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THE RESTORATION OF HUMANITY:

**Temple Cosmology, Worship and Israel-Nations Unification
in Biblical, Second Temple and Pauline Traditions**

BY

AARON SHERWOOD

Thesis submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Durham University, UK

Department of Theology and Religion

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ABSTRACT

Many biblical and ancient Jewish traditions make reference to Israel and the nations jointly participating in or being united in Israel's covenantal blessing or eschatological heritage. Moreover, an initial survey reveals that most such traditions also reference worship or describe a liturgical or doxological setting, with worship being somehow instrumental in the joining of Israel and the nations. This raises the question, *How do ancient Jewish traditions relate the worship of God to the unification of Israel and the nations?*

Biblical traditions that reference Israel-nations unification—including Exodus 12:37–38; 1 Kings 8:41–43; Isaiah 2:1–4; 56–66; Micah 4:1–5; Zechariah 8:18–23; and Psalms 46–48—consistently employ the constellation of salient features of creation or eschatological New Creation, unification, worship and *shalom*. Such traditions, however, presuppose without explaining or arguing for the relationships between these features, and instead employ the constellation in support of their respective primary theological concerns. In so doing, they seem to make use of theological frameworks of temple cosmology that perhaps map onto that outlined in a plausible reading of the creation accounts of Genesis 1–2.

Relevant Non-Christian Second Temple traditions—including *1 Enoch* 10:20–11:2; Tobit 14:3–11; *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–95; *1 Enoch* 90:28–38; and Josephus' *Antiquities* 8.116–117—follow suit, often employing one or more of the above biblical traditions. These early Jewish traditions describe Israel-nations unification in terms of worship and *shalom*, and as intrinsic to the eschatological New Creation, despite that their application of this common scriptural starting point diverges widely. Consequently, these traditions also presuppose that Israel-nations unification is a primary element of a theological framework of temple cosmology.

Finally, the Pauline traditions of Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 depict Israel-nations unification in a manner consonant with both biblical and the above (other) Second Temple traditions. In both instances, Israel-nations unification signals the eschatological realization of the scriptural hope for the restoration of Israel, that is, the restoration of humanity, as the climax of Paul's gospel. These Pauline traditions specify that God's purposes have been inaugurated in the present age, and only add the innovation of a uniquely christocentric interpretation.

Declaration

I confirm that no part of the material offered had previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other university. Material from the work of others has been acknowledged and quotations and paraphrases suitably indicated.

The copyright of this thesis rests solely with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Aaron Sherwood

date:

To our children, from your mother and I.

This thesis is the result of both of our work and effort, and everything that we have learned is so that we may better teach you how to love and live well.

We have loved you before you were, and watching you grow into whom you will be is our joy.

PREFACE

This is not the project I wanted to do.

I'm glad to have done it, but—like most PhD theses—my topic shifted during the writing. What I hoped to write on was my suspicion that Paul's ecclesiology, his self-identity as the apostle to the Gentiles and commitment to mission, and his ethics (nearly all of which seem geared towards unity among believers) are spokes in the wheel of his theology, with the hub being his vaguely-voiced presupposition that the *telos* of human history is the restoration of both creation and humanity. Israel's God being the one true, living, sovereign creator entails that creation and his image-bearing creatures are to be whole and unified under his reign; I suspect that Paul looks forward with his Jewish Scriptures to the eschatological unification of Israel and the nations (at least, all those who survive the expected Day of Yhwh) under God's rule as one aspect of the realization of his promises to Israel, *i.e.*, to recover through the replacement humanity of Israel God's original design of humanity. And for Paul, I thought to argue, God began to effect (or has inaugurated) this in a decidedly christological direction, which is simultaneously in continuity with Scripture and the cosmic inbreaking of something new. To write on this topic, I planned to draw upon other scholars' research into Israel-nations unification in Scripture and in the writings of other (non-Pauline) Second-Temple Jewish interpreters, who like Paul drew from their common Jewish heritage.

Then I found out that for the most part, that research by other scholars doesn't exist. There are a few articles and the odd chapter in a monograph. And, of course, so-called universalism is a theme that makes appearances in any number of commentaries and Old Testament theologies. But the foundational work on which I meant to base my desired project hadn't really been done. So my thesis became the prolegomenon to the project I had wanted to research.

