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salvation addressed to Judah and Israel to the description of a transformed world such as we find in apocalyptic.

In conclusion, what is the relationship between vv. 16b-25 and 65.1-16a and also to Trito-Isaiah in general? As opposed to 65.1-16a, the verses have this in common with chs. 60-62—they proclaim salvation to the whole of the nation; vv. 16b-25 make not the slightest suggestion of any cleavage. Another indication that vv. 16b-25 go along with chs. 60-62 are the striking links with Deutero-Isaiah's proclamation (vv. 16b and 17b with 43.18a; v. 19b with 51.11), with the concepts and terms which he employs (new creation, the former things, summonses to joy, designations for the chosen people), and with the whole feel of his style of writing. None of these characteristics applies to 65.1-16a. There can be no doubt that 65.16b-25 forms part of the nucleus of Trito-Isaiah's proclamation (57.14-21; 60-62). And, as the doublet to 62.8f. (65.21ff.) still shows, 65.16b-25 may once have formed the direct continuation of chs. 60-62.

CHAPTER 66.1-4

Heaven is my throne

Thus says Yahweh:

- 1 Heaven is my throne,
and the earth my footstool;
where then is the house which you might build for me,
where is the place where I might rest?
- 2 All these things my hand has made,
and all these things are [mine]^a, says Yahweh.

But this is the man to whom I look, he that is humble and contrite in heart,
and trembles at my word.

- 3 He who slaughters the ox—kills a man;
he who sacrifices a sheep—breaks a dog's neck;
he who presents a cereal offering—it is swine's blood;
he who offers incense—he blesses the idol.

^a With Vss. read *wə'li hāyū*.

As they choose their own ways
and take pleasure in their abominations,
4 so I choose affliction for them
and bring their fears upon them.

Because, when I called, no one answered,
when I spoke, they did not listen;
they did what is evil in my eyes,
they chose that in which I do not delight.

Verses 1-4 go together, without, however, being a closely-knit unit. Verses 1-2 form a complete and rounded-off utterance, with the building of the temple as their subject. Next comes, in vv. 3-4a, an utterance concerning sacrifice, which resembles a prophetic word of doom. Verse 4b and c are an addition, the words being the same as 65.12b and c.

[1-2] There has been great debate about the meaning of this utterance. But we arrive on firm ground once we recognize that vv. 1a, 2a and 2b are verses such as can be found in the Psalter. They are praise put into the first person (frequent in Deutero-Isaiah). More closely defined, they represent the motif found in descriptive psalms of praise: God is seated on high—and looks far down (Ps. 113.5f.) This explains first of all how v. 2b, which at first sight seems abrupt, does in fact go with v. 1a. It is its necessary supplement, 'the heaven is my throne—and I look down upon him that is humble.' Secondly, this removes any doubt that the words 'all these things' at the beginning of v. 2 refer to heaven and earth in v. 1. Thirdly, it establishes the fact that 66.1f. are an example of the same combination of the language of the psalms with that of the prophets as we find in a number of psalms, in particular Ps. 50, whose subject-matter, too, is parallel to that of the present verses.

But if this is so, it rules out any idea that the verses represent polemic against the building of a particular temple, whether that of the Samaritans or of some other schismatics. Instead, they are as general as the normal language used in the Psalms. Muilenburg offers an extremely good conspectus of the interpretations hitherto suggested, and the reader is referred to this. He comes to the same conclusion as I do. For heaven as God's throne, see Pss. 11.4; 103.19; Isa. 40.22. Elsewhere God's footstool is the ark (Ps. 132.7, etc.): this is the only passage where it is the earth. A temple cannot contain God's majesty: this is also said in I Kings 8.27: 'Behold, heaven and the

highest heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have built!' These words from the Deuteronomic account of the prayer at the consecration of the temple may come from about the same time as Isa. 66.1f. Compare also II Sam. 7.5f. These passages are sufficient to show that Isa. 66.1-2 are not entirely solitary in the Old Testament. Volz is correct in saying that this utterance was made shortly after the return in order to oppose a way of thinking which believed that salvation was entirely dependent on the building of the new temple (Hag. 2.19). It is important that we should be aware that Haggai's proclamation that the completion of the building of the temple would usher in the era of salvation here had a voice raised against it, one that found itself unable to approve of the idea that salvation should be so exclusively tied to the rebuilding. But the numerous commentaries which say that the verses represent the contrast of spiritual worship and formal worship do not, in my view, reflect what the man who spoke them was trying to say, since v. 2b, the verse taken from the psalm, is expanded in by 'and trembles at my word' (so also in 66.5 and Ezra 9.4; 10.3). The fact that the passage is set within a frame of words taken from the Psalter (vv. 1a and 2b), as well as the strong emphasis which v. 2b puts on God's word, are suggestive of the new form of worship which had grown up during the exile, a prototype of worship by means of the spoken word which was the origin of the synagogue. Where the essential things in worship are God's word and the response of the community that gives him praise, the holy place, God's house, loses its status as worship's indispensable precondition.

