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ISAIAH'S JERUSALEM.

RECENT critics have been disposed to minimize the importance of Jerusalem during the period of the Double Kingdom, the two centuries and more between Rehoboam and Hezekiah. They have been moved to this by natural reaction from the tradition that the incomparable sacredness of the City had already been realized under Solomon, and by the just desire to emphasize the influence of the prophets in the gradual creation of her greatness. But the duty of showing how gradual this greatness was, and how essential to it were the contributions of the prophets cannot be discharged without appreciation of the political and religious importance, which Jerusalem had achieved before the times of the prophets and of which their own tributes to their City are the strongest certificates. Let us in a few sentences recall what that achievement had been.¹

The Disruption of the Kingdom deposed Jerusalem from her brief reign as the capital of all Israel. There was left to the City only the small province of Judah, while the reputation of her Temple was still obviously below that of a number of other sanctuaries in the land. Yet Jerusalem had the Dynasty of David, and the Ark of Jahweh with its comparatively pure ritual: both of them, as we can see, stronger guarantees for a great future than Israel at the time anywhere else possessed. Not that either of these securities had escaped challenge or serious danger. From the congenital heathenism of a part of her population²

¹ For details see the preceding articles in the *EXPOSITOR*, March to May 1905.

² Cf. Ezekiel xvi. 3.

and the foreign alliances of some of her kings, the City was naturally liable to outbreaks of idolatry; while the House of David suffered at least one overthrow and was almost extirpated.¹ From such disasters, however, both the dynasty and the religion emerged with a brighter lustre and a more articulate confidence in their destiny. Behind them was a considerable force of piety and virtue visible in all classes of the population. With few exceptions the kings were loyal to Jahweh, and many of them evinced both character and wisdom. They were aided and corrected by the priesthood. The bulk of the country people were on the same side. We can trace in public measures the growth and refinement of the moral sense. Rude customs were abolished and reforms effected. Religion was organized and the Law was codified. We perceive the increase, if not the first appearance, of a literature of patriotism and religious faith, breathing a strong confidence of the future. The Temple, though avoided by the great majority of the Tribes and ignored by the main currents of prophecy which ran in the Northern Kingdom, steadily grew in the regard of the Judæan people and in the influence of the priesthood. It is true that down to Ahaz the supremacy of the King was maintained over both the administration and the ritual of the Temple; but the argument is false, that therefore the Temple was little more than the Chapel Royal. Its very proximity to the Palace meant the training of its priests in public affairs; and they undoubtedly played in politics and religion a part analogous to that of the more famous prophets of the North. Several episodes in the history prove the increasing popularity of the Temple and the consequent growth both of its revenues and of its spiritual influence. The people of the land gathered to it; its treasures, though often exhausted, were always again sufficient for national emergen-

By Athaliah.

cies. If not the only, it was regarded as the chief sanctuary of Jahweh in Judah: it was not merely the royal but the national and the popular shrine. To all this we have to add, at least from Uzziah onwards, the development of the trade of the City and the increase of her military strength. The walls which fell before Joash of Israel were so fortified by Uzziah and Jotham that they resisted not only the confederate troops of Israel and Aram, but after Hezekiah's additions to them, the arms of Assyria.

Such was the Jerusalem in which Isaiah grew up. The vision which he gives of her is twofold, actual and ideal. On both sides it confirms that story of her growth from Rehoboam to Hezekiah, which we have read from the annals of Judah.

I.

First, then, we find portrayed, as by one who, for forty years at least, walked the pavements of Jerusalem and watched her from his housetop, line after line of her material features, and phase after phase of her crowded life.

We get not a few glimpses of her position and shape—*Mount Sion and the hill of Jerusalem*,¹ so described for the first time; of fragments of her architecture and engineering—the *conduit of the Upper Pool on the highway of the Fuller's Field*,² the *Shilloah*, and its *softly flowing waters*,³ the *armour in the Forest-house*,⁴ the *waters of the Lower Pool*, and the *tank between the two walls for the water of the Old Pool*⁵; of the lines of wall,⁶ the *Temple-Courts*,⁷ and the *house-tops*,⁸ at all times in this city of covered

¹ x. 12 (?) 32; xxxi. 4. ² vii. 3.