I still hope to return to my original, intended project, but I'm happy to have written this thesis as well. Not because I have any illusions that perhaps more than a dozen people will ever read it (and how many of those will read this preface?)—one sprout lost in the field of biblical studies doctoral theses—or because I have any expectations that it will create any kind of rumble in the field of biblical studies. But because I have seen the theology that I

detect in Paul expounded by others in classes and sermons, and I have witnessed it bring people to tears. This Jewish or Semitic (or can I say *biblical*?) approach towards creation and humanity changes lives. I think that it both answers a longing and also rings true as a perspicacious interpretation of Scripture, even before coming to the New Testament or Paul. In pastoral settings, this understanding of creation and humanity can vitalize the modern and rationalistic packaged theologies (which often systematically leech off the element of mystery) that are endemic to so many Western religious traditions, especially in North America. And in academic settings, this same theological approach brings further and warranted insight into the coherence of ancient Israel's religious self-understanding, and suggests that currently fashionable topics like justification in Paul may be more properly and less problematically understood if certain quarters of scholarship slightly reorient themselves.

So at some point, I would like to build on this thesis with a critical study of Israel-nations unification in Paul—what it means for his eschatology, ecclesiology, self-understanding and mission, ethics, and his view of justification—and (as this study introduces) what I feel is the relative importance of Ephesians for Paul's theology and in Pauline studies. For now, however, I am glad that I can add to the little but often very good work that has been done so far in this corner of biblical studies. I hope that any who browse through my efforts here find something worthwhile to take away.

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And last, though officially one of my supervisors—that is, on paper—for only a short portion of my studies, throughout my tenure at Durham Professor Robert Hayward has

likewise consistently been a friend, a counselor, and an academic and scholarly advisor. Robert has taken a deep interest in my progress and has shown a deep commitment to my success as a student and beyond. His generosity with time, in listening, in offering shrewd advice and (no less) with lunches(!) have been remarkable. He has truly been my patron, and I owe a debt of gratitude to him that I'm sure I shall only be able to repay by modeling his generosity to my own future students.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ACEBT	<i>Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en Zijn Tradities</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationgeschichte</i>
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATJ	<i>Ashland Theological Journal</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BJS	Brown Judaica Studies
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BRev</i>	<i>Bible Review</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology

CBAA	Catholic Biblical Association of America
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CurTm</i>	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios Bíblicos</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExAud</i>	<i>Ex Auditu</i>
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testamentum
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>Hen</i>	<i>Henoch</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
ITC	International Theological Commentary
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature Series
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JOTT</i>	<i>Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JSHRZ</i>	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>

JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHB	Library of Hebrew Bible
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
NAC	New American Commentary
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>NIB</i>	<i>New Interpreter's Bible</i>
NIBCOT	New International Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
NICNT	New International Biblical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
OBO	Orbis biblicus et Orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OTE	Old Testament Essays
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
QD	Questiones disputatae
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RTR</i>	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
<i>ScEs</i>	<i>Science et esprit</i>
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk Exegetisk årsbok</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
StBP	Studia post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
<i>SwJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
<i>Theof</i>	<i>Theoforum</i>
<i>TBT</i>	<i>The Bible Today</i>
ThB	Theologische Bücherei
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WCJS</i>	<i>World Congress of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I. Reasons for the Present Study

In the Hebrew Bible, the biblical authors' attention to the nations supplements their primary focus upon the successes, failures and promised inheritance of Israel. A world peopled by nations other than Israel is the context for Israel's history. Both events within that wider world and Israel's dealings with those other peoples continually affect God's relationship with his people. And while biblical traditions consistently look forward to God's ultimate vindication and covenantal blessing of Israel, they variously assign to the nations an ultimate destiny of destruction, subjugation to Israel, or full participation in their blessings. Moreover, the repetition and adaptation of these perspectives by early Jewish authors is at least as complex and varied as in their sacred traditions.