[3] The problem here is, how are we to conceive the relationship between the two unconnected, juxtaposed participles in the four lines of v. 3? The formulation is odd, and its background may possibly be the language of a *tôrā* on sacrifice (Elliger). There are two possible ways of taking the relationship: (1) 'he who sacrifices a sheep is *as* one who breaks a dog's neck', and (2) 'he who sacrifices a sheep is *also* one who breaks a dog's neck'. If the first is what is meant, it is a condemnation of the legitimate sacrificial procedures by putting them on a par with the worst sort of anal cult; the one is as loathsome as the other. Such a condemnation of legitimate sacrifice goes far beyond any other critical statements about it in the whole Old Testament (Muilenburg). But to adopt the alternative explanation is to make an odd divorce between v. 3 and vv. 1f. In this the subject is something entirely different. This is polemic against a form of

syncretism. The regular sacrifices to Yahweh are still offered (the four participles at the beginning of each line), but loathsome anal cults are practised along with them. There was the offering of human sacrifice (Jer. 7.31; 19.2-6; Ezek. 23.39) and of dogs. On this Muilenburg comments: 'According to Justin (*History of the World*, XIX, 1, 10) Darius forbade the Carthaginians to offer human victims in sacrifice or to eat the flesh of dogs.' The fact that the present enumeration resembles 65.3b-5 (and v. 7) in mentioning the offering of swine suggests that both passages have the same class of cultic malpractices in mind. *Mazkir* in the last line of v. 3 is an abbreviation; properly, 'he who makes a memorial offering of incense'. The second part of the line means literally, 'blesses the evil power'. In 65.1ff., the 'unfaithful' are the people who go in for such cultic malpractices; those condemned here are 'those who take pleasure in such abominations', and they have God's judgment announced them. The announcement, vv. 3b and 4a, is in the regular form and is very different in style from the series of participles contained in v. 3a. One has the impression that, protracting as their every word does—'as they . . . so I'—the inter-relationship between guilt and punishment, vv. 3b and 4a represent a later addition to the extremely terse series of participles. The motive would be a desire to give v. 3a the form of a prophetic oracle of doom. Verses 4b and c agree almost word for word with 65.12b and c. The language is manifestly Deuteronomistic, and the allegation a perfectly general one. 65.12, too, has the feel of an addition. In both places rehearsals during worship of such words as these against cultic malpractices may have been responsible for their addition. They are stereotyped, and represent something like a refrain in them. This would also show that we are now not dealing with prophecy of doom in its old sense. This is polemic in worship against cultic abuses dressed up as the old announcement of doom.

CHAPTER 66.5

Your brethren who hate you

- 5 Hear the word of Yahweh,
you who tremble at his word:

'Your brethren who hate you
and thrust you out for my name's sake,
say, "[Let Yahweh be glorified],"^a
that we may see your joy.'

'But it is they who shall be put to shame.'

This fifth verse of the final chapter forms a unit in itself. Quite obviously, the summons to hear in v. 5a marks the beginning of a fresh utterance. But at the same time, as is made plain by the many similar opening words in prophetic oracles, there can be no mistake that v. 6a, too, starts another fresh utterance. If we are to understand v. 5, we have to take it entirely by itself. It will shed light on an entire strand of oracles in Trito-Isaiah.

While v. 5 is modelled on a prophetic announcement of doom, this is very much transformed. The announcement comes in the closing words, 'but it is they who shall be put to shame'. It is intended as an announcement of salvation for the people addressed in v. 5a, 'who tremble at his word'. This means the devout or those who are faithful to Yahweh, and they are told that their opponents, 'your brethren who hate you', who at present mock them and 'thrust them out', will inevitably be put to shame. Nowhere else is the state of affairs between the two parties so clearly brought out.

The people addressed are those 'who tremble at his word'. We have met with this designation already, at the end of 66.2. Since its only other occurrence is in Ezra 9.4 and 10.3, it must be a designation of the devout used in worship, but current only for a short time after the return and thereafter completely ousted by the term 'those who fear God'. The emphasis put upon God's word is important. Since the

^a Read *yikkābēd* for *yikkād*.

others' mockery relates to a specific word, the proclamation of salvation, the reference is presumably to such as still believed in this.