³ viii. 6. ⁴ xxii. 8.

⁵ xxii. 9, 11; but it is uncertain whether these verses are of Isaiah's date.

⁶ xxxvi. 11. ⁷ i. 11 ff. ⁸ xxii. 1.

lanes the only stages on which crowds were visible; of the *lifted* look of the new buildings¹; and of the *carven sepulchres on high*,² the like of which are still so conspicuous round the City. The environing hills stand clear; Nob is named upon them, and behind Nob the train of villages up the great North Road.³ There are also the *wadies between precipices and the clefts of the rocks*,⁴ so characteristic of the immediate surroundings of the City; *the standing wheat* in the Vale of Rephaim⁵; and the whole background of pasture and agriculture, vineyards and olive groves, with large trees scattered across it, terebinths and oaks.⁶

We see, too, by Isaiah's eyes the habits and fashions of the citizens. The various religions are visible: on the one side the Temple-courts, thronged with worshippers, and above them the smoke of the lavish sacrifices,⁷ the new moons and the Sabbaths; on the other heathen rites and magic, the many idols and soothsayers,⁸ the necromancy and spirit-raising,⁹ the Adonis gardens and the worship of trees.¹⁰ We see a great deal of luxury and vice; the parade and foppery of the women,¹¹ and, in verses which Juvenal might have written of the Romans of his day, the drunkenness in the streets and at the banquets: *priest and prophet reel with new wine, and totter while giving judgment; all tables are covered with vomit, filth everywhere*.¹² The rulers are childish and effeminate; the judges are corrupt; the poor are oppressed; tyranny in high places and insolence among the young and the mean.¹³ Through all this, we

¹ ii. 12, 15. ² xxii. 16. ³ x. 28 ff.

⁴ vii. 19. ⁵ xvii. 5.

⁶ v. 1-6; 8-10; vi. 13; vii. 18 ff.; xvii. 6; i. 29-30; xxviii. 23 ff. (though Cheyne and others deny this passage to Isaiah); xviii. 4 ff.; i. 8.

⁷ i. 11. ⁸ ii. 6, 8, 18, etc.

⁹ viii. 19: the objections to the authenticity of these verses are not cogent.

¹⁰ xvii. 10 f.; i. 29 f. ¹¹ iii. 16 ff.

¹² xxviii. 7 f.; cf. v. 11 f. ¹³ Ch. i. iii. and v.

see the prophet himself moving austere, clamant, persistent: confronting the king at the end of the conduit¹; displaying a large tablet with plain characters²; leading about his children with the ominous names³; walking for three years through the streets stripped of his upper robe and barefoot.⁴ In short we have seen nothing of Jerusalem so near or so vivid since the days of David.

Most significant for the history of the City are the noise and movement everywhere audible round the prophet. The land has become full of silver and gold, full of horses and chariots.⁵ There are strong foreign elements⁶; and other prophets of the time emphasize the increase of trade and building. All this must have found its focus in Jerusalem, *her pomp, her throng, her tumult, and the joyful in her*⁷; while the rural districts, under the new economic conditions, were being stripped of their people and their wealth.⁸ Isaiah prophesies in presence of the characteristic tempers of a large city-life: the religion of crowds,⁹ their fickleness and desperate levity—

What has come to thee, then, that the whole of thee is up on the house-tops,

O full of uproar, city tumultuous, jubilant town!

The Lord, Jahweh Sebaöth, was calling on that day

To tears, lamentation, baldness, girding with sack-cloth;

And lo, there is joyaunce, merriment, slaying of oxen, killing of sheep,

Eating of flesh and drinking of wine;

*Eating and drinking for—"To-morrow we die."*¹⁰

In this connexion we must notice how Isaiah mentions Jerusalem as parallel to the rest of Judah—the Lord removes from Jerusalem and from Judah every stay and support;

¹ vii. 3 ff.

² viii. 1, 6 ff.

³ vii. 3; viii. 3 ff.; 18.

⁴ xx. 1 ff.

⁵ ii. 7 ff.

⁶ ii. 6; cf. Shebna, the secretary with the Aramaic name.

⁷ v. 14.

⁸ v. 8 ff.; cf. Micah ii. 2.

⁹ i. 11 ff.

¹⁰ xxii. 1, 12 f. (probably in 701); עֲלִיזָה, *jubilant* (cf. ii. 14), is also used of Jerusalem by Zephaniah, ii. 15.

*Jerusalem comes to ruin and Judah falls*¹; *ye dwellers in Jerusalem and men of Judah*,² and as parallel even to both houses of Israel.³ Already is the capital approaching that preponderance of influence which in coming centuries is to render the rest of the country but the fringe on her walls. Nothing could better confirm the fact of her growth during the previous period: the change which the development of trade, the new economic conditions alluded to above, and the increasing importance of her Temple had made in her relation to the rest of the land.

II.

But all these visions of the material size, strength, and *noise* of the City, vivid and near as they be, are dim beside the burning words in which Isaiah reveals her moral and her religious significance. From such words we receive ample confirmation of the evidence we have gathered of Jerusalem's ethical advancement in the age of the Double Kingdom. Her present vice and corruption of justice does not prevent Isaiah from affirming that she had been *the faithful city, full of justice, where righteousness abode*.⁴ The Lord had made a *vineyard on a fruitful and sunny hill. He had dug it and cleared it of stones, planted choice vines in it, built a tower in the midst, hewed a vine-vat and looked to find grapes that were good*—such is the prophet's account of the centuries leading up to his own.⁵ The outcome ought to have been justice and righteousness, but behold it was *bloodshed and screaming*.⁶ Nevertheless He has still His purposes with her: He has not Himself forsaken her. *The Lord hath founded Sion*.⁷ She is Ariel, *God's altar-hearth*,⁸ *who has a fire in Sion and a furnace in*

¹ iii. 1, 8. ² v. 3. ³ viii. 14.

⁴ i. 21. ⁵ v. 1 ff. ⁶ v. 7. ⁷ xiv. 32 (721 ?).

⁸ xxix. 1 (probably about 704).

*Jerusalem.*¹ *He dwells in Şion.*² Therefore, even before Samaria fell, and Jerusalem was left without a rival, and even before her vindication in 701 as Jahweh's inviolate shrine, the City was identified by Isaiah with the One True God and with His religion.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that from the beginning of his career the prophet should have beheld Jerusalem in a supernatural glory. This breaks even upon his inaugural vision. The actual temple is indeed its stage; the walls raised by Solomon and repaired by Joash. But they give way before his eyes, and open upon the Divine court itself and the immediate presence of the Lord. The foundations of the thresholds rock at the thunderous song of the seraphim, and through the smoke a seraph flies with a glowing stone to the prophet's lips. Nor does Isaiah fail to see the city herself and the land in the same or a similar apocalypse. In one of the very earliest of his discourses he describes *the terror of Jahweh, and the glory of His majesty, when He rises to strike once through the land. In that day shall Jahweh—Him whom he had seen on a throne high and lifted up—be alone exalted.*³ *The Lord shall cleanse the filth of the daughters of Şion, and sweep from her midst the blood of Jerusalem by a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning.*⁴ There is a vision of Sheol enlarging her appetite and opening her mouth without measure, and of Şion's pomp and throng and tumult and jubilation plunging into it.⁵ *The day of Jahweh is the overthrow of all that is high.*⁶ Behold there will be distress

¹ xxxi. 9: unless, as some think, this is a later addition to Isaiah's prophecies.

² viii. 18. Cheyne dates this oracle as late as 701, but with a mark of interrogation. It is probably earlier.

³ ii. 10, 11, 17, 19 (under Ahaz).

⁴ iv. 4 (under Ahaz: but denied by some to Isaiah and his times).

⁵ v. 14 (under Ahaz).

⁶ ii. 11 f.

and darkness, the gloom of anguish and pitch darkness.¹ Suddenly shall he be visited of Jahweh of Hosts with thunder and with earthquake and a great noise, with whirlwind and storm and flame of devouring fire.² Now these visions are not apocalypse technically so-called, the beginnings of which in prophecy we are wont to trace to Zephaniah. But they travel in that direction, with a desire for the manifestation of God, and a conviction of the fulness of His judgment, which the material of this dispensation cannot satisfy, and which look to the hidden world for their fulfilment. Occurring as some of the visions do in discourses, unanimously attributed to Isaiah's earlier years, they arrest us from following the recent tendency of criticism to deny to the prophet a number of other passages³ on the ground that these must be the product of a later age more at home in apocalyptic vision. The verses just quoted prove that the young Isaiah knew how to paint pictures of the Divine presence and judgment with colours from another world and atmosphere than our own. But however we may settle that point of literary criticism, what is at present of interest to us, is that to Isaiah on the threshold of his career Jerusalem had already that supreme ethical and religious significance, out of his conviction of which alone he could see her singularly bare and unromantic site enveloped in the glories and terrors of the Divine presence.

To this, her religious significance, is due the cardinal place which Isaiah claimed for a city so aloof and so unendowed by nature, in the politics and history of the world. Isaiah was the first to set Jerusalem on high among the nations; nor had the conditions for such an exaltation been present before his day. What first gave

¹ viii. 22 (under Ahaz).

² xxix. 6 (circa 703 B.C.).

³ e.g. iv. 2 ff.; v. 30; xxix. 5, 7 f.; xxx. 27 f. etc.

the mind of Israel the opportunity of realizing the world as a whole was the advance of the Assyrian Empire and its reduction of the peoples under its sway.¹ The religion of Israel rose to the opportunity. The God whom its prophets saw *exalted in righteousness* could not but be supreme over the novel world-wide forces which had risen upon history. His old national name, *Jahweh Sebaōth*, meant no more Jahweh of the armies of Israel, but Lord of the great powers. Assyria was but the tempest in His hand,² *the rod of His anger and the staff of His indignation.*³ When He had done with it, He should *break it on His own land, and tread it under foot upon His mountains.*⁴ But of these movements of history what could be the centre but the city where God had set His hearth and His dwelling, and where He had provided *a refuge for the afflicted of His people?*⁵ Jerusalem was inviolable whether against the confederacy of Aram and Israel,⁶ or against the Assyrian invasion itself.⁷ God was with her,⁸ and would save her by His own arm and in His own way. This was the conviction which sustained Isaiah in his predictions that Jerusalem could not be taken. It was independent of her material strength. But of course the latter with the city's withdrawn and exalted site, afforded that earthly basis which every such spiritual conviction needs for its realization in history. Without her hills and her walls Jerusalem could not have existed at all, nor Isaiah himself have had ground whereon to stand and answer her enemies

¹ Cf. the present writer's *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, I., ch. iv., "The Influence of Assyria upon Prophecy.

² Isa. xxviii. 2.

³ x. 5. See Cheyne's reading in *S.B.O.T.*

⁴ xiv. 25.

⁵ xiv. 32.

⁶ vii. 4 ff.

⁷ x. 28 ff. (there is no valid objection against the authenticity of verses 33, 34); xiv. 29-32.

⁸ vii. 14; viii. 8, 10. The occurrence of the phrase in these last two verses is denied to Isaiah by Cheyne and others.

as he did in the name of God. So that even Uzziah's and Hezekiah's fortifications were part of the preparation for the prophet and for his vindication of his city as inviolable.

Of the characteristics of Jerusalem, developed from David's time onward and used or enhanced by Isaiah, we have now only to deal with her relation to David's dynasty. How did Isaiah treat this? Or did he touch upon it at all? The latter question is rendered necessary by the recent criticism of Hackmann, Cheyne, Volz and Marti, who partly on grounds of language, but largely on the theory that all prophecies of the Messiah are late, have denied to Isaiah those passages¹ in which he proclaims the advent of a victorious Leader and Ruler of Israel, a scion of the house of David. The present writer has already argued against their conclusions,² and here need only add that the reasons against the authenticity of the passages given by Marti in his recent Commentary³ do not seem to him any more cogent than those of the others. It is not conclusive to say that Isaiah laboured only for the preservation of a religious community, while the promised Prince's functions are described as purely political, or that his expectation of the appearance of God Himself leaves no room for the rise of so imposing a figure. Isaiah as strenuously laboured for the continuance of the Jewish state as for the security of Jerusalem. He lamented the corruption of justice and the imbecility into which under Ahaz the government had fallen. No need of the time was more urgent than that of a wise and righteous prince; if, as Isaiah predicted, invasion and devastation were imminent on the land, it would not be unnatural to paint him as a victorious captain as well. But where was such an one to be found outside the House of David, which in Judah had no rival, and had already, when almost extirpated, proved its powers of recuperation?

¹ Ch. ix. and xi. ² Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, art. "Isaiah."

³ In the *Kurzer Hand-Kommentar*.

Thus all the moral and political conditions were present for such prophecies as we are now discussing. For him who took the popular idea of a coming day of the Lord and transformed it into a purely ethical conception, it was equally natural to choose some common hope of the advent of a powerful prince, and to give it those moral elements with which the popular religion was incapable of endowing it. To say that Isaiah "set his hope on Jahweh and upon a religious community, but not upon the Davidic dynasty and a political dominion,"¹ is to detach the prophet—who was a statesman as well—from those political conditions of his age along which we elsewhere find him working for the future. That Isaiah should invest his hope in the recovery and continuance of the Dynasty need give us no more difficulty than the fact (which is not doubted) of his insisting upon the survival of the City. We may feel even less difficulty with the military features which he has introduced into his proclamation of the Prince of the Four Names. The title *Father of Spoil*—if that be indeed the correct rendering—is overborne by the others; while the overthrow of Israel's enemies associated with his advent,² is as directly imputed to God as it is in the unquestioned oracles of Isaiah.³ We need not doubt, therefore, Isaiah's authorship of chapters ix. 2-7 and xi. 1-8.

Thus, then, we see the fires which David and Solomon kindled in Jerusalem, and which have been smouldering—sometimes one might say without betraying anything but smoke—leap into high, bright flames at the powerful breath of Isaiah. The City has found her Prophet: the mind to read her history and proclaim her destiny. Her long labours and obscure growth from Rehoboam to Hezekiah have received their vision and interpretation. Without that history behind him, Isaiah could not have spoken as he did of the character and destiny of Jerusalem. But he was the

¹ Marti, p. 94 f. ² ix. 4. ³ e.g. xiv. 24 f.

first to read and to proclaim their full meaning; and therefore Jerusalem may be said to be Isaiah's Jerusalem, just as much as she was David's or Solomon's.

III.

We have now to follow Isaiah, as with these convictions about the City he carried her—it would appear almost unaided—through the great crises which fell upon her during the reign of Hezekiah.

When Hezekiah came to the throne remains uncertain, 729, 721 or 715; as also, when he died, soon after 701 or about 692, or even as late as 685. But the discussion of the exact dates is not necessary to our present purpose. What is clear is that Hezekiah had already reigned some years before the campaign of Sennacherib in 701; and if the second attempt of Sennacherib on Jerusalem, described in Isaiah xxxvi., xxxvii. is to be put as late as 690 or thereabouts, Hezekiah was then still on the throne.

In 721 Samaria fell, the Northern Kingdom came to its end, and its people were carried into exile. Judah therefore remained the sole trustee of the hope of Israel, and the Temple was left without a possible rival. What emphasis this gave to Isaiah's earlier words about the City and Mount Sion need not be detailed. But it may be noted that in addition (as some have rightly conjectured) the fall of the Northern State would lead to the immigration of a number of fugitives to Jerusalem, as well as to the occasional pilgrimages of such of the Israelite population as remained in the land of Samaria.

In the same year Merodach Baladan, chief of a small Chaldean state at the head of the Persian Gulf, became King of Babylon, in revolt from Assyria, and maintained his position till 710. Somewhere between these dates, therefore, we must place his embassy to Hezekiah¹: many

¹ Isaiah xxxix. 1-8.

date it immediately after Merodach Baladan's accession,¹ and suppose it to have been connected with the revolts against Assyria by the North-Syrian states, Gaza and the Arabian Muşri. These were subdued by Sargon. Hezekiah does not appear to have taken part in them. For nearly a decade no further rising was attempted in Palestine. But the power, or at least the pretensions of Egypt were growing, and like other Syrian states Judah developed a party sympathetic to her. With the Philistine cities Edom and Moab, Hezekiah seems to have formed a coalition. It was at least as a warning against such a policy that Isaiah received the Divine command to walk unrobed and barefoot for three years: for Jahweh said, *As my servant Isaiah hath walked unrobed and barefoot three years for a sign and a portent against Egypt and Ethiopia,*² *so shall the kingdom of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia stripped and barefoot to the shame of Egypt . . . And the inhabitants of the coastland shall say in that day: Lo, such is our expectation, whither we had fled for help to deliver ourselves from the king of Assyria, and how shall we escape?* The warning was effectual. Ashdod alone revolted, in 711, and was easily subdued by the Assyrian Tartan.

No further attempt against Assyria was made till the death of Sargon and the accession of Sennacherib in 705. Then, or soon after, a wider coalition of the Palestine states was formed, not wholly on their own strength, but with hope of support from Egypt. It is significant of the growing reputation of Jerusalem that in this coalition Hezekiah seems to have played a leading rôle. The Egyptian party in his Court ruled its politics, and Isaiah's oracles at the time describe their temper. He has no word now of idols,

¹ Winckler, *A.T. Untersuchungen*.

² Winckler and others take these to have been the Arabian Muşri and Kush.

he implies that the people worship Jahweh; yet their religion is purely formal, a *precept of men learned by rote*.¹ They have rejected the spiritual teaching of the prophet; and are trusting on embassies to Egypt, on her promises, and her gifts of horses and chariots, expected or actually received.² They appear also to have sought assistance in other quarters. In the narrative of his advance on Jerusalem Sennacherib says that Hezekiah had reinforced his garrison with Arabian mercenaries; and it is the account of an embassy to Arabia which some recent critics find underlying the present form of the *Oracle on the Beasts of the South*.³

To the same years we may assign Hezekiah's work on the fortifications of Jerusalem, though some of this was so extensive that it was perhaps carried out in the earlier and less strained years of his reign. According to the Deuteronomic Editor of the Books of Kings, the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah held an account of a new *pool* and a *conduit* by which Hezekiah brought the waters within the City.⁴ The Chronicler says that *Hezekiah sealed the issue of the waters of Gihon, the upper, and led them down, westwards, to the City of David*.⁵ In another passage he explains the King's purpose, *Much people were gathered, and they sealed all the springs and the Nahal, or brook, flowing through the midst of the land, saying, why should the Kings of Assyria come and find much water?*⁶ The Chronicler evidently describes the same work as that referred to by the Editor of Kings: and there can be no doubt that he understood by it the tunnel which runs under Ophel from the Virgin's Well, or Gihon,⁷ and carries the waters of the latter to the Pool of Siloam. Whether he only inferred this to have been the conduit which Heze-

¹ xxix. 13 (about 703 B.C.). ² xxx. 1 ff., 12, 16; xxxi. 1.

³ xxx. 6 ff.

⁴ 2 Kings xx. 20. ⁵ 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. ⁶ Id. 4.

⁷ See EXPOSITOR for 1903 (Jan.-June), pp. 223 ff.

kiah made or found a statement of the fact in the official annals of Judah does not matter much. The characters of the inscription in the Tunnel cannot be later than the time of Hezekiah; and the inscription speaks of the *issue*, named by the Chronicler as *Gihon, the upper*, and of the *pool* mentioned in 2 Kings xx. 20. We may therefore pretty confidently assume that the Tunnel is *the conduit* by which Hezekiah *brought the waters into the City*. In that case the Shilloah mentioned by Isaiah in the reign of Ahaz was another conduit by which they were still led outside the walls of Ophel: perhaps the channel partly cut in the rock and partly built, which Messrs. Hornstein and Masterman have traced from Gihon southwards.¹ Hezekiah's purpose was very practical. The main difficulty with which besiegers of Jerusalem have had to contend—and it has sometimes proved insuperable—is the waterlessness of the City's surroundings. Gihon was the only fountain of the neighbourhood, and it sprang just outside the city walls. By covering the aperture of the cave in which it issued and by leading its waters under the City of David to a reservoir in the mouth of the central ravine between Ophel and the South-western Hill, Hezekiah deprived the invader of its use and secured this for himself. But the formation of a pool where the Tunnel issues in the central ravine furnishes us with unambiguous evidence of the extension of Jerusalem over the South-western Hill. We have seen that part of this was probably covered with buildings under David and Solomon, and perhaps enclosed with walls. But what was only probable under these monarchs is now seen to be certain under Hezekiah. His purpose of securing the waters of Gihon for the besieged by bringing them to a pool in the central ravine could not have been effected unless he held at the same time the South-western Hill. This rises immediately

¹ See EXPOSITOR 1903 (Jan.-June), p. 216.

from the Pool at the end of the Tunnel, and if it had been outside the City and unfortified, a blockading force could, easily with their darts and stones have prevented the besieged from using the Pool. We may confidently assert, then, that Isaiah's Jerusalem included the South-western Hill, that this was surrounded by walls and contained some of the lofty buildings which he describes.

The Chronicler adds that *Hezekiah built again all the wall which had been breached, and raised upon it towers, and outside another wall.*¹ If the wall which had been breached refers to some definite part of the walls of the City, it can only be the northern wall breached by Joash and repaired by Uzziah²; in that case Hezekiah further strengthened this most vulnerable part of the fortifications, and the other wall without it was also on the North, enclosing some new suburb sprung up there in the prosperous times of Uzziah and Jotham. But the phrase *the wall which had been breached* may bear a more general signification, as of all the fortifications wherever they were in disrepair. Dr. Bliss is inclined to see *the two walls with a ditch between them*, mentioned in Isaiah xxii. 11, in two lines of wall uncovered by him in the mouth of the Tyropoeon: one running up the edge of the South-western Hill on the west of the two pools of Siloam, the other crossing the valley below them so as to shut them in. The first, he says, may have been in use before Hezekiah, the second may have been thrown by Hezekiah across the mouth of the valley with the view of protecting the new Pool.³ But all this is uncertain, even so far as Isaiah xxii. 11 alone is concerned; nor can we be sure that the two walls mentioned there are the same two as given in 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxii. 5, reading וַיִּעַל עָלֶיהָ מִגְדָּל לֹחַת for וַיִּעַל עָלֶיהָ מִגְדָּל לֹחַת; the LXX. omits the letters עָלֶיהָ.

² 2 Kings xiv. 18: 2 Chronicles xxvi. 9.

³ *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894-1897*, pp. 325 f.

The Chronicler also tells us that Hezekiah *strengthened the Millo*, to which a later hand has added the words, *City of David*.¹

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

THE STUDY OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS
EXEMPLIFIED BY MATTHEW V. 21, 22.

IN studying the Synoptic Gospels it is customary to take the Greek text and use in connexion with it such indispensable aids as Bruder, Bengel, Winer, Liddell and Scott, etc., etc., and to claim in this way to be studying the "original." It is, however, quite certain that, in the first place, as to many actual words, knowledge of Greek is insufficient for understanding them; some examples occur in the passage Matthew v. 21, 22: ἡ κρίσις (in the particular sense here used), ῥακά, συνέδριον, μωρέ, and the phrase ἡ γέενα τοῦ πυρός; and, in the second place, the mental atmosphere, the method of expression and general lines of thought are such as to be incapable of adequate appreciation if Greek, and Greek alone, is to be the guide; examples of this may be had in many of the parables.² It is too frequently sought to elucidate the parables by means of all kinds of analogies, some quite irrelevant, whereas the only method which can really get at the truth is that which aims at getting at the speaker's mind; but seeing that Christ did not address his hearers in Greek, that His medium of thought and method of expression lay right away from Greek,³ it must be obvious, that for a real understanding of His words and teaching, one must

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxii. 5: *The Millo*; LXX. τὸ ἀνάλημμα.

² Cf. e.g. *The Parable of the Unjust Steward*, in the *Expositor*, April 1903.

³ No opinion is here hazarded as to whether Christ knew Greek or not, the point insisted on being only that He taught His own people in their native language.