Of the three destinies envisioned for the nations, particularly intriguing is the category of participation in Israel's blessings, especially since it may seem somewhat incongruous with the Bible's overwhelming preference for Israel and frequent depictions of the nations' hostility. Nevertheless, to date no study provides an extended treatment of traditions that depict the nations' participation in Israel's blessings, or draws together the various depictions to examine their relationship and ask whether they harmonize. A quick sketch of a few relevant biblical and early Jewish traditions illustrates both their peculiarity and the dearth of inquiry into the nations' participation in Israel's blessings.

A. Biblical Examples of the Unification of Israel and the Nations

For one example, non-Israelites are conspicuously present in 1 Kings 8:41–43, in the heart of Solomon's dedication prayer, at the center of the temple dedication episode of chapter 8 (which in turn is central to the Solomon narrative of chaps. 1–11). Solomon takes it as given that foreigners will hear of Yhwh's mighty deeds and come to pray at the temple, and requests, ““May you respond to everything which the foreigner cries out to you, in order that all the peoples of the earth might know your name and might revere you, just like your

people Israel” (v. 43). The completion of the temple here initiates a new stage in Israel’s history, perhaps even signaling the completion of creation. Yet not only are non-Israelites expected, but it seems that their coming partly fulfills the temple’s purpose. And the liturgical context draws a tight connection between prayer and veneration, so that non-Israelites seem to engage—without prejudice—in the same worship as Israel.

But non-Israelites’ presence here is generally left unexplained by scholars. Some dwell upon the theocentric aspect of the foreigners’ participation, found in an exodus echo in the phrase ““your mighty hand and your outstretched arm”” (v. 42).¹ Others simply celebrate it as “possibly the most marvelously universalistic passage in the OT,” but neither offer elaboration nor question the thinking behind the foreigners’ presence.²

The double tradition of Isaiah 2:2–4 and Micah 4:1–4 is another biblical example commonly known for its so-called universalism, and rightly so. The oracle preserved in these traditions tells of the renewal of Zion, “the mountain of the house of Yhwh” (Isa 2:2||Mic 4:1). Zion will be made physically and symbolically the eschatological world center, from which God will reign over creation and send out *torah*. Famously, God’s reign results in *shalom* as swords and spears are remade into plowshares and pruning hooks. The temple becomes both the seat of God’s rule and the place where he receives worship from his people. But the *nations*’ pilgrimage to Zion is presented where Israel’s pilgrimage is expected in such a depiction of the restoration of Israel and God’s reign.

Perhaps due to being overfamiliar with this vision, scholars rarely investigate its logic or origins. Some explain the nations’ pilgrimage relative to God’s rule, implying that they are a rhetorical illustration of the scope of his kingship.³ More commonly, the depiction of the nations’ ultimate destiny here is explained as a positive stance that is simply part of later Israelite religion, or else by a reference to God’s promise to bless the nations in Genesis 12:3, but in either case with virtually no further analysis.⁴ A few scholars who are dissatisfied with

¹ Cf. D. J. Wiseman, *1 and 2 Kings: Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Leicester: InterVarsity, 1993), 122; M. J. Mulder, *1 Kings* (trans. John Vriend; 2 vols.; Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 1:437; Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 286; Peter J. Leithart, *1 & 2 Kings* (SCM Theological Commentary on the Bible; London: SCM, 2006), 68.

² Simon J. De Vries, *1 Kings* (WBC 12; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), 126.

³ Cf. Bertil Wiklander, *Prophecy as Literature: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2–4* (ConBOT 22; Stockholm: Liber Tryck, 1984), 230; Baruch J. Schwartz, “Torah from Zion: Isaiah’s Temple Vision (Isaiah 2:1–4),” in *Sanctity of Time and Space in Tradition and Modernity* (ed. Alberdina Houtman, Marcel Poorthuis, and Joshua Schwartz; Jewish and Christian Perspectives 1; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 18.