'Your brethren who hate you say': this states quite clearly that the two parties are still members of the same community. Glahn is right when he says that 'the "hated" and "persecuted" are fellow-countrymen opposed by fellow-countrymen . . . They are next-door neighbours, in the same towns and villages'. The very fact that the devout still call their opponents brothers shows that the cleavage in the nation which eventually had such tragic results was only at its start. So far they are not designated in terms implying condemnation, such as transgressors, godless, etc. Further, there is no suggestion here that they are transgressors or godless. Thus we cannot be sure whether 66.5 refers to the same people as those accused in 65.1ff. and 66.3 of cultic malpractices. It may be so. But we cannot presume it offhand. One thing only is said of them here—they hate and thrust out those who in piety hold to the word of God. The oracle itself does not state the reason for their hatred. In all probability it reflects only the first stages of the growing tension between the devout and the transgressors. The thing that particularly suggests this is the forceful way in which the opponents of the devout display their superiority—'they thrust you out'. In the Talmud this word is the technical term for excommunication, exclusion from the synagogue. In the present passage it is not yet so; no more is said than that they are 'thrust out' or 'thrust forth'. The substantiation, 'for my name's sake', can only mean that, unlike their opponents, the devout range themselves on the side of God and his word. Connect this with the quotation which follows, and the reference may be to continuing belief in the prophecies. The clearest statement of the situation comes in the quotation which follows, spoken in mockery. It is in full accord with the way in which his opponents mocked Isaiah: 'Let him make haste, let him speed his work, that we may see it' (5.19), the only difference being that Isaiah's announcement is one of doom, and here it is of salvation. The words, 'let Yahweh be glorified', may have a connection with 60.1ff., and 'that we may see your joy' one with 61.10. Why is the object of mockery and hatred the holding fast to the prophecies? This is hard to say. Maybe the pious who awaited the time when salvation should come refused demands which their opponents deemed to be more urgent.

A final note on v. 5. The utterance presumes that signs of a cleavage were beginning to appear in Judah in the early post-exilic

period. It is a word of salvation designed to give support and encouragement to the people who held fast to Yahweh's words and, in particular, to the announcements previously made that God was to intervene and bring in the era of salvation. So far, however, the cleavage had not led to the formation of different parties. This utterance cannot be contemporaneous with chs. 60-62. These show no trace of such a cleavage. But v. 5 does presume the publication, and acceptance, of a prophecy of salvation, and in all probability this was Trito-Isaiah's (chs. 60-62). In this case, 66.5 represents a stage which came sometime after the publication of Trito-Isaiah's announcement of salvation, but before the parting of the ways between the two groups within the nation.

CHAPTER 66.6-16

Rejoice with Jerusalem

- 6 Loud uproar from the city,
a loud voice from the temple,
the voice of Yahweh,
bringing retribution to his enemies
- 7 Before she who was in labour gave birth,
before her pain came upon her, she was delivered of a son.
- 8 Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen a thing of the kind?
Shall a land be brought forth in one day?
Shall a nation be born in a moment?
For as soon as Zion was in labour
she brought forth sons.
- 9 Shall I bring to the birth and not cause to bring forth?, says Yahweh,
Shall I cause to bring forth and shut the womb?, says your God.*
- 10 Rejoice with Jerusalem
and be glad for her, all you who love her.
Exult with her in joy,
all you who mourn over her.

* On vv. 7ff. see C. M. Edsman, 'The Body and Eternal Life (Isa. 66, 7-8)', *Horae Soederblomianae* (1946), pp. 33-104.

- 11 That you may suck and be satisfied
with her consoling [breast],^a
that you may drink deeply and refresh yourselves
from the abundance of her glory.
- 12 For thus says Yahweh:
Behold, I extend prosperity to her like a river,
and the splendour of the nations like an overflowing stream.
Your infants shall be carried upon her hip,
dandled upon her knees.
- 13 As one whom his mother comforts,
so I will comfort you.
And you shall be comforted in Jerusalem.
- 14 You shall see, and your heart shall rejoice,
your bones shall flourish like the grass,
Yahweh's hand shall be known upon his servants,
and [his]^b wrath upon his enemies.
- 15 For behold, Yahweh comes [like]^c fire,
his chariots like the storm wind,
to render his anger in fury,
his rebuke with flames of fire.
- 16 For by fire Yahweh judges [the whole earth]^d
and by his sword all flesh,
and those slain by Yahweh shall be many.

