conclusion is divided into two sections. The first analyzes the possible origins of Deutero-Isaiah's ideas in the Zion poems. The second gives a summary of the content of his thoughts on the Zion concept.

1. Origins of Deutero-Isaiah's ideas.

In the exegetical sections of the study frequent reference has been made to the possible origins of Deutero-Isaiah's ideas in the Zion poems. These sources may be classified as (a) Mythical (b) Liturgical (c) Traditional (d) Prophetic (e) Babylonian.

(a) Mythical.

It is possible to see traces of two myths in the Zion poems. The first is the creation myth of the god's victory over the sea monster, variously called Rahab, Leviathan, Tannin or Yam. In the Babylonian version it is Marduk who is victorious over Tiamat while in Ugaritic it is Baal who conquers Yam. In Yahweh's rebuking of the sea at L 2 there may be a reference to this conflict. More explicitly, at li 9-10 Yahweh is described as the one who cut Rahab the dragon in two. In both citations this victory is associated with Yahweh's parting of the waters of the Red Sea. Thus, Deutero-Isaiah historicizes the myth by bringing it into the area of Yahweh's saving acts. Rahab is a pun, being also a name for Egypt. The author may have heard the Babylonian version of the myth, but he is more likely to have been influenced by such psalm passages as lxxiv 13-14 and lxxxix 9-10. The second myth concerns the
garden-mountain of Eden. In li 3 the wilderness of Zion is described as being transformed into a garden of the Lord, like Eden. This is similar to the transformed desert theme which is quite prominent elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah (cf. also Is. xxxv 1-2). Further, in the description of Zion as a glorious city built of various kinds of precious stones in liv 11-12 there is another possible reference to this myth. Precious stones also appear in versions of the myth in Gen. ii-iii and Ezek. xxviii 13ff. Moreover, Zion is equated, not only with the Zaphon of Is. xiv, but also with the "city of the great king" (cf. Ps. xlviii 3), which lends support to the idea that the city in Is. liv 11-12 may also be related to the garden-mountain of God. Deutero-Isaiah may have had access to an early version of the myth, but in any case, he adapts it to his own use in portraying the future city of God, Jerusalem.

(b) Liturgical.

There are so many similarities of form and language between Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalter that it is most probable that Deutero-Isaiah was familiar with a collection of psalms similar to that in the Old Testament and probably containing some of the same psalms.

There is a group of theologically oriented words which are common to both collections of poems. A few examples are: יִבְרָעָל (ר יבְרָעָל), הָנָּבִיב (נָבִיב), נָבִיב, נָבִיב, נָבִיב. The most likely explanation of Deutero-Isaiah's knowledge of such theological concepts when he was an exile in Babylon is that he heard or read the psalms regularly. Other similarities in language are very striking.
The phrase, "Your God reigns", in lii 7 is very similar to the phrase, "God reigns", in Ps. xlvii 8-9, and akin to the phrase used in many other enthronement psalms, "The Lord reigns" (cf. Pss. xcii 3, xcvi 10, xcvii 1, xcxix 1). It has been concluded that the phrase in lii 7 is almost certainly liturgical in origin but that Deutero-Isaiah assimilated the concept into his message of salvation for Israel. Another striking phrase common to both collections is the creation formula, "He (Yahweh) has laid the foundations of the earth", which appears in a number of psalms and at Is. li 13, 16 (cf. Pss. xxiv 1-2, lxxxix 6-13, civ 1-9). A further similarity occurs in passages which praise God's rule over the nations and the world. Is. liv 1-5 may be compared in vocabulary with the enthronement psalms xcvi, xcviii and xcix.

As far as poetic form is concerned, it has been observed that though many similarities exist between Deutero-Isaiah and the psalms, the Zion poems of the former ought not to be interpreted as if they were exact replicas of a preconceived liturgical form. Nevertheless the similarities are striking. The lament form appears in xl 6b-7 (cf. Pss. xxxix 4-6, xl, xc 5-6) xlix 14 (cf. Ps. xxii 1), xlix 24 (cf. Pss. xxxv 1, lxxiv 22), liv 3-6 (cf. Ps. xxv 1-3). (See the discussions in the commentary.) Perhaps a more striking example stands at li 9-11 which is in the form of a community lament incorporating a review of God's acts. The best parallel for this is Ps. lxxiv 12-17 (cf. lxxxix 10ff.). Reviews of God's acts are given in laments in Pss. xliv 1-9, lxxx 9-15, lxxviii 10ff., lxxxv 2ff. cxxxvi 1ff.
Some lament forms are more similar to the Book of Lamentations with which Deutero-Isaiah may also have been familiar. Is. li 17-20 may be compared with Lam. ii 21-22, iii 15, 19, iv 11 and Is. liv 1 with Lam. i 1. The hymn of praise is one of the main categories into which the psalms may be divided (cf. Pss. ciii, cvii, cxi, cxlv). Forms similar to this appear at Is. xl 9-11, lii 7-10. Proclamations or oracles of salvation, so common in Deutero-Isaiah, are other probable imitations of psalm forms. Is. xl 9, li 12-16, 21-23 may be compared with Pss. lx, lxxiv 12-21, cii 12-17. Trial speeches appear in Deutero-Isaiah, as for example in L 1-3 (cf. li 22), which may be compared with the similar pattern which occurs in Pss. L, lxxii. A further form is the promise of blessing which appears in Is. liv 16-17. This is almost certainly cultic in origin (cf. xli 3-4, xci 5-11, cxxi 7-8, cxxvii 5). Finally, the meditative passage in Is. li 6 is very close in tone and language to several psalms (cf. Pss. xxxvii 20, lxviii 3, cii 4, 26).

(c) Traditional.

There is no doubt that Deutero-Isaiah is steeped in the historical and theological traditions of his people. He interweaves these traditions so closely into his Zion poems that they become an integral part of them. A fairly typical example is the old tradition that God is a warrior who fights for his people. This thought is implied in xl 10 where it is claimed that God "comes with mighty power and his arm rules for him". Again, the use of the title "Mighty One of Jacob" in xlix 26, associated with the idea of saving Zion's children from oppressors, may also represent a version
of the tradition. Perhaps the most striking example of this technique stands at li 9-10 where Yahweh's arm is exhorted to put on strength "as in the days of ancient time, the generations of the distant past". The two acts of Yahweh cited are the slaying of Rahab the chaos monster and, less directly, the defeat of the Egyptians at the Red Sea. In L 2 there is a similar use of the Red Sea tradition. In liv 14-17 Zion is assured that she will be protected from oppression by Yahweh, that no enemy will ever succeed against her. This statement is similar to the inviolability concept of Pss. xlvi and xlviii except that Zion is defined as a community (v. 13) as well as a city (vv. 11-12). In lii 3-6 the sojourn in Egypt and the Assyrian oppression are recalled as parallels to the present situation. Though the picture of Yahweh as a warrior is not explicit, the use of the word "redemption" shows that this is implied. In lli 11-12 the Passover and Exodus stories are used as a pattern for the departure from Babylon. It is claimed that Yahweh will act as both vanguard and rearward to the departing Israelites.

Other ancient traditions adapted by Deutero-Isaiah in the Zion poems include the Abraham and Sarah story which he uses as a pattern for the future multiplication of Zion's children (li 1-2, liv 1) and the story of Noah which he uses as a pattern for the covenant of peace which Yahweh will make with Zion (liv 9-10).

Finally, throughout Deutero-Isaiah runs the theme that Zion (or Israel) is the chosen people of Yahweh and that this relationship has only been suspended temporarily (cf.
liv 2). As a corollary to this belief it is claimed that God's law is not only for Zion but also for all nations (cf. li 4).

(d) Prophetic.

As far as the Zion passages in Deutero-Isaiah are concerned, some parallels with Isaiah of Jerusalem exist, but they are not very notable. However, closer parallels exist in those parts of Isaiah i-xxxix which possibly do not belong to Isaiah of Jerusalem.

The basic idea of God dwelling in Zion appears in Is. viii 18 (cf. xviii 7) which could have influenced Deutero-Isaiah's hope that God would return to Zion. It was observed in paragraph (c) that the theory of the renewal of the inviolability of Zion may be put forward in Is. liv 14-17. Moreover, a renewal of God's protection of Zion is quite central in Deutero-Isaiah's thought, though this is not necessarily the same thing. These concepts could depend on either the Zion psalms or on Is. i-xxxix (cf. Isaiah x 24, 27, xiv 32, xxix 1-8, xxxi 1-9).

Deutero-Isaiah shows probable knowledge of Is. xxxv in that his use of the transformed desert theme and the highway theme are close to the ideas of this chapter (cf. xl 3-4, xlix 9-11, li 3) and further, in that he actually "quotes" xxxv 10 (cf. li 11). It was concluded in the discussion on Is. i-xxxix (cf. Appendix 2) that Isaiah, Chapters xxxiv-v, are probably to be dated about the same time as Deutero-Isaiah. This could indicate that Deutero-Isaiah belonged to the same prophetic school.

Is. ii 2-4 is of dubious date and origin, but similar
to li 4-5 in some respects. Yet the passage is sufficiently different from Deutero-Isaiah to warrant the assumption that both writers were dependent on a similar tradition rather than upon each other.

There is a very striking similarity in phrasing between xlix 22 ("my signal to the peoples") and Is. xi 2 (cf. v. 26) which may show dependence. The oracle of hope in xxx 18-23 shows similarity and dissimilarity of thought and could indicate a continuous tradition. The promise of prosperity and blessing for the people of Zion in xxx 23-5 is akin to the promise of blessing in liv 13ff. Yet, there are differences from Deutero-Isaiah which make exact dependence dubious. Again, the "school" theory provides the most convincing explanation.

Similarity exists between the oracles of hope in Is. xxxiii and parts of Deutero-Isaiah, for example, between the image of Zion-Jerusalem as a tent (xxxiii 20) and the imagery of liv 2. Also, the statement in xxxiii 5 that Yahweh will "fill Zion with justice and righteousness" is not dissimilar to xliv 13. Continuation of tradition is possibly indicated.

The Isaiah "Apocalypse" (xxiv-xxvii), which has an eschatological setting, is possibly Exilic, or more probably post-Exilic. (See Appendix 2.) The Zion passage xxiv 21-23 is quite different in emphasis from Deutero-Isaiah's conception (cf. "host of heaven" and "elders"). The eschatological feast described in Is. xxv 6-8 is also very different from anything in Deutero-Isaiah. The passage concerning the future "strong city" of Zion in xxvi 1-6 is perhaps similar to Deutero-Isaiah's hope for a restored Zion. The era when the
gathered peoples worship in Mount Zion, described in xxvii 12-13 is superficially similar to Deutero-Isaiah's conception, but again the vocabulary strikes a different note. On the whole, similarities between the Apocalypse and Deutero-Isaiah are not marked. Once more, the "school" theory provides the best explanation of the similarities and differences.

On the whole then, some dependence on Isaiah of Jerusalem is possible. More probable is the existence of a continuous tradition carried on by a school of prophets of whom Deutero-Isaiah was one.

One of the most prominent aspects of Deutero-Isaiah's presentation of the Zion concept is the personification of Zion as a forsaken wife who becomes a royal bride married to Yahweh and the mother of many children (cf. xlix 18-23, L 1, lli 1-2, liv 1-3). Precedents for this type of imagery exist in other prophets. In Hos. ii 16 Israel is personified as Yahweh's wife of the future, following a condemnation of Israel as a faithless wife. In Jer. ii 2 Israel is to be told "in the hearing of Jerusalem" that in her youth she was a devoted bride. Further, in Jer. iii 20 Israel is compared to a faithless wife leaving her husband. In Ezek. xvi 7-14 Jerusalem is compared to a royal bride and in Chapter xxiii both Samaria and Jerusalem are personified as sisters married to Yahweh (v. 4) who bore sons and daughters but were later faithless. The similarities between these prophetic passages and the cited passages in Deutero-Isaiah are so strong that it is highly probable that Deutero-Isaiah was dependent on these earlier prophets for his inspiration in respect of his personification of Zion.
Finally, Deutero-Isaiah presents his prophecies of salvation against a background of past judgment related to the Babylonian Exile. This is explicit in x1 1-2 ("...call to her that her servitude is ended, that her punishment is accepted, that she has received from the Lord's hand double measure for all her sins"). and is assumed throughout the whole of the work. This means that Deutero-Isaiah stands in a line of development from the pre-Exilic prophets of doom leading to his own conscious reversal of that judgment in Yahweh's name.

(e) Babylonian.

The Babylonian background of Is. x1-lv is obviously decisive in a general way in influencing the writer's thought. The idea of a return from Babylon to Jerusalem and the restoration of the latter are central to the prophecy. No doubt, also, residence in Babylon helped Deutero-Isaiah to take a universal view of God's sovereignty, which he frequently asserts (cf. li 4, l1i 10). Apart from these general considerations there are not many signs of Babylonian influence in the Zion poems, though there are two passages where such influence is possible. The first is the picture of the highway for Yahweh in x1 3. Parallel statements about Marduk exist in Babylonian hymns and it is possible that Deutero-Isaiah had read these. Secondly, the myth of a god's victory over the chaos monster may have been familiar to Deutero-Isaiah in the Babylonian version and he could have been asserting consciously that Yahweh, rather than the popular Marduk, was the true victor over Rahab.
2. Survey of the Zion concept in Deutero-Isaiah.

The aspects of the Zion concept found in Deutero-Isaiah may, for convenience, be classified in four categories. These are: (a) Personifications of Zion—Jerusalem. (b) Zion—Jerusalem, the restored city. (c) The return to Zion—Jerusalem. (d) Yahweh’s relationship to Zion.

(a) Personifications of Zion.

There is no doubt that the most characteristic feature of the Zion concept in Deutero-Isaiah is the tendency to personify the city as a woman. This is closely related to, but not equivalent to, the idea of Israel as a corporate body. The latter notion, however, is specifically stated in several places. In xl 1 "my people" stands in parallel with "Jerusalem" which is pictured as a woman to be comforted, as a captive whose servitude is ended, as a sinner who has been forgiven. The use of the word דֶּזֶּה emphasizes the personal nature of the relationship of Yahweh to Zion, as does the pronoun in "my people". This is further underlined in the phrase "speak tenderly to Jerusalem". A similar parallelism occurs at li 16 where Zion is addressed as "my people" in the context of a proclamation of salvation.

More generally, Deutero-Isaiah envisages Zion as a mother and the people of Israel as her sons, as in the passage li 17-23. In these cases Zion cannot strictly be classified as a corporate personality, though the "mother and sons" idea is very close to this. Perhaps "inclusive personality" would be a better way of expressing the relationship. At any rate, the image of Zion as a woman is very common, but it is not static, in that there is a development from
humiliation to glorification in the ways in which the image is expressed.