⁴ E.g. Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah* (London: Hodder and Stoughton,

these approaches suggest Zion's restoration may be analogous to the creation accounts of Genesis 1–2, and begin to ask whether the oracle somehow attempts to (re)capture the primordial wholeness of humanity.⁵

References to the nations and Zion together are also scattered throughout the Psalter. For instance, the resolution to the lament of Psalm 22 expands to a cosmic scope, wherein “all the ends of the earth remember and return to Yhwh, and all families of the nations worship in his presence” (v. 28). Or in Psalm 72, God's rule encompasses the entire world, and “all kings worship him, and all nations serve him” (v. 11). Psalm 96 praises God as creator and focuses on worship in his presence, enjoining the “families of the peoples” to glorify him (v. 7). Or again, in the praise song of Psalm 136, God is glorified for creation and the exodus (see “mighty hand...outstretched arm,” v. 12; cf. 1 Kgs 8:42), which is a simple task in comparison to his further providing food for “all flesh” (v. 25).⁶

The literary unit of Psalms 46–48 presents the most extended depiction of the nations joining with Israel in their praise of Yhwh in the Psalter. In Psalm 46, God subdues for his people the two hostile forces of chaos in creation and the nations, thereby bringing about creation's restoration and the *shalom* of his rule. The psalmist's praise spills over into Psalm 47, and “all peoples” are enlisted in God's glorification upon Zion (v. 2; cf. vv. 6–8). Finally, Psalm 48 praises God for his cosmic reign, with Zion as a stronghold for his people that is unassailable by their enemies. And at the center of this literary unit, Yhwh reigns over not just Israel but also the nations, who (through their representative leaders) are “gathered as the people of the God of Abraham” (47:10). Again, however, regarding Psalms 46–48 scholars are generally content to look no further than God's kingship or the not uncommon cosmic scope of Zion's restoration to account for the nations' participation in Israel's worship.⁷

1976), 232; Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (trans. John Bowden; 2d ed; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 55–56; John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC 24; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), 28–29; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 173; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 171–72; cf. Ralph P. Smith, *Micah–Malachi* (WBC 32; Waco, TX: Word, 1984), 37.

⁵ Cf. Francis Landy, “Vision and Voice in Isaiah,” *JSOT* 88 (2000): 319; Brevard Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 30; Tikva Simone Frymer-Kensky, “A Jewish Look at Isaiah 2:2–4,” *Criterion* 41 (2002): 22; H. G. M. Williamson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–27: Vol. 1, Isaiah 1–5* (ICC; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 182.

⁶ See further e.g. Pss 66:1–4, 8, 16; 67:2–5; 76; 86:9; 97:1–6, 10; 99:1–5; 102:19–29; 105:7.

⁷ E.g. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Die Psalmen I: Psalm 1–50* (NEchtB; Würzburg: Echter, 1993), 289; Jutta Hausmann, “‘Gott ist König über die Völker’: Der Beitrag von Ps 47 zum Thema Israel und die Völker,” in *Vielseitigkeit des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für Georg Sauer zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. J. A. Loader and Hans Volker Kieweler; Wiener alttestamentliche Studien 1; Frankfurt am Main: Peter

This quick glance reveals a recurrence of several interesting elements that begs further investigation. The most prominent curious component in each of these traditions is its perspective on non-Israelites, or “the nations.” The division between Israel and the nations is overcome in these instances, resulting in reconciliation and even a kind of unification as the nations share in Israel’s prerogatives and worship (for definitions of *unification* and *the nations*, see below). While scholars sometimes note this dynamic and attach to it the label “universalism,” the recurrence of worship has essentially gone unappreciated. Each of the above examples has a pronounced liturgical or doxological component. That is, when Israel and the nations are unified, they are unified in worship, and particularly in the worship of *Israel’s* God, Yhwh.

But these observations just raise more questions. Why do temple and Zion themes also repeatedly crop up in such contexts? Perhaps the recurrence of worship will contribute to an explanation. Likewise, in connection with references to Zion, why do creation themes also invariably occur? And is the consistent appearance of *shalom* characteristic of more than the scope of God’s reign?

So traditions like 1 Kings 8:41–43; Isaiah 2:2–4||Micah 4:1–4; and Psalms 46–48 puzzlingly reference the unification of Israel and the nations in worship in order to convey Israel’s creation or restoration and the establishment of God’s kingdom. And in so doing, they seem to invoke a similar cluster of themes, or exhibit the same constellation of salient features, namely, creation, unification, worship, and *shalom*. Still, it is not readily apparent what is going on in traditions like these. Are they isolated, or could there be a thematic unity to them? Moreover, is there a common vision of creation and God’s rule that is either employed or implied in such traditions, especially in light of the recurrence of the above constellation of salient features? The significance of these questions is compounded when considering that biblical references to the unification of Israel and the nations in worship may be linked to similar references in early Jewish traditions.