The difficulty here is due to two transitions which are hard to explain, that from v. 6 to v. 7 and that from v. 14 to vv. 15f. It is reflected in the numerous attempts that have been made to smooth them out or elucidate them. But the difficulty can be very simply resolved. Verses 7–14, which form a unit and are obviously part of the nucleus of Trito-Isaiah, have been set within the framework (vv. 6 and 15f.) of an epiphany in which God comes to judge the world. This has a parallel in Deut. 33, where the 'Blessing of Moses' is also set within the framework of an epiphany (vv. 2 and 26f.). The reason for giving the same treatment to one of Trito-Isaiah's utterances of salvation can be easily seen if it is remembered that the same thing was done with chs. 60–62; they had the judgment of the nations appended to them (63.1–6). Such framing gives us a clear view of the

^a Read *miššad*.

^b Read *wəzā'mō*.

^c Read *kā'ēš*.

^d With LXX supply *'ēt-kol-hā'āreš*.

first step from Trito-Isaiah's post-exilic prophecy of salvation to apocalyptic which was just entering the lists. While this apocalyptic links on to Trito-Isaiah's proclamation of salvation, it interprets the latter as signifying a final large-scale divine intervention in which the other nations are destroyed, and which, for Israel, creates salvation in perpetuity.

[6] The verse depicts the uproar of a battle in which Yahweh brings retribution to his enemies, the speaker being a spectator at some distance off. The same word for 'uproar' (*šā'ōn*) is found in the same context in Isa. 13.4; 'Hark! a tumult on the mountains as of a great multitude doing battle!' Here, too, the verse introduces God's judgment upon the nations. The same expression for 'to bring retribution' occurs in 59.18 in the context of a community lament; 'he repays wrath to his adversaries and bring retribution to his enemies' (cf. also Jer. 51.6). These two parallels make it clear that the subject here is a divine judgment on foreign enemies of Israel. So also Muilenburg, who also refers to Joel 3.9–17, especially v. 16: 'the great theophany of the day of the Lord is implied'. In v. 6 the mention of the temple only makes sense on the presumption that it had already been rebuilt (see also Duhm).

[7–9] As in Isa. 49.20–23 and John 16.20ff., birth is here used as imagery for the advent of the era of salvation. But here the imagery is not simply set alongside the thing to which it is likened. It has been pondered upon, and as a result considerably altered. Once again we see that, while the basis is the proclamation of Deutero-Isaiah, the way in which it differs from this is perfectly plain. This simple imagery is developed along two lines. First, this is miraculous birth: the birth and the beginnings of the birth-pangs are simultaneous (v. 7). Secondly, this is unprecedented—'who had heard such a thing?' (v. 8a); what this means is explained in v. 8b: 'for as soon as Zion was in labour she brought forth sons.'

Verses 7–8 bear the stamp of pure announcement of salvation—the land of Judah has her exiled children all of a sudden restored to her, and this by a miracle, with no birth-pangs at all, that is to say, without wars or other dire events. But v. 9 appends a kind of disputation, a disputation of the scepticism that has ceased to think that the salvation will be a complete one. The idea that things would never come to actual birth has a question mark put on it. God has already begun his fresh saving work on Israel's behalf (the first return of 538): shall he not bring it to its completion? This tells us perhaps better

than anything else of the conditions in which Trito-Isaiah delivered his message. The imagery shows that Deutero-Isaiah's salvation had come to a stop half-way along the road. But now at this point begins Trito-Isaiah's proclamation, that the salvation is bound to come to birth, for it is the work of God.

[10-11] As a response to the message there is a summons to rejoice, one very closely dependent on Deutero-Isaiah. In the case of Trito-Isaiah we have already found such summonses to rejoice in 61.10 and 65.18 (cf. also 62.5b). But in both instances there was a slight change from Deutero-Isaiah. The same thing is to be found here in 66.10f. With Deutero-Isaiah Zion and his people are one. But here they are separate entities. Characteristically, Trito-Isaiah's summons to rejoice is made to 'all you who mourn over her', cf. 61.2 etc. The over-drawing of the imagery in v. 11 is also typical. As is so often the case with Trito-Isaiah, the turn towards salvation is reinforced by imagery suggestive of abundance. It means no more than 'that in order that you may share in the consolations which she is to experience'. Here, too, cf. 61.2. The word for 'to refresh oneself' occurs also in 55.2 and 58.14. *ziz* for udder or breast is only found here.

[12-14] We can now see the way in which vv. 7-14 are built up. The utterance begins with the message of salvation, vv. 7ff., verses 10f. summon people to rejoice in it, while vv. 12ff. merely give a fuller description of what this breakthrough to salvation will mean for Zion.