The humiliation of Zion is described vividly in a number of places. In xlix 14 Zion herself complains that her Lord and Master has forgotten her. This complaint, as so often in Deutero-Isaiah, is the starting point for a message of comfort. In the same chapter, in vv. 20-21, Zion is pictured as a bereaved and barren woman banished and cast aside by her husband. The children of her bereavement are those born away from Jerusalem during the Exile. In li 17-18 Zion is pictured as a woman who is stupefied after drinking Yahweh's cup of wrath. Her sons also (v. 20) have suffered from the same fate. There is no-one left to guide Zion but she is nevertheless exhorted to rouse herself from her stupor. The idea of a cup of wrath or reeling seems to have been a fairly common metaphor for God's wrathful judgment. The contents of the cup of wrath are defined as ruin and destruction, and famine and sword - to which Zion has been subjected. A further description of the humiliated Zion is given in liv 1 where she is described as barren and desolate. Again, this is a prelude to a proclamation of salvation. The implied complaint of Zion is akin to the complaint of the childless woman, which is traditional. This is another reference to the position of Zion during the Exile. In the same chapter, in v. 4, Zion's youth and widowhood are recalled. These have been cause for shame. They probably refer to Israel's history before the Exile and to Zion during the Exile, respectively. Further, in vv. 6-8 Zion is pictured as "a forsaken wife who is grieved in spirit" and as
a young wife when she is rejected. This parting, however, has only been brief and is to be set against God's eternal love. Again, the reference is to the period of the Exile (the abandoned wife) and to the period before the Exile (the young wife).

The above passages concerning the humiliation of Zion are really designed to give greater effect to the future glorification of Zion which is described in complementary images. The section xlix 18-23, for example, describes Zion as a bride and mother. Zion will wear her sons like embellishments on a bride's garments (v. 18). Zion's land, which is now devastated and desolate, will be too confined for her inhabitants (v. 19). The children born in the time of her bereavement (i.e. during the Exile) will complain that there is insufficient living space (v. 20). Zion will say, "Who has borne these children and reared them during the time of my bereavement when I was barren?" (v. 21). In li 21-23 the description of Zion as suffering from the effects of the cup of reeling is followed by the promise that the cup will be passed to the persecutors. This is followed in lii 1-2 by an exhortation to Zion to put on her strength and to don her splendid garments, to shake herself free from the dust and to take her seat of honour. Then Jerusalem is further exhorted to loosen her neck bonds, the symbols of her "servitude" during the Exile. Here Jerusalem is also called "daughter of Jerusalem". This seems to be a way of emphasizing the personification rather than a reference to a daughter city. The imagery here implies that Zion is seen both as a bride and a queen. There is also probably
a shade of meaning suggesting the sanctifying effect of wearing newly washed ceremonial garments. In liv 1-8, 13, the same theme is taken up. Zion is assured that her former barren and desolate state will be changed. She will have more children than any married woman. A reference to Sarah is probably implicit in v. 1 (cf. Gen. xi 30). The figure of the married woman probably refers to Zion before the Exile. In v. 2 Zion is invited to enlarge her tent area and to prepare for a larger population. In fact, v. 3 continues, her sons will be so numerous that they will spread abroad in all directions, dispossessing nations and peopling formerly desolate cities. This is a probable reference to the re-possession of the traditional national territory and also to the old tradition of the possession of the land. The statement is nationalistic in tone. The desolate cities are probably the cities of Judah deserted during the Exile. In v. 4 Zion is told that she need not fear, for the shame of her youth and widowhood will be forgotten. In v. 5, as a climax, comes the statement that the transcendent God, the Creator himself, is Zion's husband. She is assured in v. 6 that Yahweh has called her as a husband calls a forsaken and rejected wife when he has left her briefly, in a moment of anger (v. 7). This, again, is a figure for the Exile. Now, however, Yahweh will show his great compassion and his eternal, constant love (v. 8). The use of the verb גָּאַה (gather) emphasizes the "inclusive" nature of the personification of Zion as a woman who bears sons. In v. 13 of the same chapter it is claimed that Zion's sons will be taught by Yahweh himself and that they will have great prosperity.
One example of the personification of Zion which differs from the main cluster of personifications is the picture of Zion as a herald in xl 9 where she announces salvation to the other cities of Judah.

(b) Zion, the restored city.

It is clear from lli 1 that "Zion" and "Jerusalem" are regarded as synonyms for the "holy city". In this verse Zion is personified but at the same time the idea of the geographical city is clearly present. When the city is restored it will be a holy city into which the uncircumcised and the unclean will not enter. In the future the ritual purity of the city will be restored and foreigners will no longer control it. In xliv 26-28 it is prophesied that the city will be rebuilt and re-inhabited. Cyrus will be the instrument of this restoration. The temple also will be rebuilt. However, the new city will be planned by God himself. As xlix 16 claims, "Indeed, I have etched you on the palms of my hands; your walls are constantly in my thoughts". Despite the ruined state of the old city, the new Zion will be too narrow for the number of its inhabitants (xlix 19). So certain is it that the new city will be built that the ruins are exhorted to burst into joyful cries (lli 9). God's deliverance is at hand and he will put his salvation in Zion (xlvi 13).

There are two idealized descriptions of the new city. Firstly, in li 3 it is claimed that the desert and ruined wastes of the existing Zion will be transformed by the creative touch of God into a new garden of Eden. Secondly, in liv 11-12 the city is described as being built of various
kinds of precious stones. This description may also reflect a version of the "garden-mountain of paradise" tradition.

There are several indications that Deutero-Isaiah envisaged a restoration of the cultic system in Jerusalem, but he does not give details of his ideas on this subject. In xlv 28 it is specifically prophesied that the temple will be rebuilt. In li 3 it is claimed that joy and gladness will be found in Zion, thanksgiving and the sound of song. This is a possible reference to a future liturgy in the temple. In lii 1 Zion-Jerusalem is referred to as the "holy city" and in v. 11 of the same chapter there is a probable reference to the return of the temple vessels removed by Nebuchadnezzar.

In li 13, 16, Yahweh is described as "stretching out the heavens" and as "founding (or planting) the earth". It is possible that the reference is to the creation of a new heaven and a new earth related, perhaps, to the new Zion. This, however, is not explicit in the text and Zion is defined as "my people" as well as the "city". However, it is probable that the creation formula is used as an analogy for the re-creation of Zion.

(c) The return to Zion.

The return from Babylon to Zion is idealized as a second Exodus. In lii 11-12 this is particularly clear because of the deliberate similarities in vocabulary to the Passover and Exodus narratives. The new Exodus, however, is not to take place "in haste", for Yahweh himself will act
as both vanguard and rearguard. This analogy with the Exodus is emphasized again in li 10-11 where the way to Zion for the redeemed is compared with the path through the deeps of the sea, an undoubted reference to the crossing of the Red Sea. This return will be undertaken joyfully, without sorrow or sighing. These descriptions are idealized and even contain a transcendent element, but the immediate reference is to an actual return of exiles from Babylon. Historically speaking this was a very minor event, but then so was the original Exodus. However, both events are important theologically as being patterns for God's redemptive acts.

Another description of the return stands at xlix 17-23. Zion's sons are envisaged as returning speedily to take the place of the destroyers and wreckers. Zion will fasten on her sons like bridal ornaments. She will be too confined for her inhabitants. There will be so many sons that she will wonder where they have come from and will ask who has borne and reared all these sons. The nations and peoples will bring Zion's sons and daughters to her. Kings and queens will be their foster parents. These rulers will pay homage to Zion. This description is nationalistic in outlook, but implies a universal acceptance of Yahweh's Lordship. Such modified universalism appears also in li 5. The mention of nations and peoples in xlix 22 seems to imply that Israelites will return to Zion from many countries, not just from Babylon. This may be hyperbolical, but it is probably true also that at the time of the Exile Israelites would have been scattered throughout the Near East.
A further aspect of the return is the idea of a way across the desert from Babylon to Zion. This particularly appears in the Prologue at xI 3-4 (cf. xli 17ff., xliii 16, 19, xlix 9ff., xlvii 21, lv 12ff.). This way is "a highway for our God" and it is implied that God himself will lead the return across the desert. This is possibly an analogy with the Wilderness Period following the Exodus, when Yahweh acted as guide through the desert, but more certainly refers to the preparing of a highway for an approaching king, which is paralleled in Babylonian triumphal hymns. (d) Yahweh's relationship to Zion.

One important aspect of this relationship, namely the image of Zion as the royal bride of Yahweh, has already been fully described in paragraph (a).

A characteristic word used in describing the relationship between God and Zion is מַעֲמָר (comfort), as is shown in the very first verse of Deutero-Isaiah, xI 1 (cf. li 12, 19, lii 9). This is indicative of the personal and emotional way in which Deutero-Isaiah saw this relationship. Similarly, the gifts of God's forgiveness and compassion, of his redeeming love, are seen as an act of free grace in xli 27. The traditional word for God's covenant love (בּרֹאשׁ) is used together with מַעֲמָר in liv 10 to describe the covenant which Yahweh will make with Zion.

There is also a cluster of words associated with the redemptive act which Yahweh is going to perform towards Zion. The most typical, of course, is מָצָא (redeem) as used in xlix 26, li 10f. and lii 9, but מָצְא is also used (cf. L 2, li 11). מַקְס (or מִקְס) as used in li 1 and
YW (or YVW) as used in li 6 are also common (cf. xlvi 13, lii 7, 10, liv 17).

Associated with God's act of redeeming Zion is the picture of Yahweh as a warrior who fights Zion's enemies. A typical example stands at xlix 24-26 where it is claimed that Yahweh will recapture the prisoners of a mighty tyrant, a reference to his ability to release the exiles. In li 9ff. there is an apostrophe to Yahweh's arm. It is recalled that this symbol of Yahweh's power was responsible both for the defeat of Rahab, the chaos monster, and for the defeat of the Egyptians at the Red Sea. In the same way, Yahweh's arm will bring back the redeemed to Zion. Again, in li 12-15 Zion is asked why she should fear any oppressor. Has she forgotten the power of God in creation? Where stands the wrath of any oppressor before Yahweh? In lii 10 it is stated that Yahweh "exposes his holy arm in the sight of all nations" in order to save Zion. Then in v. 12 he is described as protecting the vanguard and rearguard of the exiles as they leave Babylon. Finally, in liv 14-15, 17, it is promised that destruction and oppression will be far from Zion. If anyone stirs up strife against Zion he will fall. God has power over all makers of weapons and users of weapons. Therefore, any weapon used against Zion will not succeed. Further, all slanderers will be refuted.

Yahweh communicates with Zion by means of heralds or messengers. In xli 27, it is said, Yahweh is giving "to Jerusalem a herald of good tidings". Similarly, in lii 7 a messenger with good news makes known God's salvation, announces that Zion's God reigns. It is probable that the
prophet regarded himself as the divine messenger and in these two passages he expresses his vocation in a picturesque way.

There are two occasions when Zion herself is described as Yahweh's messenger. First of all, in xl 9 she is pictured as a herald of good news to the other cities of Judah. This, of course, refers to the news of the end of the Exile and Yahweh's redemption of the Babylonian exiles. Secondly, in li 16 Yahweh says to Zion, "I have placed my words in your mouth and I have concealed you in the shadow of my hand...". This is probably a general reference to Zion (Israel) as the chosen people who received Yahweh's words of revelation and formulated them into laws. A reference to a mission to the world may also be implicit in the statement.

Finally, it is claimed by Deutero-Isaiah that Yahweh himself is going to return to Zion. In xl 3 the highway across the desert is for God. More explicitly, in lii 8 the watchmen on the walls of Zion cry aloud joyfully, "for in full view they see the return of the Lord to Zion". As already noted, the highway is probably connected with the idea of Yahweh as a king coming to Jerusalem. In lii 7, it is more precisely stated to Zion, "Your God reigns". An important aspect, then, of Deutero-Isaiah's ideas on the Zion concept is that Yahweh will be King in Zion.
Conclusions to the study.

It is not proposed in this section to discuss the question of the general dependence of Deutero-Isaiah on the psalms — for this has already been shown to exist with a fair degree of probability in the discussion on form and vocabulary in the previous section. At the same time, it ought to be noted that this dependence is to be set over against a difference in purpose apparent in the two collections. The Zion psalms, after all, were probably part of the liturgy of the Feast of Tabernacles, while the Zion poems in Deutero-
Isaiah, though often imitating liturgical forms, were not in themselves originally for use in a cultic situation, but rather to provide a prophetic message.

The aim of this section is to compare the two sets of poems in their presentation of the Zion concept. This will be done under five headings: (a) Use of sources. (b) Similarities and differences in the presentation of the Zion concept. (c) Tabulation of these similarities and differences. (d) Reasons for the similarities and differences. (e) Final general conclusions.

(a) Use of sources.

In both collections myths are adopted in order to give more effective descriptions either of Zion or of God's relationship to Zion. For example, in the psalms the holy mountain myth and the river of paradise myth are used to describe Zion (Pss. xvi 5, xxviii 3). In Deutero-Isaiah the holy mountain myth as such does not appear, though the use of the garden-mountain of Eden myth is possible in the
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(a) Use of sources.

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description of the new city (liv 11-12) and a specific reference to the garden of Eden appears in li 3. The latter is related to a description of the future prosperity of Zion and is similar to the idea of the river of paradise bringing blessings and prosperity to Zion (Ps. xlvi 5). Yet, there is no marked similarity in the respective uses of the myth in the two collections. In other words, Deutero-Isaiah could have obtained his version of the myth from a different source.

A second use of myth occurs in both collections. This is the myth of God's victory over chaos. There is an indirect reference to this myth in Ps. xlvi 3-4 in the description of the chaos of the sea related to the idea of God's ultimate power. This notion is taken up again in v. 7 where it is related to God's protection of Zion. In Ps. lxxiv the myth is referred to directly (vv. 12-13) in a context related to the possible restoration of Zion. Certainly, an appeal to God's power is made. This is quite similar to the use of the myth in Deutero-Isaiah's proclamation of salvation for Zion (cf. L 2, li 9-10). It is quite possible that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by Pss. xlvi and lxxiv in this use of the myth, and dependence on Ps. lxxxix 9-10 is also possible. Yet, his knowledge of the myth could have come from Babylonian sources or elsewhere.

Both collections make use of ancient Israelite traditions. In the psalms appeal is made to the Exodus, Red Sea and Wilderness traditions (cf. Pss. lxxvi 7, lxxiv 2, lxxviii) which were incorporated into the Zion tradition. Similarly, references are made to these traditions in Is. L 2, li 9-10, lli 3-6, 11-12. The most that can be concluded from this similarity is that the writers of both collections were
steeped in the traditions of their people. No necessary
dependence of Deutero-Isaiah on the psalms can be shown.

The tradition of God as a warrior who fights for his
people also appears in the Zion psalms and in Deutero-Isaiah's
Zion poems (cf. Pss. xlvi 7, xlviii 6, lxxvi, Is. xl 10,
xlix 26, li 9-10, liv 14-17). This tradition, again, is
of a general nature and its use does not in itself indicate
dependence. However, insofar as the idea of God as a
warrior is related to the inviolability of Zion concept, there
may be a relationship between the psalms and Deutero-Isaiah.