B. Early Jewish Examples of the Unification of Israel and the Nations

From the fifth century, Jewish documents meditated upon and variously applied their common sacred traditions in defining their identity, praxis and expectations of God’s intervention, all within the context of Diaspora and Hellenistic or Roman rule. As it turns out,

Lang, 1999), 93, 98; Keith Bodner, “The ‘Embarrassing Syntax’ of Ps 47:10: A (Pro)vocative Option,” *JTS* 54 (2003): 571-75; Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (supp. Marvin E. Tate; 2d ed.; WBC 19; Dallas: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 349; Geoffrey W. Grogan, *Psalms* (Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 102.

in this period many references to the overcoming of the division between Israel and the nations also take the form of unification in worship. Moreover, in the context of such references appeal is also made to the same constellation of features found in the above biblical examples. Again, a few brief examples serve to illustrate.

1 Enoch 10:16–11:2 is a distinctive example, as the conclusion to the earliest core of the Enochic Book of the Watchers. *1 Enoch* 6–11 elaborates upon the flood story of Genesis 6:1–9:17, but combines or substitutes the conclusion of Genesis 8–9 with New Creational material from Isaiah 56–66, thereby uniting primordial events with the culmination of history. The narrative identifies its original audience of the Enochic community with the descendants of Noah, who is depicted as a “plant of righteousness” (10:16; cf. Eth v. 3). The deluge concludes with the restoration of creation but the destruction of “all wrong perversity” and “every wicked deed” (v. 16), and the escape of “all the righteous” from judgment to live in *shalom* (v. 17). But even as God (through his angels) eliminates all uncleanness and evil, “all the children of men will become righteous” and escape judgment along with the audience (v. 21). This tradition looks forward to God’s deliverance in terms of the joint restoration of the audience and the rest of previously unrighteous humanity—and not just the restoration of Jews alone—by reaching back to draw pre-Israelite and pre-Abrahamic humanity wholesale into the eschaton. And this restoration is expressed in terms of “all the peoples” being united in serving, blessing and worshipping Israel’s God (v. 21), which marks the advent of God’s kingdom, as “truth and peace will be united together for all the generations of eternity and for all the generations of humanity” (11:2).

Despite the richness of this tradition, commentators lack sufficient space to explore its implications and underlying logic.⁸ Mark Elliott draws the more severe conclusion that “there is not enough eschatological teaching in the Book of Watchers to identify any eschatological program *per se*.”⁹ The exception is a very recent essay by Loren Stuckenbruck, who only has space to partly explore the reasons behind the Enochic narrator’s rehabilitation of all humanity or its possible links to relevantly similar biblical traditions.¹⁰

⁸ Cf. R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity: A Critical History* (2d ed; New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 246 (offering no comment on 10:16–11:2 in idem, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1912] except to mention “the conversion of the Gentiles” at 90:30 [ad loc., 214–15]); George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch vol. 1, A commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 29, 167.

⁹ *The Survivors of Israel: A Reconsideration of the Theology of Pre-Christian Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 528.

¹⁰ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Eschatological Worship of God by the Nations: The Early Enoch

Sibylline Oracles 3:772–95 climactically concludes the Third Sibyl with another reference to the unification of Israel and non-Israelites in worship of Israel’s God, which conflicts with the Sibyl’s otherwise negative stance toward the nations. She foretells the advent of God’s eschatological rule, which is characterized by the worldwide cessation of war and establishment of *shalom* (vv. 780–85). Moreover, in the temple the Sibyl represents Zion and the eschatological New Creation by incorporating and combining several Isaianic traditions that depict the restoration of creation. Amidst this blending of creation and temple, she has non-Israelites coming “from every land” to worship God (v. 772), and Zion’s restoration is expressed in terms of praise and celebration (vv. 785–86). Scholars react to this by pointing to the creational and universalistic themes in her Isaianic sources (Isa 2:2–4; 11:1–9; 65:17–25). But they make little other effort to explain the collocation of these elements (in either the Third Sibyl or the cited Scriptures) or to give a reason for the Sibyl’s unexpected move other than her following Isaiah’s lead.