The likening of the salvation to a river is similar to 48.18. Gen. 39.21 uses the verb 'to extend' in exactly the same way of the extending of favour. The bringing of the riches of the nations to Zion is as in 60.5: 'the wealth of the nations shall come to you' (cf. 60.13; 61.6), the careful carrying of the children is like 60.4, cf. 49.22. Verse 13, in which the oracle of salvation attains its climax, is of particular importance for Old Testament discourse on the subject of God. 'This is the first time in the Old Testament that the witness borne to Yahweh breaks through the reserve which elsewhere it observes so strictly and associates feminine predilections with him. This lends all the greater conviction to what is here said of the passionateness of God's love for those who in sorrow and with humility wait for his salvation' (Kessler). The words, 'and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem', are an explanatory addition. Verse 14a corresponds to 60.5a. The likening of the revival to the springing up of the grass is to be understood against the background of a lament. In anguish the

bones waste away (Ps. 31.11 [10]). Similarly, in joy they become green.

[14b] '... and his wrath upon his enemies': Duhm takes this to refer to 'punishment of the Samaritans', others to that of the faithless. But throughout there is never any suggestion that the promise applies to only one set of people or one part of the nation. It applies to the entire chosen people, as always in Trito-Isaiah. Once it is recognized that the subject of vv. 15f. is God's judgment on the nations, then the last line of v. 14 can only have been meant as transition to this.

[15-16] The words 'for behold' at the beginning of v. 15 link on to v. 6 (see above). Details about God's judgment on the nations there announced (v. 6) are now given here. The key-words are, 'Yahweh comes'. What is described is God's drawing near to execute judgment on the nations. Among its concomitants are 'his chariots', which sweep on like the storm wind. His drawing near has its power given it by the power of his anger (v. 15b), and its goal is a combat to annihilate 'all flesh', 'the whole earth'.

The basis of these verses is the old description of an epiphany. It depicts God's drawing near to bring his chosen people help and to smite the enemies who oppress it (see above, p. 104). Here the emphasis is put on the annihilation of the enemies. Unlike what we find in the old epiphanies, these are not the various specific enemies who oppressed Israel at different times. They are the sum-total of the other nations, whose combined might is the last enemy, and God is to destroy them. The old epiphany whose purpose was to deliver Israel has been transformed into one whose import is the judgment of the world. There is a close similarity between the present description of God's advent to judge the nations and the one given in Isa. 30.27ff., and it is akin to the introductions to the oracles against the nations in Jer. 25 and Isa. 13. The various features in the description occur frequently. For the 'storm wind' in a similar context, see Isa. 29.6, for 'his chariots', Hab. 3.8; Ps. 68.18 (17); cf. Jer. 4.13; Isa. 17.12ff. Several of the concepts are found in Isa. 30.27ff.; in the old epiphanies Yahweh is the one who rides upon the clouds (Pss. 18.10 [9]; 68.34 [33]). God's judgment is upon 'all flesh' as in Jer. 25.21. Since there these words introduce the oracles against the foreign nations, there can be no doubt that here it also refers to God's judgment upon them. The final words are reminiscent of 63.1-6.

CHAPTER 66.17

(going together with 65.3b-5, 7b)

- 17 those who sanctify and purify themselves to go into the garden
behind one in the midst (?),
eating swine's flesh and [reptiles]^a and mice,
[their thoughts and their deeds]^b shall come to an end together,
says Yahweh.

Although vv. 17-24 are frequently called an appendix due to a redactor, this is not accurate. The passage is a compilation of various units, each of which has to be evaluated in isolation from the rest. Verse 17 is an independent unit. It has no natural connection with what comes before and after it. On the other hand, it so obviously goes along with 65.3b-5 and 7 that it should be taken as a later expansion of the latter verses' description of cultic malpractices. Kessler made a plausible conjecture; 'should it not be put in after 65.5a?'.¹

As in 65.3b, the case is one of a cult practised in the 'gardens'. 66.5 also speaks of particular consecratory rites for this cult, and also of the sacrifice of unclean animals. In addition to swine's flesh (65.4b) we here have reptiles and mice. But we also find an essentially new feature: the sanctifying and purifying is undertaken 'behind one in the midst'. Unfortunately, the text is uncertain. 'One' could also be read as a feminine, which would imply a priestess. Verse 17 is the main plank of Volz's thesis that mystery cults are here described. 'This recalls the mystagogue of the Eleusinian mysteries or the *pater patrum* of the worshippers of Mithras who initiated the members of the community into all the secrets.' He is therefore forced to make the verse very late. This is improbable, since a similar description in Ezek. 8.7ff. also has the words 'one in the midst'. Ezekiel describes cultic malpractices in use directly before the fall of Jerusalem. Therefore, both here and in Isa. 65, we should think of a revival of such cults in the early post-exilic period. For other possibilities, see Mulenburg *ad loc.*

^a For *šeqeš* read *šereš*.