Both collections have been influenced by prophetic
sources. In the discussion on the psalms it was observed
that there was probably some interchange of ideas between
the writers of the Zion psalms and Isaiah and Micah in respect
of the inviolability of Zion concept. Deutero-Isaiah, on
the other hand, was influenced by earlier prophets. Although
strong dependence on Isaiah of Jerusalem was not found,
there was some evidence that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by
a school of Isaianic prophets to which he may have belonged.
Similarities to the oracles of Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel
in respect of the idea of Zion's personification were found
to be quite strong. Further, Deutero-Isaiah's development
as a prophet of salvation was found to be a continuation of
earlier prophetic ideas. On the whole, similarities between
Deutero-Isaiah and the writers of the Zion psalms in the use
of prophetic ideas are not strong. It can merely be con-
cluded in each case that the writers were influenced by their
predecessors or their contemporaries.
(b) Similarities and differences in the presentation of the Zion concept.

An outstanding theme in the psalms is the belief that Yahweh dwells on Mount Zion (cf. ix 14, xv 1, xliii 1, lxv 1 and passim). This idea is associated with the holy mountain myth (cf. xlviii 2-4). The presence of the ark is a significant factor (cf. cxxxi 6-8) and there exists a belief in the election of Zion (cf. lxxviii 68). In Deutero-Isaiah there is no direct parallel for this theme - which is not surprising in view of the state of Jerusalem in his day. However, there does exist a counterpart or "mirror image" which is the expression of the belief that Yahweh will return to Zion (cf. xl 3, lii 8).

In both collections of poems there is presented the view that Yahweh is Lord over the cosmos and over history. His rule over the cosmos is firmly expressed by adaptations of the myth of a god's victory over chaos (cf. Pss. xlvii 3-4, lxxiv 12-15, Is. I 2, li 9-10). His control over history is illustrated in the psalms by references to his defence of Zion and his defeat of attacking nations (cf. xlvii 6, xlviii 5-8, lxxvi 2-4). This idea cannot be exactly duplicated in Deutero-Isaiah but there is a counterpart in the belief that Yahweh will restore Zion and defend its inhabitants in the future (cf. Is. xlix 24-26, li 9ff., lli 10, liv 14-15, 17). In the psalms also is expressed the belief that Yahweh will end war when he has achieved his final victory (cf. xlvii 9-10) and that he will judge the nations (cf. Pss. xlviii 11, lxxvi 9-10). There is no real parallel for the former thought in Deutero-Isaiah's Zion poems, though
the pilgrimage of nations perhaps implies the end of war (cf. xl ix 22-23), but the judgment of God over the nations is announced in li 4-5.

In the psalms the Davidic kingship is closely associated with Zion (cf. ii 6, cx 2). In Deutero-Isaiah's Zion poems, however, there is no mention of this theme, though he does envisage a renewal of the kingship in lv 3.

In the Zion psalms it is believed that Zion will be a place of prosperity because God's blessing is upon it. A source of this blessing is the cosmic river of xl vi 5. Prayers for blessing are mentioned in the Pilgrim psalm, cxxii 6-7. The theme of blessing from Zion also receives mention in Pss. cxxviii 5, cxxxiii 2, cxxxiv 3. A similar theme appears in Deutero-Isaiah in relation to the Zion of the future. The new Zion is compared with the garden of Eden (li 3). The sons of Zion will be prosperous and have the promise of God's blessing (cf. liv 13-17).

In Ps. lxxviii 69 Zion is described as an exalted place, founded like the earth, forever. Further, in Ps. lxxvii 1, God's foundation stands "on the mountain of the river of holiness". These texts indicate that the root ליות, normally used to describe the founding of the earth, was used as an analogy to describe the founding of Zion. A creation formula is similarly used by Deutero-Isaiah as an analogy for the restoration of Zion (li 13, 16). He also uses the root ליות of the founding of the new city of Zion (liv 11) and of the founding of the new temple (xliv 28).

A common theme in the Zion psalms is a love of worship on Mount Zion (cf. lxxxiv 2-3, 11-12) and a delight in
pilgrimage (lxxxiv 6-8). This is not paralleled in Deutero-Isaiah, though it is claimed that the temple will be restored (xlv 28), that the temple vessels will be returned (li 11) and that Zion will be a place for singing, joy and gladness (li 11). A possible parallel for the idea of pilgrimage exists in the passage which describes the nations bringing back the sons and daughters of Zion (Is. xlix 22-23).

Psalm cxxii describes Zion-Jerusalem as the centre of the tribal league, a symbol of brotherhood and unity. In Deutero-Isaiah this symbolism is also very strong, though the tribes are not mentioned. The common picture of Zion having sons and daughters, who are consequently brothers and sisters through Zion, illustrates this (cf. Is. xlix 22-23, liv 1-3).

The most characteristic feature of the Zion concept as presented by Deutero-Isaiah is the emphasis on the personification of Zion. Zion is twice equated with "my people" (xl 1, li 16) which indicates that "Zion" sometimes referred to the community rather than to the city. These texts may be compared with the addresses to the people as "Zion" in Pss. cxlvi 10 and cxlvii 12. More commonly in Deutero-Isaiah, however, Zion and the people are presented as an "inclusive" personality, Zion being pictured as a mother with many sons (cf. xlix 18-23, liv 1-8, 13). The phrase "sons of Zion" does appear in Ps. cxlix 2 while Psalm lxxxvii presents the idea of peoples or nations or individuals being born in Zion. The concept of Zion as mother is not explicit in Psalm lxxxvii (in the generally accepted translation of v. 5) though
the idea of Zion as the universal mother of the nations is implicit in the psalm. In Deutero-Isaiah Zion is personified as a barren and desolate woman (xlix 14, 20-21, liv 1) who has suffered from God's wrath (li 17-18) and who has been abandoned by her husband (liv 5-8). This figure develops into one of glorification in which Zion is seen as a bride or queen (xlix 18, lii 1-2), the wife of Yahweh (liv 5). Such personifications of Zion as a woman are rare in the psalms, Zion being personified but once as a daughter (Ps. ix 14). Deutero-Isaiah also uses the phrase "daughter of Zion" to mean Zion but once (Is. lii 2). This is similar to the use of הָאָרֶץ הָאָרֶץ הָאָרֶץ הָאָרֶץ הָאָרֶץ in Amos v 1f. More frequently he gives a direct personification, addressing Zion in terms suitable for address to a woman.

In Deutero-Isaiah Zion is frequently pictured as a restored city. It is prophesied that the city will be re-built and re-inhabited (xliv 26-28). The new city is described in idealistic terms (li 3, liv 11-12). The new Zion will be too narrow for its inhabitants (xlix 19). Other references stand at lxix 16, xlv 13, lii 9. This theme is not paralleled in the main Zion psalms, but hope for a restored Zion is expressed in psalms which were probably written during the Exile (cf. Pss. lxxiv, lxxix and especially cii 13-17).

The prophecy of a return to Zion is common in Deutero-Isaiah (cf. xlix 17-23, xl 3-4, li 11, lii 8, li-12). It is scarcely surprising that this theme does not appear in the main Zion psalms though, again, the hope is expressed in some psalms of the Exilic period.
The figure of a messenger to Zion in Is. xli 27 and lii 7 is not paralleled in the Zion psalms. Also, the picture of Zion herself as a herald to the cities of Judah in Is. xl 9 does not appear in the psalms.

Deutero-Isaiah claims that Yahweh will be King in Zion (lui 7). This hope for the future may be compared with the certainty in the psalms that Yahweh is King in Zion (cf. xlviii 3, xcix 1-4).

(c) Tabulation of similarities and differences.

**PSALMS**

1. Yahweh is King and dwells on Mount Zion.
2. Zion is the holy mountain, Zaphon, the centre of the world and city of the great King. The river of paradise flows there.
3. Zion is a strong city which is inviolable because it is protected by Yahweh.
4. Yahweh is a warrior who defeats all enemies of Zion. He has defeated an alliance of kings.
5. The Davidic kingship is centred on Zion.

**DEUTERO-ISAIAH**

Yahweh will return to Mount Zion as King.
Zion will be a new garden-mountain of Eden and a marvellous city built of precious stones where Yahweh will be King.
Zion is a ruined city but Yahweh will rebuild it and will renew his protection of Zion's people.
Yahweh is a warrior who will restore Zion. Kings will pay homage to Zion.
The Davidic kingship will be restored.
6. Zion is blessed by God and its people are prosperous. Zion will be blessed by God and its people will be prosperous.

7. Israelites love worshipping in Mount Zion and making pilgrimages to it. The temple will be rebuilt and a cult system may be restored. The nations will make a pilgrimage to Mount Zion.

8. Jerusalem is the symbol of unity and strength for the covenant community. God will make a covenant of peace with Zion which will be a closely knit community of sons.

9. Zion is founded like the earth. The new Zion will be founded like the earth. Analogy of creation formula.

10. Yahweh is Lord over the cosmos and over history. Yahweh is Lord over the cosmos and over history.

11. Yahweh is Lord and judge over the nations. Yahweh is Lord and judge over the nations.

12. God is exalted among the nations. He controls princes and kings. The nations will witness the restoration of Zion. Kings and nations will pay homage to Zion.

13. The phrase "O Zion" is used as of a people. Zion is equivalent to "my people".

14. Personification of Zion is rare. One psalm pictures Zion as the mother of the nations. Zion is personified as a barren woman, an abandoned wife, a woman in captivity, a royal bride and as a mother with numerous sons.
15. God's relationship to the chosen people is personal but not as strongly expressed as in Deutero-Isaiah.

16. Hope for a return to Zion only in the Exilic psalms. The Israelites will return to Zion as in a second Exodus.

17. Yahweh's presence on Mount Zion is symbolized by the ark. No parallel.

18. No parallel. Yahweh sends a herald to Mount Zion.

19. No parallel. Zion is a herald to the cities of Judah.

20. Jerusalem is destroyed and God is angry with God's wrath. Israel - Exilic psalm only.

(d) Reasons for the similarities and differences.

The items which have entries in both columns are not, of course, exact parallels but are often complementary, the one set of items to the other. The reason for this in most cases is the different "situation" of Zion-Jerusalem which, in each set of texts, is the "back-cloth" for the presentation of the Zion concept. In the psalms Zion-Jerusalem is intact whereas in Deutero-Isaiah it is in ruins. If items 1-9 are examined it will be perceived that in the case of the psalms an existing situation is described while in Deutero-Isaiah a
similar, but future, situation is the object of the description. This indicates that Deutero-Isaiah was familiar with a whole range of ideas which were part of the pre-Exilic Zion tradition and that he envisaged a restoration of Zion to its former glory. It is a remarkable tribute to the power of the Zion tradition that it should have this capacity to be reborn as the central ideology of a proposed new state. Although Deutero-Isaiah may have acquired some of his knowledge about the Zion tradition from prophetic schools, it seems very probable that he gained much of his knowledge from the Zion psalms.

Items 10, 11 and 12 are theological concepts which, in both sets of texts, are closely interwoven with statements about Zion, so closely as to be almost inseparable from the Zion concept itself. The parallels show that the writers of the texts shared similar beliefs about the nature of the God who was interested in Zion and its people. It seems likely that Deutero-Isaiah acquired such ideas by virtue of his knowledge of the psalms.

Items 13, 14 and 15 form a cluster of ideas which perhaps illustrate the most important basic difference between the two presentations of the Zion concept, which is Deutero-Isaiah's tendency to personify Zion. It is true that the idea of Zion as the community does appear occasionally in the psalms, that Zion acts as a unifying symbol for the covenant people and that the notion of Zion as a universal mother also appears. But these concepts are not to be compared in any real sense with the thorough-going personification presented by Deutero-Isaiah, nor with his description
of the strong emotional bond between Yahweh and his people. It is possible that the first germ of the idea may have come to Deutero-Isaiah from the psalms, but his main source for this imagery has been shown to lie in the works of his prophetic predecessors, Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, rather than in the psalms. As noted in the commentary, the reason for this emphasis on Zion as a symbol was the lack of political or religious significance in the historical city of Jerusalem during the Exile.

In the remaining five items (16-20) there is no parallel between Deutero-Isaiah and the pre-Exilic Zion psalms. Concerning item 16, it is obvious that the hope for a return to Zion would not be paralleled in the main Zion psalms because Zion was intact and inhabited when they were written. In the case of item 17, it is obvious that Deutero-Isaiah makes no mention of the ark because, even if it was still in existence, it was no longer in its place in Jerusalem. This does not necessarily mean that he did not hope for the replacement of an ark in the sanctuary of the future temple. Items 18 and 19, the two images concerning heralds which appear in Deutero-Isaiah and not in the psalms, are examples of Deutero-Isaiah's poetic originality which show that even if he depended on the psalms for many of his ideas and forms, his genius was not confined by them. In item 20 it is shown that Deutero-Isaiah believed that Zion had been subject to God's wrathful judgment. This is in marked contrast to the confidence in the Zion psalms that Yahweh would guard Zion in all circumstances. The reason for this difference in outlook lies in the different historical perspectives of
the two sets of texts. Zion after its fall could not be seen partially as God's chosen place. However, the Exilic psalms are conscious of this change of perspective. 

(e) Final general conclusions.

1. Similarities between the two sets of texts in respect of form, vocabulary and content are sufficiently marked to warrant the assumption that Deutero-Isaiah was probably familiar with the Zion psalms. That "Zion songs" were sung in Babylon is suggested by Psalm cxiii 3 but whether this is a reference to the seven specific Zion psalms must remain an open question.

2. The main differences in the two presentations of the Zion concept are probably the result of different historical backgrounds, especially related to the city of Jerusalem. The two main differences are: (a) The description of Zion in Deutero-Isaiah, although containing many of the same ingredients as the Zion psalms, is projected into the future. (b) The emphasis in the psalms is on the city and holy mountain whereas in Deutero-Isaiah it is on Zion as a symbol of the community and as a symbol of the hope for a restoration. This symbolism is frequently expressed in personifications of Zion as a woman, the wife of Yahweh and mother of the community.

3. The Zion psalms were produced primarily for use in the cult but the Zion poems of Deutero-Isaiah, though borrowing liturgical forms, were primarily produced as a prophecy.

4. Deutero-Isaiah was an original creative artist and used the ingredients of a past Zion ideology as well as prophetic and other ideas to create a new, richer Zion ideology.
It is possible that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by the presentations of the Zion concept in Isaiah i-xxxix, possibly through the medium of an Isaianic school, but the influence of the Zion psalms is more clearly marked.
List of abbreviations used.