Additionally, account also needs to be made of references to the unification of Israel and the nations in the idiosyncratic strand of Second Temple Judaism that is early Christianity. When the New Testament writers emerged in the first- and second centuries AD, they announced the Day of Yhwh, the coming and vindication of his Davidic Messiah, the resurrection of the dead and the giving of the eschatological Spirit, all despite the persistence of the present age. Pauline traditions are especially pertinent as the earliest Christian traditions. And no less radical than the announcement of the inauguration of the eschaton, Pauline traditions in particular also declare that Israel’s heritage—enshrined within the *Jewish* Scriptures, and realized in relation to a *Jewish* Messiah—is now equally available to both Jews and the *ethnē*. Without an investigation into ancient Jewish references to the unification of Israel and the nations, this shift seems unwarranted and incoherent.

For instance, in the letter to the Romans the incorporation of Gentiles into Israel’s story is an issue foremost in Paul’s thought. Yet it is not immediately clear how Paul squares his so-called universalism with his apparently particularist Jewish traditions. Perhaps the clearest expression of Gentile incorporation in Romans occurs in the pericope of 15:7–13, the pinnacle of Paul’s argument for the entire letter. Here, he concludes not with motifs that were apparently important within that argument (e.g. God’s faithfulness, justification, faith and law, or sin and grace), but with a command that his ethnically mixed audience are to

Tradition,” in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich* (ed. Károly Dániel Dobos and Miklós Köszeghy; Hebrew Monographs 21; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2008), 189-206.

“welcome one another” (v. 7) that is then supported by a catena of Scriptures that refer to the nations’ worship of Israel’s God. Paul somehow considers the audience’s mutual acceptance as the realization of a biblical hope that also summarizes his teaching for the letter. Further, the literary context of the pericope shows Paul’s command to be not just a generically irenic word to believers, but an instance of the unification of Israel and the *ethnē* that is instantiated by the particular audience whom he is addressing. Paul situates his command in an eschatological and New Creational context (seen especially in the creational elements of the cited Scriptures), and represents their unity as the very manifestation of *shalom*.

In contrast to most of the other traditions outlined so far, Pauline traditions like this one have received extensive attention. But scholars do not ask of such Pauline traditions questions about the nature of unification, the significance of doxological or liturgical elements, or the recurrence of creational elements. Regarding at least Romans 15:7–13, they seem intent to focus instead upon christology and how the Gentiles’ “inclusion” relates to messianism in the Hebrew Bible.¹¹ This is true of the three studies (published the same year) that specifically examine 15:7–13, which additionally yield unsatisfying reconstructions of Paul’s logic.

John Heil focuses on occurrences of *eleos* and *aletheia* in Rom 15:8–9 and Greek Psalm 116:2 (= Rom 15:11), and argues for their implicit presence in Greek Psalm 17 (= Rom 15:9b) based on their general occurrence in the Psalter.¹² From there he attempts (not altogether successfully) to prove a linguistic or conceptual connection between the *eleos/aletheia* pairing and the hope in Romans 15:12–13. As a result of these emphases, Heil sees a rhetorical progression in verses 9b–12 and views the catena as an abstract, patchwork narrative reassembled from non-narrative pieces of Scripture, one that moves from a description of “an individual, representative Jew” praising God to an implicit restatement of 11:25–26 and its unrealized eschatological future.¹³ This paraphrastic reading is somewhat counter-intuitive, and has the unfortunate consequence of construing the salvation of the Gentile members of the audience as residing entirely in the future.

¹¹ Commentators typically lack the space to do more; e.g. James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 9–16* (WBC 38B; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), 852–53 mainly summarizes the two rather separate points that “since Christ [is] a Jew...it means that God’s promises to the fathers [are] still in place... Equally important, however, is the fact that this mission of Christ had the Gentiles also in view. ...Characteristically the point is driven home by Paul citing a catena of scriptures.” Similar is Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief and die Römer, Vol. 3: Röm 12–16* (EKKNT 6; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1982), 109

¹² “The Voices of Scripture and Paul’s Rhetorical Strategy of Hope in Romans 15:7–13,” *Theof* 33 (2002): 187–93.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 210–11.