^b 'Their thoughts and their deeds' should be transferred from v. 18 to v. 17.

CHAPTER 66.18-24

The final portion of the chapter, vv. 18-24, presents yet another great difficulty. Editors are in the main unanimous that the passage does not come from the author of chs. 60-62, but is a late addition. But, is it a unity? Verse 21 is the place where the difficulty is clearest. Who are the people meant by 'and some of them also I take?' Taking the words by themselves, there seems to be no way of getting round interpreting them in the sense of 'not only from the Israelites, but from the Gentiles as well'. In spite of this the majority of editors have referred them to the Israelites. Their reason for so doing is the verse which comes before them (v. 20), whose subject is the Israelites. In this case, the meaning would be that 'also from those brought back by the heathen as an offering I take some and make them priests and levites'. An objection to this is that some of those brought back might well be priests and levites already, but they could not now for the first time be assumed as such. But if it is impossible to relate v. 21 to v. 20, it can only be related to vv. 18f. In this case, vv. 18f. and 21 form one independent unit, and vv. 20, 22ff. another, the latter being a deliberate correction of the unprecedented statement made in the former. One can very well understand that to orthodox circles in the post-exilic period the announcement made in vv. 18f. and 21 would sound intolerable and therefore in need of amending! Thus, right at the end of the utterances collected in Trito-Isaiah, we are given testimony, both striking and moving, to the fact that, after the return, Israel had no one voice about the fate to overtake the Gentiles on the last day.

Verses 18f. and 21 are governed by the idea of the move out to the Gentiles throughout the world, a missionary move which is destined to reach them all. But vv. 20, 22ff. are governed by the idea of the move towards Zion and Judah, which are to be the scene where the division is made as between eternal adoration and eternal annihilation. The final section of Trito-Isaiah gives an abrupt confrontation between universalism and particularism. The Old Testament never again brings them into harmony.

66.18, 19, 21. My Glory among the Nations

- 18 But I am coming []^a
to gather all nations and tongues;
and they come and see my glory.
- 19 And I set up a sign among them,
and from them I will send survivors to the nations,
to Tarshish, [Put]^b and Lud,
[Mesech and Rosh],^c Tubal and Javan,
to the islands afar off,
that have not heard tidings of me
or seen my glory;
and they declare my glory among the nations.
- 21 And some of them also I take
as priests [and]^d levites, says Yahweh.

Bibliography: G. Rinaldi, 'Gli "scampati" di Is. 66.18-22', *Memorial A Gelin*, Editions Xavier Mappus, Le Puy, 1961, pp. 109-18.

[18] The opening words, 'but I am coming', relate directly to the words 'he comes' in v. 15 of the epiphany. The present speaker means that God's advent to judge the world is far from being the final act. It is followed by something else, a gathering for which there is no precedent. God's action in gathering, which elsewhere refers exclusively to the dispersed of Israel, is here extended to include all nations and tongues. This utterance makes God's salvation truly universal. The expression, 'all nations and tongues', is characteristic 'of later apocalypse and the New Testament, Zech. 8.23; Dan. 3.4, 7, 29; 6.25' (Muilenburg). The purpose of their being gathered is that they should come and see God's glory. It is hardly possible to pinpoint the meaning of *kābōd* here: it is God's proof of his sovereign

^a See p. 422, n. 2.

^b Read *pūt*.

^c Read *mešek w'rōš* with LXX.

^d Supply *w*.

power as attested by all that he does. It may perhaps mean the same thing as what was said in the trial-speeches of Deutero-Isaiah—God proves himself to be the one and only God as over against the gods of the nations.

[19] God sets up a sign (DSS plural) among the nations. It could mean a signpost showing those whom God sends the way. But the sign could also be the sending of the messengers itself. The 'survivors' are those preserved from the judgment of the nations. This links the passage with one of Deutero-Isaiah's (45.20-25), where the 'survivors of the nations' (v. 22) are invited to participate in salvation. The author of the present passage knew what that one implied (see *ad loc.*) And here he takes the earlier announcement a step further. The 'survivors of the nations', there invited to be participants in the salvation and to realize that Yahweh, the God of Israel, is the only true God, are here made into his ambassadors, missionaries sent to the far islands in order to proclaim God's glory among the other nations. This is the first sure and certain mention of mission as we today employ the term—the sending of individuals to distant peoples in order to proclaim God's glory among them. This completely corresponds to the mission of the apostles when the church first began. One is amazed at it: here, just as the Old Testament is coming to its end, God's way is already seen as leading from the narrow confines of the chosen people out into the wide, whole world. The annihilation of all the other nations in a great world-judgment—no, this is not the final word. But equally, it is not that they all journey to Zion and are absorbed into the community there. The final thing is the way taken by the word, borne by the messengers of his glory, to the peoples who are not Israel, all the nations in the world. This not only agrees with what Deutero-Isaiah said in 45.20-25. It also agrees with the places in the servant songs where the Servant is appointed to be a light to the Gentiles, and is destined to bring God's justice to them. There can be no doubt about it: the people who tell the tidings of God's glory are also characterized as witnesses. As those saved from a catastrophe (the 'survivors') and, as saved, having experienced that Yahweh is God, they go to those who have not seen or heard. As his witnesses they can be made into people who proclaim his glory among the nations.

Something still falls to be said about the various nations mentioned in v. 19b. Duhm deletes it, giving this as his reason: 'if the author of this passage is Trito-Isaiah himself, the names of the nations in v. 19

must be regarded as a later addition.' Köhler agrees with him. But if, as we have already seen, this utterance presupposes what is said about the judgment of the nations and represents a strand later than the nucleus of Trito-Isaiah, there is no reason for deleting the list. Duhm draws attention to a similar list in 11.11. The two may be contemporaneous. In its present context it makes the general terms, 'nations' and 'islands', refer to particular places. It has been composed on the basis of Ezekiel, and this is characteristic of the later period. Tarshish (Tartessus) was a Phoenician trading city in Spain, cf. 60.9, and Javan stood for the Ionians of Asia Minor or Greece (Joel 4.6, *BH*). Both are found associated in Ezek. 27.12f. The same is true of Tubal and Mesech (again in Ezek. 38.2 and 39.1). They are probably the same as the Moshi and Tiberani of whom Herodotus speaks, in Assyrian inscriptions Muski and Tabal. They are to the south or south-east of the Black Sea. Put (emendation for Pul) and Lud are peoples in Africa (Gen. 10.6, 13; Ezek. 27.10; 30.5). In place of *gešet* Duhm suggested reading *rōš*, since it stands alongside Mesech and Tubal in Ezek. 38.2 and 39.1. This shows that Trito-Isaiah had no special purpose to serve in giving the list as he did. It simply represents a collocation taken from Ezekiel.

[21] This final verse in the passage is designed to say that the witnesses and messengers from the nations are really just as much a part of the chosen people as those whom they won over by their witness. They are therefore qualified for service in the holy place. Here 'priests and levites' is simply a term equivalent to servants at the holy place.

This is a thing the orthodox never dreamed of—the admission to the innermost circles of priesthood, the prerogative of descent, of heathen! We can well understand why something was added to this. The nations and their future needed to be seen in their proper perspective!

66.20, 22–24 Eternal Worship and Eternal Destruction

- 20 And they bring all your brethren from all the nations
as an offering for Yahweh,
upon horses and chariots and in litters,
and upon mules and upon dromedaries
to my holy mountain, to Jerusalem, says Yahweh,

- just as the children of Israel bring their cereal offering
in clean vessels to the house of Yahweh.*
22 For as the new heavens and the new earth,
which I make, shall remain before me, says Yahweh,
so shall your descendants and your name remain.
23 And new moon by new moon, sabbath by sabbath,
all flesh shall come,
to fall down before me, says Yahweh.
24 And as they go forth,
they look on the dead bodies of the men
who rebelled against me.
For their worm shall not die,
their fire shall not be quenched,
and they shall be an abomination for all flesh.

Here the move out to the nations in all remote regions to win them to the faith has a move in the other direction as its counterpart; all the nations come to Zion. While there can be no doubt that v. 20 takes up the promise contained in ch. 60 (particularly vv. 4–9) and reiterates it, still, coming as it now does after v. 19, the promise has a very different ring about it. Its purpose is to amend an aberration. God's work upon the distant peoples by the hand of his messengers is cut down to what it signifies for Israel. One end alone is to be served by the great move out to the nations of v. 19—the nations are to bring back all the Israelites still dwelling in distant places. This is likened to the Israelites' bringing of offerings in clean vessels to the temple, a small yet not inconsiderable change as compared with the same procedure in ch. 60. The term 'offering' at the beginning and end of v. 20 represents the bringing back of the Israelites as a sacral procedure: God's holy mountain in Jerusalem and the sacrificial worship in Yahweh's house upon it are the middle-point of the world; absolutely everything moves round this middle-point. The thinking in terms of mission of vv. 18, 19 and 21 is sharply confronted in vv. 20, 22–24 by a sacral mode of thought that is conservative and absolutely

* Perhaps 59.21 should be inserted between v.20 and v.22:

And as for me: this is my covenant with them, says Yahweh:
my spirit which is (laid) upon you,
and my words which I have laid in your mouth,
shall not depart out of your mouth,
or out of the mouth of your children,
or out of the mouth of your children's children,
says Yahweh, from this time forth and for evermore.

static. Verse 22 promises the final, absolute and uninterrupted continuance of the Jewish cultic community ('your descendants and your name'). Here interest is so closely tied to this community that the 'new heavens and the new earth' (taken from 65.16) only serve as an illustration of its continuance—it is to be as enduring as they.

Verses 23 and 24 develop aspects of this final, everlasting persistence, everlasting worship (v. 23) and everlasting judgment (v. 24). Exactly the same thing is found at the end of Trito-Zechariah (14.16ff.), which is closely parallel to the end of Trito-Isaiah. It looks as if the intention in v. 23 had been to go even further than Zechariah. With the latter the survivors of the judgment of the nations come up to Jerusalem year by year for the feast of Tabernacles. But according to the present passage 'all flesh' (the meaning is as general as in e.g. Ps. 65.3 [2]) is to worship before Yahweh every new moon and sabbath. The absolute, uninterrupted continuance of the temple worship, in which 'all flesh' takes part, is the goal of history. Volz is right when he speaks of a 'cultic universalism'. But absolute, uninterrupted continuance also holds for the other aspect of it. Here for the first time, right at the end of the Old Testament, an addition made to another addition to Trito-Isaiah no longer represents God's punishment by way of annihilation as a once for all act, but as an eternal state, perdition. This is the earliest idea of hell as the state of perdition. It is destined 'for all who have rebelled against me'. This, too, is to be taken as of universal application, for all of God's enemies both within Judah, and beyond it. It should be noticed in this connection that the origin of this idea of everlasting annihilation was a counterpart to the everlasting worship in the temple on Mount Zion. It is a perpetuating of something within the temple and something outside of it in which all the movement of history is rigid. The world and the briskly moving course of history are radically reduced to the two localities, the mountain and the valley. The latter is the valley of Hinnom at the foot of Mount Zion, *gēhinnom*, which became Gehenna, hell, the place of torment. The people who worship before Yahweh in the temple thereafter go forth and look at the dead bodies of men whose annihilation is for ever; here this means seeing confirmation of God's victory over all his enemies. These are an 'abomination for all flesh'. The word for 'abomination', *dērā'ōn*, only occurs again in Dan. 12.2, which suggests that the addition is very late.

The Masora directs that, when this passage is read in the synagogue, v. 23 is to be re-read after v. 24. Many manuscripts also

repeat v. 23 after v. 24, 'in order that the reading in the synagogue should not end with the awful oracle of doom, but with a promise' (Volz).

This shows that, even in the synagogue, and even if they express themselves with reserve, there were people who were critical of this utterance. This is not the only place where the idea is found. It appears in similar terms in Zechariah 14, and then recurs in the apocalypses (e.g., Enoch 27.2f.); Mark 9.43-48 has a number of citations of Is. 66.24. Thus, the idea of eternal destruction must have made a deep impression.

At the end of his book Kessler says of the verse: 'this is a witness to the way in which Yahweh's holiness that judged all men was becoming more rigid in the form of the cultic and legal piety of later days.' One cannot but go a little further than the synagogue's reserved, almost unvoiced, criticism of this addition. The fact that vv. 18f. and 21 and vv. 20, 22ff. stand side by side make it terribly clear that in the post-exilic period what people had to say about the way in which God was going to act upon Israel and upon the other nations lost all unanimity and took two different roads. These two passages show both of them, the second being obviously designed to amend the first. In the light of the New Testament our only course is to agree with the first, the one which proclaims the great missionary move out to the nations. This means, then, that we must be critical of vv. 20, 22ff. But over and above this, an Old Testament critic is bound to say that a theology which ordains one place of eternal annihilation for all God's enemies along with the perpetuation of a worship restricted to one place is alien to the central core of the Old Testament. Here, in the interests of rendering absolute a worship that is tied to a place and in the counterpart which the verses give this, the avowal of God's action in history and towards the people who are travelling onwards, the avowal which was Israel's very foundation, is abandoned.