A.N.E. Ancient Near East
Ang. T.R. Anglican Theological Review
A.V. Authorized Version
B.H.S. Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
Bib. Res. Biblical Research
Bib. Z. Biblische Zeitschrift
B.W.A.N.T. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
B.Z.A.W. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
C.B.Q. Catholic Biblical Quarterly
C.M.L. Canaanite Myths and Legends by G.R. Driver
D.I.O.T. Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament by N. Snaith
D.Z.D.K. Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten (B.Z.A.W.) by G. Wanke
Ex. T. Expository Times
G.K. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, ed. E. Kautsch, revised by A.E. Cowley
H.T.C. He That Cometh by S. Mowinckel
H.U.C.A. Hebrew Union College Annual
J.B.L. Journal of Biblical Literature
J.T.S. Journal of Theological Studies
K.B. Koehler L. and Baumgartner W., Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros
L.U.A. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift
LXX  Septuagint
M.T.  Masoretic Text
N.E.B.  New English Bible
O.T.M.S.  Old Testament and Modern Study by H.H. Rowley
P.B.  Prayer Book
P.G.P.  The Praise of God in the Psalms by C. Westermann
P.I.W.  Psalms in Israel's Worship by S. Mowinckel
R.P.  Revised Psalter
R.S.D.O.T.  The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament by A.S. Kapelrud
R.S.V.  Revised Standard Version
R.V.  Revised Version
1Q Is.\textsuperscript{a}  The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Kark's Monastery, Vol. I, 1950
1Q Is.\textsuperscript{b}  The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University, 1955
S.K.  Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel by A.R. Johnson
T.O.T.M.  The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God by A.R. Johnson
V.T.  Vetus Testamentum
Z.A.W.  Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
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A. Psalms briefly listed.

1. An Asaphite Psalms.

Why do you cast us aside continually, O God?
Why does your anger fizzle against the sheep of your pasture?

2. Remember your assembly which you brought into being long ago;
remember that you redeemed the tribe of your possession;
remember Mount Zion where you have dwelt.

3. Now at least be exalted;
may the enemy who has destroyed all in your sanctuary
be snuffed out for everlasting destruction.

4. Your adversaries roared within your cham; place;
they set up a sign of death.

5. The way to the ascent seemed
like a confusion of briers; a city of desolations;
and then its gates; they smashed completely to pieces with axe and blunder.

6. They set fire to your sanctuary;
they desecrated to the ground the dwelling place
of your name.
Appendix 1.

This appendix contains a detailed exegesis of four short passages from psalms other than Zion psalms. These, however, are felt to be relevant to the study and are, therefore, included for the sake of completeness.

A. Psalm lxxiv 1-8.

1. An Asaphite maskil.

Why do you cast us aside continually, O God? Why does your anger fume against the sheep of your pasture?

2. Remember your assembly which you brought into being long ago; remember that you redeemed the tribe of your possession; remember Mount Zion where you have dwelt.

3. Now at last be exalted; may the enemy who has destroyed all in your sanctuary be smitten to everlasting destruction!

4. Your adversaries roared within your chosen place; they set up a sign of death.

5. The way to the ascent seemed like a confusion of timbers, a city of desolations;

6. and then its gates they smashed completely to pieces with axe and hammer.

7. They set fire to your sanctuary; they desecrated to the ground the dwelling place of your name.
8. They said in their hearts, "Let us treat them harshly!"

They burned all God's chosen places in the land.

Verses 1b-3.

These verses constitute a complaint to God about his treatment of the chosen people, for it seems to the writer that for some time past God has abandoned his elect because of his anger. An appeal is made to God to show his power at long last by putting his enemies to shame. The basis of both the complaint and the appeal is the belief that the Israelites had always held a special relationship with God. The psalmist reminds God of this by referring to the two vital strands in the Heilsgeschichte tradition, namely, the redemption of Israel in Egypt when the "assembly" was first formed, and the no less powerful Zion tradition of God's continued presence with his people.

In v. 1 it is shown that the Israelites have been cast aside (יוצֵל), this being the opposite of election. This state of affairs seems to be permanent (יוצֵל). This compressed statement is awkward to phrase in translation and N.E.B. overcomes it by making a separate question: "Is it for ever?" However, if יוצֵל is hyperbolical for "a long time", it is fair to translate "continually".

ψυχ (smoke) is a common metaphor for God's way of expressing his anger (cf. Deut. xxix 20, Psalm xviii 8).

רַגְּלֵי יָם (the sheep of your pasture) uses a common, but very effective analogy to describe God's care for his people (cf. Psalms lxxix 13, c 3, Jer. xxiii 1,
Ezek. xxxiv 31). In Zech. xi 7 the contrasting "flock doomed to be slain" is used very effectively.

In v. 2 God is reminded that he brought his people into being long ago, that he redeemed them and made them his special "tribe" and that he dwelt with them on Mount Zion.

The key words are מְלִיטֵם and מִשְׁמַרְיָם, both of which are used in the Song of Deliverance in Exodus xv (cf. vv. 13, 16). Both words are technical and are related to the tradition of the origin of the chosen people. מְלִיטֵם is also used in the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii 6) and refers to the creation of Israel as a people. The word can almost mean the same as מְשָׁבֵת, as in Is. xi 11 where it is used of God saving his people a second time. However, the meaning "create" or "bring into being" is more suitable in this verse and it is indisputable that מְלִיטֵם can have such a meaning (cf. Gen. xiv 19). This is supported by the use of any in the Ugaritic. For example, Driver translates בּמ יָגוּנִי as "I may bear sons" (Keret I ii 4). מִשְׁמַרְיָם can mean "redeem" or "act as a kinsman". The latter meaning especially applies to marrying a kinsman's widow (cf. Ruth iii 13). It is probable that the two meanings are very closely connected.

The meaning "redeem" is applied in a range of situations but when used technically, as here, it refers to the redemption of Israel (cf. Psalms lxxvii 16, lxxviii 35). Deutero-Isaiah is particularly fond of describing Yahweh as מְשָׁבֵת (cf. Is. xli 14 and passim).

is used not infrequently in the psalms to refer to ancient times and is probably intended here to refer to the time of Moses.

( your assembly) is derived from (appoint) as is in v. 4. can mean an appointed or chosen group of people while refers to the time or place where such a group would assemble. is used frequently in Exodus and Numbers to describe the Israelites as a people. This word again is a technical one, the reference being to Israel as the company of the Exodus. The phrase is especially common.

The word (tribe) must refer to the whole nation. It is a description which distinguishes Israel as a nation from other peoples. This is akin to the use of (family) in Amos iii 1 to describe the whole people.

In the third stichos is used as a relative pronoun. Such a poetic use of is found also in Psalms lxxviii 14, civ 8. Delitzsch testifies that this is similar to Ethiopic usage.

In v. 3 there is an appeal to God to exalt himself so that the enemies who have brought destruction to the holy place may themselves be smitten.

As the Masoretic text stands, the first stichos literally means, "Lift up your feet to the ruins of eternity". While the poetic imagination can make some sense of this, the phrase does not seem very apt and the relationship with the second stichos is far from clear. Above all, the clumsy

anthropomorphism which invites God to "lift up his feet" is not at all convincing and derives no support from Nahum iii 1 as some scholars would suggest. It is suspicious that LXX reads τὰς Χειράς αὐτων (ἡ δὲ ?) and that Syriac presupposes _HAND463 , as if there is uncertainty about the meaning. The phrase could, of course, be metaphorical for "bestir yourself". An alternative would be to read подобие 0-60 (9? ) which N.E.B. does, but then there is the problem of the suffix. Briggs takes _HAND463 as the subject of _HAND463 which he parses as the third person singular of the hiph'il perfect. This does not give agreement in number between subject and verb. At any rate, he translates, "...which thy footsteps exalted to everlasting dignity". 1

 Glacier is a noun meaning "deceptions" denominative from _HAND463 (beguile), according to B.D.B. Yet, as this does not make sense in either of its two appearances (cf. Psalm lxxiii 18), B.D.B. suggests Glacier from Glacier as the reading. 2 This would give the meaning "ruins" which is accepted by R.S.V. and N.E.B. K.B. suggests that the word is an artificial, amplified form of Glacier , meaning "desolations". 3 Briggs, on the other hand, accepts the word as equivalent to Glacier , meaning "elevation" or "dignity". Barnes connects the word with Glacier (be a creditor) as used in Psalm lxxxix 23 ( Glacier ) , obtaining the translation, "Lift up thy feet for eternal retributions". 4

2. B.D.B., pp. 674 and 996.
Mowinckel accepts the meaning "ruins" and sensibly takes 'יִשָּׁכֶל to be metaphorical for "long standing".\textsuperscript{1}

However, none of the above solutions seems very satisfactory. It is proposed, therefore, that the following interpretation should be followed. This is based on a reading of the text as follows:

\begin{quote}
\textit{נִשָּׁכֶל הִקָּשֶּׁל רֹצֵה} וְלֹּא נִבָּא לְכָרְנַּהترجمت، "Now at last be exalted; may he be smitten (i.e. may one smite) to eternal destruction, the enemy who...". 'יִשָּׁכֶל is taken as the masculine singular of the imperative niph'\'al of 'יִשָּׁכֶל (be exalted). The imperfect niph'\'al of the verb is used with this meaning in Is. xxxiii 10. It is assumed that the yodh of 'יִשָּׁכֶל is secondary to the original text. 'יִשָּׁכֶל is used in the sense of "now at length".\textsuperscript{2} הִקָּשֶּׁל is taken to mean "ruin" or "destruction", a poetic plural, and here, as in Psalm lxxiii 18, it refers to people rather than the ruins of the city. Further, the awkward 'יִשָּׁכֶל is avoided. 'יִשָּׁכֶל is taken to be the third person masculine of the jussive hiph'\'il (shortened form of imperfect) of 'יִשָּׁכֶל, with impersonal subject for passive. This interpretation seems to provide a logical sequence of thought.
\end{quote}

\textbf{Verses 4-8.}

This section describes in detail the destruction of the temple. All the sacred places throughout the land are

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. Mowinckel, P.I.W. I, 198.
  \item 2. B.D.B., p. 822; K.B., p. 771.
\end{itemize}
likewise burned down. The description follows a logical sequence. In v. 4, by way of introduction, the enemies are described as entering the chosen place, roaring like wild beasts, bringing death as their sign. In v. 5 the road to the processional ascent is described as a desolate city where the buildings on either side have been crushed to a tangled mass of timbers. In v. 6 the gates at the end of the processional ascent are smashed to pieces with axe and hammer. Then in v. 7 the sanctuary itself is burned down, desecrated to the ground. Finally, moving away from Jerusalem, the enemies systematically destroy all the sacred sites in the area.

In v. 4 it is stated that the enemies roared (רלאו) through the chosen place. This verb is used in Psalm civ 21 to describe young lions roaring for their prey. The metaphor here, then, compares the enemies to wild beasts.

*7L\(\) has been the cause of speculation. The word is derived from *7L (appoint) and can mean "appointed time" (cf. Psalms lxxv 3, cii 14, civ 19), "appointed place" (cf. Lam. ii 6, Zeph. iii 18) or "appointed meeting" (cf. Lam. i 15). The context seems to rule out the first of these meanings. R.S.V., N.E.B. and R.P. favour "holy place". Many scholars accept such a translation. On the other hand, it is possible to sustain the translation "appointed assembly". For example, P.B. and A.V. translate "congregations".

2. See for example, G.W. Anderson, Peake's Commentary, 374b; Kirkpatrick, The Psalms, pp. 443-5.
accepting the plural which appears in some manuscripts. R.V. gives "assembly". LXX gives τῆς ἑορτῆς σου (of your feast). Barnes argues for this interpretation, believing that the word refers to the assembly at one of the main feasts. However, when the description as a whole is considered, it is probable that the word refers to a place rather than to a gathering (cf. v. 8). Further, as the nuance of "appointment" ought to be included, an adjective like "appointed" or "chosen" should be attached.

The second stichos, as it stands, claims that the enemies "set up their signs for signs". Kirkpatrick and Eaton argue that these are military standards (cf. Num. ii 2). Delitzsch claims that the signs are religious emblems of the Maccabean period (cf. 1 Macc. i 45-49, 54, 59, iii 48). If the signs are religious, they need not necessarily be Maccabean. On the basis of Ezek. vii 10 it could be argued that religious signs were put into the temple during the Exile. Yet, as Weiser correctly notes, the double use of ἱνα is most peculiar. This scholar, in fact, omits ἱνα as being ditto graphical. It is probable, however, that there is an error in the text. It is suggested that the original text was ἵνα ἱνα ἱνα ἱνα (they set up a sign of death). Such an interpretation is supported by the use of the phrase ἱνα in

1. Loc. cit.
2. Loc. cit.
the sister Psalm lxxix at v. 11 (cf. Psalms xxxiv 22 and cii 21). This is a poetic plural which is, however, logically related to the number of dead. (The use of אָמָה is not dissimilar.1) Finally, that such a symbolic phrase could be part of Hebrew usage is supported by the words לָאָמָה לֵי in Prov. xvi 14. In other words, אָמָה is not necessarily a visible insignia, but is rather a metaphor to indicate the effect of the enemies' presence.

It has long been recognized that there is something wrong with the text of v. 5. Weiser, indeed, omits both vv. 5 and 6 as textually corrupt.2 Kirkpatrick is typical of those scholars who attempt to translate the text as it stands, assuming that there is an obscure simile comparing the enemies' destruction of the temple to men wielding axes in a wood.3 He translates: "They seem as men that lift up axes in a thicket of trees". The only emendation is to change לָאָמָה to the plural. There is some support for such a comparison in Jer. xlvi 22-3. Emerton, after a close analysis of the text, agrees.4 R.S.V. emends לָאָמָה to לָאָמָא, as suggested in B.H.S. and as implied by Targum, translating, "At the upper entrance (קָּרָה) they hacked the wooden trellis (שָׁבֵעִים) with axes". N.E.B., claiming that the Hebrew is unintelligible, emends to לָאָמָא, moves קָּרָה and translates, "They brought it crashing down, like workmen plying their axes in the forest". A.V. and

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2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
P.B. are fairly literal but not very comprehensible. R.V. agrees with Kirkpatrick’s rendering. R.P. paraphrases and joins v. 5 to v. 6: "Even as hewers of timber in a thick wood: so have they broken down the carved work with axes and hammers". LXX presupposes αὐτοὶ ἔγραψαν (καὶ οὐκ ἔγραψαν), attaches v. 5a to v. 4 and v. 5b to v. 6, rendering, "...they have set up their standards for signs, ignorantly as it were in the entrance (καὶ ἔφρασαν) above; they cut down its doors (τὰς θύρας = καὶ ἔφρασαν;) at once with axes as in a wood of trees...". Oesterley, in a similar way, reads ἔγραψαν and attaches the phrase to v. 4. Also, he emends ἔφρασαν to ἔφεραν and translates, "...their emblems, emblems we know not. Like one lifting on high axes in forest thickets, they have hewn down its carvings...". Other suggested emendations include ἔργα (or ἔργα ἔφρασαν or ἔργα ἔφεραν) which gives "foliage" as a parallel for ἔφρασαν. B.H.S. also suggests emending ἔφρασαν to ἔφεραν. (See below.)

The above solutions, on the whole, do not provide any convincing translation. It is suggested that the original text may have been as follows:

The emendations to the consonantal text are minimal. Even the alteration of 𐤆 to 𐤇 is not absolutely essential in order to sustain the interpretation given below. 𐤇 is taken to mean "it seemed", accepting that the niph’al of 𐤇 can

be used of perception by the eye. The imperfect is used in vv. 5-6 as opposed to the rest of this section, possibly to heighten the effect of the description. The reference, however, is to the past. means "as the way". The double use of in comparisons is quite common.  

is taken to refer to the entry or way to the processional steps in front of the temple and this is imagined to be a street with houses on either side. 2 Kings xxv 9 testifies to the fact that the whole town was put to the sack in 587 B.C. and that all the houses were destroyed. This accounts for the imagery in the second stichos. can mean the "ascent" to a city or building. Ezek. xl 6 conceives that the future temple will have steps (sic) to the gateway. Mishnah describes fifteen steps corresponding to the fifteen Psalms of Ascent, leading from the Court of Women to the Court of Israelites. in the titles of these psalms may well refer to processional ascents up the temple steps. From this it can be deduced that in this verse was a technical name for the steps leading to the temple gates. is from the verb (interweave) and can certainly mean "thicket", but here surely, it refers to the interwoven mass of tangled timbers in the ruins. This nuance of meaning in is apparent in Nah. i 10 and Job viii 17. can refer to

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2. Ibid., pp. 453-5.
4. See Mowinckel, P.I.W. II, pp. 208-9; cf. the discussion of the psalm title with reference to Psalm cxxii.
timber as well as to growing trees (cf. 1 Kings xv 22).

is apparently a feminine form of the plural of (axe). The masculine form appears in 1 Sam. xiii 21 (cf. v. 20). On the other hand the feminine plural also appears in Jer. xlvi 22 (cf. Jud. ix 48). There seems, in fact, to be some confusion about the form. At any rate, it is suggested that in Psalm lxxiv 5 an original was changed to by error in audition and by attraction to the vocabulary of v. 6, unless, of course, there was a deliberate pun. appears in Is. xxii 5 but at that place probably means "wall" (R.S.V.). However, means "city" on the Mesha Inscription. Also, in Josh. ii 15 must surely mean "city" rather than "wall". As a constituent in the names of places also means "city". It is probably here a poetic form rather like and . is thought to be the plural of a noun (one silenced?), but may, in fact, be derived from the root (destroy). There are two strong pieces of evidence which support this interpretation. In Is. xv 1 the same root words are associated. The text reads . It is true that may be a proper name here, but not necessarily so. A possible translation of the line is: "For in the night a city of Moab is laid waste, destroyed". Secondly, in Ezek. xxvii 32 the words appear, translated by R.S.V., "Who was ever destroyed like Tyre?". Interesting parallels are (city of chaos) in Is. xxiv 10 and (R.V. city of destruction) in Is. xix 18. In

Psalm lxxiv 5  יִנְסָרָת is a poetic plural - but is logical enough as a plural. The whole verse now fits logically into the context and may be translated: "The way to the ascent seemed like a tangled mass of timber, a city of desolations...".

In v. 6 the destruction by the enemies is further described. They have now reached the gates at the top of the processional ascent.

The Kethibh form יְדוּי has been corrected by the Masoretes to the Qere form יְדוּי, which is undoubtedly correct.

The suffix, which has been found difficult, would then refer to "ascent", for the gates to the temple would be at the top of the ascent. The narrative in Kings would give support to either interpretation, for יְדוּי is used in 1 Kings vi 29 to describe the carved figures on the walls of the temple, while יְדוּי is used in 1 Kings vi 33 to describe the entrance to the יְלִי (its gates).

The verb יְדוּי is the imperfect qal of יִנְסָר (smite, hammer, strike down). The verb is used of striking a person in Psalm cxli 5. This indicates that the two words יְדוּי and יְדוּי probably represent tools of some kind.
may possibly be derived from \( \text{יָּשָׁר} \) (stagger, stumble). It is a hapax legomenon. On the basis of its use in the Targum on Jeremiah xlvi 22, and the Versions together with the context, B.D.B. postulates that the word means "axe".\(^1\) It is difficult to see how this deduction can be bettered. Unfortunately, \( \text{יָּשָׁר} \) is also a hapax legomenon. However, the Assyrian kalappatu provides a clue to the meaning, given by B.D.B. as "axe".\(^2\) K.B. suggests that the word can refer to "iron tipped beams".\(^3\)

The translation may now be given as, "...and then its gates they smashed completely with axe and hammer".

In v. 7 the complete destruction of the temple by fire is described. In fact, the temple is razed to the ground. This description is in accord with the account of 2 Kings xxv 8-12 and is a very strong argument in favour of dating the psalm shortly after 587 B.C. (cf. also Ezek. vii 21-24, Lam. ii 2, Jer. xix 13).

\( \text{דָּעַתְךָ} \) (the dwelling place of your name) is a typical, Deuteronomic phrase. For example, the words \( \text{דָּעַתְךָ} \) appear in Deut. xii 11, xvi 2, 6, and elsewhere. This seventh century concept is rightly seen by Clements as a move towards theologizing the idea of God's presence in Zion, that is to say as a correction of earlier mythological ideas.\(^4\) Jeremiah vii 12 uses the same vocabulary. Later, the emphasis on the "indwelling name" changed into an

2. Ibid., p. 476.
emphasis on the "indwelling ἡ Ἰς" as in Ezekiel, although ἡ Ἰς is already used in conjunction with ἡ Ἰς in Psalm xxvi 8 (cf. 1 Sam. iv 22, 1 Kings vii 6-13).

In v. 8 there is a summary of the attitude of the enemies. It was their intention to treat Israel harshly. Indeed, not only did they sack Jerusalem and its temple, but they also burned all other sacred sites throughout the land.

The word ἡ Ἰς was seen by LXX as deriving from ἡ Ἰς (offspring), giving ἡ Ἰς ἐνέχοντα; and Symmachus, Targum, Jerome and Rashi follow the same line. Most modern translators, however, parse the word as the second person plural, imperfect qal of ἡ Ἰς (ἡ Ἰς → ἡ Ἰς) meaning "oppress, maltreat". R.S.V. (subdue), N.E.B. (sweep away) and R.P. (make havoc of) accept the second interpretation, and it is the most convincing. Psalm lxxxiii 4 is a good parallel for this kind of thought by Israel's enemies.

ἡ Ἰς refers to appointed places rather than appointed times or gatherings (cf. v. 4). Some scholars have argued that this is a reference to synagogues in the Maccabean period, assuming that because of the Deuteronomic reform there would be no holy places other than Jerusalem just before 587 B.C. But the account in 2 Kings xxii-iii merely states that religious sites dedicated to heathen gods were destroyed. As xxiii 17-18 suggests, some authentic sacred sites were probably preserved outside Jerusalem. In other words,ἡ Ἰς cannot be used as a firm argument for a Maccabean date.

Both Psalms lxxiv and lxxix are probably of Exilic date.
as Kirkpatrick,\textsuperscript{1} Anderson\textsuperscript{2} and Eaton\textsuperscript{3} suggest. Unfortunately, there is insufficient space to give details of the arguments in favour of such a date for these psalms.

B. Psalm lxxix 1-4.

1. An Asaphite psalm.

   O God, heathen nations came into your inheritance; they defiled your holy temple; they brought Jerusalem to ruins.

2. They delivered the corpses of your servants to the birds of the open sky, the flesh of your loyal followers to wild beasts.

3. They spilled their blood like water all round Jerusalem, and there was no-one to bury them.

4. We have become the contempt of our neighbours, an object of ridicule and mockery to all around us.

Verses 1-4. Lament over Jerusalem.

Heathen nations have occupied the land described as Yahweh's inheritance. The central bastion of Yahwism, once thought to be impregnable, lies in ruins. That spiritual power-house, the Jerusalem temple, is defiled. Many of the covenant people have been killed, their deaths unrecorded by graves, their bodies consumed by birds of prey and voracious beasts. The poet complains to Yahweh that those of the

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Kirkpatrick, \textit{The Psalms}, pp. 439-43.
\end{itemize}
covenant people who remain are mocked and derided by surrounding peoples.

In v. 1 it is stated that the temple is defiled and the city in ruins because of the invading heathen nations. This description is couched in similar terms to those of Jer. li 51 and Lam. i 10 (cf. Mic. iii 12).

The כִּבְשֵׂה , as in vv. 6 and 10, are the heathen nations. The word can be used of the descendants of the patriarchs and specifically of Israel (cf. Ex. xix 6) but it is more usually applied to non-Hebrew peoples (cf. Ex. ix 24, xxxiv 10). In many passages it is used of idolatrous nations (cf. Lev. xx 23, 1 Kings xiv 24), which, presumably, included all nations apart from Israel. The word is used in modern Hebrew to denote a Gentile.

הֶרֶץ (inheritance) is most frequently applied to the land given by Yahweh to Israel (cf. Deut. iv 21 and passim). It can be applied to Israel as a people as in Psalms lxxiv 2, lxxviii 62, 71. In this verse, however, the context demands that the reference is either to the land or to the temple (cf. Jer. xii 7). The former is more likely, the reference being to the occupation of the land by the invading forces.

The verb אָפָר (be unclean) means in the pi’el "defile" - in the ceremonial or ritual sense. Holy places can be defiled by bloodshed (cf. Num. xxxiii 33ff.) or by idols and idolatrous symbols (cf. Jer. ii 7,8; vii 30). Foreign people, because of their ritual uncleanness, could defile the temple merely by entering its precincts. In this verse the pollution is serious enough to mean that God has
abrogated his covenant (cf. v. 8) by allowing this to happen.

\( 
\text{ab} \) is the plural of \( \text{ru} \) (ruin) from the root \( \text{ru} \) (bend, twist).\(^1\) This word is used with an Aramaic plural in Mic. iii 12 to mean "a heap of ruins" (cf. Mic. i 6, Jer. xxvi 18).

In vv. 2-3 the horrors of the battlefield for a defeated army and the local population are described. There is no reason why this should not be a literal description of what happened in Jerusalem in 587 B.C. On the other hand, there is almost certainly an intended reference to the curse of Deuteronomy (cf. xxviii 26) where it is stated that those who do not keep the covenant will have their flesh eaten by birds and wild animals. The image is also used in the threatening prophecies of Jeremiah (cf. xv 3, xix 7). Similarly, the description of v. 3 is akin to the threat in Jeremiah xiv 6. Moreover, v. 3 is "quoted" in 1 Macc. vii 17. If this is indeed a quote, it implies that the writer of the Books of Maccabees was using an already well-known psalm, an argument which favours an Exilic rather than a Maccabean date for this psalm.

Although the covenant is not mentioned in the psalm, a number of technical words associated with the covenant relationship are used. In this verse \( \text{ru} \) and \( \text{ru} \) are outstanding examples. The meaning of \( \text{ru} \) has already been discussed in relation to Psalm cxxxii 9. Almost all the outstanding figures in Israel's history are described as servants. Examples are: Abraham in Psalm cv 6; Jacob-Israel in Ezek. xxviii 25, xxxvii 25; David in 2 Sam. iii 18

\(^1\) See B.D.B., p. 730.
and passim. In a secular context the word יִלֵּך relates to the covenant relationship between a king and his vassal, usually described as a unilateral covenant. The transfer of the word to the religious sphere implies a similar relationship between God and his people. Any Israelite could be described as יִלֵּך but, of course, there are deeper shades of meaning. The theological implications of יִלֵּך as used by Deutero-Isaiah are probably not present in this verse, though a superficial parallel with the "suffering servant" motif is apparent.

In v. 4 there is a complaint that the surrounding peoples now hold Israel in contempt. These words are repeated almost exactly in Psalm xliv 13. Because of the many allusions to other writings in Psalm lxxix it is probable that Psalm xliv is prior (cf. Psalm lxxx 6, Jer. xx 7).

C. Psalm lxxviii 67-72.

67. He rejected the tent of Joseph
and he did not choose the tribe of Ephraim;
68. but he did choose the tribe of Judah,
Mount Zion which he loves.
69. He built his sanctuary as an exalted place;
like the earth, which he founded for all time.
70. He chose David his servant
and he took him away from the sheepfolds.
71. From tending the ewes he brought him
to be shepherd over Jacob his people,
over Israel his inheritance.

72. He shepherded them with his whole heart, and led them with a skilful hand.

Verses 67-72. Dual election of David and of Zion.

These verses conclude the psalm's historical survey by emphasizing God's rejection of the northern kingdom and by summarizing the connected themes of the election of Zion as God's sanctuary and of the election of the Davidic house as typified by an idealized picture of its founder, David the shepherd of his people.

In v. 67 is presented God's rejection of the northern kingdom, here described by metonymy as Joseph, in parallel with the related Ephraim. Joseph, of course, was the elder son of Jacob and Rachel (cf. Gen. xxx 24) and he himself had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim (cf. Gen. xli 51-52). Hence, the "sons of Joseph" in tribal terms were the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim (cf. Num. xxvi 28). When the tribal areas were apportioned, the house of Joseph, defined as Ephraim and Manasseh, was given a large area across the centre of the country, as well as a portion for Manasseh across the Jordan (cf. Josh. xvi 17-8). From the eighth century, if not before, the names Joseph (cf. Amos v 6, 15, Zech. x 6) or Ephraim (cf. Hos. iv 17, Is. vii 2) were used to describe the northern kingdom, as in the verse under discussion.

This undershepherd has probably given rise to the sacred tent (cf. Ex. xxxiii 7-11, Num. xii 5, 10, Deut. xxxi 14-15). David created a tent for the ark (cf. 2
Sam. vi 17). It is claimed in 1 Chron. xvii 5 that Yahweh had not previously dwelt in a θυσία but had gone θυσία (cf. 2 Sam. vii 6). There was certainly an θυσία at Shiloh (1 Sam. ii 22) and in view of the reference to Shiloh in Psalm lxxviii 60, the reference of v. 67 is surely to the sacred tent for the ark at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim. After the capture of the ark by the Philistines, it was never returned to Shiloh, and here God is characterized as having rejected the tent of Joseph and the tribe of Ephraim. Shiloh, of course, was the centre for the earlier tribal confederation. In v. 68 it is shown that God, having rejected Joseph and Ephraim, chose the tribe of Judah, and instead of Shiloh he chose Mount Zion. That God had a special love for Mount Zion is well attested (cf. Psalms xlvii 4, lxxxvii 2).

The election of Zion and the background of this election in the Deuteronomic history have already been discussed in relation to Psalm cxxxii 13ff.

In v. 69 the sanctuary on Zion is described as an exalted place which, like the earth, was founded by God forever.

ןֵלֶל as an alternative form for לֵל is quite common in the psalms, being used nineteen times. In this verse, however, it is stylistically out of place. It would be expected that the writer would use either ל or לֵל in both stichoi. This unevenness has probably given rise to the emendation to לֵלֶל as suggested by B.H.S. This gives the same essential meaning as M.T.: "He has built his sanctuary like the heights...". This is usually taken to
refer to the heights of heaven. Support for this idea can be found in Psalm cxlviii 1 and in Psalm cii 20 (cf. Psalms vii 8, xviii 7). Further, in Is. xxxiii 16 the plural of מֶרֶץ may well be a description of Zion. Even so, the statement of Psalm lxxviii 69 is not precisely logical. The Syriac presupposes מָרֶץ which would be more logical (cf. מִּרְצָּב as the basis of the Greek and Syriac). LXX (μονοκεράων), Theodotion, Targum and Jerome presupposes מֶרֶץ but this is neither apt nor sensible. In all probability the correct reading should be מֶרֶץ, the polal participle of מָרֶץ as used in Neh. ix 5 to mean "exalted" (cf. Psalms lxvi 17, lxxv 11). This reading gives the logical translation; "He built his sanctuary as an exalted place; like the earth, which he founded for all time".

In v. 70 David is described as God's servant ( descargar). As has already been noted, any Israelite could be described as descargar, but certain individuals held the title to signify a special relationship with God. (See on Psalm lxxix 2.)

At any rate, in vv. 70-71 a very effective contrast is made between David's original worldly occupation and his later vocation to be the shepherd of his people (cf. 2 Sam. v 2). The choice of a shepherd boy is seen by Weiser as one of the riddles (הידליות) presented by the psalmist. 1 The people as a whole is often described as Jacob-Israel. This is especially common in the psalms where the parallel

words are used thirty six times (cf. Psalm xiv 7, Num. xxiii 7, Deut. xxxiii 10, Is. xiv 1).

In v. 72 it is stated that David undertook his responsibilities with a whole heart and a skilful hand. In 1 Kings ix 4 David is described as a pattern for Solomon, as one who had integrity of heart (יָדָה דַעַת). The phrase is used in other psalms to describe the ideal behaviour of an individual who may, indeed, be the Davidic king (cf. Psalms vii 9, vii 11, xxvii 3). יַדָה, the plural of יָדָה (discernment) is derived from the root יָדָה (to discern). It is a typical Wisdom word, used for example, eight times in the Book of Proverbs (cf. Prov. iii 19, xxii 30 etc.). It is worth noting that Solomon asked for the ability to discern (כְּכָף יָדָה) between (יָדָה) good and evil (cf. 1 Kings iii 9) and it seems that such wisdom was accepted as an ideal kingly quality. The juxtaposition of יָדָה with כְּכָף is interesting, showing that here is intended a practical wisdom or skill in affairs. Some manuscripts read יָדָה (cf. Syriac and Jerome), giving a singular construct. However, the plural logically means "the skilful deeds of his hands", and is quite acceptable. (כְּכָף is read with many manuscripts as כָּכָף.)

The themes of election related to Zion and to the Davidic house have already been discussed (cf. on Psalm cxxxii 11-18). It is probable that in Psalm lxxviii the idealized picture of David's election is symbolic for the election of the dynasty.
13. You, O Lord, are enthroned for ever, and your memorial endures to all generations.

14. You will arise and have mercy on Zion, for this is the time to pity her; for the appointed time has come.

15. Even your servants love her very stones and pity her dust.

16. Then the nations shall reverence the Lord; and all the kings of the earth your glory;

17. when the Lord builds up Zion, when he appears in his glory.

18. He considers the prayer of the destitute; he does not despise their prayer.

19. Let this be recorded for future generations, so that a people newly created may praise the Lord -

20. that the Lord looked down from his holy height, that he surveyed the earth from heaven,

21. to hear the groans of the prisoners, to release those doomed to die;

22. then men will acclaim the name of the Lord in Zion and they will praise him in Jerusalem,

23. when there are assembled together, peoples and kingdoms to serve the Lord.

God's nature is eternal. He is aware of Zion's sufferings and the love her servants have for her. Therefore, the Lord will appear gloriously in Zion, striking fear into all earthly powers. He will listen to the prayers of the poor. This certainty of what is to come is so wonderful that it should be recorded for future generations, that all men and nations may gather to praise God in Zion.

In v. 13 God is described as sitting eternally on his throne so that his "memorial" will last throughout all generations. This is almost word for word the same as Lam. v 19 except that in the latter "throne" is substituted for "memorial". This need not imply quotation by either author, for the phrases are common enough. For example, in Ex. iii 15 Yahweh's name is described as יָּהָ֨וֶּה, while in Psalm ix 8 Yahweh is יָּהְֽה. The word יָּהָ֨וֶּה strictly means "memorial" or "remembrance", though there is some justification for R.S.V.'s translation as "name", for in some texts יָּהָ֨וֶּה is either parallel with or could even be equated with יָּהְֽה (cf. Prov. x 7, Psalm cxxxv 13). However, on the whole it is better to adhere to the more accurate "memorial". (N.E.B.'s "fame" does not strike the appropriate note.) The picture of God as enthroned in heaven (cf. Psalm ii 4), or on the cherubim (cf. Psalm xcix 1) or on the floods (cf. Psalm xxix 10) is a fairly common image.

In v. 14 it is stated with certainty that the appointed time for God to have compassion on Zion has at last come. The use of יָּהְֽה reminds of the exclamation associated with the ark and God's "military" action in Num. x 35 (cf. Psalm
The verse as a whole is reminiscent of Is. xlix 8 (cf. xl 2), one of a number of echoes of Deutero-Isaiah in the psalm. Jer. xxix 10 more specifically prophesies that the time for restoration will be seventy years after the beginning of the Exile. Two key words in Psalm cii 14 are גַּלִּים and עַלְמָנָּה . The verb is used in the pi`el throughout the Old Testament to denote God's compassion for his people. Perhaps Hos. xiv 4 best illustrates the meaning of the word. There, Yahweh is described as having compassion on Israel, an orphan. The verb יָשָׁר , here qal infinitive construct, means "to show favour" or "to be gracious". In the psalms it is commonly used in laments to describe God's redemption of a suffering individual or group, from enemies or various kinds of ills (cf. Psalms iv 2, vi 3, ix 14 and passim; also Is. xxx 18, Jer. xxx 18 xxxi 20). Mowinckel sees the third stichos as a gloss explaining the second.\(^1\) גֵּדָע , he claims, defines יָשָׁר as the time of festival. Alternatively he feels there could be a conflation of textual variants. This theory is apparently accepted by N.E.B. However, there is no cause to delete the third stichos which may, in fact, indicate deliberate emphasis.

In v. 15 the writer seems to put forward an argument to arouse Yahweh's compassion. His servants love the stones and dust of ruined Zion dearly; therefore (it is implied) Yahweh must do so. That this description of the holy place during and after the Exile is accurate is supported by

\(^1\) Mowinckel, H.T.C., pp. 84-85.
Sanballat's words in Neh. iv 2 (Hebrew iii 34). The servants must surely be Jews loyal to Yahweh rather than foreign rulers like Cyrus as suggested by Barnes.¹

In v. 16 is described the result of Yahweh's epiphany in v. 17, the logical connection being shown by After the restoration, all nations and kings will reverence Yahweh's glory and his name. This is not simply hyperbole, but expresses the belief that one day Yahweh will take his rightful place as God of the whole world. This thought bears some similarity to the ideas of both Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah (cf. Is. x 5, lx 19, lx 2). On the other hand, there is no necessity to connect the statement here with the eschaton.

In v. 17 it is claimed that Yahweh will build up ( ) Zion. may be an example of the prophetic perfect. The verb implies a physical reconstruction of the sanctuary (cf. in v. 15). There, God will appear in his glory ( ). This is obviously reminiscent of Ezekiel's prophecy of the return of the to Zion, but there need be no direct connection with Ezekiel. The P sections of the Pentateuch also use to describe theophanies. A much earlier tradition may be reflected in 1 Sam. iv 21-22 ( ). Further, Psalm lxiii 3 associates with the sanctuary and there are many descriptions of Yahweh as in other psalms. Psalm lxxix 9 may, indeed, contain a use of this word contemporaneous with that of this verse (cf. Psalms xxvi 8, xxix 3, lxvi 2, xcvi 7).

In v. 18 it is suggested that Yahweh will listen to the prayers of the יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְy
. This noun is usually explained as deriving from the root יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְy (strip oneself). Jer. xvii 6 uses the same word for a shrub, probably a juniper or a tamarisk (cf. יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְy in Jer. xlviii 6). How can both meanings be ascribed to the same word and be derived from the same root? Barnes' theory that the juniper is a naked looking tree is not very convincing.¹ The meaning "destitute" is accepted by most English versions. In relation to the context and the supposed root this seems to be the best translation.

In v. 19 the psalmist rhetorically suggests that Yahweh's saving act should be recorded for future generations that they may praise him. This is reminiscent of the instruction to Jeremiah that he should record in a book his prophecy about a restored Israel (cf. Jer. xxx 5f). The notion of handing on a tradition of God's saving acts to the next generation appears in Psalms xlviii 14 and lxxviii 4. The key word in the verse is יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְy, the niph' al participle of יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְוָא (create). Is this a reference, as in the first stichos, to the future generation? R.S.V. seems to accept this with its translation, "a people yet unborn". This could be supported by a similar phrase in Psalm xxii 31-32, יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְy, in parallel with יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְy. However, Is. xliii 15 describes God as יִֽהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְיֶהְy of Israel in the context of the restoration (cf. Is. xliii 7). A literal translation of Psalm cii 19b reads, "... and a people created

will praise Yah". This seems to express something more than simply, "the next generation". The context, as in Deutero-Isaiah, probably concerns the restoration after the Exile. The most acceptable translation, then, seems to be: "...that a people newly created may praise the Lord". The adverb is necessary in English to express the exact nuance of the phrase.

In v. 20 it is claimed that what is to be recorded is that Yahweh looked down from heaven to earth at Zion's plight. The perfect tense is comprehensible in relation to the sequence of looking, then acting. A similar statement in a like context is made by Trito-Isaiah (cf. Is. lxiii 15). The picture of God as seated in heaven is traditional: he looks down both with blessing (cf. Deut. xxvi 15) and with judgment (cf. Psalms xiv 2, xxxiii 13).

It is fair to judge that v. 21 describes the state of Zion's people during the Exile, especially in relation to vv. 14-15. In addition, a symbolic representation of mankind in need of salvation may be implied, though this would be difficult to prove. There is a great similarity between this verse and Psalm lxxix 11, which has already been discussed. Again, there is similarity to Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Is. xliii 8) and more especially to Trito-Isaiah (cf. lxii lff.). The last mentioned passage seems to have developed the universal significance of the imagery to a much higher degree than is present in this psalm.

נַעֲמַת הָאָדָם (sons of death) probably means "those doomed to die". This is strongly supported by the
statement אָדַם יִתְנַהֵל in 1 Sam. xx 31. It is interesting to note that יִתְנַהֵל only appears elsewhere in Psalm lxxix 11 and possibly in Psalm lxxiv 4, especially as all these psalms may belong to approximately the same period.

In vv. 22-23 is presented the ultimate result of the recording and handing on of tradition suggested in v. 19. Zion—Jerusalem will be a centre of worship for peoples and kingdoms. The thought that the restoration will result in a universal reverence for Yahweh is characteristic of both Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (cf. Is. xlv 22-3, lx 3-7). A similar universality is associated with the deliverance of the suffering innocent in Psalm xxii 27-28.

Missfeldt, for example, lists the "genuine" Isianic sections over against the "doubtful" sections. He maintains, however, that the thirty-nine chapters are not a loose collection of sayings and speeches, but that quite extensive sections are made up of related material. Anderson, followed by many commentators, divide the chapters into several theotic sections. He maintains that most Isianic material is contained in Chapters i-xxi (On Judah and Jerusalem) and in Chapters xxviii-xxxiii (On Judah's foreign policy). Least likely to be Isianic are Chapters xxxiv-xxxv (Isiah apocalypses) and Chapters xxxvi-xxxv (On the future of Edom and Israel), both of which are unlike Isaiah.

Appendix 2.

The Zion concept in Isaiah i-xxxix.

It is difficult to do justice to this subject in what is, after all, an appendix to the main topic of study. This investigation must inevitably be brief, without recourse to detailed exegesis, or the proportions of the whole study will become distorted.

These chapters are not easy to examine in relation to a single concept, for most commentators conclude that they are from varied sources. The typical introductions to the chapters usually attempt to outline what is Isaianic and what is not. (As far as this discussion is concerned "Isaianic" refers to material belonging to Isaiah of Jerusalem.) Eissfeldt, for example, lists the "genuine" Isaianic sections over against the "doubtful" sections.¹ He maintains, however, that the thirty nine chapters are not a loose collection of sayings and speeches, but that quite extensive sections are made up of related material. Anderson, followed by many commentators, divides the chapters into several thematic sections.² He maintains that most Isaianic material is contained in Chapters i-xii (On Judah and Jerusalem) and in Chapters xxviii-xxxiii (On Judah's foreign policy). Least likely to be Isaianic are Chapters xxiv-xxvii (Isaiah Apocalypse.) and Chapters xxxiv-xxxv (On the future of Edom and Israel), both of which are unlike Isaiah

in style and probably much later. Chapters xiii–xxiii (Prophecies on foreign nations) probably contain some Isaianic material. In addition, Chapters xxxvi–xxxix (Narrative = 2 Kings xviii 13, 17–xx 19) cannot be by Isaiah.

There are two extreme views on the composition and authorship of these thirty nine chapters. At one end of the scale, Kissane maintains that all the poetic sections could be ascribed to Isaiah because they are in accord with Isaiah's doctrines; at the same time, he believes there is some editorial matter, but this consists largely of narratives and titles. At the other end of the scale, Kennett ascribes very few sections to Isaiah; some to an author at the time of Cyrus, and a large proportion to authors of the second century B.C. Few modern scholars would agree with Kennett in dating large parts of the work so late. Indeed, in the last decade there has been a tendency to date more material in the eighth century B.C. At any rate, the truth probably lies somewhere between these two extremes. For example, in relation to Chapters i–xxxix, Kaiser believes that a basic stratum of the work belongs to Isaiah, but that additions and alterations were made to the Isaiah roll as late as the Hellenistic period. He also maintains that while the problem of Isaian authorship can be formulated it cannot yet be answered. A similar view is expressed by Skinner who believes that the Book of Isaiah reached its present

form through "protracted editorial processes, the details of which we can never hope to trace". Many passages in Chapters i-xxxix were produced by Isaiah himself but other passages were added during the Exilic and post-Exilic periods.¹

Bearing these difficulties in mind, some attempt will be made to review the Zion concept in these chapters. At the same time, some indication of a tentative dating of passages will be given. The Isaiah Apocalypse (xxiv-xxvii) will be treated as a separate section.

As in the psalms, most passages mentioning Zion-Jerusalem assume that God has chosen this place as his dwelling. Some passages, of course, state this categorically. For example, viii 18 set in a passage supposedly related to the period of Ahaz, claims that "the Lord of hosts... ...dwells on Mount Zion". It is noteworthy that this title for God is also closely associated with Zion in Psalms xlvi and xlviii. Again, in xviii 7, a passage probably belonging to the period of the Egyptian alliance after 715 B.C., Mount Zion is described as "the place of the name of the Lord of hosts".

Over and above this basic assumption, most of the passages about Zion can be divided into two categories. The first of these concerns the defence of Zion by Yahweh. The second concerns the future glory of Zion. These two categories will serve as a convenient framework for analysing the Zion passages. Some few additional passages will also be discussed.

The first category, then, includes passages which describe the "inviolability" of Zion. In Is. x 24-27 (cf. v. 30), a passage to be dated in the time of Assyrian domination and therefore probably Isaianic, the people who dwell in Zion are advised not to be afraid of the Assyrians. The Lord of hosts is described as a scourge who will defeat this powerful enemy. Proof of God's power to do this can be found in Israel's history, as the defeat of the Midianites and the Red Sea deliverance illustrate. In Is. xiv 32, a verse attached to an oracle against Philistia and apparently dated by the death of Ahaz (715 B.C.?), it is claimed that God has founded Zion and that his afflicted people find refuge there. Again, this statement was probably made against the background of an Assyrian threat and can fairly certainly be attributed to Isaiah. xvii 12-14 does not actually refer to Zion but the defeat of the nations described probably has the same background as the two passages already discussed. There is no reason why these words should not have been spoken by Isaiah. The similarity to Psalm xlvi is interesting, especially in the comparison of God's defeat of the nations to the defeat of the chaos waters. The "cornerstone" prophecy in xxviii 16 is related symbolically to the inviolability concept. This is part of an oracle addressed to the nobles of Jerusalem during the period of the treaty with Egypt. Isaiah disapproves of this alliance. However, despite the moral degeneracy of the people, Yahweh is "... laying in Zion... ...a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, of a sure foundation". In xxix 1-8 there is an account of the defeat of the nations before Zion.
Ariel (i.e. Jerusalem) will be distressed and besieged, but Yahweh will deliver her. Again, Yahweh is given the title "Lord of hosts". In this character he makes a typical theophany accompanied by natural phenomena such as fire, thunder and earthquake. The background to this prophecy is probably the approach of Sennacherib in 701 B.C., although some scholars would suggest that there was a second invasion several years later. Be that as it may, this seems to be a genuine word of Isaiah. xxxi 1-9 has a similar background and message. Isaiah scorns reliance on Egypt and claims that "...the Lord of hosts will come down to fight upon Mount Zion and upon its hill". God the Warrior is compared with a terrible lion slaying his enemies (cf. Psalm lxxvi 2-4). Is. xxxiii 17-24 also expresses the inviolability concept but the style and tone of the passage are somewhat different from those mentioned above. The verses could be Isaianic but there is an element of doubt about this which persuades some scholars to date the passage later than Isaiah. Yet, the statement that Jerusalem is "...an immovable tent, whose stakes will never be plucked up...", is typical of Isaiah. There seems to be a liturgical element in the passage for it bears some resemblance to psalms like xii, xx and lx, in which entreaty is made for God's help. There are also remarkable similarities to Psalm xlvi 5 in the mention of the river of blessing (v. 21) and to Psalm xlviii 13 in the mention of counting the towers of Jerusalem (v. 18).

This theme of Zion's inviolability in the poetic oracles, most of which have been classified as Isaianic, is paralleled
in a narrative passage where a similar oracle is placed in the mouth of Isaiah. In xxxvii 30-35 Isaiah states that the Assyrians will not capture Jerusalem, for Yahweh himself will defend it. These words give adequate confirmation of the fact that Isaiah believed in an inviolability concept, at any rate in 701 B.C. (or later as some would suggest) in a particular situation.

It seems, then, that Isaiah believed that Yahweh dwelt on Zion in some sense and that He was prepared to defend it. However, Isaiah did not accept an unconditional belief in Zion's inviolability. He realised that Yahweh demanded repentance and a changed attitude of life in his chosen people (cf. Is. vii 9, x 3-4, xxix 13ff.). Further, as a notable difference from the theology of the Zion psalmists, Isaiah perceived that God was using Assyria as the "rod of his anger" (cf. x 5-6). This seems to be a change in the tradition. After all, Isaiah was an individualist with a genius for perceiving new theological ideas. Nevertheless, the similarities to the Zion ideology presented in Psalms xlvi, xlviii and lxxvi are remarkable, especially with regard to the concept of Zion's inviolability. These similarities may be listed as follows: (a) Yahweh has founded Mount Zion and dwells on it. (b) He is given the war-like title "Lord of hosts". (c) He fights to defend Israel on Mount Zion. (d) There is an appeal to past tradition (e.g. the Red Sea tradition) to show that Yahweh does fight for Israel. (e) The defeat of a nation or an alliance of nations is idealized as the defeat of many or all of the nations. (f) The defeat of the nations is closely associated
with the defeat of the chaos waters. (g) Traditional theophanic language is used. (h) There are references to the river of blessing and the ceremonial counting of Jerusalem's towers.

How, then, are these similarities to be explained? Did the psalms depend on Isaiah or vice versa? The research into the psalms has shown that the idea of Zion as a strong city was very ancient. Both Isaiah and the psalms depended on this basic idea. This concept was probably greatly strengthened by the events of 701 B.C. Moreover, some of the Zion psalms (xlvi, xlviii and lxxvi) may have been written around that period. Yet, it is difficult to assign firm priority to either Isaiah or the psalms. On the whole, however, it seems probable that there was an interchange of ideas between cultic and prophetic circles.

The second main category to be considered in Isaiah's writings (?) is the Zion concept in relation to the future. With regard to these texts, there is a definite tendency among scholars to date them later than the prophet Isaiah. Is. ii 2-4, for example, is an eschatological prophecy in which the nations are described as living in an era of universal peace under God's rule from Mount Zion. Many scholars date this passage in the post-Exilic period. Yet, it is difficult to find certain reasons why the passage should not belong to the eighth century. It is true that the appearance of the same passage in Mic. iv makes Isaianic authorship dubious. Therefore, it is probably better to assume that Isaiah was not the author, despite similarities to Is. xi 1-9. The mention of "the latter days" seems to
differentiate the passage from similar passages in the psalms (e.g. lxxxvii), but this does not necessarily imply that the passage is post-Exilic. It can only be concluded that the passage is non-Isaianic and of uncertain date.

Is. iv 2-6 describes a day of restoration for Zion when a remnant from Israel will live a pure life under God's protection. The reference to "that day" gives the passage an eschatological flavour. The association of the Zion tradition with the Exodus tradition is interesting (v. 5). Many scholars date these verses in the post-Exilic period. However, it is difficult to be certain of this, for the idea of a "remnant" may belong to Isaiah himself; and there is no mention of the Exile. Again, then, there is uncertainty about authorship and date.

Is. xxx 18-33, an oracle of hope, describes an ideal life for the people of Zion who "shall weep no more". This state of affairs will come about after a period of adversity. Some scholars claim that this passage is a later expansion of Isaiah's own oracle. There is no reason why part of the passage should not belong to the period of Assyrian domination as claimed in v. 31. The promise of material blessings in vv. 23-25 is a traditional doctrine associated with Zion, as is the theophany of vv. 27-33.

Chapters xxxiv-xxxv probably belong together. Israel's future is contrasted with that of Edom. The day of the Lord for the latter will be a day of destruction, whereas for Israel the glory of the Lord will appear. Chapter xxxv describes the return of the redeemed to Zion. The descriptions of the transformed desert and the highway for
the "ransomed of the Lord" are very similar to the work of Deutero-Isaiah. Most scholars, therefore, date the section at about the same period as Deutero-Isaiah. It is difficult to deny the plausibility of such a dating.

On the whole, then, it seems that the passages in the second category cannot be assigned with any certainty to Isaiah himself. Yet, it is possible that Isaiah preached an early form of eschatological doctrine which would have been in keeping with his prophecies about the ideal king (cf. vii 10-17, ix 1-7, xi 1-9). The description of universal peace on the "holy mountain" in xi 9 would certainly argue for this possibility. The passages listed contain a more complex eschatology than, for example, Psalms xlvi 9-12, lxxxvii. This could mean that Isaiah developed his thinking about eschatology further than his contemporaries; or more probably, that a school of Isaiah's followers developed a kernel of Isaiah's own prophecies. It is certainly easier to see the eschatological sections of the Zion psalms as precursors of the passages from Isaiah described above than vice versa. Yet, this was not the case in respect of the passages concerning Yahweh's defence of Zion, for in the previous discussion of this latter theme great similarities were found between the Zion psalms and Isaianic passages.

Two other short passages are worthy of mention. In Is. xiv 13 Mount Zaphon is described as the seat of El and as the place of assembly of the gods. Zion itself is not mentioned, but as Psalm xlviii 3 shows, Zion and Zaphon were in some sense equated. However, this passage is probably dependent on an ancient myth (cf. on Psalm xlviii 3) which
has been used by a writer in a taunt song against Babylon. The passage may, in fact, be much older than the introductory sentence suggests. It could have been used earlier by Isaiah himself against Assyria, though there is no firm evidence for this. The second passage, xxxiii 5-6, describes in an oracle of assurance Yahweh's just rule on Zion and the blessings which result from this. The context suggests the whole passage may be later than Isaiah. Yet the doctrine of these two verses is traditional and there is no reason why they should not be an Isaianic statement used by a later compiler.

The Isaiah Apocalypse.

Opinions about the origin of Isaiah xxiv-xxvii are many and varied. Kissane steadfastly maintains that the section is Isaianic. However, it is significant that Delitzsch first argued strongly for Isaianic authorship but later changed his mind, having finally concluded with most other commentators that the section must belong to a later period. Kennett argues that the chapters belong to the second century B.C., but there seems to be little reason to date the chapters so late. A superficial similarity to apocalyptic writings, of which Daniel was the harbinger, may have given rise to this suggestion. However, Is. xxiv-xxvii are not true apocalyptic, for some of the typical characteristics

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2. Delitzsch, Commentary on Isaiah I, pp. 391-3.
3. Loc. cit.
of that genre are not present.¹ (It is still convenient to refer to the chapters as the Isaiah Apocalypse.) Mauchline argues that the picture of the destroyed city in xxvii 10-11 (= Jerusalem?) must place the work later than 587 B.C., at any rate in its present form.² Other scholars, however, disagree about the identity of the destroyed city which could be Nineveh, Babylon or even Samaria. Gray dates the passage in the Persian period.³ He maintains that during this period the Jews were poor and helpless, waiting for Yahweh's intervention and that they were politically dependent. Such a background, he claims, fits the description in these chapters. Against this, there are no specific historical references in the chapters.

There is also disagreement about the form of the section. Some scholars maintain that it is a collection of individual prophecies, psalms and prayers which have later been collected and edited.⁴ Others perceive more cohesion and evidence of planning in the work. One of the most perceptive of these analyses is by Otzen.⁵

¹. For a list of these characteristics, see Bright, Peake's Commentary, 438a. See also Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 23-24; Russell, Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, pp. 89-91.
⁴. Bright, loc. cit.
⁵. Otzen, V.T. XXIV 1974, pp. 196-206. See also Anderson, Supplement to V.T., IX 1962, pp. 118-126. The latter scholar concludes that though there may be some additions to the work, it is essentially a unity belonging to the early post-Exilic period; cf. Lindblom, Die Jesaja-Apokalypse Jes. 24-27, (L.U.A., N.F. I, 34, 3) 1938, who "discards" some passages but recognizes a considerable amount of unity.
forward a two-stage hypothesis, maintaining that before or during the Exile some sections were written about the fall of the world metropolis (= Nineveh or Babylon) and that after the Exile the eschatological Zion passages were written and interwoven with the "judgment" passages to make an alternating pattern of judgment and salvation. This theory has two weaknesses. Firstly, Otzen has to include among the Zion passages some doubtful verses. For example, he equates the vineyard of xxvii 2-5 with Zion and there is no good reason for this equation. Secondly, why could the writer of the Zion passages not have written the whole section? Because some passages could have been written earlier does not mean to say they actually were. Nevertheless, Otzen's analysis is plausible.

The weight of scholarly opinion, then, dates the Isaiah Apocalypse in its present form in the Exilic period or later.¹ The Zion passages are placed in an eschatological, if not apocalyptic setting. Four significant passages will now be examined in order to determine their relationship, if any, with the Zion psalms or with Isaiah.

Is. xxiv 21-23 describes the Day of the Lord on which God will punish the host of heaven and the kings of the earth. At that time, the Lord of hosts will reign on Mount Zion

¹ Otzen, loc. cit., gives a thorough survey of previous studies on Isaiah xxiv-xxvii. Most prominent are the works of W. Rudolph, Jesaja 24-27 (B.W.A.N.T. IV, 10), 1933 and J. Lindblom, Die Jesaja – Apocalypse Jes. 24-27 (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift N.F. I, 34, 3), 1938. These two scholars date Isaiah xxiv-xxvii in the times of Alexander and Xerxes, respectively.
and before his elders he will manifest his glory. This
genreal theme does appear in the psalms (cf. Psalm lxxvi
9-10), but the mention of the "host of heaven" seems to
date the passage as a late development of the judgment
theme. The phrase also seems to indicate that the title
"Lord of hosts" had developed in meaning from the simple,
war-like title associated with the ark. There is some
similarity to Is. xxxiv-xxxv (probably later than Isaiah).
On the whole, then, the passage can be said to deal with a
traditional theme, but at the same time there are no real
parallels in the Zion psalms nor in authentic Zion passages.

Is. xxv 6-9 describes an eschatological banquet on
"this mountain" (= Zion, cf. xxiv 23). Death will no longer
exist and the chosen people will be happy. Salvation will
be complete. It is implied that the nations from whom
the "veil" will be removed will join in the banquet. There
is some similarity to the description of the sacrificial
feast in Ezek. xxxix 17-20 and to the sacrifice described
in Zeph. i 7. These, however, are not exact parallels and
there is no parallel in the Zion psalms, nor in Isaianic
passages. It would, therefore, be difficult to date this
passage in the pre-Exilic period.

Is. xxvi 1-6 is a hymn of praise to the "strong city"
(= Zion) of the future and to Yahweh who has brought low
the "lofty city". The latter presumably refers to the
enemy city. The former is undoubtedly Zion described in
traditional terms as defended by Yahweh. However, the fact
that the vindicated nation has to wait for Yahweh to open
the gates seems to indicate that the passage is Exilic or
later. It would not be logical to make such a statement in the pre-Exilic period. Nevertheless, here is adapted the earlier inviolability concept as it appears in the psalms and Isaiah. The reference to "opening the gates" may indicate that the passage is a liturgy for a procession (cf. Psalm xxiv 7).

Is. xxvii 12-13 describes the return of the lost people from Assyria and Egypt to the holy mountain of Jerusalem. The geographical limits of the ideal Israel seem to be the object of the description rather than any specific reference to countries in a particular period (cf. Gen. xv 18), though a dispersion of Israelites is presupposed. The reference to Assyria gives to the passage a terminus a quo rather than a terminus ad quem. The phrase "in that day" (used twice) and the reference to the trumpet show that the great and final Day of the Lord is described. There are no parallels to this passage in the Zion psalms, nor in Isaiah.

These Zion passages seem to contain a more thorough-going eschatology than any writings of the pre-Exilic period. They were probably written either during or after the Exile, although in some respects they show a continuation of the old Zion tradition. Some parts of the Isaiah Apocalypse may be pre-Exilic but it seems likely that the final version was written later. Similarities to the Zion passages in Is. li-lii are present, but these are not so marked as to make any conclusion possible about the relation of Is. xxiv-xxvii to Deutero-Isaiah. The most that can be claimed is that both authors (or editors) depended on the earlier Zion tradition and that they may have produced their work at
Conclusion.

In common with the Zion psalms there is, in Isaiah i-xxxix, a belief that God has chosen Zion-Jerusalem as his dwelling place (cf. viii 18, xviii 7). Apart from this basic assumption, many passages concern the defence of Zion by Yahweh (cf. x 24-27, xiv 32, xvii 12-14, xxvii 16, xxix 1-8, xxxi 1-9, xxxiii 17-24). The narrative passage in xxxvii 30-35 also defines an inviolability concept in relation to Zion. Over against these statements Isaiah shows that he believes that this inviolability is conditional on Israel's repentance (cf. vii 9, x 3-4, 5-6, xxix 13ff.). In respect of the inviolability concept there are similarities in detail to the Zion psalms xlvi, xlviii and lxxvi.

Other passages related to the future of Zion are much less certain to be Isaiahic (cf. ii 2-4, iv 2-6, xxx 18-33, xxxiv-xxxv). These passages are generally eschatological in tone and in this regard are more developed than the Zion psalms. They may have been developed by an Isaiahic school from a kernel of Isaiah's own prophecies.

"Isaiah" also shows a knowledge of a primitive holy mountain myth (xiv 13) and of Yahweh as ruler on Zion, together with the blessings consequent upon this grace (xxxiii 5-6).

The Isaiah Apocalypse (xxiv-xxvii) is probably Exilic or post Exilic. The context of the Zion passages in these chapters is eschatological. The four main passages
considered show a continuation of the Zion tradition but contain a more thorough-going eschatology than the writings of the pre-Exilic period.

The parts of Isaiah i-xxxix which are most likely to have influenced the writers of the Zion psalms are those concerning the inviolability of Zion. In fact, there was probably a two-way interchange of ideas between cultic and prophetic circles. The possible relationship of Isaiah i-xxxix to Deutero-Isaiah is discussed in the section concluding the study of Deutero-Isaiah.
Appendix 3.

Critique of "Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten" by G. Wanke.

It can be agreed with Wanke that the two groups of Korahite Psalms, namely, Psalms xlii-xlix and Psalms lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, originally belonged to a single collection which had been carefully selected in order to illustrate a range of life situations. It is not quite so certain that the Korahites, who predominantly appear in "P" and Chronicles, reached their peak around the fourth century. This Levitical group of temple singers could have been active in the pre-Exilic period.¹

Be that as it may, Wanke's main thesis is open to serious doubts. He maintains that the Korahites of the fourth century played an active part in forming a Zion theology and that this is represented in Psalms xlvi, xlviii, lxxxiv and lxxxvii with the possible addition of Psalms xlii and xliii. Wanke's analysis of the content of these psalms is sound. He rightly maintains that the Zion "theology" can be summarized in two statements. (1) On the holy mountain stands his foundation. The most high himself has founded it (Psalm lxxxvii 1b, 5a). (2) God is in the midst of her (Psalm xlvii 6a). Following from these, he shows that Yahweh's presence is the basis of all other statements about the city of God. But when he claims that a close association of Yahweh's presence with Jerusalem, as opposed to the holy mountain, was only possible after the Exile, he is making an unjustifiable statement. Further,

¹. See Kirkpatrick, The Psalms, pp. 223ff.
his claim that Psalms xlvi, xlviii, lxxxiv and lxxxvii could only have been completed after the Exile by the Korahites is not in accord with an analysis of the material at the disposal of the investigator. In fact, Wanke does not use all the available material for comparison and this is a serious failing in his presentation. It is true that he sets out to examine specific Korahite psalms, but surely these cannot be viewed independently of the rest of the Psalter. What of Psalms lxxvi, cxxii and cxxxii which all have a central interest in the Zion concept? What of the many other allusions to Zion throughout the Psalter? It is doubtful whether it is legitimate to give the label "Korahite" precedence over the Gattung of the psalms in this way, when first formulating a hypothesis. The psalm titles are notoriously unreliable. Yet, despite this criticism, Wanke does put forward a detailed case for his thesis and it is proposed to examine the validity of each of his arguments in detail.

A central pillar of Wanke's argument depends on the distinction he draws between a "theme" and a tradition. He maintains that a theme can exist independently of a tradition for some hundreds of years, existing in the "sub-conscious", and that it can then appear in literary form. He admits that a tradition can be used as a literary theme as in the Exodus tradition in Is. xlix 9, Mic. ii 13, vii 15; or that a theme can become characteristic of a tradition as, for example, the pillars of fire and cloud in the Exodus tradition. He concludes that a tradition is usually fixed geographically, culturally, sociologically
or religiously, whereas a theme may or may not be so fixed. On this basis he would argue that such themes as the mythical holy mountain, the paradise myth and the myth of a god's victory over chaos appeared late in Israelite thought even though their origin was earlier by hundreds of years. The argument here is faulty. A theme must surely have some continuity in the thought of races of people; it must be handed on in some way, or it would disappear and never show its face again. A theme must be part of a tradition though this, of course, need not necessarily be religious. It is inconceivable that the mythical themes mentioned disappeared and then appeared again; they must have been preserved in some form. Further, it is scarcely credible that such mythical themes existed in Ugarit in the fourteenth century B.C. and yet did not seriously influence thought in Israel till the fourth century B.C.

Wanke then proceeds to examine the titles for God which appear in the Korahite psalms. First, he claims that the name "Yahweh of hosts" in Psalm xlvi has no connection with the ark and that the name was not handed down in a pre-Exilic cult tradition, the title simply being used in a general sense. It is difficult to believe that we can be aware of the signification and origin of this name while the Israelites were not! The name would most likely be used with full knowledge of its origin. Even if it is admitted that the meaning of the name changed, which is probably true, it is impossible to believe that the name was handed down only in circles other than the Jerusalem cult
when the ark was kept in the sanctuary there.

Wanke's argument that the name "Elyon" eventually became severed from its association with the old Canaanite high god and attached itself to Yahweh, can be accepted, but this does not alter the fact that the name was probably used continuously in the Jerusalem cult from the days of the Jebusites.

Wanke states the obvious when he maintains that the title "God of Jacob" often referred in later times to the God of the Jacob-Israel community rather than to the patriarchal God. On the basis of Psalm lxxxv 2 he argues that this title was commonly referred to the community only after the Exile, maintaining that the frequent use of the title in this way in post-Exilic texts supports this argument. He very conveniently omits the title in Korahite Psalm lxxxiv 9 as a gloss, for the following verse mentions the "anointed one", a probable reference to the Davidic king; and vv. 9-10 taken together argue strongly against his late dating for the psalm! The argument is far from fool-proof in any case, for it is not easy to distinguish in some texts whether the reference of the title is, or is not, to the patriarchal God.

With regard to other titles for God, Wanke argues that they only became "popular" in use c. 600 B.C. Such titles include "my rock", "my refuge", "my shield". It is self evident that this argument is imprecise and, therefore, suspect. Similarly, he puts forward the possibility that to refer to "Yahweh" as "King" could be a "late" tendency from towards the end of the pre-Exilic period onwards. This
does not take into account the weight of evidence which places the enthronement psalms firmly in the pre-Exilic period, perhaps quite early during the monarchy.

Wanke recognizes that there are three main **mythical themes** in the Korahitic Zion psalms. The first of these is the "mountain of God" theme. He argues on the basis of Is. ii 2-4 (= Mic. iv 1-4), Zech. xiv 10 and Ezek. xvii 22ff. that other references to the mountain of God are either eschatological or descriptive of a vision, and as a result, both the Korahite psalms and these passages must be Exilic or post-Exilic. Granting that Is. ii 2-4 may be post-Exilic, it is difficult to believe that the mythical mountain theme was not current earlier. In fact, it was, for it appears in Is. xiv 4b-21 as Zaphon, a passage which Wanke argues is *early* because of its use of the El tradition. Moreover, the phrase "holy hill" or similar expressions appear in other psalms (cf. xv 1, lxviii 15-16).

The second theme, that of Paradise as expressed by the river in Psalm xlvi 5, is claimed by Wanke to have been related to Jerusalem only after the Exile. He admits that the theme appears in creation mythology before the Exile, but argues that eschatological descriptions like Ezek. xlvii 1-12, Joel iv 18, Zech. xiv 8 and Is. xxxiii 21 show that the application to Jerusalem was late. It is true that Psalm xlvi 5 may be a solitary reference in the Psalter to this theme (but cf. lxv 10 and the translation of lxxxvii 1), and that Is. xxxiii 12 may be a late insertion; but Psalm xlvi 5 is a simple metaphor compared with the developed eschatological imagery. A fair lapse of time would be
expected between the two uses of the river theme. This argument against Wanke applies to his comparison of the psalms and eschatological passages in other cases also: a development from the simple to the complex would be natural, and in many cases the so-called eschatological elements in the Zion psalms represent the stage of proto-eschatology.¹

The third mythical theme concerns the victory of God over chaos. Wanke admits that this theme probably derives from the story of the Baal-Yam conflict (rather than the Babylonian version). He argues that similar descriptions in Is. xxvii 1, L 2, li 9, Ezek. xxix 3, xxxii 2 are late and that the passages concerning this theme in Psalms lxxiv, lxxxix, xciii, civ are either late or doubtful. However, to argue that Psalms lxxxix, xciii and civ are all as late as the post-Exilic period would be almost impossible!

In any case, with regard to all of these themes, Wanke does not adequately explain why they appeared in relation to Jerusalem only in the post-Exilic period when they were manifestly current for hundreds of years previously. No doubt because of this uncertainty, he expends no less than a quarter of his study in trying to show that the Völkerkampfmotiv (= struggle with the nations) was not of similar mythical origin, but rather emerged later than the Exile in its first appearance. Indeed, it could be said that Wanke's analysis of this theme is the most important part of his study.

¹. See Vriezen, An Outline of O.T. Theology, p. 368.
Wanke claims that there is nothing in the history of Davidic Jerusalem to account for the origin of the theme of the defeat of the nations before Jerusalem. He further maintains that there are no parallels to this theme in non-Israelite literature. The two appearances of the theme, he states, are in Psalms xlvi 7 and xlviii 5ff. and the only possible parallels to these passages lie in post-Exilic eschatology found in the prophetic books. He argues that the first strand in the growth of the theme lay in a legend about a race invading from the far north; that this may have been a reference to the Sea Peoples in a parallel to the Egyptian Scythian legend. Following from this, Jeremiah described a mysterious "foe from the north", whom he identified later in his ministry with Babylon. Subsequently, Ezekiel based his Gog prophecy on this theme, although in his description of the defeat of the nations Ezekiel did not refer to Jerusalem. The uniting of the theme with Jerusalem was the result of a legendary account of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. This unity only took place much later in the writings of the prophets in such passages as Zech. xiv 1-3, 12-15 and Joel iv 1-3, 9-12.

Thus Wanke's paradigm for the origin of the theme could be set out as follows:
It is manifest that Wanke has to resort to a specific historical event in order to explain the association of this theme with Jerusalem. The truth is that historical events generalized in the cultic descriptions of the pre-Exilic period would be quite sufficient to account for the appearance of the theme in Psalms xlvi and xlviii. Over the centuries many armies must have by-passed Jerusalem because it was too strong a fortress to take easily, and most certainly the event of 701 B.C. would emphasize this idea that Jerusalem was inviolable. No doubt it would be exaggerated; but such a poem as Psalm lxxvi could well be quoted as a parallel with a more obvious relationship to actual events. Wanke neither deals with this psalm nor with the inviolability concept in Isaiah, and he can only explain away Is. xvii 12-14 as a late passage. These are grave deficiencies in his argument. Moreover, the descriptions in the eschatological passages are much more complex than those in Psalms xlvi and xlviii. It would
be more natural to see the psalms as early precursors of the prophetic passages.

A more convincing paradigm for the development of eschatological prophecy would be as follows:

Wanke considers two other arguments. The first of these is the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion. He does not explore this theme very fully but he does maintain that the Korahite psalms remain within national horizons. This is a questionable conclusion which largely depends on the interpretation of Psalm lxxxvii. However, Wanke makes the interesting comment that Psalm xlvi only takes over in modified form the associated theme of the destruction of war weapons, and does not go as far as Is. ii 2-4. To be sure, the latter is a little more sophisticated, but the same ingredients are present. Naturally, Wanke argues that
Is. ii 2-4 is a late insertion, but if this is so, it is more likely that it depended on the psalm passage than vice versa. Does Wanke also believe that Is. ix 2-7 and xi 1-9 are late? The general tenor of these passages is not dissimilar to Is. ii 2-4. Here, as earlier, he does not adequately account for the similarities between Isaianic ideas and those of the Korahite psalms. It is not enough to classify "awkward" passages as late. The second of the two arguments concerns the use of the verb יִֽהְיֶהוֹ הנַֽחַל. Wanke maintains, on the basis of the word's use in the po'elel in Psalms xlviii 9, lxxxvii 1b, 5b and Is. lxii 7, that the word was applied to Jerusalem rather than the holy mountain only in post-Exilic times. To base such a statement on the use of a single word which has a very wide range of references is not at all convincing.

Wanke concludes his argument by analysing the development of the expression "the holy city". He maintains that Yahweh's presence was first associated with the temple, then with the temple mount and finally with the whole city. No doubt this order of development is a fairly accurate statement of the facts, as has already been noted in the discussion on Psalm xlviii. Wanke, however, further maintains that Jerusalem was not referred to as the "holy city" before the time of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Is. xlviii 2, lii 1, Neh. xi 1, 18, Dan. ix 24). Therefore, he argues that the appearances of this concept in Psalms x1vi 5, xlviii 2, 3, 9, lxxxvii 3 are later than Deutero-Isaiah. It is true that the concept does not appear elsewhere in pre-Exilic literature. On the other hand, the most likely place for such a
concept to appear would be in the Jerusalem cult. It is much more likely that Deutero-Isaiah depends on the psalms. Further, it would be natural for pilgrims in the pre-Exilic period to refer to Jerusalem as the holy city. It would be unnatural for Deutero-Isaiah to coin the phrase when the city was in ruins. In fact, he was using an already existing concept.

It must be admitted that Wanke presents the basic facts of his argument thoroughly. It is rather on questions of judgment as to the relationships between these facts that he has been criticized above. He certainly presents a possible explanation of the facts, but probability weighs against him when his arguments are analysed. The Korahite psalms are much more likely to have originated in their present form from the pre-Exilic period and not, as he suggests, from the fourth century B.C.