Scott Hafemann fares similarly. He offers strong readings of Paul's citations in their original contexts, but then focuses on the indicative quality of the first and last citation, and the imperative quality of the second and third citations. Consequently, Hafemann reckons that verses 9b–12 encode an implicit syllogism, which he interprets: Gentile believers should not give up hope but praise God, because his past vindication of David and his future and present vindication of the Messiah prove God's faithfulness and are the basis of their hope.¹⁴ He therefore understands Paul's logic in the pericope according to the not wholly coherent analysis that believers are to welcome one another (v. 7a) following Christ's example (v. 7b), because Gentile believers are also to praise God (vv. 9–12) following Christ's example (vv. 8–9). Moreover, Hafemann's interpretation applies only to the Gentile members of Paul's audience, which seems to open a disjunction with the opening instruction to "one another" in verse 7.

Finally, Ross Wagner also analyzes 15:7–13 in light of Paul's use of Scripture, giving special attention to his use of Isaiah 11:10 in verse 12.¹⁵ Wagner offers a reading substantially similar to those typical in commentaries, although with a greater christological emphasis. He then examines the Scriptures cited by Paul in their original contexts (and some other, unrelated biblical texts with shared vocabulary), highlighting that they exhibit features similar to those in Romans. Wagner reconstructs Paul's logic as believers should follow Christ's example and welcome one another because he is the Messiah, which is proven by Christ's incorporation of the Gentiles since Scripture anticipates that Gentile incorporation is one thing that transpires at the advent of the Messiah. So compared with most commentaries, his analysis basically adds only that it was indeed in Scripture that Paul found his understanding of what occurs at the advent of the Messiah, and the assertion that the christology of verses 9b–12 somehow rhetorically supports the command of verse 7.

Because Romans 15:7–13 is a challenging text, all three of these readings are plausible, and yet they seem to introduce new difficulties without really getting at the logic of Paul's thought. For one, they interpret Gentile incorporation as a corollary—almost a byproduct—of the Christ-event that Paul either discovers or strives to ground in Scripture. Additionally, they founder on the same obstacle of entailing that verses 7–13 are either a badly fragmented enthymeme or incoherent. That is, they either cash out the pericope as,

¹⁴ Scott J. Hafemann, "Eschatology and Ethics: The Future of Israel and the Nations in Romans 15:1–13," *TynBul* 51 (2000): 172, 187, *passim*.

¹⁵ *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul "in Concert" in the Letter to the Romans* (NovTSup 101; Boston: Brill, 2002), 307-29.

‘Welcome one another because you follow Christ, who welcomed the Gentiles,’ or alternatively, ‘...because you follow Christ, who is the Messiah, which entails (or which he proved) by the welcoming of the Gentiles.’¹⁶ Neither option provides a logical connection between the audience’s mutual acceptance and either Christ’s identity or the destiny of the *ethnē*, which leaves the choice of accepting the incoherence of Paul’s argument or seeking another reading.

So some early Jewish traditions like *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2; *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–95; and Romans 15:7–13 elect to express the restoration of Israel and creation in terms of the unification of Israel and the nations in worship. And they do so by appealing to the same constellation of features as do the biblical traditions visited above. Thus, several more questions arise out of these texts. Why do early Jewish traditions look forward to the unification of Israel and non-Israelites? Or at least, if Israel are God’s people, those who worship Yhwh, then what are early Jewish traditions doing in portraying the worship of God by non-Jews? Also, what is the cause (as in biblical traditions) for the recurrence of the themes of creation and eschatological New Creation, temple and Zion, worship, and *shalom*? Moreover, how is the use of these elements in relevant early Jewish traditions connected with relevant biblical traditions, especially given the use of Scripture in the three examples outlined here? An inquiry into such issues is needed all the more, given the scarceness and unsatisfying nature of the work done so far regarding the unification of Israel and the nations in these traditions.

C. