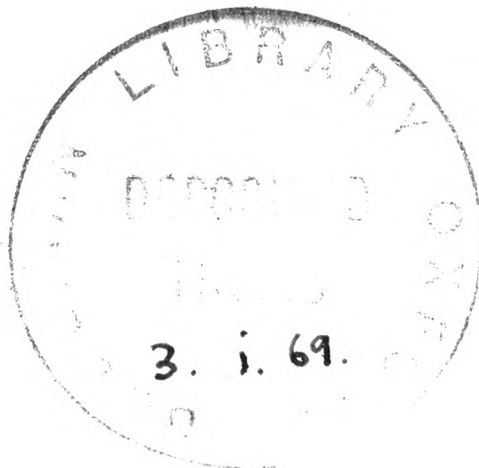


THE LANGUAGE
OF
PROPHETIC ESCHATOLOGY
IN THE
OLD TESTAMENT

ABSTRACT OF THESIS



The INTRODUCTION sets out the two major aims of the thesis. The first is to evolve a precise and economical terminology for describing the language of prophetic eschatology and to find objective criteria for description, the problem being how to decide whether such language is intended literally or otherwise. The second aim is to show that and how the prophets use nonliteral poetic imagery, not for ornament or decoration, but in attempts to sway their audience, present condensed argument or assertion, and show contemporary situations in a new light. The main lines of approach in subsequent chapters are then sketched out.

PART 1 of the thesis deals with the methodological and semantic questions involved in THE DESCRIPTION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER 1 discusses BASIC PROBLEMS. The method and conclusions of James Barr are accepted as fundamental, and an outline is given of some of the positive principles for handling linguistic evidence that can be drawn from his work. Chief of these is the principle of contextual determination - that verbal and cultural contexts are determinative in assessing the meaning of any word, image, or complex of ideas. The cultural context of prophetic eschatology is then discussed, and it is claimed that though Ancient Near Eastern parallels are of great value, the primary cultural context of prophetic eschatology is that of the Israelite Yahwistic tradition.

Some definitions of 'eschatology' by Old Testament scholars are then considered. Those which define eschatology mainly in terms of expected events are seen to be inadequate to the biblical material, while their authors are found to lack the objective criteria for language description necessary for their successful application. It is found that G.W. Heaton's definition is

more adequate, and also avoids getting entangled in the problems of language description, because it concentrates on the purpose of God as the deciding factor. This definition, slightly modified, is therefore accepted.

CHAPTER 2 begins an analysis of THE LITERAL-NONLITERAL DISTINCTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ESCHIATOLOGY. In the introduction it is noted that the distinction between literal and nonliteral meanings of language is often used by biblical scholars, but without any agreed or exact terminology. Reference is also made to emphases in recent literary criticism which Amos Wilder claims may be of assistance in biblical studies.

The following section describes Arthur Koestler's theory of creativity, which sees the creative process as a bringing together of two different ideas or patterns of thought so that they interact with each other ('bisociation'), producing a new insight. On the level of poetic verbal creation Koestler's analysis is confirmed by the succeeding discussion of metaphor, where it is shown that metaphor bisociates two situations, often so completely that attitudes, ideas and feelings appropriate to one can be transferred to the other; that in the bisociative act the two situations are seen as one in an 'imaginative synthesis'; and that metaphor is not a dispensable decoration but a distinctive mode of achieving insight which cannot be completely paraphrased by literal statement. Attention is also given to the distinctions between metaphor, simile and allegory and to the relationship between poetic verbal creation and scientific discovery.

CHAPTER 3 continues this analysis by defining terms. From the linguistic studies of Ullmann and Nida it is found possible to describe the basic opposition between literal and nonliteral language in terms of the relation between central

and extended meaning and the semantic transparency of the latter.

Various aspects of literal and nonliteral language are then explored. Synecdoche and metonymy (transfers on the basis of contiguity) are distinguished from simile, allegory and metaphor (connections on the basis of affinity). There is found to be a polarity between creativity and conventionality in literal and nonliteral language, an example of which in the latter is the distinction between 'live' and 'dead' metaphor. The different levels of conscious awareness in nonliteral language are then examined and such language is divided into three types - formal, figurative, and synthetic. The first is conventional nonliteral language not spontaneously felt as such (e.g., dead metaphor). The second is creative nonliteral language recognised as such. The third is creative nonliteral language as understood in the act of bisociation, when two situations are seen as one. These three categories and their interrelationships are analysed in semantic terms. As applied to prophetic eschatology it is suggested that the distinctions between synthetic, figurative, formal and literal interpretation are of particular importance in the case of 'cosmic language' (language which on a literal interpretation describes changes in the physical universe).

The word 'imagery' is then defined, and in conclusion it is shown that the analysis of the literal-nonliteral distinction has validated Amos Wilder's emphases from literary criticism. Additional Notes deal with H. Wheeler Robinson's theory of diffused consciousness and Thorleif Boman's discussion of Israelite visual perception.

CHAPTER 4 deals with MYTHICAL IMAGERY IN PROPHETIC ESCHATOLOGY. The first part of the chapter shows that mythical thought views large areas of reality with the same kind of 'unitary' perception as that which operates

in poetic bisociation, so that, where the language of mythical thought expresses this perception, it is synthetic rather than literal, formal, or figurative.

In the second part it is found that the Yahwistic tradition in the Old Testament broke away from the unitary perception of reality predominant in Ancient Near Eastern mythical thought by distinguishing decisively between God and Creation and asserting the absolute sovereignty of Yahweh's will over nature and history. The belief in the absolute - and therefore ultimate - sovereignty of Yahweh's will is the basis of eschatology. Some suggestions concerning the use of mythical imagery in prophetic eschatology are then considered, and it is found that its presence or absence is not in itself a criterion for the presence or absence of synthetic language. H.G. May's use of the criteria of parallelism and close proximity can sometimes show when mythical imagery is nonliteral, but cannot distinguish between its possible nonliteral meanings. Finally, attention is given to S.B. Frost's theory of the absolute eschaton, whereby the juxtaposition of imagery of cosmic changes or universal judgement with references to particular historical events in certain prophetic passages is seen as an example of unitary perception, the former interpreting the significance of the latter, rather than as a temporal sequence of literal events. It is found that Frost cannot himself validate the theory, and it is decided to give it further discussion in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 5 sets out those INTRINSIC CRITERIA FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL LANGUAGE which have emerged from the preceding analysis of the literal-nonliteral distinction. The six criteria listed are: Explicit Statement that two situations are being brought together (which shows that the language is figurative); Explicit Comparison (the juxtaposition of a

simile with a metaphor on the same image, showing that the latter is figurative); the Degree of Correspondence between the two situations; the Degree of Development of the imagery; Impossible Literality (an image that could not possibly be taken literally is probably therefore recognised as nonliteral and is therefore figurative); and the Originality of particular poetic bisociations.

PART II of the thesis gives EXEGESIS OF SELECTED PASSAGES.

The GENERAL INTRODUCTION explains the selection that has been made and defends it as a representative sample, chronologically, methodologically, and in respect of the problems that arise.

CHAPTERS 6 and 7 analyse the LANGUAGE OF ESCHATOLOGY IN AMOS AND HOSEA, with a view to comparing the two prophets and applying the intrinsic criteria for description.

In the discussion of Amos (Chap. 6) attention is concentrated on six authentic passages that present problems of language description or interesting uses of literal or nonliteral imagery, namely: 1:2 - 2:16, 3:12, 5:1-3, 9:1-4, 5:18ff, and 8:9-10. It is found possible to employ several of the intrinsic criteria set out in Chapter 5. The analysis shows the emotive intention and mechanisms of Amos' literal and nonliteral imagery, gives supporting evidence that his eschatology was one of doom, and shows that his preaching had the initial aim of inducing repentance. It is found that Amos expected Yahweh's eschatological judgement to be enacted primarily through invasion and exile, and that the cosmic imagery of 5:18ff and 8:9 is probably synthetic.

The analysis of Hosea (Chap. 7) follows a similar pattern. Seven passages are given detailed treatment: 5:13-14, 7:11-12, 8:7, 13:3, 13:7-8, 13:15- 14:1 (EVV 13: 15f) and 2:4-25 (EVV 2:2-23). Once again, the intrinsic criteria are successfully applied, and it is found that Hosea, like Amos, has a strong persuasive and emotive intention. The image of Israel the adulterous wife in 2:4-15 (EVV 2-13) is particularly worthy of note in this regard, and is found to be synthetic.

In comparing Amos and Hosea it is found that Hosea uses imagery of greater complexity and that he not only depicts Yahweh's judgement in equally uncompromising terms but actually heightens the element of ferocity and wrath.

CHAPTERS 8 and 9 analyse the IMAGERY OF THE RETURN IN SECOND ISAIAH.

The introductory section of Chapter 8 shows how acceptance of a late exilic date for Second Isaiah raises the problem of how he understood his imagery of the levelling and transformation of the desert in connection with the return to Palestine. Scholarly opinion regarding the interpretation of this imagery is surveyed and each of the possible passages referring to the return is then analysed in detail. The passages in question are: 40:3-5, 41:17-20, 42:13-17, 43:2, 43:16-21, 48:20-21, 49:8-13, 51:9-11, 52:11-12, 55:12-13. It is found that these passages have a variety of form and imagery; that Second Isaiah expected a return to Palestine in the near future, to which all but two of the passages refer; that almost every passage has a reference to Exodus traditions; and that the prophet's hope is undoubtedly eschatological. Another striking feature is the repeated insistence on the acknowledgement to be given to Yahweh's redeeming acts. Six passages are found to contain cosmic imagery, their two major themes being the way through the desert (and levelling

of the mountains) and the provision of water in the desert (and change from desert to woodland).

These two major themes are analysed in Chapter 9, which begins with an analysis of Second Isaiah's imagery of the way and then discusses his imagery of mountains and hills, water in the desert (with the associated image of Yahweh causing drought), and the provision of trees in the desert. The imagery of the way is found to be drawn from the twin sources of contemporary roadbuilding and Exodus traditions. After this the threads of the discussion are drawn together. A table shows Second Issiah's imagery of the return and related imagery and it is noted that he uses a wide variety of images in different contexts and combinations. Analysis of the imagery leads to the general conclusion that Second Isaiah's primary aim was not to give a precise literal description of the return but to marshal poetic images in order to persuade the people to adopt appropriate attitudes to the coming deliverance. His use of imagery drawn from Exodus traditions is shown to have this primary intention. Possible criteria for language description are then discussed, and it is noted that the intrinsic criteria, though applicable at minor points, are unproductive when applied to the cosmic passages. Criteria suggested by Skinner, Sydney Smith and Lindblom are also found to be inadequate. The attempt is therefore made to interpret Second Isaiah's imagery of the return from indications supplied by the imagery itself. On this basis the image of Yahweh causing drought (42:13-17) is found to be either synthetic or figurative, while the imagery of the provision of water in the desert is actually (43:16-21) or potentially (41:17-20) literal expectation, as is the imagery of growing trees in 41:17-20 and 55:12-13. The roadbuilding ingredient in the imagery of the way is found to be either synthetic or figurative.

CHAPTER 10, the final chapter, deals with FURTHER EXAMPLES OF COSMIC IMAGERY relating to FROST'S THEORY OF THE ABSOLUTE ESCHATON, which had previously been outlined in Chapter 4. Five passages are examined. In the case of Zephaniah 1. and Joel 1-2, D.J. Bourke's arguments in favour of unity are accepted, and it is noted that their acceptance overthrows the 'universal-particular' presupposition (that a juxtaposition of cosmic imagery or statements of universal judgement with references to particular historical events excludes the possibility of original unity). Micah 1:2-7 is then examined, and it is found that there is one point in favour of unity and no grounds for denying it apart from the universal-particular presupposition. In Isaiah 13 the metrical evidence for the unity of vv.9-11 combined with the evidence of content for the unity of vv.2-16 indicates that the chapter is a unit, as does also its chiasmic structure. Muilenburg's literary analysis of Isaiah 34 is accepted as convincing evidence of its unity, and it is found that 'Edom' in this passage is not symbolic of Gentile nations or empires but refers literally to the Edomites. Similar considerations are found to apply to Isaiah 63:1-6, which is analysed in passing. The imagery of Isaiah 34: 9-17 is found to be a creative adaptation and development of Isaiah 13:19-22. Micah 1:2-7 is then reconsidered and, on the basis of the preceding discussion, accepted as an original unit.

There follows a discussion of the relation between the universal-cosmic and particular-historical elements in the five passages. The theophanic imagery of their cosmic portents is found to be derived, directly or indirectly, from the cult, where it was understood synthetically. It is concluded, however, that this fact cannot be a guide to its interpretation in the prophetic passages. The passages are then re-examined. It is found that Micah 1:2-7 describes the

anticipated, probably military, destruction of Samaria in synthetic cosmic imagery and in terms of Yahweh's universal judgement. Similar considerations are found to apply to Zephaniah 1, Isaiah 13, and Isaiah 34 (with Isaiah 63:1-6), which use similar synthetic imagery, combined with statements of universal judgement, of the anticipated military destruction of Judah, Babylon, and Edom, respectively. In Joel 1-2, imagery of cosmic portents is found to be used synthetically of a particular locust plague which the prophet felt to be a manifestation or enactment of the final Day of Yahweh which he describes in Chapter^s 3-4. In every case the ultimate or cosmic dimension of Yahweh's action is shown to be apprehended by the prophet, not as following on, but as enacted or actualised in, the particular historical events described. Frost's theory is therefore validated in its essentials as far as these passages are concerned.

The POSTSCRIPT briefly points to further questions raised or re-opened by the research. It is suggested that the main findings, if accepted, have ramifications within and ^beyond Biblical Studies, and particularly in the field of New Testament eschatology and Apocal_ptic.

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Brian A. Wren.

Hockley, Essex.
March 1968.

TO MY WIFE

כִּי פתחה בחכמה
ותורת-חסד על לשונה

Prov. 31:26

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- 1 -

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The language of Old Testament prophetic eschatology presents a problem of description. In the words of Amos Wilder:

Did the writer mean his words to be taken literally - including the references to immediate fulfilment? Are they to be read as 'Oriental poetry' or as 'poetic heightening', or as an 'accommodation to language'?..... Is the cosmic language supposed to refer to 'spiritual', that is supermundane realities; or to such realities seen as paralleling earthly phenomena; or is it rather an imaginative version of the earthly phenomena themselves?¹

Though Wilder clearly recognises the problem, two factors prevent him from solving it. The first is his lack of a clear terminology. Terms such as 'Oriental poetry', 'poetic heightening', and 'accommodation to language' are far from being precise, and although Wilder and many others use the distinction between 'literal' and 'figurative' (or 'symbolic') forms of language, no sufficiently precise definition of these terms appears to be available at present, nor any thorough-going analysis in semantic terms of the literal-nonliteral distinction.

The second reason why Wilder fails to solve the problem is his lack of objective criteria for distinguishing between literal and nonliteral language. Though he criticises R.H. Charles for his unsystematic oscillation between 'literal' and 'poetic' explanations², he offers no justification for his own blanket application of the term 'mythopoeic'³. Wilder's lack of criteria is shared by many other scholars. When Mowinckel defines 'eschatology' as referring to expectations of the end of the world, his definition presupposes

1. EIEC p. 229.

2. EIEC p. 229 n.

3. EIEC passim.

the possession of criteria for deciding when 'end-of-the-world' imagery is intended literally, since only in such cases would the definition apply. Mowinkel has few such criteria and uses them haphazardly¹. Other examples of the current lack of criteria will appear later².

Accordingly, the first aim of this study will be to analyse the literal-nonliteral distinction in order to evolve a clear and economical terminology for the different types of language. A number of criteria (called 'intrinsic') will be found to emerge from this analysis. The first thesis, or argument, of this study, then, is that exact terminology and objective criteria are needed for the description of eschatological language, that those worked out here are valid (though capable no doubt of further refinement), and that they can be applied to Old Testament prophetic texts.

The analysis of the literal-nonliteral distinction will show that in simile, metaphor and allegory, two situations are brought together, by comparison in the first case, and by a process called bisociation in the other two, whereby they interact and are seen as one³. This is not to be dismissed as a 'colourful' use of language for ornamental purposes but is, or can frequently be, a way of extending knowledge because it persuades the hearer or reader to see one situation in terms of the other, and often to transfer feelings or attitudes from one situation to the other. This understanding of the cognitive and emotive function and mechanisms of poetic language will be applied to selected prophetic texts. It will show both that and how the prophets used literal and nonliteral imagery in an attempt to convince and persuade their audience, present condensed argument and assertion, show contemporary situations in a new light, and bring out their significance in Yahweh's purpose. Such an approach to prophetic poetic imagery is not in itself new, but seems previously to have operated haphazardly, without clear knowledge of the linguistic mechanisms involved.

1. see below pp12-15 2. see below pp15-19, 102-109 3. A simple example of this is Amos
footnote 3 cont. next p

Thus, the second aim of this study is to analyse the poetic imagery of prophetic eschatology, the thesis or argument here being that the analysis of poetic creation undertaken in chapters 2 - 3 is basically sound and that its subsequent application to particular prophetic texts shows it to be a useful interpretative tool.

It has been necessary to make a selection of passages because it was not possible to cover the whole prophetic corpus. Any selection must be to some extent arbitrary, but the passages chosen can be defended as a representative sample, both chronologically, methodologically, and in respect of the problems that arise. An analysis is made of all the eschatological language in the two earliest 'writing' prophets, Amos and Hosea, then of a particular problem in an exilic prophecy (imagery of the return in Second Isaiah), and finally of a distinct type of imagery and structure in a number of passages from different periods. The particular problem discussed in the last two cases is cosmic imagery, i.e., language which on a literal interpretation refers to changes in the physical universe - earthquake, eruption, darkening of heavenly bodies etc. The intrinsic criteria are not very helpful here since they operate only when it is clear that the language is bisociative, and indications of this are often absent or hard to find in cosmic language. One problem with cosmic language is thus to find other criteria for description. The selection of prophetic texts will be defended more fully below¹.

The basic problems of describing language raised in recent biblical interpretation will be discussed in Chapter 1, together with the meaning to be given to the word 'eschatology'. In Chapters 2 - 3 will follow an analysis of the literal-nonliteral distinction. Chapter 4 will consider the related question of the language of Ancient Near Eastern mythical thought and categories and

Footnote 3 cont. from p. 2: 4:1, "You cows of Bashan", the interaction here being between the two ideas or situations, 'women of Samaria' and 'Bashan cattle'. On this whole question see below pp. 28-31, 33 ff.

the extent to which the Old Testament, and within it the prophets, broke away from these. The intrinsic criteria will be set out in Chapter 5, after which the preceding analysis will be applied to the passages previously mentioned.

In conclusion it may be noted that the general approach here will be from the standpoint of linguistic semantics (rather than, e.g., linguistic philosophy)[†], and that, as is common in Biblical studies, this enquiry is concerned with the original meaning of the language in question. Thus, when language is described as 'literal', 'figurative', etc., the reference, unless otherwise stated, is to the understanding of it that may be presumed to have existed in the mind of the person who first uttered it. It may of course be granted that others, contemporary or later, could have understood the same language differently.

To save space, references to books, commentaries, and periodicals are usually in abbreviated form. When not otherwise stated, references to commentaries are ad loc. Where Hebrew and English verse-numeration differ, the Hebrew is given first, with the English in brackets. A list of abbreviations is placed at the end, together with a glossary of the most important technical terms.

1. See Barr, SBL pp.1-2, and his reference to Ullmann, POS, pp. 7-12.

PART ONE

THE DESCRIPTION

OF

ESCHATOLOGICAL LANGUAGE

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC PROBLEMS

Before discussing the language of prophetic eschatology one must decide what principles should govern any investigation of language, and what definition should be given to the word 'eschatology'. These two basic problems will be considered in turn.

A. LANGUAGE AND CONTEXT.

A/1 THE USE OF LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE.

In describing language a correct linguistic method is a prerequisite of correct interpretation. This study accepts as basic the methods and conclusions of James Barr¹, together with his criticisms of certain procedures in recent biblical interpretation, including attempts to build a 'biblical' philosophy of time on false lexical oppositions between words like *καριος* and *χρουνος* and *καριος* and *קָיָוּ*², unsystematic attempts to compare the Hebrew and Greek languages on the unquestioned assumption that differences in linguistic structure reflect differences in mental pattern³, false arguments from etymology⁴ and the Kögel-Kitt~~le~~^{el} approach to lexicography⁵.

Few scholars have seriously questioned Barr's findings. Stephen Neill, without amplification, describes one of his works as showing signs of hasty composition, but accepts many of his criticisms⁶. Thorleif Boman, whose work

1. SBL, BWT. 2. BWT pp.20-81. 3. See SBL Index, under 'Hebrew thought'.
 4. SBL pp.107-160. 5. SBL pp.206-262.
 6. The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861 - 1961., Oxford, 1964, pp. 329 - 334.

Barr criticises severely, is unable to perceive the fundamental issues involved, and reiterates the assumptions that Barr is questioning¹. Brevard S. Childs accepts many of Barr's criticisms of Pedersen², but occasionally shows signs of similar methodological faults³. He also claims that Barr's contribution to Biblical studies is a negative one, and compares his work with Schweitzer's Quest of the Historical Jesus, as marking the end of a phase of research⁴. Since Childs' negative estimate of Barr is not untypical, it will be helpful to set out some of the many positive principles for the handling of linguistic evidence which can be drawn from his work, and which may act as guidelines for study. Four points are of particular importance⁵.

Firstly, there is Barr's general conclusion, that research must concentrate on what biblical writers say, not the words they say them with⁶. This is because, as Barr points out:

It is the sentence (and of course the still larger literary complex such as the complete speech or poem) which is the linguistic bearer of the usual theological statement, and not the word (the lexical unit) or the morphological and syntactical connection⁷.

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1. Review of SBL, SJT Vol.15, pp.319ff, e.g., p.322: "But if there exists such a racial-psychological difference (between Greek and Hebrew thought) how could there be no trace of it in the languages?"
 2. MTI p.20f.
 3. e.g., MTI p.20f, where his reference to "the mythopoeic background of dabhar in the cult" seems to be a mixture of theological and linguistic statements (c.f., SBL pp.124f, 162f, 246ff and see below p. 8).
 4. Review of SBL, JBL 80, 1961, pp.374ff.
 5. Others are:
 - (i) the importance of validity of word substitution and the giving of translation equivalences for the testing and establishing of different senses of particular words in context (BWT pp.107ff, 110ff).
 - (ii) "the inability of language to comprehend complexive formations as totalities". (SBL p.80f); The example Barr gives is that of tense distinctions, which are abstractions picking out only one aspect of an action. The fact that (for instance) the Hebrew verbal system is aspective, tending to mark the completeness or incompleteness of an action, does not mean that the hearer of a Hebrew speaker describing an action would not usually be aware of its situation in time vis-a-vis the speaker and hearer; other linguistic devices, and the verbal and situational contexts, can and usually do contribute the necessary time indications.

In consequence of this, and because the sentence, unlike the word, is unique and non-recurrent, the question of the distinctiveness of biblical thought will usually need to be settled at sentence level, not by arguments from lexical, syntactical or morphological phenomena¹.

A second principle is the importance of a careful linguistic method in order to avoid confusing linguistic with non-linguistic statements. Such confusion can be seen in the erroneous correlation of the theological statement that the Church or People of God is called into existence by the Voice or Word of God with the linguistic observation that the word קָהָל (assembly) is etymologically related to the word קוֹל (voice)².

A third and allied principle is the importance of determining the exact semantic contribution of a particular word to its context. Examples of failure to do this are frequently cited by Barr³. Particularly striking is Boman's treatment of וַיִּשְׁרַח . Boman claims that wirken, to effect, is one of the meanings of this verb and quotes it as having this meaning in 2. Kings 2:21, "There shall no longer be death or miscarriage in it (the water)". Against this Barr points out that the sense of causation by the water is what is implied by the whole sentence, not the specific semantic contribution of וַיִּשְׁרַח . In fact, Boman's treatment here illustrates:

The danger of taking a case of a word along with its context and suggesting that the signification which is given through associations of the context is in fact the indicator value of the word⁴.

Conversely, while the meaning of a context must not be confused with the meaning of individual words within it, it is also true that the semantic value

(Footnotes 6 and 7 from previous page). 6.SBL. p.270. 7.ibid p.262, c.f.p.269.

1. ibid. p. 269f, c.f., BWT pp.147, 155.

2. SBL p.124f.

3. e.g., SBL pp.124ff and 235.

4. SBL p. 69 c.f., SBL pp.61ff. 129ff., 188, 220ff, 232ff, and BWT p. 67ff.

of a word is determined by the contexts in which it occurs, by usage and not by etymology¹. The paramount importance of context in determining word meaning is also stressed by linguists like Ullmann², Nida³, and others.

The principle involved here, which may be called the principle of contextual determination, has implications beyond the verbal level, since to understand the full meaning of certain words, phrases, and imagery it is essential to know something of the 'context of situation'. In the words of Ullmann, this means:

..... in the first place the actual situation in which an utterance occurs, but leads on to an even broader view of context embracing the entire cultural background against which a speech event has to be set.....The full meaning and overtones of certain words can be recaptured only if we replace them in the cultural context of the period⁴.

The principle may therefore be fully stated by saying that verbal and cultural contexts are determinative in assessing the meaning of any word, image, or complex of ideas.

A/2 THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF PROPHETIC ESCHATOLOGY

This raises the problem of what constitutes the cultural context of prophetic eschatology. At different times suggestions have been made that the true cultural context of the Old Testament, and by implication the prophets, is that of so-called 'primitive societies', or alternatively of the Ancient Near East, and attempts have been made to interpret Old Testament material in these terms. As regards the former, H.F. Hahn has shown that the application of 'prelogical', 'magical', and 'dynamistic' theories to the Old Testament gave only partial and fragmentary insights for interpretation because of its tendency to treat the Old Testament as homogenous and concentrate on the 'primitive' elements, and its neglect of "the more distinctive features of Old Testament religion"⁵.

1. SBL pp.107ff.

2. SISM pp.67,148ff, POS pp.62,65.

3. TSOT pp.38-39, where he shows the relation between an uncontexted word and its meaning in particular contexts.

Concerning the latter, the problem is more complex, because of the extent and closeness of the comparative material, which has undoubtedly shed a flood of light on the history and institutions of Israel. The major difference of emphasis has been between those who have worked inwards from the comparative material and those who have worked outwards from the Old Testament. The question of which is the correct method was raised over thirty years ago by S.H. Hooke and others in a volume of essays on 'Myth and Ritual'¹, and was debated in later works on the same theme². At some points reliance on the presumed universal pattern of myth and ritual led to unwarrantable inferences from Old Testament material, as when T.H. Robinson argued for the existence of a sacred marriage between Yahweh and Anath, followed by Yahweh's death and resurrection³, and when Ivan Engnell found an almost identical pattern of King-God and New Year Festival in several different Ancient Near Eastern societies⁴. The difference in emphasis and method may be illustrated by comparing Engnell with Aubrey Johnson⁵. Both agree that the comparative material is important, and stress the importance of recognising what is distinctive. Engnell, however, gives more weight to the comparative material while

(footnotes from previous page).

4. SISM p.50. 'Context of situation' is a term coined by Malinowski.
 5. OTMR pp.44-82. The quotation is from p.74, c.f. Albright ARI pp.28-33 FSAC pp. 178f, 196ff, 295-298. 209ff.
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1. M&R - see Bibliography.
 2. e.g., DK, KGOD, IAAM, Prob.Sim., Siege, MRK.
 3. M&R pp.184-189.
 4. DK passim. The oversimplification of this treatment can be seen by comparing it with Frankfort (KGOD pp.3-12, 295ff), Gurney (MRK pp.105-121), De Langhe (MRK pp.122-148) and Johnson (SK e.g., p.26f, and passim), on Accadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Hebrew Kingship respectively; c.f., Frankfort, Prob. Sim. passim.
 5. See MAOT, 1959 esp. p.19 and ExpT 1950 p.41; c.f., the careful discussion of method by Bentzen, OUTS VIII 1950, pp.85-88.

Johnson emphasises the importance of the immediate and in this case Old Testament context. The difference in emphasis is evident in their writings on kingship, where Engnell tends to blur the differences between different cultures¹, while Johnson works from the Old Testament context and bases his arguments on a careful and detailed analysis of texts².

The position taken here is that Johnson's method is the correct one, and the Ancient Near Eastern parallels must be treated in the light of the Old Testament context and not vice versa, since the primary and determinative cultural context of prophetic eschatology is the Israelite Yahwistic tradition. The language of prophetic eschatology will therefore be evaluated against that context, and this procedure will be justified in a later chapter, where it will be shown that the Old Testament, and in particular the prophetic tradition, broke away radically from the mythical thought and categories predominant in other societies of the Ancient Near East, because of its distinctive conception of Yahweh as lord of nature and history³.

B. THE MEANING OF THE WORD ESCHATOLOGY

The word 'eschatology' has been in use in English for over a century⁴. It apparently began life as a coinage or borrowing intended as a shorthand term for the complex of ideas in dogmatic theology covered by the latin title, De novissimis, namely, the 'Four Last Things' - death, judgement, heaven and hell⁵, for 'eschatology' appears with this definition in English dictionaries from 1848 onwards and throughout the nineteenth century⁶. Indeed, the Oxford

1. see above, p 10 and note 4. 2. see MKK pp.204-235 and SK passim.
3. see below pp 98-102.
4. The earliest reference cited by NED is in G. Bush, "Anastasis, or the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body" (London, 1845 - American author).
5. See the many older treatises with these titles in Section 3A (Numbers 1993-2363) of Ezra Abbot's bibliography attached to the 10th Edition of W.R. Alger's "The Destiny of the Soul, a critical history of the doctrine of the future life" (New York, 1878, pp.766-782).
6. See the BIBLIOGRAPHY, Section A., below, pp 334-6.

English Dictionary of 1933 still retains this narrow definition, although in biblical studies the word had long since broadened considerably in meaning as the result of increasing knowledge.

In this discussion, definitions of the word 'eschatology' will be assessed in terms of convenience rather than correctness. They will be regarded, not as 'right' or 'wrong' in the light of what is taken to be the 'traditional' meaning of the word, but as more or less useful according to their success in describing essential connections and categories of prophetic thought¹. The only proviso is that the word should not be used in a sense totally divorced from earlier usage, as this would make it meaningless².

If one characterises the traditional meaning of "eschatology"³ very loosely as, 'doctrines or conceptions of the last things', it may be said that recent discussion in Old Testament studies has centred round two major elements, finality and newness, which can be more or less closely derived from it: finality because much Old Testament material appears to contain ideas or expectations of the end (of the nation or the world), newness because the end in view is often thought of as the prelude to a new beginning. Both categories, together or separately, have been employed in attempts to designate prophetic material as 'eschatological', and emphasis has been placed on the finality or newness, both of expected event(s) and the purpose of God⁴. A few recent discussions and definitions of 'eschatology' will now be examined, beginning with those that concentrate on expected events, with a view to determining which of the possible permutations is the most appropriate one.

B/1. ESCHATOLOGY AS EXPECTED EVENT
B/1/1 MOWINCKEL

Mowinckel defines eschatology as being concerned exclusively with the end

1. This last point is made by E.W.Heaton, in unpublished lecture material, cited by permission c.f.Lindblom, PAI p.360, S.Th.VI p.79ff; Vriezen, P&E pp.200-202; Clements, PAC p.104.
2. c.f.Barr, MMOT p.1. 3. i.e.as used in 19th century English Dictionaries (see n.6 p.11. H.C.P. above.)

of history, and the coming of a new, utterly different reality, ushered in by a catastrophic act of God¹. He makes use of the categories of both finality and newness in his discussion², and his definition has the appearance of simplicity and clarity. Two difficulties arise when it is given closer consideration. The first is that in defining eschatology in this strict sense, Mowinckel contrasts it with earlier expectations described only as a future hope³. Such a label hardly does justice to the preaching of the pre-exilic prophets, where the finality involved is often one of judgement. If 'eschatology' is to be used only of the end of the world, some more appropriate term would have to be found for the earlier expectations with which it is contrasted.

The second difficulty arises in connection with the definition itself. Its successful application to the Old Testament demands criteria for making distinctions between literal and other uses of language, since only if end-of-the-world imagery was understood literally can it be called eschatological in Mowinckel's sense. Though Mowinckel gives evidence of having some such criteria he uses them when they are not relevant and fails to use them when they are. After saying that there is no doctrine of an end of the world in the pre-exilic prophets, he explains their use of cosmic imagery thus:

(footnote 4 from previous page).

4. The two go together, (expected events are eschatological because God's purpose is revealed in them) but emphasis can be and has been placed on one or the other.

1. HTC p. 125f.

2. "Eschatology is a doctrine...about 'the last things'...and implies that the present...world order will suddenly come to an end and be superseded by another of an essentially different kind" (HTC p.125f, c.f.p.262f).

3. HTC p. 136.

Admittedly Israel was to all intents and purposes their 'world' and that of their hearers; and a catastrophe which shattered that world was for them a catastrophe of world-wide dimensions. It could therefore be described in the most impressive language...But in all this nothing implies the end of the present world order¹.

In support of the last sentence Mowinckel points to indications that Amos, Isaiah and Jeremiah expected history to continue after the destruction of Israel. This would be a valid criterion when such imagery, if literally interpreted, would mean the end of the world, and would show that it was nonliteral. In the majority of cases, however, a literal interpretation of such cosmic imagery - e.g. earthquake and darkening of the heavenly bodies - would not entail the end of the world, and Mowinckel's criterion would be irrelevant.

Conversely, in the case of Trito-Isaiah's references to new heavens and new earth, where such criteria are essential, Mowinckel does not apply them.

He says that:

The Trito-Isaianic circle speaks of a new heaven and a new earth; and even if this ought not to be taken entirely literally (for it is linked with ideas from the New Year Festival indicating a renewal of the universe, which has become old, effete, and corrupt), yet it reveals the other-worldly, cosmic character of the Future Hope².

This is not clear. Firstly, Mowinckel's argument that Trito-Isaiah is 'non-eschatological' depends on his being able to say that the language in question is not understood literally at all. If it ought not to be taken "entirely" literally, then presumably there is an element of literal expectation and Trito-Isaiah is to that extent "eschatological". Secondly, with regard to the parenthesis, Mowinckel may mean that the new-creation imagery is not "entirely literal" because it is drawn from synthetic cult-language of the New Year Festival³. The logic of this is not compelling, for the language in question

1. HTC p. 131.

2. HTC p. 151.

3. On synthetic language see the GLOSSARY and below pp 25-28, 65-71.

has not been assessed in its context but discussed in terms of its provenance. Mowinckel does not consider it in its context or offer criteria by which this might be attempted. The surprising thing is that criteria for rejecting a literal 'end of the world' interpretation are available in the context in the case of Isaiah 65:17ff, where Lindblom shows that a literal interpretation is unlikely because of the references to such 'this-worldly' expectations as long life (65:20), prosperity (v.21) and security from enemy attack (vv.21-22)¹.

Mowinckel's definition of eschatology is therefore inadequate since it makes a misleading contrast between 'eschatology' and 'future hope' and does not deal clearly enough with the problems of language it raises.

B/1/2 LINDBLOM

Lindblom chooses a broader definition:

There are many references in the prophecy of every period to a coming transformation of prevailing conditions so great that a new order may be said to have come into existence. But this new order does not presuppose 'the end' in the strict sense, the passing away of this world and the creation of another. It is appropriate to speak of a new order when changes of so far-reaching a character have taken place that a new epoch may be said to have dawned. Predictions of such a new age...may be called eschatological....Of course, it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between what is eschatological and not eschatological in the Old Testament, since 'normal' historical events can be described in such exalted terms that they appear to have an eschatological character; but generally it is practicable to make the distinction here proposed. Thus all events that refer to the age to come are to be designated as eschatological, even when they form part of the historical process².

This definition rightly starts from the biblical material and takes account of the element of newness in prophetic preaching. On the following page, however,

1. S Th VI p.106.

2. PAI p. 361, c.f., S.Th.VI p. 80ff.

one finds Lindblom speaking both of positive eschatology (expectations of a new age) and negative eschatology (expectations only of an End)¹. The latter does not fit his definition, for the idea of a new age (with the transformation of prevailing conditions, which suggests that eschatology is primarily salvation) is the dominant and essential element in the definition, while the expectations of judgement in the pre-exilic prophets refer not to a new age, but to the end of this one, without anything necessarily following.

The inconsistency is even more marked in Lindblom's earlier work, where he gives a list of passages embodying a universal eschatology, most of which refer only to judgement and an end², and then claims that one can speak of a new age as being expected in these passages, since the world judgement and the situation which will begin after it means something quite new, a new order of existence³. Since many of the passages do not mention a new age after the judgement, the obvious conclusion is that Lindblom has recognised that they merit the title 'eschatological' because of their note of finality, and so tries to fit them into his definition, which, because it concentrates exclusively on the element of newness, cannot comfortably contain them. This shows that the definition is inadequate for the material.

Lindblom makes some interesting comments on the difficulties of describing the language of prophetic expectation. He points out that some features of the prophets' message which suggest eschatology in Mowinckel's sense are only stylistic and linguistic features⁴. These include descriptions of Yahweh's interventions as theophanies⁵, and the use of mythological motifs⁶. From

1. PAI p. 362.

2. S.Th.VI pp.89-97. Passages cited referring only to an end include Is.10:21-23, 13, 18:1-6, Jer. 25, Obad 15f, Zeph. 1:2-3, 1:14-18, 3:8.

3. ibid p.97.

4. PAI p.362 c.f. S.Th.VI p. 82ff.

5. PAI p.362; S.Th.VI p.84ff.

6. PAI ibid; S.Th. VI p.86f.

Lindblom's discussion it remains unclear, however, how such language is to be understood. The difficulties of language description come out clearly when he discusses Yahweh's day against all that is lofty and high in Isaiah 2:1-21:

What provokes the fury of Yahweh and his merciless judgement is the pride of men, which is depicted by metaphors taken from nature (the cedars of Lebanon, the oaks of Bashan etc.) and from the self-sufficiency of human culture (high towers, fortified walls etc.)¹.

This implies that the language concerned is nonliteral. In his article, however, Lindblom says that how the judgement will come is uncertain, but cites Gressmann's opinion that it will take the form of a divinely inspired tempest or earthquake². This suggests a literal interpretation. Thus, Lindblom seems uncertain whether the language is literal or nonliteral. Nor does he give criteria for accepting either interpretation.

The same uncertainty and lack of criteria emerge when Lindblom deals with imagery of natural catastrophe, and visionary or fantastic description. In the first case his comment is:

Fire, tempest, storm, hail, flood, earthquake, pestilence, hunger, drought, sword, the shedding of blood, wild beasts, darkening of the sun, mist and haze - these all belong to Yahweh's arsenal, when he marches out to execute his verdicts of judgement...How is this to be understood? None of the catastrophes enumerated here fall outside the range of the ordinary experiences which can happen at any time in Palestine. When they are heightened beyond normal limits in the prophetic descriptions, this is often only to be regarded as poetic exaggeration³.

while in the second he says that:

It is in the nature of such descriptions to work with traditional motifs, images, and symbols, which usually have a very loose connection with concrete reality. To look for exact descriptions of fact in such descriptions would be...misguided...⁴.

1. PAI p.365f.

2. S.Th.VI p. 89f.

3. S.Th.VI p. 86f.

4. ibid p. 87. (translations mine).

The second quotation and final sentence of the first suggest that a distinction is being made between figurative or synthetic language¹ ('poetic exaggeration', 'very loose connection etc.') and literal language ('normal limits', 'exact descriptions of fact'), but Lindblom does not say how this distinction is to be made, or express it with sufficient precision. Nor, in the second passage, does the fact that the catastrophes mentioned fall within the range of normal Palestinian experience itself demand a literal interpretation. Thus, though Lindblom is aware that a problem of description exists, he has no criteria by which a solution might be attempted.

This lack of criteria raises a further question concerning Lindblom's definition of eschatology, since in order to distinguish between 'normal' historical or natural events and changes so far-reaching that a new age can be said to have dawned, one must have criteria for determining when prophetic imagery is 'poetic exaggeration' and when it literally describes a "transformation of prevailing conditions so great that a new order may be said to have come into existence"². The New Age terminology certainly applies well enough to many passages with which Lindblom deals³, but the more weight one gives to the language difficulties he enumerates, the less can one have confidence in the general applicability of his definition.

Lindblom's distinction between 'normal events described in exalted terms' and a real change in the world order also presents some difficulties. If one asks: 'what is a new age?', Lindblom answers: 'changes of so far-reaching a character that a new epoch may be said to have dawned'. If one then asks: 'when is a new age not a new age?' the answer would appear to be: 'when normal events are described in exalted terms'. This begs the questions of why 'normal' events

1. On synthetic language see below, pp 25-28, 65-71, and GLOSSARY, pp 630-2.

2. Above p 15.

3. S.Th VI esp. p.97ff; the earlier group of passages fall under the criticism made above, p 16.

should have been so described if the prophet did not see in them a newness which demanded such exalted terms, and why, if the prophet thought of the 'normal' events in such exalted terms, one should deny that such expectations constitute for him the hope of a 'new age'.

Thus, Lindblom's definition of eschatology does justice to certain elements of newness in prophetic expectation, but not to the note of finality in pre-exilic prophecy. Though he gives considerable thought to questions of language, his lack of criteria for language description limits the applicability of his definition and begs important questions about prophetic expectation.

B/1/3 FROST

According to S.B. Frost, eschatology is:

a congeries of beliefs and ideas which are marked by the expectation of a future event which is the effective End in the mind of the one using the term¹.

irrespective of whether the end expected is in history, or of history:

The person concerned no more asks what follows the eschaton than does the child ask what follows 'they lived happily ever after' or the Marxist attempt to peer beyond the sublimation of the historical process in the classless society. Only conceptions marked by that sense of finality are properly eschatological and the term should be reserved for them².

This definition, like Mowinckel's, is initially attractive and has the appearance of simplicity. The idea of finality is generalised from the traditional meaning in a manner which is interesting in itself, and would, if successfully applied to the material, do better justice to unqualified expectations of judgement than the definitions previously considered. The definition could also cover ideas of a 'new age' after judgement, since this might also be thought of as the 'final' event.

1. OTA p. 32, c.f., E&M p. 70.

2. ibid.

The concentration on the category of finality leads, however, to an arbitrary restriction of material. If taken seriously¹, the word 'eschatology' can only be applied to those expected events which constitute the effective end in the mind of the person using the term, and thus, only those prophets who explicitly describe their expectations as final are eschatological. The criticism still stands if one merely requires that the expected event in question can be inferred to be the effective end in the prophet's mind. On this assumption Hosea's prophecies of doom would be non-eschatological because he looked beyond them to see the final event as restoration, while the doom prophecies of his contemporary, Amos, would be eschatological because the expected events constituted the effective end in his mind. Second - Isaiah's hope of restoration would not be eschatological because to him the end was not the return itself but an eventual world dominion and conversion of the Gentiles². The early doom oracles of certain prophets (e.g. Hosea) would probably have to be described as eschatological when first delivered and said to lose that character when the prophet later came to expect salvation after judgement, and judgement ceased to be the effective end in his mind. In short, Frost's definition makes an arbitrary restriction in the material that can be called 'eschatological', with the result that frequently the differences between so-called 'eschatological' and 'non-eschatological' material are minimal. The definition is therefore not sufficiently definite to be of much value.

1. Frost does not seem to do so, for ten pages later one finds him distinguishing between a historical expectation of a better age and an eschatological expectation of a golden age, the first being Yahweh's intervention in the events of history, the second an irruption into history of such finality that there are no after-events (OTA p.48). On his initial definition the second expectation is too narrow a restriction of eschatology, while the first could often conceivably be described as eschatological.
2. c.f., North, TSI p. 12.

B/1/4 INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

The definitions so far considered make different choices as to the categories to be regarded as basic to "eschatology". Mowinckel chooses both finality and newness, but uses a narrow definition of them, while Lindblom and Frost take newness and finality (in a broader sense) respectively. All three, however, concentrate almost exclusively on the expected event as the decisive factor. To be sure, the end of the world and new reality (Mowinckel), new age (Lindblom), and end in general (Frost), are all brought about by God, but it is the event itself, rather than God's purpose in bringing it about, that is emphasised. This concentration on finality or newness in expected event gives a restricted view of the material and leads immediately to the difficulties of language description which such definitions directly (Mowinckel) or indirectly (Lindblom), involve.

Such difficulties may be avoided, however, by making a shift of emphasis from expected event to the purpose of God, for the material excluded by the definitions of Mowinckel and Frost, and the imagery dismissed as poetic exaggeration by Lindblom, while not meriting the title 'eschatological' from the point of view of finality or newness of expected events, could certainly be so described insofar as it relates to final or new elements in God's purpose. Moreover, a definition from the standpoint of God's purpose, though it would not solve the problems of language, would avoid getting entangled in them at the start.

B/2 ESCHATOLOGY AS A CONVICTION ABOUT THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE OF GODB/2/1 CLEMENTS

A basis for such a definition is provided by R.E. Clements. In a lucid survey of recent writing on the prophets he argues that the prophetic message presupposed a covenant between Yahweh and Israel, and that the principal place

of the prophets is as Yahweh's messengers concerned with the covenant relation¹. The Law codes of Israel presuppose this relation, and if the earlier prophets had not taken their standard of morality from the Covenant Law they could not have accused Israel of disloyalty to Yahweh in the way they did. They understand the events of their time, the advent of judgement, as directly related to Israel's flagrant violation of the covenant law². Similarly, they condemn the cult not absolutely but because it had abandoned the covenant traditions of Israel's past³.

That the covenant relation is the background to the prophets' message is shown by their references to earlier election traditions. Clements here cites the references to the Exodus as the divine election event in Amos⁴ and Hosea⁵, and the knowledge of both Davidic and Exodus covenants with the use of the latter as determinative in Jeremiah and Ezekiel⁶. Though the main reference in Isaiah and Micah is to the Davidic covenant⁷, it is still the covenant relation that is appealed to, and David most probably brought the Ark to Jerusalem to associate the older covenant with his monarchical regime⁸.

Since Clements stresses the covenant relation as the background of the prophetic preaching and message, it is to be expected that he should discuss eschatology in terms of Yahweh's will and purpose, and adopt a broad definition:

We may, therefore, adopt a broad definition of eschatology which renders it suitable to describe the biblical ideas of God's purpose in history. Eschatology is the study of ideas and beliefs concerning the end of the present world order, and the introduction of a new order. This leaves room for two important features which generally persist in Israel's hope. These are that Yahweh's purpose with the world is bound up inextricably with his unique covenant relationship with Israel, and that his dealings with Israel take place in the arena of history⁹.

1. PAC p.25.

2. ibid pp.70-80.

3. ibid p. 100.

4. (2:9f) ibid p.45.

5. (11:1,12:10(9),13:4).ibid p.46.

6. ibid p. 51.

7. ibid p. 49.

8. ibid p. 59.

9. PAC p.105, c.f. p.113f.

This is an improvement on the definitions previously cited in that it gives equal weight to both finality and newness, and emphasises Yahweh's purpose as well as expected event. Though it still clings to expected event as the main factor, the use of the word 'concerning' allows a wider range of material to be included than previous similar definitions. Against the background of Clements' discussion, however, it is surprising that his definition does not make a more decisive shift to Yahweh's purpose.

B/2/2 HEATON

A definition of eschatology which does this, and so dovetails neatly with Clements' material, is provided by E.W. Heaton. He begins with the observation that, ~~in its use to describe biblical material, the future action of God is that,~~ in its use to describe biblical material, the future action of God is common to all understandings of eschatology, and argues that the prophets' emphasis on the future arose from their belief in Yahweh as the Living God working out his ultimate purpose in historical events. On this basis, 'eschatology' can be seen as a fundamental theological category describing God's ongoing purpose in history as well as his action at the end of it. Chronological finality is indeed too narrow a criterion of eschatology, since God is believed to be at work in all future history and in the prophet's own times.

Heaton comments further on the category of newness, referring to Von Rad's recognition that the prophetic emphasis on Yahweh's new action contrasted strongly with the 'orthodox' beliefs that his work had finished¹. He then puts forward the following 'working definition':

Eschatology denotes that complex of ideas which arose from the prophets' conviction that Yahweh, the Living God, was inaugurating a new action in history in relation² to his people and to the final consummation of his purpose².

1. c.f., e.g., O.T.Th.II ET pp.112-119.

2. This and remainder of references to Heaton are unpublished lecture material used by permission.

In the light of Heaton's reference to God's future action as common to all understandings of eschatology, it would be better to say that it denotes "that complex of ideas concerning the future which arose, etc.". With this minor addition, his definition is the most appropriate one from the point of view of this study. It covers a wide range of prophetic language concerning Yahweh's future action, does justice to the elements of newness and finality, and avoids getting bogged down in problems of language at the start.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LITERAL-NONLITERAL DISTINCTION
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
ESCHATOLOGY

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION AND
PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION: THE LITERAL-NONLITERAL DISTINCTION
IN ESCHATOLOGICAL LANGUAGE.

The previous chapter has shown both the importance of careful description of language in discussions of eschatology and the current lack of adequate criteria for such description¹. Criteria for deciding between literal and other types of language obviously cannot be found and applied until the relevant distinctions in meaning have been explored and terms found to express them.

The distinction between literal and nonliteral meanings of language has often been used in the interpretation of biblical² and Ancient Near Eastern³ texts in general and eschatological language in particular. At present there is no agreed terminology and the distinction is generally spoken of as being between a 'literal' or 'realistic' interpretation on the one hand and a

1. See above pp 12 ff On the lack of criteria see also below pp 102-9.
2. e.g., Johnson, VITI p.53; G.E.Wright, OTAE p.27; Evans, LSI pp.231-3 esp. p.232 n.1; and chapter 8, pp 191-5 below.
3. e.g., Frankfort, KGOB pp.299-301.

'metaphorical', 'figurative', 'symbolic', 'allegorical', 'idiomatic' interpretation on the other.

At least two writers have suggested that this distinction is inadequate. Forty years ago, Nathaniel Micklem felt obliged to question its validity, both on psychological grounds and because of an intuitive feeling that poetry could not be subjected to such sharp alternatives. Referring to Gressmann's argument that the passage describing the exaltation of Zion in the new age must either be interpreted 'allegorically' or 'literally', he maintains that the dilemma is too facile, since such language often is, and is always like, the language of dream or vision, and is to be interpreted accordingly¹. Similarly, he regards it as an error to suggest that Amos "was consciously using metaphorical language with his eye all the while on Assyria"², because:

To think that he is consciously using metaphor is to misunderstand the vividness and immediate nature of the prophetic vision. With the eye of his mind (which is like the eye of the dream) he sees this vision; and yet we cannot take it literally and prosaically without reducing it to barren nonsense³.

Micklem's distinction, then, is between "mere metaphor, more or less consciously used"⁴, and language used "literally and prosaically", and he regards this distinction as inadequate. He does not, however, explore possible alternatives.

Not long after, Amos Wilder made similar suggestions⁵, which he has recently developed in more detail⁶. He begins from what he regards as the basic semantic question, "what is the nature of imaginative symbol?"⁷. After a discussion of

1. MPE p. 29.

2. MPE p. 116.

3. ibid.

4. ibid.

5. 'The Nature of Jewish Eschatology', JBL 50, 1931, pp. 201ff, esp. p.204.

6. STAR, c.f. NTFT chap. 2, pp.38-71, & EIEC.

7. STAR. p. 3.

the Myth and Ritual school and Bultmann he lists three factors which obscure the real nature of imaginative symbolism for the theologian: a dogmatic prejudgement that the imagery is literally true; a sentimental prejudgement which jumbles all such imagery together as "poetry"; and a rationalistic prejudgement which attempts to extract a doctrine or idea from it¹. He then turns to recent literary criticism and finds in it three emphases which can be of assistance to the Biblical scholar. The first is that poetic imagery can have traditional evocative and emotive power; there are "images which are used recurrently like signals to renew group loyalties and to arouse action"². Seen in this light, such symbols as the New Jerusalem are important in themselves, and cannot easily be exchanged for other tokens of frustrated aspiration³. This leads Wilder to his second emphasis, that myth and what he calls "mythopoetic" statement cannot be paraphrased (completely translated into a discursive equivalent), with reference to which he quotes the dictum that "poetic truth is inseparable from poetic form"⁴.

His third emphasis is that:

A poem or unit of mytho-poetic discourse represents a fusion in one act of imagination of many contributory and often apparently contradictory aspects of experience. The poet interprets the heterogeneity and disorder of common experience by a synthetic act of vision, often by the use of a mythological pattern⁵.

Thus,

We cannot apply to the imaginative representations in question our modern alternatives of literal and symbolic. They were meant neither literally nor symbolically but naively⁶.

1. ibid p.9.

2. STAR p.9, c.f. also his remarks in NTFT pp.64ff, 74, 78, 121, 166, 169.

3. ibid.

4. ibid, c.f. NTFT p.55.

5. ibid p.10, c.f. NTFT p.55.

6. ibid p.11.

Elsewhere, Wilder states that the language of Jesus concerning judgement and a new age was:

neither literal nor consciously symbolic, but in its proper sense, naive¹.

Micklem and Wilder between them present three possible ways of interpreting eschatological language. It may be regarded as literal or consciously non-literal, or else this distinction may be thought inadequate and the language described as 'naive' - which, in the light of Wilder's third emphasis, presumably means a "fusion" of literal and nonliteral meanings or a lack of distinction between them. This suggested alternative may be described as 'unitary'.

The apparently total rejection of the literal-nonliteral distinction by Micklem and Wilder is unreasonable, since it is as a priori as the uses of it which they criticise. Nor are Micklem's psychological grounds for rejecting it convincing. Even if one accepts his generous estimate of the amount of visionary material in the texts, he overlooks the fact that visions and dreams are often recognised as such and interpreted, which shows that the state of event therein described was known not to be literal description². Wilder's appeal to literary criticism carries more weight, and in the present and succeeding chapters his three emphases will be tested and an attempt made to explore and refine the literal-nonliteral distinction and the 'unitary' alternative.

B. THE CREATIVE PROCESS - KOESTLER

A useful beginning is Arthur Koestler's analysis of "The Act of Creation"³,
by which ^{he} means:

the conscious and unconscious processes underlying scientific discovery, artistic originality, and comic inspiration⁴.

1. NEFT p.82f.

2. c.f. Genesis 37:5-11, 40:1 - 41:36, Daniel 2, 4 (EVV 4:4ff), 7 (esp. vv. 15-18), 8 (esp. v. 15ff), Zechariah 1:8-17, 2:1-9 (EVV 1:18-2:5), 4:1 - 6:8.

3. London, 1964, title of volume.

4. ibid. p.21.

The essence of Koestler's theory of creativity is found at the beginning of Book I of his work¹, where he analyses laughter. The reason for beginning with the comic is that the discussion can here be put on a sound biological basis since:

Humour is the only domain of creative activity where a stimulus on a high level of complexity produces a massive and sharply defined response on the level of physiological reflexes².

This response can be used as an indicator of the comic and so provide a starting point for discussion of other forms of creativity³.

Koestler then quotes the following anecdote:

Chamfort tells the story of a Marquis at the court of Louis XIV who, on entering his wife's boudoir and finding her in the arms of a Bishop, walked calmly to the window and went through the motions of blessing the people in the street. 'What are you doing?', cried the anguished wife. 'Monseigneur is performing my functions' replied the Marquis, 'so I am performing his' 4.

Koestler points out, firstly, that there is a difference between the progress of tension in this story and in a tragic treatment of the same theme (marital infidelity). In 'Othello' the tension increases to its climax, when Othello strangles Desdemona, and then ebbs away in a gradual catharsis. In the anecdote, the tension rises but is brought to a sudden end by the unexpected reaction of the Marquis and explodes into laughter. Secondly, the nature of the unexpected reaction is that the Marquis' action has the logic of give and take, when one expects him to act according to the logic of marital infidelity. Similarly, in the anecdote:

A convict was playing cards with his gaolers. On discovering that he cheated they kicked him out of gaol⁵.

1. Book I deals with human creativity, Book II with analogous phenomena at all levels of biological evolution.

2. KAC p. 31.

3. *ibid.*

4. *ibid.* p.33 (quoted from Freud's essay on the comic).

5. *ibid.* p. 36.

- two different rules, that 'offenders are punished by being locked up' and 'cheats are punished by being kicked out', each self-consistent, collide unexpectedly in a given situation¹. The underlying pattern in these stories and, as Koestler maintains, in all creative activity, is:

the perceiving of a situation or idea, L, in two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference, M₁ and M₂².

To describe this process he coins the term bisociation, to distinguish it from ordinary association of ideas on the same plane, and uses the term, "matrices of thought/behaviour", for the two planes or frames of reference involved, a matrix being "any ability, habit or skill, any pattern of ordered behaviour governed by a 'code' of fixed rules"³.

This analysis enables Koestler to distinguish between two ways of escaping from the predominantly automatic routines of thinking and behaving. The first is to plunge into dreaming or dreamlike states, where the normal codes of thought are suspended. The second is to escape in the opposite direction of creativity, which is signalled:

by the spontaneous flash of insight which shows a familiar situation or event in a new light, and elicits a new response to it. The bisociative act connects previously unconnected matrices of experience⁴.

In the different realms of creativity the result of the bisociative act is said to be either collision resulting in laughter, fusion resulting in intellectual synthesis, or confrontation resulting in aesthetic experience⁵; or, as Koestler

1. ibid.

2. ibid p. 37.

3. ibid. pp.37f. Koestler points out that codes are not always conscious, and often function below the level of consciousness on which the activity takes place - e.g. in riding a bicycle the governing code (balance) is unconscious; (ibid. p.42ff.).

4. ibid p. 45.

5. ibid.

says elsewhere:

laughter is sparked off by the collision of matrices; discovery, by their integration; aesthetic experience, by their juxtaposition¹.

Koestler's discussion contains three elements of particular importance: the theory of bisociation itself, with its emphasis on the combination of previously unconnected areas of experience; the element of suddenness, the spontaneous flash of insight which brings it about; and the distinction Koestler makes between humour, discovery, and art.

These three points come to the fore again in the analysis of scientific and other discovery. Koestler argues convincingly that such discoveries conform to a common pattern. There is first a problem which requires solution. The person dealing with it at first attempts a solution according to whatever code has previously sufficed for similar problems. If the problem contains new elements which make it impossible to solve by means of the old code, 'blocking' occurs, and thought runs round in circles. Such activity may alternate with more abstracted states of mind², and the blocking persists:

until either chance or intuition provides a link to a quite different matrix, which bears down vertically, so to speak, on the problem blocked in its old horizontal context, and the two previously separate matrices fuse³.

Among the many examples given by Koestler one may select Gutenberg's discovery of movable type printing. Previously, printing had proceeded by the clumsy method of taking wooden blocks, engraving them in relief, wetting the block, placing paper on it, and rubbing the back of the paper. Playing cards were made by this method. The first matrix in operation was therefore printing from a block by rubbing. Since Gutenberg wanted to print whole books, in particular the Bible, the first problem was to find some way of printing individual letters

1. ibid. p.408.

2. ibid. p.118f.

3. ibid. p.119.

and building these up into words. Proceeding on the lines of the 'printing' matrix, Gutenberg got the idea of casting individual letters from the analogy of the dies used in punching coins. This was a step forward, but did not solve the problem of how to print, as the rubbing method could not produce a clear enough impression. Gutenberg tried various ideas but got nowhere. The breakthrough to discovery came on holiday when he took part in the wine harvest and noticed the power exerted by the steady pressure of the wine press. This second matrix fused with the first, and the discovery was made¹.

The example illustrates perfectly the three points under discussion: discovery as the interaction of two previously unconnected matrices, the flash of insight at the moment of discovery, and the method of interaction. In humour the two matrices can indeed be said to collide. Laughter occurs because they are fundamentally incompatible in the particular situation. They have as it were to be forced together, and the connection is only momentary. In the act of discovery, however, the basic elements in each matrix², once brought together, remain in combination, and make possible a new development, until another insuperable problem causes blocking and a new combination. Since the basic elements from the two matrices remain together Koestler is justified in his description of the process as 'fusion' or 'synthesis'. The difficulty arises when he differentiates it from artistic creation, claiming that the artist's bisociative act is a juxtaposition of different planes or aspects of experience rather than their fusion³. If this statement is compared with Wilder's third emphasis, that poetic discourse^S represents a fusion in one act of the imagination of different aspects of experience, a synthetic act of vision⁴, it will be clear that there is at least

1. *ibid.* pp.121 - 124.

2. e.g., steady pressure of the press, not the total context of its use in crushing grapes.

3. KAC p. 352, e.f. pp 30f above.

4. see above, p 27.

a divergence of terminology here which needs further investigation, the fundamental question being the nature of artistic creation and its differentiation from scientific discovery.

Koestler's own analysis of artistic creation is not very helpful here. Despite the length and complexity of his treatment he nowhere justifies the statement that artistic bisociation in general, and poetic verbal bisociation in particular, differs from scientific bisociation in "juxtaposing" rather than "integrating" the two matrices. He is perhaps unable to do this because his analysis¹ covers such a wide field that he has no time to analyse particular acts of artistic creation, such as poetic imagery, in order to see how they work.

Clearly, an analysis of language on this detailed level is needed, in order to see how far the different pronouncements by Koestler and Wilder represent a difference of opinion rather than terminology. The following section, on metaphor, will attempt to meet this need, besides providing further discussion of Koestler's other insights on the level of poetic verbal creation.

C. METAPHOR

One may begin by adopting I.A. Richards' terminology², whereby the two parts of a metaphor, the 'thing meant' and the 'thing said', are described as the 'tenor' and 'vehicle' respectively³. Thus, in Amos' metaphor, 'You cows of Bashan, who are in the mountain of Samaria'⁴, the tenor is the women of Samaria while the vehicle is the cows of Bashan. A general classification of metaphor will not be attempted here⁵ and it will be sufficient to review some

1. Part 3 of Book 1, KAC.

2. Phil. Rhet. p. 96.

3. Black thinks this terminology is not precise enough, but his alternative (MMET p.47, footnote) is somewhat complicated. Richards' terminology has the advantage of simplicity and will be adequate for the purpose of this study.

4. Amos 4:1.

5. For a useful classification see Ullmann, L&S p. 184ff.

important recent discussions.

C/1 MAX BLACK

A useful starting point is provided by Max Black¹, who draws on and clarifies the insights of I.A. Richards². Black distinguishes three views of metaphor. The first is the substitution view, which regards a metaphorical expression as substituted for a literal one³. As Black says, this was the prevailing view among literary critics until quite recently, and one may add that Richards' major contribution was to reveal its inadequacies⁴. On the substitution view the aim of a metaphor is to communicate a meaning which might equally well have been expressed literally, so that "understanding a metaphor is like deciphering a code or unravelling a riddle"⁵. The only positive value of metaphor, on the substitution view, is economy. It can be a convenient abbreviation, as when, to use Black's expression, one says that 'the chairman ploughed through the discussion' instead of saying that he dealt summarily with objections, ruthlessly suppressed irrelevance etc.⁶. Otherwise metaphor is regarded as merely a means of providing entertainment insofar as it is a more concrete way of talking⁷.

The second view of metaphor distinguished by Black is the comparison view. As the name implies, this sees metaphor as a condensed comparison, which is decoded by substituting the appropriate simile⁸. The difference between this and the substitution view can be illustrated by the metaphor, 'Richard is a lion'. On the substitution view this means, 'Richard is brave', while on the comparison view it means, 'Richard is like a lion (in being brave)', the comparison view being a more elaborate substitution which differs from the substitution view in its acceptance of the idea that the original statement is

1. MNET chap. 3, pp. 25-47.

2. Phil. Rhet. chaps. V-VI, pp. 89-138, c.f. Ramsy's acknowledgement of indebtedness to Richards, MMYST p. ix, c.f. p. 51. Black and Ramsey's discussions are chosen here because they convey Richards' contributions adequately and move beyond them.

3. MNET p. 30f.

4. c.f. Phil. Rhet. p. 99f, esp. the superb dissection of Lord Kames, an exponent of the traditional view, on p. 102f. (footnotes 5, 6, 7, 8 next page _____).

saying something about lions as well as about Richard¹.

Though Black later allows that there is an element of truth in these two views², his main objective is to describe their inadequacies. His criticisms could be summed up by saying that metaphor is a much more complex linguistic phenomenon than they suppose, as he himself shows in his discussion of the third view, which he calls the interaction view of metaphor.

On this view, first developed by Richards³, metaphor is seen to be an essential mode of speech because in a metaphor two otherwise disparate elements act together to produce a new meaning resultant of their interaction⁴. Black explains and develops this view with reference to the metaphor, 'Man is a wolf'. To understand this metaphor the reader needs to know, not the dictionary definition of 'wolf', but what in a given culture is its 'system of associated commonplaces', the connotations attached to the word. In our culture this system includes such traits as carnivorousness, ferocity, treachery, etc. Other cultures might have different systems, and Black points out that in a society where wolves were regarded as reincarnations of the dead, the statement, 'man is a wolf' would have a very different meaning⁵. In our culture the effect of this statement is to apply the 'wolf' system of associated commonplaces to man. The result is that human traits that can without undue strain be talked about in 'wolf language' will be made prominent while others will be pushed into the background:

The wolf-metaphor suppresses some details, emphasises others - in short organizes our view of man⁶.

(footnotes from previous page)

5. MNET p. 32.

8. MNET p. 35.

6. ibid. p.30f.

7. ibid. p. 34.

1. ibid. p. 36.

4. MNET p.38.

2. ibid. p.45.

5. ibid. pp.39f.

3. Phil.Rhet.op.cit. p. 93ff.

6. ibid. p. 41.

A further point is that the interaction of the different contexts, 'wolf' and 'man', may also have a reciprocal effect on attitudes and feelings. If wolves are thought of as hateful or treacherous, man will also be seen in this way, while to call man a wolf may make a wolf seem more human¹. Black's view of metaphor is aptly summarised in a later chapter, where he says that:

A memorable metaphor has the power to bring two separate domains into cognitive and emotional relation by using language directly appropriate to the one as a lens for seeing the other; the implications, suggestions, and supporting values entwined with the literal use of the metaphorical expression enable us to see a new subject matter in a new way. The extended meanings that result, the relations between initially disparate realms created, can neither be antecedently predicted nor subsequently paraphrased in prose. We can comment on the metaphor, but the metaphor itself neither needs nor invites explanation and paraphrase. Metaphorical thought is a distinctive mode of achieving insight, not to be construed as an ornamental substitute for plain thought².

This analysis confirms Koestler's theory of bisociation as far as metaphor is concerned, since a metaphor brings together previously unconnected 'domains' of thought, but Black's description of the way these domains infiltrate each other indicates that Koestler's use of the word 'juxtaposition' or 'confrontation' to describe their relation is inadequate.

C/2 I.T. RAMSEY.

Another linguistic philosopher, I.T. Ramsey, has recently given some attention to metaphor in the course of lectures devoted to a consideration of models in the natural and social sciences and in theology³. Like Black, to whom he refers, Ramsey notes that in a metaphor two situations interact in a

1. MMET. pp.42-44.

2. ibid. p. 236f.

3. MMYST passim.

distinctive way. He then enlarges on two points touched on by Black. The first is that when two situations are connected in metaphor, the interaction of the two can yield many hitherto unsuspected possibilities of articulation:

indeed, it could be said that the quality of a metaphor is known by the possibilities of articulation it enshrines. To take one or two examples: when we speak of old age as the autumn of life, it licenses us to infer the purposeful character of existence - there is a spring of youth, a high summer of success, a winter of death. Further, while autumn is the fall associated with decline and decay, it is also the crown of the year with golden beauty and russet richness. So the autumn of life has its golden climax, and so on¹.

The example also shows that Ramsey, like Black, is aware of the possibility of reciprocal exchange of feelings and attitudes between the two situations.

The second point is that both metaphors and scientific models are born in insight. With regard to metaphors Ramsey says that:

On the view I am putting forward a metaphor would always be a signpost to some disclosure, some insight and inspiration, from which it takes its rise. Metaphors would be born in, and thereafter intended to evoke, a disclosure associated with a tangential meeting of two diverse contexts, e.g., the connecting of old age with autumn...From this tangential meeting between contexts, and as currency for the discourse which that meeting evokes, discourse is then developed metaphorically when the second language infiltrates into the first in the most selective and subtle way.... Generalizing, we may say that metaphorical expressions occur when two situations strike us in such a way as to reveal what includes them but is no mere combination of them both².

Ramsey's analysis, like Black's, has striking similarities to that of Koestler. Thus, both Ramsey and Koestler see similar mental processes at work in artistic and scientific creation, all three see the nature of the creative act as an interaction of two different realms or contexts or matrices, and Black mentions, while Ramsey and Koestler emphasise, the insight ("bisociative

1. *ibid.* p.48.
2. *MMYST* p. 52f.

shock" - Koestler, "disclosure" - Ramsey) which accompanies the interaction, Ramsey's analysis, like Black's, also shows that 'juxtaposition' or 'confrontation' is not an adequate term to describe this process and that the similarities between scientific discovery (insofar as it involves model making) and artistic creation (as expressed in metaphor), are closer than Koestler would allow.

C/3 PAUL HENLE

A third important recent analysis is given by Paul Henle¹ who deals with metaphor from the point of view of linguistic semantics. Henle begins by quoting the Aristotelian definition:

Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else, the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy².

This is the broad definition, used in those discussions of eschatological language which describe all nonliteral language as 'metaphorical'. Henle then discusses terminology. The literal sense of a word is the sense which it normally has "in other contexts and apart from such metaphoric uses". The figurative sense is the special sense on which the metaphor hinges. A paraphrase of a metaphor is a "literal term as close to the figurative sense as any literal sense can come". C. S. Peirce's distinction between symbols and icons is also drawn upon - a sign is a symbol if it is conventional and an icon if it signifies in virtue of similarity³. On the grounds that Aristotle's definition is too wide, Henle restricts metaphor to the analogy part of the definition, a procedure which Black and Ramsey also appear to follow. This is a useful restriction, for metaphor is thereby differentiated from the other tropes: synecdoche (genus to species and vice-versa), metonymy (a "looser connection by way of some relation felt to

1. LTC. pp.173-195, chap. 7.

2. ibid. p. 173.

3. ibid. pp. 173-177.

be important", e.g., 'reading an author' = his works), and irony (a connection of literal and figurative by way of negation)¹. Henle's separation of irony from metaphor and the other tropes will not be followed here, because when irony is a trope² it is not structurally peculiar but a particular use of one of the others³.

Having acquired a working terminology, Henle analyses metaphor in semantic terms. Five points of particular importance may be selected from his discussion. Firstly, like Black and Ramsey, Henle shows how two situations brought together in metaphor can exchange attitudes and feelings, what Henle calls 'feeling-content'⁴. He distinguishes between the antecedent similarity and the induced similarity⁵ and his meaning seems to be that in a metaphor like, 'the sunset of life'⁶, the antecedent similarity is the resemblance between the end of the day and the end of life, which makes the metaphor possible, while the induced similarity is the exchange of feelings which results when these particular kinds of ending are compared. In making this distinction he is on similar ground to Ramsey and Black when they speak of metaphors yielding unexpected possibilities of articulation and the impossibility of predicting the extended meanings resulting from them.

Secondly, again like Black, Henle emphasises the importance of cultural associations for a correct understanding of metaphor. To understand the metaphors of a language one must understand its linguistic conventions. To call someone an old bear is only intelligible if it is understood that in our

1. ibid p. 175f.

2. Literal language can be ironic: e.g. 'he's cheerful tonight!' may imply, 'miserable old devil!'.

3. e.g., ironic metaphor: 'here comes our little ray of sunshine!', the tone of voice implying that the bisociation is antithetical to the reality.

4. N.B. 'content'

5. LTC. pp. 189, 189ff.

6. An example used by Henle, c.f., Ramsey's metaphor, above p. 37.

society the 'bearish' trait referred to is not omnivorousness but irritability¹.

Henle's third important point breaks new ground, and is that in a metaphor some terms refer both literally to one situation and figuratively to the second, while others refer only literally and to the second situation. It is this that distinguishes metaphor from allegory and simile². His point may be clarified with the tenor-vehicle terminology if the two situations being brought together are 'Yahweh's care for his people' and 'a shepherd tending his sheep'. A simile, allegory and metaphor bring them together as follows:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. <u>Simile</u> | - | Yahweh cares for his people as a shepherd tends his sheep. |
| b. <u>Allegorical Expression</u> ³ | - | The shepherd tends his sheep. |
| c. <u>Metaphor</u> | - | Yahweh cares for his sheep. |

In the simile^{a ll} the terms are literal, none figurative. In the allegorical expression all the terms refer literally to the vehicle situation (the shepherd and his flock), which is the only situation directly presented, and also figuratively to the tenor situation (Yahweh and Israel), which is not directly presented. In the metaphor, however, the two situations are both present, and what is explicitly said consists of different parts of each situation put together to make a single statement. The word 'sheep' refers literally to the vehicle situation and figuratively to the tenor while the rest of the statement refers literally only and to the tenor situation only. The difference between metaphor and allegory can be presented diagrammatically thus, what is explicitly stated being capitalised and underlined:

1. LTC. p. 185f.

2. ibid. p. 181.

3. The statement presented here has the same formal character as allegory proper: a full allegory would be a narrative picture developing the shepherd-sheep relation - see below p 58.

Allegory -

Vehicle: "THE SHEPHERD TENDS HIS SHEEP" — (literal reference to vehicle - a flock of sheep; figurative reference to tenor:Yahweh & Israel).

Tenor: Yahweh cares for his people

Metaphor -

Vehicle: The shepherd tends HIS SHEEP — (literal reference of what is stated to vehicle situation - the sheep, plus figurative reference to tenor situation;)

Tenor: "YAHWEH CARES FOR his people (what is stated of the tenor has only literal reference and only to the tenor situation).

It is this aspect of metaphor which differentiates it from simile and allegory and, in Henle's words, "gives it the impact which psychologically is its distinctive feature"¹. Henle calls this feature the "clash of literal meanings", the point being that, confronted with a metaphor, the reader is obliged to look for the figurative sense intended, insofar as the literal sense is either impossible:

'Upon my son Clytemnestra gave me no time to feed my eyes' (Homer)².

or conveys the wrong meaning:

'The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne burn'd on the water' (Shakespeare)³.

This point has direct relevance to Koestler's description of bisociation.

It can be expressed more accurately by saying that metaphor is distinguished from simile and allegory, not as regards the possibility of interaction⁴ between the

1. LTC. p.182.

2. ibid.

3. ibid. p.183. It may be helpful to add a note on Henle's terminology here. From the point of view of the literal-nonliteral distinction previously outlined, and as used in the rest of this study, the word 'sheep' in the statement, 'Yahweh cares for his sheep', is described as not being used in its literal sense. But it can also be said, as Henle does, that it has a literal reference to the vehicle situation. There is no contradiction here, because statements about the literal-nonliteral distinction refer to the tenor situation only, the 'thing meant' rather than the 'thing said'; the word 'sheep' has a nonliteral meaning because it is used in a sense extended from its central, literal meaning (below p.54)

4. i.e., provided that the linguistic conventions are known and the metaphor and allegory recognised as such: in simile a knowledge of the conventions is not necessary since the comparison is explicit. See below pp 47, 61-2, 95-7.

two situations, but in the intensity of the interaction. Like metaphor, simile and allegory may cause an exchange of feeling content and systems of associated commonplaces and be said to bisociate two matrices¹. The difference in the way the bisociative process works may be illustrated by means of a spatial model. In simile and allegory the two situations are joined together but parallel - side by side and one above the other respectively, the difference being that in simile the reader is conducted first along one and then along the other, while in allegory he traverses the vehicle situation only and is expected to divine the existence of the tenor beneath it. In metaphor, however, the situations are intermingled, so that the reader, travelling along one situation, is thrown with a jerk onto the other. Thus the interaction of the two is more abrupt, and has a greater element of surprise.

Henle's fourth point follows from the above, and is that in a dead metaphor the figurative sense is taken as normal and no clash of literal meanings survives. Phrases like 'car-bonnet'² do not retain their original freshness because 'bonnet' is no longer an icon of a hat but the name of a particular piece of metal on a car³.

Finally, Henle shows that in a metaphor the vehicle is not fully presented. In the couplet:

When by my solitary hearth I sit
And hateful thoughts enwrap my soul in gloom (Keats, To Hope)⁴

the vehicle suggested by 'enwrap' is the visual image (icon) of a man completely covered by a cloak or blanket. The icon is not fully presented however: as Henle says, what is presented is a "formula for the construction of icons"⁵.

1. See below pt 47 on simile.
3. LTC pp. 186-188.
5. ibid p. 177f.

2. Henle uses the term 'hood'.
4. ibid. p. 180.

Similarly, in Black's example, 'man is a wolf', the word 'wolf' presents a formula for the construction of icons - visual images of wolves hunting in packs, devouring the weak or dead of their own kind, aural images of wolves howling, etc. One may add that this point only applies to metaphors taken in isolation, since a poet will often use several metaphors to build up a composite picture of the vehicle, e.g.:

For I will be like a lion to Ephraim,
and like a young lion to the house of Israel. (similes)
I, even I will rend and go away,
I will carry off, and none shall rescue. (metaphors)
(Hosea 5:14)¹.

D. COMMENTS AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

Several comments may be made on the above discussion.

(1) First, the analyses of metaphor referred to have shown that Koestler's designation of the creative process as 'bisociation' is a valid description of the way metaphor works, and the way in which bisociation is related to insight. Many critics have claimed that the originality of a metaphor is to be measured by its 'striking effect', and have connected this with the function of metaphor in bringing together two otherwise discrete areas of experience². The analysis of metaphor given by Black, Ramsey, and Henle has validated such claims, and has provided criteria for determining how the bisociation works in metaphor to produce the surprise effect. Allegory and simile can induce bisociation, but not as powerfully as metaphor.

(2) One may also comment on the substitution view of metaphor discussed by Black. This has an element of truth in its designation of metaphor as economical.

1. see below chapter 7, pp 161-6.

2. see Phil. Rhet. p. 123, and L&S p. 178.

Metaphor (and also simile) can often say briefly and vividly what literal narrative or argument would take many lines to say less effectively. It can often contain a condensed argument or assertion, as will be shown in the later analysis of prophetic texts¹. Black himself shows that metaphor can function in this way, in allowing the system of associated commonplaces of one situation to be applied to the other, and his own discussion of the metaphor, 'man is a wolf', inevitably takes several pages to draw out its implications. A further element of truth in the substitution view is that it recognises that metaphor can be used consciously, with the awareness that the vehicle is not meant literally. The person using or encountering metaphorical - and, one may add, allegorical - discourse may be well aware that the imagery is nonliteral and needs to be interpreted. This is what Micklem and Wilder mean when they talk of nonliteral language as 'conscious metaphor'.

The defects of the substitution view are twofold. First, it adopts a pejorative attitude to metaphor by seeing it as 'merely' a decoration. This attitude is by no means confined to the literary critics and Old Testament interpreters of a generation ago. It finds echoes even in an otherwise excellent book by B.S. Childs, where he describes the paradise motif in Isaiah 11:6-9 as "merely a poetic description"², and in Lindblom's description of some prophetic eschatological imagery as "poetic exaggeration"³. It may be that the intimate association of this pejorative attitude with the idea that some nonliteral language is conscious was one of the factors that caused Micklem and Wilder to react against the literal/consciously-nonliteral distinction. The pejorative attitude to metaphor in the substitution view also appears in its second defect, its assumption,

1. pp 125ff.

2. MROT p. 65 see below p 103f.

3. see above p 17f.

as Black puts it, that understanding a metaphor is like solving a riddle or deciphering a code, for this implies that once understood, the metaphor, like the code, can be dispensed with. The analysis by Black, Ramsey and Henle shows that this is a fallacy. As Black says, metaphor is a distinctive mode of achieving insight, and neither needs nor invites paraphrase, since the bisociation of the two matrices can obtain results impossible in a literal statement, both cognitively¹ and emotively². Thus, the analysis of metaphor has validated Wilder's second emphasis, on the non-paraphrasability of poetic statement. Where paraphrases of nonliteral language are given in this study - as in the next chapter - the paraphrase is only an approximation adopted to bring out the distinctions in meaning that are being explored.

(3) With regard to Wilder's first emphasis, on the traditional evocative power of some types of poetic language, the analysis has helped to show the ways in which metaphor, at least, can exercise such power. It also allows one to go further and say that any metaphor can have such effects. The evocative and emotive effects of a given metaphor or series of metaphors can be determined by analysing the systems of associated commonplaces and feeling-content in vehicle and tenor. Applied to the Old Testament, such analysis will show that language whose sole apparent purpose is to describe the future can also function in relation to the present, by attempting to persuade the hearers to see the tenor situation (Yahweh and Israel) in terms of the vehicle (e.g., husband and wife, a lion and its prey), and respond to the former as they would to the latter. Such language can aim to elicit repentance in the face of judgement or inspire

- (5) Henle's discussion of 'feeling-content' and 'system of associated commonplaces'.
1. Black's 'system of associated commonplaces'.
 2. Henle's 'feeling-content'. Henle concludes that a paraphrase of a metaphor is probably possible. His own analysis shows, however, that though a paraphrase can say roughly what a metaphor 'means', it lacks the immediacy of the metaphor itself.

confidence in Yahweh's saving action. Allegory, simile, and literal description of the future can also function in this way, but the process is most easily demonstrated in metaphor because of the peculiar intensity with which it connects the two situations.

(4) The statement that an awareness of linguistic conventions is needed to know what metaphors mean¹ implies that such awareness may also be needed to know when they are present. A simple simile is a literal statement, since both sides of the comparison are stated, and all the terms signify literally². In allegory, only the vehicle situation is presented and the reader or hearer is expected to realise what the tenor is and see it in terms of the vehicle. This he can only do if he is aware of the linguistic conventions in operation. Otherwise he may not realise that what is stated is allegorical. Conversely, a literal statement could sometimes be mistaken for allegory. In metaphor the two situations often clash too sharply for such a mistake to be made, but when the metaphor is in the form, 'A is B', ignorance of the linguistic conventions could result in its being given a literal interpretation. To modify Black's example, a society which believed in werewolves might regard the statement, 'man is a wolf' as literal, and a person from such a society would need to know the linguistic conventions of our own before he could recognise our use of it as bisociative. One may add that knowledge of linguistic conventions is also essential for the detection of the nonliteral transfers, metonymy and synecdoche. Thus, in certain cases, language can be mistakenly interpreted. An example of such misinterpretation in Biblical studies will be given at the end of the following chapter³.

(5) Henle's discussion of metaphor and dead metaphor also shows that a distinction may be made between two types of nonliteral language, 'creative' and 'conven-

1. see above p 39f.

2. More complex similes are possible, with a metaphor on one or both sides of the comparison, e.g., Ezekiel 34:12.

3. below, pp 76-8.

tional'. In a 'live' (creative) metaphor there is a clash of literal meanings and the reader or hearer enlarges his experience by bisociating two situations. In a dead (conventional) metaphor the bisociation has become normal, and may hardly ever be recognised as such by those who are accustomed to it. This creative-conventional polarity in nonliteral language will be considered further in the following chapter.

(6) In the light of the preceding analysis of metaphor, Koestler's distinction between scientific and artistic creation is inadequate. Even in simile, the two situations may interact and exchange feeling content¹, although the explicit comparison not only links them but holds them apart. In allegory the relation is closer, though the interaction, if it occurs, only has relevance for the particular allegory in question. In metaphor, however, the two situations interact in a more decisive way. The interaction may indeed be permanent and result in an addition to the vocabulary. Koestler's description of artistic creation as a 'juxtaposition' or 'confrontation' of situations cannot therefore be accepted. Moreover, Ramsey has shown the close relation of scientific models to metaphors. Following Black, he distinguishes picture, or scale models, from analogue models. The former are intended to be:

copies reproducing identically those properties
common to model and original which.....are
importantly relevant².

while the latter aims to reproduce in some new medium the structure or web of relationships in the original³.

From this one may go on to say that the difference between analogue or disclosure models in scientific discovery and metaphor in poetic verbal creation does not centre on the mental process involved, for in both bisociation can result in a real extension of knowledge, unsuspected possibilities of

1. See below, e.g. pp. 139, 147, 171.

2. NMYST p.3.

3. ibid. p.9, quoting Black, MNET p. 222.

articulation and permanent interaction of the matrices. The difference centres rather on the use to which the interaction is put. Firstly, though the interaction in both may be permanent, the bisociative act in the intellectual-scientific metaphorical model may bring together two previously unconnected systems of thought and act as the foundation for a new development along systematic lines, while in poetic metaphor the interaction is an end in itself, a unique process not necessarily or systematically related to other areas of experience. Secondly, a scientific metaphorical model aims at being as emotionally neutral as possible, though particular models can have emotive and attitudinal overtones - as for example the mechanistic models in psychology and the social sciences discussed by Ramsey¹, which can either result from or in a disposition to regard human beings as exhaustively analysable in sub-personal terms². The poetic metaphor, on the other hand, can carry a much greater emotive charge and attempt to bring about an interaction of feelings and attitudes between the bisociated matrices.

(7) Finally, if Koestler's use of terms like 'juxtaposition' and 'confrontation' to describe poetic verbal creation is unacceptable, the question now arises whether, like scientific-intellectual creation, it can be described as 'fusion' or 'synthesis'. If the word 'synthesis' is understood in the technical sense of:

building up of separate elements especially of conceptions or propositions or facts into a connected whole, especially a theory or system³.

the answer is clearly in the negative. Wilder, however, uses the words in a less precise manner, to describe an act of the imagination, and other scholars use expressions which point in the same direction. Ramsey speaks of metaphor as occurring when two situations strike us in such a way as to reveal what includes

1. MMYST pp.22-46.

2. See Ramsey's criticism of the logic of this, MMYST pp.25ff.

3. COD, 'synthesis'.

them but is no mere combination of them both¹, while Ullmann speaks of imagery producing a surprise effect due to the discovery of a common element in two apparently disparate experiences². More striking is Luis Alonso-Schökel's comment on poetic language in general:

The language of poetry also tends to that which is intuitive: total experience intuited in a complex act, immediately, and which has to take form in words... Poetic language looks for a bringing together of words which restores the totality and unity and complexity of experience³ in order to transmit it in an apprehensible form in a new intuition. This intuitive character allows penetration in depth, greater at times than pure ratiocination, and it reaches a fullness of content which scientific abstraction explicitly wishes to eliminate⁴.

To this may be added Esnault's statement that metaphor is:

a condensed comparison by which the mind asserts an intuitive and concrete identity⁵.

What Wilder and the others seem to be saying is that some poetic bisociations can bring two situations so completely together that, momentarily at least, in the act of bisociation itself, they are seen as one. Koestler's own analysis and the fact that scholars from such widely different fields have made similar suggestions along these lines indicates that the possibility of regarding some bisociative language in this way must be seriously considered. Whether the relation of the two situations thus unified can be described as one of 'identity' is another question. The whole matter will be considered again in the next chapter after an attempt has been made, on the basis of the previous discussion, to explore the distinctions in and between literal and nonliteral language.

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1. above p. 37.
 2. L&S p. 178.
 3. OR (alternative translation) "Poetic language tends to an arranging or composition of words which restores the sole and complex totality of experience".
 4. Estudios, translated by Revd. A.J. Coates, B.A. p. 278.
 5. Quoted by Ullmann (L&S p. 180) with a slightly freer translation.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LITERAL - NONLITERAL DISTINCTION

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

ESCHATOLOGY

PART TWO: DEFINITION OF TERMS

A. LITERAL AND NONLITERAL LANGUAGE

A/1 DEFINITION OF 'LITERAL' AND 'NONLITERAL'

On the basis of the preceding discussion a more exact definition of terms may be attempted, beginning with the basic opposition between 'literal' and 'nonliteral'.

The term 'literal' is easy to use but difficult to define. To say that the statement:

'And on that day', says the Lord God,
'I will make the sun go down at noon,
and darken the earth in broad daylight' (Amos. 8:9)

was to be interpreted literally would be unlikely to cause misunderstanding, and would convey the opinion that Amos expected particular astronomical phenomena to occur, such as an eclipse. A precise definition of literalness in linguistic terms is less easy to achieve. Henle has described the literal meaning of a word as "the sense which a word has in other contexts and apart from... metaphoric uses"¹, while a standard dictionary definition of the

¹. LTC. p. 173

word 'literal' in the particular sense under discussion is:

taking words in their etymological or primary sense, or in the sense expressed by the actual wording of the passage, without recourse to any metaphorical or suggested meaning¹.

These statements can hardly be called exact definitions since they work on a vague opposition between 'literal' and 'nonliteral' without discussing what it is that makes them different. Moreover, the dictionary definition is inaccurate insofar as it defines 'literal' as taking words in their etymological sense. This offends against the principle of contextual determination² and would have the nonsensical result that the 'literal' meaning of 'muscle', for example, would be 'little mouse'³. The dictionary does however contain a hint of a more satisfactory definition in its connection of the 'literal' with the 'primary' sense of a word. The word 'primary' is unacceptable, because as Nida points out, it implies a division of words into 'primary' and 'derived' senses, an idea containing chronological suggestions which may not be accurate or verifiable⁴. However, a more precise definition will become possible if one adopts Nida's neutral terminology of 'central' and 'extended' meaning and considers his comment on their interrelationship:

An essential part of the communicative power of figures of speech is derived from the central meaning of the word, which still continues as an active force. Once the central meaning - which provides the basis for extension of some componential - is lost, the figure also loses its force: for the strength of the figure lies in the relation established between the central, or core meaning, and the extension⁵.

This comment grounds the distinction between central and extended meanings firmly in usage, since extended meanings can only be recognised as such while

1. SOED, 'Literal', A.3.b. (similarly NED).
2. above p. 86.
3. The example is given by Ullmann, SISM p. 213.
4. TSOT p. 89f.
5. TSOT. p. 95 (emphasis mine).

their central meaning remains in circulation.

The possibility of recognising extended meanings as such is analysed in more detail by Ullmann, in his discussion of conventionality and motivation in language¹. Ullmann does not define these terms but his discussion shows that he describes a word as conventional when its linguistic structure has no relation to its meaning and it is an arbitrary symbol². The opposite of conventionality is motivation, and words may be motivated (i.e., have their linguistic structure connected with their meaning) in three ways: by a connection between sound and sense (phonetic motivation - i.e., onomatopoeia), by a connection between the way the word is built up and its meaning (morphological motivation)³, and by a connection between the extended meaning of a word and its central meaning (semantic motivation). Of semantic motivation Ullmann says that:

If we use a word in a transferred meaning, metaphorical or otherwise, the result will be semantically motivated: it will be transparent thanks to the connexion between the two senses. Thus, when we speak of the root of an evil, the branches of a science, an offensive nipped in the bud, the flower of a country's manhood, the fruits of peace, or a family-tree, the use of these botanical terms is not arbitrary, but motivated by some kind of similarity or analogy between their concrete meanings and the abstract phenomena to which they are applied⁴.

Ullmann also points out that morphological and semantic motivation can coexist in the same word (e.g. blue-bell, a morphologically motivated compound and a metaphorical description of the flower⁵) and that both types of

1. L&S pp. 29-49; SISM pp. 80-115.
2. Ullman's use of the term 'conventional' is different from the sense of the word in the 'creative-conventional' distinction as discussed above, p. 1 and in section A/3 of the present chapter, below pp 58-60
3. For an example, see 'preach-er', SISM, p91. 46f.
4. L&S p. 42.
5. SISM. p. 92.

motivation are 'relative' because though the resultant compound or transfer is transparent, its elements are opaque, unmotivated, unless they have phonetic motivation. In semantic motivation, for example, "the 'root of an evil' is a self-explanatory metaphor, whereas root in the literal sense is opaque"¹.

Ullmann also examines in detail how motivation can be lost or acquired. His discussion shows that semantic motivation can be lost by the differentiation of central and extended meanings into two different words, or by the loss of the central meaning. An example of the first type is the phonetic change² which has differentiated French 'papillon' (butterfly) and 'pavillon' (tent) so that the original metaphorical extension from the central meaning, 'butterfly' (Latin papilio, papilionem) to 'tent' is no longer recognisable in usage.

More important is loss of motivation due to the loss of the central meaning. A classic example is the French word tête (head). This derives from Vulgar Latin testa, which originally meant 'pot, jug, shell', and was applied to the head by metaphor. Eventually, the original meaning disappeared and the word became opaque³. The example shows that in such a case the extended meaning does not merely lose its force, as Nida would say, but rather loses its status as an extended meaning. The original central meaning of tête can be recovered by etymological research, but once it had disappeared from usage, no native speaker without etymological knowledge could regard the word as a metaphor. In other words, once the original central meaning had disappeared, the new central meaning in usage was the original extended meaning, 'head'.

1. L&S. p. 42, c.f. SISM. p. 92.

2. The normal change of the intervocallic 'p' in papilionem to the voiced fricative (v) (pavillon) has not taken place in papillon (SISM p. 97).

3. SISM. p. 98.

In the light of Ullmann's discussion literal language may be defined as, a word or linguistic sequence which carries only its currently central, semantically opaque meaning. Conversely, nonliteral language may be defined as, a word or linguistic sequence which carries a semantically transparent meaning extended from its currently central, semantically opaque meaning.

Four comments may be made on these definitions.

Firstly, the word 'semantically' in both is merely intended to exclude phonetic and morphological motivation from the scope of the discussion, not to make assertions about them. Literal language is described as 'semantically opaque' only as opposed to 'semantically transparent', not as opposed to 'morphologically/phonetically - opaque/transparent'.

Secondly, the word 'only' in the first definition means 'central meaning as opposed to extended meaning'. A word may have two or more meanings, and when the ~~realization~~^{relation} of the two is not that of central and extended meaning, both may have to be regarded as literal. An example is the word 'paper', which can mean the material in general, a newspaper, a set of examination questions, or a communication sent or read to a learned society¹. These separate though related meanings are probably not regarded as extended. In some cases words may be ambiguous, when it is not certain which of two or more central meanings is intended, or when two or more meanings are being conveyed at once. Thus, the phrase in the definition means "a word.... which carries only its currently central meaning (as opposed to carrying as well or instead a meaning extended from it)". It does not exclude from consideration words which might carry more than one central meaning.

Thirdly, the word 'currently', referring to the central meaning, makes usage the criterion and so excludes the originally central meanings of words

1. SISM. p. 161.

like testa which are now only recoverable by etymology¹.

Finally, as regards the words 'semantically transparent', Ullmann's discussion, coupled with the distinction previously made between creative and conventional language², shows that a distinction must be made between the fact of transparency and the awareness of it. Thus, though the word 'root' in the phrase, 'the root of an evil', may often be used simply in its extended sense, without the relation to its central meaning being felt, it is nonetheless transparent and nonliteral because the central meaning is still in circulation and close enough to the extension for the connection to become operative again if someone chooses to revitalise the metaphor - as Ullmann does, momentarily, by underlining it. As Ullmann says elsewhere, the line between polysemy (in which he includes central and extended meanings³) and homonymy is sometimes not easy to draw with precision⁴, but usually there is little difficulty. The distinction is drawn on the basis of usage and could be tested in our society by, say, a statistical survey designed to elicit the extent to which particular dead transfers were felt to be transparent⁵.

Thus, language is semantically transparent (nonliteral) if the central meaning is still in common use and semantically close enough to the extended meaning for the connection to be capable of being activated. Both factors depend on usage and can be tested by it. Since Classical Hebrew is a dead language, methods of testing usage in this study are more restricted, and one must rely on such clues as are found in the texts. In prophetic

1. see above p 53
 3. SISM. p. 162f.
 5. SISM. pp. 164, 179f.

2. above p 46f., and c.f. note ² p 52.
 4. SISM. p. 178, cf. in general SISM pp. 159-
 188.

eschatology it will usually be easy to distinguish words as dead metaphors rather than homonyms because imagery is often used briefly and in passing (and therefore probably conventionally) in one place and developed with considerable vividness elsewhere¹.

A/2 AFFINITY AND CONTIGUITY IN LITERAL AND NONLITERAL LANGUAGE

Various aspects of literal and nonliteral language will now be considered. One may begin with the difference between affinity and contiguity, which may be illustrated by the difference between synecdoche and metaphor. Metaphor connects two situations by bisociation, by noting or inducing an affinity² between them. A new metaphor sees an analogy where nobody saw one before³ and occurs when two situations strike us in such a way as to reveal what includes them but is no mere combination of them both⁴. In synecdoche, on the other hand one term stands for another, the transfer being based on the contiguity of part and whole, without suggesting that the two are similar⁵. A distinction may therefore be made between affinitive and contiguous language.

Contiguous connections belong to nonliteral language. Henle distinguishes two main types, synecdoche (part for whole and vice versa) and metonymy -

1. See chapters 8-9 below.
2. i.e. similarity. The word 'affinity' is used here because it permits the formation of the adjective, 'affinitive', whereas the adjective 'similar' would in certain contexts (e.g. 'similar connections' above) be ambiguous.
3. KAC p. 343, ~~above p~~
4. MMYST p.53, above p 37. See also Black's discussion (above pp 34-6) & Henle's restriction of metaphor to the analogy part of Aristotle's definition (above p 38f).
5. For examples of synecdoche in the O.T., see Additional Note 1, below pp 76-8

"a looser connection by way of some relation felt to be important"¹.

Ullmann, perhaps more precisely, subsumes synecdoche under metonymy (though noting that it is often treated as a separate category), which he describes as contiguity of senses and classifies according to the associations underlying them. Thus, metonymic transfers can be based on, though not caused by², spatial relations (Latin coxa, 'hip' > French 'cuisse', 'thigh'³), temporal relations (a name of an action or event transferred to something preceding or following it)⁴, synecdochal relations, and other associations like discoveries named after the discoverer ('ampère', 'volt', 'ohm'), products after the place of origin ('champagne') and contents after container ('to drink a bottle') etc.⁵.

Affinitive language comprises simile, allegory and metaphor, and such language, particularly metaphor, is often what is meant when language is described as 'symbolic'⁶. It is more complex than contiguous language because it straddles literal and nonliteral language. Simple simile belongs wholly to literal language, since the comparison is explicitly stated, and all the terms on each side of it signify literally⁷. Conversely, allegory belongs entirely to nonliteral language, since only the vehicle situation is explicitly presented, and all the important terms carry ^extended meanings.

1. LTC p. 175f (above p38f.).

2. The contiguity of, e.g., certain areas of the body, only makes a transfer possible and is not by itself sufficient to cause it (SISM p. 218).

4. e.g., 'collation', SISM p. 98. 3. ibid.

5. SISM pp. 218-220.

6. See Kristensen's use of the term below p87f. In his usage, symbolic language is pictorial language, standing for a reality which can be described in nonpictorial terms. The words 'symbol, symbolic' were deemed unsuitable as technical terms in this study because of the variety of ways in which they can be used in language description; see in particular the excellent survey of different usages of the term in F.W.Dillistone's 'Christianity and Symbolism', London 1955, pp. 20ff.)

7. above pp 40f.

It will be helpful here to distinguish between narrative allegory and allegorical expressions¹. The former is the normal meaning of 'allegory' - a picture or narrative not intended to be regarded as literal description but understood as the vehicle for other realities. The term 'allegorical expression' may be reserved for short statements not drawn out into extended narrative or description but having the same formal character.

While simile and allegory belong to literal and nonliteral language respectively, metaphor has elements of both. In Henle's example from Homer :

Upon my son Clytemnestra gave me no time
to feed my eyes².

every word in the sentence except 'feed' has a literal meaning; 'feed' however, is to be understood in a metaphorical, extended sense. The complete metaphor - what is explicitly stated - is an amalgam of tenor and vehicle, literal and nonliteral meanings³. This can be described by saying that the explicit tenor (or 'frame') of the metaphor is literal while the explicit vehicle (the 'hinge' on which the metaphor turns) is nonliteral.

A/3 CREATIVITY AND CONVENTIONALITY IN LITERAL AND NONLITERAL LANGUAGE.

The distinction between creative and conventional language, previously made with regard to metaphor⁴, may now be developed further (once again it may be noted that the word 'conventional' is not being used in Ullmann's sense, to describe opaqueness). Unlike the distinction between affinity and contiguity, which is clear-cut, the line from creativity to conventionality is a spectrum on which one shades into the other, and on which it will only

1. see above p 40.

2. above p 41.

3. above pp 40f.

4. above p 46f.

be possible to plot the two extremes.

As regards affinitive language the basis for the distinction has already been laid during the discussion of metaphor, especially in Henle's distinction between 'live' and 'dead' metaphor¹. In a live metaphor there is an element of surprise, a clash of literal meanings, because two situations are being brought together in a new way. In a dead metaphor the connection has become normal and is not noticed unless attention is drawn to it. Thus, one criterion for the assessment of creativity in affinitive language is the degree of originality in the connection, as indicated by the extent of its departure from contemporary usage. On this criterion such metaphors as Amos 4:1 (cows of Bashan²) and Hosea 7:8 (Ephraim is an unturned cake) are creative rather than conventional because they have no parallel in usage. Another criterion is the degree of 'vividness' in the language. Images such as that of Yahweh as the shepherd of Israel, though frequent, are not conventional when the image is drawn out in such a group of metaphors and similes as Isaiah 40:11, because the fact that the imagery is developed shows that it was not merely conventional terminology to the poet who used it. This criterion will be discussed more fully below³.

Simile and allegory can also be assessed as creative or conventional by these two criteria. Contiguous language~~s~~ can also be creative or conventional. Ullmann points out that even contiguous transfers can have a striking and unexpected element about them, though they do not open new paths of intuition⁴.

1. above. p 42.

3. see below pp 119f.

2. see above p 33, below pp 62ff.

4. L&S p. 177f.

Such synecdochal transfers as 'redcoat', 'redcap', 'blackshirt'¹, though now conventional, could certainly be regarded as creative in virtue of originality when they were first coined. They could probably only be made more vivid, however, by the use of supporting affinitive language.

In the Old Testament, examples of conventional language include the idiom, $\square \text{פני ה} \text{ל} \text{פ}$ (EVV 'entreat' but literally 'strike, smoothe the face of (God))², such phrases as hiding one's face, turning back another person's face³, and the use of the expression, 'into the hand of' with the meaning 'power' (e.g. Job 8:4, Prov. 18:21, Ps. 63:~~10~~^{11 (10)})⁴. Nonliteral conventional language will be described by the term formal⁵. This in effect only leaves out simple simile which is entirely literal, and the explicit tenor of metaphor. For convenience, metaphors as a whole will often be described as 'formal', the reference being to the explicit vehicle. In terms of the definition of nonliteral language, formal language is language which is transparent but not spontaneously felt to be so.

A/4 LEVELS OF AWARENESS IN NONLITERAL LANGUAGE

A/4/1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding paragraph introduces the question of levels of awareness in literal and nonliteral language, since by definition formal language is

1. SISM. p. 219.
2. On this see Johnson, VITI, p. 43 n. 10, BDB on $\text{פ} \text{ל} \text{פ}$, Eichrodt OT. Th. I p. 178.
3. VITI p. 44.
4. VITI p. 58. n. 1. cf. p. 53. In usage the meaning of ל in these phrases is 'power', but the phrase is nonliteral because the central meaning, 'hand'-'into the hand of' is still available, so that the phrase is transparent.
5. Taken from Johnson, VITI p. 53.

transparent but not spontaneously felt to be so. This question has also been touched on in the initial analysis of the literal-nonliteral distinction, where it was found that Wilder and Micklem distinguished between literal language and language that was consciously nonliteral¹. That nonliteral language can be known to be such was also found to be one of the elements of truth in the substitution view of metaphor². Language that is consciously nonliteral will in future be described as figurative.

Before proceeding further it should be noted that the use of words like 'consciously' here is not intended to suggest the psychological distinction between the conscious and unconscious mind. In formal language, for example, the transparency which is present but not spontaneously felt can be brought to full awareness immediately once it is pointed to³, while in psychological terminology, feelings and thoughts that are 'unconscious' are normally inaccessible to the conscious mind. The levels of awareness that will be explored here are therefore to be envisaged as levels in the conscious mind ranging from the fringe of consciousness to its centre⁴.

With this proviso an attempt will now be made to describe affinitive formal and affinitive figurative language in terms of the definition of nonliteral language, and then examine the unitary alternative outlined in the previous chapter, to see where it fits into the picture. The question of awareness in literal language is of less importance. For the moment it may be noted that in affinitive literal language (simile) there is clear recognition

1. above pp 26-8.
2. above p 44.
3. See, e.g., T.S. Eliot's technique of contrast effect cited in SISM p. 99.
4. See Dict Psych., ATTENTION, FRINGE OF CONSCIOUSNESS, PRECONSCIOUS, IMPLICIT APPREHENSION.

that two situations are being compared, since the statement that they are like one another both asserts affinity and ~~e~~^xcludes identity.

A/4/2 LEVELS OF AWARENESS IN FIGURATIVE AND FORMAL LANGUAGE

Nonliteral language has been defined as 'a word or linguistic sequence which carries a semantically transparent meaning extended from its currently central, semantically opaque meaning'. If formal language is nonliteral language whose transparency is not spontaneously felt, the possibility immediately suggests itself that figurative language, being 'conscious', is to be defined as its opposite. To test this possibility involves analyzing levels of awareness in nonliteral language in terms of the relation between central and extended meaning, which in turn involves a reconsideration of the bisociative act as it applies to language.

The statement, 'You cows of Bashan who (or 'which' - $\neg \omega \chi$) are in the mountain of Samaria' (Amos 4:1), may be taken as a paradigm case. To say it was understood literally would mean that the hearer or speaker was aware of the central meaning of the phrase, 'cows of Bashan', which is the explicit vehicle of the metaphor. This kind of awareness, - awareness of a meaning as present, may be described by saying that in literal language the central meaning is known to be operative. Moreover, in literal language the central meaning is the only one that is operative¹. The literalist interpreter sees only one matrix, that of cattle in Samaria, and the sense of the phrase to him would be: 'Amos is talking about Bashan cattle in the city of Samaria'.

1. cf. the definition of literal language: a word or linguistic sequence which carries only its currently central, semantically opaque meaning' (above p 54).

For the phrase to be understood nonliterally, the reader or hearer must be aware that two meanings are operative in the passage, namely the central meaning of the vehicle ('Bashan cattle') and the tenor ('women of Samaria'). He must also be aware that one of them, the tenor, is normative - that is, the passage as a whole is properly 'about' the women of Samaria, not Bashan cattle in the city. Similarly, in Black's example, 'man is a wolf', it is the tenor, 'man', that is normative. The third essential requisite is an awareness that the central meaning of the vehicle is being applied to the tenor, with which it is normally incompatible - 'cows' and 'women' are in different matrices. When these requirements are met, the hearer or reader bisociates the central meaning of the vehicle with the tenor. He 'sees' the women of Samaria as cows of Bashan. It will of course be clear that the different kinds of awareness involved here are only abstracted for convenience, are hardly to be envisaged as forming a temporal sequence, and are not on the highly differentiated level of the act of analysing them. Awareness of the tenor as normative, the two meanings as operative and incompatible, and the resultant bisociation, takes place in a single undifferentiated mental act, the constituent parts of which are not normally analysed or analysable by the person making it.

The result of the bisociation is that the vehicle, 'cows of Bashan' acquires an extended meaning. The substitution view of metaphor would represent this by the phrase, 'for "cows of Bashan" read "women of Jerusalem"', which shows clearly that the tenorial element is normative but ignores the interaction of tenor and vehicle. A more accurate representation of the extended meaning of the vehicle would be:

~~(cows of Bashan)~~
(WOMEN OF SAMARIA)

(cows of Bashan)
(WOMEN OF SAMARIA)

This is an attempt to describe the interaction of vehicle and tenor which constitutes the extended meaning of the vehicle while indicating (with capital letters) that the tenorial element remains normative. It may then be said that the extended meaning of the vehicle as a whole is normative, as opposed to its central meaning alone ('cows of Bashan') which is not.

On this basis one may now pinpoint the difference between formal and figurative language. In formal language the extended meaning of the vehicle is normative but awareness of its transparency, of the fact that it is an extended meaning, is lacking. The reader or hearer accepts the phrase, 'cows of Bashan' as a conventional description of the women, without spontaneous awareness that its central meaning, 'Bashan cattle', is incompatible with the tenor. The originally creative bisociation has become conventional, the reader or hearer does not experience the bisociative shock, and the sense of the statement to him is: 'these women are coarse, greedy, bovine'.

In figurative language, on the other hand, the extended meaning of the vehicle is still normative but the reader or hearer recognises it as an extended meaning. He is aware that the central meaning of the vehicle is 'Bashan cattle', that this is incompatible with the normative tenor, and bisociates the two. He does not, however, stop at bisociation. He sees the women as cows but this bisociative perception is succeeded by or

perhaps thereafter alternates with¹ an awareness that the women are not in fact cows, and that the word 'cow' here carries an extended meaning. The sense of the statement to him, insofar as it is paraphrasable, is: 'these women are like cows and may aptly be seen as such'.

A/4/3. SYNTHETIC LANGUAGE

It will now be possible to confirm in more precise terms the statements at the end of the previous chapter, to the effect that bisociative imagery may bring together two situations so completely that, momentarily at least, in the act of bisociation, they are seen as one. The foregoing paragraphs show that figurative and formal meanings are only possible after bisociation has occurred, for in figurative language the bisociation has been accepted and then qualified by an awareness of the extended meaning of the vehicle, while in formal language the extension has lost its force and is no longer,

1. It could not be said to be simultaneous with it, as is made clear by C.S. Lewis in his account of Samuel Alexander's distinction between 'enjoyment' and 'contemplation': "when you see a table you "enjoy" the act of seeing and "contemplate" the table. Later, if you took up optics and thought about seeing itself, you would be contemplating the seeing and enjoying the thought...We do not "think a thought" in the same sense in which we "think that Herodotus is unreliable". When we think a thought, "thought" is a cognate accusative (like "blow" in "strike a blow"). We enjoy the thought (that Herodotus is unreliable) and, in so doing, contemplate the unreliability of Herodotus...The enjoyment and contemplation of our inner activities are incompatible. You cannot hope and also think about hoping at the same moment; for in hope we look to hope's object and we interrupt this by (so to speak) turning round to look at the hope itself. Of course, the two activities can and do alternate with great rapidity; but they are distinct and incompatible." ('Surprised by Joy', London 1955, p.205f.) Alexander's own account is contained in his 'Space-Time and Deity', Gifford Lectures, London, 1920, pp. 11ff, esp. pp.17,21.

so to speak, a live issue. The next post-bisociative stage after formal language is the reversion to literal language when the central meaning of the vehicle drops out of use or grows too far apart from its extended meaning for the connection to be made.

Thus, since the unitary alternative is bisociative rather than literal¹ the only possible place for it is at the moment of bisociation itself, and before the awareness of the extended meaning of the vehicle as an extended meaning which characterises figurative language. In fact, the previous analysis suggests that the term 'unitary perception' is an apt description of the actual moment of bisociation - the flash of insight, disclosure, or bisociative shock - when the hearer or reader sees the women as cows, the point at which the two situations strike him so as to reveal what includes them but is no mere combination of them both. At the moment of bisociation the tenor (women) is recognised as normative, there is awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle (cows), and the former is seen in terms of the latter. There cannot be at that moment an awareness of the extended meaning of the vehicle as extended² because the extended meaning of the vehicle is a product of the bisociation.

It is in principle possible for a person to persist in the unitary perception of the moment of bisociation and not to reach the point of distinguishing as such the extended meaning of the vehicle. To such a person the sense of the statement in the paradigm case could only be paraphrased by saying: "the women are cows", because he would see no incongruity in

1. It is the fusion of often contradictory aspects of experience (Wilder), or a connection of previously unconnected matrices (Koestler) rather than a perception of a single matrix.
2. cf. note, p. 65 above.

regarding one totally in terms of the other. It is true that in this particular paradigm case it would be very difficult for anyone to sustain a unitary perception because the metaphor has only limited possibilities of articulation and extension. In other instances, where the correspondence between the matrices is closer, a sustained unitary perception is more conceivable. In Hosea 2, for instance, where the relation between Yahweh and Israel is described in terms of the relation between a husband and his wayward wife, the points of contact are so numerous that one situation is extensively perceivable and portrayable in terms of the other. In this instance, it is quite conceivable that the nearest attempt at a correct paraphrase of the language for Hosea would have been: 'Israel is an unfaithful wife, she has committed adultery', rather than 'Israel is like an unfaithful wife' (figurative) or 'Israel is disloyal' (formal). In this case it would not be incorrect to describe the unitary perception, with Wilder, as "in its proper sense, ^{naive} naive", since the person making it would not yet have reached the point of distinguishing the extended meanings as such. He would be employing the distinction between literal and nonliteral language (because the extended meaning of the vehicle:

Husband and wife
(YAHWEH AND ISRAEL)

would be apprehended as normative) but would not be explicitly making it. However, since the word 'naive' frequently carries pejorative meanings and overtones it will be best to keep the word 'unitary' to describe the kind of perception involved and call such nonliteral language synthetic, using the word in a general sense of bringing two things together and making them one - in this case seeing them as one.

One may now return to the question of whether this unitary perception of vehicle and tenor should be described by the term 'identity'¹. The word needs further definition, for it can suggest notions both of exact equivalence and vague non-differentiation. This point is put precisely by Bertrand Russell in his discussion of vague and general words:

A word is vague when it is in fact applicable to a number of different objects because, in virtue of some common property, they have not appeared, to the person using the word, to be distinct. I emphatically do not mean that he has judged them to be identical, but merely that he has made the same response to them all and has not judged them to be different... Vague words precede judgements of identity and difference; both general and particular words are subsequent to such judgements².

It will be evident that the 'identity' in imaginative synthesis is of the 'vague' type - where the same response is made to objects because they are not or not yet judged to be different.

A/4/4. SUMMARY, FURTHER ILLUSTRATION, AND CONCLUSIONS

The relation between synthetic, figurative and formal language may now be summarised. In all three the extended meaning of the vehicle is normative. The central meaning of the vehicle is operative in synthetic and figurative, but not in formal language. In other words, the transparency of the nonliteral language is felt in synthetic and figurative language, which therefore are both creative, while formal language is conventional. In figurative language, the extended meaning of the vehicle is recognised as such; in synthetic and formal language it is not - in the former because it is not yet, in the latter because it is no longer, so recognisable.

This analysis may be further illustrated by two more paradigm cases. In the allegorical expression,

Plead with your mother, plead,

For she is not my wife, and I am not her husband (etc.) (Heb. 2a) (Hosea 2:4a)

1. see above pp 48f. 2. 'The Analysis of Mind' London 1921, p.184. cf. pp.179-186 (emphasis mine)

there are the same number of possible interpretations as for the explicit vehicle of Amos' metaphor. On a literal interpretation there would be awareness only of the central meaning of the vehicle, perception of only one matrix, that of a husband and wife, and the sense of the phrase would be, 'a husband talking to his children etc.'. In a synthetic interpretation the extended meaning of the vehicle would be apprehended as normative ($\frac{\text{husband and wife}}{\text{YAHWEH AND ISRAEL}}$), there would be awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle (husband and wife) but the extended meaning of the vehicle would not be recognised as such. The nearest paraphrase of the sense would be, 'Israel is an unfaithful wife'. On a figurative interpretation the extended meaning of the vehicle is normative, there is awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle and of the extended meaning of the vehicle as extended, and a paraphrase would be, 'Israel is like, can be spoken of in terms of, an unfaithful wife'. On the formal interpretation the extended meaning of the vehicle, though normative, is no longer felt to be extended, since there is no spontaneous awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle. A paraphrase would be, 'Israel is disloyal'.

The second example is the statement:

'I will make the sun go down at noon
and darken the earth in broad daylight' (Amos 8:9b)¹.

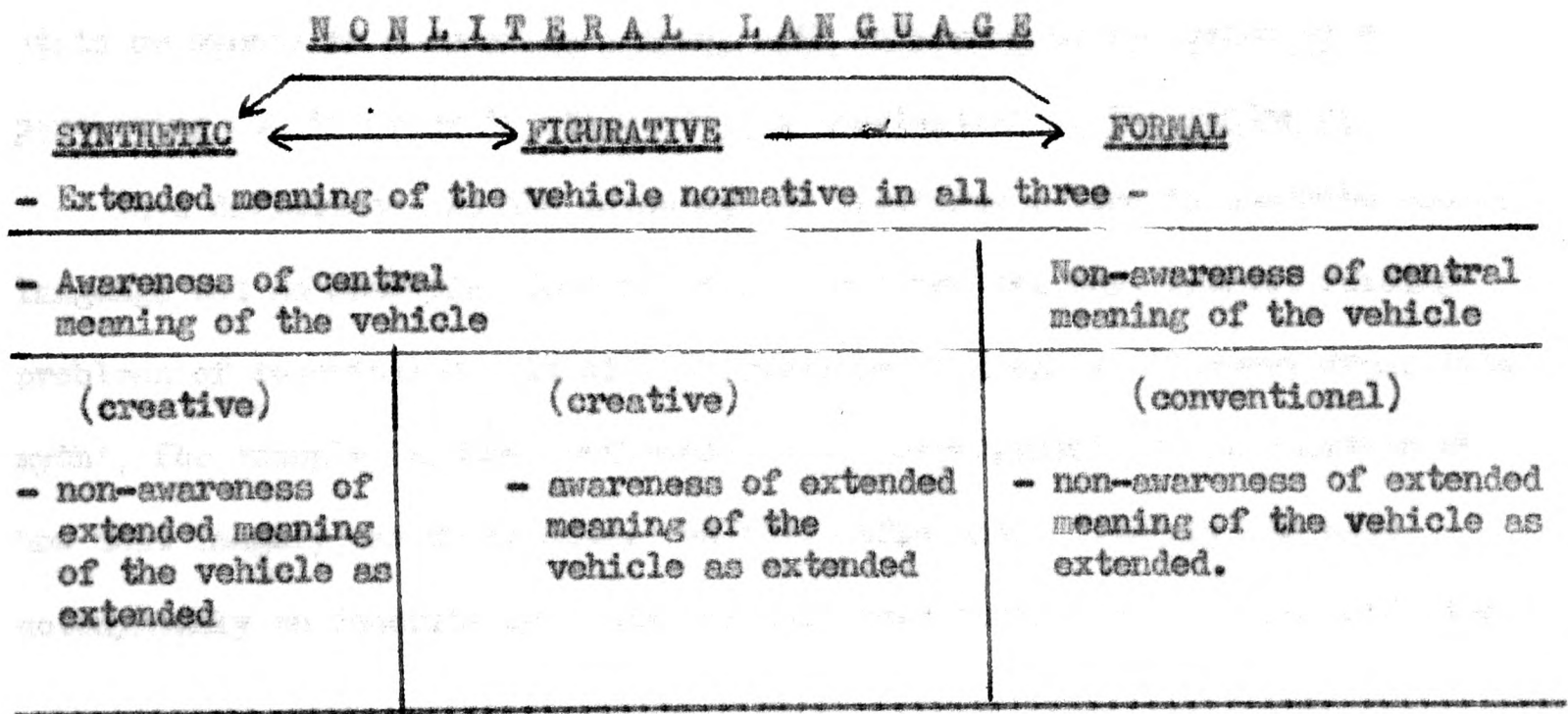
If this were interpreted nonliterally the tenor might be the destruction of Israel by foreign armies which Amos predicts elsewhere. On a formal interpretation the phrase would not carry its extended meaning, and would simply be a conventional way of talking about the suddenness of the coming destruction. There would be no awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle, the extended meaning of the vehicle would be normative and unrecognised as such, and the sense of the phrase would be 'Israel will be destroyed suddenly (by invasion?)'. On the figurative

1. see below, pp 147 ff.

interpretation the extended meaning of the vehicle is normative, there is awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle, and of the extended meaning of the vehicle as extended. The reader or hearer will think of the cosmic portents described in the vehicle and recognise them as a way of describing the coming destruction; the sense of the statement for him will be, 'Israel's destruction will be as if the sun went down at noon'. In synthetic interpretation there is awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle and of the extended meaning of the vehicle as normative - the reader or hearer senses that the passage is talking about the (military?) destruction of Israel rather than actual cosmic events. But he would not make this distinction explicitly and recognise the extended meaning of the vehicle as an extended meaning. He would apprehend it as a completely adequate description of the coming political destruction, and would not understand a modern objector who said to him that surely this was only or merely a figure of speech. If his understanding could be paraphrased, the sense of the statement to him would be, 'Israel's destruction is a cosmic matter' - only he would not be able to formulate this understanding in such terms.

The possible differences of interpretation are particularly important in such 'cosmic' language (language where the central meaning of the vehicle describes changes ^{or} ~~of~~ disturbances in the natural order). It makes little difference whether Amos' cattle were understood formally, figuratively or synthetically by the prophet and his audience, but there is considerable difference between the various nonliteral interpretations of the cosmic language in Amos 8/9 and between these and the literal interpretation. Another point arising from the discussion is that the line from synthetic via figurative to formal meanings, like the creative-conventional axis, with which it is connected,

is a spectrum or sliding scale, on which designations of language as formal, figurative etc., will usually be approximations, indicating that it is more one thing than the others, and along which movement is possible in both directions; synthetic meanings can become figurative, then formal (and eventually literal), while formal meanings can be revitalised and become synthetic and figurative. The act of revitalisation would produce synthesis, re-bisociation, which would most probably be immediately succeeded by figurative interpretation, as is the case with Ullmann's revitalisation of botanical metaphors. With this in mind the different levels of awareness in nonliteral language may be set out diagrammatically thus:



B IMAGERY

The analysis of literal and nonliteral language may now be brought to a close with a note on the word imagery (similar: 'image'). This can be used to mean a "copy of a sensation"¹, or more accurately, "the concrete details by which the poet's imagination is realised"², with reference to one of the five senses. It can also be used in a more general way of a "mental representation"³, "an idea, any event in the mind which represents something"⁴. Finally, it can mean "a figure of speech, a double meaning involving a comparison"⁵, a "figure of speech expressing some similarity or analogy"⁶. This last meaning is popular, but is not very useful for the purpose of this study since such language is already covered by the terms previously worked out. 'Imagery' will therefore be used, on the lines of the first definition cited, to mean: poetic language, especially as used to describe a situation (object, state or event) in a concrete manner, with reference to the sense or senses perceiving it, in order to stimulate the imagination of the reader or hearer.

This definition has the advantage of providing a word to describe poetic language and an essential feature of it, in a neutral way, without raising problems of description. It will be possible to speak of 'imagery drawn from myth', for example, without reference to or prejudgement of the question of how that imagery was understood. On this definition, 'imagery' is used metonymously to describe not only 'visual' representations, as the word itself

1. e.g., 'tis bitter cold' - the example is Partridge's, quoting the definition from Richards (BCPS p. 20).
2. BCPS p. 22.
3. Ullmann, L&S p. 176.
4. Richards, quoted by Partridge, BCPS p. 20.
5. ibid, ditto, cf. p. 24.
6. L&S p. 177.

suggests, but all sensory impressions and sense-perception language. Thus, there can be imagery of sight (visual), hearing (aural or auditory), taste, smell and touch.

Imagery can vary in vividness. As Michael Roberts says of visual imagery:

Visualisation is not a simple definite thing; it can vary in intensity from zero up to the complete visualisation of nightmare or hallucination, and often the poet is not concerned with the sense-impressions, but with the secondary response. For his purposes, therefore, if the reader is directly sensitive to words, incipient visualisation will be sufficient¹.

Indeed, there are times when complete visualisation would be a handicap:

Fully visualised, the Song of Songs becomes riotous nonsense: whoever saw a woman with breasts that looked like a pair of roes and hair like a flock of goats?².

Generalising, the degree of vividness may be described by saying that all imagery can be more or less developed.

The division into different kinds of imagery made here assumes that all five types are in principle possible in the Old Testament, though occurrences of the last three are unlikely to be frequent. With reference to the first two, Luis Alonso-Schökel has analysed the imagery of water in Isaiah and found that it shows a distinct preponderance of auditory imagery and imagery of movement, and has little visual imagery³. The imagery of movement is itself probably visual, but Alonso-Schökel's point seems to be that it is only incipiently visualised. His results indicate, he suggests, that the Hebrews had a preference for auditory imagery over visual⁴.

Alonso-Schökel also points out that imagery is embedded in its cultural background. From the viewpoint of a different culture, what is concrete and

1. 'A Critique of Poetry', p.55. 2. ibid., p.54. 3. Estudios, p.290f
4. ibid. On Boman's approach to visual imagery in the O.T., see Additional Note 2, below pp 79-84.

local may seem exotic, but it must be remembered, he says, that what seems exotic, would probably have been perfectly natural in its original setting. Old Testament imagery should not therefore be described as 'grotesque' merely because it seems strange to the 20th Century European reader¹. An example of apparently incongruous imagery in Second Isaiah will be considered below².

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of chapter 2 it was found that Wilder and Micklem distinguished three types of language: literal, consciously nonliteral, and 'unitary'. The subsequent discussion of metaphor and the creative process led to an analysis of literal and nonliteral language in semantic terms which explored the distinction between these three types of language and found that the unitary (synthetic) and consciously nonliteral (figurative) types are part of nonliteral language, together with a fourth type, formal language. In the light of this analysis Wilder's apparently total rejection of the literal-nonliteral distinction is unfounded, since synthetic language belongs to nonliteral language³. The exegesis in the second part of this study will show that all four types of language occur in prophetic eschatology. The analysis has also suggested criteria for distinguishing between the various types of language, such as the degree of development of the imagery involved, the degree of originality, and the degree of correspondence between the two situations. These 'intrinsic' criteria will be set out in chapter 5, below. Finally, one may note each of Wilder's three emphases from literary criticism has been

1. ibid. p. 306.
2. pp 204 ff, on Isaiah 42: 14-15. See also Additional Note 2, below, pp 82...
3. Wilder's rejection of the literal-figurative distinction may also have been influenced by the pejorative attitude to metaphor associated with figurative language.

validated. The evocative power of poetic language has been analysed; nonliteral language has been found to be only approximately paraphrasable in literal language; while Wilder's use of terms like 'fusion' and 'synthetic act of vision' has been found to be an accurate description of synthetic language.

ADDITIONAL NOTE 1 - NONLITERAL LANGUAGE TAKEN LITERALLY:THE "DIFFUSED CONSCIOUSNESS" THEORY

The preceding two chapters have shown the importance of a knowledge of linguistic conventions (usage) for correct discrimination between literal and nonliteral language. It would be conceivable for literal language to be misinterpreted as nonliteral, but the reverse error is probably more common. Since Classical Hebrew is a dead language and some of its linguistic conventions are uncertain, this possibility has given rise to several problems of Old Testament interpretation¹. As an example, reference may be made to H. Wheeler Robinson's theory of 'diffused consciousness'.

Robinson's theory, first outlined in his book, 'The Christian Doctrine of Man', was that the various organs of the body were conceived of as having semi-autonomous status, so that when the Hebrew speaks of the heart in a psychical sense as longing, purposing, etc., he meant that it actually did these things of its own accord². He further claims that the Hebrew meant "something other

1. From a different sphere a less weighty but instructive example is the way in which children are apt to understand the idioms of their elders in a concrete way. James Thurber capitalises on this possibility when he describes how the dead metaphors of adults became uproariously alive to a child whose world was half make-believe, half reality:
 "In this world, businessmen who phoned their wives to say they were all tied up at the office sat roped to their swivel chairs, and probably gagged, unable to move or speak, except somehow, miraculously, to telephone" (The Thurber Carnival) (Abridged Edition, Penguin Books, London 1953, p.23).
 Similarly, Thurber tells of:
 "the old lady who was always up in the air, the husband who didn't seem to be able to put his foot down, the man who lost his head during a fire but was still able to run out of the house yelling" (ibid. p.23f).
2. CDM p. 21f.

than we do" when he spoke of the eye as unsatisfied, expectant, asking, desiring, mocking etc¹.

Robinson's theory was developed in more detail in his contribution to "The People and the Book"², and received its fullest documentation in "Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament":

when Job asks (6:30)

'Is there perversity in my tongue
Does not my palate discern calamities?'

or again (12:11)

'Doth not the ear try words,
even as the palate tasteth its meat?'

or says of the poor whom he has helped (29:11):

'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me
And when the eye saw me, it gave witness unto me'

he is not speaking in conscious metaphor; he is speaking literally in terms of the 'diffused consciousness' of Hebrew psychology³.

Should such phrases be understood literally? In a detailed study of the usage of Hebrew terms for different parts of the body⁴ A.R. Johnson shows that the many phrases in the Old Testament which represent bodily organs as independently willing, feeling, and acting are examples of synecdoche - the organs in question standing for the whole personality - rather than literal statements

1. CDM p. 23. Robinson's evidence does not prove his point, because (a) the practice of eating enemies' eyes to obtain powers of vision, and rifling graves to get eyeballs for charms (which he cites) prove only that the eye was thought to be connected with the ability to see, not that it was thought of as semi-autonomous; and similarly, (b) Elishah's action in placing eyes, mouth, and hands on those of the child (Kgs 4:34), even if Robinson's interpretation be accepted, only shows that the life power of separate organs was thought to be transferable by local contact.
2. see FBK pp. 354, 374.
3. ISPR p. 72.
4. VITI passim.

implying 'diffused consciousness'. Frequently, the presence of synecdoche is clear from the fact that the part of the body mentioned is paralleled by or spoken of synonymously with a personal pronoun, as in the case of the eye:

"The eye of the adulterer also waits for the twilight,
saying, no eye shall see me,
and he disguises his face". (Job 24:15)¹.

the hand:

"Then I contemplated all my works that my hands had wrought
And the labour I had laboured to do" (Eccles. 2:11)².

the loins - as when Job never saw a needy man,

"Except his loins blessed me
And he warmed himself with the fleece of my lambs (Job 31:20)³.

and the heart:

"Be not glad at the downfall of thine enemy,
Nor let they heart rejoice when he stumbleth" (Prov. 24:17)⁴.

Johnson also points out that the normal Hebrew idiom for paying attention, for example, is of the type 'incline thine ear', and not 'O ear, incline thyself', which is what one would expect on the diffused consciousness theory⁵.

Together with such supporting arguments, Johnson's impressive array of evidence, from parallelism and context, for the presence of synecdoche, is sufficient to establish his case. The whole controversy was only possible because the language in question was susceptible of both literal and nonliteral interpretations.

1. VITI p.50. Many other references are given. My emphasis here and in the following quotations.
2. ibid p.63. See the many references here and on p.64.
3. VITI p. 75.
4. ibid p. 82. Many other references are given.
5. ibid p. 83 n 2, cf. p. 56f.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE 2 - BOMAN'S THEORY OF

NON-DESCRIPTIVE VISUAL PERCEPTION.

In the discussion of imagery¹, reference was made to L. Alonso-Schökel's suggestion that the Hebrews had a preference for auditory imagery over visual. Thorleif Boman has gone further, and argued that they never gave visual descriptions of objects or people because they had a different mode of visual perception. He begins² by discussing the Israelite impression of buildings, arguing that 'we and the Greeks' involuntarily make mental pictures of things, and try, when describing them, to put a similar picture in the minds of our audience. The Israelites, however, were not interested in the 'photographic' appearance of things and people:

In the entire Old Testament we do not find a single description of an objective, 'photographic' appearance³.

In support of this statement Boman cites the construction of Noah's ark in Gen. 6, the description of the wilderness shrine (Exod. 25-28), and the building specifications of Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 6:7ff (c.f. 1 Chron 1:18ff.)).

Boman asks why there is no attempt, in any of these examples, to describe what the buildings 'looked like'. His answer is that when an Israelite saw a building his consciousness was immediately occupied with the thought, not of how it looked, but of how it was built. The building in his eyes was not a totality at rest but "something dynamic and living, a human accomplishment"⁴.

Several comments may be made on these arguments. Firstly, the statement about the mental disposition of "we and the Greeks" is a generalisation

1. Above, pp 72-4.
3. ibid.

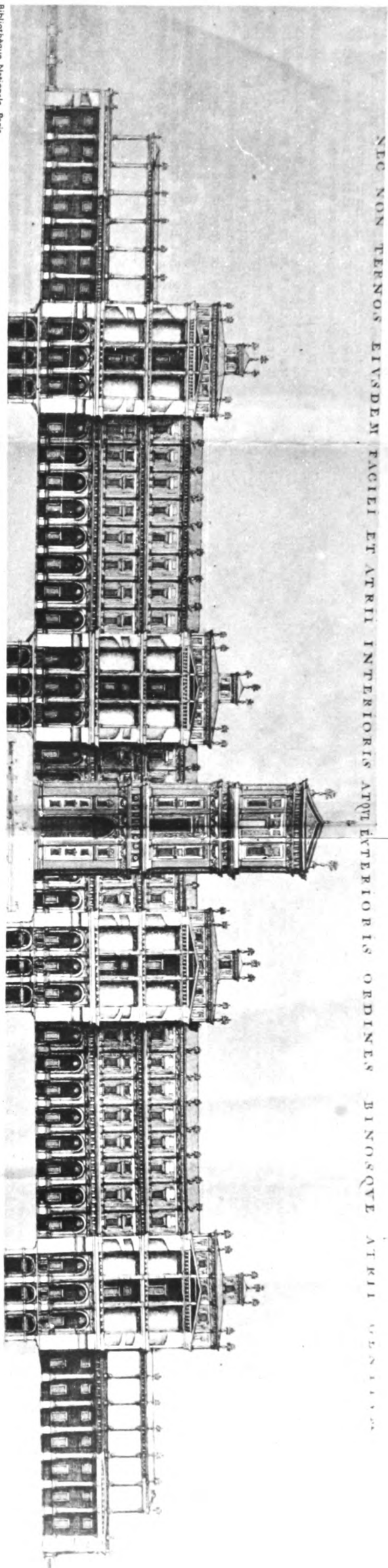
2. HDVG p. 60, ET p. 74.
4. ibid. p. 61, ET p. 76.

unsupported by evidence. Secondly, it may be that Boman's tendency to see something especially dynamic in the Israelite way of thinking is influencing exegesis¹. Thirdly, he is arguing from the silence of the sources quoted. Fourthly, the references given are not convincing in themselves. The peculiarity of the accounts cited is easily explained by the stylistic observation that they are all building instructions. Even today, it is impossible to form a mental visual image of a modern house from the building specification unless the architect's plans and drawings are to hand. Finally, Boman disregards Ezekiel 40:4, where the prophet is told - "look with your eyes and hear with your ears, and set your mind upon all that I shall show you". There follows a detailed description of the shape and measurements of the new Temple. From this, it is possible to form some impression of its shape and therefore of its general appearance², while with the help of archaeology C.G. Howie is able to give a diagram of the East Gate³.

The impossibility of forming a precise visual image of the completed Temple in fact derives, not from a peculiar type of perception on the part of the Israelites, but from a semi-linguistic phenomenon known as the evolution of the referent. In an article entitled, 'Translators, Words and Things'⁴. Georges Mounin stresses the importance of a knowledge of the cultural background for a correct understanding of language⁵.

1. On Boman's insistence on the dynamic, see Barr, SBL pp. 47ff.
2. McKelvey is able to reconstruct the ground plan (The New Temple, A Study in New Testament Imagery. Oxford D.Phil Thesis, 1959, p. 315).
3. The Date and Composition of Ezekiel. JBL Monograph Series, Vol.IV, 1950 pp.43-46.
4. UNESCO 'Courier', April 1962, pp. 24-28.
5. cf. Black and Henle, above pp 35 f. 38 f.

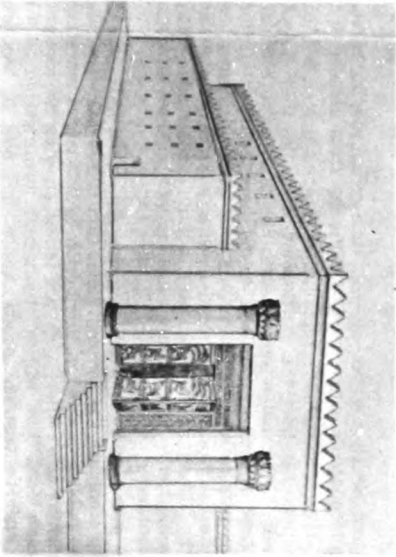
To face p. 81.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE WITH A 17TH CENTURY LOOK

The description of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem (built about 1,000 years before Christ, but destroyed and reconstructed several times) has come down to us through passages in the Bible (particularly the Book of Kings) from the writings of the historian Flavius Josephus and from the Hebrew texts of the Talmud. Yet when 17th century drawings were made of it on the basis of these texts under the direction of a famed English theologian, Bryan Walton, who was well versed in Hebrew, Latin and Greek, the result was the astonishing building (above) of well-defined mid-17th century appearance, standing on a kind of enormous pedestal. Thanks to present-day historical, archaeological and ethnographical knowledge we are now familiar with the things that once existed whereas the 17th century analysts of the ancient texts knew only the meaning of words. Right, a drawing of Solomon's Temple made according to the specifications prepared by two modern archaeologists, W.F. Albright and G. Ernest Wright.



Drawing by C. F. Stevens, "The Biblical Archaeologist", Vol XVIII

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merely knowing the words is not enough in translating, it is also essential to know the things referred to in the text to be translated¹.

In support of this Mounin gives several examples, one of which is of direct relevance to Boman's theory about the descriptions of the Temple. In 1653 Bryan Walton published a Biblia Sacra Polyglotta which included a description of Solomon's Temple compiled from the Bible, Josephus, and the Talmud. Of this, Mounin says that:

This Professor of Hebrew knew almost as much Hebrew, Greek and Latin as we know today and read the texts fairly accurately. Yet when his forty-page commentary was given to the illustrator of the volume (undoubtedly under the direction of Walton himself) an astonishing picture emerged simply from a reading of the words comprising his text: the Temple of Solomon, carefully portrayed in accordance with the trilingual text, looks like any English or French building in 1650.....

The translators had done a good job of translation, had read the words of the text correctly. The fact that they saw a sort of Louis XIV edifice where we imagine Phoenician or Babylonian architecture is because we know things where they only knew words..... Bit by bit, we have discovered the things referred to by words which, even though generally well translated, did not enable Bryan Walton to see the Temple of Jerusalem².

The illustrations reproduced with the article (see facing page) show how radically different was the 17th Century linguistic construction from the Temple as reconstructed with the help of archaeology.

Thus, the difficulty of forming a clear visual picture, even from Ezekiel, from the words of the text alone is due, not to peculiarities of the Israelite mind, but to our ignorance of the referents described. Boman's arguments on

1. ibid. p. 25.

2. ibid. p. 26.

this point are therefore untenable.

Boman puts forward similar claims when he discusses descriptions of people. He examines the images of the Song of Songs, perhaps because this is one of the few places in the Old Testament where the appearance of people is described in any detail, and divides those referring to the bride into three classes: virginity images (especially that of the tower), images of feminine charm, and images of fertility¹. In no case, he argues, is there a description of what the person looks like - and he cites the grotesqueness of the imagery as proof of this².

In describing such imagery as "grotesque", Boman is making the type of cross-cultural misjudgement previously criticised by L. Alonso-Schökel³. Moreover, the apparent incongruity of the imagery does not prove it was not visual. It merely shows that it was but incipiently visualised⁴. The flock of goats, tower etc., are undoubtedly visual images insofar as they have their origin in visual sense impressions or perceptions of the vehicle situation (the tower, etc.,) and of the tenor (the maiden). Such imagery can be described as 'primary-visual'. One could argue that in such cases the affinity between vehicle and tenor, tower and maiden's neck, is one, not of visual likeness (the neck looking like a tower) but of qualitative likeness (virginity, inviolability against assault). The image could then be described as primary visual but affinitively qualitative. If Boman made such a distinction, and argued that the 'grotesque' images are affinitively qualitative rather than

HDVG

1. Boman, ~~HDVG~~ pp.62-67 (ET pp76-84).
2. ibid. p. 62 (ET p.77).
3. ~~Alonso-Schökel~~, Estudios p. 306, see above pp 73f.
4. See above p/ 73.

affinitively visual his argument might have some point. As it is, he adds to the difficulty of imprecise terminology by generalising from the imagery he analyses and claiming that all Israelite imagery was of this type. In other words, the Israelites never used imagery simply to describe what a person 'looked like'.

This argument can be refuted with a selection of images in the Song of Songs itself, some of which Boman overlooks. Firstly, one may refer to 1:5-6, where the maiden is said to be 'dark' (lit. 'black'), and 'swarthy' (lit. 'blackish') because the sun has 'looked on her' - which probably means, with REV, 'scorched' or unusually darkened her. It is difficult to see how this can be interpreted as anything other than literal description of how the maiden's skin looked to the beholder. Similar considerations apply to the tents of Kedar, whose appearance is compared with the dark colour of her skin¹.

Another important passage is 4:1-7. Of particular interest is v. 3. The first half-verse is an affinitive visual image - the lips looked like a scarlet thread - and the parallelism shows that the second half also describes how the mouth looked. With regard to v. 4, A.M. Honeyman discusses the difficult word, 'talpioth' and arrives at the meaning, "coursed masonry". He translates the verse thus:

"Like David's tower is thy neck, laid in courses
On which the thousand shields are hung, all the warriors' " ².

Following up Honeyman's note, B.S.J. Isserlin refers to a sculpture from Arsos in Cyprus, showing a woman wearing a two-tier necklace made up of an upper layer

1. T.J. Meek, The Song of Songs. Introduction and Exegesis, IB vol.V 1956, notes that whereas the tents of Kedar are black, the curtains of Solomon are beautiful.
2. "Two Contributions to Canaanite Toponymy", JTS 50 (1949), pp.50-53.

of small rounded beads, with heavier quadrangular beads below. He suggests that the comparison is between a woman wearing such a necklace and a fortified tower with coursed masonry topped by round shields¹. In the light of this combination of linguistic and archaeological research there is every probability that the verse in question is a direct visual comparison between the maiden's neck and a particular type of fortified tower. Though the comparison probably also carries qualitative overtones of proud and inviolate virginity, its primary and explicit purpose is to suggest that the maiden wearing her necklace 'looked like' such a tower².

Finally, one may refer to 5:10f, 14f. This description of the bridegroom must also be classed as direct description of his physical appearance. The beloved is 'dazzling' ($\Pi \Sigma$), which probably refers to the whiteness of the skin³ and 'ruddy', and beyond the shadow of a doubt his hair is described in terms of its appearance - it is as black as a raven.

It may be concluded that, even as modified and restated, Boman's argument that there is no affinitive visual imagery in these passages, and therefore none in the Old Testament, is untenable. There are undoubtedly some primary visual images in the Song of Songs which are affinitively visual, intended simply to describe what the people concerned looked like. With regard to the Israelite perception of buildings, Boman's arguments overlook the evolution of the referent and are likewise untenable. At most he points out that some sections of the Old Testament are fond of describing buildings in terms of their construction, but this is for a stylistic reason unconnected with the ability or otherwise of the writers to describe their visual appearance.

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1. "Song of Songs IV,4: An Archaeological Note", PEQ 1958 pp.59-60 (a photograph of the sculpture is reproduced with the article).
 2. See also T.J.Meek op cit., IB, ad loc.
 3. so BDB.

CHAPTER FOUR

MYTHICAL IMAGERY IN PROPHETIC
ESCHATOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Having analysed the literal-nonliteral distinction one may now consider a further and related problem, namely the language of mythical thought and the use of mythical imagery and categories in prophetic eschatology. 'Mythical thought' here means the thought and outlook of cultures dominated by the perception of reality generally known as 'myth'¹, 'mythical', or 'mythopoeic', as this is described by Cassirer², Frankfort³, Childs⁴, and others, with special reference to the Ancient Near East⁵. 'Mythical thought' is not directly equated with that perception because while the thought and outlook of a culture such as ancient Babylonia⁶ is dominated by it, the degree of predominance is not total⁷. The word 'myth' will normally be used as a particular term (a myth, the myth, myths) for stories, story-fragments, or ritual texts characteristic of mythical thought, except where reference is being made to writers who use

immediately

1. in the general sense, see/below.
2. PSF II passim, and see references below.
3. IAAM passim, and see references below.
4. MROT pp. 17-29.
5. Therefore, as Childs' discussion makes clear (MROT pp.13-16, cf. p.8) the discussion here is not concerned with the definitions of myth used by Bultman in the demythologising controversy. *pp 125-218*
6. As analysed by Jokobsen, IAAM (BP. pp.135-234).
7. see below pp 91-3.

it as a general term ('myth', unqualified) for the perception of reality under discussion¹. 'Mythical imagery' means imagery in the Old Testament derived from Ancient Near Eastern myths. It is a neutral term, denoting only the provenance of such imagery, without making judgements as to how far its presence in the Old Testament represents a retention of or departure from the perception of reality it originally expressed², 'Mythical categories' is a general term for modes of perception and habits of thought in Ancient Near Eastern mythical thought which are used or adapted in the Old Testament.

A THE LANGUAGE OF MYTHICAL THOUGHT

A/1 MYTHICAL THOUGHT IN GENERAL

From the viewpoint of the literal-nonliteral distinction the most important characteristic of mythical thought is that it views large areas of reality with the same kind of unitary perception as that which operates in poetic bisociation, and that consequently, much of the language of mythical thought, insofar as it expresses this unitary perception, is synthetic rather than literal or figurative³.

Many writers have made statements which imply such a connection between

1. The word 'myth' is thus used in a broader sense than Hooke, when he restricts it to the spoken part of a ritual (M&R p.13), but in a narrower sense than Frankfort, who uses it to mean both stories characteristic of mythical thought (BP p.15), the perception of reality predominant in mythical thought, and the ritual behaviour associated with it (BP p.164, IAAIM, p. 8)
2. See above, pp 72f; on the distinction between mythical imagery and mythical thought, cf. Wright, OTAE, p.28.
3. The term, 'unitary perception of reality' to describe mythical thought is used by Barr (MMOT p.6 & p.3f), It may be what Pedersen, A.R. Johnson and others have in mind when they speak of the 'synthetic' nature of Israelite thought, its 'grasping of a totality' (J. Pedersen, Israel, its Life and Culture, vols. I-II, London 1926, pp.99ff & passim; Johnson, VITI p.7f). The word 'synthetic' will here be used according to the more precise definition reached in the preceding chapter.

'myth' and synthetic language. Ernst Cassirer, on whose analysis many others have drawn, says that myth signifies an intuitive unity preceding and underlying the explanations of discursive thought¹. When he examines myths made up by Plato and other individuals he finds that the essential difference between these and a true myth is that the former is created in an entirely free spirit, while the latter does not have the same freedom because its images are not known as images. They are regarded not as symbols but as realities which cannot be rejected or criticised, but only ^{accepted} in a passive way². This implies that the language of such true myths cannot be figurative, consciously nonliteral, as does Cassirer's specific reference to the question of language when drawing on the writing³ of Levy-Bruhl:

The linguistic term "polysynthetic" has indeed been applied to the mythical imagination and the term has been explained as meaning that for the mythical imagination there is no separation of a total complex into its elements, but that only a single undivided totality is represented - a totality in which there is no dissociation of separate factors, particularly the factors of objective perception and subjective feeling³.

This suggests that Cassirer has in mind the unitary perception outlined in the previous chapter, where objects or areas of experience are seen as one, in an identity of the 'vague' type, because they are not yet judged to be different⁴.

On similar lines, W. Brede Kristensen points out that while there is nothing in the myths to show that they must be interpreted symbolically

1. PSF II p.69 cf. L&M p.98 and passim.
2. Myth of State, p.47; similarly PSF II, pp.37f and passim.
3. PSF II, p. 45f.
4. See above p 68.

(i.e., figuratively), a literal interpretation, though often attempted, also proves to be unsatisfactory. The reason why we are faced with equally unacceptable literal and 'symbolic' explanations, he says, is that while we have to use the word 'symbolic' to describe the imagery of a myth because we know its 'real' meaning (the reality for which the symbol stands), the ancients lacked our conception of symbol:

What we must call symbols were for them reality. All alien beliefs, including the Ancient ones, were to the believers not signs or 'symbols' of something else which lay hidden behind the signs, but rather the only accurate and completely adequate expressions of the reality which was meant¹.

Thus, Kristensen rejects the literal-figurative distinction when describing myths, the implication being that they express a perception of reality which does not make such separations. Barr makes the same point in similar terms when he illustrates what he means by unitary perception by saying that in Greek mythology Zeus is not 'symbolised' as rain nor ~~is~~^{is} rain 'personified' as Zeus but mythology sees "Zeus-rain"². It may be concluded that when Cassirer, Kristensen and Barr speak of 'myth' they are describing a perception of reality where literal and figurative language is not yet possible, namely a unitary perception expressed in synthetic language.

Further evidence that 'myth' is a form of unitary perception comes from Owen Barfield, who shows that it is impossible to conceive of language as developing from original literal meanings to later figurative metaphorical meanings, and that it must be regarded as having originated in a primeval unity of meaning which has separated into both³. Barfield first distinguishes between

1. Meaning of Religion, p. 402, see pp. 400-402.

2. MMOT p. 6.

3. MWL in M&S pp. 48-56, cf. PD pp. 60-92.

substituted meaning, where words or sentences say one thing and mean another¹, and concomitant meaning, where literal and figurative meaning^S can both be carried by the same word². Adopting the tenor-vehicle terminology he distinguishes between two theories of metaphor: the explicationist view, which regards all metaphor as exactly paraphrasable in terms of literal statement, and the implicationist view, which holds that exact paraphrase is impossible. Barfield takes as an example words whose vehicle has a material referent but whose tenor conveys a moral quality or feeling not directly accessible to sense observation (e.g., the word 'outsider', a spatial metaphor³). The general view is that all such 'immaterial' language came about by using words with a material referent metaphorically. If this is correct, it is theoretically possible to trace four stages in the development of individual words which now have an exclusively immaterial import. The word 'transgression', for example, would have begun life with an exclusively literal material meaning 'A' ('crossing a line'), then progressed to concomitant meaning 'A + B' ('crossing a line' + 'doing wrong'), and substituted meaning ('B' with traces of 'A')⁴, finally reaching its current literal meaning, which has no material reference. The first stage Barfield calls the 'born literal', the last the 'achieved literal'⁵.

Barfield then examines the validity of the theory of born literalness by considering it from the viewpoint of both explicationist and implicationist theories of metaphor. The theory assumes that all words of immaterial import

1. e.g., 'leave no stone unturned' = 'try everything you can think of'.

2. MWL. p. 48.

3. ibid. p. 50.

4. i.e., dead metaphor.

5. MWL p. 53.

began with exclusively material reference and acquired an immaterial tenor as the result of the metaphor-making activity of human minds. On the explicationist view the immaterial tenor of the first metaphor, on its first appearance, could have been expressed literally. In order to do this, achieved literal words with immaterial reference must have been available. The question then arises, how such words could have reached the stage of achieved literalness. If it was by metaphorical activity, then yet other achieved literal words with immaterial reference must have been available to paraphrase these metaphors on their first appearance, and so on, ad infinitum¹. Thus, the theory of born literalness is incompatible with the explicationist view of metaphor because it is impossible to conceive of a time when all words had exclusively material reference.

The implicationist view of metaphor, on the other hand, supposes that the first, original metaphor need not have been paraphrasable. This does not result in the self-contradiction of the explicationist view, but involves the assumption that the immaterial content of the metaphor (the tenor) was conceived without the help of a verbal vehicle:

I am a primitive man, who has just become aware of a sort of immaterial something within me, but I have no word for it. In my experience up to now, it is not even the sort of thing for which there are words. What I have got available is a bunch of strictly literal labels for things like sun, moon, cloud, rock, river, wind, etc., None of these words has any immaterial overtones at all. This is an essential condition; for otherwise they would not be literal (as born literals are assumed to be literal); they would already be vehicles with a tenor. The word for wind, for example, means to me simply what we today call air or oxygen, the physical stuff that keeps on coming into and going out of me. I now take the step of substituting my word for, and my thought of wind, for my wordless thought of a sort of something². That is the picture³.

1. MWL p. 54.

2. i.e., 'spirit'.

3. MWL p.54.

It is, as Barfield says, an impossible picture. The theory of born literalness must therefore be rejected, because on the explicationist view of metaphor it involves a self-contradiction while on the implicationist view it demands the assumption that a fundamental shift in language away from exclusively material meanings was both conceived and communicated without the help of language. It is more likely, as Barfield concludes, that affinities such as that between material things like 'wind' and immaterial concepts like 'spirit' must have been 'given' in the nature of things. They are inherent in the workings of the human mind and the way man looks at nature rather than the result of "some friction in the machinery of language"¹.

Thus, as Barfield argues elsewhere², one must posit a primeval stage in the development of language, not of born-literal meanings from which figurative and achieved literal meanings later developed, but of a unity of meaning (which he calls 'concrete meaning') out of which both literal and figurative meanings have separated³. From Barfield's discussion it is clear that by this he means the unitary perception of reality which Cassirer, Kristensen and Barr have in mind in their discussions of 'myth'. The difference between Barfield and the others is that he clearly states that the total unitary perception of concrete meaning is not recoverable in any extant language, and that the unitary perception of reality seen in the myths is an echo of it⁴. In the Demeter and Persephone myth for example:

1. *ibid.* p. 56.

2. PD pp. 77-92.

3. cf. Von Rad O.T. Th I, p.397 n.l., and recently, John Macquarrie, God-Talk, London 1967, p.174.

4. PD. pp.83-92.

the ideas of waking and sleeping, of summer and winter, of life and death, of mortality and immortality, are all lost in one pervasive meaning.... Mythology is the ghost of concrete meaning. Connections between discrete phenomena, connections which are now apprehended as metaphor, were once perceived as immediate realities. As such the poet strives, by his own efforts, to see them and to make others see them, again.¹

On this view, the culture in which such a myth was authoritative would have a unitary perception of reality at the significant points with which it deals. The unitary perception would not, however, be total (it is the ghost of concrete meaning), and one would expect to find language being used elsewhere in that culture, in literal, formal, and figurative ways, though synthetic language would predominate in the myth itself.

It is not clear whether Cassirer, Kristensen, and Barr would subscribe to this view, for they seem to be saying that 'myth' is a unitary perception of reality, rather than an outlook dominated by such a perception. Since by 'myth' they appear to mean both myths and the total outlook of the culture that produces them, the implication is that only synthetic language would be found in such a culture. The apparent divergence of opinion may be due to the difficulty of clarifying the terminology, but in any case Barfield's view is the more reasonable. It would be impossible to vindicate it without extensive examination of texts, but in the Ancient Near East, from the translations given, the records of conquest of the Assyrian kings² and the account of Wen-Amon's voyage³, for example, do not have the appearance of synthetic language. Literal language certainly occurs in the Gilgamesh epic in the form of simile⁴, while the

1. ibid. pp.91-92.

2. ANET pp.274-301.

3. ibid. pp.25-29.

4. ANET p. 73 (i) line 11,; p. 74 (ii) line 36; p.75 (iv) line 46; p. 78 (vi) line 21. (Simple simile is by definition literal language, see above pp 47, 57, 61-2).

Babylonian creation myth has the vivid similes of Marduk spitting Tiamat's corpse in half like a shellfish, and of the gods cowering like dogs before the flood waters and gathering like flies round the sacrifice afterwards¹.

A/2 MYTHICAL THOUGHT IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Enough evidence has been presented to justify the initial contention that mythical thought is dominated by a unitary perception of reality expressing itself in synthetic language. This is also true of the Ancient Near East, from which much of the mythical imagery in the Old Testament is drawn. It does not draw sharp distinctions between past, present and future², subject and object, reality and appearance, part and whole³, nor make a thoroughgoing distinction between personal and impersonal⁴.

Regarding the question of language, reference may be made to Frankfort's discussion of the Imdugud myth. The Sumerians described what happened when a violent storm broke a drought by saying that Imdugud, a large bird which covered the sky with the black storm clouds of its wings, had devoured the Bull of Heaven whose hot breath had scorched the crops⁵. Though these images had already become traditional by the time we meet them in art and literature, they must originally have been seen in the revelation with the experience entailed, and they have the compelling authority peculiar to myth⁶. In other words, this imagery is the result of a creative synthesis, bisociating such matrices as 'clouds' and 'wings'. Though traditional, the language is not formal, because

1. ANET p. 67, tablet iv, line 137; p. 94 line 115; p. 95 line 161.

2. MROT p. 72.

3. IAAM pp. 11-13. (BP pp. 19-22)

4. IAAM pp. 4-6 (BP pp. 13-15)

5. IAAM p. 6f, BP p. 15.

6. ibid.

the bird imagery is still vivid and compelling. Nor is it figurative. From Frankfort's discussion it is clear that the idea of 'storm' as a meteorological phenomenon is not separated from the bird-imagery of Imdugud that describes it, and which we would regard as figurative metaphor:

the the imagery is inseparable from the thought.
It represents form in which the experience
has become conscious¹.

The language is therefore synthetic.

A further example of synthetic language in Ancient Near Eastern mythical thought is the account of the Elamite destruction of Ur discussed by Jakobsen². Enlil is the god of the storm, and as such the divine police-officer-cum-chief-of-the-armed-forces, using legal force to execute the decrees of the divine assembly. The destruction of Ur by the Elamites was interpreted as being due to a decree of the gods and so was thought to be brought about by Enlil. Because Enlil was the storm god, the attack on the city could be described in terms of Enlil calling up a storm, even though, presumably, it was not attended by meteorological disturbances:

Enlil called the storm - the people mourn....
 He called the storm that will annihilate the
 land - the people mourn....
 He called disastrous winds - the people mourn....
 The shattering storm roaring across the land - the people mourn
 The tempest which, relentless as a floodwave,
 Beats down upon, devours the city's ships,
 All these he gathered at the base of heaven - the people mourn³.

The attack is then described in terms of the death and desolation caused by the invading armies⁴.

1. ibid.

3. IAAM p.141, BP p.154.

2. IAAM pp. 140-144, BP pp. 154 - 155.

4. IAAM pp.141ff, BP pp.154 - 155, c.f. ANET pp. 458 - 460.

From the translation and Jakobsen's account, this quotation has the characteristics of synthetic language. There is the same normativeness of the extended meaning of the vehicle (Elamites, not a literal rainstorm, are referred to), awareness of the central meaning of the vehicle ('rainstorm, hurricane'), and non-awareness of the extended meaning of the vehicle as extended (the paraphrase would be not 'this represents Enlil's storm' but 'this is Enlil's storm') which characterise the examples of synthetic language given in the preceding chapter.

Two comments may be added to conclude this discussion. Firstly, if the language of the unitary perception characteristic of mythical thought is synthetic, it follows that there is no qualitative difference between mythical and modern thought. Mythical thought represents a persistence over many areas of the primeval unitary perception of concrete meaning¹ but this unitary perception is characteristic of human thought at all times² and is momentarily recovered with every new poetic bisociation³.

Secondly, in appealing to simple simile as evidence of literal language, on the grounds that all terms on each side of the comparison signify literally⁴, it is thereby understood that a simile is evidence of a degree of mental comparison between two situations, which are seen as separate though similar⁵. This point needs to be underlined because some writers have suggested that in mythical thought there is no such thing as a comparison of two situations, and

that what appear to be similes are in fact identifications. Both Frankfort

1. IAAH, pp. 11 and 12, respectively.

3. IK p. 16, appealing to the babylonian.

1. see above p 91f.

2. c.f. G. Brønsted, in Keryema and Myth II Ed. H. W. Bartsch, Trans. R. Fuller, London 1962 pp. 216-300, esp. pp. 218ff, 236ff.

6. see above p 6f.

3. Barfield, above, p 92.

4. see above pp 57.

5. see above p 47, 61-2.

and Jakobsen make general statements which could be interpreted in this way, though they are probably meant to apply to mimetic ritual rather than linguistic comparisons¹. Engnell, however, discusses the question explicitly in terms of language when he quotes a passage referring to Adad Nirari III:

They (the gods) made his shepherds' rule good
as a plant of life to the people of Assur².

and claims that this means that the king was identified with the plant of life.

Two comments may be made on this claim. First, there is the difficulty of ascertaining what Engnell means by identification. He insists that "the king is divine, he is god and manifests himself as such, especially at the New Year Festival"³, and that the king is identified with the vegetation deity or plant of life⁴. On the other hand, he argues that:

even the man of antiquity knew as well as does
the 'non-civilised' man of today the difference
between a god and a king, be the latter ever so divine⁴.

and says that the statement, 'the king is god' means that he is "the human maintainer of the divine ideology" and that he represents divine characters in the cult⁵. The inconsistency here may be due to lack of clarity in the use of the term 'identity', for what Engnell appears to mean is that in certain cultic situations the worshipper makes the same response to the king as to the god, seeing them as one in the unitary perception characteristic of mythical thought, namely, in an identity of the vague, or imaginative synthetic type⁶.

BP pp. 21 and 215

1. IAAM. pp.12 and 199 respectively, 1
2. DK p. 29.
3. DK p.18, appealing to Labat, 'Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne', Paris, 1939; c.f. DK p.23 note 8.
4. ibid. p. 31.
5. ibid.
6. see above p 68.

Secondly, however, even this concept of identity is inapplicable to the text under discussion, for the king is here stated not to be, but to be like, the plant of life. In a footnote Engnell claims that the word kinga (as, like) does not exclude identity, and solicits the support of "Cook's words about the Hebrew ד : 'likeness and identity are one'"¹. The reference is inaccurate, for Cook is not discussing the meaning of ד and his biblical references are not to Hebrew similes². The main objection to Engnell's claim, however, is that the simile form itself precludes identification. A degree of interaction can certainly take place between the two situations compared in a simile³, but it could not be as intense as in a metaphor, nor could there be any doubt that two situations are in view, since the simile structure ('a like b' or 'as a, so b') ensures that they remain distinct from each other. The situation would be different with a statement such as "Shulgi, the king, the gracious lord, is a date palm planted by a water ditch"⁴, which employs similar plant imagery. Here, assuming the language to be nonliteral, it would be important to decide between synthetic, figurative and formal interpretations, for on the synthetic interpretation the king would be 'identified' with the tree in the manner already described, while the figurative interpretation would involve only a mental comparison between the two⁵. In a simile, however, there is no room for doubt. It has been necessary to underline this point because in certain passages the presence of simile is a criterion for the figurativeness of associated metaphors.

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1. DK. p. 29, n. 2, citing Cook, OTRTP p. 105.
 2. S.A.Cook, OTRTP p.105. Cook says that in Hebrew, metaphors and symbols abound but are not recognised as such - "The heart is - not is like - water. The moon is blood (like), as truly as an idol was taken to be the god and not merely the embodiment of the god. Likeness and identity are one" - and refers to 2 Kings 9:31, Ezek.34:23;37:24, and Mal.4:5. Although Cook might well be open to the charge of giving a literalising interpretation to metaphors, neither his text nor his references touch on the meaning of ד.
 3. Above pp. 47. 4. Cited by Engnell, DK.p.28. 5. For a discussion of this passage see Engnell (DK p.28), Mowinckel (HTC pp.453-4, cf. p.45.n.9) & Frankfort (KGOD

B THE USE OF MYTHICAL IMAGERY AND CATEGORIES IN THE
OLD TESTAMENT

There is general agreement that mythical imagery is used with increasing frequency in prophetic eschatology, especially in exilic and post-exilic times. One reason was its increasing availability¹, but it may also have been used for theological reasons. Frost speaks of a "conscious and deliberate use of myth"², while Childs claims that the 'mythologisation' of the historical Enemy-from-the-North tradition was "effected as a testimony to (Israel's) deepened understanding of...divine judgement and redemption arising out of the exile"³.

B/1 THE SOVEREIGNTY OF YAHWEH'S WILL OVER NATURE
AND HISTORY

The use of such imagery and categories raises the question of how far the Old Testament retained or discarded the understanding of reality which they originally expressed. In discussing "the emancipation of thought from myth"⁴, the Frankforts maintain that though the decisive break with mythical thought took place in Greece, Israel's thought-patterns represent a great advance on her Egyptian and Mesopotamian neighbours, since her conception of God's absolute transcendence over creation breaks the mythical correlation between man, nature and the gods. Barr also stresses the radical departure from the "theory of correspondences", with a sharp distinction between God and Creation, as the main factor separating Israelite from mythical thought, the break being caused by Israel's sense of history⁵.

1. Albright, FSAC pp.316-319.
2. E&M, VT 2, 1952, p.79.
3. Enemy. p. 198.
4. IAAM pp.364ff (title of chapter 12), BP pp.237ff.
5. MMOT p.7f. See similarly Von Rad (OT.Th I p.162, Genesis, A Commentary. ET London 1961, p.140f., and O.T.Th.II pp.102-112), Vriezen (VT Suppl.I p.222) and Hempel (GMG p.123).

Brevard S. Childs deals with the matter in more detail. He first gives a summary of the main characteristics of mythical thought, stressing the 'primeval event - present reality' relation as its dominant theme. Then, by a detailed examination of texts¹ and an analysis of the biblical adaptation of mythical views of time and space², he describes the various ways in which Old Testament writers adapted or modified the mythical understanding of reality.

In his discussion of Old Testament texts, Childs deals with six passages. The first, Genesis 1:1f, shows how a long tradition of thinkers has broken with the understanding of reality shown by the myth, firstly by stressing the transcendence of Yahweh and his existence over against, rather than emanating from, the chaos which he subdues³, and secondly, by depersonalising the chaos itself. The mythical flavour is, however, retained insofar as the chaos is active and has to be subdued by God⁴.

In the second passage, Genesis 3:1-5, a myth is used in a calculated tension. The serpent, originally an evil demon hostile to gods and men, has here become entirely subordinate to the will of Yahweh, being part of the creation which Yahweh pronounces to be good. How he then turns into the evil seducer in the garden is not and cannot be explained, but Yahweh's transcendence is safeguarded, a radical dualism is rejected, and the origin of evil is allowed to remain a mystery⁵.

Similarly, in Genesis 6:1-4 a mythical story of promiscuous gods giving giant offspring to the daughters of men has been demythologised. The transcendence of Yahweh and the qualitative difference between God and man are asserted.

1. MROT chap II pp.30-71.

2. ibid. chap IV pp.72-93.

3. ibid pp.39-41.

4. MROT pp.41-2.

5. ibid. pp. 45-8.

The myth was first pruned of much of its detail, then Yahweh's transcendent power was asserted by his judgment denying immortality to the giants, and finally this judgment was inserted between the descent of the gods and the birth of the giants, thus breaking the causal connection between the presence of the latter and the exploits of the former¹.

In the fourth passage, Exodus 4:24-6, the mythical (i.e., primeval) origin of child circumcision has been historicised - changed into an event in the Heilsgeschichte - and the demonic nature of the local deity is subsumed under the activity of Yahweh, despite the friction this causes with the nature of Yahweh as revealed elsewhere in the story of salvation. Thus, Yahweh's transcendent power is affirmed once more and the myth, taken out of its original setting, loses its mythical character².

The last two passages examined by Childs exhibit, according to him, a somewhat different use of myth, which will be dealt with later. For the moment one may say that Yahweh's will is still the controlling factor in them insofar as mythical imagery is used poetically to depict Yahweh's coming transformation of nature and to interpret the fall of Babylon as his act of judgment³.

Childs now discusses the Old Testament adaptation of mythical attitudes to time and space. He rejects the cyclical-linear contrast as characterising mythical and Old Testament views of time respectively, because 'cyclical' is not a universal characteristic of the former, and 'linear' is a modern category

1. ibid pp. 55f.

2. MROT pp. 62f.

3. See below pp 103-6.

inapplicable to the latter¹. He concludes that the Old Testament modified the Urzeit-Endzeit pattern in three ways: firstly by its expectation of the return of Yahweh's redemptive acts in history, as well as his primeval acts of creation, in the End-time; secondly by its emphasis on the newness of the End-time², which broke with the mythical conception of the simple identity of Urzeit and Endzeit; and thirdly by its belief that the passage of chronological time between the two has significance in itself, so that the End-time not only concludes history but fulfils it. God's acts in the End-time will put right the dissonance in creation caused by man's disobedience³.

Childs reaches similar conclusions in his discussion of space. For instance, Zion is conceived of in terms of mythical space, but the Old Testament alters the mythical view in three ways: Zion is chosen by Yahweh in history, not established by a primeval event; it is likened to, not identified with Eden; and it possesses no permanent or inherent quality of holiness apart from its relation to Yahweh⁴.

Thus, Childs' detailed analysis of the use of mythical imagery in the Old Testament shows that the will of the transcendent God is paramount. When the Old Testament uses the myths of creation, fall, promiscuous gods, circumcision,

1. MROT pp.74-6. Childs carries conviction here, despite his misfortune of having to rely on discussions of Hebrew time-views now dangerously undermined, if not totally superseded, by Barr: viz - Childs' evidence for Hebrew time-views on p.75f:
 - a. the statement that the Hebrew concept of time is primarily interested in the quality of time rather than its temporal succession (c.f. BWT pp.102-4).
 - b. references to 'eth and mo'edh (c.f. BWT esp. pp.116-119, 141).
 - c. the equation " 'eth (= LXX kairos) " (c.f. BWT p.119, and the extensive treatment of kairos elsewhere in the book).
 - d. the reference to the Heb. verbal system and inference therefrom (c.f. SBL pp.72ff esp. p.81 para.2).
 - e. the reference to qdm and ahr (c.f. SBL p.77).
2. c.f. the discussion on eschatology above pp 11-24.
3. MROT pp.76-82.
4. ibid. pp. 88-91.

paradise and the daystar¹ it does so in such a way that the sovereignty of Yahweh's purpose over creation and history are maintained, with greater or lesser friction according to the resistance put up by the myth. Space and time are under his control, for space is holy only insofar as he chooses it, while the End-time brings something new and fulfils his purpose in history. One may add that it was because Yahweh was believed to transcend nature and history and act through history as personal will, that eschatology was possible, for the conviction that Yahweh, the living God, is inaugurating a new action in relation to his ultimate purpose is only possible if the absolute (and thus ultimate) sovereignty of his will has been accepted.

B/2 MYTHICAL IMAGERY AND SYNTHETIC LANGUAGE IN PROPHEPIC ESCHATOLOGY

It has been shown that the Yahwistic tradition in the Old Testament broke away from the unitary perception of reality predominant in Ancient Near Eastern mythical thought by distinguishing decisively between God and Creation. One may now turn to the broader question of how far the Old Testament in general and prophetic eschatology in particular moved away from Ancient Near Eastern unitary perception in other ways. More precisely, one may ask whether mythical imagery, originally understood synthetically, retains or loses its synthetic character in the Old Testament.

B/2/1 POSSIBLE NON-SYNTHETIC USES OF MYTHICAL IMAGERY

At least two writers have made detailed suggestions which imply the possibility of a non-synthetic use of mythical imagery in the Old Testament. Hempel says that myth can decline into "poetic fantasy" when it is torn from its place as a compelling statement of faith and degraded to the level of a 'story of

1. For the last two see below pp 103-6

the gods' which are no longer real gods to the narrator¹. He argues that the Old Testament has "profaned" the two 'forms' (Gattungen) of myth which were originally related only to happenings in the divine world, the lament for the death of the god and the song of the divine marriage. Isaiah 14 is said to use the first form ironically. In the same way the myth of the fall of the occupant of the paradisaal garden becomes simply a poetic expression for the disaster which Ezekiel expected to overtake Tyre². Such "allegorical" use of myth Hempel calls its historisation. It is the basic, fundamental, demythologising and can take place even when it must remain an open question how far the myth as belief, for example, in the downfall of the star god, still remains alive, and has not therefore been completely absorbed through the poetic historisation³. By 'poetic' Hempel probably means 'figurative', but he does not give criteria for deciding why the Ezekiel passage, for example, should be counted a 'poetic expression', or how the myth in the last example could be shown to remain 'alive'.

Childs makes similar suggestions in analysing the last two passages mentioned above⁴. Concerning Isaiah 11:6-9⁵, he points out that when used within mythical thought, the paradise motif in these verses can describe, for example, the seasonal renewal of fertility (Baal and Anath) or the primeval state before the world came into being (Dilmun myth⁶). In the Isaianic passage,

1. GMG p.110. 2. Ezek.28. GMG p.113. 3. GMG p.114. 4. MROT pp.63ff, above pp 100
 5. ibid. pp.63-67.
 6. c.f. ANET p.38, IAAM pp.157ff. The 'paradise' motif in the Dilmun myth seems to have a dual aspect, representing the primeval age both positively as a state of peace and negatively as a state when natural processes did not occur as they do now - birds did not utter their characteristic cries for example.
- Childs says that "Dilmun is a land pictured in negative terms of existent order" (MROT p.66).

however, there is no tension between the Old Testament and the mythical motif it adopts, because the motif of animal peace is not really a myth at all but a "fanciful description having its original setting within myth"¹, "merely a poetic description of the coming world transformation"², a "plastic and vivid description of a world unknown to human experience"³. The paradise motif is also said to be an attempt to describe "in a more moving manner" the complete transformation of the world to come, a "convenient and adequate symbolism by which to communicate to Israel the nature of the new reality which God was forming in her history"⁴.

It is not clear from such statements whether the motif in question should be classified as describing a coming moral transformation of this world or (literally?) some other world, the "new reality" which God is forming in Israel's history. Nor is it clear whether the language of the motif is to be regarded as figurative or synthetic, if referring to this world, though phrases like "merely a poetic description" suggest the former⁵.

In the final passage, Isaiah 14:12-21, Childs is more precise. In spite of the highly mythical nature of the material, the Daystar myth, the framework into which it has been placed has thoroughly demythologised it:

The myth of Helal has become merely a striking illustration dramatizing the splendour of the rise to fame and the shame of the fall which is sarcastically hurled at the King of Babylon. There is no tension whatever between the myth and its Old Testament framework since the myth carries only illustrative value as an extended figure of speech⁶.

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1. MROT p.65. 2. MROT p.65. 3. ibid.p.67. 4. ibid p.67.
 5. This interpretation is supported by Childs' use of the plural "examples" in the concluding statement that "examples were found in which the broken myth served merely as an extended figure of speech"(concluding summary p.71), for he only gives two such examples, of which the present passage is one.
 6. MROT p.70 - this agrees with Hempel's view of the passage, c.f. above p102f.

This seems to mean that the prophet is here comparing myth with event, not seeing them as one, and that the language is therefore figurative.

There are two elements in Childs' interpretation of these two passages which must be separated. Firstly, he claims that the mythical imagery causes no friction in its Old Testament setting because it has been removed from the total understanding of reality in which it originally occurred and has been, as it were, Yahwised, so that it does not or no longer conflicts with the prophet's beliefs. This would seem to be true. The paradise motif describing the primeval world is projected into the future to describe an aspect of Yahweh's future action, while the Helal myth is taken from its original setting describing a repeated occurrence in nature¹, Yahweh is identified with 'el and 'elyon, and the mythical story becomes a description of the hubris that overtakes, not the young god trying to equal the high god as in the myth, but an earthly king rebelling against Yahweh's will².

Childs' second assertion is that the myth is here used as an "extended figure of speech" and carries "only illustrative value". It has been shown that 'figurative' is probably what he means by this. If so, it is not clear whether his decision that the imagery in question is now figurative arises from an examination of the Old Testament context in which it occurs, or from a tacit assumption that since the imagery has been taken out of its original context in the myth, it must therefore have lost its original synthetic character. Such an assumption, if held, would be invalid, for a synthetic use of the imagery in question is still possible, by the process of poetic bisociation, even when

1. The fading of the daystar in the light of the rising sun.
2. The same appears to have happened to the myths of the King in the Garden of Eden (Ezek 28:11-23 c.f. 1-10) and the Giant Cedar (Ezek. 31:1-18).

it is removed from its context in mythical thought. The fact that mythical imagery is used in such passages cannot by itself indicate how the language was understood. The presence or absence of mythical imagery is not a criterion for the presence or absence of synthetic language. Criteria for distinguishing synthetic, figurative, formal and literal meanings must be sought elsewhere.

B/2/2 POSSIBLE SYNTHETIC USES OF MYTHICAL IMAGERY - H.G. MAY

An attempt to find and work on such criteria was apparently made by H.G. May, in some detailed suggestions of his which imply the synthetic use of particular mythical imagery. In an article published in 1955¹, he analyses certain passages where the phrase mayim rabbim, 'many waters' occurs, in order to demonstrate:

how the writers use it to indicate the cosmic insurgent elements which may be manifest as the enemies of Yahweh, as the enemies of Israel, or as the enemy afflicting the faithful individual.²

May sees the juxtaposition of 'enemies' and 'many waters' as an example of the unitary perception characteristic of mythical thought, for he frequently speaks of the enemies, etc., as identified with the waters or the sea³ and finally claims that:

We also have in this identification of concrete historical events, persons, or nations, with the insurgent waters an illustration of mythopoeic thought; the symbol coalesces with what it symbolises⁴.

The same point is made in a later article⁵, where May's reference to Is.51:9-11 shows that he sees it as a synthetic, rather than figurative, use of the

1. Mayim Rabbim, JBL 74 1955, p.9ff.

2. ibid p.12.

3. referring to Hab. 3:9 (Mayim Rabbim p.9), Is.17:12-14 (p.10f), Isaiah 51:9.10.

4. Mayim Rabbim, p. 19.

(p. 13.)

5. Cos. Ref. JBL 82, 1963 p.1ff.

dragon-myth:

2.c. In Isaiah 51:9-11, in a mythopoeic coalescence of time, the primordial struggle of Yahweh slaying Rahab, piercing the dragon (tannin, as In Canaanite myth), is at one and the same time the victory over the waters of the Red Sea and the clearing of obstacles before the path of those returning from exile¹.

This claim will be examined in a later chapter².

There are two elements in May's analysis of mavim rabbim that must be separated - his thesis that the phrase is used to indicate the cosmic insurgent elements opposed to Yahweh, which may be accepted, and the contention that the relation of 'enemies' to 'mighty waters' is one of 'mythopoeic coalescence'. An examination of May's references suggests that he is not working solely on the assumption that the presence of mythical imagery itself indicates 'mythopoeic coalescence' (i.e., unitary perception), for he often uses the criterion of parallelism or close proximity as grounds for such a claim. His discussion of Habakkuk 3:12-15 suggests that what he is appealing to is the close proximity of the mythical imagery of 'many waters' with the defeat of Yahweh's enemies³, and it is true that in this passage the psalm speaks of Yahweh going forth to save his people and his defeat of their enemies, the serpent, and the many waters all in one breath. In Psalm 89, May quotes a verse where Yahweh's crushing of Rahab is in synonymous parallelism with his scattering of Israel's enemies and notes the close association of this with his command over the waves of the sea⁴. He also refers to the synonymous parallelism of 'enemy' with 'many waters' in Psalm 18:17-18 (16-17)⁵, where

1. ibid p.7. - emphasis mine. ~~On Is. 5:9-11, see below pp _____.~~

2. see below pp 225-7

3. Mavim Rabbim p.9.

4. ibid p. 10.

5. ibid.p.14.

the king's fight against his foes is described in terms of a battle with the cosmic sea, and where Yahweh defeats both in coming to his rescue. May appeals to similar criteria in Psalms 124 and 144¹.

There is some justification in this appeal to the criteria of close proximity and parallelism. In the relevant section of Psalm 18, for example, the parallelism of 'enemies' and 'mighty waters' suggests that the two are being brought together not as discrete elements in a literal description, as if both enemy armies and rising floodwaters were threatening the king, but as two kinds of imagery, historical and mythical, of which the latter can be used as an apt description of the former. Thus, in several of the passages referred to it is reasonable, on the criteria of parallelism or close proximity, to conclude that the language of 'mighty waters' is not literal, but either synthetic, figurative, or formal. These two criteria alone do not, however, enable one to decide between the three possible types of nonliteral language. For this purpose it would be necessary to try and use the criteria which have already been adumbrated. For example, one could decide between the formal interpretation and the other two by assessing the development, or 'vividness', of the imagery².

The limitation of parallelism and close proximity as criteria for the presence of synthetic language can be illustrated from May's own article. Of Isaiah 17:12-13, for example, he says that:

the "many waters" are identified with the "many peoples" who are in turmoil to despoil Israel before the coming of the new age³.

This interpretation ignores the fact that the passage in question is a string

1. ibid pp.17 and 14.
2. above, pp 59,73, and see below pp 119-120.
3. Mayim Rabbim p. 10, cf p 11.

of similes. Although the seas and waters appear in parallelism with (enemy) nations the two are compared, not identified, as May indeed recognises in his translation¹. In this case the parallelism alone is misleading. Similar considerations apply to Ezekiel 26:19, to which May also refers. Here too the enemy nations are closely associated with the engulfing waters of the deep, but the fact that the same image is used in simile form at the beginning of the passage² makes it unlikely that the 'many waters' and the enemy nations are here seen as one. The nearby occurrence of a simile on the same image indicates that the language is figurative³.

Thus, May is not justified in his contention that the relation of 'many waters' to 'enemy' imagery is always one of unitary perception and that the language is therefore synthetic. Though May's criteria of parallelism and association can often show that such language is nonliteral, they cannot by themselves give grounds for deciding between its possible nonliteral meanings. The question of criteria will be taken up again in the next chapter.

B/3 THE USE OF MYTHICAL CATEGORIES IN PROPHEPIC ESCHATOLOGY

Besides imagery drawn from Ancient Near Eastern myths, the Old Testament also makes use of categories drawn in a more general way from their pattern of thought. Reference has already been made to Brevard S. Childs' discussion of how the Old Testament adapted and modified mythical attitudes to time and space⁴. It was also noted that at another point Childs claims that Israel has 'mythologised' an historical tradition⁵.

1. On simple simile as indicating both a similarity and a difference see above p 61f.
2. v.3: "I will bring up many nations against you as the sea brings up its waves".
3. See below, 'Explicit comparison', pp 118.
4. Above, pp 99-102.
5. JBL 78, 1959, pp. 187ff., see above pp 98.

between the proximate historical event and its ultimate significance were not made. The language of such cosmic-universal imagery would be synthetic.

To validate Frost's theory one would have to show that each of the relevant passages was a unity, or that this was true of the majority, and then ask if his theory is the best explanation. It would also be helpful to have criteria for distinguishing between the different types of language. Frost, however, does not examine the passages in sufficient detail to prove unity and is inconsistent in his approach. Thus, when he discusses the first two chapters of Joel, he sees them as an example of unitary perception, saying that the prophetic mind related historical event and the supra-historical Day of Yahweh in a non-logical, 'mythopoeic' way, and that there is no reason to suppose that this is not so in Joel. The cosmic imagery should not therefore be deleted as secondary¹. On the other hand, he sees Isaiah 13:1-11 as prefixed to an exilic oracle on Babylon, an "apocalyptic gloss on an exilic prophecy", because of the juxtaposition of universal and particular imagery². Later, he regards Isaiah 34:1-4 as a deliberate attempt to give an eschatological twist to a diatribe against Edom³. Yet on his own theory the juxtaposition of universal and particular imagery is insufficient reason for denying unity to such passages. It appears, then, that Frost has put forward an interesting theory but that he is not himself able to prove its truth.

1. OTA p.106; though he sees Joel 2:20 and chapters 3-4 (EVV 2:28 - 3:21) as later, apocalyptic, additions.
2. OTA p. 116.
3. ibid. p. 122.

CONCLUSIONS

The language of mythical thought has been discussed from the standpoint of the analysis of language in terms of the literal-nonliteral distinction. It has been found that mythical thought views large areas of reality with the same kind of unitary perception as that which operates in poetic bisociation, and that its language, insofar as it expresses this perception, is synthetic. This analysis has been confirmed in relation to the language of Ancient Near Eastern mythical thought, from which is derived much of the imagery used in prophetic eschatology, and it has been found that in its conception of Yahweh's will as sovereign over man and nature, the Yahwistic tradition in the Old Testament broke away from Ancient Near Eastern mythical thought, which had viewed the gods, nature, and man as a unity. The absolute sovereignty of Yahweh's will is the basis of prophetic eschatology. These findings serve to validate the contention made in an earlier chapter¹, that the Yahwistic tradition in the Old Testament forms a cultural context which is to a considerable degree distinct from the Ancient Near East and primitive societies.

Regarding the question of possible synthetic and non-synthetic uses of imagery in the Old Testament, it has been found that the presence or absence of mythical imagery in a particular context is not in itself a criterion for the presence or absence of synthetic language, though parallelism or proximity of mythical and historical imagery may be a partial criterion for distinguishing between literal and non-literal meanings. Thus, mythical imagery is not a special case, and will be examined in the exegetical sections as and when it occurs, with whatever criteria are available for describing eschatological language in general.

1. above p. 11.

Finally, it has been noted that Frost's theory of the absolute eschaton is a valuable suggestion concerning certain passages where threats of universal destruction and/or cosmic imagery are found in juxtaposition with references to particular historical events, but that Frost himself is unable to validate it. After suitable criteria have been found and applied to other prophetic texts, this theory will be taken up again in the final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVEINTRINSIC CRITERIA FOR THE
DESCRIPTION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL
LANGUAGEINTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters have shown both the importance of finding adequate criteria for the description of eschatological language and the present lack of criteria for such description. These two factors were particularly evident in Mowinckel and Lindblom's definitions of eschatology¹ and in some of the discussions of mythical imagery reviewed in the preceding chapter².

On the other hand, certain factors have emerged during the analysis of literal and nonliteral language and the discussion of the language of mythical thought which may act as criteria for description. These and other related criteria will now be set out in more detail. The criteria are called intrinsic because they arise out of and depend on the analysis of literal and nonliteral language. Other, more general criteria arising from the verbal and cultural contexts of particular texts will be commented on as they appear.

1. above pp12-19.

2. above pp102-9.

A. EXPLICIT STATEMENT AS A CRITERION OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

A statement that two situations are being brought together show^s that the language of the vehicle situation is figurative. Such a statement rules out the possibility that only one situation is in view (literal), or that two situations are seen as one (synthetic), or that the existence of one of the two situations is not spontaneously felt (formal). This criterion is included for completeness, though not generally applicable in the prophetic literature. The book of Ezekiel has a number of passages where it applies.

The first is Ezekiel 17, where the story of the two eagles (vv. 1-10) is followed by an interpretation (vv. 11ff.). There are several indications that the story is a figurative allegory, bringing together two situations, Israel's recent political history and the story of the two eagles, and using the latter to interpret the former. In v.11 the prophet is told to ask the rebellious house - "Do you not know what these things mean?"¹. It is reasonable to interpret this as a question about the meaning of the preceding story, and this, with the interpretation that follows, is evidence that the story was intended to be understood in a figurative way. Similarly, at the beginning of the chapter, the

prophet is told - בן-אדם חרד חירה ומשל כשל לך². The ensuing story is thus described as a חירה and a משל. In almost all the Old Testament contexts in which it occurs, the word חירה is appropriately translated 'riddle', and denotes an obscure or puzzling saying requiring interpretation. This is clear from Numbers 12:8, which says that Yahweh spoke to Moses mouth to mouth and not in riddles (בחרה), an antithesis between clear and obscure speech; from the references to Samson's

1. so RSV. Hebrew reads *literally*: ~~literally~~: 'do you not know what these (things are)?' It is difficult to see how this can be anything other than a query about the interpretation of the preceding story.
2. v.2. RSV reads: "Son of man, propound a riddle, and speak an allegory to the house of Israel". On *משל* see below, on Ezekiel 24:3.

riddle¹, which had to be 'declared'² and 'found'³; and from the story of the Queen of Sheba coming to test Solomon with riddles⁴ that he 'answered'⁵. Of the other occurrences, Daniel 8:23 probably means obscure speech of some kind, as do Psalms 49:5 (EVV 4), 78:2, and Proverbs 1:6. The only apparent exception is Habakkuk 2:6, where the sense seems to be simply 'taunts'. It is reasonable to conclude that in Ezekiel 17:2, as almost everywhere else, חֲדָשִׁים means 'obscure, puzzling speech requiring interpretation'. Since the ensuing story of the two eagles is stated to need interpretation, it is clear that it was not taken as a literal or synthetic account, but regarded as a figurative description of Israel's story and situation.

Another passage where the criterion of explicit statement may apply is Ezekiel 24:1-14, where an oracle (the boiling pot, vv.3-5) is followed by an interpretation (vv. 6-14) which clearly regards the imagery of the pot as an allegorical vehicle for the city of Jerusalem⁶. The evidence for explicit statement of figurativeness is not as firm in this passage as in chapter 17, but may possibly be provided by the use of the word חֲדָשִׁים in v.3 to describe the oracle. H.G. May⁷ suggests that this word may appropriately be translated 'allegory' in Ezekiel 17:2, 24:3, and 21:5 (EVV 20:49). As far as the present passage is concerned the grounds for this suggestion seem to be that in both

1. Judges 14: 12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19.

2. חֲדָשִׁים Judges 14: 12,12,14,15,16,16,17,17,19. 3. חֲדָשִׁים - verses 12,18.

4. 1 Kings 10:1 (=2 Chron. 9:1). 5. 1 Kings 10:3 (=2 Chron. 9:3).

6. v.6. "Woe to the bloody city, a pot whose rust is in it..." - the theme of rust does not admittedly form a very appropriate interpretation of the actual oracle, but is undoubtedly intended as such.

7. The Book of Ezekiel. Introduction and Exegesis. IB vol. VI, 1956, on 17:2.

17:2 and 24:3 the word is used of a piece of imagery which is then interpreted, that in 17:2 לְשׁוֹן is synonymous with $\text{הִתְקַדְּחָה$, and that a similar phraseology is used¹. A further point is that לְשׁוֹן is used elsewhere in parallelism with $\text{הִתְקַדְּחָה$ to mean something puzzling, obscure, that needs elucidation². The use of this word to describe the oracle may therefore mean that the imagery of the pot is thought of and intended to be recognised as a statement requiring interpretation - i.e., a figurative statement.

A third passage is Ezekiel 31, where Egypt is compared to a huge cedar tree (vv. 1-9) which is cut down and sent down to Sheol (10-18). The imagery of the cedar is stated to be something with which Egypt is compared, for v.2 asks 'who are you like in your greatness' and v. 3 is best interpreted as stating the prophet's intention of comparing Egypt with the giant cedar.³ The imagery of the cedar is thus explicitly stated to be figurative. Similar considerations apply to Ezekiel 32:1-8, where 32:2 states that Pharaoh is being likened to a dragon of the seas⁴. Thus, all four passages contain evidence of explicit statements that the poetic imagery in question is intended to be understood figuratively⁵.

1. 17:2 - $\text{בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה חֹזֵק חִידָה וְנִשְׁלַח מִשָּׁל אֶל-בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל}$
24:3 - $\text{בְּנֵי אֲדָמָה וְנִשְׁלַח מִשָּׁל אֶל-בֵּית הַכֹּהֵן פִּי עֹשֶׂה}$
2. Pss. 49:5 (EVV 4), 78:2, and Proverbs 1:6.
3. M.T. has - $\text{אֶל-פִּי דַפִּית בְּגִדְלֶךָ: הַבָּה אֲשֶׁר אֶרֶץ בְּלִבְנוֹן}$
B.H., RSV, and some commentators emend to $\text{אֶל-פִּי דַפִּית בְּגִדְלֶךָ: הַבָּה אֲשֶׁר לְאֶרֶץ}$ in the second line. The emendation is the most convincing way of correcting a confused text, but even if it is not accepted the question in v.2 shows that the imagery that follows is something with which Pharaoh is consciously compared.
4. As with 31:2, there are textual difficulties. The relevant portion reads: $\text{כִּפִּיר לִי וְנִשְׁלַח מִשָּׁל אֶל-בֵּית הַכֹּהֵן וְנִשְׁלַח מִשָּׁל אֶל-בֵּית הַכֹּהֵן}$ The first half can be read as either: "O lion of nations, you are destroyed", or "you consider yourself a lion of the nations" (so e.g., May **IB**, op.cit., BH, RSV). The second half states that Pharaoh is being consciously compared with the dragon.
5. There are of course many other passages in Ezekiel which may have been understood as figurative allegory (i.e., chapters 16; 19, 23 (esp. verse 4); 27; 28: 11-19 (esp. verse 11) 29:3-5; 34. 37 (esp. verse 11).) but they do not contain explicit statements indicating that they were so understood.

B. OTHER CRITERIA FOR LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION

The other criteria are generally applicable, and may be more briefly described.

B/1 EXPLICIT COMPARISON

This criterion arises from the fact that in a simile, two situations are explicitly compared¹. Thus, when a simile occurs in conjunction with a metaphor on the same image - as for example in Hosea 5:14, where Yahweh says, 'I will be like a lion/I will rend' - it is reasonable to conclude that, as in the simile, so in the metaphor, there is awareness that two situations are being brought together. This rules out literality, which would be one situation only, and synthetic and formal meanings, where there is no awareness of the extended meaning of the vehicle as extended (i.e., that two situations are in view)².

B/2 DEGREE OF CORRESPONDENCE³

When two situations are bisociated, the extent to which the tenor situation, for example Yahweh-and-Israel, can be seen in terms of the vehicle situation depends on the points of contact between them, the possibilities of extension and articulation.

When Yahweh is compared to and then spoken of metaphorically as a lion⁴, a bear⁵, or a birdcatcher⁶ the points of contact are relatively few: ferocity, anger, destructive attack in the case of the lion and the bear, cunning in respect of the birdcatcher. There is then a low degree of correspondence between the two situations. By contrast, when Yahweh is spoken of in terms of a husband

1. see above pp 40f, 57, 61f.

2. see below, on Hosea 5:13-14 (p 166); Hosea 7:11-12 (p 167); Hosea 13:8a (p 172).

3. see above pp 66-7. 4. Hosea 5:13-14 (below pp 164-6), and 13:7 (below p 172).

5. Hosea 13:8a (below p 172). 6. 7:11-12 (below p 166f).

and Israel in terms of an unfaithful wife¹ the points of contact between the marital imagery and the Yahweh-Israel relationship are so numerous that the tenor situation can be seen entirely in terms of the vehicle situation. In this case the two situations have a high degree of correspondence.

In low correspondence imagery, apart from the relatively few points of contact, the two situations as a whole are markedly^d different and impossible to confuse. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, the lower the degree of correspondence, the more likely are the differences to be recognised, and the extended meaning of the vehicle recognised as an extended meaning. Thus, provided that other criteria do not indicate otherwise², in bisociations where there is a low degree of correspondence the language is more likely to be figurative than synthetic or formal. Conversely, where there is a high degree of correspondence, it is reasonable to assume that the situations are less likely to be recognised as different, either because they are seen as one (synthetic) or because the bisociation has become conventional and the extended meaning of the vehicle is no longer recognised as extended (formal). Thus, the higher the degree of correspondence, the less likely is the language to be figurative, and, unless other criteria indicate otherwise, the likelihood of figurativeness varies in inverse proportion to the closeness of correspondence.

B/3 DEGREE OF DEVELOPMENT³

This criterion operates by observing the 'vividness' of nonliteral imagery. It enables formal imagery to be separated from figurative and synthetic. The more the details of the image are drawn out, the greater is the degree of development. More precisely, development can be defined as the intensity with which

2:

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1. Hosea 14-15 (below pp 176, -183).
 2. The proviso is important, for a low-correspondence image can also be formal where there is a low degree of development (below page 120).
 3. see above, pp 59, 73.

a situation is described in relation to the sense perceiving it¹. To say that there is a low degree of development in a nonliteral visual image, for example, means that though the language used presents the vehicle situation in visual terms, the terms are not numerous or sharp enough to enable the hearer to picture the situation in detail. Such an image would not be fully visualised². Where nonliteral imagery has a very low degree of development it is reasonable to assume that this is because a once creative bisociation has become conventional, and that the language is formal rather than figurative or synthetic. Conversely, highly developed imagery is more likely to be figurative or ~~synthetic~~, (provided that there is also a high degree of correspondence³), Development is not the same as correspondence. A low-correspondence image, for example Yahweh as a lion attacking its prey, can be highly developed, (described in detail). Conversely, a high-correspondence image can be but minimally developed.

B/4 IMPOSSIBLE LITERALITY

An image can be used in such a way that it could not possibly be taken literally. Thus, in Amos 9:1-4 the statements that the fugitive Israelites may climb to heaven and descend to Sheol or the bottom of the sea, cannot be taken literally, as denoting a real possibility for the hearers, because the 'places' mentioned are by definition inaccessible to living men⁴. In such cases it is clear that the language is nonliteral. Since it could not possibly be taken literally it is reasonable to assume that its nonliteralness would be recognised, and that the imagery is therefore figurative.

1. see the definition of imagery, above p 72.

3. for figurative imagery see ~~Hosea 7:11-12~~ (below p 182); Hosea 13:8 (below p 172);
For synthetic imagery see Hosea 2:4-15, below p 182.

2. see above, on imagery, p 73 and see for example ~~Hosea 7:12~~ (below 182), 2:8
(below p 180).

4. Amos 9:1-4, see below p 144.

B/5 ORIGINALITY¹

Frequent occurrence of images of similar wording and low development may be taken as evidence that they are more or less conventional and so to be classed as formal. Conversely, a rare or unique image, not used elsewhere, may reasonably be presumed to be an original bisociation, and so be classed as figurative or synthetic. In Hosea 2:4-15 there is evidence that an original bisociation has occurred². Elsewhere originality may be inferred if the bisociation is unique in the Old Testament or if the image is developed differently or to a higher degree than elsewhere.

1. See above, p 59. The originality pertains not simply to skill in coining images but to the manner of their development and application.
2. see below p 182.

PART TWO

EXEGESIS OF

SELECTED PASSAGES

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The attempt must now be made to apply the terminology and intrinsic criteria worked out in the preceding section to the language of Old Testament prophetic eschatology. The aim will be to give an accurate description of such language in terms of the literal-nonliteral distinction, and to show how the prophets use both literal and nonliteral imagery as a means of articulating their message and attempting to persuade or encourage their hearers.

The volume of possible material makes some kind of selection inevitable. At the same time it is important to cover a representative sample of passages and problems. There is no single pattern of texts that imposes itself on the interpreter, so that any choice made is to some extent arbitrary. The selection made here is one of several possible choices but can be justified as a representative selection, both chronologically and in respect of the methods of approach and types of problem posed by the language. Chronologically, the material chosen ranges between the eighth century and post-exilic times. The method of approach varies between attempts to analyse all the eschatological language of a particular prophet (Amos, Hosea), a particular problem of eschatological imagery in one prophet (Second Isaiah), and a particular category of imagery in several different passages (Micah 1, Zephaniah 1, Isaiah 13, Isaiah 34, Joel 1-2).

The first two chapters in this section (chapters 6-7) analyse the eschatological language of Amos and Hosea. These two prophets are chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is general agreement concerning the approximate date

of both books, and the historical situation in which they were written¹. This gives a clear cultural context against which to evaluate their eschatological imagery. Secondly, the two prophets are near contemporaries and there is fairly wide agreement on the extent of the authentic material in both books². This makes it possible to compare one with the other. Thirdly, both books are of manageable size for detailed analysis³. Finally, it is usually clear in both books when their eschatological language is bisociative. This makes it possible to apply the intrinsic criteria at the start, and show their usefulness.

The third and fourth chapters in this section (Chapters 8-9) deal with a particular problem in one prophet - imagery of the return in Second Isaiah. The problem here is that it is not clear whether the imagery in question is bisociative or not - whether it describes literal expectations of changes in the landscape and climate or whether it is used figuratively or synthetically to describe the significance of expected political events. Such cosmic imagery occurs frequently in the prophets, but there is more hope of successful analysis in Second Isaiah than almost everywhere else because the accepted presuppositions regarding the date and unity of the prophecy⁴ provide a definite historical context against which to evaluate it, and also allow comparison between it and other similar imagery used by the prophet.

The final chapter (Chapter 10) deals with the problems raised by the juxtaposition of cosmic-universal and particular-historical language in certain passages, and analyses a number of such passages⁵ in the light of S.B. Frost's theory of the absolute eschaton, which was discussed in chapter 4⁶.

1. In contrast, e.g., to Trito-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah.

2. On the latter point contrast Ezekiel, and to a lesser extent Isaiah of Jerusalem and Jeremiah.

3. Contrast Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

4. On this see further below, pp 189f.

5. Micah 1:2-7, Zephaniah 1, Isaiah 13, Isaiah 34, Joel 1-2 (also, in less detail, Isaiah 63:1-6).

6. above, pp 109-111.

CHAPTER SIXTHE LANGUAGE OF ESCHATOLOGYIN AMOS AND HOSEAPART I: AMOSINTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that the information given in the opening verse of the book is correct, and that Amos prophesied during the reign of Jeroboam II of Israel (787/6 - 747/6 B.C.). The prophecy was delivered after the growth of material prosperity in Israel¹ and Jeroboam's restoration of her frontiers², but before the menace of Assyria was widely recognised. Other critical questions not relevant to the description of the prophet's eschatological language may be left on one side.

Perhaps because Amos is the first prophet whose words have been handed down in writing, his eschatological message has been extensively discussed. Briefly, the position taken here is that Amos began by predicting Israel's doom at the hands of Yahweh because the nation had broken its covenant obligations³. His initial hope was that the nation would repent and that Yahweh might then be

1. c.f. Amos 2:6ff, 5:10ff, 6:1-8. 2. ^eDecor (LSB) see 2Kings 14:25,28; Amos 6:14.
3. e.g., Von Rad, OTTh II ET pp. 135-137, Clements PAC pp. 35-44, Bourke OSIDY pp. 210-217, and c.f., Amos 2:6-16, 3:2, 4:1-3, 5:10-16, 7:1-9 and 8:1-3.

merciful¹, but he finally became convinced that the doom was inevitable² and held out no hope of later restoration³. Among the passages in Amos that can claim to be eschatological, some may be left aside, either because they are difficult to interpret⁴ or uninformative⁵. One or two passages are inauthentic or doubtful⁶. The four visions in Amos 7:1-9, 8:1-3 have textual difficulties and would be difficult to analyse in terms of the literal-nonliteral distinction.

1. With Amsler (CAT) and Maag (TWBA pp.26-30), Amos 5:4-6 is accepted as authentic. Fosbroke (IB) maintains that vv.4 and 6 are to be separated from v.5, and that all 3 verses are secondary. But far from interrupting the connection of thought between 4 & 6, v.5. amplifies the meaning of 'seek me' in v.4. by making it clear that the popular idea of 'seeking Yahweh' at the sanctuaries will not do, and also provides a neat word-play on the verb (see Amsler, CAT). The verses themselves show strong evidence of authenticity. The word-plays on 'seek', 'Gilgal' and 'Beth-Aven' are characteristic of the prophet (c.f.8:1); the phrase 'shall surely go into exile' occurs again in two authentic oracles at 7:11,17; while the fire imagery of v.6., despite its uncertain meaning, has close parallels in 1:4,7,14, 2:2, 7:4 (note the use of the verb סָחַח in every instance). The call to "seek Yahweh that you may live" implies the possibility both of repentance and a revocation of Yahweh's edict of destruction. For this reason, and because of its parallels in vv.10-13, Amsler's suggestion that vv.14-15 go with vv.4-6 is unconvincing, for vv.14-15 speak not of possible mercy for all (as in vv.4-6) but the possible permission of a remnant. 5:14-16 is thus best treated separately.
2. c.f., the references in note 3, preceding page.
3. 9:8b-15 (certainly vv.11-15) is here regarded as a later addition (with many commentators including Robinson (HAT), Fosbroke (IB), Weiser (ATD), and see esp. Harper (ICC) and Amsler (CAT).). There have been several attempts to argue for their authenticity, in whole or in part (c.f.R.Gordis (HTR 33 1940, pp.246-251), Von Rad (OTTh II ET p.138), Watts (WVPA pp.80-81, c.f.p.48), and Maag (TWBA pp. 247-249). Maag's are the most detailed, but he ignores vv.14-15, which clearly presuppose a destruction of the land and 'uprooting' of the people. For fuller discussion of this and other points see Amsler (CAT) and Harper (ICC).
4. 1:2, 2:13, 3:13-15 (Yahweh's destruction conceived of either as by military devastation - if וַיִּשְׁחַח in v.13 refers back to וַיִּשְׁחַח in v.9 (so Cripps, Harper) - or earthquake, but which is uncertain), 6:9-10 (not eschatological as it stands), and 6:11 (perhaps a prediction of an earthquake but uncertain).
5. 3:2, 4:12, and 5:16-17 (mourning due to Yahweh's visitation, but precise nature of this unspecified. Verse 17 contains a reversal of Exodus typology (וַיִּשְׁחַח c.f., Exodus 12:12).
6. a.5:26/27. The literal threat of exile is characteristic of Amos, but v.26 is doubtful. If וַיִּשְׁחַח and וַיִּשְׁחַח are read (with BDB, BH, RSV, Fosbroke (IB), Cripps), the reference to Assyrian gods does not fit with Amos' time as worship of these in Israel is not attested until later (so Fosbroke, IB, who also points out that since Amos was vitally concerned with questions of false worship he would hardly have contented himself with such a passing reference to the worship of Assyrian gods).

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6. b. 8:11-14. Verses 13-14 may be from Amos, but 11-12 are doubtful because the idea of men seeking Yahweh's word and not finding it is hardly consonant with the prophet's dominant theme, that Yahweh is making his word known - in judgement.
- c. 9:8b-15. See note ~~to p~~ 3 (above).

They will therefore be left on one side¹. The remaining passages can be analysed in terms of the literal-nonliteral distinction, with a view to applying the intrinsic criteria previously worked out and assessing the content and function of their imagery. Several of these passages do not need special analysis as they are clearly literal threats of military devastation, invasion, or exile. These passages, and their significance, will be discussed later². There remain six passages of varying length which present problems of language description or interesting uses of literal and nonliteral language. Four of these will be analysed separately (1:3 - 2:16, 3:12, 5:1-3, 9:1-3) and the last two will be taken together (5:18ff., and 8:9-10).

A. AMOS 1:2 - 2:16

The oracles in this passage were probably delivered orally at a cultic festival where curses against enemy nations regularly featured in the proceedings³. It is unlikely that Amos invented the genre⁴, and much more likely that he took an established ritual form and startled his audience by using it in a new way⁵. The oracles are clearly eschatological. Yahweh's ultimate purpose is revealed in his opposition to sin, which in each nation has become intolerable, meriting decisive punishment⁶.

1. But see below, pp 150-3 on 7:7-9, and 8:1-3.
2. In the discussion of Amos 8:9-10, below pp 153.
3. Weiser (ATD), c.f. A. Bentzen, *OuTS* 8, 1950, pp. 85-99.
4. Bentzen, *op. cit.* pp. 89-90.
5. see below, p 133 f.
6. This is the generally accepted explanation of the introductory formula, 'For 3 transgressions, and for 4' (Weiser (ATD), Amsler (CAT), c.f. W.M.W. Roth, "The Numerical Sequence $x/x + 1$ in the Old Testament" (V.T.12 (1962) pp.300-311). B.K. Soper's alternative suggestion, which posits a shrug of the shoulders by the prophet between the first and second line, is ingenious but unconvincing ("For Three Transgressions and for Four. A New Interpretation of Amos 1:3 etc." *ExpT* 71, 1959-60, pp. 86-87).

To face p. 129.

TABLE OF THE FORM AND CONTENT OF THE ORACLES AGAINST THE NATIONS IN EZEKIEL 1:3 - 2:5.

	DAMASCUS (1:3-5)	GAZA (1:6-8)	AMMON (1:13-15)	MOAB (2:1-3)	TYRE (1:9-10)	EDOM (1:11-13)	JUDAH (2:4-5)
Introductory	Thus says the Lord. For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment.	ditto (of Gaza)	ditto (of the Ammonites)	ditto (of Moab)	ditto (of Tyre)	ditto (of Edom)	ditto (of Judah)
Sin	Because they have threshed Gilead with threshing sledges of iron.	Because they carried into exile a whole people, to deliver them up to Edom.	Because they have ripped up women with child in Gilead, that they might enlarge their border.	because he burned to lime the bones of the King of Edom	because they delivered up a whole people to Edom, and did not remember the covenant of brotherhood	because he pursued his brother with the sword, and cast off all pity, and his anger sorely ⁽¹⁾ persecuted, and he kept his wrath for ever.	because they have rejected the law of the Lord, and have not kept his statutes, but their lies have led them astray, after which their fathers walked.
Punishment: 1. Fire	So I will send a fire upon the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the strongholds of Ben-Hadad.	So I will send a fire upon the wall of Gaza, and it shall devour her strongholds	So I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour her strongholds.	So I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour the strongholds of Kerioth.			
2. Defeat in Battle			with shouting in the day of battle, and a tempest in the day of the whirlwind.	and Moab shall die amid uproar, amid shouting and the sound of the trumpet.	so I will send a fire upon the wall of Tyre, and it shall devour her strongholds.	so I will send a fire upon Teman, and it shall devour the strongholds of Bozrah	so I will send a fire upon Judah, and it shall devour the strongholds of Jerusalem
3. Death and overthrow of rulers.	I will break the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitants from the valley of Beth-Aven, and him that holds the sceptre from Beth-Eden, ¹	I will cut off the inhabitants from Ashdod, and him that holds the sceptre from Ashkelon. I will turn my hand against Ekron, and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish		I will cut off the ruler from its midst, and slay all his princes with him.			
4. Exile.	and the people of Syria shall go into exile to Kir.		and their king shall go into exile, he and his princes with him.				
Subscription	says the Lord	says the Lord God ²	says the Lord.	says the Lord.			

¹ The location of Beth-Eden is disputed. See, e.g., Maag, *FABA*, p. 137 and A. Malamat, *BASOR*, 129, 1953, pp. 25-26.

² 'God' should prob. be deleted, with LXX.

The passage is a connected sequence, and may be treated as a unit. The one possible exception is the break between 2:6 and 2:7, which suggests that additional authentic material may have been inserted here, to fill out the prophet's description of Israel's sinful condition. The final verses, 13-16, are also probably part of the original unit, since they form a natural parallel to the punishments announced in the undoubtedly authentic oracles against Damascus, Ammon, and Moab. A further point regarding the unity of the whole sequence is that the oracles against foreign nations would lack raison d'etre in isolation, since the remainder of Amos' oracles are all against Israel¹.

A/1. THE ORACLES AGAINST FOREIGN NATIONS, 1:2 - 2:5

Four of the oracles against the nations have sometimes been regarded as inauthentic: Gaza (1:6f), Tyre (1:9f), Edom (1:11f) and Judah (2:4f). Gaza is rarely questioned², but several commentators delete Tyre, Edom and Judah³. Others delete Judah only⁴ or defend all three⁵. Historical considerations alone make a later date for Edom and Judah probable⁶, and considerations of form and content will clarify the situation further. The table opposite ranges the Damascus, Gaza, Ammon, and Moab oracles against the remaining three, and shows that form and content sharply divide the former from the latter. Thus, while all the oracles refer to a sin which is the reason for Yahweh's impending punishment, there are pronounced differences of content among them. In the first six

1. c.f., Mowinckel, P&T p. 56f.
2. Fosbroke (IB) seems to be alone here.
3. Harper (ICC), Fosbroke (IB), Amsler (CAT).
4. Cripps, Delcor (LSB), Maag (TWBA pp. 6-8).
5. Gordis (HTR 33 1940, pp.241-243), Farr (VT 16 1966, pp.315-317), Beek (OuTS 5 1948, p.134), McCullough (JBL 72 1953, p.248).
6. 1. Judah. The language has a Deuteronomic ring, while the oscillation between first and third person in so short a space ('I will not revoke...the Lord, his statutes...I will send a fire') points to a formal use of Amos' phraseology by a later writer.
2. Edom. Despite the list of possible evidence for an earlier date given by Cripps (p.282f) the most likely occasion for the oracle is after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

oracles in the table the sin implicitly or explicitly refers to some kind of military action. The exception is Judah, which has a more general transgression, against Yahweh's laws. Of the first six, the first five differ from Edom in that they refer to specific acts of war.

Passing to the description of the punishment, all the oracles speak of punishment by fire, but the first four oracles in the table contain further specifications of punishment not in the last three. Two (Ammon and Moab) have a specific reference to defeat in battle, two (Damascus and Ammon) have a specific reference to exile, and three promise death (to rulers or rulers and people) and overthrow of government (Damascus, Gaza, Moab). Finally, the first four oracles in the table end with the subscription, "says Yahweh", while the last three do not.

Thus, the last three oracles in the table differ from the first four in that they contain no reference to punishment by battle, death, overthrow of government, or exile, and do not bear the concluding formula, "says Yahweh". This is particularly significant in the case of Tyre, for it strengthens the suspicion, engendered by the similarity of wording, that the sin Tyre is accused of is copied from the sin of Gaza. If one adds to this the plausible suggestion that, "and did not remember the covenant of brotherhood", is a gloss on Edom's sin in 1:11¹, the oracle against Tyre begins to look like a composite affair.

1. Fosbroke (IB). This is because the line would describe Edom's sin exactly but is difficult to apply to Tyre. The covenant between Tyre and Israel referred to in 1 Kings 5:12 (Fosbroke) is unlikely to have survived the slaughter of the house of Jezebel by Jehu (Cripps). It is just possible that the covenant mentioned here is with some other nation (Cripps) but it is hard to believe that such an unspecified reference could come from the author of the oracles against Damascus, Ammon, and Moab. It would also presuppose a high degree of knowledge in the audience.

The oracle against Gaza has the complete form of the first, third, and fourth oracles in the table, and the sin it is accused of should probably be bracketed with theirs¹. This would give four oracles denouncing not just military action in general but specific atrocities of war: cruel treatment of prisoners² and pregnant women, desecration of the dead, and the sale of a group of unspecified size into slavery.

The results of the analysis so far are that the last three oracles in the table differ markedly from the first four, both in length and in composition. The differences in form and content, added to the historical and linguistic considerations already referred to³, are sufficient reason for regarding these three oracles as later than Amos.

The oracle against Gaza has been questioned by Fosbroke (IB), mainly on the ground that the phrase, "remnant of the Philistines", fits more naturally into a later historical situation such as the sixth century B.C. Other grounds for doubt are the parallels between 1:8 and 1:5 (in the phrases, "I will cut off the inhabitant" and "the wielder of the sceptre"), which suggest that the latter may have been copied from the former, and the absence of any reference to Gath, the fifth Philistine city, which has suggested to some commentators that the oracle dates from after its conquest by Assyria in 711 B.C. The first reason is not very weighty as it is an inference from too scanty a knowledge of the language and historical situations. The second carries some weight but is not conclusive; the copying is not complete and could well be a natural repetition of phrases by the prophet. As regards the third, the argument from

1. see immediately below, ~~_____~~

2. or ravaging of the countryside, if the "threshing" is interpreted figuratively.

3. Note 6, p. 129, above.

the events of 711 B.C. is not convincing since Ashdod, mentioned here, was also conquered by the Assyrians in that year¹. The absence of Gath is not really a difficulty, as it had been captured by Hazael², and subsequently belonged either to Syria, Ashdod, or perhaps Judah³. Thus, there is no sufficient cause for regarding the Gaza oracle as secondary, and in view of its structural similarity to the oracles against Damascus, Ammon, and Moab, it may be accepted as authentic. Analysis will now be restricted to these four genuine oracles, which, in fact, present the most interesting imagery in the sequence.

In the third oracle, against Ammon, the phrase, "because they have ripped up women with child in Gilead", is used with illustrative force. It can hardly mean that the atrocity which the Ammonites perpetrated was the only action they took to expand their territory. Other references to the practice⁴ and the logic of the verse, show that the phrase is used literally, of something the Ammonites actually did, and illustratively, because the military campaign which included it and of which it is the illustrative symbol, had the sole object of expanding Ammonite territory at Israel's expense. The other references to the practice suggest that, as a mark of a particularly bitter campaign⁵, designed to cut off the posterity of the people attacked⁶, it would inspire loathing and hatred in those against whom it was perpetrated. Thus, if one asks, 'what is the intended effect of this accusation on the hearer?', the

1. Amsler (CAT).

2. Weiser (ATD), who refers to 2 Kings 12:18f.

3. See Weiser (ATD), Amsler (CAT), M.Noth, The History of Israel, 2nd Edn., E.T. London 1960, pp.238f, 265, and J.Bright, A History of Israel, London 1960, pp.178, 211f, 236.

4. Cripps refers to 2 Kings 8:12 and 15:16.

6. Amsler (CAT).

5. See references in previous note.

answer would seem to be, 'to arouse his anger and horror', both because it was done against the Israelites and because of the nature of the deed. This would apply whether the events were recent or in the past.

Since the Syrian atrocity in the first oracle was also against Israelite territory, similar considerations probably apply here. Imagery of 'threshing one's enemies' is often used nonliterally elsewhere in the Old Testament, so it remains an open question whether the prophet is using illustrative literal language about the treatment of prisoners or is speaking figuratively about the nature of the campaign¹. In the oracle against Moab, where Israelite territory or interests are not in question, the atrocity referred to is unique in the Old Testament, and is condemned, not illustratively, but as such. The purpose of mentioning it would be to arouse the listener's horror, and thence anger, at the desecration of the dead and violation of their sacred right to rest in peace². The emotive content of the Gaza oracle cannot be assessed with certainty, as the size and location of the people mentioned is unknown.

The analysis so far shows that the literal language describing the atrocities has illustrative force in the Ammon and possibly Damascus oracles, and that in the Moab and Gaza oracles it was used of a specific event. In the Damascus, Ammon and Moab oracles it was used not simply to describe a situation but also with emotive force, to generate a reaction of anger and horror in the hearers.

This analysis of the imagery justifies treating the passage as a whole, and shows that the oracle against Israel is its necessary climax. The series is an effective rhetorical device, leading the audience to expect that any further use of the introductory formula will, like the preceding ones, denounce a specific

1. c.f., below pp. 254 (on Second Isaiah). Amsler (CAT) sees the reference as literal. Weiser (ATD) says it can be either literal or figurative. Delcor (LSB) is uncertain.
2. On this see Amsler (CAT) who cites Deuteronomy 21:22f and 2 Kings 9:34.

sin in terms that will rouse their anger against the people named and announce a punishment from Yahweh which they can enthusiastically endorse¹. It is ^areasonable to posit a severe emotional shock when the next use of the formula turned against Israel. The rhetorical device is thus creative, in the sense, that it tries to make the audience see Israel in a new light. The use of the ^estereotyped introductory formula for Israel also implies the argument: 'the conditions in Israel are the same, therefore you should endorse a similar punishment'.

One may now turn to the descriptions of punishment in the four oracles. Particularly important is the fire imagery. In all four oracles the announcement of punishment begins with a threat to send devouring fire on the offender, followed by specific references to battle (Ammon, Moab), death of rulers and/or people and overthrow of government (Damascus, Gaza, Moab), and exile (Damascus, Ammon). The two most likely sources of the imagery of devouring fire are the mythical ideas of Yahweh's fire sent down from heaven² and the frequent practice of setting fire to all or part of captured cities³. The first person statements⁴, and the other references in Amos⁵, show that the former is the principal source.

1. If it be accepted that Amos spoke all or most of his oracles at a festival (Watts, WVPA. p.14), they were almost certainly spoken together on a single occasion. Intervals of successive days are also just possible, but any longer interval (e.g., successive festivals) is out of the question, since the rhetorical device would then lose its effect.
2. e.g., Gen. 19:24, Deut 32:22, Amos 7:4, c.f., Cripps, Maag (TWBA p.247) and also Farr (VT 16, 1966, pp.314-315) who suggests Amos is quoting a liturgical formula.
3. e.g., Joshua 8:8-9, Judges 1:8, 9:49, 20:48, 2 Kings 8:12, 2 Chron. 36:19, Nehemiah 1:2, c.f., 2:3,13.
4. i.e. ^{נאמר} (Damascus, Gaza, Moab), ^{נאמר} (Ammon). These first-person statements support Watts in his suggestion that the fire vision (7:4-6) relates to these fire 'words' (WVPA, p.45ff.), though his detailed attempts to relate the two are too speculative.
5. 5:6 and 7:4.

The imagery then emphasises that the military action envisaged is Yahweh's 'fire of judgement', understood either figuratively or synthetically, while 'fire', as in more colourful and extended passages¹, depicts the speed and ferocity of the judgement.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that in two oracles the fire imagery is intimately connected with ideas of battle and siege. The closest connection is found in the third oracle, against Ammon, where the two clauses beginning with \beth both depend grammatically on the previous line. The use of the verb, 'kindle', in this verse, though a stylistic variant, suggests that ideas of the literal fire seen within² the walls of an embattled city were in Amos' mind at this point. In the following oracle, against Moab, the connection is again close. The mention of fire leads straight into the picture of the death of Moab amid battle roar and trumpet blast³.

In the first oracle, against Damascus, the phrase ושלחתי אש בבית לך can hardly be meant literally, for בית , 'house', most naturally refers, not to some structure built by the king, but to his descendants, the ruling dynasty in Syria at the time Amos prophesied. Cripps argues for a literal interpretation of the word on the basis of ארכיון in the next half-line (Amos 1:4b). It is true that this word is nowhere else used nonliterally, and carries an undeniably literal meaning in the nearest parallel⁴. This does not demand a literal interpretation for בית however. In view of the frequency with which the word occurs with a proper name indicating a

1. e.g., Genesis 19:24-27 and Deuteronomy 32:22.

2. see Cripps on Amos 1:7,14.

3. For the source of the storm and trumpet imagery in the Ammon and Moab oracles, see Farr's suggestions in V.T. 16, 1966, pp.316-317, and ~~e.f.note~~ p above.

4. Jeremiah 49:27.

5. e.g. V.T. 16, pp. 316-317.

dynasty, household, or people¹, and its occurrence with this meaning in 5:6, the dynastic meaning is the more likely here². A more credible explanation of the parallelism is that the latent ambiguity of 'house' (= 'dynasty'/'building')³ has suggested the concrete parallel, 'dwelling tower (fortified)'⁴.

The key to the explanation of the points made in the preceding paragraphs is the word ארץ . Assuming that the four authentic oracles are in their original order (there is no reason to assume otherwise), there is a discernible development of thought. In the first oracle the imagery of judgement by fire was initially used in a more or less formal way of Yahweh's judgement on Hazael's descendants, but the ambiguity of the word 'house' suggested the more concrete parallel. Once used, the word ארץ became the key-word in the remaining oracles, for it suggested ideas of fire in battle, since such prominent buildings⁵ would be the prime targets of looting and destruction. Thus, the fire imagery in the four oracles is mythical imagery drawn from ideas of divine judgement by fire. It is at first used more or less formally, but in the last two oracles it is brought into association with imagery of fires seen within an embattled city. When the intrinsic criteria for language description are applied to the last two oracles, the high degree of development of the battle imagery shows that the imagery of devouring fire is no longer formal. On the other hand, the high correspondence between the two situations (fire of judgement - fire of siege) shows that it is not figurative but synthetic, for the closest paraphrase would probably be: 'the burning of the cities in battle is (not 'is like') Yahweh's fire of judgement'.

1. c.f., B.D.B. on בית .

2. Against Maag, TWBA p. 69.

3. c.f., the deliberate play on the material and dynastic meanings of the word in 2 Samuel 7, passim.

4. On the meaning of ארץ see Maag, TWBA, p. 125f.

5. c.f. BDB., ארץ .

This analysis reinforces what was said previously^v about the progression of thought to its climax in the oracle against Israel. In the descriptions of military action the imagery becomes more vivid and specific in the last two oracles. The storm imagery in the oracle against Ammon is almost certainly non-literal¹, suggesting the noise and destructive power of the invading army. It is too developed to be formal, but it is not possible to choose between synthetic and figurative meanings. The Moab oracle uses illustrative literal aural imagery for the same purpose.

A/2. THE ORACLE(S) AGAINST ISRAEL, 2:6-16

e/ Apart from the stereotyped formula in v. 6, Yahweh's eschatological action is described in vv. 12-16. Textual difficulties make it impossible to obtain any certain meaning for the simile in v. 12, but the following verses are a clear description of battle and war². In illustrative literal imagery, they say that neither by speed³, strength⁴, nor military might⁵ will Israel save herself when the Day (of Yahweh)⁶ comes⁷. The overall picture is one of headlong flight in humiliated⁸ panic. More exactly, it may be noted that the passage speaks, not of speed and strength as available but unavailing, but of a failure of both. Swift men will be unable to run, and strong men will become weak. This, with the image of headlong flight in v. 16, shows that the imagery

1. The //sm of 'with a tempest in a day of whirlwind' and 'with a shouting in the day of battle' shows that the former is not a separate event, a storm accompanying the battle, but a way of describing it. Cripps aptly compares the use of $\text{הַיּוֹם בְּיַד הַיְהוָה}$ in Isaiah 5:28, Prov. 1:27.
2. In v.15b, read $\text{וְיָצֵא אֶת הַיָּמִין וְיָצֵא אֶת הַיְּמִינִים}$ after $\text{וְיָצֵא אֶת הַיָּמִין}$. BH also reads this instead of $\text{וְיָצֵא אֶת הַיְּמִינִים}$ at v.15c. Whether the order is to be rearranged or not (e.g., Harper, ICC), the meaning is clear.
3. vv. 14a,15b. 4. 14bc. 5. v.15a,c. 6. see below, pp 149 ff.
7. v. 16b. BH's omission is arbitrary.
8. v.16b $\text{וְיָצֵא אֶת הַיָּמִין עָרְוֹת}$ ('naked'). This apparently describes a soldier fleeing without the protection of weapons or shield (Maag, TWBA, p. 185).

is describing the divine panic of Holy War traditions, applied now to Israel instead of her enemies¹. The passage thus speaks of the nature of the coming destruction, its divine origin, and its inevitability. Both in itself, and in its immediate² and larger³ contexts, the passage shows that Amos expected Yahweh's judgement to be enacted primarily through overwhelming military defeat. Yahweh's advent in destruction is not conceived of as a personal epiphany unrelated to historical events, but as realised in them. The vivid description shows that the verses are emotive in intention, having the twin aim of describing illustratively a coming situation and evoking feelings of awe and fear in the audience.

B. AMOS 3:12

Exegesis of the verse is complicated by the textual difficulties of the last line, which are still not in sight of an agreed solution⁴. A further complication is that while many commentators treat the verse as a unit with the last line as part of the simile⁵, others detach the last line from what precedes and regard it as the introduction to the next oracle⁶. Analysis of the simile may shed some light on the matter.

The simile reflects Amos' own background. It draws on the experience of a shepherd (c.f. 1 Sam. 17:34-37, Amos 5:19), common enough to require legislation (Exod. 22:13). The parts of the carcass are required as evidence of destruction,

1. G. Von Rad, Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel, Zurich, 1951, p.63, who compares Amos 5:3.
2. i.e., the (authentic) oracles against the nations, which all specify military invasion and defeat as Yahweh's punishment.
3. i.e., the many other references to military invasion or defeat of Israel in Amos' prophecy: on this see below pp 153.
4. Most recently one may compare Rabinowitz (VT 11, 1961, pp.228-231, followed by Moeller, BT 15, 1964, pp.31-34) with Gese (VT 12, 1962, pp.427-432, 438.).
5. e.g., Cripps, Harper (ICC), T.H. Robinson (HAT), Fosbroke (IB), Delcor (LSB), Gese (op.cit.), Rabinowitz (op.cit.).
6. e.g., Van Hoonacker (EB), Weiser (ATD), Amsler (CAT), Maag (TWBA, pp.16-18).

for the shepherd was legally required to bring back the remains of a savaged sheep to avoid paying compensation to its owner. The comparison centres not on what is rescued, but on the kind of rescue in question. The final phrase is therefore not part of the actual comparison, which stops short at "so will the people of Israel be rescued". If accepted, it functions as a purely formal parallel to the pieces taken from the lion's mouth - an ironic tailpiece referring, probably, to the luxury of the Samaritans¹.

The simile is also ironic². The verb in the second clause clearly means 'be rescued', and answers the implied question, 'who can be saved?'³. The first clause, however, describes not rescue of survivors, who are by definition alive, but the snatching of dead meat from a carcass as evidence of destruction. A suitable paraphrase would be: "Will Yahweh not leave a remnant to be rescued? - But of course! It will be as a shepherd 'rescues' pieces of a carcass! (to prove that it is dead)".

In addition to the irony there is a transfer of feeling-content from one situation to the other, for, as the structure of the simile shows, the Israelites are invited to look on the proclaimed destruction as analagous to the ferocious onslaught of a lion on a sheep, and so to view it with the appropriate fear and trembling. The imagery of the marauding lion also makes it clear that enemy action, and not for example earthquake, is the form of Yahweh's punishment is here expected to take.

Thus, the verse refers to Yahweh's future action in judgement, expressing itself through the attack of an enemy. It points ironically to the totality of expected destruction and invites the hearer to see the enemy in terms of a marauding lion inspiring terror. The verse expresses Yahweh's ultimate (negative) purpose for Israel, and is therefore properly described as eschatological.

1. Fosbroke (IB). This would be perfectly in character, c.f. 6:4-7.

2. c.f. Fosbroke (IB), Weiser (ATD), Amsler (CAT). 3. Fosbroke (IB).

C. AMOS 5:1-3

The verses may be translated thus:

"Listen to (this saying which I take up against you as¹) a lament,
house of Israel -

'She has fallen, never to rise,
the virgin Israel.
Forsaken on her own soil²,
with none to lift her up'

For this is what Yahweh says to the house of Israel³:

'The town supplying a thousand troops⁴,
shall be left with a hundred;
And the town⁵ supplying a hundred,
shall be left with ten⁶".

Whether the shorter or longer reading is adopted in v. 1, Amos is clearly the speaker⁷. He pronounces a lament, and then adds, in the same metre, an oracle interpreting it. The verb, 'has fallen', is proleptic, as the interpretation in v. 3 shows⁸. The interpretation may draw on Holy War ideas⁹ and certainly

1. Maag deletes this, plausibly but not conclusively (TWBA p.26f.), but c.f. Amsler (CAT).
2. the promised land, given her to enjoy (Amsler, CAT).
3. Delete בְּיָמֶיךָ , and transp. $\text{לְיָמֶיךָ אֶת־בְּיָמֶיךָ}$ from the end of v.3 (the latter with many commentators, incl. BH, RSV, Amsler (CAT), Maag (TWBA pp.26f), Robinson (HAT). Harper's suggestion (ICC) that "for thus says (Adonai) Yahweh" be moved to the end of v.1., leaving the Kinah in vv.2-3 as a unit, is attractive, but leaves 'to the house of Israel' unaccounted for.
4. The verse clearly refers, by implication, to mobilisation for war.
5. Adding מֵעַל־יָדֶיךָ metri causa, with BH, RSV and others.
6. There is no reason for deleting v.3 (as does Fosbroke, IB), or separating it from the preceding. In view of the //sm in the verse as it stands, and the minor change needed to render it into Kinah metre, there are no grounds for discounting authenticity, or supposing that the prophet could not interpret his own oracles.
7. The 'I' in v.1. can hardly refer to Yahweh because (a) Amos's conception of Yahweh makes a reference to his lamenting somewhat out of character, and (b) if Yahweh had been intended the verse would naturally begin, "thus says Yahweh... hear this lament...".
8. Cripps, c.f., Harper (ICC).
9. Above, p/38, n/1.

speaks of the violent death of Israel¹ being brought about by military action.

of In line with 2:13-16 and 3:12 it predicts a terrible rout² at the hands of an enemy.

There is evidence that the metaphor of the fallen virgin is figurative rather than synthetic. When Amos uses the Kinah form and applies it to Israel, he is taking it from its normal context of a lament for a deceased individual and using it both nonliterally of the nation and proleptically². There would thus be a double clash of literal meanings³ for the audience, since the prophet both uses the form of lament-for-an-individual with reference to the nation and talks of the nation currently in existence in terms of someone already dead. The clash of literal meanings is so sharp because there is a low correspondence between the two situations - dead virgin and living nation. The low correspondence, coupled with a fairly high degree of development of the imagery, and the originality of the metaphor⁴, show that it was meant, and probably understood, figuratively⁵.

The metaphor also aims at an exchange of feeling-content⁶. The image of the dead virgin suggests not merely the posture and sentiments of mourning but the added pathos of a young woman coming to a premature and terrible end, abandoned by all, before she has known the fullness of motherhood⁷. The hearer is invited to see the nation in these terms, and mourn for her, accepting the suggestion that she is doomed to destruction.

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1. Delcor (LSB) on the verb 'has fallen'. He aptly compares 2 Sam.1:19,25,27, of falling in battle, and Isaiah 21:9, Jer.51:8 (of the ruin of a nation); c.f., also Amos 7:17.
 2. Fohrer, Remarks p.312, c.f., Robinson (HAT); ^{c.f.} See also Mowinckel P&T p.43.
 3. see above, in Henle's discussion of metaphor, pp 40f.
 4. This appears to be the first recorded use of it.
 5. On the intrinsic criteria used here, see above, chapter 5, pp 118-121. On the prophets' use of unusual forms to startle their listeners, see Von Rad, OTTh II ET, pp.39f.
 6. On this see above, pp 39.
 7. Amsler (CAT).

As in 3:12 then, the passage gives a literal prediction of military action, perhaps with Holy War overtones¹, as the interpretation of the figurative metaphor of the fallen virgin, and invites the hearer to see the former in terms of the latter.

D. AMOS 9:1-4

The vision in v.1 stands by itself. It is not part of the series in 7:1-9, 8:1-3, as is shown by the absence of the characteristic 'thus Yahweh (or 'he') showed me' formula which introduces them. The text of the vision proper presents difficulties, as Yahweh is represented as giving an order without specifying the person addressed, and the nature of the command shows that this cannot be the prophet. Because of this, and other difficulties, the best course is to emend, and translate as follows:

I saw the Lord standing before (or 'upon') the altar.
He struck the capitals and the threshold quaked.
And he said:

'I will cut off all of them with an earthquake,
and the rest I will slay with the sword...etc.².

This gives a better parallelism in the last two lines and coherence to those preceding. Even if the text is left as it is, however, the vision still threatens divine destruction by earthquake³ and military devastation. The passage is undoubtedly a unit. The vision itself cannot end sooner than the phrase, "and the rest I will slay with the sword"⁴, and the remaining verses, 1b-4, which expend this statement by dwelling on the impossibility of escape, would have no raison d'être in isolation. Though they dovetail neatly with

1. Above, pp 137f.

2. Transp. וַיִּכּוּ אֲשֵׁרֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ post. וַיִּרְעָשׁוּ (with, e.g., BH, Robinson (HAT), Maag (TWBA p.45), Weiser (ATD), Amsler (CAT); rdg. וַיִּרְעָשׁוּ אֲשֵׁרֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ); & rdg. וַיִּרְעָשׁוּ אֲשֵׁרֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (Robinson, Weiser, Amsler, Maag ibid - BH has וַיִּרְעָשׁוּ אֲשֵׁרֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ); & rdg. וַיִּרְעָשׁוּ אֲשֵׁרֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (BH, Weiser, Amsler or similarly, Robinson and Maag).

3. וּבְצַעַם בְּרָאשׁוֹ וַיִּרְעָשׁוּ

4. See Cripps. This phrase also shows that a literal earthquake is expected: "and the rest (those not killed in the earthquake) I will slay with the sword".

the vision, they could hardly find a niche elsewhere in the book. The verses are a close-knit poem, as an analysis of its literary structure will show:

A	Alliterative couplet	No fugitive shall flee No escaper shall escape.			
B	parallel couplets.	1. if they should dig.	into Sheol	thence	may hand would take them
		2. if they should climb	to Heaven	thence	I would bring them down.
	additional couplet.	3. if they should hide	at the top of Carmel	thence	I would search out and take them.
C	couplet (OR couplet + line)	if they should hide (from my sight)	at the bottom of the sea	I would command the Serpent to bite them.	
D	ditto (see n. ¹ below)	if they should go (into captivity)	before their enemies	I would command the sword to slay them.	
E	concluding couplet.	I will set my eyes on them for evil and not for good.			

The poem begins at A with a literal statement that no one shall escape the sword mentioned in the preceding verse. The statement is in similar vein to the Holy War motif of 2:14-16². The following sections, B, C, and D, reinforce what is

1. C and D are couplets only if one omits 'from my sight' (BH, Maag TWBA p.45) and 'into captivity' (Maag, *ibid*). On the metre c.f. Maag, *ibid*, and Robinson (HAT).
Delete וְשׁוֹבְתֵי פֹּסֵת וְהִיא and וְהִיא וְהִיא וְהִיא and
2. above p.137f.

said in A. Section B/1-2, a balanced antithesis of Sheol and Heaven, is followed by a third line of identical structure referring to Carmel. This was probably added by association of ideas of the height of Heaven and of the mountain. C. and D. are structurally parallel. In form, C parallels B/3, both in the use of 'hide' and the reference to the sea floor, which one may presume to have been by both ~~by~~ topographical association (since Carmel juts out into the Mediterranean), and antithetical association (the depths of the sea in contrast to Carmel's height). There is no obvious association between D and C. In the latter the prophet is apparently taking up again the reference to the sword at the end of v. 1. The last section, E, summarises the total import of the previous verses.

In B/1, B/2, and C, the prophet is not talking about ways of escape which the people thought of as real possibilities and whose efficacy he was therefore setting out to deny, since Sheol, Heaven, and the bottom of the sea were all by definition inaccessible to living men. These verses must therefore be figurative, on the criterion of impossible literality¹. The two other references, Carmel and captivity, could possibly have been taken literally, but this ~~is~~ is unlikely, because their grammatical structure is the same as the others, and because even these two possibilities are extremes which the audience would hardly contemplate as real possibilities of escape. Indeed, since Amos often spoke of exile as the operation of Yahweh's judgement, his audience would be unlikely to suppose that he was now seriously suggesting exile as a means of escaping it. The language of B/3 and D may therefore be also classed as figurative.

1. on this see above, chap. 5, pp. 120.

E. AMOS 5:18ff and 8:9-10

These two passages are considered together because of the similarity of their imagery and because they are often linked. After each has been analysed separately, the problems of language description will be considered.

E/1 AMOS 5:18ff

In his thorough analysis of the Day of Yahweh in Amos, D.J. Bourke has recently argued for the unity of vv. 18-20 with vv. 21ff, by analogy with the similar sequence of thought in 8:9-10¹. Amos ^{5:16-17} also has strikingly similar imagery to 8:10, and when these verses are included in the discussion the parallels between the whole section, (5:16-17,18-20,20ff) and 8:9-10 are so close that it would be reasonable, on Bourke's argument, to conclude that the whole of the former is either an editorial collection by analogy with the latter, or an original unit. But in the case of 5:16-17 and 18ff the connection must be editorial, since vv. 16-17 are or are part of a separate oracle². In view of the change of form between vv. 18-20 and 21ff³, it is equally possible that the connection here is editorial as well. The relation between 5:18-20 and 21ff is therefore still an open question.

1. OSIDY pp. 183-184.

2. Because v.17 ends with the oracle formula, 'says Yahweh'.

3. Amsler (CAT).

Despite various alternative suggestions¹ there is no reason for assuming that 5:18-20 is not itself a unit. For the moment one may concentrate on v. 19, in which the prophet interprets the preceding statement before reiterating it emphatically in v. 20.

The verse is best treated as poetry, and its metre may be analysed as follows:

A i	(3:2)	"As if a man were running headlong from a lion,
A ii	(2)	and a bear met him;
B i	(2:3)	And when he got into his house, and leaned against a wall,
B ii	(2)	a serpent bit him".

This arrangement is justified because the clear parallelism in form and content between A/ii and B/ii (see the Hebrew) shows that the verse divides at the end of A/ii². In the second half the suspense is particularly well developed, the two-beat 'got into his house' being followed by a three-beat line which delays the denouement of the final clause. The simile, which may be based on a proverbial saying³, is best interpreted as a continuous sequence: danger - flight -

1. Weiser (ATD) inserts 6:9-10 between vv.19 and 20, on the grounds that the change between 19 and 20 is abrupt since one would expect a more detailed description of the catastrophe of the Day in order to make more persuasive the judgement to which the listeners are led in v. 20. The difficulty with this is that v.19 is not intended as a description of what will happen on the Day but is a simile designed to illustrate how people will feel and to delineate the Day as one that brings horror and death (see below p/147). 6:9-10 by contrast is a literal description, perhaps of a plague. There is thus no connection of form or content between the two (so also Amsler, CAT). There is no reason either for deleting 18b as a gloss.
2. Against Fosbroke (IB), Robinson (HAT) (who see the verse as prose) and Maag, who deletes $\omega'x$ and renders as 2+2+2:4+3. The second line is not convincing as he follows MT and puts the hiatus between $\omega'x$ and $\omega'x$.
3. Bourke, OSIDY p. 195, aptly compares Isaiah 24:18.

terror; safety - death¹. It was probably suggested by the 'darkness' of the Day of Yahweh, since the wild beasts are usually associated with the night².

This does not mean that Amos conceived of the darkness in verses 18,20, as literal night, for the simile explicitly compares the Day of Yahweh with the situation of a man fleeing from wild beasts (by implication) at night³. The simile has a double function. Firstly, it reinforces the antithesis stated in v. 18, and stresses the impossibility of escape from, and on, the Day. Secondly, it attempts to transfer to the Day the feeling-content of the situations it depicts. It does not merely depict the impossibility of escape, to do which it would only need to speak of the man meeting the bear or being bitten by the serpent. It heightens the terror of the flight situation (A/i) by putting the man in danger to start with, and similarly heightens the horror of the snakebite by placing the victim in an apparently safe situation. This shows that the simile is trying to arouse the appropriate feelings of terror, to say: 'think how you would feel if you were that man: that is how you will feel when the Day of Yahweh comes'. The 'darkness' of the Day of Yahweh is therefore presented as one of inescapable death in circumstances inspiring terror and horror.

E/2. AMOS 8:9-10

There is no reason to dispute the unity or authenticity of this passage⁴.

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1. The waw can be interpreted as 'or' or 'and'. The latter is preferable, for it is as difficult to see why the 2nd line should have been chosen as an alternative picture as it is easy to see why it should follow the first.
 2. Bourke, OSIDY p.195, aptly compares an Egyptian hymn to Aten, ANET p.370, and Psalm 104:20f, and suggests that Amos has been influenced by Egyptian hymn styles. But note also that the lion imagery, the flight situation, and the conjunction of lion and bear, are entirely in keeping with Amos' probable experiences as a shepherd - c.f., 3:4,8,12, and 1.Sam.17:34-37 (see above, p138f).
 3. See further below, p154. Harper (ICC) and Bourke (op.cit.) miss this point, and seem to see the darkness as literal.
 4. Fosbroke (IB), aware that Amos nowhere else uses cosmic imagery so explicitly, says v.10 is authentic and v.9 a later addition. He separates the two vv. on the grounds that the direct 2nd person address in v.10 contrasts with "the more generalising context". Assuming this means v.9. this is a meaningless contrast: in v.9 a 2nd person address of the same kind as in v.10 is by definition impossible because Yahweh is there talking of the sun, not to the people. The argument also ignores the 1st person verbs in both vv.

Both verses present a picture of sudden reversal of fortune when least expected. The key to the interpretation of v. 9 is the phrase, 'at noon'. That Yahweh proposes to turn daylight into darkness would be nothing new, and is indeed stated to be his prerogative in one of the hymn fragments quoted by the prophet¹. In v 9, however, darkness comes, not at the expected time, but in the middle of the day, in broad daylight². Other references show that noontide had the paradoxical double connotation of danger and security. It was a time when people and cities could easily be taken off guard³, but also, therefore, by implication, a time when attack was not expected. Noontide could also carry associations of vigour and maturity, the prime of life, the height of power⁴. Thus v. 9 uses imagery of a sudden reversal of natural conditions when least expected, at a time of expected security (and, possibly, the height of power and vigour). The idea of darkness coming at noonday also has an emotive content, suggesting fear, death, and confusion (compare Psalm 91:6 and Isaiah 8:22 - 9:1 (8:21 - 9:2)).

Verse 10 uses imagery of mourning to carry the same message. Yahweh will turn the joyful feasts into lamentation. As with v. 9, no reversal could be more complete than this. That the mourning is literally expected is shown by the use of a simile saying that it will be like the mourning for an only son. The major connotation of this is the parents' inconsolable grief, not so much because there are no other children to make up the loss, but because his passing destroys forever the family name⁵. The simile thus emphasizes the finality of the

1. 5:8, c.f., 4:13. On the cosmic hymn fragments as quotations by Amos see below, pp. 155, n. 4.

2. Bourke's suggestion that בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה = 'on a day of light', i.e. a festival day, is not borne out by the //sm: the phrase is clearly synonymous with 'at noon' and so refers to the middle of the day.

3. 2 Sam. 4:5, 1 Kings 20:16, c.f. Jer. 6:4-5, 26:16, Zeph. 2:4.

4. Certainly in Jer. 15:8 c.f. v. 9, 'her sun went down while it was yet day', and in Job 5:12-14, where the last couplet speaks of the collapse of the schemes of the crafty at the height of their power. Possibly also in Is. 59:10 (if בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה can be derived from $\sqrt{\text{בַּיּוֹם}}$ (BDB, RSV) but c.f. BH & Köhler (LVTL)) & in Is. 16:3.

5. Amsler (CAT), probably following Maag (TWBA p. 126 c.f. pp. 115-116). בַּיּוֹם הַבֹּא probably means, 'the (day) after, the next (day)' (so Maag, TWBA pp. 65, 121, and Amsler, CAT).

destruction of Israel on Yahweh's Day, while the literal prediction of mourning indicates that the people will meet death in large numbers, though the cause of this is not specified.

E/3 THE DESCRIPTION OF THE COSMIC IMAGERY

In discussing how the cosmic imagery in these two passages was understood, a useful basis is the work of D.J. Bourke, who has given a thorough and detailed analysis of the Day of Yahweh in Amos¹. By a careful examination of the evidence in the book, he shows that the prophet's audience almost certainly conceived of the Day of Yahweh as a festival day, and that the festival in question was the New Year Festival².

On the question of Amos' own conception of the Day of Yahweh, Bourke argues that he thought of Yahweh's activity as being in three fairly distinct spheres: the cosmic and creational, the cultic and social, and the political³. He concludes that the Day of Yahweh in Amos 5:18ff. envisages Yahweh's eschatological activity as being in the cultic and creational rather than the political sphere⁴, and seems to assume that Yahweh's action was expected on the festival day itself. He also says that:

1. OSIDY, chap.6, pp.174-221. Amos 5:18ff. is one of three passages about the Day that is given special treatment, the others being Zephaniah 1 and Joel, passim (on these see below, chap. 10, pp. 227-281 and 319-325).
2. As Bourke's work is as yet unpublished, it will be helpful to summarise his argument: Amos 5:18 says the people desire the Day, i.e., it is an occasion in the relatively near future when they expect to receive good fortune. Amos characterises the people as expecting to achieve prosperity in 2 ways: (i) by force, guile, fraud, oppression (2:6-8, 3:10, 4:1, 5:7, 10-13, 6:12b-13, 8:4-6) and (ii) from Yahweh, provided they are assiduous in attending his festival days and bringing freewill offerings (4:4, 2:8, 5:5, 5:21) (OSIDY pp.180-181). Thus, when 5:18 says the people expect the Day of Yahweh to be a day of light, this is unlikely to mean anything but a festival day. The symbolism of light, as the renewal of creative blessing, is shown to be an important part of the New Year Festival in Babylon, Egypt, and later Judaism (pp.182f).
3. OSIDY p. 189.
4. ibid. p. 197.

Yahweh can and will reverse his own ordinance and turn the day into darkness, and not merely the darkness of night but the deep and horrible darkness ($\gamma \underline{\alpha} \times$) of chaos sweeping back over the sin-polluted people and their world¹.

Thus, he apparently regards the 'darkness' imagery of 5:18-20 as literal, as also (by implication, with many other commentators²), the similar imagery in 8:9-10.

One of the reasons why Bourke adopts the literal interpretation is that his preceding discussion has led him to the conclusion that Amos conceived of Yahweh's intervention on the Day as taking several different forms. Besides the frequent references to intervention by means of military invasion, etc., in the political sphere, Bourke finds that Amos thought of Yahweh as being about to intervene with a variety of weapons in the cosmic and creation^{ae} sphere. Thus, the darkness on the Day of Yahweh is seen as only one of many ways in which Yahweh threatens to overthrow the order of nature.

At this point Bourke's analysis is less convincing. He begins³ by classifying the forms of Yahweh's intervention in Amos. Yahweh is said to threaten destruction by his numinous presence (5:17) and baleful regard (9:4,8), and to threaten destruction of sanctuaries (3:14, 5:5, 7:9, 9:1). The suggestion here appears to be that these are all distinct ways in which Yahweh threatens to intervene in the created order. Such a suggestion would however be misleading. Amos 5:17 is a very vague statement of Yahweh's intention, saying only that the people will mourn and lament when he passes through them - a reversal of Exodus typology⁴. It may be intended to denote a separate form of intervention but could equally well apply to one of the other specific forms to which Amos refers,

1. ibid, p.204.

2. Cripps, Harper (ICC), Robinson (HAT), Delcor (LSB) and apparently Amsler (CAT).

3. OSIDY p. 188.

4. See above, p~~126~~ n. 5

such as earthquake or military devastation. Amos 9:4 does not speak clearly of destruction by Yahweh's baleful regard, and if this is inferred the context shows that the baleful regard is not a distinct and separate manifestation but is expressed through earthquake and military action¹. Amos 9:8 likewise does not say that the baleful regard itself will destroy the sinful kingdom but that Yahweh's eyes are watching it and that he will destroy it, a vague statement which again is not incompatible with other specific forms of threatened destruction. Of the threats to destroy sanctuaries, 3:14 refers to earthquake or military action², 5:5 to the latter, because of its specific reference to exile, 7:9 stands in a context of military action (though it could refer to earthquake), and 9:1-4 refers to a combination of military action and earthquake³. Thus, when Bourke's evidence is examined, Yahweh's intervention expresses itself in only three ways - through military action, through earthquake, and in vague statements which could be separate forms but could also be descriptions of the other two.

Similar considerations apply to the continuation, where Bourke lists the cosmic powers that Yahweh is said to use as instruments of destruction⁴. Apart from darkness and reversal of the created order (5:18 and 8:9) the others are hurricane (1:14), earthquake (2:13 and 9:1), fire (1:3 etc.), and cosmic fire (or drought) and locusts (7:1-2,4). The hurricane image in 1:14 is not a separate literal manifestation but a nonliteral image of battle⁵, as is also the fire imagery in chapters 1-2⁶. The cosmic fire (or drought), and locusts

1. 9:1-4, see above, pp 143f.

3. Above, p 143f.

5. Above, p 137.

2. Above, p 126, n 4.

4. OSIDY, p. 188.

6. Above, pp 134-6.

in the visions of chapter 7 are visionary experiences, and are said to be things that Yahweh envisages but does not carry out¹. The only reference to Yahweh's future action that seems to be literal is the earthquake tradition, in 9:1, and possibly elsewhere², though the text and interpretation of 2:14 are disputed. Thus, two of the suggested five cosmic weapons are nonliteral imagery relating to military destruction, one other reference is to destruction envisaged but not carried out, and the fourth envisages destruction by earthquake. Bourke later points to the series of interventions in nature and war culminating in an unspecified disaster listed in Amos 4:6-12³. This shows that Amos conceived of Yahweh as having acted through natural disasters in the past and therefore as capable of doing so in the future, but it is not itself about Yahweh's future action.

Thus, apart from the 'darkness' imagery, the forms of Yahweh's possible future action envisaged by Amos can be narrowed down to four. First, there are one or two vague threats which could possibly be envisaged as separate literal interventions but are also compatible with other specific forms. Secondly, Amos 4:6-12 shows that Amos conceived of Yahweh as being capable of intervening through 'normal' natural disasters, though his statements about Yahweh's future action do not contain any references to this type of intervention. This is probably because it would not be thought of as abnormal and so would lack the quality of 'newness', not to mention that of 'finality', inherent in eschatological conceptions. Thirdly, there are some possible references to an earthquake,⁴

1. NB - $\text{יָהוָה יִשְׁפֹּט} \text{ } \times \text{ } \text{וְיִשְׁפֹּט}$, 7:3,6. The 3rd vision may see Yahweh's judgment as issuing in military devastation (7:7-9, if v.9 is part of the unit); the 4th is another vague reference (8:1-2? 3).

2. 3:14?, 6:11?, 7:9? c.f. 1:1. On 9:1 see above p. 142, n. 4.

3. OSIDY p. 193.

4. 9:1-4, and (?) 2:14, 3:14f, 6:11, 8:8, c.f. 1:1.

of which the most certain is also linked with military action¹. Finally, by far the most frequent references to Yahweh's eschatological intervention envisage it as taking the form of military action. There are no less than twelve clear references in the book². Two passages speak in general terms of Yahweh intervening by 'sword'³. A third passage alludes to military attack in imagery of a marauding lion⁴, while a fourth speaks by implication of the destruction of Samaria by an invading army⁵. The other passages contain explicit references to an Assyrian invasion⁶, decimation and defeat of Israel's army in battle⁷, and death or exile of her leaders and people⁸. Thus, when Amos considered Yahweh's eschatological judgement against Israel he again and again saw it as being realised through action in the political sphere, specifically by Assyrian invasion and destruction of the kingdom, with the deportation

1. 9:1-4. Note also that 2:14, if referred to an earthquake, is also intimately linked with imagery of defeat in battle.
2. Two others, 5:27 and 9:10, are of doubtful authenticity; while a 3rd, 4:1-3, is probably a reference to the siege and capture of Samaria, but the text is difficult.
3. 9:1-4 and 7:9.
4. 3:12; above p 138f.
5. 6:8. The references to Yahweh hating the ן י צ ר ן of Jacob and delivering up the city (ר' ג ם ה, c.f. 1:6) are clear indications of military action.
6. a. Amos 3:9-11. Reading 'Assyria' for MT, 'Ashdod', in v.9, with LXX and many commentators. The name of a city like Ashdod, even if taken as representing Philistia as a whole (Harper, ICC) is an odd // to a great world-power like Egypt. Egypt and Assyria appear frequently in //sm as the two world powers at opposite extremes of the compass: Isaiah 11:16, 19:23-25, Jer. 2:36, Lam. 5:6, Hos. 7:11, 9:3, 11:5, 12:2, Mic. 7:12, Zech. 10:10 (note esp. the refs. in Hosea), c.f., the close association in Isaiah 10:24-26, 11:11, 52:4, Ezek. 23:5-10.
b. Amos 6:14 refers by implication to Assyria, see above, p _____.
7. Amos 2:13-16 (above pp 137f) and 5:1-3 (above pp 140ff).
8. 5:4-6 (exile of Gilgal), 6:7 (idlers in luxury to be the first to go into exile) 7:11b (death of Jeroboam in battle, exile of Israel), 7:16-17 (death of Amaziah's son in battle, or himself in exile, and exile of Israel).

of its people. In one case, possibly more¹, the ideas of earthquake and military action are linked. This evidence shows that, though the prophet believed Yahweh could intervene through natural phenomena, the political sphere is the dominant category in his eschatological expectation.

The two passages may now be re-examined. One may begin by noting that in 5:18-20, despite the general similarity with 8:9-10, the content of the imagery differs significantly in that while 5:18-20 speaks of the whole day being darkness instead of light (the antithesis of what is expected), 8:9-10 presents imagery of the day becoming darkness at noon (a sudden reversal of fortune). In 5:18,20, there are some indications that the darkness imagery was intended nonliterally. Firstly, ^{the} Day of Yahweh in v. 19 is compared with, not stated to be, a situation of darkness². Secondly, the simile describes the 'darkness' in vv. 18, 20, and shows that its primary reference is to fear, horror, and inescapable death, as does the antithesis of this darkness to a 'light' whose primary reference is not to literal daylight but to 'blessing, joy, prosperity, life'. This does not exclude the possibility that a literal darkness is part of the meaning, but taken with the first point it is a reasonable conclusion that the imagery here is nonliteral. Because of the many levels of meaning in such words as 'darkness' and 'light' in Amos' time, it is unlikely that the usage would be figurative, for a situation of terror and death in broad daylight could probably be described without incongruity as one of 'darkness'. The imagery is therefore probably synthetic.

A further problem is when Amos expected Yahweh's eschatological action to happen, and what form he expected it to take, (the 'darkness' could mean any

1. See note 1 p 153
 2. Above, pp 147.

disaster that brought death and terror to the nation). Since the people thought of the Day of Yahweh as a festival day, specifically the New Year Festival¹, it follows that this passage predicts Yahweh's advent in judgement at, or closely associated with, the time of this Festival². Indeed, the imagery of darkness and light appears to have been suggested by both the symbolism³ and the psalmody of the festival, especially the hymn fragments in the book, which are best explained as quotations of material which inspired Amos's thought and imagery⁴.

The vagueness of the 'darkness' imagery prevents a firm conclusion regarding the form Amos expected Yahweh's intervention to take, but the passage and preceding discussion supply two pieces of evidence. Firstly, the situation of terror and inescapable death depicted in 5:19 has parallels in 2:13-16 (a picture of holy war panic and defeat⁵), and in 9:1-4 (earthquake and war, both inescapable⁶). Secondly, the fact that Amos here associates Yahweh's intervention with the time of the New Year Festival links the passage with others where he announces the destruction of the sanctuaries at which such festivals took place. The destruction elsewhere is envisaged as being by military action⁷ or (possibly) a combination of this and earthquake⁸. Taken with the previous finding, that military action is the dominant feature of the prophet's eschatological expectation⁹, it is probable that this is the expected form of Yahweh's intervention in 5:18-20.

The imagery of 8:9-10 may now be considered. Several features are uninformative, notably the mourning imagery and the phrase 'in that day'¹⁰, while the

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1. Above, p. 149.
 2. The wording of the passage shows this. Amos says not that Yahweh's Day will be a different Day (i.e., not the festival but, e.g., a Holy War defeat), but that its content will be different.
 3. Above, p. 154.
 4. Bourke makes out a convincing case for this view (OSIDY pp. 206f, cf. 208f.)
 5. Above, p. 137f.
 6. Above, pp. 142-4.
 7. 5:5.
 8. 9:1-4. 7:9 may be a combination of the two, while 3:14 may refer to one or the other.
 9. Above, p. 153f.
 10. The former has no one connotation in Amos: 5:1-3 (military action); 5:16 (because Yahweh's numinous presence passes through); 8:3 (vague statement). The latter is also used in several different contexts - battle (2:16), unspecified (8:3), and of doubtful authenticity (8:13, 9:11).

imagery in v. 9, though it has analogies in Holy War¹ and cultic² traditions, is not verbally close enough to permit the conclusion that it is traditional and conventional rather than an original usage by the prophet³. Two factors could be thought to indicate a literal interpretation. Firstly, the imagery in v. 9 was probably inspired, at least in part, by the doxology in 5:8⁴. The fact that the daily change from daylight to darkness is a literal event does not, however, prove that the derived imagery in v. 9 is literal expectation. Secondly, many commentators have suggested that the unusual element in 8:9, the darkening of the sun at noon, was prompted by the solar eclipse in 763 B.C., which would have been visible as a fairly large partial eclipse in the Jerusalem area, where Amos presumably then was⁵. That Amos was drawing on a literal eclipse, would not however prove he was expecting another. Nor is it certain that he was drawing on the eclipse in question, firstly because, being partial not total, it does not provide an exact basis for the imagery, and secondly because he does not refer to it in the catalogue of previous disasters in 4:6-11 which includes all the other specific disasters that he could⁶ or did⁷ envisage in the future.

On the other hand, there is evidence of varying weight that the imagery is nonliteral. Firstly, similar imagery is used elsewhere in the Old Testament,

1. Joshua 10:12f, c.f., Judges 5:20.
2. ~~E.F.~~, Pss. 18:8-16(7-15) and 97:2-5. cf
3. Bourke sees the 'darkening-of-the-planets' motif as a memory of the Sinai theophany (OSIDY p.260) but this is not a sufficient explanation (see below, chap. 10 ~~→~~)
4. Above, p. 148.
5. Harper (ICC). P 317, n. 1.)
6. Natural disasters - famine (v.6), drought (vv.7-8), blight and locusts (v.9.), pestilence (v.10).
7. Military disaster (v.10) and earthquake (v.11). Though an argument from silence, this carries some weight in this case because Amos' list of past disasters is so comprehensive, and includes both the other types of specific disaster envisaged in the future.

particularly in the prophets, in a nonliteral sense¹. Secondly, Amos' dominant expectation was of Yahweh's intervention by earthquake and military action. Thirdly, this has been found to be a reasonable interpretation of 5:18-20, where the darkness imagery is best regarded as synthetic². Fourthly, Amos himself uses other 'nature' imagery, of fire and storm, in nonliteral ways to describe Yahweh's judgement in military action³. Finally, the lack of further development of the cosmic imagery in v. 9, and the exact parallelism between the two verses, both of which describe a sudden reversal of fortune⁴, make it possible that v. 10 is a literal interpretation of v. 9, just as Amos interprets nonliteral imagery in 5:1-3 with a following literal statement⁵.

Thus, since there is no conclusive evidence that Amos 8:9 was intended literally, and some evidence for a nonliteral interpretation, the balance of probabilities is in favour of the latter. By analogy with 5:18, 20 the verse is most likely to be synthetic.

1. Of darkness coming 'at noon' (ב צהריהם) c.f., (prob. figurative) Job 5:12-14, Isaiah 59:9f, and esp. Jer. 15:8f (where ב צהריהם 'at noon' // פתאום 'suddenly' and בא(ה) שפשה בעד יופה בושה וחפרה 'she has been shamed and disgraced'). c.f., also Micah 3:6 (clearly figurative on the criterion of explicit statement - לכן לילה לילה 'it shall be (i.e. 'as') night to you'; the ref. to the sun going down on the prophets shows that a literal meaning is not intended).
2. Above, pp 154.
3. Above, pp 134-7, 151.
4. V.10 adds the thought that what is envisaged is disaster and death, the final extinction of Israel's family name.
5. Above, pp 140-2.

CONCLUSION.

In analysing the language of eschatology in Amos it has been possible to apply many of the intrinsic criteria previously worked out. The criteria of development and correspondence showed that fire imagery ⁱⁿ 1:2 - 2:6 was used formally and synthetically¹, and that a metaphor in Amos 5:1 was figurative². The criterion of originality was employed in the latter case, while in 9:1-4 the criterion of impossible literality established the figurative nature of some of the imagery of escape³. The parallelism of Hebrew poetry has also provided a partial criterion for description in the case of Amos 1:14 and 8:9-10⁴, and the category of illustrative literal language has been isolated⁵.

The analysis of language in terms of the literal-nonliteral distinction has also made it possible to show the emotive intention and mechanisms of persuasion used by the prophet. He tries to make his audience see Israel as killed by a marauding lion (3:12)⁶, as a young woman dead before her time and abandoned by all (5:1-3)⁷, and as a man in danger who reaches apparent safety, only to meet sudden death (5:19)⁸. These images also attempt to transfer the feeling content of the secondary situation to Israel. This is possible not only in the metaphor of 5:1, but in the similes of 3:12 and 5:19, where the prophet tries to persuade his audience to react to the Israel-situation with the feelings of fear, horror, and pity appropriate to the secondary situation. He also uses a rhetorical device (1:1 - 2:16) to present a condensed argument⁹.

1. Above, pp 134-6. 2. Above, pp 141. 3. Above, pp 144. 4. Above, pp 137
and 157.
5. Above, pp 132. 6. Above, pp 138f. 7. Above, pp 140-2.
8. Above, pp 146f. 9. Above, pp 133f.

The analysis has also produced supporting evidence that Amos' eschatology was one of doom, and that he expected the final destruction of the northern kingdom. The simile at 3:12 pictures the completeness of the destruction, while 5:1-3, 5:19, and 8:10 in different ways sound the note of finality¹. Amos 9:1-4 makes it clear that the destruction is complete and inescapable. Since there would have been little point in attempting to arouse feelings of fear and sorrow unless it was hoped these would lead to a change of heart, the emotive function of the imagery, taken with 5:4-5, also shows that Amos' initial preaching aim was to bring about a national repentance. It further suggests that the statements of irrevocable doom and the contrasting calls to repent are an example of that characteristic of Semitic thinking whereby contrasting absolute statements are placed alongside each other as qualifiers². Instead of saying, 'unless you repent you will perish', Amos said, 'you are certainly doomed; repent', and the latter half of the statement is found both explicitly in 5:4f and implicitly in his persuasive and emotive imagery.

It has also been found that the chief ways in which Amos expected Yahweh to realise his purpose of final destruction were earthquake and military action (specifically, the invasion, conquest and deportation of Israel by Assyria). The reference to military action show that this was the dominant strand in the prophet's expectation. With other evidence, this fact helped to show that Amos' cosmic imagery is probably synthetic in 5:18, 20, and 8:9. The difficulty with these two passages was that, because it was not clear whether the language was bisociative or not, the intrinsic criteria could not be applied. The kind of problem presented by such cosmic imagery will be taken up again later, in chapters 9-11, after Hosea's eschatological language has been examined.

1. Above, pp 138f, 141, 146f, 147-9. 2. G.B. Caird, *ExpT*, 74, 1962, pp. 82ff.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LANGUAGE OF ESCHATOLOGY
IN AMOS AND HOSEA

PART II: HOSEA

INTRODUCTION

It may be accepted that Hosea's recorded prophetic activity began not long after that of Amos, and spanned a long period in the closing years of the northern kingdom. He prophesied against a background of events where the Assyrian menace was now clearly discernible, and his eschatological imagery reflects the troubled political conditions of the time.

Of the passages in Hosea referring to Yahweh's future action in judgement or restoration a number must be left aside because of textual difficulties or uncertainties of interpretation¹. A few verses also must be classed as additions². The material accepted as Hoseanic³ contains several vague threats⁴

1. 4:1-10.14 (tenses uncertain), 5:2, 5:7, 7:16, 8:3f, 8:10 (text difficult, may be either threat or promise), 10:7, 11:10f (this receives no agreed interpretation: Harper (ICC) takes the last word of v.9, joins it to v.10, and makes one or two emendations, Deissler (LSB) accepts MT, but sees 10-11 as a later addition, Wolff (BK) sees v.10 only as a series of glosses and v.11 as Hoseanic), 14:4-8 (5-9) (Figurative imagery on the criterion of explicit comparison: textual uncertainties make further analysis impossible).
2. e.g., 1:7 (Judaean gloss) and 8:14 (added ≠ Amos 1:4. The feminine suffix to 'strongholds' has no reference in the context).
3. i.e., stemming from Hosea by autobiography, biography, or oracle.
4. e.g., 1:6, 1:8f, 4:9b-10.14.19, 5:5.10, 9:7.9, 12:3(2), 12:14, 13:9.14.

and promises¹ which neither use creative imagery nor specify the way in which they will be realised. In the remainder there are several clear threats of exile² and military attack³ which show that Hosea had in mind the former resulting from the latter as the means by which Yahweh would carry out his judgement. A few passages also refer to the destruction of altars and sanctuaries, possibly by military attack⁴.

The remaining eschatological passages contain imagery raising various problems of description. Chapters 4-14 contain six passages⁵ requiring detailed study, which will be examined first. Chapter 2:4-25 raises special problems and will be left until the end.

A. HOSEA 5:13-14 IN ITS CONTEXT (5:8 - 6:6)⁶

The two verses stand in a larger unit of discourse, 5:8 - 6:6. The R.S.V. makes divisions between 5:8-12, 5:13-14 and 5:15 - 6:6. The Hebrew, however,

1. e.g., 2:1-3, 3:5 (may be an addition), 11:8f (The suggestion that v.9 be read as interrogative and the verses be interpreted as Yahweh's self-confirmation in his purpose of judgement (so Ackroyd (Pke)) is unconvincing, since v.8. clearly begins with a rhetorical question expecting the answer, 'impossible'.
2. 9:3-6, 10:3-6, 11:5-7. 8:13 is doubtful, as it may have been inserted ≠ 9:3. The references to exile in Egypt (8:13?, 9:6?, 11:5) may be figurative, a typological equation of the coming exile in Assyria with the first captivity (NB the //sm in 11:5). This is not certain however (c.f. 7:11, which refers to a vacillating foreign policy between the two (see below, pp166f)).
3. 1:4f (but v.5 prps.add.), 10:11-15, 11:5-7 and prob.10:9f. 3:4prob.implies exile.
4. 10:2,8, 12:11. Military attack is mentioned in the former context.
5. Two verses in another passage require only brief comment: a. 9:11a. 'Ephraim's glory shall fly away like a bird'. Ephraim's glory - his manpower - will depart suddenly and swiftly when Yahweh cuts off the population by sterility(11b,14) & war(12,16). b.9:16. Some commentators place this after v.11. The image is of a dead tree eaten up by worms(Jon.4:7)or dried up in the sun(Jer.17:8). The imagery is drawn from a traditional association of 'fruit'with 'Ephraim'(Gen.41:52), which the prophet uses to deny that this tree will any longer be fruitful. The traditional element in the association, the lack of development and the shift to child-bearing in v.16b suggest that the metaphor is formal.
6. Text. Important points in v.13 are: rd.prb. וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (BH,RSV etc.); rd. prps. וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (heal)to complete //sm (BH,RSV). In v.15: Rd.prps וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (BH, Deissler(LSB), 'soient ravages'; Harper (ICC) reads this as 'startled, puzzled') or וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (Wolff(BK) ≠ LXX). In 6:1 read prob. וְיִשְׂרָאֵל (Wolff, BK).

shows that the divisions are minor pauses only and that the passage should be treated as a unit. Verse 13 continues v. 12 with a waw-consecutive and refers back to the sickness imagery in that verse¹. Verse 15 shows a similar continuity of imagery, while the verb, $\text{׀} \text{׃} \text{X}$, at the beginning of the verse both continues the direct speech of Yahweh and echoes the $\text{׀} \text{׃} \text{X} \text{׀}$ of the preceding verse². The fact that there are no redactional notes in the section³ suggests that it was either delivered as a unit or as a series of utterances each referring back to what had been said previously.

Despite textual difficulties the passage clearly refers to the attack of a hostile army from the south (v.8)⁴ and consequent devastation of Israelite territory (v.9a). The passage has been plausibly dated from the year 733, on the assumption that following the Syro-Ephraimite attack on Jerusalem in the previous year⁵, Tiglath-Pileser's advance at Ahaz's request had enabled the latter to regain lost territory⁶, but exegesis of the imagery will not presume acceptance of this dating.

The first section, 5:8-12, describes the state of affairs as the invaders approach from the south. Yahweh has brought about the present distress because

1. See below, n 1, p 163.
2. On the problems this raises see below, p 166, n 3. BH.rds prob. $\text{׀} \text{׃} \text{X} \text{׀}$ in v.14, but this is unwarranted.
3. Wolff(BK), who therefore sees 5:8-7:16 as a single tradition complex dating from about 733 (see above, and n 6, below).
4. Wolff(BK), on the basis of the location of the places mentioned.
5. c.f., Isaiah 7.
6. Brown (WC), and in more detail, Wolff(BK). This date would explain the advance from the south (v.8), the recourse to Assyria (v.13 = Hosea's tribut^e buying off Tiglath-Pileser III), and Hosea's desire to direct Yahweh's judgement against both Israel and Judah (vv.12,13. Recent commentators accept that not all the Judaeen references in the book are secondary; there is no reason to delete them here).

of Ephraim's sin (v.11), and is the cause of the nation's sickness: "for I am like pus to Ephraim, and rottenness (in the bones) to the house of Judah"¹.

The second section takes up where the first leaves off. Ephraim is now aware of his sickness but has failed to see that it has been brought about by Yahweh, and that only by turning to Yahweh in repentance will a cure be obtained. On the contrary, he has turned to Assyria for help, a course of action which will bring no benefit (v.13) nor prevent Yahweh from carrying out his purpose of judgement (v.14). The third section pictures Yahweh both waiting for Israel to repent (v.15) and representing Israel as seeing at last that he is the cause of the sickness, which he alone can cure². The trouble now is that Israel expects Yahweh's grace to come at the asking, as automatically as the spring rains (6:3), a belief which is ironically denied by Yahweh's answer, in similar meteorological imagery, that Israel's love and loyalty are as ephemeral as dew and morning mist. The section ends with the emphatic statement ^{that} ~~the~~ true repentance consists in 'steadfast love' and knowledge of God rather than cultic acts in themselves (6:6).

In general, then, the progress of thought is clear. Clearly also, the three sections belong together, as each develops both the thought and imagery of its predecessor. This can be represented diagrammatically thus:

1. G.R. Driver, Difficult Words, p. 66f.
2. The Hebrew of 6:1a = "it is he (emphatic) who has (both) torn and will/can cure us". 6:1-3 is presented as Yahweh's version of what Israel will say, and implies that the repentance is not genuine (see 6:4).

<u>Passage</u>	<u>Thought</u>	<u>Imagery</u>
5: 8-12	The present distress (invasion) has been brought about by Yahweh (v.13) because of Ephraim's sin (v.11)	<u>SICKNESS</u> - Yahweh is like a creeping gangrenous sore to Israel.
5:13-14.	Ephraim recognises his trouble, but not as a summons to repentance: neither sees Yahweh as its cause nor asks him to effect a cure.	<u>SICKNESS</u> - going to Assyria for healing. <u>LION</u> - Yahweh will rend with none to rescue
5:15 - 6:6.	Yahweh expects Israel to see that he is the cause of the trouble and able to cure it, and that Israel will therefore repent; but Israel's actions show that he does not understand the meaning of repentance.	<u>SICKNESS & LION</u> : Yahweh has <u>torn</u> and will <u>heal/</u> <u>bind</u> . <u>METEOROLOGICAL</u> : Israel sees Yahweh's grace as like showers and rain. Yahweh sees Israel's loyalty as like dew and mist.

The close connection does not mean that the three sections were delivered all at once. A short interval seems likely between the first and second, as the first seems to speak during an invasion from the south, while the second is from the standpoint of a later time, when the danger has receded, after Ephraim has dealt with the matter by going to Assyria. The relation between the second and third sections is more difficult to determine, as will be seen in a moment.

Turning to vv.13-14, it can be seen that v.13 takes up the image of v.12 and gives the simile a precise application, for the context of military invasion makes it clear that the major reference of the simile is not to general political malaise but to the devastation wrought by the invaders¹. The prophet has said that it is Yahweh who is the cause of the nations's sickness (v.12), and now adds that because this is so it is no use going to Assyria for help².

To emphasise the point Yahweh is now compared, not to the slow progress of a disease, but to the sudden, fierce, onslaught of a lion, an image drawn

1. c.f., Isaiah 1:5ff and Jer. 30:12ff.

2. v.13b. - 'he cannot heal' (emphatic).

directly from life¹. As an image of savage attack-from-without, it focusses attention on Assyria as the instrument of Yahweh's judgement. Wolff points out that the imperfect in v.14b designates the attack as future, in contrast to v.12, which concentrates attention on Yahweh's present and continuing out-working of his purpose, and that the future reference of the lion simile corresponds to the direct literal threat v.9a, the impending desolation of Ephraim. One thinks automatically, he says, of the continued laceration and rending of Israel up to the conquest of Samaria by Assyria and her incorporation into the Assyrian provincial system².

The imagery is functionally similar to material already analysed in Amos. It claims that the coming attack and destruction is Yahweh's judgement, and invites the hearer to see this attack and judgement in terms of the merciless onslaught of a lion, with Israel, and therefore himself as an Israelite, as the prey who has no chance of escape. It suggests to him the appropriate emotional response: the fear of a man so waylaid by a lion. The aim of the image is to induce repentance.

A problem arises here. Taken by itself, v.14 has a note of finality. The lion's attack cannot be resisted, and there will be no rescue for the prey. It is not limited punishment, but final and ineluctable judgement, that is depicted. The following section, however, describes the people's repentance and appeal to Yahweh to bind up the wounds he has made. This section is not a separate passage

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(1932)
1. c.f.13:7f., Amos 3:4,8, 5:19, Jer.5:6. May derives the image from the fertility cult (AJSL ~~1932~~, p.74f), specifically from myths of the death and resurrection of the god. This is itself questionable (see n 2, p 166 below) and he can only trace 5:14 back to this milieu by the arbitrary procedure of linking it to slaying of Adonis by a wild boar and supposing that the lion has been substituted due to the Palestinian environment. This is unconvincing, as no evidence is available to show why this particular substitution should have taken place.
 2. Wolff (BK) makes out a good case for supposing Assyria's 'healing' to be the cessation (after Hoshea's tribute) of her inroads into the northern and western provinces of Israel.

added by chance, for the emphatic כִּי הוּא שָׂרָף וְרָפָנוּ deliberately recapitulates the preceding section¹. It is tempting to turn to 6:2 and interpret it as meaning resurrection after death, which would fit both the finality of 5:14 and the repentance of 6:1. This is not possible, however, because 6:2 is best interpreted, in line with 6:1, as describing healing from sickness². The problem is complicated by the uncertainties attached to 5:15, which can be interpreted either as a deliberate continuation of the lion image in v.14 or as a new departure³. On the former interpretation, 5:15 explicitly qualifies the lion image of v.14 and deprives it of its finality. On the latter interpretation, the connection between the sections is looser, and the lion image is either implicitly qualified by the latter, or presented in all its finality because the repentance is expected to be shallow, or is an indication of what will happen if true repentance is not forthcoming. No certain interpretation is possible.

The imagery of vv.13-14, can, however, be described with the terms that have been worked out. The explicit comparison of the simile shows that the metaphor is figurative, as is also, for the same reason, the sickness metaphor of v.13 following the simile in v.12.

B. HOSEA 7:11-12

The verses may be taken in isolation, though v.13 may continue the threat at the end of v.12⁴. The last phrase of v.12 cannot be given a firm interpretation

1. 'it is he who has torn (c.f., v.14 שָׂרָף) and (therefore?) he will heal us! (c.f., v.12-13).
2. With Wolff (BK) and Deissler (LSB). The verb הִנֵּחַ in Piel almost always means 'revive' in the sense of restoration from sickness or strengthening of life (LVTL). With 6:2 c.f. Pss. 6:6(5), 30:10(9), 88:11 (Wolff) and Pss. 30:4(3), 71:20, 85:7(6) (Deissler).
3. On the former interpretation, פְּקוּדָה is read as 'den' ≠ Jer.4:7, and שָׂפָר emended to שָׂפָרָה with LXX. On the latter interpretation the MT is accepted and פְּקוּדָה read with its more usual meaning, 'dwelling place' (c.f. Mic.1:3, Isaiah 26:21, 1Kings8:30=2 Chron.6:21).
4. v.13, דָּוָה may cont. the dove image (c.f. Ps.55:8(7), Prov.27:8, Is.16:2f. Jer.4:25, 9:9(10)) but this is not certain.

though Nyberg's suggestion, "I will capture them when I hear the noise of their wings", is attractive¹. The remainder of the passage is however clear.

Verse 11 begins with an explicit comparison. Ephraim is (has become) like a dove, silly and without sense. The foolishness of the dove was proverbial, because of its tendency to fly to and fro without purpose or even, in panic, to fly from one danger to another. Clearly the verse refers to the oscillation between Egypt and Assyria which characterised the last years of the northern kingdom (v.11b), and Ephraim is as silly as a dove because of his vacillating foreign policy. The emotive intention of the simile is self-evident.

In v.12 the dove image is extended by a metaphor switching attention from its silliness to its flight. Yahweh is the fowler spreading his net, 'as/when they go'; it is in and by their pursuit of such policies that he will trap them. In v.12b the comparison again becomes explicit: like birds of the air Yahweh will bring them down, an image either of missiles thrown at flying birds or bait laid out to attract them.

The metaphor in v.12 is undoubtedly figurative, on the criterion of explicit comparison, since it both follows and precedes a simile on the same image. In v.12b the phrase, 'I will bring them down', continues the metaphor, but the following, 'like birds of the air', shows that the comparison between Yahweh and the bird-catcher, like that between Israel and the dove, is a conscious one. The

כַּאֲשֶׁר יִלְכֹךְ of v.12 suggests that it is in and by means of the various intrigues mentioned in v.11 that Yahweh will bring about Israel's downfall - that is, by foreign invasion and conquest.

1. H.S.Nyberg, Studien zum Hosenbuche, Uppsala, 1935, p.56f, reading אֲרֵי as an old imperf. of אָרַם = אָרַם, and עֲרֵה as 'swarm' (so also Deissler LSB). On this interpretation the line continues the birdcatching imagery. On other interpretations it still describes Yahweh's threat to punish Israel (see Brown, WC, and Mauchline, IB).

C. HOSEA 8:7

The verse is probably a separate oracle from vv.8-10, though part of the same tradition complex¹. The first line draws on a common proverbial idea², the relation between sowing and reaping, which is used elsewhere to stress both the causal relation between the two actions - one reaps the kind of plant whose seed is sown³ - and the idea of growth⁴. Both ideas are present here, especially the latter: the sower of wind (as moving air) reaps the same phenomenon full-grown as a hurricane. In the first line, the main attention is concentrated on the image of the wind becoming a whirlwind. The effect of this image depends on the double meaning of מִן , as both 'breeze' and 'emptiness, vanity' (with a pejorative tone)⁵. The fact that winds do not inevitably develop into hurricanes nor foolish conduct always bring destruction and disaster indicates that the image is not parabolic⁶ but is making the triple assertion:

- this course you are following is foolish and sterile(wind);
- disaster and destruction will follow(whirlwind);
- there will be a causal and growth relation between the first and the second(sowing and reaping).

The immediately preceding context is occupied with the iniquities of idolatry, but also contains a threat of destruction by the military action of an enemy, as do the following lines⁷. The word סוּפָה itself suggests this⁸.

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1. Wolff, BK. Verse 8 was probably added because עָלָה acted as a catch-word (c.f. עָלָה inv.7), v.7 has a fem.noun followed by a masc. suffix and verb forms, which may have been inserted to show that Israel was intended.
 2. Jacob, CAT, suggests Hosea is quoting a proverb.
 3. c.f., Job 4:8.
 4. c.f., Prov. 22:8.
 5. For the latter meaning see Job 6:26, 8:2?, 15:2, Prov.11:29, Eccles.5:15(16), Isaiah 26:18; 41:29, Jer.5:13, Hos.12:2(1).
 6. c.f., Amos 3:1ff, where each of the images in the series depicts a causal relation.
 7. vv.3,5, and the last line of v.13.
 8. For סוּפָה used of an attacking army, see above, pp.137, On Amos 1:14.

The first line is therefore best interpreted as referring to particular policies followed by Israel - idolatry or foreign policy or one as entailing the other - which will bring down Yahweh's judgement in the devastation wrought by the enemy.

This interpretation is confirmed by the following two lines. In the second line the image of sowing and reaping is taken up and developed, together with the idea that what is sown is worthless. The causal relation is now dominant - the worthless seed of the first line springs up as earless corn which cannot produce flour. A sterile policy will have sterile results. The third line adds that if any food is forthcoming from such corn it will be eaten by foreigners, and so reiterates the assertion that the policy alluded to will bring disaster.

On the criteria of impossible literality (the impossibility of literally sowing wind, etc.,) and of originality, the first line is a figurative description of Israel's policy and its anticipated results, using the image of sowing and reaping. The following lines are more difficult. The content of the second, the way it restates the theme of emptiness, makes it clear that the reference is not ^{to} ~~be~~ the literal harvest but to the actions alluded to figuratively in the first line. Thus, the sowing-reaping image here has a figurative meaning. The third line is interpreted by some commentators to mean that Israel is in such an exposed position geographically that any wealth she produces will be taken by her more powerful neighbours. Deissler (LSB), however, seems to regard it as literal, though he admits that the exact meaning is unclear. Since ^{571x} continues the thought of the previous, figurative, line, a purely literal meaning is unlikely. A more probable interpretation is that the line has a double meaning. It carries over the figurative reference to Israelite policies resulting in disaster through enemy action by using the image of something that invading armies would literally do - eat the food supply.

The imagery of the verse is of notable sophistication and complexity.

In the first line the figurative wind-whirlwind image uses the image of sowing and reaping to assert a causal and especially a growth relation between sterile policies and sterile and calamitous results. In the second line the wind-whirlwind image is dropped, but the theme of sterility which it supplied is taken up in terms of the sowing-reaping image alone, which is clearly figurative, with emphasis on the causal relation: sterility begets sterility. The third line continues the same image but switches attention back to the growth relation: sterility begets calamity.

D. HOSEA 13:3

Despite uncertainties of detail¹ the context, 13:1f, shows that the verse is a threat against either the worshippers of Baal or the idols themselves. Bearing in mind the use of v.3a in 6:4, where the reference is to Ephraim, the frequent application to men of the image of chaff driven by the wind², and the fact that it is the devotees of the cult that are chiefly in view in verses 1-2, it may be assumed that the imagery in question refers to the worshippers. Verse 3a is verbally equivalent to 6:4cd, but this is no reason for deleting either reference since in both the image is essential to the train of thought. In 6:4 it supplies an ironic antithesis to the imagery Israel uses to describe Yahweh's forgiveness³, while in the present context, with a different application, it forms a series of four comparisons on a single theme.

The verse is, then, a series of four similes, stating that the Baal-worshippers will become like the morning cloud (night vapour brought inland by

1. e.g., whether v.2 refers to human sacrifice or not.

2. for these two points see Deissler(LSB)who cites,for the 2nd,Is.29:5,Zeph.2:2 (emended text),Ps.35:5. Brown(WC)also cites Is.17:13,Ps.1:4,c.f.Is.41:15.

3. See above, py 163.

summer westerlies from the Mediterranean)¹, dew which disappears as the sun rises, chaff borne away² from the threshing floor (usually on an eminence exposed to the wind)³, and smoke rapidly dissolved into invisibility as it finds its way out of the hole in the roof that served as a chimney⁴. The point of the comparison is a complex one: - rapid departure, which is also total (the substances vanish as if they had never been), the physical insignificance of the material (dew, mist, chaff, smoke), and its worthlessness in terms of value. The first is stated, the other^s ~~are~~ implied. There is the further implication that Yahweh will be the cause of the departure, for the dew and mist depart because the sun rises, while the chaff and smoke are swept away by the wind. The comparisons themselves are not startlingly new, as similar imagery is found elsewhere⁵. It is their particular grouping which gives a total effect of vividness and originality.

The prophet's aim, here as elsewhere, is persuasive. The hearer is invited to see the men referred to in terms of the similes. To do so would be to accept the stated and implied references to their departure, and the pejorative attitudes conveyed by the choice of materials.

1. Brown (WC) citing Cheyne.
2. $\gamma \nu \delta$ is either Po'el (MT, Harper (ICC), Deissler (LSB)), or Po'al (c.f., AV 'is driven'), intransitive if the former (so prob. RSV, 'Swirls').
3. Mauchline (IB).
4. $\gamma \nu \delta$ is understood in the second half of the line.
5. For v.3a, c.f., Isaiah 44:22, Job 7:9. c.f. Ps. 135:4. For v.3b see note 2 p 170 above and c.f. Ps. 68:3(2).

E. HOSEA 13:7-8

Though the verses present problems of text and interpretation, v.8¹ and probably v.7² refer to Yahweh's future action. Since v.8a offers the only certain text, interpretation must restrict itself to this couplet, although on any interpretation v.7 presents two similes of Yahweh's action drawn from animal life. Verse 8a presents a simile followed by a metaphor. The image of the she-bear robbed of her cubs, symbolising anger of the most extreme and savage kind, is proverbial³, but Hosea heightens its vividness by adding the detail of the bear's mode of attack⁴. This addition to the proverbial image shows that the prophet has complete destruction in mind⁵. He also aims at an exchange of feeling-content, for the listener is invited to look on Yahweh's coming destruction in terms of ^{the} deadly and terrifying attack of an enraged female bear. The following lines⁶ all speak of the coming destruction as inevitable, the result of the people's continued and wilful disobedience⁷. The image, of attack from without, also suggests that enemy action is once more in mind. The high development of the metaphor shows that it is not formal, and its juxtaposition with the simile shows that it is figurative, on the criterion of explicit comparison.

1. The imperfects in 8ab. are most naturally interpreted as future. Deissler (LSB) and T.H. Robinson (HAT) see the passage as referring to the past and as describing literal attacks on columns of deportees in 733 (rdg. לִשְׁרֹף in v.7 with LXX). The similes however show that literal attacks are not in question. It is better, with Harper (ICC), Brown (WC), Mauchline (IB), and Wolff (BK) to refer v.8 at least to the future, esp. as it describes total destruction (see below n 5). In v.8cd the //sm requires either a reference to Yahweh's action or to that of wild beasts; i.e., either $\text{אֲבָקָה הַשָּׂרָה כְּחַיֹּת}$ (RSV) in 8d with MT in 8c, or MT 8d with שֶׁם כְּלָבִים (BH, Deissler (LSB), Wolff (BK), Mauchline (IB) and others.).
2. The //sm of the couplet requires that one follow LXX either by rdg. וְאֵתְּהִי (LXX καὶ ἐβόησαν) or לִשְׁרֹף . The former is more likely (against Wolff (BK)).
3. c.f., 2 Sam. 17:8, Prov. 17:12, 28:15.
4. Verse 8b., c.f., Dan. 7:5.
5. Wolff (BK) c.f. v.9a. (BK)
6. vv. 9-14:1 (9-16).
7. vv. 1-6, 14:1 (13:16).

F. HOSEA 13:15 - 14:1 (13:15-16)

Despite textual difficulties the general theme is clear: the East wind drying up plants (v.15) stands for the advancing armies of Assyria 14:1. The image is appropriate, since the Sirocco was violent and scorching¹, and emanated from the appropriate geographical direction. It is 'Yahweh's wind', fulfilling his purpose². Since the association of 'East wind' with Assyria is by no means a conventional one, the image being too developed to be formal, and since the context makes it clear that it was not interpreted literally, it is therefore either figurative or synthetic.

G. HOSEA 2:4-25 (EVV 2:2-23) IN ITS CONTEXT

G/1. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Before discussing the passage, the question of Hosea's marriage will be examined, in order to state and where necessary defend the basic assumptions on which exegesis is conducted. The passage will then be discussed in two sections, vv.4-15 and vv.16-25. For convenience, the Hebrew verse numbering only will be used. The basic assumptions are four in number:

- (1) In the first three chapters, 1:2-6,8, 3:1-4, and 2:4-15 are authentic, going back to Hosea either autobiographically (3:1-4), by collection of his oracles (2:4-15) or by biographical narrative ^{ce} compiled by disciples (1:2-6,8). This assumption need not be defended as most recent commentators accept it.
- (2) Hosea the prophet married a woman who later became unfaithful.
 - (a) It is a real marriage, not an allegory, that is depicted in the passages cited above. It is difficult to find an allegorical meaning for "Gomer bath-Diblaim"

1. Jonah 4:8, Isaiah 27:8, c.f., Hosea 12:1.

2. Harper (ICC) suggests the expression may also denote intensity.

and a story made up by the prophet, unrelated to his own actions or experience, would have little persuasive power and hence no raison d'etre.¹

(b) Gomer became unfaithful after some years of marriage, though the details of this are not available². May's view, that there never was a marriage, adultery, or reclamation, is untenable³. On this view, Hosea was told, not to marry, but to have a perfectly proper relationship with a cult prostitute. The children, given symbolic names, were to be regarded in the same way as those brought up under the aegis of the sanctuary⁴. May's view must be rejected for three reasons. Firstly, it entails deleting all chapter three as secondary, whereas the autobiographical form of 3:1-4 and the details of the price paid in v.2⁵ show that these verses are authentic. May's theory also does scant justice to such passages as 4:11-14 and 9:1, which suggest that Hosea rejected cult prostitutes as such⁶. Finally, it is impossible to obtain a coherent symbolism from the theory. Even assuming that cult prostitutes were acceptable to Hosea's Yahwism, it is difficult to see how recourse to one of them could symbolise Israel forsaking Yahweh⁷.

(c) Hosea was a prophet when he married. He did not become a prophet as the result of his marital experience. On any explanation of 1:2, the symbolic name

1. See, in more detail, Rowley, TMH, p.217, Gordis (HUCA 24,1954 p.10), Mauchline (IB Vol.6p.560) and Jacob (CAT p.19).
2. The denunciation of the Baals in chap.2 would suggest that it was by partaking in the fertility cult; 3:1 may mean a more permanent liaison.
3. For this see AJSL 48,1932,pp.73-98 and JBL 55,1936,pp.285-291.
4. JBL 55, p.285.
5. The suggestion that this stands for the purchase price paid for a slave leaves the interpreter with the difficulty of explaining why, if 30 shekels was intended, it was not clearly stated (Rowley, TMH, p.219). 3:5 is probably late, but v.4 is prob. authentic: that Israel was to be deprived of the objects named for 'many days' shows that they were thought of as legitimate objects removed for disciplinary purposes, and the reference to 'pillar', 'ephod' and 'teraphim' suggests the v. is from Hosea's time.
6. Rowley, TMH, p. 212.
7. This also counts against Gordis HUCA 24,1954,p.14, who suggests that Hosea married an ordinary Israelite woman, 'a woman of harlotries' because she was involved in the sin of the whole nation - for this could only symbolise Yahweh's love for Israel, not the judgement pronounced in chap.1. For further difficulties see Rowley, TMH, p. 210.

'Jezreel' given at the birth of his first child shows that he was already a prophet then, and so probably earlier¹.

(3) Hosea later reclaimed his adulterous wife

Despite various uncertainties of interpretation, the reclamation theory of 3:1-4 makes best sense of the material:

(a) Although the meaning of ךָ יָדָו in 3:1 is uncertain², the actions described in chapter 3 only makes sense if there is one woman, symbolising Israel³, Hosea's rightful wife, who returns to him. Unless this is so it is difficult to see how the discipline mentioned in v.3 can symbolise Israel's return to Yahweh⁴.

(b) Gordis' view⁵, that chapters 1 and 3 are Hosea's interpretations of the same event, marriage-discipline-children-adultery, does not fit the evidence either. As Rowley points out, it is as hard to see how Hosea could discipline his wife at the start and not interpret the event till years later⁶ as it is to understand how he could use this discipline as a symbol of Yahweh's disciplining repentant Israel when it would be obvious to all that the discipline in Hosea's case had been unsuccessful⁷. This is to stand the symbolism on its head.

(4) The whole process was not a symbolic act, but an interpretation of the prophet's own experience. That Hosea should have taken a wife whom he knew to be an adulteress, had children by her, denounced her as unfaithful, driven her out, and then reclaimed her, - all as a preconceived plan to show Yahweh's attitude to Israel, is unlikely because in Israel's case a situation of trust obtains at the

1. Gordis, HUCA 24, 1954, p.11.

2. Gordis, op.cit. p.29. Rowley, TMH, p.206.

3. And therefore not two marriages (Rowley, TMH, p.219, and Jacob, CAT, pp.34-37).

4. Rowley, TMH p.207; Jacob, CAT, ibid.

5. op.cit., p.30.

6. Rowley, TMH p.223.

7. ibid., p.224.

beginning¹, and because unless a situation of trust had obtained, Hosea's anger would not be justified, and so could not symbolise Yahweh's justifiable anger with Israel².

G/2. HOSEA 2:4-15 (2-13)³

The verses are generally accepted as authentic. The passage contains a picture of an angry husband denouncing his unfaithful wife, which in the later verses⁴ is explicitly applied to Israel. The problem is to decide what has happened, and how the language of the passage is to be described.

One explanation is that offered by Cheyne, who seems to suggest that in 2:4-15 Hosea uses the material of his experience to construct a figurative (Cheyne: 'pure') allegory. Whereas in chapter 1 the husband, wife, and children are both real and allegorical⁵, in chapter two, "they are obviously pure allegories". In other words, in chapter two, Hosea and Gomer are not in view at all, but what happened between them has been used consciously ('pure allegory') to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel. There are several difficulties in this view.

Firstly, 2:4-15 can hardly be said to be an allegory. Unlike, e.g., Ezekiel 16:1-43, it is not a connected narrative designed to act as a vehicle for events in the salvation history of Israel, but a series of separate utterances.

1. Gordis, op.cit. p.13.
2. ibid p.14. But Jacob has recently made a good case, on rather different lines, for the 'symbolic act' theory (CAT pp.20-23). In general, Rowley's careful reasoning and analysis commend acceptance. His only weak point is his rejection of the proleptic theory for 1:2 (TMH p.211), on the grounds that it would be inconceivable for Hosea, looking back on his marriage after Gomer's adultery to think that Yahweh had foreseen, even ordained, this. Yet this is no less conceivable than his conviction that Yahweh was commanding him to buy her back.
3. Text: in v.8 rd. הָיָה לְיָהוָה with LXX c.f. Syr. (BH, Deissler (LSB)) and because of parallelism with 8b. In 9b. rd. $\text{אֲנִי וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ with LXX, Syr. In v.14 rd. prps. וְיִשְׂרָאֵל for וְיִשְׂרָאֵל
4. 2:10-15(8-13).
5. He means that they are individuals who also symbolise the relation between Yahweh and Israel.

The children, for example, are first addressed directly and told to plead with their mother¹, but are later spoken of in the third person and said to be not pitied because they are children of harlotry². The lack of logical progression combined with the presence of a common theme shows that the passage consists of different oracles woven together, a series of allegorical expressions³.

Secondly, it is difficult to see what Cheyne means by his insistence that Hosea, Gomer and the children are not in view at all in this chapter, for on his own theory the imagery is drawn from Hosea's experience. Moreover the verses concerning the mother and children certainly echo, and could in fact literally be applied to, the circumstances implied by chapter one⁴.

Finally, it may be objected that evidence for figurativeness - conscious use of the imagery - is lacking, especially in the earlier verses of the passage, where it is often unclear whether Hosea and Gomer only, Yahweh and Israel only, or both at once, are in mind. Only a decision in favour of the second possibility, plus evidence of figurativeness (for example explicit comparison) would allow one to call these verses figurative⁵. Cheyne's theory is therefore inadequate.

Another explanation is that material from an account of Hosea's dismissal of his wife has been mingled with material referring only to Israel. Mauchline, following Sellin and Beyer, takes this view, and accordingly excises vv.4b⁶ and 6-7a, while Beyer⁷ also takes out v.12.

Two comments may be made on this theory. Firstly, it is difficult to apply with certainty. Its hypothesis of a narrative originally referring only to

1. v.4.(2).
2. v.6(4).
3. For details see Deissler (LSB), Wolff(BK). On allegory and allegorical expression see above, chapter 3, p/ 58.
4. See below, pp 178f.
5. See below, p 182f.
6. 'for she is not my wife.....her husband'.
7. AJSL 22 p.126f.

Hosea's wife, apparently with no additional symbolic reference to Israel, is plausible, for the verses suggested can readily be viewed in this light. But so can others, such as 4ac, 5ab, 5cde¹, 9, and possibly 7bc². Secondly, acceptance of such a theory would not justify dismemberment of the passage. Assuming that Hosea originally composed a narrative referring only to his dismissal of Gomer, it can only have been included in the passage by a person or persons who saw that it could also be applied to Israel. Furthermore, whether or not Hosea was that person, he could only have kept such an original narrative, and used it in his preaching because he saw, or came to see, this particular secondary significance in it. This may be stated, firstly, because there is no other reason why a previous narrative about his personal life should have been kept, used, and handed down; secondly, because Hosea imputes a similar symbolic significance to his actions in marrying and reclaiming his wife; and finally, because the imagery in the verses that could have formed such a Gomer-narrative is taken up in those verses that apply explicitly to Israel. Thus, the theme of stripping the wife naked in vv.5,12 is found also in vv.11, 13-15, with reference to the natural products of Palestine which were "to cover her nakedness" (v.11), and which, with feasts of the Baals, are now to be stripped off (vv.13-15). Similarly, the 'lovers' in v.9, which could refer to Gomer's lovers or to male prostitutes to which she resorted, are also explicitly referred to the Baals to which Israel resorts (v.15). The ethnan idea is probably also used in this double sense³.

1. It is not true that the second half of v.5. can only refer to Israel the land (T.H.Robinson, HAT), for the references to wilderness and desert are similes, describing in conscious comparative terms the nakedness mentioned in the first half of the verse. Though a reference to Israel the land is probable as the v. now stands, it could conceivably have referred to Gomer alone at an earlier stage of the hypothetical Gomer-narrative.
2. If the bread, water, wool, flax etc., were commodities that could have made up the ethnan of a prostitute, the verse could have applied literally to Gomer.
3. In vv. 7, 10. See n 2, p above.

Thus, the theory of an original Gomer-narrative is difficult to apply with certainty, and does not justify dismemberment of the passage. The passage must be taken as it stands, and examined as a whole.

It begins, v.4, with a call to the children to 'plead' with their mother. This suggests that the image is of a judicial action brought by the husband¹. Verse 4b is excluded by Mauchline (IB) and placed in the hypothetical Gomer-narrative on the grounds that it is a formula of dismissal while 5a is only a threat². The apparent inconsistency is easily explicable, however, by reference to the Semitic use of contrasting absolute statements as qualifiers³. The wife and mother is entreated to remove her harlot's ornaments⁴, lest she be divorced and humiliated (2:5). In its present state, applied to Israel, v. 5 aims at a transfer of feeling-content. The punishment of stripping the divorced wife, attested in Ancient Near Eastern parallels⁵, focusses attention on the woman's guilt, the humiliation of nakedness, especially degrading to the Hebrew, and the irrevocable loss of status and security. It invites the hearer to see and react emotionally to Israel in these terms. Similar considerations apply to the designation of vines and figs as 'ethnan' in v.14. To see them in this light would alter one's attitude to a baalised cult. The similes in v.5b, which could conceivably have functioned as simple comparisons in a hypothetical Gomer-narrative, have the function in the passage as it now stands of hinting at and prefiguring the threatened devastation of the land in vv.11-15⁶. Verse 6 could also have

1. Deissler(LSB), Wolff (BK).

2. So also Harper (ICC). Robinson (HAT) omits 'for I am not her husband'.

3. G.B. Caird, *Expt*, 74, 1962, pp.82ff. 4. Mauchline(IB), Ackroyd(Pke) and others.

5. See the literature cited by Mauchline (IB).

6. Wolff(BK) traces the mother-child imagery in these vv. to Canaanite mythical themes of the land as mother and the people as sons from her marriage to the sky-god. Such ideas may be influential here but clearly Hosea's own experience is the dominant factor. See above, pp 173-6 and below, pp 181-3.

formed part of a Gomer-narrative, since the $\Delta \Pi \Gamma \chi \chi \zeta$ of 6a echoes the symbolic name, $\Pi \Phi \Pi \Gamma \chi \zeta$ of 1:6. Verse 7b, which on Mauchline's theory follows v.5¹, is entirely appropriate in its present place, explaining that the mother has acted shamefully because ($\sim \supset$) she has gone after her lovers. Indeed, it has more point here than after v.5. The reference to the children in the third person after the second person address of v.4 is odd, but not inexplicable in terms either of Hosea and Gomer² or Yahweh and Israel³.

Verse 8 describes the erring woman prevented from finding her lovers. Robinson (HAT) suggests that the image is of a domestic animal trying to run wild and being prevented by the farmer's makeshift hedges and dry stone walls. He regards the verse as redactional, probably because he sees the image as fully visualised⁴, and so out of place in its context. Brown (WC) points out, however, that similar imagery is used elsewhere of men⁵. His references are in contexts where various disparate images are piled up without receiving detailed development. The image therefore seems to be a not uncommon one for frustration and is probably to be regarded as more formal than figurative⁶. Thus, despite its oddity, there are insufficient grounds for excising it, particularly as v.9 expands the theme of frustration in literal terms.

1. He omits vv.6-7a as part of the 'Gomer-narrative' (IB).
2. On the tenets of corporate personality the child would participate in the mother's sin; in any case the reference may be to the last two children as not being Hosea's.
3. Where no distinction would be made between Israel as 'mother' being punished, and as 'children' not being punished.
4. On this term see above, p. 73, on imagery. 5. Job 3:23, 19:8, Lam. 3:7, 9.
6. c.f. Mauchline, IB. It is not unequivocally clear that a domestic animal is in mind, either in Hos. 2:6 or in the other contexts cited (previous note).

Verse 9, too, could be read as referring only to Hosea's wife¹. Verse 10 however continues the imagery but uses it exclusively about Israel. This is evident from the first line, since ignorance of the source of her food supply, either as ethnan (prostitute's income) or husbandly provision, could not be imputed to Gomer but applies pointedly to Israel's baalised cult. The last line makes the reference to Baal explicit². Verses 11-12 form a unit, v.12 following the 'to cover her nakedness' of the previous line. These verses use the same imagery as the preceding but with exclusive reference to Israel. The same is the case with vv.13-15. These should be taken together with 11-12, since ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~former~~ explain and expand its 'stripping naked' imagery, describing the punishment (cessation of the festivals and devastation of the land) in an illustrative literal way. The devastation is not explicitly connected with the devastation due to invasion of which Hosea speaks elsewhere, though v.14 is consonant with it. The imagery of the adulterous wife is used in three ways: the stripping image expanded by literal statement, Israel's designation of the vines and figs as her ethnah³ given by the baals, and the picture of the woman decking herself with festal jewellery and going after her lovers. Since this last is stated as happening on feast days for the baals it probably refers to fertility cult practices.

The problem of description may now be looked at again. Examination of the passage has confirmed the previous comment that dismemberment is impossible because the precise limits of such a 'Gomer-narrative' cannot be traced with

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1. $\text{וַיִּשְׁאַרְרֵהוּ שׁוֹאֵן}$, referring to Hosea, does not necessarily mean that the woman had remarried, as שׁוֹאֵן can be translated simply as 'man'.
 2. $\text{וַיִּשְׁאַרְרֵהוּ שׁוֹאֵן}$ leads BH, Harper (ICC) and Deissler (LSB) to delete the entire couplet as a gloss but this is not justified in view of the וַיִּשְׁאַרְרֵהוּ of the first half and the need for the second half with the first on grounds of parallelism. $\text{וַיִּשְׁאַרְרֵהוּ שׁוֹאֵן}$ may be the prophet's temporary aberration or an equally explicable scribal error.

3 See n. 3, p. 176.

certainty. Moreover, in its present form the whole passage is intended to apply to the relation between Yahweh and Israel. On the other hand, the references to the mother and children in the opening verses apply exactly to the circumstances of Hosea's marriage set out in Hosea 1¹. With this in mind the best explanation of the relation between Hosea's marriage and the imagery of the passage is that Hosea has taken the language and emotions appropriate to his attitude to Gomer, who had broken her marriage vow, and has applied them to Yahweh's attitude to Israel, whom he believed to have broken her covenant vows. The expression of Israel's 'adultery' through sexual rites in the baalised cult², and contemporary themes of the land as mother and the people as her children³, which are probably to be assumed, would have facilitated the bringing together of the two frames of reference - namely Hosea: Gomer (a husband and his unfaithful wife) and Yahweh: Israel - and the perception of the latter in terms of the former. Though facilitated by current factors and ideas, this was a bisociation which had not previously occurred. Taken with its originality, the extended and varied development of the imagery shows that it has not become formal. The passage is a connected group of metaphors on a common image and the description of Israel in terms of an adulterous wife is (with two possible and minor exceptions⁴) consistent throughout. There is no evidence that the two situations are being consciously compared, ^{and} the points of contact between the two situations (husband: wife and Yahweh: Israel) are so numerous that most of the opening verses exactly fit either situation - hence the theory of an original Gomer narrative⁵. The

1. c.f., the relation between 2:6 and 1:6, see above, p 179f.

2. ~~May (as cited above, p)~~ Mauchline (IB), Deissler (LSB). 3. See above n 6 p 179

4. v.8 and the last line of v.10, see above, pp 180 and 181 respectively.

5. above, pp 177ff. vv.4-9 can be applied to Hosea:Gomer as well as to Yahweh: Israel, with varying degrees of probability; vv.4, 6-7a, 8-9 certainly, v.5 possibly, and with slight uncertainty v.7. Bewer also adds v12 (see above, pp 177).

remaining verses, 2:10-15, take the imagery of the vehicle situation and emphasise its precise application to the tenor situation, as for example in the application to the land of the stripping image (vv.11-15), previously clear enough (v.5), but here drawn out in detail. Even here there is no indication that the juxtaposition is being made in a conscious way. The evidence suggests that the tenor situation, Yahweh:Israel, is being seen entirely in terms of the vehicle situation, husband: wife (i.e. Hosea:Gomer), and the high correspondence between the two situations suggests that they are not being brought together in a more or less conscious manner but seen as one. The language is therefore synthetic.

The emotive and persuasive intention of the imagery is self-evident. Once again, the prophet aims at an exchange of feeling-content, trying to redirect towards Israel the intense feelings that his hearers might be expected to have regarding both adultery and the shame and degradation of an adulterous woman caught and punished. The metaphor of Israel as an unfaithful wife has the widest possibilities of extension and articulation¹, and its coinage was undoubtedly an important step in the nation's self-understanding², since it suggested or alluded to a variety of significant themes: the husband's love, the rightness of his anger and justice of his punishment, the baals as being essentially different from Yahweh who alone is the true husband, the compulsive attraction of Israel to her lovers, the historicisation of mythical ideas of divine marriage, the covenant-relation seen as a marriage with an initial relationship of trust, Israel as responsive to Yahweh and subordinate to him, and Yahweh the husband as provider of Israel's food and land.

1. On this see the discussion of metaphor, above, pp 34-9.

2. ~~On this see similarly, above, pp _____.~~

6/3. HOSEA 2:16-25(14-23)

The passage requires but brief comment¹. In view of the acceptance of 3:1-4 as describing Hosea's reclamation of his wife, much of it may be regarded as authentic, though the frequent changes of person suggest that it consists of short sections with less thematic unity than the preceding section. The reclamation spoken of here is clearly envisaged as following the punishment spoken of previously. The husband:wife imagery is continued in v.16, which speaks² of Yahweh 'wooing' Israel² and leading her back to the wilderness³. Though this is clearly thought of as a recapitulation of the Exodus tradition⁴ it is unclear whether the sojourn in the wilderness is intended literally or not. Verse 17 might supply information but the first line is unfortunately uncertain⁵. The husband:wife imagery is continued in v.18, with a change to second person address to Israel. The verse suggests that 'ש'ח and 'ש'ח and 'ש'ח could both mean 'husband' in ordinary usage⁶, so that in the vehicle situation the phrase represents a simple word-substitution - 'my man' for 'my master' - while on the level of the tenor situation the word 'baal' carries its full religious meaning and refers to the de-baalisation of the cult. That 'ש'ח was often substituted for 'baal' in proper names by later scribes⁷ is evidence that v.19 was acted upon with literal exactitude.

Verses 20-25 reverse the threats of devastation of the land contained in 2:11ff. and the description of corruption pervading the natural order in 4:3.

1. The text of v.17a is unclear (see Harper (ICC), Mauchline (IB), Wolff (BK) etc;), in v.18a rd. prob. ש'ח and ש'ח both times; in v.25 rd. as BH, RSV.
2. The verb ש'ח in Pi'el is frequently used with sexual connotations (Mauchline (IB), Ackroyd (Pke), Brown (WC), BDB, Deissler (LSB)).
3. LXX reads differently, prob. ≠ 2:5. 4. c.f. 1/7b - Egypt.
5. Mauchline (IB) is undecided. Deissler (LSB) inclines (p.29) to a literal interpretation.
6. c.f. Joel 1:8. 7. e.g. 2 Sam. 2:8.

The use of the term 'covenant' in describing the future harmony in nature, and the oddity of the betrothal imagery, which does not fit in with reclamation of a woman already married, cast a shadow of doubt over vv.20-22¹ but the remaining three verses, which say the same thing in different terms, use the symbolic names in their original order, and refer again to 'grain, wine and oil'², have no characteristics that would warrant giving them a later date³.

The promises of hope in vv.16-25 are somewhat vague, but seem to refer to a future time after punishment. Mauchline regards 20-22 as describing the new creation but does not say whether he means by this a cosmic upheaval or a new beginning in history. The verses themselves give no hint that the former meaning is intended, but simply point to a future life in the land, security from enemies, and harmony with the birds and beasts.

CONCLUSION

As in the previous chapter, most of the intrinsic criteria have been successfully applied to Hosea's eschatological language⁴. Like Amos, Hosea uses metaphors and similes in a persuasive and emotive way. Imagery of attacking wild beasts is twice used to arouse appropriate feelings of fear and to present the inescapability and completeness of the coming destruction⁵, while the synthetic imagery of Israel as an adulterous wife is used both emotively and

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1. Though T.H. Robinson (HAT) and Mauchline (IB), for example, see ~~it~~ ^{Ethem} as authentic.
 2. c.f. 2:10.
 3. against Harper (ICC).
 4. Explicit Comparison (5:13-14, above, pp 166; 7:11-12, above pp 167; 13:7f above, p 172; 14:4-8, p 160, n 1), Development (9:16, above pp 161, n 5; 13:15-14:1, above p 173; 8:7, above p _____; 2:4-15, above pp 182; Correspondence (2:4-15, above pp 182f), Impossible Literality (8:7, above pp 169;), Originality (8:7, above pp 169; 2:4-15, above pp 182).
 5. 5:13-14, 13:7-8, see above pp 165f and 172.

cognitively, to effect a transfer of feeling-content and to gain and make possible new insights into the meaning of Israel's covenant relation with Yahweh¹.

In comparing the eschatological language of Amos and Hosea one must take account of the fact that there is considerably more Hoseanic material, probably because Hosea's prophetic activity covered a longer period. Quantitative comparisons between the imagery of the two prophets are therefore of little value. Leaving aside the obvious and recognised differences², three comments may be made on the character of their imagery.

Firstly, Hosea uses imagery of greater complexity than Amos. When the latter uses a metaphor or a simile it is usually to make a simple, clear point - Israel seen as a fallen virgin, the totality of destruction described in terms of a shepherd snatching pieces from a carcass. By contrast, Hosea can use similes and metaphors to describe complex political situations. He employs imagery of sowing wind and reaping whirlwind to make a triple assertion about Israel's foreign policy and its likely results³, and pictures Israel's vacillation between Egypt and Assyria in terms of the cooing and flight of a dove⁴. The latter is the verbal equivalent of a political cartoon, since it uses a clear and vivid image both to depict a policy and present a pejorative attitude to it. Hosea also uses a combination of sickness and lion imagery with similar effect⁵.

1. above, pp 183.

2. e.g., Hosea's expectation of restoration after judgement and his use of husband:wife imagery (contrast Amos); Amos' use of Day of Yahweh and cosmic imagery, and of oracles against the nations (contrast Hosea).

3. above, pp 168 ff.

4. above, pp 166 f.

5. above, pp 161 ff.

The second important comparison concerns the way the two prophets portray the coming destruction. Although Hosea, unlike Amos, looks forward to a restoration after judgement, he depicts the judgement in equally uncompromising terms, visualising Yahweh's destruction in terms of an attacking lion and an enraged she-bear, both of which are said to tear their prey to pieces¹. The note of ferocity in these two images is unparalleled in Amos, who uses similar imagery to depict merely the victim's terror² and the completeness of destruction³. To make a simple contrast between Amos the prophet of judgement and Hosea the prophet of mercy would therefore be misleading, for Hosea's imagery shows that he is just as much a prophet of judgement as his predecessor, and indeed heightens the element of wrath.

Finally, Hosea, perhaps because the Assyrian threat was clearly discernible during his prophetic activity, has fewer clear threats of military destruction and exile than Amos⁴, and is often content to deliver vague threats of judgement without further specification as to the means Yahweh would use⁵.

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1. Hosea 5:13-14 and 13:7-8, above, pp 165f and 172.
 2. Amos 5:19, above pp 146f.
 3. Amos 3:12, above pp 138f. On this contrast between Amos and Hosea's use of lion imagery, see also Jacob, CAT, p.50.
 4. Compare above, p. 161 . on Hosea and pp 153f on Amos.
 5. See above, p. 160f.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IMAGERY OF THE RETURN IN
SECOND ISAIAH - PART I

A. INTRODUCTORY

Almost all of the relevant passages analysed in Amos and Hosea were recognisably bisociative. In cases where Yahweh's action against Israel was described in terms of an attacking lion, for example¹, it was clear that the language was not understood literally, and the problem then was to decide between its possible nonliteral meanings.

This analysis has prepared the ground for an attack on the more difficult problems of eschatological language which arise when it is not clear whether the language is bisociative or not, as for example when language describing cosmic changes - earthquakes, movements of heavenly bodies, changes in the landscape and climate etc., - is used about Yahweh's future action. Language of this type will be examined in this and the following two chapters. The aim of the present and succeeding chapter is to examine those passages in Second Isaiah which on a literal interpretation appear to refer to cosmic changes accompanying the return journey of the exiles from Babylon to Palestine.

1. Above, pp 138f, 146f, 161ff, 172.

A/1. EXEGETICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

This particular problem suggests itself for discussion for a number of reasons, which can be summarised by saying that with regard to Isaiah 40-55 one may proceed from two presuppositions, of which the first raises a problem and the second provides data for an attempted solution. The first is that Isaiah 40-55 stems from the closing years of the Babylonian exile¹. The second is that it is the work of a single mind. These two presuppositions may be regarded as the established results of criticism, and few recent scholars have departed from them.

The acceptance of the late exilic date raises a problem of language - description with regard to the expected return home, which is described in imagery of the levelling of the desert landscape and the transformation of the desert route, for one must then ask how this imagery was understood². Did the prophet expect the mountains and hills to be levelled and the desert transformed? Was he using the imagery figuratively, to bring out the world-wide significance of the return as a demonstration of Yahweh's saving power? Must the imagery in question be described as synthetic because the prophet used it without formulating such distinctions? Or are such distinctions made, but only haphazardly? Questions such as these inevitably arise, and must be faced.

1. With one or two possible exceptions, e.g., 48:22, 53:2-6.
2. If Second Isaiah is dated in late post-exilic times the imagery cannot apply to the return from Babylon, which has already taken place, and can plausibly be regarded as nonliteral. Thus, Torrey, followed by Simon, regards it as figurative (e.g., Torrey, p. 305, on chapter 40:3 - "The "desert", also, is a pure abstraction" - similarly on the other relevant passages).

On the other hand, acceptance of Second Isaiah as a unity means that the passages describing the return may be examined in the light of one another and in the verbal context of the prophecy as a whole. Since the prophecy can be dated with some precision, the imagery can also be seen in its cultural context. The presence of such well-defined contexts makes progress with such cosmic imagery more likely in Second Isaiah than in passages such as the description of the eschatological elevation of the Mountain of the House of the Lord¹, whose verbal and cultural contexts are uncertain. Another factor facilitating research is that in Second Isaiah key terms and themes such as the way, the water in the desert, and mountains and hills are used and repeated in different contexts and combinations throughout the prophecy. Since the prophecy is accepted as a unity, the various occurrences can be compared with one another.

A/2. PROBLEMS OF METHOD

A problem of method arises here. In contrast to the wide range of agreement concerning the unity and date of Second Isaiah there is no consensus about its structure². At one extreme, it has been seen as a collection of 70 disparate units, at the other, as a sequential unit of 21 poems³. In the face of such disagreement the best course is to begin in each case from the minimum length of the context, and work from that, only referring to possible wider contexts when these might modify interpretation. There will be some possibility of success here as the disagreements tend to centre on the interrelationships of the smaller units rather than the delineation of the units themselves. Where there

1. Isaiah 2:2-4 = Micah 4:1-3.

2. See the discussions by Muilenburg (IB p.384ff) and North (TSI pp.5ff). In this and the following chapter, references to Muilenburg and North are to ~~IB~~ IB and TSI respectively.

3. Köhler and Muilenburg respectively. (see Muilenburg, op.cit.).

is disagreement on the minimum limits reasons will be given for the choice that is made.

The relation of chapters 40-48 and 49-55 is another difficulty. The two sections undoubtedly exhibit marked differences in content¹, but although most of the passages anticipating a return occur in the first section, there are at least three passages in the second². The other differences between the two sections may therefore be disregarded unless analysis shows that the return passages in the latter section differ markedly from those in the former.³

A/3. THE INTERPRETATION OF SECOND ISAIAH'S IMAGERY OF THE RETURN - A SURVEY OF OPINION.

Several scholars have recognised the existence of problems of language description in the imagery of the return. Skinner (CB, 1917) leans towards a literal interpretation but recognises the difficulties:

It is to mistake the prophet's meaning to resolve this language wholly into metaphor. The image of the desert highway and the march along it is too persistent a feature to be explained as a mere symbol for the removal of material or spiritual obstacles to the introduction of the Kingdom of God. An element of symbolism is no doubt present....; that in this case the prophet expected the symbol to be materialised is certain⁴.

Volz (1932) sees Second Isaiah as an 'eschatologist', expecting Yahweh's coming in impending historical events as his final advent. With the release of Israel from the Babylonian captivity the world's history and God's history will reach their goal, and in the prophet's mind the coming restoration of Jerusalem shades over into the establishment of the Kingdom of God. One could say that Second Isaiah and the prophets in general are mistaken in this belief,

1. Muilenburg, IB, p. 384.

2. explicitly: 49:8-13, 51:11 (if authentic), 52:11f, 55:12f; implicitly: 51:9-10, (see below pp 216 ff.)

4. pp. xlvi-xlvii.

3. see below p 264.

says Volz, but the mistake perhaps lies in our inadequate understanding. Faith deals in absolutes and knows no half measures, no development, no categories of time and space. It sees the totality of the divine advent, epiphany and parousia, and rational historiography must ponder over and disentangle what faith has seen and affirmed as a unity¹.

Sydney Smith (1940)² does not discuss the problem of language description, but adopts what may be called the "code" interpretation, whereby details of the prophet's imagery are seen as veiled references to precise historical and geographical situations. Thus Isaiah 40:3-5 is said to refer to a military road being, or about to be, constructed by the Persians, following Nabonidus' route "east of Jordan and through Ammanitis, northern and eastern Edom"³.

Lindblom (1951)⁴ sees Second Isaiah's expectation as the continuation of the historical order in ideal forms, in Palestine, with a rebuilt Jerusalem, and Israel as world-ruling nation⁵. He deals with a number of passages seized on by Begrich or Volz as 'eschatological' in Mowinckel's sense⁶, pointing out that the advent of Yahweh is not in itself and in this sense an exclusively eschatological idea; that there is no reference to the last coming in Second Isaiah; that the references to the judgement of the Gentiles depict not universal judgement but the overthrow of Babylon; and that the hope of the return is not "eschatological"⁷ in itself. He also claims that passages like 50:3, 51:6, and 54:10 are not

1. KAT, pp. xix-xx.

3. ibid. pp.65-66, and see below pp 268f.

5. ibid. p. 96f.

7. Mowinckel's sense.

2. Isaiah Chapters XI-LV.

4. SSDI.

6. above, p 12f.

references to the end of the world but, in the first case, a description of Yahweh's continual action in nature, and in the other two, antithetic comparisons showing Yahweh's salvation as everlasting¹.

Lindblom admits that the references to the "transformation of the wilderness" present "special problems"². Are passages like 40:3-5 "plain miracles", he asks? -

Or are the expressions used by the prophet to be taken as metaphors, simply indicating that the return of the exiles across the wilderness will be easy, safe and comfortable?³.

He claims that in several passages the metaphorical (by which he seems to mean figurative) character of expressions of a similar nature is "obvious and indubitable"⁴. Commenting on Isaiah 41:17-20 he refers to the distress of the exiles as likened to life in the desert and the transformation of the desert as a metaphorical description of the blessings Yahweh will bestow on his people⁵. The same is said to apply to 44:1-3, while 43:1-2 is said to use water and fire as "symbols of peril in a general sense", and 42:15f describes in vivid imagery Yahweh's absolute power as avenger and supporter⁶. Two passages, 43:19f and 55:12f, speak of a return across the wilderness and promise the exiles an easy march from Babylon to Palestine:

1. SSDI pp.97-100. His claim that these passages are not references to the end of the world may be accepted. On 54:10 see below, pp 250-2; on 51:6 see p 252, n 2 below; on 50:3 see North (TSI), ad loc.

2. SSDI p.100.

3. ibid.

4. ibid.

5. On 41:17-20 see below pp 200ff.

6. ibid. On 44:1-3 see below pp 261f, on 43:1-2 see below p 210f on 42:15f see below pp 204ff, 258-60.

But this is so obviously the highly coloured language of poetry that a literal interpretation is excluded.... The metaphorical character of these passages makes it probable that 40:3-5, 48:21 and 49:9-11 are also to be interpreted in a similar manner. In lofty poetical imagery they assure the exiles that they have nothing to fear in a journey through the desert.¹

Interpreted in this way, says Lindblom, the descriptions of wilderness transformation have nothing to do with the metamorphosis of nature in the 'eschatological' sense. Second Isaiah is not from this point of view an 'eschatologist'.²

Ulrich Simon (1953) follows Torrey in many respects but has some interesting comments on the difficulties of language. Second Isaiah is a poet, says Simon, and like other poets he moves on many levels of meaning. That Second Isaiah speaks in metaphors is understandable:

But he does not tell us when he speaks metaphorically³ and when - what we are pleased to call - realistically³.

Such difficulties are particularly evident when Second Isaiah speaks of the levelling of the mountains and valleys and the repopulation of the desert⁴.

Muilenburg (1955) makes a similar assessment of the difficulties in his discussion of Isaiah 40:3-5:

History and eschatology meet in these lines, and the boundary between supernatural and natural must not be drawn (c.f. Mal.3:1). It is doubtful whether the poet had any definite road in mind, and yet the return was an actual historical event.

In other passages, however, he favours a literal interpretation.⁵

Finally, reference may be made to North (1964)⁵, who asks whether the prophet intended his description of the speedy return across the desert-turned-

1. ibid. p.101. On the passages mentioned see below: 43:19f pp 211 ff; 55:12f pp 228 f; 40:3-5 pp 196 ff; 48:21 pp 215 f; 49:9-11 pp 216 f, and in general chap. 10, passim

2. ibid.

3. 'A theology of salvation', p.6.

4. ibid.

5. see below pp _____.

5. TSI.

oasis to be understood literally. Commenting that "this is a difficult question to answer" he quotes Farrer's claim that in the New Testament:

On the whole, it is truer to say that the relation of mythical expression to literal belief is left undecided, than to say it is decided in the sense of literalism¹.

North suggests that the same applies to the Old Testament in general and to Second Isaiah in particular and that his descriptions of the New Exodus are a kind of salvation history in prospect rather than retrospect².

Two major and contrasting opinions can be discerned among the scholars who have discussed the problem of Second Isaiah's imagery of the return in any detail³. On the one hand, Lindblom has argued for a figurative interpretation. On the other, many commentators suggest that the poetry of Second Isaiah is difficult to pin down. It is said to be difficult to draw the line between literal and nonliteral (Skinner), history and eschatology or natural and supernatural (Muilenburg); or that the prophet thought of Yahweh's advent in a totality of experience which we have to disentangle (Volz); or that he is a poet and does not tell us when he is talking metaphorically, when realistically (Simon); or that here, as often in the Old Testament, the relation between mythical expression and literal belief is often left undecided (North). Some of the comments made come close to the previous discussion⁴ of synthetic language⁴ and its function in mythical thought⁵. The main task in the analysis of the relevant passages will be to examine the criteria by which such judgements are or can be made.

1. Kerygma and Myth, I, Ed. H. W. Bartsch, Trans. R. Fuller, London 1953, p. 215, cited by North, TSI p. 25.

2. ibid.

3. Other scholars consulted who do not discuss the imagery in question automatically regard it as literal and so do not consider that there is a problem.

4. above pp chap 3.

5. above pp chap 4.

B. INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS OF RELEVANT PASSAGES

In his article on Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah¹, B.W. Anderson lists ten passages where he thinks the new exodus is the specific theme. This estimate represents the maximum possible number of passages referring to the return from Babylon. These passages will first be examined to see whether Anderson's estimate is to be accepted. It will be helpful to make a distinction at the outset between imagery drawn from exodus traditions and language describing or implying a return to Palestine, since in principle the former can be used to describe the exiles' present situation, and release in general terms², without necessarily describing their return journey. The following analysis will therefore seek to ascertain which passages use imagery drawn from Exodus traditions and, as a separate though related question, which passages describe or imply an actual return journey. The other important question is which passages contain imagery that on a literal interpretation would refer to changes in the landscape and climate, and what interpretation should in fact be given to these. For the moment, however, the problem of literal and nonliteral interpretation will be left on one side, the aim being to draw out the content and function of the imagery.

B/1. ISAIAM 40:3-5.

(NOTE. Translations of the passages being analysed are given for convenience. North's translation will be used as a basis. Departures from it will be indicated by underlining and discussed in the main text or in the notes).

1. in 'Israel's Prophetic Heritage', ed. B.W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, New York 1962, pp. 177-195.
2. on this see further below, pp 202-204.

v.3. A voice proclaims!

'Make ready in the wilderness
the way of the Lord.
make through the desert
a level highway for our God. 1

4. Every deep cleft is to be filled in,
every mountain and hill become lowland,
steeps to be turned to level surface,
and rugged ground to open plain. 2

5. And the glorious majesty of the Lord shall be revealed,
and all mankind shall see it together,
for the mouth of the Lord has spoken!

The text presents no major problems and may be left as it stands. In form, the passage is a call from an angelic herald³ to other members of Yahweh's heavenly council⁴ telling them to prepare Yahweh's way through the desert. The image is that of road-building and preparation, as far as this was practised in pre-Roman times. The preparation of such a 'way' involved levelling the surface and clearing it of stones, and, frequently, making an artificially raised surface with earthworks⁵. The normal process is here exaggerated to gigantic proportions. Mountains and hills will be flattened and ravines filled in. The emphasis is on preparation for Yahweh, as the result of which⁶ his glory will be revealed and

1. 'level highway' North says that רָוַע (Piel) has the sense, 'make straight and level' but see further below pp 236 f.

2. North translates רָוַע by 'tangled hillocks', but this is not very clear English. BDB suggest that it means perhaps roughness (of the ground), or 'bound up, impeded - i.e., the impassable', or mountain-chain; c.f., LVTL - "Rundungen, höckeriges Gelände, roundings, rugged ground'. The word occurs only here.

3. not Yahweh, because he is spoken of in the third person.

4. see Muilenburg ad loc and Frank M. Cross, Jr., The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah, JNES 12, 1953, pp. 274-277.

5. see below, pp 234-241

6. The way in the final verse probably has a suggestion of purpose as well as temporal sequence (c.f., GK § 165), especially since Second Isaiah elsewhere states explicitly that Yahweh is acting in order that he may be known or acknowledged. See below pp 230.

all mankind shall see it¹.

Verses 3-5 do not explicitly say that a return of the exiles to Jerusalem is in mind. The wider context of vv.1-11 does suggest this, as Jerusalem is addressed at the beginning and end of the poem and the final verses picture Yahweh as a shepherd coming to Jerusalem with his flock. Recent commentators² regard 1-11 as a unity, at least in its present form. The 'heavenly council' form of vv.1-8 suggests that they at least are an original unit, for since v.1 contains Yahweh's instructions to the members of his council³ and vv.3 and 6 are voices of members of that council it is difficult to see how the various sections could have existed in isolation. The relation of vv.1-8 and 9-11 is not so clear. In the present arrangement of the text, vv.9-11 are most naturally interpreted as an announcement by whoever is speaking in vv.6b-7⁴. Now that he has been reassured (v.8), says North, he gives instructions to Jerusalem. There is nothing that demands a connection between the two sections, however, and the transition is a little abrupt. The double reference to Jerusalem suggests that an original unity is not impossible, but it cannot be regarded as certain.

1. Of the 3 possible meanings of basar (all living creatures, animals as distinct from man, mankind as distinct from God) North shows that the last must be intended here, c.f., 40:6 - 'all flesh' // 'the people' and 49:26.
2. Muilenburg (IB), North(TSI), Jones (Pke).
3. plural יְצַוּן , 'comfort', see F.M. Cross, op. cit.
4. R.SV and many commentators emend M.T. in 6a (with LXX and Qa) to read "and I said" - that is, the prophet. North leaves M.T. as it is on the grounds that if the emendation is accepted this is the only place in the prophecy where the prophet refers to himself. He says of it that the prophet overhears a dialogue between two speakers.

Even if vv.1-8 are taken alone, however, they imply a return from exile even though it is not explicitly stated. In v.2, Yahweh's herald addresses Jerusalem on his behalf. Elsewhere in the prophecy, 'Jerusalem' usually means the city in Palestine¹, so it may be assumed that the city of Jerusalem in Palestine, as the focus of cult and people, is in view here. The reference to the end of Jerusalem's punishment אֲנִי יְהוָה // אֲנִי יְהוָה could not but suggest, however, that the exiles are also in view, and that their servitude is now coming to an end, while the preparation of Yahweh's way as the answer to the command to comfort Jerusalem suggests that it is being prepared for his return to the city. The close connection of release from servitude with Yahweh's return to Jerusalem could hardly fail to suggest that the exiles would go with him. With this in mind, the reference to Yahweh's glory in v.5 is best interpreted as echoing Ezekiel's vision of Yahweh's glory returning to the Temple².

The emotive function of the imagery is clear. Since Yahweh's prospective action on behalf of his people is presented as universal in scope and immensely powerful in its effects, and since the declared aim of the announcement is to comfort the exiles, it is clear that the imagery is an attempt to do just this, and persuade them to have courage and trust their God.

1. Clear references are 44:26, 28 (c.f., 45:13), and 52:9. Of the other references, ~~41:27~~ 27 and 51:17 are not specific, while 52:1,2. probably refers to the city since it is probably in the same context as 52:9 (c.f., 52:8, the return of Yahweh to Zion).
2. c.f. North, TSI.

B/2. ISAIAH 41:17-20

17. The poor and needy are searching for water, and there is none,
 their tongues are parched with thirst;
 I the Lord will answer them,
 I who am Israel's God will not desert them.
18. I will open up rivers on the sand belts,
 springs in the valley beds;
 I will transform the wilderness with reedy pools,
 the arid land with bubbling waters.
19. I will place in the wilderness the cedar,
 the acacia, myrtle, and oleander:
 I will put in the desert the juniper,
 the plane and the cypress together.
20. So that they may see and know,
and give heed and understand once for all,
 that the hand of the Lord has done this,
 the Holy One of Israel created it. 1.

The text again presents no major difficulties². Muilenburg describes the passage as an 'oracle of salvation' (Begrich). In contrast to 40:3-5, Yahweh is the speaker throughout. The passage begins with a participle, and has no verbal or ideological connection with the verses that precede and follow it, in which the dominant themes are Yahweh's lawsuit with the peoples (41:1-7, 21-29) and his decision to help Israel and defeat her enemies (41:8-16). Muilenburg sees it as the sixth strophe in a nine strophe poem, 41:1-42:4, but his description of it as a "lyrical interlude" gives the game away, and he is in fact unable to connect it with the rest of the 'poem'.

The passage begins with a picture of people in the desert, their tongues parched with thirst, searching desperately for water. In response to their need Yahweh declares that he will answer them and give water in the wilderness. A

1. Verse 20 - So that they, etc., see below p. 201f; v. 17 'are searching', see below
 2. Several attempts at emendation have been shown by North to be unnecessary. 202ff

series of first person verbs announces his answer. North suggests that the image is of the creation of an oasis in the desert, but the list of trees shows that it is a more general one. Cedars do not grow near water¹ and the only kind of tree usually associated with an oasis proper is the palm², which is not mentioned here. The image makes more sense as a change from barren steppe to fertile land, perhaps including forests, since most of the seven trees mentioned are forest trees, and five of them are mainly used for timber.³ This last point should not be pressed, for quite possibly the poet simply put together a list of as many trees as he could think of, or chose them on grounds of euphony and rhythm rather than descriptive accuracy. There are four stages in the progression of thought. First, the people are depicted, looking for water, then comes Yahweh's promise to give it abundantly. The reference to trees is a new thought, going beyond what has been said before, since it is not a necessary part of the response to the people's need, which is only said to be for water. In the references to water and trees there is a noticeable use of repetition to build up the imagery. Finally, as in 40:3-5, the last two lines speak of the effects of what is to happen: its purpose is that 'they' (unspecified) will be quite clear that it is Yahweh who brings all this about.

Concerning the 'they' in the last verse, the RSV and North's translation suggest it is mankind that will see and know. Volz, however, points out that the verbs in the last verse are more closely connected with the people mentioned in v.17, for whose benefit the transformation is promised. Thus, it is the 'poor and needy' who are to see and know Yahweh's power, not mankind in general, as in 40:3-5. Since Yahweh says that he will not forsake them, that he (in his capacity as) the God of Israel, will answer them, it is clear that the 'poor and needy' are

1. I.D., 'CEDAR'. 2. Chambers Encyclopedia, London 1955, under 'DESERT'; Encyclopedia Britannica, London 1955, under 'OASIS'.

3. $\aleph \aleph \aleph$ cannot be certainly identified. The others, except the myrtle, which has an edible fruit, are all timber trees, especially the Cedar and $\omega \times \aleph \Delta$ (Juniper) (So I.D., FLORA).

not any group of travellers, but his own people.

This being so, the question is whether the imagery depicts a return through the desert to Palestine. The problem centres on the word דָּרְשׁוּ מַיִם in the opening line. There are two possible translations and three possible interpretations. The first translation, "when the poor and needy seek water" (AV, RSV), sees it as future, presumably on the ground that participles take their temporal reference from the verbs in the context¹, which in this case are declarations about Yahweh's future action. On this interpretation the passage is a promise that when the people are thirsty at some future date Yahweh will answer their need². The second translation take the participle as present - "are searching for water" (or, "go in search of water"³). Two interpretations of this have been suggested. Either the participle describes the present situation of Yahweh's people, (the exile), followed by his promise to do something about it⁴, or it is a proleptic picture of their situation on the return journey⁵.

Since the participle comes before the Yahweh verbs and not after them it is better to translate it with a present tense. Discussion of the imagery will clarify the situation further. ^{First,} ~~First,~~ one may note that the passage does not explicitly describe the poor and needy as travelling through the desert, with Yahweh guiding them to springs of water already in existence. It opens with a picture of Yahweh's people already in the desert, looking for water which is not to be found. The transformation is then pictured, not as a gradual process, but as a sudden change from desert to well watered land⁶. The piling up of nouns

1. c.f. GK § 116d.
2. so, apparently, Muilenburg (IB), who takes RSV as it stands and refers the passage to future events.
3. North (TSI), c.f., Kissane.
4. so Kissane, Box, and apparently Jones (Pke).
5. Volz (KAT), North (TSI).
6. This is indicated by, e.g., the use of the verb פָּרַע and the hyperbole in v.18b (lit. "I will turn the wilderness into reedy pools"....). c.f. North, TSI.

Returning to the problem of whether the imagery refers to the exiles' situation in Babylon or their presumed future situation on the return journey, it may first be noted that nothing in the passage demands the proleptic interpretation since the people are depicted as already in the desert, not travelling through it. When first written, then, the passage could have been, and probably was, apprehended as an apt description of the people's situation, the desert of exile in which they languished¹. But since the exiles were in Babylon, release from exile would inevitably entail a journey across the desert, to which certain facets of the imagery would also apply. Thus, though when the passage was first composed, the exiles' present situation was probably in mind, the actual choice of imagery, in the light of the prophet's explicit and implicit references elsewhere to the return journey², was potentially, and probably actually, ambivalent from the start.

B/3. ISAIAH 42:13-17.

13. The Lord is marching out like a warrior,
like the hero of many battles he will rouse himself to fury.
He will utter a warcry, he will roar aloud,
he will show himself mighty against his foes.
14. 'I have long been inactive,
keeping silence and restraining myself;
I will groan like a woman in her pangs,
I will gasp and pant with all my might.
15. I will dry up mountains and hills,
and shrivel all their herbage.
I will turn river-beds into deserts,
and dry up all the pools.
16. I will lead the blind in a way they do not know,
in paths they do not know I will guide them.
I will make darkness light,
and rough ground level before them.
These are the things I will do,
and I will not leave them undone
17. Those who put their trust in idols
will be turned back, utterly ashamed,
those who say to molten images,
"You are our gods".

3.

1. So Lindblom (see above, p. 193). 2. see below p. 230. (footnote 3, next p.)

footnote 3. from previous page.

1. a. Departures from North's translation.

v.15. North's translation of $\Delta \text{ר} \text{א} \text{ל}$ ~~ל~~ in 15a as 'lay waste' is a little misleading. In view of the parallel $\text{ש} \text{ב} \text{א} \text{ל}$ the translation "dry up" is to be preferred, c.f. BDB, LVTL.

v.16 - "I will lead the blind...guide them". North omits the first $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ in MT. The Hebrew reads more easily without it and produces a 3:3 verse (if the second $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ is taken as one beat). On the other hand, neither LXX nor Qa support the change (so BH) and not all commentators see MT as presenting any difficulty (e.g. Muilenburg). As North observes, $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ can mean 'on (their) journey' (Gen. 24:21, 1 Kg 18:27, 19:7) but the parallel, 'paths', suggests that 'way' is being used in the more specific sense of 'route/road', as in 40:3-5 ($\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$), where the reference to the levelling of the surface also occurs in near-identical terms. Thus, though MT looks awkward, it is best left as it is.

v.16 - "I will make darkness...before them". North translates the second phrase $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{ק} \text{ש} \text{ו} \text{ר}$ as 'make crooked paths straight'. This is not quite accurate. $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{ק} \text{ש} \text{ו} \text{ר}$ undoubtedly denotes ground that is level (RSV: "and rough places into level ground"); and is used of tableland (Deut. 3:10; 4:23, Josh. 13:9.16. 17.21, 20:8, Jer. 48:21) the plain as opposed to hills (1 Kings 20:23.25, and Zech. 4:7 - c.f., its use in parallel to $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{ק} \text{ש} \text{ו} \text{ר}$ in Jer. 21:13, 48:8), and level ground in general (Ps. 26:12 ~~(=)~~ 'my foot stands on level ground', Ps. 143:10, c.f., Ps. 27:11 ~~(=)~~). North in fact translates it as 'level surface' at 40:3. $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{ק} \text{ש} \text{ו} \text{ר}$ occurs only here. BDB gives it as 'twisted, crooked place', which is reasonable considering the verb $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{ק} \text{ש} \text{ו} \text{ר}$ (Piel: 'to twist', c.f., Hiphil). It is true that this verb is used at Is. 59:8 (c.f., Micah 3:9) for zig-zag (crooked) paths, but the word $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{ק} \text{ש} \text{ו} \text{ר}$ hereby comparison with $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ע} \text{ק} \text{ש} \text{ו} \text{ר}$ must refer to convolutions of the terrain rather than zigzagging of a path, except insofar as a path might be expected to zigzag because of such convolutions. Thus, one should follow LVTL and translate as indicated.

b. Textual notes, and minor details of translation.

v.15 - $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ (to islands) should be altered to $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ or $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ (to desert(s)) (Skinner, Wade (WC), G.A. Smith, Box, Muilenburg (IB) ($\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$), North (TSI).

v.16 - $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ looks awkward; transfer to second stich (North TSI).

v.16 - 'undone!' RSV refers $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ to the blind, and so reads 'not forsake them', but the most natural reference is to $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$.

v.17 - $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ looks superfluous. BH. deletes. Skinner finds the emendation $\text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ר} \text{ע} \text{ו} \text{א} \text{ל}$ (they shall be clothed with shame) attractive. North (TSI) and RSV take it as emphatic (utterly ashamed).

The precise limits and form of the passage are not easy to determine. Many commentators make the division at the end of v.13 and see vv.14-17 or 14-16 as the unit¹. Others² make the division at the end of v.12. The latter alternative is to be preferred, because Yahweh's forthcoming action is in view in both 13 and 14-16, and vv.13 and 14 are connected, despite the difference in imagery, by the major themes in both: action involving extreme effort accompanied by loud cries³.

The previous unit is generally agreed to begin at v.10. North argues that the entire section, 10-17, is a unit⁴, suggesting that in form it is a 'community thanksgiving' on the lines of Psalms 33:3-22, 96, 98, 149, whose common pattern is said to be: summons to praise, glorification of Yahweh as world creator and/or victor over heathen nations and gods, and announcement of his coming to judge the earth. In view of the absence of the last element from Isaiah 42:10-17 North's argument is not convincing. It would be better, with Weiser and Eissfeldt⁵ to classify the psalms in question as 'hymns'. The latter regards vv.10-12 as hymnic in form⁶, but this does not establish the unity of 10-17. Verses 10-12 and 13-17 may form a complete section written in hymn-style, but this is not certain⁷.

Other commentators have argued that v.17 is out of place⁸. In the light of the passages previously examined this is not convincing. The verse continues

1. Box, Jones, Muilenburg, RSV.

2. e.g. North, Kissane.

3. see below p. 207.

4. so also Volz.

5. 'Psalms', p.61 and TOTI pp.105-109 respectively. In his discussion of 'community thanksgivings' (p.83), Weiser does not cite any of the Psalms listed by North, nor does Eissfeldt (TOTI p.121).

6. TOTI p.107.

7. Muilenburg links vv.10-13 with the enthronement psalms but this is not convincing as these verses do not speak of Yahweh in 'king' language.

8. Kissane, Morgenstern (Seq. Unf.).

verse 16b and says obliquely what the previous passages have said explicitly, that the purpose of Yahweh's action is to make himself known to various sections of mankind. In this case it is the idol-worshippers, whether Israelite or Babylonian or both, who will be completely discomfited by his action.

The passage begins with two similes describing Yahweh's impending action. First, in the third person, he is compared to a warrior going out to battle, working himself up into a rage so as to perform heroic feats against his enemies. The image is the traditional one of Yahweh the warrior-god¹, strengthened by repetition, both in the parallelism of 13ab/cd and in the two verbs of 13a. The two dominant elements in the image are the prodigious, abnormal character of the exploits the warrior performs² and the sound of the bloodcurdling battle-cry he utters as he rushes into battle³.

In the second simile Yahweh himself begins to speak. Three verbs in quick succession describe his previous silent inactivity, and another three similarly describe his impending noisy activity, thereby making an emphatic contrast between them. The image of a woman crying out in labour, common enough in the nonliteral language of the Old Testament⁴, is here applied to Yahweh, This, though unusual, is not entirely unprecedented⁵, a fact which shows that the simile did not necessarily appear incongruous or 'exotic' to its original audience, however peculiar it may seem to the modern reader⁶. As with the first simile, there are two dominant elements: prodigious activity and the outcry accompanying it. It is therefore unnecessary to contrast the content of the two similes or take exception to the mixture of images, since their dominant themes are the same⁷.

1. C.f. Exodus 15:3.

2. c.f. the feats of Samson, Judges 14:6, 19, 15:14, when he is empowered by Yahweh's spirit, and the exploits of David's mighty men (2 Sam. 23:8, 9-10, 11-12, 18-19.).

3. Judges 7:20; c.f. 1 Sam. 17:52, Amos 1:14.

4. e.g., Is. 26:17 (of the nation); Jer. 4:31 and Micah 4:9f (daughter of Zion); Jer. 22:23 (emended text, of the inhabitants of Lebanon, c.f. Isaiah 54:1).

5. c.f. Deut. 32:18; Ps. 2:7; Ps. 90:2 (~~3~~).

6. c.f. Alonso-Schökel, *Estudios*, p. 306, cited above, p. 73f.

7. c.f. above p. 206.

The juxtaposition of two outwardly disparate but thematically similar images also suggests that the detailed development of Yahweh's action in the verses that follow is primarily to be regarded not as a development of either image in itself but as illustrating their themes. Thus, it is not necessary, besides being an anachronism, to regard vv.15-17 as the birthpangs of the new age, as does Volz, for this is not explicitly stated^d. Nor is it explicitly said that these verses represent Yahweh's defeat of his enemies. Neither image is developed enough to permit such a cut-and-dried interpretation. The most that can be said is that the traditional Holy War associations of the first simile (Yahweh as defeating the enemies of Israel) and, possibly, the idea of birth as a new beginning in the second¹, are carried over into the verses that follow. The main emphasis, however, is that Yahweh is about to act in a dramatic and powerful manner.

Following this introduction Yahweh particularises his action in two images. The first is a picture of drought. Yahweh will dry up mountains and hills and shrivel all their herbage. The first half of the parallel is metonymic, as the second half makes clear. Its reference is to the vegetation on the 'mountains and hills'. The image of drought is continued in the second half of v.15 - Yahweh will turn rivers into deserts and dry up the pools.

The second image describing Yahweh's activity apparently begins with the idea of leading blind men along the road². Then it is said that Yahweh will turn the darkness into light and the rough places into level ground. It is not clear whether the reference is to blind men being led along and then receiving their sight; or sighted men, unable to see because it is dark, being given light to make the way clear. Similarly, it is not clear whether $\text{לַעֲרֹךְ} \times \text{לְ}$ means a

1. c.f., v.10.

2. c.f., Deut. 27:18.

previously unknown route, or one which the 'blind' could not see¹. The general theme, however, is that they need have no fear, since Yahweh will guide them.

In the final section² Yahweh reiterates the strength of his determination to carry out his plans and states their intended effect, the complete confusion and defeat of all who trust in idols. The statement that they will be 'turned back', with the parallel, 'put to shame', has military overtones³ which recall the imagery of v.13, and is a further argument for the unity of these verses.

The passage has many similarities to the preceding two. In the opening similes,^a strong contrast is made between Yahweh's previous silence and his impending action, and the latter is presented as a burst of supernatural activity. The imagery used both suggests⁴ and states⁵ that his action will be recognised for what it is. The forcefulness of the imagery shows that the poet is trying to convince his audience that Yahweh has such power and will soon demonstrate it.

The emphasis in the following images also seems to be on Yahweh's unlimited and devastating power. Since drought and the destruction of vegetation would make a most unsuitable preparation for the journey of the blind the two images are probably not a composite picture, but separate illustrations of Yahweh's power. The connection of thought between them is not obvious. Perhaps the reference to drying up mountains and hills suggested the idea of turning the rough places into level ground⁶. Or perhaps the drying up of the rivers suggested the idea of the first Exodus, which called up the picture of the exiles on

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1. The uncertainties are such that little confidence can be placed in attempts to see $\text{לַיָּמִי} \text{ } \times \text{ } \text{לְ}$ as referring to the southern route through the desert via Teima (Morgenstern Seq. Unf.) or as referring to the first Exodus because the route from Babylon to Palestine could hardly be described as 'unknown' (Kissane).
 2. from 'These are the things...', v.16.
 3. see Jer.46:5, of the defeat of troops in battle; Pss.35:4, 40:15(14) = 70:3 (both of enemies and// לְיָמֵי ; and c.f. Ps.129:5. Is.41:11.
 4. vv.13-14 - his outcry will be heard. 5. v.17.
 6. c.f. 'mountains and hills' in 40:3-5.

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their journey, seen as the second Exodus. The description of the blind having darkness turned into light is probably also an allusion to the Exodus tradition of the pillar of fire¹.

Since it is said that Yahweh will lead them, "the blind" must refer not to the pagan nations² but to the exiles³. The passage does not speak explicitly of a return journey to Palestine, nor is such an idea necessarily implied.

B/4. ISAIAH 43:2 -

When you pass through the waters I will be with you, and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you. When you walk through fire you shall not be burned, nor shall its flames scorch you.

This verse occurs in the context of 43:1-7⁴. The 'But now' of v.1 links this passage with what has gone before, as does the reference to fire in v.2, which is in contrast to 42:25. The text presents no major difficulties⁵.

In form, vv.1-7 are an oracle spoken by Yahweh. The exiles are told to have no fear, because Yahweh has redeemed them (prophetic perfect), and claimed them as his own. The reference to going unharmed through fire stands in deliberate contrast to the statement in 42:25 that Israel was "burned" by Yahweh's anger expressed in battle. Since the fire image follows the reference to water it can hardly have suggested it. In other words, the sequence of thought is not: 'fire that scorches' (42:25) + 'fire that does not harm' + (by contrast) 'water that does not harm', but rather: 'fire of judgement' + 'but now redemption' + 'safe passage through water' + 'safe passage through fire' (a double contrast

1. Exodus 13:21-22, c.f. esp. Jer. 2:6, 31, where the desert is characterised as a land of gloom and darkness.
2. as perhaps in 42:7 and 43:8.
3. as in 42:18-19; c.f. the other occurrences of the word רָוַע in Is. These are mostly nonliteral references to Israel or people in Israel (29:18, 56:10, c.f. 59:10 - similes). 35:5 is probably literal. c.f. 6:10, 30:20, 32:3 and 50:10 for images of spiritual blindness.
4. Mullenburg (IB) divides 43:1-7 into 3 stropes and sees it as part of a longer poem, 42:18 - 43:7.
5. For $\text{וְיָצִיאֲכֶם מִיָּד הַיָּהוָה}$ BH rds. with LXX, Syr, $\text{וְיָצִיאֲכֶם מִיָּד}$, perhaps correctly.

with 'water' and the previous reference to fire). If the water image was not suggested by the fire image the most reasonable conclusion is that it was called up by the statement of redemption, because this idea suggested the key events of the first Exodus, in particular the crossing of the Red Sea. That the water image has this connotation is shown by other explicit references in the prophecy¹.

A further question is whether the verse refers to the return home. The following verses certainly speak of a return of the exiles (vv.5-7) and the preceding references to judgement and coming redemption (42:25 - 43:1) could hardly have implied anything else. The imagery of water and fire most naturally refers, however, to danger and peril in general, since the latter has no literal application to the return journey and the former has little if any. The implication that the exiles will return safely home, would however be gained when the verse was read in its context.

Once again, the function of the imagery is to assure the people of Yahweh's effective and redeeming presence. Great difficulties lie ahead, but Yahweh will carry his people safely through them.

B/5. ISAIAH 43:16 - 21

16. This is the word of the LORD,
 who made a way through the sea,
 a path through the surging waters,
17. who led out chariots and horse,
 a whole army in mass formation;
 they sink down, nevermore to rise,
 they are extinguished, quenched like a wick:
18. 'Let not memory linger over the past,
 or dwell on happenings of long ago.
19. I am about to do a new thing;
 now it shall spring up - surely you must know it! -

1. 43:16-19, 51:9-11, c.f., 50:2.

- I will even make a way through the wilderness,
paths in the desolate waste.¹
20. The creatures of the wild will honour me,
the wolves and the owls;
when I supply water in the wilderness,
rivers in the desolate waste,
to give drink to my chosen people,
21. the people I formed for myself
that they might rehearse my praises.'

That the passage is a unit, is shown by the deliberate contrast between the way in the sea of the first exodus and the way in the desert of the second. It may be connected with vv.14-15² but the context does not affect interpretation.

After the heading, 'thus says Yahweh', the prophet, as is his custom³, adds a list of Yahweh's attributes. This delays for six lines the statement which would normally follow the oracular introduction, and consists of a series of participles and imperfects building up a vivid illustrative picture of the Israelite passage through the Red Sea and the defeat of the Egyptian army⁴, and ending with two similes which emphasise how complete and sudden was its

1. MT has נַחַלֵּי rivers, which makes an odd parallel to דֶּרֶךְ way. The Dead Sea scroll is blurred at this point (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery Vol. I - Ed. Millar. Burrows, assisted by J.C. Trever and W.H. Brownlee, New Haven 1950). Burrows transcribes the relevant word as נַחַלֵּי but recent commentators agree that the scroll almost certainly reads נַחַלֵּי (paths) (so Muilenburg (IB), North (TSI), Morgenstern (Seq Unf), and Albright ('The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery', BASOR, 119, April 1950, p.5-6) Muilenburg leaves MT as it is, on the grounds that if the emendation is adopted the reason for the rejoicing of the animals (the provision of water) is implausibly delayed until v.21, and that נַחַלֵּי, being plural, is an odd parallel to דֶּרֶךְ, singular, especially as נַחַלֵּי occurs in parallel with דֶּרֶךְ in v.16. The first reason is unconvincing, as the כִּי at the beginning of v.20 shows that the rejoicing of the animals is presented before the cause of it. Regarding the second reason North points out that נַחַלֵּי as a parallel to דֶּרֶךְ also occurs in 42:16, and that in v.16 only one 'path' is possible since the reference is to the dividing of the Red Sea. The emendation is therefore accepted. *a poem*,
2. so, e.g., Muilenburg (IB) who sees 16-21 as strophes in 43:14-44:5.
3. Muilenburg, (IB), p.391, c.f., pp. 399, 400.
4. c.f., North, TSI.

extinction. The choice of simile/ and the vividness of the imagery show that the prophet's aim here is not merely to describe the events referred to but to present Yahweh's power over nature and history in a dramatic and convincing way. Having done this the prophet now has Yahweh begin the oracle with the paradoxical news that the audience must forthwith forget what they have been so carefully made to remember - because it is nothing compared with what he is about to do. That this is the correct interpretation is shown by the use of the word η X in the second half of v.19, which compares and contrasts the previous 'way' through the water with the forthcoming 'way' through the desert, implying that the latter is even more wonderful than the former (c.f., North: "I will even make a way").

The ^{eff} ~~effectiveness~~ of the command not to remember the former things¹ stems not only from its position following and in sharp antithesis to the preceding clauses, but from its ambiguity of meaning, for Second Isaiah uses it to convey two antithetical ideas at once. The first is the explicit statement that the former things are no longer to be remembered and pondered on. The meaning here is that they are no longer to be regarded as the high peak of Yahweh's saving acts, because the new things are about to supersede them. The second is the suggestion made by the statement and preceding description, that the former things are indeed to be remembered so that the contrast with the new things can be made and emphasised, for the description of the events at the Red Sea and the contrast between the two 'ways' show that the prophet's aim is to make the exiles do what he then tells them not to do - remember Yahweh's saving acts in the past².

Thus, the prophet has two situations in mind: the deliverance at the Red Sea and the forthcoming deliverance from exile in Babylon. He makes a comparison and

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1. which here refer to the events described in ^{vv 16b-17} ~~the periphrasis~~, so, e.g., North (TSI) ad loc.
2. c.f., Empson's seventh type of ambiguity, in his examination of negatives which suggest their opposite. (W. Empson Seven Types of Ambiguity, Peregrine Books Edn., London 1961 pp.205ff, esp. 211ff.).

contrast between them, using the first to inspire confidence in the second and describing the second in terms of the first. The structure of these verses shows that the contrast is deliberate, and that the prophet is aiming at an exchange of feeling content between the two situations. He wishes his audience to look forward to the coming deliverance with the attitudes and feelings generated by their contemplation of the previous deliverance, to look on it, as North observes, as a salvation history in prospect instead of in retrospect¹.

The first part of the oracle ends at v.19. There follows the image of the animals in the desert honouring Yahweh because he provides water for his chosen people². That these verses belong to the oracle as a whole, despite the minor pause between vv.19 and 20, is evident both from the parallelism of vv.19cd and 20cd³ and from the way they complete the thought: having mentioned the desert and Yahweh's power to make a way through it, the prophet adds that the normal privations of desert life will not apply, because Yahweh will provide abundant water.

The emphasis on the provision of water for Yahweh's people (v.20), and the content of the preceding verses, show that the Exodus traditions of water from the rock are in the prophet's mind. The use of these traditions also implies that the people are conceived of as being thirsty, and that Yahweh provides water in a dramatic manner to meet their need. Once again, Yahweh acts so that he may receive honour, this time from the animals of the wild. It is also implied that he acts in order that Israel, whom he originally created to praise him (v.21) may do so still. The emphasis on movement - the journey through the sea and the way through the desert - also suggests a return to Palestine.

1. p. 345. (TSI).

2. North (TSI).

3. viz:

בי שפון	נהרות	דבר	בפדבר	אשים	אף
בי שפון	נהרות	פיהם	בפדבר	נתתי	כי

B/6. ISAIAH 48:20 - 21

20. Go out from Babylon,
 haste away from Chaldea!
 Proclaim with a shout of jubilation,
 let this be heard!
 Tell it out
 to the end of the earth;
 Say, 'The Lord has redeemed
 his servant Jacob!'
21. and that they thirsted not ^{he}
 in the deserts through which ~~they~~ led them;
 he made water flow
 out of the rock for them,
 by splitting the rock
 so that water gushed out.

The passage may be connected with the preceding verses¹ but this would not affect exegesis. Verse 22 is probably copied from 57:21 where it fits more readily into the context. It is apparently a later expansion, added to close the first section of the Second Isaiah's prophecy².

The verses are a command to Israel, whether by Yahweh or by the prophet remaining uncertain. Verse 20 is a command to depart from exile, and tell the world that Yahweh has redeemed Israel. The series of synonymous verbs - 'proclaim with a shout', 'let this be heard', 'tell it out', 'say' - leading up to the statement, 'Yahweh has redeemed his servant Jacob', serves to emphasise its importance. As in 43:16-21 the prophet explicitly connects the coming redemption with the events of the Exodus. The verbs in v.21 refer to the water from the rock in the first Exodus³, with the implication that Yahweh will similarly provide for his people on the return journey.

1. e.g., Muilenburg (IB), who see v..20-22 as the 9th strophe in a poem consisting of 48:1-22. North however discusses the problem of chap.48 and concludes that the similarities between the different parts of the chap. are not close enough to demonstrate an original unity (TSI pp. 173-174).

2. so, e.g., Muilenburg (IB).

3. the verse clearly and explicitly refers to the Exodus traditions of the provision of water from the rock, c.f., Exod.17:6, Numbers 20:11, and esp. Pss.78:15f, 20, and 105:41-42

The coupling of the Exodus tradition with the coming deliverance shows that the prophet viewed the deliverance from Babylon as a 'second Exodus'. It is not clear whether v.21 is part of the proclamation at the end of v.20, or an interpretative comment on it, though the former is the more natural interpretation. Though the new and old Exodus are not compared and contrasted explicitly, the juxtaposition of the two has the same purpose here as in 43:16-21. As North says, "this verse is a recollection of the first Exodus, which in itself is a sure promise of the second"¹. The prophet adds the image from the first Exodus to his anticipation of the deliverance from Babylon in order to persuade his readers both that the coming deliverance is a reality and that it is part of Yahweh's redemptive work.

B/7. ISAIAH 49:8-13

8. This is the word of the LORD:
 'In the hour of my favour I respond to your need,
 in a day of deliverance I come to your aid;
 and I will protect you and make you
 the mediator of my covenant with the peoples;
 that you may resettle the land,
 and recover possessions now deserted;
9. saying to the prisoners, "Go out",
 to those who are in darkness, "Show yourselves".
 On all mountains they shall feed,
 and on all sand-belts shall be their pasture.
10. They shall not hunger nor thirst,
 neither scorching sand nor sun shall strike them;
 for he who has compassion on them shall lead them,
 and shall guide them by springs of water.
11. And I will make all my mountains a way,
 and my highways shall be cast up
12. See! These come from afar,
 and these from the north and west,
 and these from the land of Syene.'

13. Ring out, you heavens,
and exult, O earth;
break out, you mountains, into shouts of jubilation!
For the LORD has comforted his people,
and will have compassion on his afflicted.¹

The limits of the passage are disputed. Some commentators regard v.12 as displaced from after v.18, but examination of the verse shows that it makes much better sense where it is². The beginning of the passage presents a more difficult problem. The position taken here is that it begins at v.8, and that the second half of v.8 ("I will protect you and make you a mediator of my covenant with the peoples") may tentatively be left where it is, though it is so suspect that for exegetical purposes it must be left out of account³. The text presents

1. v.11. 'way' is preferred to North's 'pathway', to distinguish וַיִּבְנֶה from וַיִּבְנֶה; v.11 cast up - of earth being cast up to repair a road raised above the surrounding land. See below, pp 241 n.2, and 239 f.
On 'On all mountains', v.9, see below, p 218 n. 1.
2. Muilenburg displaces v.12 mainly on the grounds that it completes the strophe at v.18. North also suggests that it may originally have stood in that position, and compares 60:4 (TSI ad loc., SS p.128), where the first 2 lines, verbally identical to 49:18 ('lift up your eyes and see, all of them are gathered and come to you') are followed by an expansion ('your sons shall come from afar, and your daughters shall be carried in the arms') which has minimal similarity to 49:12 (in the words 'come...from afar'). The similarity is not, however, a compelling reason for moving 49:12, since the expansion to 60:4 has an equally strong affinity with 2nd. Isaiah at 43:6. Moreover, 49:12 is entirely appropriate in its present setting: depicting the return of dispersed exiles, after Yahweh has prepared the way (v.11, note especially the plural, 'my highways' which fits the idea of exiles returning from different places). Secondly, v.12 speaks of people coming from North, West & South (Syene), but not from the East. This makes good sense if v.12 is left where it is, for the verse is then addressed to exiles in Babylon, and their gaze is directed to the other exiles in the North, West, & South. To say to the Babylonian exiles, 'lo, these come from the East' would be superfluous, since they are the exiles in the East. Their return is already assured (vv.8-9a) and they are told to look elsewhere. If v.12 is displaced and inserted after v.18, however, Zion is being addressed (see vv.14-18) and would be told that the exiles will be coming from every direction except Babylon (בְּכָל־דְּרֹמֹתָיִם is not a separate place but a blanket description of the three directional specifications that follow, and is in any case too vague a word to have this meaning). This is not impossible, but would certainly be odd in the light of the context (vv.14-21). V.12 therefore makes better sense in its present context than after v.18.
3. See the discussions by North (TSI), Morgenstern (HUCA 1965 pp.3-8). The line is best left where it is, because it may be repetition by the prophet.

one or two other difficulties and it has been found necessary to depart from North's translation at one important point¹.

Despite the uncertainties, the content of the imagery is clear. The oracle begins with two prophetic perfects, stating that Yahweh has answered and helped his people, who therefore by implication need his help. If v.8b α is allowed to stand the subject of the infinitives that follow is the person or group addressed at the beginning. The first effect of Yahweh's 'help' as detailed in the first two infinitives, is to resettle and repossess the devastated land, which the use of 'heritages' (נְהַלְלֵנוּ) shows to be Israel's homeland in Palestine². That the prophet is thinking of the release of the exiles as a means to this end is shown by the way he passes directly from the thought of the resettlement of the land in the first two infinitives to that of the release of the prisoners in the third. The image here is apparently that of prisoners in a dark windowless cell, or underground dungeon³.

1. v.9. MT has כָּל הַרְכָּיִם . LXX has כָּל הַרְכָּיִם . Qa has כּוֹל הָרִים . It is difficult to decide the correct reading. Muilenburg and Morgenstern (1965- on grounds of parallelism and metre) opt for Qa, but North prefers LXX, arguing that 'mountains' is not required by the parallel שֵׁפֶל , even though he notes that these can be up to 700 feet high. On the other hand, כָּל הַרְכָּיִם is not a particularly appropriate parallel. Since North admits that שֵׁפֶל can be a fairly elevated feature of the landscape, and in the light of Jeremiah 3:2 ("lift up your eyes to the bare heights") the Qa reading gives a better parallel than MT or LXX, and is therefore accepted.

Other points are:

- ~~v. 11~~. v.11.: הָרִים . BH, Morgenstern (1965) and others rd. הָרִים with LXX, Targ., Syr. In the light of the // כָּל הַרְכָּיִם this is not convincing. It does not seem inappropriate for Yahweh to talk about the highways as his property; for 'my mountains' c.f., also Is.14:25. For כָּל הַרְכָּיִם read * since הָרִים is feminine (Duhm (HK), Morgenstern (1965)). v.13: rd. כָּל הַרְכָּיִם , imperative, with 34 MSS and Qa, and c.f., כָּל הַרְכָּיִם and 44: 23.
2. c.f., Ps.135:12(~~13~~); 136: 21,22; Numbers 26:53; Deut. 4:21 etc..
3. c.f., in general ID, 'PRISON', and for the underground dungeon c.f., Isaiah 24:22, Jeremiah 37:16.

A change of imagery, from 'prisoners' to a grazing flock, and a grammatical change, from imperatives to imperfects, mark the beginning of the second section. Yahweh's relationship to his people is now described in the familiar terms of the relation between a flock, probably of sheep, and its shepherd. The identification is not direct, but the vocabulary¹ shows that this is the image the prophet had in mind, while both grammar² and vocabulary³ show that it describes Yahweh's relation to his exiled people. The section is a series of metaphors building up a picture of the flock grazing safely under the shepherd's watchful eye. They have no fear of hunger, thirst or heat, because by his care and guidance they find pasture and water and (implied) are not over-exposed to the sun.

The main question raised by this section is whether it depicts the exiles' return to Palestine. According to the most probable reading⁴ the first line says that they (the sheep = the exiles) will feed on all (the) mountains and on (all) the sand-belts. The words can equally well apply to the arid uplands of Judaea as to the Syrian Desert between Palestine and Babylon⁵, while the use of כָּל , all, suggests a picture of a flock roaming freely, not journeying in one direction through the desert⁶. In content, then the section depicts

1. especially 'feed' ($\text{אָכַל$) v.9; 'pasture' ($\\text{פָּרַעַתָם}$ v.9., c.f., of sheep, Jer.23:1, Ezek.34:31); 'lead them' (to water) (אָנַחֲתָם) v.10; and 'guide them (אָנַחֲתָם , cf., of sheep, Ps.23:1, Is.40:11) by springs of water" (v.10).
2. 'the prisoners' of v. 9b are referred to in v.10.
3. The word אָנַחֲתָם in v.10 suggests that the prophet is thinking of Yahweh's compassion for his people under the vehicle of the shepherd's care for his flock, since the verb אָנַחֲתָם (Piel) is normally used in this way (cf in Second Isaiah 49:13, 54:8, 10, 55:7 - even the exception, 49:15, is in an antithetic comparison describing Yahweh's attitude to his people.)
4. see note 1, p 218 above. 12:12
5. It is unnecessary to give references to אָנַחֲתָם . For אָנַחֲתָם see Jer.3:2,21/
6. c.f. Kissane, who accepts the LXX rendering. The picture is not significantly altered if the LXX or MT readings are adopted, as 'all the ways' or 'the ways' still suggests that the movement is in all directions rather than along one route in a specific direction.

a flock of sheep roaming over rough pasture.

On the other hand, though the imagery does not explicitly depict a return journey to Palestine there are several indications that this idea was in the prophet's mind, for the emphasis on the security of the flock from extreme heat and thirst, the provision of water, and the continual movement of the flock under Yahweh's leading and guidance, are themes all of which occur elsewhere in his imagery of the return. Moreover, read in the light of its context - the release of the Babylonian exiles, and by implication their return, (vv.8-9a), and the explicit description of the homecoming of the other exiles (vv.11-12) - such imagery could hardly fail to suggest the hazards of the return journey.

The third section of the oracle consists of vv.11-12. Though v.11 has sometimes been regarded as the conclusion to vv.9b-10, especially when v.12 has been removed, it is better to make the break at the end of v.10, because the imagery changes from the 'flock' to the 'way', and because Yahweh changes from third person speech about himself in v.10 to a first person verb in v.11. The areas mentioned in v.12 show that the reference is to the exiles in other countries besides Babylon¹. Verse 11 speaks of the making of a way and highways. The combination of singular and plural makes it impossible to claim that the image of the prepared route is applied exclusively to the Babylonian exiles as opposed to the rest, or vice-versa. Since the order of thought is: (1) 'exiles in one place, Babylon' (vv.9-10) - (2) 'way' (singular) - (3) 'highways' (plural) - (4) 'exiles in several places' (North, West and South), - the verse should perhaps be regarded as referring both forwards and backwards. The phrase 'I will make all my mountains a way', is difficult to interpret, and will be discussed later².

1. see n 2, p 217 above.

2. see pp 273 below.

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1. see n 2, p 217 above.

2. see pp 272 below.

The finale, v.13, closes the oracle with a call to nature to praise Yahweh for his act of redemption, the style of which indicates its cultic background¹.

Once again, the intention of the passage is to inspire confidence in Yahweh's redeeming activity. The prophet attempts to do this both by repetition (the statements that Yahweh has answered, helped, comforted, forgiven) and by the imagery employed, especially the call to the prisoners to come out, implying that they are prisoners no longer, and the picture of the flock grazing in safety which follows. The latter image has a dual purpose: it contrasts the freedom and security of the flock with the restriction and darkness of the prisoners, thus making an unfavourable comparison between the present state of exile and the coming deliverance, and by its choice of imagery suggests a safe return home across the desert.

B/8. ISAIAH 51:9-11

9. Awake, awake, exert thy might,
O arm of the LORD!
Awake as in bygone days,
the generations of long ago!
Art thou not the arm that hewed Rahab in pieces,
that pierced the sea-monster?
10. Art thou not the arm that dried up the sea,
the waters of the great deep;
that made the ocean depths a way²
for the redeemed to pass over?
11. And the LORD's ransomed people shall return,
and enter Zion with shouts of joy,
crowned with never-fading gladness.
Gladness and rejoicing shall overtake them,
and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

1. cf. Pss 65:14(13), 96:11-12, 98:7-8, & Is. 44:23, 52:9, 55:12-13.

2. see note 1, p. 217. above. (on 49:8-13)

~~2. see n. , p. . above~~

The text presents no major difficulties¹. The passage is best treated in isolation. Muilenburg sees vv.1-16 as a unity but his main argument, that the dominant theme is the comforting of Zion, cannot prove anything more than a general similarity of content. The same applies to the other 'awake' passage². Moreover, North advances good arguments for regarding vv.12-16 as a later addition.

The first part of the passage is an impassioned address to the 'arm of Yahweh', a synecdochal expression for Yahweh's power which is frequently used in Deuteronomy to describe Yahweh bringing about the Exodus "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm"³. The context shows that this particular association is in the prophet's mind, for Yahweh's arm is called upon to awake, or rouse itself, as in the days of old, which are immediately characterised by two structurally similar and initially verbally identical clauses, whose major reference is to the Exodus. The language used in the address to Yahweh's arm - it is told to put on strength (i.e. as a garment) - is metaphorical, but there is not enough evidence to show that the metaphor⁴ is more than formal, or that it is vivid enough to be described, in North's words, as a "picture" of "a heavily gauntleted forearm brandishing a sword"⁵. The synecdoche enables the

1. v.9. There is some uncertainty as to whether Rahab is 'hewed' or 'crushed'. BH, Wade(WC, probably), Box, Muilenburg (IB), Morgenstern HUCA (1965) all emend to הִפְּחֵהוּ (crushed) with the Vulgate (percussit) and (recently) Qa. Muilenburg cites parallels in other contexts (Judges 5:26, Pss.18:39(38), 68:22(21), 110:5, Hab.3:13, Job 26:12, of which the last is the closest parallel). MT is to be preferred, because the verbal repetition of אֶת־הַיָּד אֶת־הַיָּד in 9c and 10a and the ideological parallelism of וַיִּשְׁבֹּר and וַיִּשְׁבֹּר show that the poet was trying to obtain an exact parallelism, and MT הִפְּחֵהוּ // הִפְּחֵהוּ is phonologically closer than the emendation. The change in Qa may be by analogy with the other contexts cited. On v.11 and its position see below p 224f.

2. 52:1.

3. North, citing Deut. 4:34.

4. or metaphors, if וַיִּשְׁבֹּר is taken to mean 'awake' instead of the more general 'rouse thyself'.

5. In 52:1, however, the image is more developed: the וַיִּשְׁבֹּר of the first line is taken up and repeated in the second with an explicit reference to garments.

the prophet to call on Yahweh with a boldness, almost impatience, which might be out of place in a more direct address.

Muilenburg, citing Begrich, says that vv.9-10 are in the form of a lament, and compares Isaiah 63:7 - 64:12 and Psalms 38, 74, 77, and 79. According to Weiser¹, Psalm 38 depicts a man afflicted by a grievous sickness and guilt. Persecuted by malicious enemies, he punctuates his prayer with impassioned cries to God (verses 1, 15, 21). Psalm 74 is a community lament "bemoaning the destruction of the Temple", an "impassioned protest of the people against their God". Its appeal to Yahweh's saving acts in the past (crushing the head of Leviathan) has a close similarity to Isaiah 51:9-10. Psalm 77 has a vivid description of Yahweh's effect on the waters, which tremble before him. This reference is however in the second part of the psalm, which Weiser describes not as a lament but as a hymn. The lament itself (vv.1-9) describes a man "tormented with anxiety", who asks if God will spurn him forever. Psalm 79 is another passionate lament over the destruction of the Temple, and is punctuated with the despairing cries - "How long O Lord?" (v.5) and, "Help us, O God of our salvation" (v.9).

Not all of the five constituent parts of the 'lament' form as listed by Weiser² are demonstrably present in Isaiah 51:9-10. Three - invocation, supplication, motivation - may be detected, but a fourth, 'the vow' is absent. Whether the fifth element, lamentation, is present depends on whether this was the 'tone of voice' in which the verses were uttered. Here one must look at vv.9-10 in the total context of Second Isaiah, and compare the prophet's viewpoint with that of the Psalmists. The latter call on Yahweh from a situation of deep distress, in the hope that he will answer. They may recount Yahweh's deeds in the past as a means of kindling their faith, but their main attention is directed to their present distress. The attitude of Second Isaiah is in one vital respect

1. "Psalms" ad. loc.

2. Psalms, p.67.

different. Like the psalmists, he often depicts the present situation of distress (exile). Unlike them, however, he sees Yahweh's salvation as imminent, and the aim of his prophecy is to acclaim it, ^{and} proclaim it to the people. In the context of Second Isaiah's thought Isaiah 51:9-10 is most naturally interpreted, not as the lament of a despairing man but as the jubilant cry of a supremely confident one. He calls on Yahweh's arm to awake not because he wishes it would but because he is sure that it will, and that this will happen soon. A further point in favour of this interpretation is that v.11, whether a quotation by the prophet or a later addition by disciples, itself interprets vv.9-10 in this way¹.

Two conclusions are possible. Either the passage does not have the form of a lament, since the 'vow' element is absent and the 'lament' element is unlikely, or the prophet has adapted the 'lament' form and used it to acclaim Yahweh's coming salvation².

One may now consider v.11, which, apart from minor and mainly orthographic variations is verbally identical with Isaiah 35:10. Accordingly, many scholars have deleted it as an addition³. By contrast, Jones⁴ asserts that it is "prophecy quoted as about to be fulfilled". Muilenberg thinks it entirely possible that Second Isaiah used this verse, his employment of it being explicable in the light of his reference to 'way' in the previous line⁵ and his emphasis on the

1. see immediately below.

2. It cannot be assumed that form (in the sense of form criticism) and content always are congruous (Fohrer, Remarks p.312).

3. e.g., recently, Morgenstern (1965) p.11; Skinner regards it as transferred by a copyist ≠ the reference to 'way' in 35:8, as also Wade (WC), Box, Duhm(HK).

4. Fke. ad loc.

5. 51:10.

'Holy Way' in Isaiah 35:9. Both he and North think that v.10 would be an abrupt ending and that v.11 completes the thought. The latter points out that Second Isaiah is not above occasional borrowing (c.f., 42:10), and in the light of the Dead Sea Scroll's addition of "sorrow and sighing shall flee away" at Isaiah 51:2 he suggests that such fragments may have been stock cliches in Deutero- and Trito-Isaianic circles.

It may be agreed that vv.9-10 by themselves appear incomplete, that v.11 is an apt conclusion, and that its status as a verbal repetition of Isaiah 35:10 is not sufficient ground for excising it. On this basis, either Second Isaiah quoted it to complete vv.9-10 with an explicit depiction of the return, or a disciple added it because he felt that vv.9-10 implied such an expectation. If the second explanation is adopted it may be noted that the disciple was correct in his interpretation. The call to Yahweh's arm to act "as in the days of old" shows that Yahweh's redeeming action in the future is in mind, while the central position of the Red Sea deliverance in vv.9-10 and the motif of the 'way' through the sea, considered in the light of 43:16-21, suggest that Yahweh's action is expected to be the deliverance of the exiles leading to their return home.

Some recent commentators¹ seem to think that v.9b refers to the creation, v.10 to the Exodus, and v.11 to the return. In other words, Second Isaiah calls on the arm of Yahweh to rouse itself as in the days of old, and then gives two examples, the creation (in the mythical imagery of the dragon-fight) and the passage through the Red Sea. H.G. May also thinks that v.9b refers to the creation but argues² that the passage shows a "mythopoeic coalescence of time", whereby Yahweh's primordial struggle with Rahab is at one and the same time the victory over the Red Sea and the clearing of obstacles from the path of those

1. Muilenburg (IB), Kissane, possibly North (TSI).

2. Cos Ref p.7, see above p.107.

returning to Zion. On this theory the language would be synthetic.¹

The structure (vv.9-10) shows that the prophet is appealing to events known to have occurred in the distant past. Yahweh's arm is told to awake, as in the days of old², a simile which both posits a similarity between Yahweh's past action and his hoped-for action in the future and differentiates between them³. Thus, the text does not bear out May's theory as far as it applies to coalescence of past and future, since the prophet sees Yahweh's past and future actions as different though analogous.

The depiction of past events in vv.9b-10 is accomplished by means of a series of participles. Verse 10 undoubtedly refers to the crossing of the Red Sea in the Exodus, and the development of this motif in the second half of the verse shows that it is the main thing the prophet has in mind in his appeal to Yahweh's saving acts in the past. Several views of its relation to v.9b are possible: that 9b refers to the creation and 10a to the Exodus, seen as separate though parallel events⁴; that Creation and Exodus are fused in a single perception⁵; or that vv.9b and 10a⁶ use creation-myth imagery to describe the Exodus in order to bring out its significance as a creative and chaos-subduing act of Yahweh⁷. The second and third views differ in that, on May's view, Creation and Exodus carry equal weight, as it were, while on the third view the main reference is to the Exodus, though the fact that it is described in

1. c.f., Latta, VT Suppl. IX 1963, pp.32-46 esp. p.38.

2. כִּי־יָקֻם

3. on this function of simile see above pp.61f, 95-7.

4. Kissane, Muilenburg (IB).

5. May (op. cit.).

6. תְּהוֹרֵם רָבָה

7. c.f., North (TSI): "The Hebrews took fragments from the creation-myth, like broken pieces of stained glass, and used them to embellish the story of the Exodus" (ad loc.).

Creation-myth imagery would constitute a secondary reference to the Creation. From the list of Psalms cited by Lauha where Creation-myth imagery and the Red Sea motif are combined, it appears that the juxtaposition, once made, became very popular¹. In most of these Psalms the major reference is to the Exodus². Since this is also the case here the third view is to be accepted.

B/9. ISAIAH 52:11-12

11. Away! Away!
 Go out from there,
 touch nothing unclean;
 march right away from her,
 rid yourselves of all impurity,
 you who carry the sacred vessels.
12. Yours shall be no hurried escape,
 still less will you go in flight;
 the LORD himself is going before you,
 the God of Israel is your rear-guard.³

This passage explicitly refers to the exiles' return home, and contrasts their impending departure with the first Exodus. In form, it is a command to depart from Babylon with all speed, the speaker being either Yahweh or the prophet. This is best understood, not as a command issued after Cyrus' victory and decree, when departure was a real possibility, but as an anticipation of that possibility while it was still future. By speaking in imperative terms as if departure ^{were} ~~was~~ already possible, the prophet expresses his confidence in Yahweh's coming salvation, and asserts its reality to his audience. The return journey is compared with the first Exodus (Yahweh will guard and go with his people⁴) and also contrasted with it (it will not be in haste)⁴.

1. Lauha (op.cit.) cites Exodus 15(v.8), and Pss.74:13f,77:19f,78:13,106:9 &136:13f.
2. The exception is Ps.74:13f, which alludes to the Heilsgeschichte vaguely if at all (Weiser, Psalms).
3. v.11. from there. The prophet places himself, in his imagination, at Jerusalem and addresses Babylon (North, Mailenburg (drawing on Volz)).
4. see North ad loc.

B/10. ISAIAH 55:12-13

12. 'For you shall go out with rejoicing,
and be led along in safety;
the mountains and hills will break out into cries of joy
at your approach,
and all the trees of the countryside will clap their hands.
13. Instead of the camel-thorn shall come up the juniper,
instead of the nettle shall come up the myrtle;
and it shall be to the LORD for a memorial,
for a lasting inscription which shall never be effaced.' ¹

The passage depicts ^{the} exiles' departure from Babylon. The introductory particle connects the verses with what precedes, though the limits of the total are uncertain². The conservative estimate is vv.10-13, and a reasonable estimate, vv.6-13. Viewed in this context the closing verses are the climax of a section whose thought sequence (though not grammatical structure) can be paraphrased thus:

'because Yahweh is near, and will abundantly pardon -
because his thoughts are not man's thoughts and his ways
higher than man's ways -
because his living word cannot be frustrated -
therefore the exiled people will go home rejoicing
and travel in peace and safety.'

The dominant note in v.12 is rejoicing, which is developed by the image of the mountains and hills, and then the trees, demonstrating their joyful reaction to the fact that the exiles have 'gone out', just as the animals were said to honour Yahweh because of his acts on behalf of his people in Isaiah 43:20³. The reference to trees probably suggested the continuation, which reintroduces the imagery of the change from desert to forest land previously encountered in Isaiah 41:16f⁴. In the present context the woodland trees are contrasted with

1. There are no textual difficulties, though Qa has minor variants.
2. North (TSI) and Box, vv.6-13; Muilenburg (IB) takes the whole chapter as the unit, as also Kissane, who adds 56:1-6. ^{are}
3. above p 214, The mountains, hills and trees, probably to be thought of as praising Yahweh, as in 44:23, 49:13 and the enthronement psalms 96:11-12 and 98:7-8 (see below p 246).
4. above p 200f.

the desert vegetation they are to replace. North suggests that the verb 'shall come up', indicates an element of suddenness in the imagery here, as in 41:19f. The context also suggests this, for the most natural interpretation is that the events depicted in v.13, like those in v.12, will happen אֲנִי יָבִיאָם
(North - 'at your approach').

The last line is difficult to interpret. Some commentators refer it to the previous line, in which case Yahweh's inscription and memorial is the change in the trees¹, which must then be given a literal interpretation. Others² think that the reference is a more general one, to the content of the entire passage. In structure the passage begins with a statement about the return of the exiles, to which everything that follows is a response - the rejoicing of mountains, hills and trees, and the change of vegetation. On the first view, only the last part of nature's response is to be Yahweh's lasting memorial. On the second view, the memorial is the redeeming act itself, together with the complete response to it. This is intrinsically more likely, especially since Second Isaiah's repeatedly states that Yahweh acts redemptively in order that mankind should honour him. It will therefore be accepted.

SUMMARY AND INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

These ten passages reveal a variety of form and imagery. Usually Yahweh is the speaker³, but there are two commands in which the speaker is unspecified⁴, an appeal to Yahweh's arm, presumably made by the prophet⁵, a command to the members of the heavenly council spoken by an angelic herald⁶, and a promise

1. Wade (WC), Skinner (Camb.B), North (TSI).
2. Muilenburg, Volz (KAT), Jones (Pke)(?), de Boer (OOTS XI 1956).
3. 41:17-20, 42:13-17, 43:2, 43:16-21, 49:8-13.
4. 48:20-22, 52:11f.
5. 51:9-11.
6. 40:3-5.

where the speaker is apparently the prophet¹. The prophet uses a variety of images: Yahweh as a warrior and a woman in labour, giving water in the desert, causing drought, levelling the mountains, ^αleading the blind, setting prisoners free, changing desert into woodland, making a way in the desert, etc.

Another striking feature is the repeated insistence on the acknowledgement of Yahweh's redeeming acts. It is stated that he will receive honour from his people², and the animals of the wild³. Nature itself is called on to praise him⁴. His redeeming action will be a revelation of his glory for all mankind to see⁵, will result in the complete confusion of idolaters⁶, and will be an everlasting memorial⁷.

It is also clear that Second Isaiah expected a return to Palestine in the immediate future. All but two of the passages allude to this, either implicitly⁸, or explicitly⁹. Anderson's contention is thus upheld as far as eight passages are concerned, the exceptions being 41:17-20 and 42:13-17, where positive evidence is lacking.

A further point is that almost every passage has a more or less certain reference to the Exodus. The Red Sea is referred to implicitly¹⁰ and explicitly¹¹. The provision of water in the desert is also referred to directly¹² and indirectly¹³, while there are three possible allusions to the pillar of fire¹⁴ and one explicit reference to the speed of departure¹⁵. The dominant themes are those of the Red Sea and the water in the desert. In four passages the return is seen as a new Exodus, compared and contrasted with the old¹⁶.

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. 55:12-13. | 2. 41:17-20. | 3. 43:16-21. |
| 4. 49:8-13. | 5. 40:3-5. | 6. 42:13-17. |
| 7. 55:12-13. | 8. 40:3-5, 43:2, 48:20f, 51:9-10. | |
| 9. 43:16-21, 49:8-13, 51:11 (if by Second Isaiah), 52:11f, 55:12f. | | |
| 10. 43:2, 42:13-17(?). | 11. 43:16-21, 51:9-11. | 12. 48:20f. |
| 13. 41:17-20, 43:17-21. | 14. 40:3-5, 42:13-17, 52:11f. | |
| 15. 52:11f. | | |
| 16. Explicitly 43:16-21 and 52:11f; Implicitly: 48:20f. and 51:9-10. | | |

The ten passages also show that Second Isaiah's hope is eschatological, for he believes that Yahweh is inaugurating a new action in history in relation to his people (the return home - a 'new thing' surpassing the 'former things'¹). He proclaims that Jerusalem's slavery is ended, and that Yahweh's glory will be revealed for all mankind to see². Several other images describe this new action in history, including the dramatic provision of water in the desert³ and Yahweh comforting his people and setting prisoners free⁴. That this new action is related to the final consummation of his purpose is clear from the final verse of the prophecy, which speaks of the deliverance as an everlasting memorial⁵.

Finally, the analysis has shown the emotive function of the imagery. One of the prophet's major aims was to inspire confidence in Yahweh's saving power.

Not all the passages use language which on a literal interpretation refer to changes in the landscape and climate. 52:11-12 is simply a command to depart from Babylon, and 51:9-11 speaks only of a joyful return. The references to the crossing of the Red Sea here and to the provision of water on the first Exodus in 48:20f might imply that similar wonders - water, and a 'way' in the desert (as in 43:17-21) are to be expected on the journey, but this is not explicitly stated. 43:2 implies the expectation of a return when read in its context, but the imagery itself is generally symbolic of peril. This leaves six passages where the imagery would describe cosmological changes if it were intended literally. The major themes in question are those of the provision of the way in the desert, with the allied theme of the levelling of the mountains, and the provision of water in the desert, to which is connected the change from desert to woodland. Since Second Isaiah uses similar imagery elsewhere it will be necessary to examine these two themes in greater detail. This will be the task of the next chapter.

1. 43:16-21, above pp 211ff. 2. 40:3-5, above pp 196ff. 3. 41:17-20, above pp 200ff.
 4. 49:8-13, above pp 216ff. 5. above, p 228f.

CHAPTER NINEIMAGERY OF THE RETURN IN
SECOND ISAIAH - PART TWOA. IMAGERY OF THE WAY IN SECOND ISAIAHA/1 INTRODUCTION

In analysing Second Isaiah's imagery of the way through the desert the key term is the word דָרֶךְ which occurs a number of times in Isaiah 40-55, both in the return passages previously analysed¹ and elsewhere². It has a semantic range similar to that of the English word 'way' which customarily translates it, and is used throughout the Old Testament in a wide variety of contexts and combinations relating mainly to the twin spheres of geographical communications and direction on the one hand and human conduct and condition on the other³. In the former sphere it can mean, specifically, 'road' in the sense of a major and possibly maintained highway, or 'footpath', or more generally 'route' or 'direction'⁴. It is of interest to note that the word is often used

1. 40:3-4, 42:16, 43:16, 49:9, 51:10.
2. 40:14,27, 42:14, 45:13, 48:15,17, 53:6, 55:7,8,9.
3. The main headings in BDB and LVTL are:

LVTL

1. Way, Road
2. Distance, journey.
3. Manner, custom, behaviour, mode of living.
4. Way = condition.

BDB

1. Way, Road, Path.
2. Journey
3. of direction, almost = towards.
4. Manner, usage, customary experience or condition, habits (or animals).
5. Fig. of course of life, action, undertakings.
6. of moral action and character.

The classifications overlap, but broadly speaking, LVTL/1² and BDB/1² correspond; LVTL/3-4 broadly corresponds with BDB/4-6. Both differentiate the twin spheres (LVTL/1-2 & BDB/1-3 + LVTL/3-4 & BDB/4-6) of geography & human conduct/condition.

4. see previous note.

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4. see previous note.

about human conduct in a sense extended from what is presumably the central meaning, 'route, road, path'. The semantic transparency of the extended meaning is clear, for example, in the expressions 'turning aside out of the way'¹ and 'walking in the way'².

In the occurrences of דָּרַךְ in the rest of Isaiah (i.e. 1-39, 56-66), the extended meaning appears several times³ together with 'custom'⁴ and more general meanings related to behaviour⁵. Of the occurrences in the specific sense, 'road', one refers to a particular communications route, the Kings Way⁶, and another to the road to Horonaim⁷, while two others have the more general sense 'road, route'⁸. There are three close parallels to the imagery of the return passages in Second Isaiah, namely 35:8-9, 57:14, and 62:10, the last two of which appear to describe some kind of road construction and repair. In Second Isaiah דָּרַךְ occurs in five of the return passages, once alone⁹, twice in synonymous parallelism with כַּסְּפָה , 'highway'¹⁰, and three times in synonymous parallelism with דֶּרֶךְ , 'path'¹¹, the last two occasions being in the same return passage. Of the other occurrences in Second Isaiah, eight can be left aside as irrelevant¹². The remaining two

-
1. literally in Deut.2:27; nonliterally (figurative or formal) in Deut.9:12.16, 11:28 etc.
 2. literally: Judges 19:27, 1 Sam 1:18; nonliterally, of Yahweh's ways: Deut.10:12, 11:22, 19:19, 26:17, 30:16 etc.
 3. 'walking in the way': Is.2:3, 8:11, 30:21; 'turn aside from the way': Is.30:11; other similar extensions: 56:11, 65:2, c.f. 57:10.17.18, 58:13.
 4. 10:24,26. Though perhaps originally an extension from 'road' this appears to have lost its transparency.
 5. 58:2, 63:17, 64:4(5), 66:3.
 6. 8:23(9:1) c.f. Num.21:22, and see Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine III" (The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vols. XVIII-XIX, for 1937-1939, New Haven 1939, esp. pp.60-63, 125-127, 142-144) and also his "The Other Side of The Jordan" New Haven, 1945 pp.10-16.
 7. 15:5.
 8. 37:29, 32:34.
 9. 51:10.
 10. 40:3-4, 49:9.
 11. 42:16(// דֶּרֶךְ) and 43:16(// דֶּרֶךְ) and 19(// דֶּרֶךְ).
 12. (a) extended meanings relating to conduct: 42:14, 48:17, 53:6, 55:7.8.9. (c.f. the other similar extensions cited above, notes 1-5). (b) one extended meaning, 'insight': (דָּרַךְ // אָרְחָה כִּשְׁפָה - Is.40:14). (c) = 'situation' (Is. 40:27).

occurrences, both of which concern Cyrus, will be discussed below¹. Further analysis of דָּרַךְ and other key terms will show that the prophet drew his imagery of the way from two main sources, contemporary road-building and Exodus traditions.

A/2 THE 'ROAD-BUILDING' INGREDIENT IN SECOND ISAIAH'S IMAGERY OF THE WAY.

The extent and nature of anything that could be called 'road-building' in the pre-Roman world is difficult to determine. Margoliouth and Jones² admit that roadmaking by mounding and excavating may have been practised, but say that, on the whole, pre-Roman roads were simply tracks made by constant use. They cite Josephus as saying that Solomon had all the roads to Jerusalem paved with black stone, but note that his authority for this statement is unknown. Certainly it is difficult to give it its face value meaning, though it may be derived from an earlier tradition of primitive road work magnified by a combination of the Solomonic legend and experience of Roman roads.

Mendelsohn³ is more optimistic. He points out that the complex military and commercial movements of the second millenium presuppose not only roads but also "a conscious effort to maintain them in serviceable condition", though this would often mean no more than maintaining and clearing existing tracks. Extra-biblical evidence from the Amarna letters and the Moabite stone shows that some form of road construction and repair was carried on from earliest times, and ^{a number of Hebrew words are cited} as evidence of the type of roadwork carried out⁴. ^{From} Mendelsohn's description, the main features of this were levelling the surface to make a way or levelling an existing way⁵, clearing the ground of stones to provide

1. Is. 45:13, and 48:15, see below pp 237-8

2. H²: TRADE AND COMMERCE, pp.1011b-1012a.

3. ID, Vol IV, TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION IN THE O.T., pp.688-690.

4. ibid.

5. דָּרַךְ in Prov.3:6, Is.40:3; דָּרַךְ in Is.26:7, Ps. 78:50.

the context leaves the question open whether one meaning only is intended or both together. All three occurrences in the book of Proverbs are nonliteral uses of 'road' imagery¹ and suggest, assuming that the imagery was drawn from contemporary life, that existing roads were often maintained and improved² by levelling the surface and, perhaps, making the route as direct as possible.

The remaining occurrences are in Second Isaiah. In the first, Isaiah 40:3², the context shows that the prophet is thinking more of levelling than of straightening, because he goes on to amplify the command, **יִשְׁרֹן...נַעֲלֵה**, by saying that deep clefts must be filled in, mountains reduced to lowland, steeps made into level surface and rugged ground into open plain. Since this scale of roadworks would have been impossible in the ancient world the inference is that he is taking the normal process and exaggerating it to gigantic proportions, as would befit the preparations of a highway for Yahweh.

The other two occurrences of **יִשְׁרֹן** both refer to Cyrus. In the first, at Isaiah 45:1-3, Yahweh says to Cyrus, his anointed -

1. ...whose right hand I have grasped
to subdue nations before him
and ungird the loins of kings,
to open doors before him,
that gates may not be closed.
2. "I will go before you
to level the mountains³.
I will break in pieces the doors of bronze
and cut asunder the bars of iron,
3. I will give you the treasures of darkness
and the hoards in secret places..."

1. **יִשְׁרֹן**, Prov. 3:6 (// **יִשְׁרֹן**) and 9:15; **יִשְׁרֹן**, Prov. 11:5.

2. see above pp 197-9.

3. RSV. (North's translation is less exact). MT reads: **וְהִדְרִים אֶשְׁרֹן**
(Kethib: **יִשְׁרֹן**, Qere **יִשְׁרֹן**). BDB take **וְהִדְרִים** as a pass.
part. of **יִדְרֹן** & conjecture a meaning, 'swellings'. North however points
out that this assumes a sense of **יִדְרֹן** otherwise unattested except by com-
parison with Arabic & post-biblical Hebrew. LXX has **ῥῆμα** at this point &
Qa.rds. **וְהִדְרִים**, a reduplication which, though without parallel in the
MT of the OT (North's explanatory ref. to GK 93aa is not helpful because GK only
refers to suffixed & construct forms of **יִדְרֹן** in this connection, as also BDB,
LVTL) is not unknown to the scribe himself, who has already used it at 42:11. The
combination of LXX and Qa is sufficient to establish **וְהִדְרִים** as the most pro-
bable reading. Morgenstern suggests **וְהִדְרִים** # 45:13 (so also BH, LVTL),
(see note 4 continued next)

The relative clauses in v.1 begin with generalised references to the conquest of nations and kings, which show that the conquests the prophet has in mind are universal in scope, not restricted to Babylon alone. The coupling of the following imagery of doors and gates with such generalised references indicates that the imagery, taken probably from the gates of fortified cities, is being used nonliterally of the removal of political and military obstacles¹. After the reference to mountains the image of doors and gates is given further development in what appears to be an illustrative literal way, since it would call to mind the bronze doors of Babylon itself² and yet be sufficiently vague to fit in with the initial picture of world dominion. The same may be said of the following image of 'treasures of darkness'³. The fact that the first image of doors, and gates, is given further development shows that it is figurative rather than formal. Thus, the reference to Yahweh's levelling of the mountains occurs in the context of Cyrus' promised world dominion, which is announced in general references to conquest developed in figurative and illustrative literal imagery. More precisely, it is sandwiched between a figurative and an illustrative literal image of the overcoming of obstacles. In this setting it is most naturally interpreted as another, figurative, image of the overcoming of obstacles⁴ and as an echo of the roadbuilding image in for example, 40:3-4. The other occurrence of רשׁ , at 45:13, where it is said that Yahweh will level Cyrus' ways, should also be given a figurative interpretation⁵.

(footnote 4 continued). but levelling mountains is not out of place as it occurs elsewhere in Second Isaiah (40:3-4, c.f.49:11 and 41:15 (below pp252-6)).

1. Muilenburg (IB) takes it in this general sense.
2. Volz (KAT), Muilenburg (IB) both citing Herodotus.
3. See Muilenburg's ref (IB) to Babylon's reputed wealth.
4. Nonliteral rather than illustrative literal because the conditions of the latter do not apply (see above, chap 6 (Amos) p 132) and figurative rather than formal because רשׁ אַרְצוֹתַי is an unusual combination and the image of (road)levelling is developed elsewhere in Second Isaiah.
5. The // shows that it is not intended literally, c.f. also 48:15 (also a reference to Cyrus), where רַדְּךָ however means 'undertaking' (so North, TSI, who compares Gen.24:21, 40, 56; Josh.1:8) & the extension from 'road' has become...

Besides the occurrences of ןןן (Piel) there are two other relevant passages in Second Isaiah. The first, 42:16, is a development of the same image in different words ("I will make...rough ground level before them"). The second, 49:11, contains the phrase, "I will make all my mountains a way". The phrase itself has closest affinities with the imagery of road-levelling and levelling mountains in 40:3-5, 45:2, and 45:13, but its context and parallel are concerned with the return of exiles from North, West, and South, and the repair of the highways along which they will travel¹. It is thus either intended literally of cosmic changes, figuratively or formally of the removal of obstacles, or synthetically².

Finally, one may examine the evidence that earthworks were 'cast up' to make a 'highway' in biblical times. Besides the verb ןןן the related noun ןןןן is also relevant. The standard dictionaries agree that it means a raised way, highway³. Köhler also says it means a 'highway, raised with pavement, dikes, etc.'. Leaving aside doubtful passages⁴ and literal⁵ and nonliteral⁶ uses where the context is uninformative, five passages are of interest. In one⁷, Amasa is said to be wallowing in his blood in the middle of the highway, and to be carried thence into the open field, where his body is covered and thereafter unnoticed by the people travelling along the highway. This suggests that the particular highway was fairly wide and quite

1. On 40:3-5, see above, pp 196-9. On 45:2 and 45:13 see pp 237f. On 49:11 see above, pp 216-221.
2. For further discussion see below p 273f.
3. They disagree however as to whether the word was used of a street in a city. BDB say not, while LVTL, cites 2 Kings 18:17, Is. 7:3, 30:2, 1 Chron. 26:16.18. as being "in Jerusalem". John Gray's discussion inclines to the latter view as regards the first three passages cited (I & II Kings, A Commentary, London 1964, pp. 616-618).
4. Ps. 84:6, 2 Chron. 9:11 (Where Köhler LVTL rds. ןןןןן) & Prov. 3:26, where he emends conjecturally to ןןןן .
5. i.e. the passages cited in n. 3 above, and Num. 20:19, 1 Sam 6:12, Is. 11:16, 19:23, 33:8, 40:3 (above pp 196-9), 59:7, Jer. 31:21.
6. Ju. 5:20, Joel 2:7b-8, Prov. 16:17, Ps 59:7(?).
7. 2 Sam. 20:12.13.

distinct from the open country through which it ran. A similar distinction between the 'highway' and the 'open country' occurs in Judges 20:31. Two passages speak of highways being 'lifted up' or 'cast up'¹ but another is said by Margeliouth and Jones to be but a configuration of the natural terrain². From the uses of הָלַחַם there is evidence, then, that some highways were artificially raised above the surrounding land³, and that others were readily distinguishable from it, possibly because they too were raised up, but no evidence from any of the contexts in which הָלַחַם occurs that 'paved' is part of its meaning.

Similar considerations apply to the relevant occurrences of the verb שָׁלַח , 'cast up'. Jeremiah 18:15 distinguishes between the bypaths into which the people have wandered and the main road that has been 'cast up'⁴ while Proverbs 15:19 makes a similar distinction between the sluggard's way that is overgrown with thorns and the raised highway giving easy passage to the upright. Both are evidence that some major roads were 'cast up' but in neither case does the context warrant Mendelsohn's translation, 'paved'. Other evidence of roads being 'cast up' comes of course from Isaiah 57:14 and 62:10⁵. The passages cited also show that the word הָלַחַם was not a technical term used to differentiate artificially cast up roads from others not so treated, as both הָלַחַם and הָלַחַם are also used of the former⁶.

1. Is.49:11, 62:16.
2. Ju.20:31, H² op.cit. p.234 above.
3. c.f., also Is.35:8, where the related noun שָׁלַחַם is used of a raised highway, on which ravenous beasts shall not 'come up'.
4. הָלַחַם שָׁלַחַם הָלַחַם שָׁלַחַם are: Jer.50:26 (where Babylon is 'piled up' like heaps of grain), Job 19:12 (where הָלַחַם is used in the transferred sense 'siegewerke'), Job 30:12 (ditto, of הָלַחַם) and Ps.68:5(4) (meaning uncertain). Köhler, LVFL, in his reference to שָׁלַחַם , compares the noun הָלַחַם which he takes to mean a "siege, assault rampart, paved (mit Pflasterwegen) on account of the weight of engines". None of the contexts in which this word occurs shows that such siegewerke were paved, and Köhler does not give his authority for the statement.
6. הָלַחַם - Prov.15:19, הָלַחַם - Is.57:14.14, Jer. 18:15.
Note also the parallelism of Is. 62:10.10.

Assuming the imagery was drawn from contemporary life, the evidence shows that in Old Testament times some roads were cleared, levelled, or 'cast up' to form 'highways', and that Second Isaiah drew on this vocabulary of roadbuilding as a major ingredient in his imagery of the way. Of the return passages, 40:3-4 uses imagery of clearing and levelling, especially the latter, which is exaggerated to gigantic proportions; 42:16 has an echo of road-levelling ('I will make... rough ground level before them')¹ and 49:11 speaks of mountains being made 'a way' and highways being 'lifted up'². The prophet has also been found to use road-building imagery figuratively in 45:2 and 45:13³.

A/3. THE 'EXODUS' INGREDIENT IN SECOND ISAIAH'S IMAGERY OF THE WAY.

The second ingredient in Second Isaiah's imagery of the way is the theme of Yahweh making a way through the desert, where 𐤇𐤇𐤇 means 'route, path' rather than an artificially made or maintained road. The clearest example of this is in 43:16-21, where an explicit contrast and comparison is made between the way Yahweh made through the sea on the first Exodus and the way he is about to make in the desert in the new Exodus⁴. Yahweh's way through the sea of the

1. see above pp 204-210

2. 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏. North translates 'put in order', but the sense is identical to 𐤏𐤏𐤏 in the Trito-Isaianic passages, which are perhaps a development of the imagery here.

3. Sidney Smith thinks that the road-building imagery refers specifically to the Achaemenid kings, who he claims were the first to build roads raised above the surface of the plain and drive cuttings through the hills for military purposes, as post-roads ("Isaiah Chapters XI-LV, Literary Criticism and History", p. 65). Olmstead, on the other hand, says that while the Assyrian kings built paved roads with milestones, at least near cities, there is no indication that the Persians followed their example (A.T. Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire", Chicago (Paperback edn.) 1959 p. 299). Smith does not give an authority for his statement and the reference to cuttings in the hills suggests that he may have been proceeding by inference back from Isaiah 40:3-4, on which he is commenting. In any case, Jeremiah 18:15 shows that raised highways were being built in pre-exilic Palestine (see above p. 220).

4. above pp 211-214.

first Exodus is also referred to in Isaiah 51:9-10, where it is implied that Yahweh who saved his people in the days of old is about to do so again¹. Like the Red Sea tradition as a whole, to which Second Isaiah makes frequent reference², his theme of Yahweh's way through the sea is probably drawn from cultic traditions. Of the closest Psalm parallels to 43:16, 19, and 51:10, one is post-exilic and derivative³, another is uncertain⁴, but the third, Psalm 77:17-20(16-19) is undoubtedly part of an ancient hymn⁵. These verses may originally have referred to a thunderstorm theophany⁶ but were early assimilated to the Red Sea tradition⁷. The verbal similarity between the Psalm and Second Isaiah⁸ makes it probable that

1. above pp221-7.

2. 42:15, 43:2, 44:27, 50:2, above pp206-211 below, pp258f.

3. Ps.107:4,7, c.f. v.40. The Psalm has many verbal parallels to Second Isaiah, in vv.10-16 (esp.v.16// Is.45:2) and 33-38. It is generally accepted as postexilic because of the reference to the Diaspora in vv.1-3.

4. Ps.106:9. There is no agreement as to its possible date. Compare Eissfeldt (TOTI pp.16f) and Mowinckel (TPIW/ II p.158), Weiser (Psalms ad loc), E.A. Leslie (The Psalms....New York and Nashville 1949, p.164), and H.J. Kraus (Psalmen, Biblischer Kommentar, Neukirchen, 1961).

5. See esp. Helen Jefferson (Psalm LXXVII, VT 13 (1963) pp.87-91).

6. Jefferson, op. cit.

7. Jefferson, op. cit. demonstrates a close relation between the vocabulary of Ps. 77:17-20(16-19) and Ps. 18:8-16(7-15), but this does not necessarily mean that the content is identical. In any case, v.21 interprets the preceding verses as referring to the Red Sea.

8. Is. 43:16

Is. 51:10.

Ps. 77:20(19).

הננות בים דרך
ובפים עזים
נתיבה

השפה פעפקי-ים דרך
לעבר גאולים

בים דרך
ושבילך בפיים רבים

the prophet took the motif of Yahweh's way through the sea either from this Psalm itself or from a common cultic tradition.

Thus, the prophet uses the theme of Yahweh's way or path through the Red Sea, which he probably drew from earlier cultic traditions, to proclaim, both explicitly and implicitly¹, the new Exodus when Yahweh will make a way through the desert. This is the second major ingredient in his imagery of the way.

A/4. CONCLUSION

The road-building imagery is predominant in 40:3-4 and 49:9, where ךךך occurs in parallelism with הָלַחַם and in conjunction with other roadbuilding terms, and there is a reference to the levelling of the surface of the last line of 42:16. The imagery of Yahweh's Exodus way is predominant in 43:16:19, where ךךך occurs in parallelism with כַּתְּבִיבֵי and roadbuilding terms are absent, and in 51:10, which implies, though does not explicitly mention, a way through the desert. The parallelism of ךךך and כַּתְּבִיבֵי, and the references to the drying up of rivers and Yahweh leading the blind, indicate that the Exodus ingredient is also present in 42:15-16a². A table of the various passages involved will make the relation between the two ingredients clear:

1. 43:16. 19 and 51. 10 respectively.

2. On the rivers and the blind, see pp. 209 f. above. The parallelism of ךךך and כַּתְּבִיבֵי shows that the former here has the nuance 'route, path' rather than 'route, road (that is artificially made or maintained)' as in 40:3-4, 49:9, where the // is הָלַחַם.

IMAGERY OF THE WAY IN SECOND ISAIAH

Dominant image from -

ROADBUILDINGBOTHEXODUS PATH40:3-4

Yahweh's way

(פסלה // דרך)

to be made in the desert

(ערבה // פדבר)

Imagery of CLEARING

and LEVELLING.

43:16, 19

Yahweh, who once made a

way (נת'בה // דרך) through

the sea, will make a way

(נת'בות // דרך) through

the desert (פדבר // שי'פון).

42: 15 - 16

Yahweh will dry up mountains

and hills, turn rivers into

deserts (צ'רות),

lead the blind in a way

(נת'בית // דרך) they

know not, and make their

darkness light, and rough

ground LEVEL before them49:9-11

Yahweh the shepherd will lead

his sheep unharmed by (desert)

sand or sun; he will make all

his mountains a way and RAISEUP his highways (פסלה // דרך).

(Is. 51:9-10)

No explicit reference to
the way across the desert,
but this is implied.

(דרך alone).

FIGURATIVE USE, NON-RETURN PASSAGESIs. 45:2 Yahweh to LEVEL mountainsIs. 45:13 Yahweh to LEVEL Cyrus' ways

Finally, reference may be made to Mowinckel's suggestion that Second Isaiah's imagery of the way is derived primarily from the sacred processional way of the Jerusalem New Year Festival¹. It may be admitted that Second Isaiah

1. Psalmstudien II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie. (Kristiania, 1921), pp.240f, c.f., pp.129f. Mowinckel notes that the suggestion was originally made by Gressmann.

derived several prominent features of his imagery from the festival¹, but whether a sacred processional way existed in Jerusalem is uncertain². Allusions to it in Second Isaiah are alike uncertain³, and the preceding evidence indicates that the prophet drew his imagery of the way from contemporary road-building and Exodus Traditions.

B. MOUNTAINS AND HILLS IN SECOND ISAIAH

B/1 INTRODUCTION

In the analysis of Second Isaiah's imagery of the way it was found that the image of Yahweh levelling mountains occurred twice, at 40:3-4 and 45:2. In interpreting this it will be helpful to look at Second Isaiah's imagery of mountains as a whole.

The word $\text{ר} \text{ה}$, 'mountain'⁴, occurs fourteen times in Second Isaiah, of which six are in conjunction or parallelism with the near-synonym $\text{ה} \text{ג} \text{ב} \text{ע}$, 'hill'⁵. In three cases, where $\text{ר} \text{ה}$ is used alone, the language is non-cosmic and does not refer directly to the return⁶. One occurrence in a return passage is also non-cosmic⁷. The remaining ten are all in language that is or may be cosmic. Of these, the two occurrences of levelling imagery in return passages will be left till later⁸ and two other occurrences

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1. In particular, Yahweh's kingship and the revelation of his majesty to his people and the world with his triumphal advent to Jerusalem (40:1-11, 52:7-12), and nature giving him praise (42:10ff). Mowinckel shows that it is Second Isaiah who derives such motifs from the Psalms, not vice-versa (ibid. pp 240-242).
 2. Mowinckel refers only to Ps. 84:5f(4f), but it is not demonstrable that $\text{מ} \text{נ} \text{ו} \text{ל} \text{ד} \text{ו} \text{ד}$ is an 'amplificative plural', as he claims, and if not the reference is to the pilgrim routes to Jerusalem. The 'ascent of the city of David' in Neh. 3:15, 12:37, which he cites as confirmatory evidence, is now identified as a flight of steps cut in the rock rather than a road (G. Barrois, ID, STAIRS OF THE CITY OF DAVID).
 3. The most likely reference would be 40:3-4, but it would be a secondary nuance even here, for the roadbuilding ingredient is predominant (above p 244).
 4. for the full range of meanings see the dictionaries.
 5. this word only occurs in conjunction or parallel with $\text{ר} \text{ה}$ throughout the book of Isaiah.
 6. 40:9 (a high mountain thought of as a vantage point), 42:11, and 52:7 (possibly also as vantage points).
 7. 49:11 (for the reading 'mountains' see above p 218, n 1).
 8. 40:3-4 and 45:2.

have already been classified as metonymic and figurative respectively¹. The remaining six will now be examined, in ascending order of difficulty.

B/2 ANALYSIS OF RELEVANT PASSAGES

One may begin with three passages linking the mountains with the praise that nature gives to Yahweh. In 44:23 and 49:13 they are addressed with other salient points of nature and told to break forth into singing in response to Yahweh's redeeming acts. In Isaiah 55:12f, the exiles are told that the mountains and hills will break forth into singing², and the trees clap their hands, as they go out from Babylon. The imagery here is traditional, and is taken from expressions used in the cult, particularly at the New Year Festival³. Both in the Psalm contexts and in Second Isaiah its function is to portray Yahweh's actions⁴ as having universal significance and effect. It describes the tenor situation, the praise that nature might be expected to give her creator, by the vehicle of human gestures of praise and jubilation⁵. Though traditional, the degree of development shows that the imagery is not formal. The apparent incongruity and low correspondence of 'clap their hands' might point to a figurative interpretation for Is. 55:12, but the cultic background, and the difficulty of describing the tenor situation in any other terms, suggest that such language was more likely to be used and understood synthetically, and that the paraphrase of it would be, "the mountains and hills do sing praises to Yahweh".

1. 42:15 (above p 208) and 45:2 (above p 237f).

2. The wording is virtually identical in all three passages, except that the first two are imperative, the last imperfect.

3. See the close verbal parallels with Pss. 98:7f and 96:11f, esp. the phrase יִשְׁחָגוּ וְיִשְׂמְחוּ (Is. 55:12, Ps. 98:8 - the vb occurs only here and in Ezek. 25:6, where it is Qal inf. constr. + suffix (LVTL & G.A. Cook ICC, Edinburgh 1936, who cites GK (61c.)). Ps. 96:11f does not mention mountains but has sufficient close parallels to show the cultic provenance of Second Isaiah's vocabulary of 'singing nature', viz: $\text{יִשְׁחָגוּ וְיִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתִגְלַח הָאָרֶץ}$ (c.f. Is. 44:23, 49:13), $\text{וְיִשְׂמְחוּ הַיָּם וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ}$ (c.f. Is. 42:10), $\text{אֲזִי יִרְנְנוּ כָל-עֵצִי-יִשְׂרָאֵל, (וְכָל-עֵצֵי-הַשָּׂדֶה, וְעַר וְכָל-עֵץ בּוֹ}$ (c.f. Is. 44:23). With the Second Isaiah passages c.f. also Ps. 65:13f (12f), also probably pre-exilic (Weiser, Psalms, ad. loc & Mowinckel, TPIW/I p. 119, 162ff) & Pss. 114:4, 6, and 148:9.

Next, one may consider Is. 40:12-13, which stands in the context of vv. 12-26, or possibly 12-31. Its imagery brings together the immeasurable and imponderable fastnesses of the cosmos with the smallest units and devices of human measurement, both solid and liquid, by weight and by volume. The text presents no major difficulties¹ but there are ^{two}~~two~~ possible interpretations. The majority view is that the implied answer to the question in v.12 is 'Yahweh', and that vv.12-13 refer to the time of the creation of the world in the distant past. The correct translation, on this view, is "who measured....etc?". Volz, however, suggests that the ^ו here, as in v.13, can only refer to men. On this view the correct translation is, "who has measured...?", and the answer, "no-one".

Since the verse is phrased as a question, its interpretation is determined by the answer. The answer, 'Yahweh', would probably interpret it as nonliteral, understanding the question to require the answer that Yahweh has indeed, figuratively, measured all these things². The answer, 'no-one', would understand it literally but reply that such measurements are humanly impossible. The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive, for one answer might imply the other - e.g., the answer 'no-one' (i.e., no human being) might well suggest the

(footnotes 4 and 5 from previous page.)

- 4. His royal advent (Pss.96:11f, 98:7f), and his redemption of Israel, perhaps understood as a 'royal advent' in history (Is.44:23,49:13, 55:12).
- 5. i.e., singing, as in the cult; and clapping the hands (or, possibly striking the palm against the knee), a gesture which could apparently be used both in jubilation before God and in jubilation over enemies (see G.A. Cooke, ICC, op. cit.).

1. In v.12, ^ו should be left as it is, not emended to ^ו, because the word play, ^ו...^ו shows it to be original (North TSI - the reference to 'the deep' at creation is not, however, as obvious as he suggests if ^ו if retained). ^ו in v.13 is probably a gloss, and should be deleted, as, possibly ^ו in v.12.

2. Figuratively, on the criterion of the impossible literality of ^ו, ^ו. Other possible interpretations are: synthetic, literal (Yahweh as a giant with enormous scales, etc.) and comparative (the big quantities involved are as insignificant to Yahweh as the things men measure in scales, (footnote 2 continued next page)).

idea, 'but Yahweh could'. The longer context permits either interpretation¹, and the evidence concerning the imagery itself, though often thought to favour the majority view, is in fact inconclusive². Two points favour the second interpretation. Firstly, Second Isaiah nowhere else uses imagery of weighing and measuring to describe Yahweh's creation of the universe. Apart from simple statements of creation, his key image is that of Yahweh 'stretching out' the

(footnote 2 continued from previous page).

etc., are to them). For adherents to the last two interpretations see B. Couroyer, RB 63(1966)p.188(in his article, Isaiah XL, 12, pp.186-196). The lack of explicit comparison counts against the comparative interpretation.

1. The general progression of thought can be paraphrased thus (giving the alternative renderings of vv.12-13):

	<u>1st interpretation</u>	<u>2nd interpretation</u>
v.12.	Who (at creation) measured (Yahweh)	Who (in general) has ever measured the imponderables of the cosmos?
v.13	Who guided Yahweh's spirit?	Who has ever guided
	Whom did he consult	Whom has he consulted
v.14	(no-one)	that he might receive enlightenment? (no-one)
vv. 15,17 18-20 21-22		Look, the nations are utterly insignificant, he takes no notice whatever of them With whom then can God be compared? (certainly not with pagan idols). Surely you already know he is above the earth the creator of the heavens.
23-4 25-26		who brings to nothing the rulers of the nations. With whom then will you compare him? He created - and commands - the stars (which other nations worship as gods)

vv.27-31
(if accepted
as part of
the passage)

Yahweh, Israel's God,
is the all-powerful creator of the universe,
all Israel need ^{to} trust him.

Either interpretation of vv.12-13 fits in with the remainder.

2. a. The simile of the nations being accounted as dust on the scale pans (v.15) is undoubtedly an echo of v.12, but is not close enough to it to show that it is a metaphor (by the criterion of explicit comparison), which would favour the first interpretation.

b. An enquiry into the context of situation, as to what the opening lines of v.12, might have suggested to their hearers, is similarly inconclusive. The Babylonian parallels adduced by, e.g. Muilenburg (IB), are not close or extensive enough to show that the first audience would have thought the prophet was trying to

heavens (like a tent), which is fully developed only in the present passage¹, together with imagery of laying the earth's foundations² and making an^d exercising control over the stars of heaven³. Secondly, vv.12-14 are undoubtedly a unit, with a similar interrogative structure, and, other things being equal, are most naturally interpreted as a series of questions expecting the same answer, leading up to the $\text{הֵן גִּוִּים כִּכּוּר פִּדְלֵי}$ of v.15⁴. The second interpretation may therefore be accepted and the relevant verses translated thus:

- v.12 Who has ever measured the waters with the hollow of his hand,
or taken the measure of the heavens with a hand's-breadth?
Who has ever gauged earth ('s dust)
with a quart container
weighed the mountains with scales,
or the hills with a balance?
- v.13 Who has ever taken the measure of Yahweh's spirit
or instructed him as his counsellor....etc.⁵.

(footnote 2 continued from previous page)

outdo contemporary ascriptions to Marduk (following Couroyer, op.cit., p.189f). Similarly, the OT parallel reference to Yahweh measuring the waters, apparently at creation (Job.28:25), is balanced by two passages in Jeremiah which state (33:22) and imply (31:37) that man cannot measure the heavens, and by the post-OT parallel in Eccles 1:1-3.

1. 40:22. The verb הָוָה with שִׁפְיָו occurs in 5 other passages: 42:5, 44:24 (both // פָּרָחַ וְרָקַע), 45:12, 51:13 (emendation, but virtually certain reading), 51:16. C.f. also 48:13.
2. פָּרָחַ וְרָקַע - Is. 48:13, 51:13, 16.
3. Is. 40:26, 45:12, 48:13.
4. c.f. the paraphrase of the structure, above p248, n 1 and Saydon, who interprets וְרָקַע and the following verbs as denoting indefinite past action, and translates: "who has ever measured" (Use of Tenses, p.292 c.f. pp.293 (on 40:12), 294 (on v.13) and 298 (on v.14)). 296 (on 40:13,14),
5. Largely following Couroyer, op. cit., p. 195 and passim.

The next passage is Isaiah 54:10, which stands in the context of 54:7-10.

The verse forms a unit of speech with v.9, and reads, in Hebrew:

		כִּי־יִנָּח זֶאֱת לִי	v.9
עוֹר עַל־הָאָרֶץ	פִּי־נָח	אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי פֶּעֶבֶר	
וּמִגַּעַר־בֶּדֶךְ	עַל־יָדְךָ	כֵּן נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי פִקְצֹף	
תַּפְוֹאֲנָה	וְהִגְבַּעְתָּ	כִּי הַהָרִים יִפְּוֹשׁוּ	v.10
		וְחִסְרֵי־פֶתַח לֹא־יִפְּוֹשׁוּ	
		וְבֵרִית שׁוֹלֹמִי לֹא תִפְּוֹשׁ	
		וְאֶמֶר פֶּרַח־פֶּתַח יִהְיֶה	

The imagery of v.10, with the 'departure' of the mountains and 'tottering' of the hills², is apparently of a gigantic earthquake, and would hardly fail to suggest the return of primeval chaos³, especially in the context of a reference to the Noachic flood. The verse, together with its context, shows that the prophet's aim is to state in the most emphatic way possible Yahweh's promise that his faithfulness to the new covenant, and its benefits⁴, will last for ever⁵.

1. For כִּי־יִנָּח and אֲשֶׁר see BH, North (TSI). The meaning is not essentially affected whichever interpretation is adopted.
2. (a) פֶּעֶבֶר , Qal, undoubtedly means 'depart', c.f., literally, of movement in space, Ex.13:22, 33:11, Nu. 14:44, Ju.6:18, Is.46:7; non-literally - Josh 1:8, Is 59:21, Jer 17:8, Mi.2:3,4, Nah.3:1, Zech.3:9, 14:4, Ps.55:12(11), Job 23:12, Prov 17:13. For departure of cosmic realities see also Jer. 31:36.
(b) פִּקְצֹף (Qal), equally certainly means, 'totter, slip', often with the implication that the one who totters will fall to the ground (c.f. Deut.32:35, Pss.38:17(16), 66:9, 94:18, 121:3 (all of a foot slipping), and Prov.24:11 (of stumbling to the slaughter). Close //s to the present passages are Ps.46:3(2) (of the mountains tottering in (=falling into) the sea - c.f. v.7(6), of kingdoms tottering), and Is.24:19 (of the earth tottering). C.f. also Ps.60:4(2) and (Niphal) Pss.82:5, 104:5, 125:1. The conventional translation, "be removed", at Is.54:10 (AV, RSV, c.f. North) is thus inaccurate (c.f. JB "be shaken").
3. c.f. Jer.4:24, Nah.1:5, Hab.3:6, and esp. Ps. 46:3(2).
4. $\text{וְבֵרִית שׁוֹלֹמִי}$ — c.f. Is.55:3.
5. c.f. Is.40:6-8, which Jones (Pke) mentions in connection with 51:6.

In the reference to the flood the comparison is not with the content of the Noachic promise, that Yahweh would never again flood the earth, but with its binding force. As Yahweh swore (and kept his promise then), so he swears (and will keep it again now), that he will never again vent his anger on Israel¹. However, in such close proximity to the recollection of Yahweh's promise never again to send the primeval floodwaters over the earth it would be decidedly odd if the prophet went on to say that nevertheless Yahweh was going to let the forces of primeval chaos loose on the mountains. A predictive interpretation of v.10 is thus inconsistent with the context. It is more natural to interpret the reference to mountains as a poetic supposition. In order to state as emphatically as possible the permanence of Yahweh's promise, the prophet introduces the mountains and hills - one of Yahweh's chief works at creation² and a symbol of eternal permanence³ - and uses them as a yardstick against which the permanence of Yahweh's covenant can be measured. The point of the comparison would be lost if such a shaking of the mountains were thought to be imminent, or more than remotely possible. The statement then is that even if the everlasting mountains tumble into chaos Yahweh's promise will stand, and the implication is that such an event is unlikely⁴. The verse should therefore be translated thus:

1. This is clear from the structure: whether אֲשֶׁר or אֲשֶׁר־כֵּן is read with אֲשֶׁר־כֵּן in 9bc the comparative force in 9de rests on כֵּן נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי .
2. Pss. 65:7(6), 90:2.
3. Gen.49:26, Dt.33:15, Hab 3:6, Prov.8:25, c.f. Job 15:7 (אֲבֵרָה alone).
4. This is not quite the same as saying that "Yahweh's new covenant with Israel will be as stable as the promise made to Noah, as unchanging as the external hills" (Kissane, c.f. Wade), ~~possibility. Kissane may be leaning on passages such as Jer. 31:35f, 33:25f rather than Isaiah 54:10 itself.~~

for the prophet admits the shaking of the mountains as a possibility. Kissane may be leaning on passages such as Jer. 31:35f, 33:25f, rather than Is. 54:10 itself.

For even if¹ the mountains depart
and the hills totter,
my steadfast love shall not depart from you
my covenanted peace shall not totter,²
says Yahweh, who has compassion on you.

Finally, Isaiah 41:14-16 may be considered. The text presents only minor difficulties³ but the context is uncertain. The verses may form a unit with vv.11-13, and possibly also with vv.8-10. The imagery of vv.15f constitutes an exact sequence of threshing and winnowing. The farmer first separates the grains from the stalks by spreading the stalks on the threshing floor and dragging a heavy threshing-sledge over it (c.f. v.15). He then throws the cut stalks of grain into the air with a winnowing fork so that the kernels fall into

1. - translating the force of the ו in וְהָיָה וְעַתָּה and וְעַתָּה וְעַתָּה (and yet) with the וְעַתָּה.
2. Similar considerations apply to Isaiah 51:6 (c.f. Ps.102:26-29 (25-27)). In this case it is Yahweh's וְעַתָּה and וְעַתָּה which the prophet states will last for ever. Saydon says that וְעַתָּה has a modal sense, 'may vanish' (Use of Tenses, p. 292). North suggests that Second Isaiah expected the annihilation of heaven and earth, which would be followed by the creation of a new heaven and earth in which Israel's 'descendants' and 'name' would remain, and long life be the rule. Second Isaiah gives no evidence of such an expectation and North's supporting citations (Is. 65:17, 66:22, 2 Pet. 3:13) show this interpretation to be an anachronism. Jeremiah had already emphasised the stability of Yahweh's love for Israel by saying that she would cease to be his people (only) if his creative acts establishing the 'fixed order' (וְעַתָּה) of the cosmic luminaries were annulled (Jer. 31:35f, c.f., 33:25f). Second Isaiah presses this kind of comparison a stage further by saying that even if heaven and earth do wear out Yahweh's promise will still stand. Trito-Isaiah's "New Creation" imagery is a further development of this idea, which in Second Isaiah is still a poetic supposition rather than a future hope or expectation.
3. v. 14 On וְעַתָּה see BH, Muilenburg (IB), North. Whichever reading or interpretation is adopted the verse undoubtedly refers to the insignificance of Israel in exile.
v. 15 וְעַתָּה - possibly an addition as an explanatory gloss on the rare word וְעַתָּה.

a pile at his feet, the heavier particles of straw are blown a short distance by the wind, and the chaff itself is often carried right away (c.f. v.16). The work is usually done in the afternoon and evening when a breeze is blowing (c.f. v.16a)¹.

Duhm regards the verses as a strong hyperbole, and interprets "thresh mountains" in v.15, as, "thresh sheaves on the mountains". The element of comparison in the second half line shows that this interpretation is incorrect, for it would make no sense to say that the sheaves of the hills will be made as or like chaff. The imagery is thus nonliteral, a double metaphor of Israel as a threshing sledge, and a threshing sledge as threshing mountains. It is undoubtedly figurative, on the criteria of impossible literality² and explicit comparison³.

Most commentators refer the threshing and winnowing elements to Israel's future triumph over her enemies⁴. Others have suggested that the mountains symbolise the difficulties Israel will have to overcome in attaining her freedom⁵. The 'enemy' interpretation of the threshing imagery is supported by the context of vv.11-13 if this is accepted as a unit with vv.14-16; by the command to Israel in her present humiliation and insignificance⁶ to 'fear not' because Yahweh will help her; and by the imagery itself. Imagery of threshing and winnowing enemies is well established before Second Isaiah, and is found elsewhere in the Old

1. See H.N. Richardson, I.D., 'THRESHING' and 'WINNOWING'.

2. of both metaphors.

3. the \supset in v.15.

4. Skinner, Box, Wade (WC), L.G. Rignell, de Boer, Muilenburg (IB), and apparently North (TSI).

5. Kissane, similarly Volz (KAT), who cites Zech. 4:7 and Matt 17:20, both of which, being much later than Second Isaiah, are unconvincing.

6. v. 14. North aptly compares Job 25:6 and Ps. 22:6 (7) respectively.

Testament¹, while the emphasis in the present passage is not on separating out the grain but on taking aggressive action against the chaff.

A variant of the 'enemy' interpretation has been put forward by Hamlin², who suggests that the mountains and hills which Israel threshes are a symbolic reference to the idolatrous religions of the nations as represented by the ziggurats of Mesopotamia³. In support of this he notes the frequent references in the Old Testament to a sacred mountain, whether Sinai or Zion, as the natural place to worship Yahweh, together with references to the ziggurat at Babylon⁴. He refers the threshing imagery to the custom of razing defeated cities to the ground⁵ and concludes that Isaiah 41:14-16 shows Israel in the New Exodus, with the same role as in the time of the conquest, destroying altars, images and sanctuaries of pagan nations⁶. The theory is a useful attempt to probe into the imagery of the passage, but the evidence does not support it. It has already been shown that Second Isaiah uses imagery of mountains and hills in a variety of ways⁷, but nowhere else, in contrast with the rest of Isaiah and the Old Testament in general, does he refer to them as places of idolatrous worship⁸;

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1. a. Threshing. Before Second Isaiah: Ju.8:7, 2 Kgs.13:7, Amos1:3 (c.f. also Micah 4:13, which is perhaps postexilic, and Is.21:10).
 - b. Winnowing. יו - Before Second Isaiah: Is.17:13 (c.f. Is.29:5 and (of the wicked) Hos.13:3, Pss.1:4, 35:5, Job 21:18). ארר - Before Second Isaiah: Jer 51:2 (c.f. of the wicked, Prov. 20:8, 26)
 2. JNES XIII (1954), pp. 185-190.
 3. ibid. p. 187.
 4. ibid. p. 186f. Hamlin finds four refs: Gen 11:1-9, Is.14:12-16, Jer.51: 25 & 53.
 5. ibid. p. 187. 6. ibid. p. 189. 7. see above, pp 245ff
 8. c.f. Is. 57:7 (mountain) and 65:7 (mountains and hills), and in the OT in general, 'mountains and hills' - Dt. 12:2, Jer 3:23, Jer 17:2f, Ezek. 6:13, Hos. 4:13. There are so many instances of ארר alone in this connection that citation is unnecessary.

nor, unlike the frequent references in the rest of Isaiah¹, does he ever refer to Zion or Jerusalem as a holy mountain or as Yahweh's mountain². Hamlin's explanation would only be convincing if Second Isaiah made such references elsewhere to mountains and hills or the Babylonian ziggurat, or if his reference here were explicit.

It is clear then, that the threshing imagery suggests Israel defeating her enemies, but that the puzzling idea of threshing mountains and hills is not explained by Hamlin's theory. The suggestion that it means merely 'overcoming obstacles' is not convincing either, for it does not do justice to the aggressive features in the imagery of threshing. There is however an element of truth in seeing the mountains as obstacles to be removed, for if one looks for analogies in Second Isaiah's own imagery, a close parallel presents itself in his imagery of road-levelling³, which is twice applied to mountains⁴. In the present passage (v. 15) the mountains are said to be threshed by being pressed down⁵ with a threshing sledge so that they are crushed⁶. The same idea is implied in the next line, where the hills are said to be made like chaff. The passage thus shows mountains and hills reduced in height by being broken down into fragments. It has the same "levelling" element as in Second Isaiah's imagery of roadbuilding, but expresses it in other terms.

1. c.f: Is. 2:2f, 4:5, 8:18, 10:12, 22, 16:1, 18:7, 24:23, 25:6,7,10, 29:8, 31:4, 37:32 (all references to Mount Zion, explicitly or otherwise); and 11:9, 14:13, 27:13, 30:29, 56:7, 57:13, 65:11, 65:26, 66:20 (references to Zion as a 'holy mountain').
2. Indeed, his only possible references to Zion or Jerusalem as a mountain or hill are only implicit (40:9, 52:7).
3. 40:3-4, 42:15-16, 45:2,13, see above pp 234-241.
4. 40:3-4, 45:2, ~~45:9-11~~.
5. וַיִּדְרֹשׁ can mean both 'thresh' and 'tread (in order to thresh)'; the two activities often overlap since some threshing was carried out by driving oxen over the threshing floor (see Dt.25:4, Hos.10:11, and for the use of the verb in the sense, 'trample' see Hab.3:12 & Job 39:15), while the threshing sledge itself worked by its weight pressing its sharp teeth down on to the grain stalks.
6. וַיִּדְרֹשׁ . See also, of threshing, Is. 28:28.

The reduction of mountains and hills to chaff does suggest, then, the removal of mighty obstacles. The prophet links this idea with that of Israel defeating her enemies. He thus produces a complex figurative image which may be approximately paraphrased by saying that it conveys the assurance to the exiles that by Yahweh's help puny Israel¹ will batter down anything, however intransigent, that opposes his redeeming purpose for her.

B/3 CONCLUSION

Of the ten passages where Second Isaiah uses cosmic language of mountains and hills, one may be discarded as metonymic². Seven others have been examined. Three, including one return passage³, are synthetic imagery of nature singing in praise to Yahweh. A fourth passage is a question expecting the answer that weighing the mountains in scales is literally impossible for men, perhaps with the implication that it is nonliterally possible for Yahweh⁴. In a fifth passage the disruption and dissolution of the everlasting mountains is used as a poetic supposition against which can be measured the undying permanence of Yahweh's new covenant⁵. Of the other two passages, one is figurative imagery of levelling the mountains drawn directly from the roadbuilding image⁶. In the other, also figurative, the same idea of levelling is one of the elements in a complex image of threshing and winnowing which refers to Israel's triumph over all that opposes Yahweh's plan for her⁷. The relevance of these parallels will be assessed later⁸.

1. Hamlin, op. cit. p. 185.

3. 55:12f, together with 44:23 and 49:13, above p. 246.

4. 40:12f, above pp. 247-9.

6. 45:2, above pp. 237f.

8. below p. 273.

2. 42:15, above pp. 208.

5. 54:10, above pp. 250-252.

7. 41:14-16, above pp. 252-256.

C. WATER IN THE DESERT AND ASSOCIATED IMAGES

Second Isaiah's use of 'water in the desert' and associated images is not as complex as his imagery of the way, but has a similar variety of detail. This imagery will now be classified, and important passages commented on.

C/1 WATER IN THE DESERT

In the analysis of the return passages it was found that four passages contain imagery of the provision of water in the desert. One refers only to the first Exodus, but implies that Yahweh will similarly provide for his people on the second¹. The others all make more or less explicit allusion to the Exodus traditions of Yahweh providing water in the wilderness². They differ, however, in that one states³ and another implies⁴ that Yahweh dramatically provides water for his people because they are thirsty, while the third states that the people will not thirst at all because Yahweh will guide them to springs of water already in existence⁵. There are two close parallels to Second Isaiah's imagery of desert transformation in the rest of Isaiah, but as their relation to Second Isaiah is problematic they will be left aside⁶. Second Isaiah himself has two non-return passages containing similar imagery. Isaiah 55:1 ("Ho, everyone who thirsts, come to the waters") speaks of abundant water given freely, and implies that Yahweh is the giver. The image, which is probably figurative⁷, is of a water seller going through the streets⁸ and is in the form used by wisdom writers to portray Wisdom's invitation to her banquet⁹. The fact that the water

1. 48:21, above pp 215f.

2. For which see Exod.17:6, Num.20:10, Pss.78:15f, 20, 105:41, 107:33-38, & possibly 114:7f.

3. 41:17-20, above pp 200-204. 4. 43:20, above, p 214.

5. 49:8-13, above pp 216-221. 6. Is.35:1-2, 5-7 & Is.32:15-16. The latter may possibly be figurative. 58:11 may also be a parallel, but a very distant one.

7. By the criterion of impossible literality (Yahweh portrayed as a water-seller - see the text and note 8, below), & referring as it does to Yahweh's covenant mercies (vv.3-5, c.f. his forgiveness vv.6f), though these are probably thought to include material prosperity () Ψ 7 v.2).

8. Volz(KAT), Muilenburg (IB), North (TSI).

9. Muilenburg (IB) c.f. esp. Prov.9:5f, Eccles 24:19-21.

is given freely and Yahweh is the giver justifies the citation of this verse, but the 'water-seller' content shows that the parallel is not close. A more interesting passage is 44:3-4, which speaks of water and of trees, and will be analysed in more detail below¹.

C/2 YAHWEH CAUSING DROUGHT

This image, which contrasts strongly with those cited immediately above, occurs in the return passage, Isaiah 42:¹³⁻¹⁷2. It has two elements: Yahweh dries up mountains and hills, shrivelling up their herbage (v.15a - $\Delta' \Gamma \Pi \chi //$

$(\cup) \Delta \lambda$), and turns river beds into deserts, drying up all the pools (v.15b - $\cup \Delta \lambda$). The second element has two close parallels in Second Isaiah, namely 44:27:

(Yahweh) "who says to the deep, be dry ($\Delta' \Gamma \Pi \chi$),
I will dry up your currents ($\cup \Delta \lambda$)".

and 50:2, where North translates:

"If I were to rebuke the sea
I should dry it up ($\Delta' \Gamma \Pi \chi$).
I should turn its ocean tides (3) to desert.
Their fish would stink from lack of water
and die of thirst."

The first passage occurs in a long list of Yahweh's power, acts, and decisions, beginning with creation (44:24) and ending with the re-population of Jerusalem and Judah, the fulfilment of his redeeming purpose through Cyrus, and the re-building of Jerusalem and its Temple. Verse 27 is sandwiched between the references to repopulation and Cyrus. It is apparently an allusion to Yahweh's victory over chaos at creation and at the Red Sea⁴. The context suggests, however, that

1. pp 261f.

2. see above pp 204-210.

3. $\Delta' \Gamma \Pi \chi$ occurs in all three passages under discussion, but is not really a parallel because in the last two passages it means "ocean currents", not "rivers" (see North TSI, ad loc).

4. c.f. 51:9-10.

sirocco drying up fountain and spring in Hosea 13:15 is also a parallel to Yahweh drying up rivers and pools in Isaiah 42:15b, which may therefore be a mixed image derived from both sirocco and Creation-Exodus imagery.

C/3 THE PROVISION OF TREES IN THE DESERT

In the return passages Second Isaiah twice uses imagery of Yahweh providing vegetation, specifically trees, in the desert, once in conjunction with and following on the provision of water¹ and once as a sequel to the rejoicing of nature as it greets the returning exiles, the latter occurrence probably being suggested by the preceding image of the 'trees of the wood' praising Yahweh². Parallels to this imagery in non-return passages are Is. 45:8, 51:1-3, and 44:3-4. The first is a verse in hymn style, which North translates thus:

"You skies above, distil moisture,
and let the heavens rain victory:
Let the earth open her womb
that prosperity may blossom
and salvation burst into flower.
I the Lord have created it."³

This is mythical imagery, either synthetic or figurative⁴, and is not a close parallel to the return passages because the image is of rain, not water in the desert, and of vegetation in general rather than trees. Its style and content suggest that it is derived from cultic traditions⁵. Another minor parallel to both water and vegetation imagery is the simile in Isaiah 51:1-3, which speaks of Zion's wilderness being made 'like Eden'. This suggests a similar

1. 41:17-20, above pp 200-204.

2. 55:12f, see above, pp 228f

3. For text and interpretation see North (TSI), whose arguments are convincing.

4. North (TSI) notes that the imagery here has its origin in Canaanite ideas of the marriage of heaven and earth, where it had erotic associations, but claims that it has been "sublimated into what is now pure metaphor".

5. C.f. Is. 44:23, 49:13, 55:12f (above pp 246), also 52:9.

transformation to that in 41:17-20 but does not go into detail. The main parallel is Isaiah 44:3-4, which will now be examined.

The verses stand in the context of Isaiah 44:1-5, which are a promise about Israel's future welfare, pictured especially in terms of growing numbers of people loyal to Yahweh¹. They may be translated approximately thus:

"For I will pour water on the thirsty (land)
and flowing waters on the dry ground.
I will pour my spirit on your descendants,
and my blessing on your offspring,
And they shall grow apace like the verdant poplar,
like willows beside watercourses."

The verses are a close parallel to the imagery of Yahweh giving water in the desert, and causing trees to grow in it. The word $\times \text{כ} \text{ס}$, 'thirsty', in v.3 can either be read as a reference to Yahweh's people anticipating the promise of the spirit's outpouring in verse 3b, or, with most commentators, because of the parallelism, as having the meaning 'thirsty land'². In the first case the language is obviously metaphorical³. This is also true in the second, since the image of outpoured water is followed by the similarly worded outpouring of the spirit⁴; this shows that the former stands for the latter⁵. The low correspondence between the two similes in v.3, and explicit statement of comparison in the associated image of trees in v.4, show that the language of v.3 is figurative. It is an image of streams of water in the desert, not, as North

1. For the difficulties in v.5 see North's discussion (TSI). Kissane thinks the verse is about the branding of slaves. Box, Muilenburg (IB) and Jones refer it to proselytes, the latter arguing that the verse would be otiose if applied to Israel.
2. A feminine form would be normal if the reference was to land. Qa clearly reads $\times \text{כ} \text{ס}$. Perhaps the rare word $\text{כ} \text{ס} \text{א} \text{ו}$ originally stood here and a scribe either misheard in dictation or wrote a haplography of the consonants $\text{כ} \text{ס}$ - the consonant sequence would have been $\text{כ} \text{ס} \text{א} \text{ו} \text{ו} \text{נ} \text{ז} \text{ל} \text{י} \text{ם}$ or even, c.f. Qa and c.f. also Jer.18:14 MT) $\text{כ} \text{ס} \text{א} \text{ו} \text{ו} \text{נ} \text{ז} \text{ל} \text{י} \text{ם}$.
For $\text{כ} \text{ס} \text{א} \text{ו}$ see Deut.8:15, Is.35:7 & Ps.107:33, the last two of which have strong affinities with Second Isaiah.
3. and figurative, on the criterion of impossible literality, as well as the others mentioned on this page.
4. $\text{כ} \text{ס} \text{א} \text{ו} \text{ו} \text{נ} \text{ז} \text{ל} \text{י} \text{ם}$ - $\text{כ} \text{ס} \text{א} \text{ו} \text{ו} \text{נ} \text{ז} \text{ל} \text{י} \text{ם}$ let the verse as a simile (Ich giesse Wasser auf das Durstige...

suggests, of rainfall¹. Verse 4 is a simile comparing the growth of Israel's descendants with luxuriant but strong trees that grow beside streams or irrigated watercourses². The parallel with the other references to trees is clear, though not in details close, as the trees are not said to be made to grow suddenly, by Yahweh, or in the desert.

C/4 'TRANSFORMATION OF THE DESERT' AS A LITERAL EVENT

Second Isaiah's imagery of Yahweh transforming the desert has parallels in natural events. The rich growth of ephemeral flowers after rainfall in the Arabian Desert type of climate is well known³. Moreover, the word **רַבֵּד**, one of the words that the prophet uses most frequently for 'desert', has a wider range of meaning than the English word that translates it, and is used not only of land with an Arabian Desert type of climate but of rough pasture and steppe⁴. The growth of abundant vegetation in such landscape when the rainfall was high enough is well known in the Old Testament⁵. To Second Isaiah, then, it would not have seemed unprecedented, even if remarkable, for Yahweh to transform the, presumably Syrian, desert with abundant vegetation, even to the extent of making it like the forests of Lebanon. It is the dramatic suddenness of the transformation imagery that lifts it above the level of everyday events⁶.

1. The verb **רָדַד** has a variety of meanings, and can refer to dew (Dt. 32:2), flowing water (Nu. 24:7, Jer 18:14 (**רָדַד מִן הַיָּם**), Ps. 147:14, c.f. (metaphors) Jer. 9:17, Cant. 4:16) and rainfall (Is. 45:8, Job 36:28). **רָדַד** used as a noun however means 'flowing water' of some kind in all its OT occurrences (Ex. 15:8, where it is appropriately translated 'floods'; Ps. 78:16, of the water from the rock in the desert; Ps. 78:44, of the streams of Egypt; Prov 5:15, of water from a well; and Cant. 4:15, of the streams of Lebanon). In the light of the other uses of **רָדַד** as a noun and of the associated image of trees growing by watercourses in v. 4, the construction, **רָדַד יְהוָה**, which North (TSI) refers to rainfall, is better explained as being controlled by the prophet's intention to speak in the next line of Yahweh pouring out his spirit, of which the first line is a figurative metaphor.

2. For **רַבֵּד** older commentators mostly followed LXX and read **רַבֵּד**. It is better now to follow Qa, with Muilenburg (IB) and North (TSI), and read **רַבֵּד**, accepting J.M. Allegro's suggestion that **רַבֵּד** should be understood as Arab. ber tree, which has a tall and erect manner of growth and intense greenness of leaves and seed pods (J.M. Allegro, The Meaning of **רַבֵּד** in Isaiah XLIV. 4. ZAW 63 (NF 22), 1951, pp. 154-6).

To face p. 263.

D. THE INTERPRETATION OF SECOND ISAIAH'S IMAGERY OF THE RETURN.

The attempt must now be made to draw together the threads of the discussion and see what conclusions can be reached.

The first thing that stands out is the variety of the prophet's imagery. The table opposite shows that he uses a variety of images in different contexts and combinations, the same key images occurring in both 'return' and 'non-return' passages. The 'way' image is one of the most frequent. As an image drawn mainly from road-construction it appears with mountains and hills in 40:3-5; with mountains and hills and sirocco/Creation-Exodus imagery in 42:13-17; with mountains, figuratively, in 45:2; alone, figuratively, in 45:13; and in conjunction with imagery of mountains, shepherd and flock, and the provision of water in the desert, in 49:8-13. As an image drawn mainly from Exodus traditions it appears in conjunction with the sirocco/Creation-Exodus imagery of 42:13-17; with water in the desert in 43:16-21; and by implication in 51:9-11. Another key image is that of mountains and hills. This is several times combined with imagery of roadlevelling but is used in a variety of other ways - weighing, threshing, singing, etc. The imagery of water in the desert is found in conjunction with the provision of trees, at 41:17-20, with that of the Exodus way (43:16-21), figuratively, with the provision of trees, in 44:3-4, and with imagery of the way and mountains in 49:8-13. Several other combinations of imagery are revealed by the table, which also shows that there is no significant difference

(footnotes 3,4,5,6, from previous page)

3. See Chambers Encyclopaedia, DESERT, and Dennis Baly, on p.201 of 'The Geography of Palestine' (article in 'A Companion to the Bible', New Edn., Ed. H.H. Rowley, Edinburgh and London 1963, pp. 185-204).
4. see BDB, LVTL.
5. c.f., Ps. 65:13(12), Joel 2:22, Job, 38:25-27.
6. On the element of suddenness see above, pp 202f, 209.

in content between the imagery used in chapters 40-48 and 49-55, the two main sections of the prophecy¹.

Analysis has also revealed that the prophet uses two sets of imagery which contrast with each other². Thus two return passages speak of the people being thirsty, and of Yahweh's dramatic provision of water in response³, while another return passage says that they will not thirst because Yahweh will lead them to springs of water already in existence⁴. There is a further, sharper, contrast between the passages where Yahweh provides water for his people to drink⁵ and those where he causes drought⁶. The first contrast is explicable in terms of the content and derivation of the imagery. In 41:17-20 and 43:16-21 Second Isaiah is drawing on Exodus imagery of the provision of water from the rock, whereas in 49:8-13 the dominant image is that of a shepherd leading his flock to a watering place⁷. The second contrast is similarly explicable, in that the imagery of drought in 42:13-17 is used to emphasise Yahweh's power and consists of sirocco and Creation-myth imagery, the latter of which has Exodus associations.

Another striking feature of the return passages is Second Isaiah's emotive intention. One of his main aims is to inspire confidence in Yahweh's saving power, to persuade the people that deliverance is near. In 40:3-5, for example, the prophet attempts to 'comfort' the exiles (40:1) with a picture of Yahweh's return to Jerusalem along a highway which majestically removes all obstacles in its path, revealing his glory for all mankind to see⁸. In 41:17-20, with similar intent, he shows the exiles wandering thirsty in the desert, and Yahweh's complete

1. see above p 191.
2. see the table facing page 263.
3. 41:17-20, 43:16-21 (by implication), c.f. 55:1.
4. 49:8-13.
5. 41:17-20, 43:16-21, c.f. 44:3-4 (figurative), 49:8-13, and 55:1.
6. 42:13-17, c.f. 40:7-8, 24, 44:27, 50:2.
7. above p 219, c.f., Ps. 23:2.
8. above p 197f.

and dramatic response to their need¹. Isaiah 42:13-17 uses several different images to build up a picture of Yahweh's impending irresistible action on behalf of his people, contrasted with his previous silence and inactivity, where the forcefulness of the imagery is a clear indication that its main aim is persuasive². In more general terms, 43:2 and its context assure the people of Yahweh's effective and redeeming presence, which will guide them through all the dangers that lie ahead³. The emotive intention of Second Isaiah's imagery is nowhere more clear than in 43:16-21, where the prophet makes an explicit comparison and contrast between two situations - the deliverance at the Red Sea and the coming deliverance from Babylon. He uses the first to inspire confidence in the second and describes the second in terms of the first, the aim being to provoke an exchange of feeling-content between the two, so that the audience will look forward to the coming deliverance with the confident and joyful attitude generated by their contemplation of Yahweh's saving acts in the past⁴. In Isaiah 49:8-13 the prophet pursues the same ends by the use of verbal repetition, and imagery of prisoners released and sheep grazing in safety⁵, while in 55:12-13 he depicts the exiles' departure from Babylon, to a note of rejoicing - by the exiles themselves, and by the mountains, hills and trees which greet their approach⁶. In addition, one may cite a non-return passage, Isaiah 42:14-16, where the prophet uses a complex figurative image of threshing and winnowing to convey the assurance that Yahweh will help puny Israel to batter down anything, however intransigent, that opposes his redeeming purpose for her⁷.

1. above pp 100-204

3. above p 210f.

5. above p 216-221.

7. above pp 252-256.

2. above pp 204-210, 258-260.

4. above pp 211-214

6. above pp 228f.

A further prominent feature is Second Isaiah's frequent use of imagery drawn from the traditions of the Exodus. This has been carefully documented by B.W. Anderson, who lists the many references in Second Isaiah to events of the Heilsgeschichte under the headings, 'the promise to the fathers', 'the deliverance from Egypt', 'the journey through the wilderness', and 'the re-entry into the promised land'¹. Anderson claims of Second Isaiah that:

His expectation of Yahweh's coming to inaugurate his eschatological rule was shaped according to the pattern of the Exodus from Egypt, the crucial event of Israel's past².

This is certainly true of some of the return passages, and it has already been noted that in four of these the return is seen as a new Exodus, compared and contrasted with the old³. In the six cosmic passages, however, Anderson's statement is only partially applicable. In two of these passages, 41:17-20 and 43:16-21, the imagery of the prophet's expectation is shaped according to the Exodus pattern. However, Anderson also claims that the imagery in 40:3-5 and 42:13-17 is shaped according to the pattern of the way Yahweh made through the desert in the first Exodus⁴. This is not convincing, because the word יָרַד in the Exodus traditions of the wilderness wandering only refers to the general 'route' or 'direction' taken by the tribes, and never carries the suggestion that Yahweh 'made' or 'prepared' a way, in the sense of an artificial road or path, for them to travel. Moreover, Second Isaiah's imagery of the way in these two passages has been found to be derived from contemporary road-building techniques rather than Exodus traditions⁵. The other two cosmic passages, 49:8-13 and 55:12f, do not appear to contain any allusion to the Exodus⁶.

1. Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah, see also above, p196. 2. ibid.
 3. explicitly, 43:16-21, 52:11f; implicitly, 48:20f, 51:9-10. See above p230, and pp 211-214, 227, 215-6, and 221-227 respectively.
 4. op.cit. pp.182-184.
 5. above pp 234-241, 243f.
 6. see above pp 216-221 and 228f. respectively.

The variety of images, and of their combinations, the employment of two sets of contrasting images in the return passages, and the strong emotive intention, lead to one general conclusion, that Second Isaiah is first and foremost a poet-prophet. His primary aim is not to give a precise literal description of the details of the coming deliverance and return to Palestine, but rather to marshal poetic images, drawn both from tradition (e.g. the Exodus, and shepherd-flock imagery) and contemporary experience (e.g. road-building) in order to persuade the people to adopt appropriate attitudes to it. His main aim is not descriptive but persuasive. This does not go so far as to permit the conclusion that none of the prophet's cosmic language is literal prediction. It does mean, however, that the prophecy cannot be approached with the simple presupposition that Second Isaiah's intention is to give a literal description of future events.

Having drawn this general conclusion, the next step is to ask if any criteria are available for a more precise evaluation of the cosmic language. At the beginning of the discussion it was pointed out that since it was often unclear whether the language of the cosmic passages was bisociative, the intrinsic criteria were difficult to apply. They have, however, been found useful for the description of other passages in Second Isaiah, many of which use similar imagery. Thus, the criteria of originality and the degree of development showed that the imagery of levelling the mountains in 45:1-3 was figurative¹, while the criteria of impossible literality, low correspondence, and explicit comparison led to the same conclusion regarding the imagery of the provision of water and growth of trees in Isaiah 44:1-3². The criterion of development showed that Second Isaiah's imagery of mountains praising Yahweh

1. above, pp 237f, c.f., 45:13, p 238.

2. above p 261f.

was not formal¹, and the image of 'Israel threshing mountains' in 41:14-16 was found to be figurative on the criteria of impossible literality and explicit comparison².

Turning now to scholars who have suggested other criteria for describing the cosmic language one may begin with Skinner;

the image of the desert highway and the march along it is too persistent a feature to be explained as a mere symbol for the removal of material or spiritual obstacles to the introduction of the Kingdom of God....³.

The criterion here suggested is the frequency of the imagery of the way. Leaving aside what appears to be a pejorative attitude to poetic imagery in the phrase, 'mere symbol', there is no reason why the frequency of a particular image should be a sign of literalness, or otherwise. A further point, as analysis has shown, is that the "image of the desert highway and the march along it" is but one ingredient in Second Isaiah's imagery of the way, which Skinner appears to have arrived at by a conflation of Isaiah 40:3-5 (the highway) and 42:15-16 (the blind being led in a way they do not know, and rough ground being made level before them). Of the two other occurrences of 'road' imagery, one is too brief and vague to contribute anything (49:11) and the other, 45:13, is in fact figurative⁴. The other occurrences of way imagery are derived from Exodus traditions, and though one of them speaks explicitly of Yahweh making a way in the desert the indications are that this signified simply 'way' in the general sense of a 'route', not an artificially made road. Thus, the precise image Skinner has in mind cannot be said to be a persistent one.

Another method of interpreting the cosmic language of the return in Second Isaiah is that adopted by Sydney Smith⁵, who regards some passages at least as

1. above p 246.

3. see above p 191.

5. above p 192.

2. p 253.

4. above, p 238.

being veiled references to the detailed features of contemporary historical and geographical situations. These supposed references form the criteria for interpretation. Besides interpreting 40:3-5 as referring to a particular Persian military road¹, he sees 42:14-15 as referring to a point in one of Nabonidus' campaigns when the prophet tells how a wind-storm from the desert will sweep over the heights of Edom, parching all greenstuff and drying the beds of the wadis. This is Yahweh's intervention against the Babylonian king, then at Teima: a severe drought while this oasis is cut off from the north will weaken his position. The 'blind' (presumably the Persians) will then march by unknown tracks to achieve their purpose². Similarly, on 43:16-21, Smith comments:

There is already a way; the drought has broken, and it is now possible to do work that will secure military success against the oppressor³.

This method is an ingenious variant of the literal interpretation and some elements in it are plausible, insofar as they explain otherwise obscure sayings and imagery⁴. In general, however, it is not convincing, both because individual passages like 40:3-5 and 43:16-21 are much more likely to refer to the return journey of the exiles, and because the analysis in general has shown that Second Isaiah is first and foremost a poet. His aim is to marshal poetic images with a persuasive purpose, not to devise a crossword puzzle on contemporary events. While there may well be some veiled references to contemporary events in the prophecy, (besides the more explicit ones), it is inconceivable, in the light of the preceding analysis, that it is generally to be interpreted in this way.

1. see above, p 192, n 3.

2. Isaiah, Chapters XI-LV, p. 62.

3. ibid, p.64.

4. e.g., ibid. p.61, where Smith explains 42:10-11 by saying that the isles, and settlements east of Jordan (Kedar, Petra), rejoice because Cyrus' forces are attacking Babylonian forces in that area.

Lindblom states that the imagery of 43:19f and 55:12f is "so obviously the highly coloured language of poetry that a literal interpretation is excluded" and that "the metaphorical character of these passages makes it probable that 40:3-5, 48:21, and 49:9-11 are all to be interpreted in a similar manner"¹. His discussion of the problem of language description is one of the most detailed of those that were previously surveyed², and his conclusions have been verified in more precise terms at one or two points, including the finding that the language of 'singing nature' in Isaiah 55:12f, which he mentions here, is, indeed, synthetic rather than literal³. It is too sweeping a judgement, however, to proceed from this to the statement that such passages as 40:3-5, 48:21, and 49:9-11 are of the same kind, and Lindblom's terminology is in any case imprecise.

Thus, as far as the cosmic passages are concerned, the criteria put forward by Skinner, Smith, and Lindblom are unsatisfactory and the intrinsic criteria are unproductive. The only way forward is to examine the passages again in the light of the total analysis of the imagery, beginning from some partial criteria that have emerged. One such criterion is the contrast between different kinds of imagery, as for example between Yahweh's provision of water because the people are thirsty⁴, and his promise that they shall not thirst because he will lead them to springs of water already in existence⁵. This particular contrast is not as strong as at first appears, because Yahweh provides water in both cases, and because in the second instance the imagery is metaphorical, of a flock of sheep being led to water. The two images present a minor difference of emphasis

1. above p 194.

2. above pp 192-194.

3. above p 246, c.f. also on 41:17-20, above, pp 200-204.

4. 41:17-20, 43:16-21, implicitly 48:21 - see the table facing p 263.

5. 49:8-13.

rather than a contradiction. Another contrast is between the passages where Yahweh promises to provide water¹ and one passage where he brings drought². This contrast is so marked that it is hardly possible that both the images, as they relate to the expected return journey, could have been intended or understood literally. Either one is literal and the other nonliteral or both are nonliteral. The imagery of the provision of water, which occurs several times, can admittedly be used figuratively, as in 44:3-4. In another passage it was found that this image was potentially, and probably actually, bivalent: figurative or synthetic, relating to the exile, when first used, while also capable of being interpreted literally of conditions on the return journey³. Taking into consideration the fact that the Exodus traditions of the provision of water from the rock, from which the remaining two passages are explicitly drawn, were undoubtedly interpreted as a literal event, the most reasonable conclusion is that these passages state (43:16-21) and imply (48:21) a literal expectation. Moreover, since Second Isaiah's aim is to provoke an exchange of feeling-content between the past and future deliverance, so that the people see the latter in terms of the former⁴, it is essential to this persuasive purpose that the provision of water is seen as something that Yahweh did in the past, and that he could, and probably would, do again. The reverse imagery of Yahweh causing drought in 42:13-17 is in such contrast to this that it can hardly also be literal expectation. It is thus either synthetic or figurative. The passage consists of several different images⁵ - Yahweh compared to a woman in labour and a warrior marching out to battle, causing drought with his sirocco⁶, leading the

1. 41:17-20, 43:16-21, 48:21 (implied), c.f. 44:3-4 (figurative).

2. 42:13-17 - there are only minor parallels: 40:7-8, 24, 44:27, 50:2.

3. 41:17-20, see above pp 200-204.

4. above, pp 212-214

5. above, pp 204-210.

6. above, pp 259f.

blind in a way they do not know, and making rough ground level before them. These images do not form a simple picture or sequence that could constitute a description of the return journey, but are a mixture of images on the common theme of Yahweh's power¹, which he is now about to display forcefully after a long period of inactivity². The prophet uses such imagery to try and convince his audience that Yahweh has such power and is about to demonstrate it on his people's behalf³. He is not, then, attempting to describe the return journey, but reassuring the people of the coming deliverance with a series of poetic images. Thus, examination of the passage itself, as well as the contrast between its image of drought and the images of water-provision, both lead to the conclusion that the drought image here - and the following images of the blind and the levelling of the ground - are nonliteral. They are too developed to be formal, and so must either be synthetic or figurative.

The imagery of growing trees may now be considered. There are three main passages⁴. In one, a non-return passage, the imagery is used figuratively in close connection with a figurative use of the water-provision imagery⁵. The other two uses are in return passages. The bivalency of the first passage has already been discussed⁶. When applied to the return journey, the tree imagery here, as in the other return passage, 55:12-13, would probably have been understood literally, since available evidence suggests that, to the prophet, such a transformation of the desert would not have seemed impossible or unprecedented⁷. The dramatic suddenness of the change as he depicts it⁸ shows his emotive

1. above, pp 204-210, esp. p 209.

3. above, p 209.

5. 44:1-3, pp 261f above.

7. above, p 262.

2. above, p 207.

4. and some minor parallels (45:8, 51:1-/³).

6. 41:17-20, above pp 200-204.

8. above, pp 202f.

intention, and is perhaps to be classified as hyperbole.

Finally, one may look again at the passages containing roadbuilding imagery. Imagery of roadbuilding is used figuratively in two non-return passages, 45:13 and 45:2, the second of which speaks of levelling mountains. From the immediately preceding discussion¹ it is clear that the imagery of levelling the ground in Isaiah 42:13-17 is also nonliteral, either synthetic or figurative. The principal passage is Isaiah 40:3-5. There is nothing here that demands a literal interpretation, and the exaggeration of the roadbuilding image to gigantic proportions, the statement that the 'way' is to be prepared for Yahweh to travel, and the fact that the order to prepare it is a decree of Yahweh's heavenly council, combine to give the passage an exalted, almost surrealistic air. Moreover, the imagery of mountains and hills, a prominent feature of the passage, is used in a variety of ways throughout the prophecy: synthetically, of the praise they give to Yahweh², as a poetic supposition³, in imagery of weighing and measuring⁴, and figuratively, in imagery of threshing and winnowing⁵. The last image has affinities with the image of mountains being levelled, which besides its appearance in 40:3-5 also occurs figuratively at 45:2. The fact that imagery of roadbuilding, mountains and hills, and specifically, levelling of mountains, is almost invariably used nonliterally elsewhere in Second Isaiah, taken in conjunction with the peculiar features of the passage itself, is good reason for concluding that Isaiah 40:3-5 is also nonliteral, either figurative or synthetic⁶. Much the same may be said of the phrase, "I will make all my mountains a way", in Isaiah 49:11⁷. Nothing in the context demands a literal interpretation, which would refer to cosmic changes, and the nonliteral parallels

1. see above pp 271-272.

2. 44:23, 49:13, 55:12f.

3. 54:10.

4. 40:12-13. 256

5. 41:14-16 (for this, and notes 2-4 see pp 245 A above.

6. It is too developed to be formal.

7. above, pp 220, 239.

to it¹ sway the balance in favour of a nonliteral interpretation. The brevity and vagueness of the phrase make it impossible to be more precise than this.

CONCLUSION

Several points of general interest have emerged as by-products of the main discussion. For example, the word נָנַן is often used of human conduct in a sense extended from its central meaning, and the semantic transparency of the extended meaning is detectable in several passages². It was also found that 'make smooth', rather than the RSV 'make straight', is sometimes a more accurate translation of the verb נָנַן in its Piel form³. Of more importance was the finding that a predictive interpretation of Isaiah 54:10 is inconsistent with the context, and that this verse, like Isaiah 51:6, is a poetic supposition. Thus, neither passage can be used as evidence for an 'absolute', end-of-the-world eschatological expectation in Second Isaiah⁴. It was also found that May's theory of a 'mythopoeic coalescence', whereby past, present, and future are seen as one⁵, was untenable in Isaiah 51:9-10 because the use of simile shows that the distant past and the imminent future are differentiated and compared. Isaiah 51:9b-10 uses creation-myth imagery to describe the Exodus, making only a secondary allusion to the creation⁶.

Two major findings emerge from the detailed analysis of the return passages and related imagery. First, Second Isaiah is a poet-prophet, who uses a variety of poetic images and techniques to sway his audience⁷. Secondly, the analysis of his imagery has provided criteria by which the question of language description in the cosmic passages may be partially answered. The examination of the

1. 45:13, 45:2, 42:16.

2. above, pp 232f.

3. above, pp 236.

4. above, pp 251f, and p 252, n 2.

5. on this theory see above, pp 106-109, and below, pp _____.

6. above, pp 225-227.

7. above, pp 267.

sharp contrast between imagery of Yahweh causing drought and providing water showed that the former, in Isaiah 42:13-17, was either synthetic or figurative. The latter, on the other hand, was found to be actually (43:16-21) or potentially (41:17-20) literal expectation¹, while comparison with the known climatic conditions led to the same conclusion in respect of the imagery of growing trees². By contrast, comparison with the other nonliteral uses of roadbuilding imagery, and features in the passage itself, showed that Isaiah 40:3-5 was best understood as synthetic or figurative, as also the echoes of its imagery in 42:13-17 and 49:11³. Thus, when discussing the cosmic language of Second Isaiah's eschatological hope in the return passages, a distinction should be made between imagery of the provision of water and trees in the desert, and the roadbuilding ingredient in the imagery of the way. When Second Isaiah uses the former he is picturing something that Yahweh can, and probably will, literally perform on the return journey. In the latter case, however, he is employing language of a synthetic or figurative type to describe Yahweh's ability to overcome every obstacle that stands in the way of his redeeming purpose.

1. above, pp 271-2.

2. bivalent, and so potentially literal, in 41:17-20; literal in 55:12-13. See above, p 272.

3. above, pp 273 f.

CHAPTER TEN

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF COSMIC IMAGERY
- FROST'S THEORY OF THE ABSOLUTE
ESCHATON

INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters the accepted presuppositions concerning the unity and date of Second Isaiah made it possible to examine his cosmic imagery in the context of his whole prophecy¹. Thus, in spite of the limited applicability of the intrinsic criteria, it became possible to give a description of this imagery.

Second Isaiah's cosmic imagery is but a fraction of the total found in prophetic eschatology. It will not be possible, for reasons of space, to attempt a detailed description of all the rest, and in many cases the limited context, uncertain date, and difficulty of applying the intrinsic criteria, would be formidable obstacles to language description. Some cosmic imagery is, however, found in conjunction with what appear to be descriptions of anticipated historical events. Such imagery is frequently combined with threats of universal destruction, world judgement, or both. The question of the relation between the cosmic-universal and the particular-historical was raised in an earlier chapter, and it was suggested that S.B. Frost's theory of the absolute eschaton might account for the juxtaposition². On this theory, the Old Testament writers in question took over the category of 'absoluteness' from mythical thought and

1. above, pp 188-275.

2. For this, and what follows, see above, chapter 4, pp 110f.

transferred it from the primeval past to the ultimate future. This would mean that, just as in mythical thought the primeval age is absolute and never recedes any further into the past, so the eschaton is absolute and never comes any nearer in the future. The cosmic imagery would be used in descriptions of anticipated historical events because Yahweh's ultimate purpose was believed to be realised in them. On Frost's theory, the relation between the cosmic-universal and the particular-historical in such passages would be one, not of temporal sequence, but of unitary perception, and the language of the cosmic imagery would be synthetic. A number of possible passages were mentioned¹ and it was noted that the first step towards validating Frost's theory would be to show that such passages were a unity or that this was true of the majority². It was also found that Frost was not able to validate his own theory due to lack of criteria and inconsistencies in his approach³. In this chapter the attempt will be made to test the theory by examining some of these passages. This will also make it possible to cover a representative sample of the remaining cosmic imagery.

A. PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PASSAGES: THE QUESTION OF UNITY.

The task would be impossible in the space of a single chapter but for the findings of D.J. Bourke. In a recent doctoral thesis⁴, Bourke has exhaustively analysed two of the passages in question, Zephaniah 1 and Joel 1-2, and argued convincingly for their unity. Because the work is unpublished at the time of writing it will be helpful to give a summary of his arguments.

1. (a). imagery of universal destruction and/or cosmic disturbance in juxtaposition with apparent threats of destruction of a particular nation: Isaiah 13 ; 34;63:1-6; Micah 1:2-7, Zephaniah 1, Obadiah, esp. vv.15-18.
 (b). Imagery^{of} cosmic disturbances in an otherwise historical description or expectation (Joel 1-2, see above p 110, n 6).
2. above, p 111.
3. above, p 111.
4. OSIDY.

A/1 ZEPHANIAH 1 AND JOEL 1-2 - BOURKE.

Regarding Zephaniah 1:2-18, Bourke begins by noting that its unity is far from being generally accepted¹. Many scholars have deleted the references to the Day of Yahweh, especially vv.14-16, as later additions², and a number of verses have been deleted as moralising glosses or interpolations³. In doing this, Bourke argues, commentators have ignored the Deuteronomistic influences on the book of Zephaniah and the unified structure of this particular passage⁴. As far as the former is concerned Bourke gives a detailed list of similarities in style and language between Zephaniah and the Deuteronomistic school⁵ and points out that Zephaniah also resembles it in his piling up of epithets, reiteration of the same verb, and use of catalogues and litanies⁶. Zephaniah also exhibits a similar breaking-up of the classical oracle style to that found in Jeremiah⁷. All this indicates a Deuteronomistic influence on Zephaniah which accounts for many of the supposed glosses and interpolations.

Bourke then takes up the question of structure and gives detailed evidence to show that the chapter has a definite chiasmic⁸ form based on the locality where Yahweh's action takes place and the group against which it is directed. This structure can be briefly indicated thus:⁹

- A. (vv.2-3) Yahweh will destroy everything from the face of the earth - man, beasts, birds, fish.
- B. (vv.4-6) Destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, with its idolatrous worshippers.
- C. (vv.7-11) Destruction of particular quarters of Jerusalem and particular classes of people - princes, kings, sons, etc. Announcement of Yahweh's punishment (the verb נָסַח , twice).
- B' (vv.12-16) Destruction of Jerusalem and environs (vineyards) broadening out to Judah (fortified cities and high 'angle-towers' (RSV 'battlements'))).
- A' (vv.17-18) Destruction of all the earth (verbal and general parallels to vv.2-3)

1. ibid. p.224.2. ibid. - details are given.3. ibid. p.225.4. ibid. p. 225f.

5. i.e. Deuteronomy, Hosea, the Deuteronomist editor of 1-2 Kings, and the Deuteronomic passages in Jeremiah.

6. ibid. p.226f.

(footnotes 7,8,9, on next page_____).

That this general outline is correct can be seen from a glance at the passage itself, and Bourke proceeds to an examination which gives detailed confirmation of this general impression and so gives convincing evidence of its unity¹. In particular he shows that v.7 is the climax, with its reference to Yahweh's sacrifice, and that this theme is echoed throughout the remainder of the chapter², for example insofar as the 'guests' at the sacrifice are named in v.12 (the men on the lees), v.17 (mankind) and v.18 (all the earth's inhabitants)³. The theme of Yahweh's sacrifice accounts for the similarities between sections (C) and (B'). It is a herem sacrifice, the destructive effects of which appear from v.7 onwards. In the light of this analysis Bourke argues that many proposed excisions are not justified⁴. For example, he makes out a good case for v.6, which has parallels with v.12⁵, and the reference to the vineyards in v.13, which need not be regarded as a secondary insertion from Amos because it broadens the reference outwards from the city of Jerusalem and so forms a parallel with the inward-narrowing reference of section B'⁶. The Day of Yahweh references are also shown to fit into the entire picture and to be perfectly appropriate here⁷.

Similar considerations of structure apply to the first two chapters of Joel. In discussing the question of the unity of the book, which includes by implication the question of the unity of its first two chapters, Bourke refers to the older theory associated with Duham, Bewer, and T.H. Robinson. This held that the last two chapters⁸ were written by a late author who added them to Joel's first section of the book and interpolated his Day of Yahweh imagery into the latter to join the

1. ibid. pp. 233ff.

2. ibid. p. 234.

3. p. 235.

4. p. 237.

5. ibid.

6. p. 238.

7. OSIDY pp. 238-239.

8. Hebrew. The equivalent in English versions is 2:28 - 3:21.

(footnotes 7,8,9, from previous page).

7. ibid. pp. 227-229. Bourke regards Zeph. as a slightly older contemporary of Jeremiah and dates the work in about 630 BC (p.4f).

8. On this see p.111 of N.W. Lund's article, The Presence of Chiasmus in

9. OSIDY pp. 230-232. the Old Testament, AJSL 46, 1929-30, pp.

two sections together, thus giving Joel's locusts an 'eschatological' (in Nowinckel's sense) value that their original author had not intended. Bourke notes that critics have increasingly tended to defend the unity of the book as a whole¹, and points to the many connections of similarity and contrast between its two sections². He goes on to show that both sections have the same unified chiasmic structure. In the case of the first section this may be reproduced thus:

A. Agricultural curse (1:4-12) (1:1-3 is introductory).

B. Penitance (v.13), solemn assembly to call on Yahweh (v.14); Lament for agricultural disaster (1:16-20). Sounding the trumpet in Zion (2:1a.). The approaching Day of Yahweh (2:1b-2a).

C. The locust army marching on Jerusalem (2:2b-9).

B' The Day of Yahweh (2:10-11), penance (vv.12-14). Sounding the trumpet in Zion (v.15). Solemn assembly to call on Yahweh (vv.15-16). Lament, and prayer lest Gentiles make Israel a byword (v.17). Yahweh pities Israel and takes away her reproach, driving away the northerner (2:18-20).

A' Agricultural blessing, restoration of fruitfulness and destruction of oppressor. Israel shall know that Yahweh is her God, dwelling in Zion (2:21-27).

Bourke shows that the second section of the book is closely parallel to this, and his analysis of the chiasmus and further comments, show that Joel 1-2, like Zephaniah 1, is a unity.

Thus, in two important passages, Bourke has shown that threats of universal destruction, or cosmic imagery, can be used in conjunction with references to specific historical events. Before asking if Frost's theory is the best explanation of this phenomenon it will be advisable to examine a few other passages where there appears to be a similar juxtaposition. Previously, one of the grounds for denying unity to such passages has been a presupposition that the cosmic-universal

1. OSIDY p. 277, c.f. pp. 6-9 of Bourke's article, Le Jour de Jahvé dans Joel, RB 66, 1959, pp. 5-31, 191-212. With the exception of the material about the chiasmic structure, much of Bourke's work on Joel is in the article.

2. OSIDY pp. 278-281.

and the particular-historical cannot go together, and accordingly, such juxtapositions have often been treated as indications of interpolation or later addition. By proving that the cosmic-universal and the particular-historical can coexist in the same passage - whatever the explanation may be - Bourke has shown this presupposition to be invalid. One may therefore proceed in each case by asking if there are any grounds, apart from this presupposition, for denying unity, and also enquire if there are positive evidences of unity. Apart from Zephaniah 1 and Joel 1-2 there are five other possible passages, three of which contain clear examples of cosmic imagery¹. Since this study is particularly concerned with cosmic imagery, these three passages will now be examined.

A/2 MICAH 1:2-7

The first chapter of the book of Micah presents many difficulties and has given rise to a variety of interpretations. Of vv.2-7, all but v.6 and the first couplet of v.5 have at different times and for different reasons been denied to the prophet, and the limits of the passage in which these verses stand remain uncertain. Some commentators make the major division in the chapter at the end of v.9², others after v.7, on the grounds that v.8 announces a lament which begins in v.9³. There is no general agreement concerning the relation between the sections so divided and the possible subdivisions within them. The position taken here regarding the questions which do not affect the main problem of interpretation (the relation between

1. Cosmic imagery: Micah 1:2-7, Isaiah 13, Isaiah 34. Other: Isaiah 63:1-6, Obadiah.
2. e.g., J.M.P. Smith(ICC), T.H. Robinson(HAT), Wolfe(IB), Winton-Thomas(Pke).
3. Cheyne(Camb-B), Budde (1917 p.79), Wade(WC), Linblom (1929 pp.15-16) Weiser(ATD).

vv.2-4 and 5a, 6) is that the evidence does not justify the excision of v.7¹ but that the second question in v.5 is doubtful because of its reference to Judah in the context of a threat directed specifically against Samaria². As regards the text of the relevant verses, לְיָהוָה in v.3 may be an addition but וְעַל הַשָּׁדַיִם in v.6 may be accepted³. The passage is best regarded as ending with v.7, though undeniably a close connection now exists between the two halves of the chapter.

The main problem concerns the apparent juxtaposition of universal judgement (v.2) and cosmic imagery (vv.3-4) with a specific threat against Samaria (vv.5a, 6). Almost without exception, scholars have approached these verses with the assumption that such a juxtaposition of the cosmic-universal and the particular excludes the possibility of an original unity. For convenience, this will be called the 'universal-particular presupposition'.

An obvious method of approach, on this presupposition, is to regard vv.2-4 as a later, post-exilic, picture of Yahweh's world judgement. The first scholar to make detailed suggestions on these lines was Stade, in a note published in 1903⁴. This line of interpretation has been followed by several commentators, notably Marti (KHAT, 1904), Gathe (HSAT, 1910), Nowack

1. Pfeiffer argues that v.7 is a later addition because idols were not condemned in Minah's time ("The Polemic against Idolatry in the Old Testament" (JBL 43 (1924), pp.229-240. To do this he has to make numerous excisions from Amos, Hosea, and Micah, several of which are unacceptable (c.f., Wolfe, IB; Sellin (KAT) and Marti (KHC)). Lindblom (1929, p.27) points out that the shattering of idols follows naturally on the imagery of the preceding verse, and Weiser (ATD) recently accepts it, reading וְעַל הַשָּׁדַיִם for the difficult וְעַל הַשָּׁדַיִם .
2. Because of the doubts about the second question, Budde (1917 pp.79ff) and Sellin (KAT) omit both on the grounds that they go together. Lindblom (1929 p.25) and Weiser (ATD) omit the second question only.
3. לְיָהוָה is lacking in LXX, Vulg. (so BH); for וְעַל הַשָּׁדַיִם as an objective genitive see Wade (WC) and G.R. Driver, in "Linguistic and Textual Problems, Minor Prophets, II", JTS 39 (1938), p.264. Van Hoonacker (EB) also defends MT.
4. ZAW 23 (1903) p. 163.

(HK, 1922) and Wolfe (IB, 1956). Besides the universal-particular presupposition Stade advanced two additional grounds for doubt, namely that the reference to Yahweh walking on the heights of the earth and having his temple in heaven are late conceptions. To these may be added Wolfe's contention that the shift between first and third person verbs in the verses, particularly between vv.3-4 and 6, tells against unity. None of these points is convincing. The reference to Yahweh walking on the heights of the earth is textually open to doubt¹ and neither this nor the idea of Yahweh's temple in heaven are now regarded as 'late'². Moreover, Lindblom has argued convincingly that shifts between first and third person verbs are not always a firm criterion for dislocation of texts, because they are one of the recurring characteristics of the 'revelatory' form of discourse common to prophets of all types and times. The Old Testament prophets in particular can think of the words they speak as both theirs and Yahweh's, and at times speak in the first person because they think of themselves as Yahweh's mouthpiece³.

Thus, when Stade's case is examined, the only reason for deleting vv.2-4 is the universal-particular presupposition applied to v.2. Other interpretations of this verse present several variations of this presupposition. Van Hoonacker solved the presumed difficulty by denying the universal reference. He argued that in v.2a, the expressions אֶרֶץ וּכְלָאָהָּ and עַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ referred not to the world at large but to the land of Israel and all the peoples in it. It is true that the second phrase alone can be applied to

1. See note 3, previous page.

2. a. 'walking on the high places'. Stade *op. cit.* compares Deut.33:29 & Amos 4:13. For the former, Von Rad, in his commentary (Deuteronomy (ET) London 1966, p.208) suggests a 9th or early 8th century date. The latter may well be a quotation from a contemporary psalm. (see above pp.48, chap.55).
b. Yahweh's 'place' or 'temple' undoubtedly refers to his heavenly dwelling (with most commentators, because of בְּיְהוָה in v.3). There is no reason

(footnote 2 cont... and n.3. next page).

a particular land and 'everything in it'¹ but the parallelism of both phrases together shows that the universal reference is intended here, as in Psalm 24:1 and Isaiah 34:1. Another solution on the basis of the universal-particular presupposition has been to deny that וְכָל־בְּרִית in verse 2b means 'as a witness against you (the nations)', which would remove the idea of world judgement, and see the nations simply as the arena in which Yahweh judges Israel. This interpretation, propounded by Duhm,² receives some support from the Septuagint, but not from the uses of וְכָל־ in the Old Testament. The word appears some 68 times in the Masoretic text³, of which 16, as here, are with the preposition כִּי . In every other case⁴ the reference is to acting as a witness against an individual or group with

(footnote 2 continued from previous page, also n.3.)

2(cont.) to suppose that this conception was not developed in Micah's time (see J.M.P. Smith (ICC) and Weiser (ATD)).

3. Lindblom 1929, pp.25-26, Budde's reshuffling of the text and placing of verse 2 immediately before v.5 is not accepted here. Its initial plausibility evaporates once one accepts Lindblom's point about 1st and 3rd person verbs in prophetic discourse. Also against Budde are his reference of v.1 to Yahweh and not the prophet, the drastic alterations he is led to make to וְכָל־בְּרִית in v.5 and his deletion of וְכָל־ in v.3 (for full discussion see Budde, ZAW 37 (1917-1918) pp. 79-84, & Lindblom, 1929, pp. 23-26).

1. C.f., of Israel, Jer. 8:16, 47:2, and of Egypt, Ezek. 19:7, 30:12, and 32:15.

2. ZAW 31 (1911) pp. 82-3.

3. וְכָל־ KATHAT. This excludes emendations such as the necessary addition of וְכָל־ to the MT at 1 Sam. 12:6 and the repointing of וְכָל־ to וְכָל־ at Zeph 3:8 (see n.1, next page).

4. i.e., the other 15 cases with the preposition כִּי : of false witness against a neighbour - Exod. 20:16, Dt. 5:20, 19:15, 16, 18; Prov. 24:28, 25:18; Ps. 27:12; of witness against an adulteress, Num. 5:13; other - Josh. 24:22; Dt. 31:19, 26; 1 Sam. 12:5; Jer. 42:5; Mal. 3:5.

an actual or potential implication of condemnation. Thus, there is no good reason for denying the same meaning to Micah 1:2¹.

Because of the difficulty of denying that v.2 (especially 2b), represents Yahweh appearing as a witness in judgement against the whole world, other commentators have deleted the second half of the verse², by which procedure the first half-verse can be read as a summons to the world's peoples simply to witness what Yahweh is about to do to Israel. Apart from the other supporting points already dealt with, the only grounds for this are the universal-particular presupposition.

This survey of opinion, shows that the universal-particular presupposition can operate both in those who affirm and those who deny the unity of vv.2-3 and 5a, 6. Since the additional grounds have been examined and found wanting, this presupposition remains as the only reason for altering these verses and regarding them as other than a unified speech emanating from the prophet Micah. If, in the light of Bourke's analysis of Zephaniah 1 and Joel 1-2, the juxtaposition of cosmic-universal and particular imagery is accepted as feasible in this speech, one must then ask how the cosmic imagery and reference to universal judgement were understood. J.M.P. Smith (ICC), who accepts the unity of the verses in question³, sees the call to the nations as a warning to them to repent, the implication being that if they do not they will receive the same judgement as Israel. This interpretation posits a time series beginning with the judgement against Israel and continuing with a judgement against the nations if they remain unrepentant. This is plausible in principle, but does not accord with the progress of thought in the verses taken as they stand, where the announcement of Yahweh's

~~(footnote 4 from previous page).~~

~~4. LXXAT. The excludes emendations such as the necessary addition of _____ to the NT at 1 Sam.12:6 and the re-pointing of _____ to _____ at Zeph 3:8 (see below)~~

1. For Yahweh as an accusing witness against all the peoples one should of course compare also Zeph 3:8, which should be read, with Stade op.cit. (following LXX, Syr; so RSV) as לַפְּרֵי (AV, RV: 'to the prey').
2. Sellin (KAT), Lindblom (1929, p.22).
3. he deletes the two similes in v.4, but this is arbitrary.

world judgement in v.2 is followed by the statement that Yahweh is descending or will soon descend from heaven to express this judgement¹. As in Zephaniah 1, the scene narrows down from the universal to the particular, when in vv.5a, 6, the judgement is focussed on Samaria², and there is a direct connection of thought between the cosmic imagery of v.4 and the destruction of the city in v.6, in that the same verb is used to describe the melting of the mountains (like water poured down a slope) in the former and the 'pouring down' of Samaria's stones in the valley in the latter³. Thus, the progression of thought in the passage is not from a particular judgement on Samaria to the threat of universal judgement if the example is not heeded, as one would expect on J.M.P. Smith's interpretation. On the contrary, the particular judgement on Samaria is of a piece with the universal judgement announced in general terms. The passage still confronts the interpreter with a juxtaposition of universal and particular, and Smith's attempt to find a time sequence rather than a juxtaposition appears to be based on the same basic presupposition as the other scholars previously cited, that a simple juxtaposition is not possible or explicable.

The fact of the juxtaposition has, however, been recognised by Weiser in his recent commentary⁴. The call to the nations to hear in verse two is not, he says, meant literally⁵, for the cosmic framework in which the prophet sees the divine judgement being accomplished corresponds to the breadth and magnitude of his conception of God. It is not in the prophet's mind to derive the threat of universal judgement in v.2 from the special instance of it in v.6. His starting point is not a judgement by catastrophe which will be broadened into a world

1. The כִּי at the beginning of verse 3 is most naturally translated, 'for', thus indicating that Yahweh's descent from heaven is the expression of his judgement.
2. - the difference being that there is no chiasmic broadening out to the universal again in Micah 1.
3. Budde's suggested emendation of וְהַגְרָתָּי to וְהַגְלָתָּי is arbitrary.
4. ATD, 1963.
5. for other such 'fictional audiences' in the prophets, see Lindblom, 1929, p.20.

judgement, but God's epiphany and acts, from which no-one can escape because they concern the whole world. From the preceding discussion of alternative interpretations, and the survey of the progression of thought in the text as it stands, it may be concluded that this interpretation does best justice to the juxtaposition of universal and particular judgement that it exhibits. By placing the threat against Samaria in the context of such universal and cosmic imagery the prophet lifts it from the political and military level of interpretation - as the defeat of a small nation by a greater - to the plane of Yahweh's cosmic and universal purpose, thus giving a greater impressiveness to his message and a deeper interpretation to the expected event.

There remains the question of the interpretation of the cosmic imagery in v.4. The natural sources of this have been variously found in volcanic eruption¹, earthquake², thunderstorm³, and mixtures of storm and earthquake⁴ and earthquake and eruption⁵, and its immediate derivation is from similar imagery used in the cultic theophany⁶. Whatever its precise content may be, it is of interest to note that several commentators who trace it wholly or partially to an earthquake understand it as literal prediction. Thus Sellin (KAT) asserts that the theme throughout is that of Yahweh himself executing his judgement on the sinful capital by an earthquake, and that the Assyrians are nowhere mentioned⁷. The earthquake, he says, will be so devastating that even Israel's neighbours must take full

1. Haupt, AJSL 27 (1910), pp. 57-60.

2. Sellin (KAT), T.H. Robinson (HAT), Weiser (ATD).

3. Cheyne (Camb-B), Marti (KHC), Van Hoonacker (EB), Budde (ZAW 37 (1917-18), p. 86).

4. Guthe (HSAT).

5. J.M.P. Smith (ICC), Lindblom (1929, p. 24), Winton-Thomas (Pke).

6. See Weiser (ATD) and Pss. 68:3⁽²⁾ and 97:5.

7. There are no grounds in the prophetic texts for making an antithesis between Yahweh's 'direct' action in natural phenomena and his supposed 'indirect' action in historical events, as Sellin and Lindblom appear to do, for Yahweh's action would be equally direct in either.

seen as

account of it. Apparently because he regards the prophecy as literal expectation he dates it before 722, and probably before 725, when the final military campaign against Samaria began: the implication here is that the prophet would not have predicted destruction by an earthquake once it was obvious that Yahweh had chosen other means. T.H. Robinson¹, also dates the passage before 725, apparently on the same grounds, though he understands vv.7-9 to refer to a separate threat uttered by the prophet concerning the destruction of the city by military means, as does Weiser², who also interprets vv.4 and 6 as a literal earthquake. It is also possible, however, that the theophanic imagery of v.4, and associated imagery of v.6, are being used figuratively or synthetically to describe the significance of an expected destruction of Samaria by Assyrian troops. The intensity of the destruction envisaged in v.6, which would be prodigious even for an army with modern weapons, is no barrier to this interpretation, for if one bears in mind the emotive function of prophetic imagery it is easy to see why the destruction should have been portrayed in the most devastating terms possible. Lindblom gives indirect testimony to the plausibility of this interpretation in a footnote, where he admits that it is surprising, and something of a problem, that Micah thinks of a natural catastrophe rather than the Assyrian army, as the means of Yahweh's destruction. It is surprising, as he points out, because Micah had before him the experience of the Syro-Ephraimite war, and Assyrian conquests of Galilee, Gilead, and Damascus. In order to solve the puzzle Lindblom turns to the mechanism of revelatory inspiration and claims that "in the moment of inspiration the prophet has forgotten the historical threat of Assyria"³. This is not a happy explanation because it involves the

1. HAT.

2. ATD.

3. Lindblom (1929), p.31.n.

assumption that the prophet, temporarily unconcerned with a threat which must have loomed large in his consciousness, experienced a new and different inspiration out of the blue. In the light of the analysis of poetic creation previously carried out¹ it is more likely that he experienced a creative bisociation of the threat of military destruction of Samaria and Yahweh's coming in judgement, conceived in terms of the cultic theophany, and saw the former in terms of the latter. The cosmic imagery of the passage may therefore be regarded as either synthetic or figurative.

It may be concluded, then, that apart from the universal-particular presupposition, there are no good grounds for denying the unity or authenticity of Micah 1:2-5a,6. A positive point in favour of unity is the verbal connection between vv.4 and 6². No reason has emerged for not viewing the passage as prediction or for dating it after the fall of Samaria.³

A/3 ISAIAH 13.

There is no reason to dispute the majority view that the passage is limited to chapter 13. There are several important textual points, but these need only claim attention if they affect the interpretation of the cosmic imagery or the question of overall unity. There is general agreement that the passage is to be dated somewhere between 586 and 538 B.C., and probably after 562⁴.

The unity and integrity of the passage have been less frequently denied than was the case with Micah 1:2-7, and it will suffice to give a brief survey of the

1. see above chapter 2, pp 25-49.

2. Lindblom rightly observes that after 722 such a fierce denunciation of the Northern Kingdom would lose its raison d'être (1929, pp.29-30).

3. above p 286.

4. See Scott (IB), Procksch (KAT) and Gray (ICC), who says that friendly relations between Babylon and the Medes existed until the death of Nebuchadnezzar in that year.

more prominent commentators who have examined the question. A good example of the universal-particular presupposition is found in Marti (KHC, 1900). He thinks that 'the whole earth' in v.5 refers to the Babylonian empire and that לְכָל , 'whole', has been inserted by someone who was thinking of universal judgement. On the same grounds he deletes לְכָל in v.7 and the whole of v.6, believing that it was either inserted by a later hand from Joel 1:15 or altered in the light of Joel 1:15 to speak of world judgement. He also deletes the word 'day' as intrusive in v.9, thus removing the explicit Day of Yahweh references from the passage. Additional grounds for deleting these references in v.6 are that the following verses do not harmonise with its initial imperative and that the Day of Yahweh usually refers to the last judgement whereas it is the Babylonians who are in view here. The first of these additional grounds is not self-evident, and in the light of subsequent research the restriction of the Day of Yahweh to the 'last judgement' is untenable. From this second reason it appears that Marti deletes the allusions to the Day because of their supposed universal reference. Thus, his only ground for denying the integrity of the passage is the universal-particular presupposition.

G.B. Gray (ICC, 1912) also has difficulties with the universal and cosmic elements in the passage. He indicates two characteristics which suggest to him that the original poem may have received additions beyond normal textual corruption. The first is the change in the dominant rhythm between vv.1-8 (mainly 3:2) 9-22 (mainly 3:3). The second is the fact that the poem in vv.17-19 is concerned with actual conditions or possibilities while the preceding verses have universal and 'eschatological' features. He does however recognise the difficulty of correlating these two facts, saying that since universal and eschatological features are not limited to the 3:2 sections, vv.1-8, but appear also in vv.9-13, it is impossible to work on the theory that the first section is an eschatological

fragment prefixed to a poem on the fall of Babylon¹. Because of this difficulty, Gray does not attempt to dismember the entire passage on the basis of the universal-particular presupposition, and only applies this presupposition to v.6, which he thinks was inserted by analogy with Joel 1:15 in order to "generalise a prophecy of the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes into a prophecy of the final and universal judgement".

Perhaps the most thorough examination of the passage is that undertaken by Karl Budde (1918)². Budde's main criterion and starting point is its metre. Following and elaborating on the work of Gray, he begins by establishing, against Duham and others, that the main division, metrically speaking, is between vv.2-8 and 9-22³. He therefore sees v.8 as the true turning point of the passage, marking its one major division, the difference being that vv.2-8 are the prophet's direct vision and audition, translating us into the middle of expected future events, with strong visual and aural imagery, while vv.9-22 are set in the peaceful present and are a prediction of the events in question. The choice of metre seems to him consonant with the content so interpreted⁴. On this basis Budde examines vv.9-22 and makes several changes. He keeps the Masoretic text in v.13a, deletes 13b, and reads 'רזכא אב יהיה אאן הנני and ג' ט ש א (for ג' ט ש א') in v.9. The effect of these changes, and of his other arguments, is that instead of having several changes of speaker, the whole of the section becomes a direct speech of Yehweh⁵.

As will be shown later⁶, the metrical division is not the only natural division in the passage. Certainly, in terms of content, it is by no means its one major division, as Budde suggests. Moreover, apart from the arbitrary nature of the last two textual changes mentioned, Budde's general presupposition, that

1. For the contrary view, see Frost, above pp. 111, chapter 4.

2. Jesaja 13.

3. ibid pp. 55-56.

4. ibid pp.57-58.

5. ibid pp.58-61.

6. Below, pp. 293 ff.

intermingling of first and third-person Yahweh-speech is necessarily a sign of corruption or interpolation, has already been discounted during the discussion of the previous passage¹. The relevance of his argument is that his discussion of v.13b leads him to delete all the references to the Day of Yahweh in the chapter. The objection to 13b is that it is in the third person, whereas 13a, if the Hebrew is allowed to stand, is a direct utterance of Yahweh. Accordingly, Budde holds that 13b is a paraphrase of v.9, and notes that other scholars omit the reference to 'Day of Yahweh' there, in whole or in part. Thus, he claims that v.9 cannot support 13b. Admittedly, he says, the Day of Yahweh is referred to in v.6, but he finds no difficulty in accepting the arguments of Duhm, Marti, and Gray, and deleting this verse².

As far as v.9 is concerned, the word $\text{׳} \text{׃} \text{׃} \text{X}$ is admittedly difficult, and whether or not $\text{׃} \text{׃}$ should be omitted to link $\text{׳} \text{׃} \text{׃} \text{X}$ with 'Yahweh' will be considered later. As regards v.6, Budde's arguments (or those he accepts) are not convincing³, and it later transpires that he, too, is guided, in part at least, by the universal-particular presupposition, for he concludes this part of his discussion by saying that, naturally the stubborn reiteration of the idea of the Day of Yahweh in a row of insertions shows an attempt to give the passage a character it originally lacked, namely that of a final universal judgement instead of a judgement against Babylon⁴. It is on this presupposition that Budde now examines the imagery of advancing armies and cosmic portents, and concludes that, while such traits are traditional and do not themselves make up a universal or final judgement, they could and did give the opportunity, in a later time, of introducing references to the supposedly final and universal Day

1. Above, pp 283

2. Jesaja 13, p.59.

3. The arguments in question are:

(1) The Day of Yahweh ref. in v.6 is not on firm ground because the v. appears identically in Joel 1:15 (this is a non-sequitur).

(footnote 3 continued on next page 293, also footnote 4.)

of Yahweh into an otherwise historical expectation¹.

This leads Budde to his final major point. It is surprising, he says, that there are no explicit references to Babylon or the Medes until vv.17ff. Assuming that the passage has been reworked to introduce the Day of Yahweh, it is likely that such references were already there and either fell out before or as a result of the Day of Yahweh interpolations. Several possible changes are suggested on this basis². On these it may be said merely that they are only at all possible on the Day of Yahweh interpolation theory, which itself, now that supporting arguments have been found wanting, has been found to rest only on the universal-particular presupposition. The lack of explicit reference to Babylon and the Medes in the early part of the passage will be discussed again later³.

Up to this point, and apart from the universal-particular presupposition, no good reason has emerged for deleting the cosmic imagery or universal references in Isaiah 13. There are, indeed, grounds for being more positive than this, for examination of the passage will produce good evidence that it is a unified whole.

In the discussion of Budde's analysis it was suggested that the 'one major division' he found, on mainly metrical grounds, between vv.2-8 and 9-22 was not the only natural break in the passage⁴. Budde himself hinted at an equally important division when he noted the absence of any reference to Babylon and the Medes before v.17⁵, and Gray also noted a difference in content between the specific

(footnotes 3,4, continued from previous page).

3. (contd.) (2) Duham shows it is superfluous in both (on the contrary, Bourke shows it is entirely fitting in Joel (OSIDY pp.281ff) and it is by no means self-evidently superfluous in Isaiah 13).

(3) Budde deletes it with Gray (ICC) because v.5 speaks of Yahweh coming, not his Day (but there is no reason why the two should be so distinguished).

(4) The Day of Yahweh ref. is incompatible with the lament form (i.e. the Kinah metre) (But form and content are not always necessarily congruous—see above, p. 242, n.2)

4. Jesaja 13, p.61.

1. ibid pp.61-62.

4. Above, p. 291.

2. ibid p. 62ff.

5. Above, .

3. Below, pp 293-6.

references to actual or possible conditions in vv.17-22 and the general reference of the preceding verses¹. The significance of the division here has been obscured by the natural tendency to read back references to Babylon or the Medes from vv.17-22 into parts of vv.2-16. The armies in vv.2-5 have been identified with the Medes for example, while many scholars, following Marti, have identified the fugitives in v.14 with foreigners, probably merchants, living in Babylon. While there may be a degree of truth in these identifications as secondary connotations, to make them at the start of critical reflection tends to overlay other important features of the verses in question. These features will emerge more clearly if vv.2-16 are examined as they stand, without reference to what follows.

The first thing that may be said about vv.2-16 is that they exhibit an orderly progression of thought. Verse 2 is a trifle obscure but clearly depicts the hoisting of a signal, where the expression used suggests the gathering or rallying point of an army². This thought is expanded in v.3, which speaks of Yahweh's command to his troops, and is developed further in vv.4-5, which depict the noise of the approaching armies and reiterate Yahweh's responsibility for their coming, adding the thought that their mission is universal destruction. In vv.6-8 the effects of the advance are vividly presented as it engenders the divine panic of Holy War traditions. These verses also contain the first reference to the coming Day of Yahweh. This is taken up and developed in the following verses, 9-13, which use imagery and ideas common to other Day of Yahweh passages³, and which begin and end with the announcement of Yahweh's Day and fierce anger.

1. Above, p290.

2. $\text{D} \text{J} \text{X} \text{U} \text{J}$ c.f. esp. the similar wording and imagery of the other Isaianic uses of this expression: 5:26, 11:12, 18:3. Isaiah 30:17 also has a military context. C.f. also Jer.4:6, 51:12, 27.

3. See below, p298.

Verses 14-16 depict the universal and unavailing flight and slaughter of those who are caught, the vocabulary of which shows that the armies are Yahweh's agents of destruction. Thus, from v.2 until v.16, despite the change in the metre, there is no perceptible break in the sequence of thought, and apart from the repetitions in vv.9-13, which will be examined below¹, the passage moves forward in an orderly progression. Even the difference which Budde noticed between aural and visual imagery in vv.2-8 and prediction from a peaceful present in vv.9ff is not as strongly marked as he suggests, for the cosmic portents in v.9 have a similar visual intensity to the imagery that precedes them.

The second feature of vv.2-16 is that after the announcement of impending universal destruction in vv.4-5 there is a marked universal note running through the remaining verses, specifically a note of universal judgement. In v.5, as the climax of a carefully woven sequence marked by double and sometimes treble repetition of key ideas², the purpose of Yahweh's mustering armies is revealed - it is to destroy the whole earth. In v.7 it is stated that all hands will be feeble, and every man's heart will melt. In v.9 the Day of Yahweh will make the earth a desolation and destroy the sinners from it. Verse 10 has cosmic universal imagery of the darkening of the sun, moon and stars, leading to the announcement in v.11 that Yahweh will punish the world for its evil and the wicked for their iniquity. In v.12 Yahweh says he will decimate 'men' ($\psi \} \} \chi$) and 'mankind' ($\square \gamma \chi$). Verse 13 speaks of a shaking of heaven and earth, while in v.14, the word $\psi \chi$ seems to have the force of 'every man'. The use of the word $\zeta \Delta \pi$ in v.11, at the centre and climax of the imagery of the Day of Yahweh³, the shaking of 'heaven and earth' in v.12, and the string of other universal references, show that the word $\{ \gamma \chi$ in vv.5 and 9 means

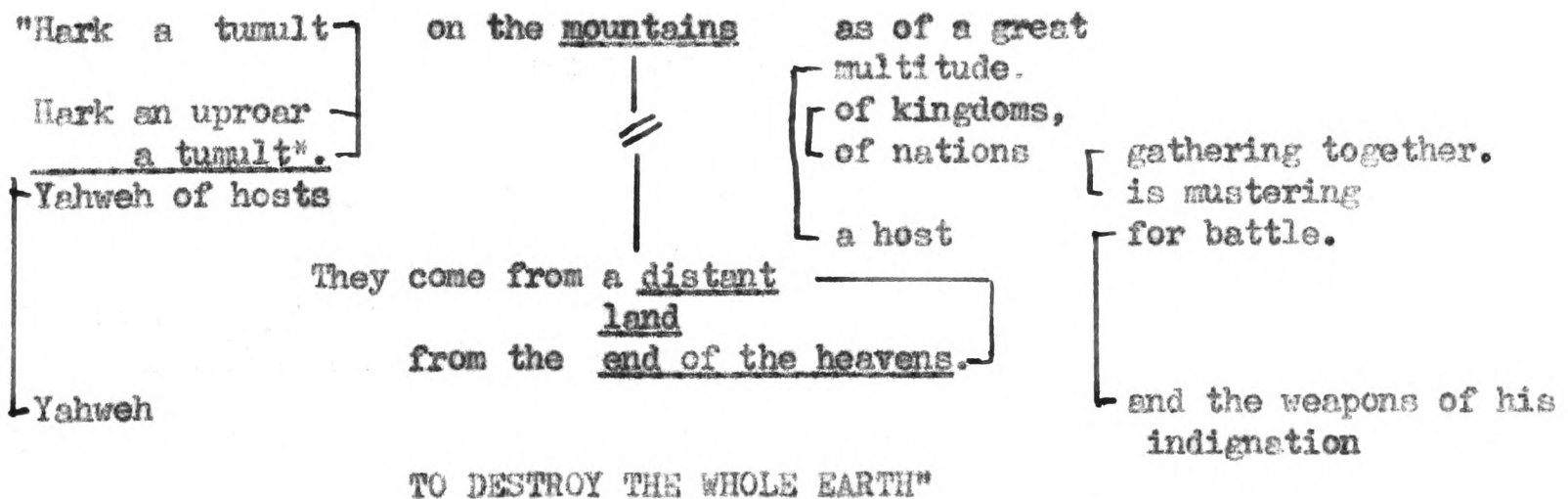
1. On the structure of vv.9-13 see below pp. 297-9.

(footnotes 2 and 3 next page_____).

'earth' rather than a particular 'land', and that v.5 cannot mean the Babylonian empire, as some scholars have suggested. Similarly, the natural primary reference of v.14 is not to the Babylonians, or foreign merchants in the city, who are not mentioned, but to mankind in general. Taken as a whole, these verses have an unmistakable ring of universal judgement. If one avoids the temptation to read back Babylonian and Median references from vv.17-22, the picture that emerges from vv.2-16 is of Yahweh's universal judgement expressed in imagery of advancing armies on the Day of Yahweh. On the analogy of Zephaniah 1, where such universal imagery coexists with particular references to Judah and Jerusalem, and of Joel 1-2, where cosmic imagery has a similar relation to particular historical events, there are no grounds for deleting the universal or cosmic imagery in Isaiah 13 or trying to whittle down its universal reference. Whatever may ^{be} the relation of vv.2-16 to vv.17-22, it seems that the author of the former intended to use imagery of universal judgement. This being so, the absence of particular references to Babylon and the Medes in these verses need cause no surprise.

(footnotes 2 and 3 from previous page).

2. This can be represented diagrammatically thus:



*Budde's reading of נִינְוָה for נִינְוָה (followed by LVTI) makes better sense than MT and is probably to be accepted.

3. See below pp 297-9.

So far, analysis of vv.2-16 has revealed an uninterrupted progression of thought and a reiterated theme of Yahweh's universal judgement, both of which are positive evidence that the verses in question are a unified prophetic speech. On the other hand, it has previously been noted that there is a metrical division between vv.2-8 (mainly 3:2) and 9-22 (mainly 3:3). Thus, on metrical grounds, vv.9-22 are also a unity. If the chapter consisted of two unrelated sections, one would expect the metrical change to coincide with the major division of content. The fact that on different grounds vv.2-16 and 9-22 show evidence of unity is positive evidence for the unity of the whole.

The third prominent feature of vv.2-16 also relates to the unity of the whole chapter. An examination of the central section, vv.9-13, reveals a definite chiasmic structure in the text as it now stands. This may be indicated in translation as follows:

A. The Day of Yahweh, cruel,
with wrath and fierce anger

(X¹) (to make the earth a desolation
(X²) and to destroy its sinners from it) v.9.

B. Cosmic portents: darkening of sun, moon, stars. (v.10)

C. Punishment of the world for its evil
and the wicked for their iniquity (c.f. X²)
- especially of pride
- decimation of mankind (vv.11-12). (c.f. X¹)

B' Cosmic portents: shaking of heaven and
earth (v.13a.) (c.f. X¹)

A' At the wrath of Yahweh of hosts,
in the Day of his fierce anger (v.13b).

There are close verbal parallels between (A) and (A'), and a marked parallelism of ideas between (B) and B'). Section (X), which is a pendant to (A), has no parallel at (A') but is needed to explain (A), while the themes of its two members are given further development in (C) and (B'). In the centre of the

chiasmus stands the key statement, that Yahweh will punish the world for its evil and the wicked for their iniquity, and it is noteworthy that the same idea and verbal expression of it is found at the centre of the chiasmus in Zephaniah 1¹. The importance of the statement is shown by the fact that it is expanded and qualified in two ways by the immediately following couplets, which specify firstly that the particular iniquity to be punished is pride and secondly that the punishment will decimate mankind, making men more rare than gold². The use of an image of precious rarity suggested to Kissane that the reference here was to a remnant of Israel, but the immediate context of punishment and desolation, and the clear universal reference, make this unlikely. The cosmic portents, the reference to Yahweh's Day as imminent, its characterisation as a day of wrath and punishment, and to a lesser extent the chiasmic structure itself³, are prominent features of other Day of Yahweh passages, as Bourke's analysis shows⁴. There is therefore no reason for deleting particular elements of it. The chiasmic structure of these verses suggests also that the expression, 'Day of Yahweh' in v.9 is not out of place. The word יְדִיָּה , though puzzling, has been explained either as being in^a opposition to 'Yahweh'⁵ or as an adjective of condition (Zustandsadjektiv) belonging to the verb יָדָה ⁶. The structure also favours the frequently suggested emendation of יְדִיָּה to יָדָה in v.13⁷, which give v.13a the same third-person structure as v.10, to which it is parallel.

1. Above, pp.278-9 (NB the verb יָדָה , Isaiah 13:11) and see Bourke, ODISY, pp.230-232.
2. c.f. Zeph. 1:18.
3. Also in Is.2 (ODISY pp.62ff), Zeph.1 (ibid pp.230-235) and Joel 1-2 (ibid.pp.252^{ff}).
4. ODIDY Chap.3, pp.55-117.
5. Gray, ICC.
6. Feldmann, citing GK § 118n.
7. ≠ LXX; so Marti (KHC), Duhm (HK), Procksch (KAT), Wade (WC).

The analysis of the chiasmic structure of vv.9-13 allows the choice of two interpretations. Either the verses are a unity emanating from a single mind, or they were not originally such a chiasmus until a later interpreter inserted v.13 to paraphrase v.9 or vice versa, thus, by luck or judgement, making a balanced structure. This second interpretation also involves the assumption either that the original was partially chiasmic (insofar as there are close parallels between (B) and (B'), the cosmic portents) or that the cosmic portents themselves were inserted, in whole or in part, or reshuffled. Since all the imagery and ideas of the section are found in other Day of Yahweh passages¹ and since the first interpretation is the simplest and most plausible, it will be adopted here.

If this analysis and interpretation of the structure of vv. 9-13 is accepted, its addition to another previously noted feature of vv.2-16 provides further positive evidence for the unity of the chapter. Since vv.2-16 are a unity displaying a progression of thought with no perceptible break², and vv.9-13 have a chiasmic structure, one would expect something after v.13 to balance the opening verses, 2-8. A further examination of the chapter shows that the verses before and after 9-13 do in fact balance each other. The parallels are not as close or verbal as in vv.9-13, but emerge equally clearly. The total structure of the passage is in fact chiasmic, and may be indicated thus:

1. See above, pp 298.
2. Above, pp 294-5.

- A. Yahweh summoning armies and kingdoms to destroy the whole earth
 - destruction on a universal scale
 - vagueness
 - atmosphere of mystery (vv. 2-5)
- B. Panic and consternation of all men
 (Holy War imagery) (vv.6-8)
-
- C. Day of Yahweh, cruel, with wrath and fierce anger (v. 9)
- D. Cosmic portents - darkening of sun, moon,
 and stars. (v.10)
- E. Punishment of the world and wicked
 - of pride
 - by decimation (vv.11-12)
- D'. Cosmic portents - shaking of heaven and
 earth. (v. 13a.)
- C'. Wrath of Yahweh in the Day of his fierce anger (v. 13b.)
-
- B'. Flight of all men to their homeland (implied that
 this is in fear (like a hunted gazelle). (vv.14-15)
- (X) details of slaughter - v. 16
- A'. Yahweh stirring up the Medes (i.e. armies of their
 confederation of kingdoms) to destroy Babylon
 (X) details of slaughter v. 17.....
 - destruction on historical-particular scale.
 - specification of what will happen
 - atmosphere of mystery in Babylon's final desolation (vv.14-15)

As far as the broader structure is concerned, (B) and (B') are directly parallel, while (A) and (A') are parallel both by similarity (in Yahweh summoning, stirring up armies, and in the awesome note at the beginning and end of the passage) and by contrast (between universal, vague, destruction and particular, specified, destruction).

The most likely explanation is, not that the poet sat down and worked out such a structure on paper, but that his inspiration naturally articulated itself

in this ordered way. Perhaps the reason why chiasmus came naturally to him, and other prophets, is that it would be particularly effective in a spoken delivery. A linear progression of both thought and structure is suitable for rational discourse, but a chiasmic structure, which can include elements of linear progression of thought, as here, has the advantage, not only of repetition, and hence greater retention, but of ordered repetition, inwards to and outwards from a central emphatic statement - in this case that of Yahweh's punishment of evil. The anticipated destruction of Babylon both comes at the end of the speech, and so has maximum climactic impact, particularly because no explicit reference to it has come before, and has also previously been set in the theological framework of Yahweh's universal judgement, which interprets its significance to the audience. The poet begins by picturing the mysterious armies, and goes on to sound the note of universal judgement and cosmic significance. The particular reference to the destruction of Babylon, when it comes, echoes some of the preceding themes, notably those of multinational armies (paralleled by the reference to the Median confederation), flight, and slaughter. The reference to universal slaughter in v.16 (labelled (X) in the chiasmic diagram above) forms a bridge between the universal reference of (B') and the particular reference of (A'). It appears, then, that the poet had Babylon and the Medes in mind from the start but proceeded, by choice or intuition, to set the scene in universal and cosmic terms until v.17, when the full power of the preceding imagery and themes was turned on contemporary events¹.

Thus, in the analysis of the chapter, two positive indications of unity have emerged. The first is the evidence of content for the unity of vv.2-16

1. c.f. Procksch (KAT), who is unsure of the unity of the chapter but says that if the central verses, 9-13, belong to the original poem the author is depending on older eschatological imagery (Bildern) in order to exaggerate the background of his painting to apocalyptic proportions.

combined with the metrical evidence for the unity of 9-22. The second is the chiasmic structure of the whole chapter and the interrelation of its universal and particular themes.

There remains the question of how the universal and cosmic imagery were understood. As regards the cosmic imagery, the immediately preceding discussion of structure leads naturally to a synthetic or figurative interpretation. For the moment, one may note that older critics often favoured a literal interpretation¹, though two recent commentators have apparently seen it as figurative². In no case, however, are criteria advanced for making such judgements. The question of the interpretation of the universal and cosmic imagery will be taken up again at the end.

A/4 ISAIAH 34

The text presents two difficulties relating to the cosmic imagery. The first line of v.4 should probably be read, 'and the hills shall dissolve'³, while

1. c.f. Chevne (1899), on v.13: "Amid convulsive throes, the present world comes to an end"; Skinner (1915) on the same verse: "...the material universe is shaken to its foundations", c.f. on v.12: "The Day of the Lord...heralded by physical convulsions"; Wade (WC) (1929) on v.10: "The horror of the catastrophe is intensified by darkness".
2. c.f. Auvray (LSB, 1957) on v.10: "Ici, l'auteur compare la venue de Yahvé à un tremblement de la terre" (emphasis mine); Kissane (Revised 1960) on v.10: "...the sufferings of the vanquished are described by the metaphor of darkness...Conversely, deliverance is compared to a great light" (emphasis mine); and on v.13: "For the figure of earthquake to describe this disaster c.f. XXIV, 1ff" (emphasis mine).
3. וְהָרִים יִפְּטְרוּ וְהָרִים יִפְּטְרוּ is often deleted, presumably because of apparent redundancy beside the similar wording of the next line. The usual suggestion (e.g. Duhm (HK), Wade (WC), Feldmann (FH), EH - rd. : וְהָרִים יִפְּטְרוּ (ה) & join to v.3 for a // with 'mountains') is unsatisfactory, for the idea of the hills 'putrefying', 'decaying' or 'rotting away' is odd, both in itself and as a // to the preceding line. The Qa reading is not helpful, for וְהָרִים יִפְּטְרוּ looks like an importation from the quite different image in Micah 1:4 (on which see above, pp 281-289) and its continuation is probably a crib from the second half of the verse. Procksch's suggestion, וְהָרִים יִפְּטְרוּ, 'and the hills shall dissolve' is attractive, as it makes only one change in the lettering of the verb, which as Millenburg observes, is part of a triadic series of Double 'Avin niphals (Literary Character, p.345) and brings the 2nd verb into assonance with the third. The Qa rdg. and Hexapla's omission of the line suggest that the text has been altered at this point.

the most probable reading of 5a is that Yahweh's sword has drunk its fill in heaven and is now descending to earth¹. The questions of the date and limits of the passage both turn on its relation to chapters 35, 40-66. There are some literary connections between 34 and 35, 40-66², and close parallels between 34:1-8 and 63:1-6³. Close parallels also exist between 34:9-17 and 13:19-22, the nature of which shows that the former is drawing upon the latter⁴. Since Isaiah 13 is a late exilic composition⁵, the evidence therefore suggests that Isaiah 34 is by an unknown post-exilic writer⁶ in the Isaianic tradition. If the passage is about Edom⁷ the most likely historical event to which it could refer would be some incident or incidents, anticipated or contemporary, before 450 BC, probably during the Nabataean occupation of Edom⁸. Comparison with chapter 35 suggests that the two chapters are by different authors, since the latter is apparently concerned with Judah rather than Edom and, in contrast to 34, uses imagery closely akin to Second Isaiah. The two chapters were undoubtedly brought together to create a sequence of judgement on the peoples followed by the restoration and felicity of Israel.

The unity of chapter 34 is generally accepted. Muilenburg has shown, by a thorough analysis, that it has a carefully wrought literary structure⁹. The

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1. Rdg. הַיְהוָה (see Duhm(HK), Marti(KHC), Wade(WC), Kissane). BH's alternative suggestion is, הַיְהוָה (i.e. * $\text{הַיְהוָה} > \text{הַיְהוָה} > \text{הַיְהוָה}$ -see Procksch(KAT), Köhler(LVTL). This is less convincing as it involves two changes of lettering and a // between perfect and imperfect forms. הַיְהוָה should prps. be rd. as הַיְהוָה (Marti(KHC), Procksch(KAT), Wade(WC), Feldmann(EH), Muilenburg(Literary Character, p.347), Scott(IB)) or הַיְהוָה . If so, הַיְהוָה should be rd. as הַיְהוָה or הַיְהוָה . Other points in the chap. may be left aside.
 2. Marvin Pope, Isaiah 34. But Pope goes too far when he says that the contacts adduced "strongly indicate" literary interdependence and show that unity of authorship is not impossible. Many of his vocabulary contacts are inconclusive, e.g.: p.237, הַיְהוָה , 34:10. Occurs 23 times in all. 5 occurrences in 34, 40-66 & never more than 4 in any other entire book; הַיְהוָה , 34:12, 14, 16. 29 times in Is. 40-55, 27 times in Is. 56-66, 68 times in Jer., 35 times in the Psalter. Such statistics of words out of context are pointless and could hardly be called statistically significant.
 3. Below, pp 306 . 4. Below, pp 310-314. 5. Above, pp 289 .
 6. Muilenburg, Literary Character, shows that the passage is a literary composition.
 7. On this see below, pp 304ff .

poet is sensitive to considerations of euphony, makes careful use of repetition, and is fond of triads of words and ideas¹. In the second verse of the chapter he sets out three ideas which are then developed in the following verses, namely: Yahweh's wrath and fury against the nations and their host (see v.3), the slaughter of his herem (see vv.5-6a.), and his sacrifice (see vv.6b-7)². Thus, the universal statements and cosmic imagery of vv.1-4 are in a literary unity with the verses that follow.

Since the chapter has been generally accepted as a unity, the problem confronting commentators has been to explain the relation between the universal-cosmic judgement of vv.1-4 and the apparently historical-particular judgement in the remainder. Two main types of explanation have been put forward. The first takes 'Edom' to mean the nation of the Edomites, and refers vv.5ff. to a particular historical event. Various explanations of the relation between this and the opening verses can then be given. The chapter can be seen as two distinct pictures, of universal and particular judgement respectively, with the first passing abruptly into the second³, or the destruction of Edom can be regarded as the writer's main concern and the opening verses as merely a setting for it⁴, or the opening verses can be taken seriously as an announcement of universal judgement which is then applied to Edom in particular⁵.

(footnotes from previous page, 8,9.)

8. Malachi, which probably refers to the same event, is usually ^{dated} about this time (so R.C. Dentan The Book of Malachi, Introduction and Exegesis. IB, Vol. VI 1956. // and L.H. Brockington, Malachi, (Pke), c.f., Horst (HAT) and J.M.P. Smith (ICC).

9. Literary Character, passim.

1. ibid.

2. ibid. p. 343. The last two images are of course inseparable.

3. Skinner (Camb.B).

4. Duhm (HK), Wade (WC).

5. Marti (KHC), Fohrer (ZBK).

The other school of thought regards 'Edom' as a symbol for all the enemies of Israel. The entire passage then reads as an announcement and description of the coming universal judgement. This interpretation, apparently originated by Max Haller (1925)¹ and accepted by Torrey (1928)², was hinted at by Muilenburg (1940)³ and adopted more recently by Pope (1952)⁴, Scott (IB, 1956), and Bright (Pke, 1962). The two schools of thought are apparently combined by Procksch (1930), who sees the chapter as a world judgement focussed or centred on Edom but also describes Edom as Israel's 'antichrist'⁵.

In view of the recent weight of opinion behind the symbolic interpretation the first question to be answered is whether in fact 'Edom' is symbolic in this passage. It will suffice to examine Haller's original arguments, which do not appear to have been elaborated since. Haller's article surveys the development of Israelite attitudes to Edom and shows that, in contrast to other parts of the Old Testament, the prophetic writings reveal a growing hatred of Edom during and after the exile⁶. He then goes on to argue that the hatred must have been so strong that it passed over into apocalyptic, when the expectation of judgement became linked with the name of Edom and the world-catastrophe was thought to begin with the annihilation of Edom⁷. Finally he suggests that 'Edom' may have been used as a symbol for world powers of which prudence forbade direct

1. Edom.
2. The Second Isaiah.
3. Literary Character, p. 340, n.3.
4. Isaiah 34, p. 243.
5. Other theories are that when universal judgement is mentioned only the sinners in every land are meant (Torrey, The Second Isaiah, p. 280), and that the references to Edom and Bozrah in 34:6 are to be deleted and Edom changed to Adam (mankind) in v.5 (Kissane, who sees vv.5-17 as referring originally to Assyria). Neither theory is convincing.
6. Edom pp. 109-112. Haller shows that antipathy was intensified into hatred by the way the Edomites took advantage of and perhaps took part in the destruction of Jerusalem, but is less convincing when he tries to show there is no evidence of antipathy in pre-exilic times; the argument here depends on a post-exilic dating for Ps.60 and Jeremiah 49:7-22.
7. ibid pp. 112-113.

mention, and in the light of two examples of this in the Midrash he suggests that Joel 4:19 and Isaiah 63:1-6 used 'Edom' as a symbol for Rome¹.

Apart from Isaiah 34, the main passage Haller examines is Isaiah 63:1-6. This has several parallels with 34:1-8, both in the reference to Edom and Bozrah, the verbal parallels between 34:8 and 63:4², and the imagery of slaughter and blood. According to Haller, although the passage harks back to the overthrow of Edom by the Nabataeans, as do also Obadiah and Malachi 1:1-5, the writer sees this only as the first act of the drama of universal judgement. It is not clear how this tallies with his statement that Edom symbolises Rome. Haller also says that the prophet has woven a couple of threats against Edom into a picture of final, universal judgement. The fact that the passage is mainly concerned with the latter is said to be shown by its use of the winepress image³.

The first point to be noted is that the winepress image does not prove that the passage is about universal judgement, for its use here could well be an early occurrence on which later writers have drawn⁴. In the present passage it is prompted by the second question, "why is thy apparel red, and thy garments like his that treads in the winepress?". This simile suggests the metaphor on the same image which follows⁵. The implicit reference to grapejuice (Hebrew: 'the blood of the grape'⁶) may have contributed to the association. Thus, the image of treading the grapes is not introduced, already complete, but arises within the passage by association of ideas. From this one may conclude that, while it

1. ibid pp. 116-117.

2. Haller, Edom, p.115.

3. ibid. pp.113,115.

4. The image of treading (people) in a winepress occurs in only 2 other O.T. passages, Lam.1:5(a simile) & Joel 3:14(closely // to Is.63), c.f. also Jer. 25:30-31 and some uses of the verb וַיִּטֹּא , e.g. Is.25:11(see above, pp253-4)

5. The metaphor is thus figurative, on the criterion of explicit comparison.

6. c.f., Gen. 49:11, Deut. 32:14 - the above is the literal meaning.

is possible that the ^{poet} poet is drawing on other material, it is also equally possible that the metaphor was an original bisociation on his part. By contrast, Joel (4:13) introduces the image, already complete, and linked with an image of harvest, which suggests that he is drawing on other material, perhaps even on Isaiah 63.

The meaning of 'Edom' and of the universal references in Isaiah 63:1-6 can be seen from an examination of the passage itself. It begins with two questions. First, the poet asks who it is that he sees, in imagination or vision, coming from the direction of Edom. The answer is, Yahweh. There is no suggestion that Yahweh's holy mountain is in view, and the natural implication of the question, and of the following question and answer, is that Yahweh is seen coming from Edom because it is in Edom that he has been carrying out the slaughter described in these verses. There is no indication that a symbolic meaning was originally intended here¹, and the mention of Bozrah² and the word play on Edom in v.2³ both count against it. Thus, it is not a description of universal judgement but the slaughter in Edom that occupies the centre of the stage, and it is this which is depicted in the image of the winepress.

To the second question, as to why Yahweh's apparel is red, comes the answer that Yahweh has trodden the winepress alone (v.3), that he looked, but there was no-one to help, and so his own strength brought him victory (v.5).

1. The passage could of course be given such a meaning later.
2. Muilenburg notes that Edom and Bozrah are sometimes emended to □ 7 X 7 ('Fual pteple, 'd~~ayed~~ red') and 7 8 3 7 ('from the treading') (IB, c.f. BH). The LXX reading B o 6 o p is too flimsy as a textual ground for this, and the only reason for it is the universal-particular presupposition, that the historical Edom cannot be intended in what is believed to be a description of universal judgement.
3. □ 7 X, 'red', c.f. Gen. 26:29-30.

The precise interpretation of this depends on the reading of the second half-line of v.3. If the Masoretic text, 'from the peoples', is read, which seems most likely, the verse states that no one helped Yahweh (by implication: to tread down Edom). This would show that it is not the peoples but Edom that is being trodden down. If the verse is emended, following the Dead Sea Scroll, to 'from my people', the passage loses its universal reference at this point.

The only other possible universal reference is in the last verse of the passage, where Yahweh says that he has trodden down $\square' \text{נ} \text{ל}$ in his anger. Despite the absence of the definite article this is probably a universal reference, but it is not presented as something that follows the destruction of Edom, a second act in the universal drama, but as a reiterative statement about that destruction, for it is closely parallel to v.3. It is therefore another instance of the juxtaposition of the universal with the particular.

Thus, examination of Isaiah 63:1-6 shows that it is mainly concerned with 'Edom'. There is no reason why this should be thought to have been intended symbolically, apart from the universal-particular presupposition, and the passage itself tells against it. The first universal reference, if accepted, restricts Yahweh's action to Edom, while the second is not an addition but a further reference to this. There is nothing to indicate that the passage has to do with the last judgement. The abrupt ending favours the view that it refers to particular historical events rather than a future consummation, for there is no reference, as for example in Joel 4 (Hebrew), to Israel's lasting felicity following Edom's destruction.

In the case of Joel 4:19(3:19), Haller points out that the annihilation of Edom is seen as the last act in the eschatological drama. His further suggestion that Edom has a symbolic meaning loses any plausibility when one questions his

acceptance of a late date for the book. If Bourke's early post-exilic date is anywhere near correct¹, a symbolic interpretation of 'Edom' as meaning 'Rome' is impossible. The coupling with Egypt, and lack of any indication that the words have a veiled meaning, also count against Haller's interpretation. Nor is a symbolic meaning possible in Isaiah 11:14 and Daniel 11:41, to which Haller also refers, for the former mentions Edom as only one in a list of other small nations to be brought under Israel's sway, while the latter says that Edom, Moab, and most of the Ammonites, will be delivered from the hand of the king of the north in the time of the end.

Thus, apart from Isaiah 34, Haller's Old Testament references do not support his theory that 'Edom' was universalised and became symbolic of Gentile nations or particular world-empires in post-exilic times. All the passages cited contain features that tell against such an interpretation. Nor is there any indication that 'Edom' as a universal or world-empire symbol was in general use in later times. Haller's references to the Midrash show that 'Edom' in the Pentateuch was sometimes reinterpreted to mean Rome, but R.H. Charles' edition does not present any traces of such a usage in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha². The later hatred of Edom is indeed clear from the patriarchal narrative in the book of Jubilees, which is altered to fit the situation in Maccabaeen times³. In 1 Enoch, Edom is often presented under the figure of wild boars⁴. In both cases it is the historical kingdom of the Edomites, or rather their Nabataean successors, that is referred to. In no case does the name 'Edom' appear to be used symbolically⁵.

1. OSIDY p.2.

2. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, 2 Vols., Oxford 1913. References taken from the index in Vol.II.

3. e.g. Chaps. 24,26,37-38.

4. 89:12,42-72; 90:13.

5. Where Rome is alluded to, it is either in veiled refs. (e.g. Sibylline Oracles 5:386-402) or images such as the eagle vision (4 Ezra 10:60 - 12:35).

One may now return to Isaiah 34 and ^{ask} ~~ask~~ if 'Edom' is symbolic there. ^{been}
 Since in no other Old Testament passage has it ^{been} found to bear a symbolic meaning, the burden of proof now lies on the interpreter who claims to see such a meaning in this chapter. From the passages previously examined it is clear that the vividness and intensity of imagery is no barrier to a historical interpretation, since Isaiah 13 uses similar imagery to describe the anticipated desolation of Babylon. Here one may again take up Haller's discussion, which links the two passages together. He regards Isaiah 34 as a second century apocalypse wherein Edom plays only an episodic role and in which vv. 11-15 are a remodelling of Isaiah 13:20ff. and have nothing to do with Edom¹. The implication seems to be that the former does not refer to Edom because it is a remodelling of the latter. This statement and implication will now be examined.

It may be admitted that there is a connection between the two passages. Their themes and imagery are paralleled elsewhere, but in no case are the contacts as close or in the same sequence². The nature of the contacts can be seen if the passages are placed side by side, thus:

1. Edom, p. 115.

2. The other parallel passages (excluding those referring to Sodom and Gomorrah, on which see below, pp. 312, n. 2) are Is. 14:23, 23:13?, Jer. 9:9-10 (10-11), 10:22, 49:33, 51:37, Hos. 9:6 (plants only, c.f. Is. 34:13a), Zeph. 2:13-15, Mal. 1:3. The closest // to both passages is Jer. 50:39-40, but the sequence of ideas is not the same. An interesting Ancient Near Eastern // is quoted by Edward J. Young (The Book of Isaiah, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1965, Vol. I (The New International Commentary of the Old Testament), p. 429f.) He quotes from an inscribed prism of Sargon II, circa 710-709 B.C., where the desolation of Babylon is described in similar terms to Is. 13:19-22.

Isaiah 13:19-22

"And Babylon...
shall be like Sodom & Gomorrah
when God overthrew them
(v.19)

Isaiah 34:9-17

"Edom.....

...and her streams shall be turned
to pitch, and her soil to brimstone.
Her land shall become burning pitch.
Night and day it shall not be quenched
Its smoke shall go up for ever (vv.9-10a)

It shall NEVER be inhabited
(π 8 3 7)
or DWELL IN FROM GENERA-
TION TO GENERATION. (v.20a)

FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION it
shall lie waste.
None shall pass through it FOR
EVER AND EVER (π 8 3 π 8 3 7) (v.10b)

.....
No arab shall pitch his tent :
there; no shepherds shall make :
their flocks lie down there. :
(v.20b)

But the hawk and the porcupine shall
possess it; the owl and the raven
shall DWELL IN IT (v.11a.)

But WILD BEASTS shall lie down
THERE, and its houses shall be
full of howling creatures.
OSTRICHES shall DWELL IN IT,
and THERE SATYRS shall dance;
HYENAS shall cry in its
TOWERS, and JACKALS in its
pleasant palaces (vv.21-22a.)

.....
: He shall stretch the line of
: confusion over it.....and its
: princes shall be nothing (11b-12)
.....
: Thorns shall grow over its
: TOWERS, nettles and thistles
: over its fortresses (13a)
.....

It shall be the haunt of JACKALS,
an abode of OSTRICHES;
and WILD BEASTS shall meet HYENAS,
the SATYR shall cry to his fellow
// (13b-14a)

.....
: THERE shall Lilith alight...
: THERE shall the owl nest and lay...
: THERE shall the kites be gathered...
:
(vv.14b-15)

its time is close at hand
and its days shall not be
prolonged. (v.22b)

Seek and read...
For the mouth of the Lord has
commanded, and his Spirit has
gathered them.
He has cast a lot for them...
They shall possess it for ever (vv.16f)



= parallel passages



= other



= connection of thought.

Capital letters indicate verbal parallels

From this it can be seen that most of the themes and ideas of 13 occur in the same order in 34, which has a development of the fire imagery in the Sodom and Gomorrah story¹ and similar references to lasting desolation and animal inhabitants. There are close verbal parallels between 13:20a. and 34:10b and between 13:21-22 and 34:13b-14a. 13:22b and 34:16-17 cannot be claimed to be closely parallel but are similar in that the former implies and the latter states that the events or states previously described are by Yahweh's decree, an idea which comes at the end of both passages. Only 13:20b has no parallel in 34. Chapter 34 on the other hand has three sections without parallel in chapter 13. The passages have enough parallels in wording and thought-sequence to justify the conclusion that one is drawing on the other.

That Isaiah 34 is the later of the two can be seen by comparing 13:19-22 with 34:9-10^{11 ff.} The former has a reference to Sodom and Gomorrah, while the latter has a vivid descriptive image which must be based on the same idea, since the only parallels to it are in the Sodom and Gomorrah tradition and the closest, in Genesis 19, also has the word 'brimstone' and the description of a burning land with smoke going up to heaven². In his discussion of Isaiah 34 Muilenburg noted that vv.9-10, with their emphatic statement of the everlasting duration both of the burning of the land and its desolation and lack of inhabitant, are formally incompatible with the following verses, which people the same land with animal life³. He saw v.10 as effecting the transition between the two images⁴.

1. See below, pp 313-4.

2. The fact that the different words are used for 'smoke' does not affect the issue. For Is.34:10 c.f. Josh.8:20-21 and Ju.20:38-40. Of the other passages using the word סַרְפָּדִים, 'brimstone', the idea of Yahweh raining it from heaven (Gen.19:24) is echoed in Ps.11:6 and Ezek.38:22, but the connection of brimstone with burning land is found elsewhere only in Deut.29:22(23) which is at most a faint echo of the original tradition. Other passages which use Sodom and Gomorrah in an exemplary way take their point of comparison not from its burning but from its desolation and lack of inhabitant (see below, n 1, p 313). The evidence therefore shows that the imagery of Is. 34:9-10 is based on the tradition found in Gen. 19:24-29. It is not necessarily a literary dependance, but certainly shows a recollection of the tradition.

3. Literary Character, pp.352-353.

4. ibid, p. 352.

The explanation of the incompatibility of the two images is found when 34:9-10 is placed beside 13:19-20. The latter compares Babylon to Sodom and Gomorrah after God overthrew them, and the point of comparison here, as in other passages, is in their desolation and lack of inhabitants¹. Isaiah 13:9-10 thus has a consistent sequence of thought and imagery: 'Babylon shall be like Sodom and Gomorrah, because it shall be desolate; no man shall ever dwell there - but the animals shall dwell there'.

In Isaiah 34, on the other hand, the implicit reference to Sodom and Gomorrah is developed in terms of the alternative image offered by the tradition, that of smoke rising from a burning land. It is this desolation which is said to last for ever and the following image of animals possessing the land is inevitably incompatible with it. The sequence of thought in the two passages can be set out as follows:

<u>Isaiah 13:19 - 22</u>	}	//	{	<u>Isaiah 34: 9 - 10, 11 ff.</u>
Babylon shall be like Sodom and Gomorrah	}	//	{	Edom (like Sodom and Gomorrah)
				shall be a burning land.
because it shall never be inhabited by man	}	//	{	and so shall never be inhabited
				(by anything)
but animals shall inhabit it.	}	//	{	but animals shall inhabit it.
(logical sequence of thought and imagery)				(incompatible images)

1. c.f. Zeph. 2:9 (of Moab and Ammon), Jer. 49:17-18 (of Edom), and Jer. 50:39-40 (of Babylon).

The most satisfactory explanation of this is that the writer of Isaiah 34 has taken the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah in Isaiah 13, which is there used only to describe Babylon's desolation and lack of human inhabitants, and has developed it in terms of the alternative imagery of fire and brimstone. Because he is drawing on Isaiah 13, he then goes on to speak of wild life possessing the land, an image which was perfectly consonant in its original home but in its new context is incompatible with what precedes it. Thus, the evidence of the development of the Sodom and Gomorrah imagery and resultant incompatibility of images clearly points to a dependence of Isaiah 34 on Isaiah 13, and not vice versa, especially as the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah is only explicit in Isaiah 13.

The use of the word 'dependence' is not meant to imply slavish copying, for the authors of 13 and 34 are poets in their own right. What is meant is that Isaiah 13 has inspired the author of chapter 34, who follows its sequence of thought, develops its imagery, and adapts it to his own purposes. The connection between the two passages is of interest in itself, because it shows a relationship between two authors in the same tradition which is one, not of verbal copying but of poetic inspiration.

Thus, Haller is correct when he states that Isaiah 34:9-17 is drawing on Isaiah 13:19-22. His apparent inference from this relationship is, however, invalid. It does not follow that because the former has drawn on the latter it therefore has nothing to do with Edom. If anything, the evidence points the other way, for the author of Isaiah 34 was inspired at this point by verses describing the destruction of a particular nation, Babylon, and it is quite possible that he drew on the imagery of Isaiah 13 for this very reason, in order to reinterpret this material from an earlier time and re-apply it to the destruction of another particular nation, Edom, in his own day.

In assessing whether 'Edom' has an historical meaning in Isaiah 34 the above consideration, taken by itself, is admittedly not very weighty. Two other pieces of evidence may be added to it. The first is the use of the names 'Edom' (twice) and 'Bozrah'. In the absence of any grounds for regarding them as symbolic (nonliteral) in this passage or in other Old Testament contexts there is no reason for denying their normal literal meaning. A further piece of evidence is v.8, where it said that Yahweh has a day of vengeance and a year of recompense for the 'case' or 'controversy' of Zion. There do not appear to be any grounds for textual emendation here, and the usual suggestions for changes in text or interpretation, though plausible, are not compelling¹. To read, 'for Zion's champion/captain' with 'for Yahweh' would admittedly give an exact synonymous parallelism but it can equally be argued that the parallelism is more suitable - and subtle - as it is, precisely because it avoids such simple repetition. Thus, the arguments from parallelism cancel each other out, and the only remaining ground for change is a presupposition that Zion's 'case' against historical Edom cannot be intended because 'Edom' is symbolic. In the absence of any other evidence for a symbolic interpretation there is no reason for altering either the usual text or its interpretation, in which the verse describes Yahweh's vengeance on Edom as his prosecution of Israel's legal 'cause' or case against the Edomites, which was the way they had taken advantage of Israel's defeat in 586 B.C.

It may be concluded that there is enough positive evidence that 'Edom' in this passage originally had an historical rather than a symbolic meaning, and no evidence to suggest otherwise. Thus, the verses referring to Edom are an allusion to historical events, and the passage presents similar problems to those previously

1. Emend to אֶדוֹם, 'one who contends' (Haller (Edom p.115, citing Buhl), Procksch (KAT), and others), or to אֶדוֹם, 'captain, chief'; or read as 'verbal adjective' and translate, 'champion of Zion' (Scott, IB, following Torrey, The Second Isaiah p.280). Kittel (BH) accepts M.T., while B. Gensler accepts the usual interpretation of אֶדוֹם as 'case, controversy' (The RIB or Controversy Pattern in Hebrew Mentality, V.T. Suppl. III, Leiden 1955, p.126).

examined. It begins with Yahweh's summons to all nations and his threats of universal judgement and slaughter. This section is concluded by cosmic imagery of the heavens rolling up like an open scroll when its ends are released¹ and mythical imagery of the withering and fall of the heavenly host, originally derived from the myth of the heavenly tree², but developed here in similes of the vine and fig tree in autumn. The following verses deal with Yahweh's slaughter and sacrifice in Edom, which seem to refer to contemporary events³, and then describe Edom's future desolation⁴. The unity of the passage is not in question⁵, and the question of the relation between the universal-cosmic and particular-historical elements in it will be considered below⁶.

A/5 INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

All of the five major passages examined above have cosmic imagery in greater or lesser development and all except Joel 1-2 have threats of Yahweh's universal judgement. Each passage also has a particular historical reference of some kind. Bourke has shown that Zephaniah 1 and Joel 1-2 are each a unit, and the detailed analysis of the three other passages has produced strong positive evidence of unity in Isaiah 13 and 34. In the case of Micah 1:2-7 it was found that there were no grounds for denying unity apart from the universal-particular presupposition. It was also found that there was one positive indication of unity in the passage⁷. In view of this, and since the evidence of ~~unity~~^{unity} in the

1. Scott, IB.

2. Maillenburg, Literary Character p.363, Scott, IB.

3. This is indicated by the nominal sentences in v.6; $\eta \times \zeta \sigma$ and $\eta \eta \psi \eta \eta$ also suggest events which, if they began in the past, are still going on.

See further below, pp 327-9.

4. vv. 9ff. See below, pp 327-9.

5. Above, pp 303-6.

6. Below, pp 326-9.

7. Above, pp 286, 289.

other four passages overthrows the universal-particular presupposition, Micah 1:2-7 may also be accepted as a unit. The acceptance of all five passages as units raises the question of the relation the universal-cosmic and the particular-historical elements in them. This will now be considered.

B. FURTHER ANALYSIS - THE RELATION OF THE UNIVERSAL-COSMIC TO THE PARTICULAR-HISTORICAL.

B/1 THEOPHANY AND THE COSMIC PORTENTS

One may begin by assessing the relevance of the fact that some of the cosmic portents in these five passages have affinities with the theophanic imagery in the Psalms¹. When discussing Zephaniah 1, Bourke notes that the portents used could hardly fail to remind Zephaniah's hearers of the Sinai theophany², which suggests that they were derived directly from the frequently used and similar imagery of that theophany in the cult. The close affinity between Micah 1:4 and its psalmic parallels suggests that the same explanation applies here. Whether the hearers of Isaiah 13 and Joel 1-2 would have thought of the similar imagery there as derived directly from the cult or whether the derivation here is indirect, through the prophetic eschatological tradition, it is not possible to say.

*and darkening of the planets
(Is 13:10, Joel 2:10,*

1. The similarity of Micah 1:4 to Pss.68:3(2) and 97:5 has already been noted (above pp. 287), while the trumpet (Zeph.1:16), darkness and cloud (Zeph.1:15, Joel 2:2), shaking of heaven and earth (Isaiah 13:13, Joel 2:10) [c.f. Isaiah 34:3-4] are also derived from the theophany tradition and have psalmic parallels (see Weiser, Theophanie, passim, and Pss.18:8-16(7-15) (shaking, darkness), 50:2ff., 68:2ff. (shaking - v.9(8)), 77:17ff(16ff) (shaking), 97:2-5 (clouds, thick darkness, trembling of earth, mountains melt)). On the relation of the 'darkening of heavenly bodies' to 'darkness and cloud' see Bourke, RB 66,1959, pp.24-5. He argues that the original image was of the cloud hiding Yahweh, and that emphasis shifted to the darkness of the cloud, as representing the return of primordial chaos. The 'darkening of the heavenly bodies' was a further development of this in the Holy War and prophetic tradition. As regards the former, his reference to Josh.10:12-14 is not convincing as this does not mention the darkening of the sun but rather its continuing brightness. The general argument is a possible explanation, though not an entirely happy one, for it is difficult to see how such a specific and vivid image as the movement and darkening of heavenly bodies could have developed solely from the original and more general image of darkness.

2. OSIDY n.258.

It is likely, then, that the theophanic imagery of Micah 1:2-7 and Zephaniah 1 would have been recognised by their first hearers as direct borrowings from theophanic imagery in the cult. In his article on the cultic theophany, Weiser shows that the descriptions of the theophany refer to the present experience of the worshipper. He also argues that the theophanic tradition in question goes back to and retains the main features of the theophany on Mount Sinai. This original theophany was actualised in the cultic drama by such means as the cloud of incense, the trumpet blast, and the festal shout¹. The question then arises as to how the imagery used in the description of the theophany was interpreted. Weiser himself is against a literal interpretation, for he criticises Nowack's suggestion that the moving of the heavens and earth in Psalm 18 is the effect of the Psalmist's prayer (i.e., a literal earthquake) and Duhm's idea that the theophany here is about a real occurrence of victory through a sudden storm². If the psalmic theophanic descriptions of, for example, the shaking of earth and mountains at Yahweh's appearing, are not understood literally, nor is it likely that they would be apprehended as figurative, since Yahweh was believed to be actually present to the worshipper in an actualisation of the original theophany. In the words of Von Rad:

Here the immediacy of the event is still more evident. The divine revelation at Sinai is not something in the past, a matter of history so far as the present generation to whom it is addressed is concerned. It is a present reality, determining the way of life of the very same people who receive it. In a literary presentation of the matter it would be meaningless so to discount the passage of time; such a procedure would carry no conviction with a post-Mosaic generation. But within the framework of the cultus, where past, present, and future acts of God coalesce in one tremendous actuality of the faith, such a treatment is altogether possible and indeed essential³.

3. The Form Critical Problem of the Hexateuch, p. 29 in VRPH (emphasis mine).

1. Theophanie, p.523, c.f. W.Beyerlin Origins and History of the oldest Sinitic Traditions pp.134-5, 142. ET by S. Rudman, Oxford 1965.

2. Theophanie pp.516-517.

It is likely, then, that in the cult, the original theophany at Sinai would be apprehended as in some way a present experience. The imagery of this theophany would then be interpreted synthetically, and a paraphrase of the earthquake imagery, for example, would be: "Yahweh's coming does shake the heavens and the earth"¹, even though earthquakes did not happen literally around Jerusalem when the cultic festivals were taking place.

Unfortunately, this does not give any guidance in the interpretation of such passages as Micah 1:2-7 and Zephaniah 1, since the original Sinai theophany was presumably thought to have been a literal occurrence in the past. Putting these two facts together, it can be said only that since the cultic theophanic imagery was understood synthetically it is possible that the same imagery was understood in a similar way in eschatological passages, but that since the original Sinai theophany was probably thought of as a literal event, such imagery in eschatological passages could equally well have been given a literal interpretation. Thus, the fact that some of the cosmic portents are theophanic is not in itself a criterion for their interpretation.

B/2 ZEPHANIAH 1.

Bourke has shown that this chapter is a unified discourse with a chiasmic structure². Yahweh's intention to destroy every living thing from the face of the earth is announced at the beginning and the end, but what is actually depicted is the destruction of Judah, with Jerusalem as the centre and epitome of the nation's sin. There is no suggestion of a time sequence between universal

1. c.f., also Mowinckel (TPIW I, pp.19-20, 109ff, 143) and Weiser (Psalms, pp. 28-29).

2. Above, pp 278-9.

and particular, nor can it be said that Yahweh here speaks of his eternal or continuing attitude of judgement on sin, of which the destruction of Judah is to be an example or expression, for the announcement at each end of the chapter is that will he execute his judgement and do so against all mankind.

Assuming that the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem is a literal expectation, the only other possible explanations of the universal-particular juxtaposition are that both are literal, or that the universal is synthetic or figurative imagery describing the significance of the particular. The first possibility is unlikely, because the universal statement is but a framework for the detailed description of the particular destruction of Judah and Jerusalem. It is this that is the writer's main concern, and it is their sin, the sin of idol worship and apostasy, that provokes Yahweh's anger, not general sins of humankind. As regards the second possibility, Bourke has shown that there are close similarities between the universal imagery of Zephaniah 1 and the J flood narrative in Genesis 6:7¹. This suggests that Zephaniah is drawing on mythical imagery to describe a particular anticipated destruction of the nation: to bring out its cosmic significance by saying, in effect, that the nation's sins against Yahweh are as heinous as, or equivalent to, the primeval sin which caused him to destroy the earth. Zephaniah thus associates, or rather bisociates, the primeval universal judgement on sin with the anticipated destruction of the nation in his own time. The chiasmic structure, and the emphasis on punishment, depict a high correspondence between the two situations, and there is no evidence that the threat of universal judgement was understood figuratively. It would therefore appear that the closest paraphrase of the statements about Judah's destruction in relation to the universal statements would be, not "this is like (or "part of")

1. OSIDY p. 250.

in Samaria and the 'kings sons' of the house of Ahab¹. Zephaniah 1 shows close similarities with this account², while the use of incidents in the past as precedents for the future is typical of the Deuteronomists' parenetic writing³.

Having so convincingly made the point that Zephaniah conceived of the sacrifice as a herem, it is surprising that Bourke then denies the possibility that the prophet could have expected it to be carried out by military action⁴. His main reason for doubting this is the stress laid in the chapter on Yahweh's personal action, as shown by the use of first person verbs⁵, but this is not a firm criterion, for it is equally conceivable that the prophet thought of Yahweh's personal intervention as taking place through political events. Even if one accepts Bourke's reading of v.14, which he emends, with several commentators, so as to delete the military reference⁶, the next but one verse appears to have a military connotation, with its reference to:

a day of trumpet blast and battle cry,
against the fortified cities,
and against the lofty battlements.

Taking this with the fact that the sacrifice is to be a herem, which in Bourke's other references and in the Holy War tradition is carried out by a victorious army, the evidence favours a military interpretation.

Turning now to the cosmic imagery, it may be noted that there is a close connection between the military imagery of v.16 and the immediately preceding theophanic imagery of darkness and cloud. In view of this, and the fact that

1. 2 Kings 10:7,11,19ff; OSIDY p.248.

2. ibid. pp.248-249.

3. ibid. pp.249-250.

4. Whether or not this would be by the Scythians, a theory about which Bourke has doubts, is not relevant here (OSIDY p. 234).

5. ibid.

6. see Wolfe (IB) & BH, who rd. "swifter than a runner is the Day of Yahweh, and speedier than a warrior". C.f. similarly, J.M.P. Smith (ICC).

that the latter is not developed in any detail, either here or elsewhere in the chapter, the balance of probabilities favours the view that it is a figurative or synthetic description of the expected military destruction, rather than a literal expectation of a thunderstorm. Its purpose is to suggest that the expected military destruction is in fact Yahweh's theophany in judgement.

B/3 JOEL 1 - 2

The main problem here is the interpretation of the cosmic imagery in chapter 2: - darkness and cloud (v.2), shaking of heaven and earth, and darkening of the sun and moon (v.10). In Joel's "eschatology of the second Day"¹, which is described in the last two chapters of the book², there is little doubt that the prophet envisages the end of the world as it is known and the inauguration of a new and paradisaal age. Nor are there grounds for supposing that in this second Day, far in the future³, the cosmic portents were not interpreted literally. In the first Day however, Joel is describing a specific event within history, a plague of locusts, and the problem therefore arises of the relation between this plague and the cosmic theophanic imagery of the Day of Yahweh which he uses in connection with it⁴.

Bourke argues convincingly that what has happened is that Joel, a late 5th century or early 4th century prophet, sees a particularly bad plague of locusts as a chastisement from Yahweh, corresponding to certain features of the curses in Deuteronomy 28. To express the further significance he sees in this plague he uses the themes of the Day of Yahweh and the 'army from afar', which had been

1. Bourke, OSIDY p.307. 2. Hebrew chaps.3-4, EVV 2:28-3:21. 3. OSIDY pp.291-292.
4. On the literary connections and parallels between the 1st and 2nd Day, see Bourke (OSIDY pp.274-292). He aptly describes the book as a diptych with chiasmic structures on each panel (*ibid*, pp.290-291). There is no reason to doubt that the locusts are real locusts and the plague a real plague, for it is difficult to give any meaning to the various stages of locust in Joel 2:25 on a symbolic interpretation (see Bourke, OSIDY pp.292-293, also his discussion and reference in RB 66, 1959, p.205 n.3.) The importance of the locusts is seen from the fact that they occupy the centre of the chiasmus (OSIDY p.289).

repeatedly combined in post-Zephaniah Day-of-Yahweh passages¹. "By interpreting the locusts as 'the army from afar', central Day of Yahweh portent and source of all other portents, the traditional descriptions of the Day of Yahweh can be fitted convincingly into the real situation"². Thus, the cloud of locusts covering the sun suggests the portent of cloud and thick darkness³ and probably also the darkening of the sun and moon. The bare remnants of the vegetation after their passage suggest the 'devouring fire'⁴. The only portent that does not fit very well into the description of the locust plague is the shaking of heaven and earth. Hence, Joel gives it only summary mention. For the military imagery, Bourke aptly compares Isaiah 5:26-30, which he suggests has influenced Joel 2⁵.

From Bourke's discussion it is clear that the cosmic portents are not descriptions of literal contemporary events, but a vivid nonliteral way of describing the plague of locusts. Their language is therefore either synthetic or figurative. The 'shaking' imagery, though out of place, is not developed, and the high correspondence between the other portents and the details of the plague favours a synthetic interpretation.

A further problem concerns the relation between the first and second Day. The many and obviously deliberate parallels and structural similarities between the two halves of the book⁶ suggest that Joel saw Yahweh's final Day, as described in the last two chapters (Hebrew) as either threatened but not carried out, or as actually manifested in some way in the locust plague of chapters 1 and 2. Bourke apparently opts for the first alternative, for he describes the locusts as 'ushering in' the portents of the Day of Yahweh⁷, which would suggest that

1. OSIDY p.289.

2. ibid p. 294.

3. ibid.

4. Bourke does not see the aptness of this image, for he says the Joel uses it solely because it is a traditional portent.

5. OSIDY p. 295.

6. see Bourke, OSIDY, pp.274-292.

7. ibid p. 289

the latter are not literally enacted because Yahweh removes the plague when the people repent. Yet from his analysis, and the preceding discussion, it is clear that the locusts are described in terms of the portents. This suggests that the second explanation is the more likely, and that Frost's theory also applies here.

B/4 MICAH 1:2-7

The cosmic imagery of v.4 has already been discussed, and it was found that a synthetic or figurative interpretation is the most likely¹. As regards the relation of universal and particular, similar considerations apply here as to Zephaniah 1. It has been shown that the theory of a time sequence between the two does not fit the evidence of the passage², and that the expression, "and let the Lord God be a witness against you" in v.2 is best interpreted as denoting Yahweh's accusing witness against all the nations, and thus his universal judgement³. The universal judgement is therefore seen not as exemplified, but as enacted, in the judgement against Samaria, and the nearest paraphrase of the statements concerning the latter would probably be: "this is Yahweh's universal judgement". The language of universal judgement in this passage is therefore probably synthetic. This suggests that the cosmic imagery of v.4, which is closely associated with it, is synthetic rather than figurative. Finally, one may note that, as in Zephaniah 1, the passage does not speak of "the eschaton" but certainly depicts "an eschaton" within world history.

B/5 ISAIAH 13

In the previous discussion of the passage it was found that it had a unified chiasmic structure and that though the poet had Babylon and the Medes

1. see above, pp 289.
2. Above, pp 285-6.
3. Above, pp 284-5.

in mind from the start, he chose or found it natural to set the scene in universal and cosmic terms until v.17, when he passes over into the prediction of Babylon's destruction at the hands of the Median confederation¹. The parallels of similarity and contrast between the two outermost limbs of the chiasmus, vv.2-5 and 17-22, show that there is no time series between universal and particular judgement, but that the universal judgement is conceived of as enacted in the historical situation. The cosmic portents, which all occur in the 'universal' part of the chapter, vv.1-16, are not therefore to be thought of as expected literal accompaniments to the destruction of Babylon, but as an interpretation of its significance: it is the Day of Yahweh, on which he will punish the world for its evil (vv.11-12, the centre of the chiasmus)². If the political events were thought of as actually being, and not merely being like, Yahweh's Day, a paraphrase of the relation between cosmic portent and military destruction would be: "this is Yahweh's Day, when he shakes heaven and earth", and the language would therefore be synthetic rather than figurative. Again with the proviso that it is "an eschaton" that is depicted, Frost's theory also applies to this passage.

B/6 ISAIAS 34

Previously, it was found that 'Edom' is to be given an historical rather than a symbolic interpretation³. It was also noted that if historical Edom is intended the passage can be seen as either two distinct and barely connected pictures laid side by side, the first of which passes into the second, or as a

1. Above, pp 297-301.

2. c.f. Fohrer, ZBK: "The stirring images (Bilder) which he traces out are intended (sollen) to depict how a complete transformation of the epoch will come about in the political revolutions he foresees. It is not the end of the world at all but rather the end of the period, in which he lives, of world history determined by the Babylonians". It does not follow, however, that the passage "is the necessary preparation for the breaking in of the new world of the last days" (my translation).

3. Above, pp 304-316.

picture of universal judgement used as a mere 'setting' for the description of Yahweh's judgement on Edom, or as a statement of Yahweh's universal judgement which is thought of as enacted in the historical situation¹. The first possibility is ruled out by Muilenburg, who shows that v.2 sets out three ideas which are then developed in the following verses². The first, Yahweh's wrath against the nations and their host, is developed only in the 'universal' section, vv.1-4. The second, the slaughter of Yahweh's herem, is developed in both sections (vv.3,5-6). The third, Yahweh's sacrifice, is developed only in the second (vv.6-7). That the first idea should be developed only in the first section is to be expected, for it is by definition concerned with universal judgement. The second and third, however, bring the universal and particular sections into an organic and thematic relationship with each other, because the closely-linked ideas of herem and sacrifice are depicted in both universal and particular terms. It cannot then be said that the two sections are distinct or barely connected. The close parallels here also show that the second alternative is unconvincing, and in fact point to the third.

Further evidence in favour of the third alternative is found in the time-references of the passage, from which viewpoint it may be divided into three 'Acts'. In the first Act, the universal section (vv.1-4), vv.1-2a have imperatives and nominal sentences respectively, suggesting that what is in mind is a present situation: Yahweh summons all nations now because he is enraged. Verse 2b has prophetic perfects: Yahweh's decree has doomed them to slaughter - implying that it will soon be carried out. Verses 3-4 have imperfects, describing

1. Above, pp. 304.

2. Above, pp. 304.

how the decree will (soon) be enacted. The second Act consists of vv.5-7. Verse 5, with its perfect followed by imperfect, seems to denote the past (a completed action - Yahweh's sword has now drunk its fill) and the present or imminent future (it will descend, or is descending, on Edom). Verse 6, with its nominal sentences, apparently refers to a present situation of slaughter in the land of Edom, while the following imperfects seem to envisage a continuation of this - Edom's 'steers and bulls' (its nobility?) will fall, and the land will be soaked with their blood. This second Act forms a historical and particular parallel to the universal setting of Act 1. Both describe the present situation and the imminent future, the first Act in terms of Yahweh's decree of universal slaughter and how it is about to be carried out, the second in terms of a present and continuing situation of slaughter in Edom. This implies that the universal imagery in Act 1 is a way of describing the significance of the particular imagery in Act 2. This is a further point in favour of the third alternative interpretation, that Yahweh's universal judgement is conceived of as enacted in the historical situation.

The third Act of the chapter consists of vv.8-17, which begin with the motivating statement that Yahweh has a day of vengeance for the cause of Zion, and continues with an almost unbroken series of imperfects and waw-consecutives¹. Together with the content of the verses, these suggest that what is being given here is a picture of the more remote future.

If the tenses and constructions in the chapter are reliable guides to the time references, the poet would appear to be describing a contemporary situation of slaughter which he expects to continue into the near future, followed by a situation of awful desolation continuing into the more remote future. The

1. Some exceptions are perhaps stylistic - see vv.14,15; others are prophetic perfects (see v.17a).

latter is clearly a work of poetic imagination, and has already been shown to be a creative development of similar imagery in Isaiah 13. It describes Yahweh's judgement by fire and the resultant desolation, and is presumably a literal expectation. As regards the former, the references to a herem sacrifice suggest that the writer is describing contemporary military events, such as an invasion of Edom, in terms of Yahweh's anger and judgement. The universal and cosmic imagery in vv.1-4 has the same time-reference as this second Act and is thematically parallel and organically related to it¹. In view of the high correspondence between the universal and particular imagery of Acts 1 and 2, the former is probably synthetic, and to be interpreted in terms of Frost's theory, as an eschaton relating to Edom.

C O N C L U S I O N

Five passages containing juxtapositions of the universal-cosmic and particular-historical have been examined. A sixth, Isaiah 63:1-6, has been briefly analysed in passing. All six passages contain a historical reference of some kind. Taking them in their presumed historical order, Micah 1:2-7 describes an anticipated destruction of Samaria, probably by Assyrian military action, with synthetic cosmic imagery and in terms of Yahweh's universal judgement. Zepheniah 1 describes an anticipated destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, probably also by military action, in similar terms. In Isaiah 13, synthetic cosmic imagery and imagery of universal judgement are used to describe the significance of an expected destruction of Babylon by the Medes, while Isaiah 34 uses universal and cosmic imagery synthetically to describe an enemy attack on and anticipated destruction of Edom. In Isaiah 63:1-6 the undoubtedly universal reference in v.6 has the same function, for it is presented not as a second Act in a time series, following the particular judgement on Edom described in these

1. See above, pp. 327 f.

verses, but as a reiterative statement about it. In Joel 1-2, imagery of cosmic portents is used synthetically of a particular locust plague which the prophet probably felt to be a manifestation or enactment of the final, far distant, Day of Yahweh against all nations which he describes in chapters 3-4 (Hebrew). In every case except the last, the universal-cosmic reference cannot be said to denote the eschaton, the final Day of Yahweh, and it is more correct to describe the total situation as an eschaton - of Israel, Judah, Babylon, and Edom (twice) respectively. The difference with Joel is that he makes explicit what had previously been implicit in the use of such universal and cosmic imagery, and also takes a step towards a more literal interpretation, by adding a parallel description of the final Day of Yahweh to his description of the locust plague. Frost's theory, as modified and restated, has therefore been vindicated as far as these passages are concerned, since in each the ultimate or universal or cosmic dimension of Yahweh's action has been shown to be apprehended not as following on but as enacted or actualised in particular historical events.

A further point of interest is that, once it was found that two situations or matrices were involved in these passages - the universal-cosmic and the particular-historical - and that one was being bisociated with the other, it became possible to use some of the intrinsic criteria to describe their relationship. Thus, for example, the high correspondence between universal and particular imagery in Zephaniah 1, and between portents and plague in Joel 1-2, pointed to a synthetic interpretation of these passages.

P O S T S C R I P T

In conclusion, it may be noted that the foregoing research has ramifications outside the limits of its title. The terminology and criteria worked out here will be applicable, if valid, not only to the Old Testament prophets, but to the whole range of Biblical eschatology. Moreover, though particularly useful for describing the language of eschatology, where it is essential to distinguish nonliteral imagery from literal expectation, the terminology and criteria also apply to language in general, both within and beyond Biblical Studies, and may therefore have a degree of usefulness in such wider fields as linguistic semantics and literary criticism.

The analysis of prophetic eschatological language has underlined the importance of its persuasive and emotive function. In particular, it has shown how the interaction of two situations in simile, metaphor, and allegory can operate in this way, by enabling one situation to be seen in terms of the other situation, and with the feelings and attitudes appropriate to it. The fact that the prophets use poetic imagery and form to articulate and communicate their message should therefore be seen, not as secondary or ornamental, nor even merely as a mark of their literary skill, but as a fundamental feature, an essential clue to the meaning and purpose of prophecy. A reassessment of the poetic language of Old Testament prophecy could usefully be undertaken on these lines.

The research has also shown that it is no longer possible to approach the language of eschatology and prediction with simple literalist presuppositions. In particular, the final chapter showed how in certain passages cosmic and

universal imagery is applied synthetically to particular historical events, not used to describe literal occurrences divorced from or in a time series with them. This raises the question whether and how far the language of New Testament eschatology and Apocalyptic may have similar characteristics, and suggests that such language should be re-examined in the light of this study, using the terminology and criteria which it provides.

REFERENCE

MATERIAL

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- A. SELECT LIST OF 19th CENTURY
ENGLISH DICTIONARIES CONSULTED
 (Comprising the earliest editions found to contain the word 'eschatology'. Subsequent editions not listed. All publications are London, unless otherwise stated).
- 1848 A Dictionary of the English Language (Noah Webster, revised and enlarged by Charles Goderich).
 'Eschatology' is defined as "The doctrine of the last or final things, as death judgement &c" (This may be called Definition A.)
- 1855 Supplement to the Imperial Dictionary, ed. J. Ogilvie.
 (Definition A). This is a supplement to the Imperial Dictionary of 1851 and is stated to be compiled on the basis of Webster.
- 1855 A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language, by Hyde Clark. This pocket-sized work contains a shorter version of Definition A ("Doctrine of the last things"), which was presumably derived from Webster, since the preface indicates reliance on Goderich's revision of Webster (among other authorities).
- 1864 Supplement to Craig's Universal Dictionary, by P. Nuttall, Ll.D. (Definition A).
- 1879 A Dictionary of the English Language, by Stormonth, 5th Edition, published in Edinburgh. The word 'eschatology' occurs in the attached supplement, not the main body of the work, and has an enlarged version of Definition A - "The doctrine of the 4 last or final things as regards man, viz - death, judgement, heaven, hell".

- 1880 A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines, Vol. II, Ed. Sir William Smith and Henry Wace. This is a specialist work. Its main interest is that the word 'eschatology' is defined, by Revd. E.H. Plumptre, D.D., entirely with reference to the dogmatic definition: "The word, of comparatively late origin in theological language, is applied to that branch of theology which deals with the ultimate destinies of mankind, with the four last things ($\tau\alpha \ \epsilon\beta\chi\alpha\tau\alpha$) - death, judgement, heaven and hell".
A broader definition appears in the 2nd Edition of Sir William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, published 13 years later - see below.
- 1889 The Century Dictionary, an encyclopaedic lexicon of the English language prepared under the superintendance of W.D. Whitney. A much broader definition than those previously cited: "~~In~~ theol, the doctrine of the last or final things; that branch of theology which treats of the end of the world and man's condition or state after death. The topics which belong theologically to eschatology are death, immortality, the resurrection, the Second Coming of Christ, the millenium, the judgement, and the future state of existence."
- 1891 A New English Dictionary on historical principles, Vol. 3, Part 1, Oxford. Eschatology is defined as: "The department of theological science concerned with the four last things: death, judgement, heaven and hell".
- 1893 A Standard Dictionary of the English Language. (Isaac K. Funk), London and Toronto. "Eschatology. Theol. The branch that treats of the final issue and result of redemption in ending human history, including death, resurrection, immortality, the end of the world, final judgement and the future state: the doctrine of the "last things" ".
- 1893 A Dictionary of the Bible, 2nd Edition, Ed. Sir William Smith and Revd. J.M. Fuller. Again a specialist work, whose definition indicates the broadening meaning of the word in biblical studies. In a nine-column article, V.H. Stanton says: "Eschatology, or the Doctrine of the Last Things, is the name which of late has become common for doctrine concerning both the future state of the individual and the consummation of the present dispensation, or end of the world, with its accompanying events."

NOTE: The reference to "death, judgement, &c" in Webster (1848 - Definition A) shows it to be based on the dogmatic definition. The above dictionaries show that this definition, later modified, was carried right through the 19th century, and was accepted by NED. The decisive shift only takes place in -

- 1903 The Jewish Encyclopaedia, a Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature and customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, published in New York and London. An extract from the article reads: "The doctrine of the "last things". Jewish eschatology deals primarily and principally with the final destiny of the Jewish nation and the world in general, and only secondarily with the future of the individual; the main concern of the Hebrew legislator, prophet and apocalyptic writer being Israel as the people of God and the victory of his truth and justice on earth." The departure from the individualistic reference of the 'four last things' is here complete.
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- OTAE

ABBREVIATIONS

(When a name in capitals, or the abbreviation 'Ref.', appear in brackets after an entry, a more complete reference is to be found in the BIBLIOGRAPHY, sections C. or B. respectively. The sign * denotes a Periodical, while + signifies a Commentary series.)

A. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE .

Gen.	Ps (Psalm)	Joel	Ecclus(Ecclesiasticus)
Exod.	Pss. (Psalms)	Am.	
Lev.	Prov.	Obad.	1,2 Macc (abees)
Nu., Num.	Eccles(iastes)	Jon.	Matt (hew).
Dt., Deut.	Cant. (song of Songs)	Mic.	2. Pet (er).
Josh.	Is(aiah)	Nah.	
Ju.	Jer.	Zeph.	
1 Sam, 2 Sam.	Lam.	Hag.	
1,2 Kgs.	Ezek.	Zech.	
1,2 Chron.	Dan.	Mal.	
Neh.	Hos.		

B. GENERAL

<	- 'derives from' (of words changing meaning)
>	- 'becomes' (of words changing meaning)
≠	- 'by analogy with'
//, //sm, //d	- 'parallel', 'parallelism', 'parallel ^{led} '.

- add. - 'addition (al)'
- AJSL - American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago*
- ANET - Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament. (PRITCHARD J.B.).
- ARI - Archaeology and the Religion of Israel. (ALBRIGHT, W.F.).
- ATD - Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen⁺.
- AV - Authorised Version.
- BASOR - Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.*
- BCPS - The Broken Compass. (PARTRIDGE, Edmund B.)
- BDB - Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Ref.)
- BH - Biblia Hebraica (Ref.)
- BJRL - Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*.
- BK - Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament., Neukirchen⁺.
- BP - Before Philosophy (FRANKFORT, H.).
- BT - The Bible Translator, London*.
- Budde, 1917 - Das Rätsel von Micah 1. (BUDDE, K.)
- BWT - Biblical Words for Time. (BARR, J.)
- BZAW - Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, (Giessen) Berlin*.
- Camb.B. - Cambridge Bible⁺.
- CAT - Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament, Neuchatel⁺.
- CDM - The Christian Doctrine of Man. (ROBINSON, H.Wheeler).
- c.f. - 'compare'.

- COD - The Concise Oxford Dictionary. (Ref.)
- Cos. Ref. - Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery. (MAY, H.G.)
- Cripps. - A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Amos (CRIPPS, R.S.)
- del. - 'delete'
- Dict. Psych. - A Dictionary of Psychology. (Ref.)
- Difficult Words. - Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets. (DRIVER, G.R.)
- DK - Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East. (ENGNELL, Ivan).
- DSI^A - The first Isaiah scroll from the Dead Sea (also cited as Qa, which see, below).
- E&M - Eschatology and Myth (FROST, S.B.).
- EB - Etudes Bibliques, Paris⁺.
- Ed., Edn. - 'Editor (of)', 'Edition'.
- Edom. - Edom im Urteil der Propheten. (HALLER, Max).
- EHAT - Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Münster⁺.
- EIEC - Eschatological Imagery and Earthly Circumstance. (WILDER, Amos).
- Enemy. - The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition. (CHILDS, B.S.).
- Emploi et portée - Emploi et portée du verbe $\bar{b}ar\hat{a}$ ($\bar{c}r\hat{e}er$) dans l'Ancien Testament. (HUMBERT, P).
- esp. - 'especially'
- Estudios. - Estudios de Poetica Hebraea. (ALONSO-SCHÖKEL, L.).
- ET - 'English Translation (by)'
- EVV - English Versions (of the Bible).
- ExpT. - The Expository Times, Edinburgh^{*}.

- f. (f.) - 'the page(s) following'
- FSAC - From the Stone Age to Christianity. (ALBRIGHT, W.F.).
- GK - Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. (Ref.)
- GMG - Glaube, Mythos, und Geschichte im Alten Testament. (HEMPEL, J.).
- H² - Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, 2nd. Edn. (Ref.)
- HAT - Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen⁺.
- HDBG - Das Hebraische Denken im Vergleich mit dem Griechischen. (BOMAN, T.).
- HK - Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, Göttingen*.
- HSAT - Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, Tübingen⁺.
- HTC - He that Cometh. (MOWINCKEL, S.)
- HTR - Harvard Theological Review*.
- HUCA - Hebrew Union College Annual, Cincinnati*.
- IAAM - The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, (FRANKFORT, H.)
- IB - The Interpreter's Bible, New York and Nashville⁺.
- ibid - 'the same' (usually of a preceding note).
- ICC - The International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh⁺.
- ID - The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. (Ref.)
- incl. - 'including'.
- ISPR - Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament. (ROBINSON, H. Wheeler).
- JBL - Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia*.
- JB - The Jerusalem Bible, London 1966.

- JNES - Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago*.
- JTS - Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford*.
- KAC - The Act of Creation. (KOESTLER, Arthur).
- KAT - Kommentar zum Alten Testament, Leipzig⁺.
- KGOD - Kingship and the Gods. (FRANKFORT, H.).
- KHC - Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, Tübingen⁺.
- L&M - Language and Myth. (CASSIRER, E.).
- L&S - Language and Style. (ULLMANN, S.).
- Lindblom, 1929 - Micha, literarisch untersucht, (LINDBLOM, J.).
- lit. - 'literal', 'literally'.
- Literary Character - The Literary Character of Isaiah 34. (MUILENBURG, J.)
- LKHAT - Lisowsky, Konkordanz zum Hebraischen Alten Testament. (Ref.).
- LSB - La Sainte Bible, traduite en français, Paris.⁺
- LSI - The Logic of Self-Involvement. (EVANS, Donald D.).
- LTC - Language, Thought and Culture. (HENLE, Paul.).
- LVTL - Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Ref.).
- LVTLs - Supplementum ad Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Ref.).
- LXX - Septuagint.
- M&R - Myth and Ritual. (HOOKE, S.H.).
- M&S - Metaphor and Symbol. (BARFIELD, Owen).
- MAOT - Methodological Aspects of Old Testament Study. (ENGNELL, I.).

- Mayim Rabbim. - Some cosmic connotations of Mayim Rabbim, 'Many Waters'. (MAY, H.G.).
- Mbg. - The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66. Introduction and Exegesis. (by MULLENBURG, James).
- Metri. causa., m. cs. - 'on metrical grounds.'
- MMET - Models and Metaphors. (BLACK, Max).
- MMOT - The meaning of mythology in relation to the Old Testament. (BARR, J.).
- MMYST - Models and Mystery. (RAMSEY, I.T.).
- (Morgenstern) 1965 - Isaiah 49/55. (MORGENSTERN, J.).
- MPE - Prophecy and Eschatology. (MICKLEM, N.).
- MRK - Myth, Ritual and Kingship. (HOOKE, S.H.).
- MROT - Myth and Reality in the Old Testament. (CHILDS, B.S.).
- ey MT - Masoretic Text.
- MTI - Memory and Tradition in Israel. (CHILDS, B.S.).
- MWL - The Meaning of the word Literal. (BARFIELD, Owen).
- Myth of State. - The Myth of the State. (CASSIRER, E.).
- n. - 'footnote'.
- NED - A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Oxford, 1891. (See also BIBLIOGRAPHY, Section A).
- NTFT - New Testament Faith for Today. (WILDER, Amos).
- NTS - New Testament Studies, Cambridge*.
- op. cit. - 'previously cited' (always refers to the immediately preceding pages).
- OSIDY - The Origin and Significance of the Idea of the Day of Yahweh in the Prophets. (BOURKE, D.J.) ^{STET.}

- OTA - Old Testament Apocalyptic. (FROST, S.B.).
- OTAE - The Old Testament against its Environment. (WRIGHT, G.E.).
- OTMR - The Old Testament in Modern Research. (HAHN, H.F.).
- OTRTP - The Old Testament, A Reinterpretation. (COOK, S.A.).
- O.T.Th.I/II - refers to either EICHRODT, W., The Theology of the Old Testament, Vol. I, or VON RAD, G., Old Testament Theology, Vol. I/II, according to context. (EICHRODT, W. and VON RAD, G.).
- OutS - Oudtestamentische Studiën, Leiden*.
- P. PP. - 'page', 'pages'.
- PAC - Prophecy and Covenant. (CLEMENTS, R.E.).
- PAI - Prophecy in Ancient Israel. (LINDBLOM, J.).
- P&E - Prophecy and Eschatology. (VIEZEN, Th. C.)^R
- P&T - Prophecy and Tradition. (MOWINCKEL, S.).
- PBK - The People and the Book. (ROBINSON, H. Wheeler).
- PD - Poetic Diction, a study in Meaning. (BARFIELD, Owen).
- PEQ - Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London*.
- Phil. Rhet. - The Philosophy of Rhetoric. (RICHARDS, I.A.).
- Pke. -(PEAKE'S COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE)
- POS - The Principles of Semantics. (ULLMANN, S.).
- post. - 'after'.
- prob. - 'probably'.
- Prob. Sim. - The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions, (FRANKFORT, H.).
- prps. - 'perhaps'.
- Psalms. - The Psalms, A Commentary. (WEISER, A.).

- PSF II - The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, Vol. II.
(CASSIRER, E.).
- ptcple. - 'participle'.
- Qa. - The first Isaiah scroll from the Dead Sea
(variants from MT listed in BH. Scroll
photographed and transcribed in The Dead Sea
Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Vol. I. Ed.
Millar Burrows, assisted by J.C. Trever and
W.H. Brownlee, New Haven, 1950).
- RB - Revue Biblique, Paris*.
- re. - 'concerning'.
- ref(s). - 'reference(s)'.
- Remarks. - Remarks on modern interpretation of the prophets.
(FOHRER, G.).
- rd, rdg. - 'read', 'reading'
- RSV - Revised Standard Version.
- RV - Revised Version.
- SBL - The Semantics of Biblical Language. (BARR, J.)
- Seq. Unf. - The Message of Deutero Isaiah in its
sequential unfolding. (MORGENSTERN, J.).
- Siege. - The Siege Perilous. (HOOKE, S.H.).
- SISM - Semantics, an Introduction to the
Science of Meaning. (ULLMANN, S.).
- SK - Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel. (JOHNSON, A.R.).
- SOED - The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary. (Ref.).
- SS - The Suffering Servant in Deutero Isaiah. (NORTH, C.R.).
- SSDI - The Servant Songs in Deutero Isaiah. (LINDBLOM, J.).
- STAR - Scholars, Theologians, and Ancient Rhetoric. (WILDER, A.R.
Amos.).
- S.Th. - Studia Theologica, cura ordinum theologorum
Scandinavicum edita, Lund, Aarhus*.

- Syr. - Syriac.
- Targ. - Targum.
- Theophanie. - Zur Frage nach den Beziehungen der Psalmen zum Kult: die Darstellung der Theophanie in den Psalmen und im Festkult. (WEISER, A.).
- TMH - The Marriage of Hosea. (ROWLEY, H.M.).
- Torrey. - The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation. (TORREY, C.C.).
- TOTI - The Old Testament, An Introduction. (EISSFELDT, O.).
- TPIW/I,II - The Psalms in Israel's Worship, Vol. I/II:(MOWINCKEL, S.).
- transp. - 'transpose'.
- TSI - The Second Isaiah. (NORTH, C.R.).
- TSOT - Towards a Science of Translating. (NIDA, E.A.).
- TWBA - Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos. (MAAG, Victor).
- TZ - Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel*.
- Use of tenses. - The Use of Tenses in Deutero Isaiah. (SAYDON, P.).
- v, vv. - 'verse', 'verses'.
- VITI - The Vitality of the Individual in the thought of Ancient Israel. (JOHNSON, A.R.).
- VRPH - The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch. (VON RAD, G.).
- VT - Vetus Testamentum, Leiden*.
- VT Suppl. - Supplement to Vetus Testamentum, Leiden*.
- Vulg. - Vulgate.
- WC - Westminster Commentary, London⁺.
- WVPA - Vision and Prophecy in Amos. (WATTS, J.D.W.).
- ZAW - Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, (Giessen) Berlin*.
- ZBK - Zürcher Bibelkommentare, Zürich and Stuttgart⁺.

G L O S S A R Y

(Comprising the most important technical terms used in this study. Page references indicate fuller discussion. Capitalised words in the text indicate cross-references)

BISOCIATION

- "The perceiving of a situation or idea, L, in two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference, M₁ and M₂." (Koestler). In poetic creation, the process by which two situations (VEHICLE and TENOR) interact and are seen as one.

pp 28-33, esp. p. 30.

COSMIC LANGUAGE

- Language which on a literal interpretation refers to changes in the physical universe.

pp. 3, 124 and
chapters 8 - 10

ESCHATOLOGY

- The complex of ideas concerning the future which arose from the prophets' conviction that Yahweh was inaugurating a new action in history in relation to his people and to the final consummation of his purpose.

pp 11-24, esp. p. 23f.

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

- Language that is NONLITERAL and recognised as such (See FORMAL, SYNTHETIC).

pp 61, 62-65, 68-71.

FORMAL LANGUAGE

- Conventional NONLITERAL language whose transparency is not spontaneously felt, e.g. dead metaphor (See FIGURATIVE, SYNTHETIC).

pp 58-60, esp. p. 60, 62-65, 68-71.

IMAGERY

- Poetic language, especially as used to describe a situation (object, state, or event) in a concrete manner, with reference to the sense or senses perceiving it, in order to stimulate the imagination of the reader or hearer.

pp 72-74

INTRINSIC CRITERIA

- Criteria for describing eschatological language which arise from the analysis of the LITERAL-NONLITERAL distinction (as opposed to criteria arising from historical, cultural, and general contextual considerations).

pp 2 and
chapter 5. pp 114-121

LITERAL LANGUAGE

- A word or linguistic sequence which carries only its currently central, semantically opaque meaning (See NONLITERAL, FIGURATIVE, FORMAL, SYNTHETIC).

pp 50-56, esp. p. 54.

MYTH

- Normally used as a particular term (a myth, the myth, myths) for stories, story-fragments, or ritual texts characteristic of MYTHICAL THOUGHT.

pp 85 and
chapter 4, passim.

MYTHICAL CATEGORIES

- Modes of perception and habits of thought in Ancient Near Eastern MYTHICAL THOUGHT which are used or adapted in the Old Testament.

p 86.

MYTHICAL IMAGERY

- IMAGERY in the Old Testament derived from Ancient Near Eastern MYTHS.

pp 86

MYTHICAL THOUGHT

- The thought and outlook of cultures dominated by the perception of reality generally known as 'myth', 'mythical' or 'mythopoeic'.

p. 85 and 91-93.
chapter 4, passim.

NONLITERAL LANGUAGE

- A word or linguistic sequence which carries a semantically transparent meaning extended from its currently central, semantically opaque meaning (See LITERAL, FIGURATIVE, FORMAL, SYNTHETIC).

pp 50-56, esp. p. 54.

SYNTHETIC LANGUAGE

- Creative NONLITERAL language where there is no awareness of the extended meaning of the vehicle as extended (See FIGURATIVE, FORMAL).

pp 62-71, esp 65ff,
cf. pp. 48-9.

TENOR

- In NONLITERAL language, the "thing meant" (See VEHICLE).

p 33

UNIVERSAL-PARTICULAR
PRESUPPOSITION

- In chapter 10, the presupposition that a juxtaposition in a single passage of COSMIC IMAGERY and /or references to universal judgement with references to particular historical events excludes the possibility of original unity.

p 282

VEHICLE

- In NONLITERAL language, the "thing said" (See TENOR).

p 33.
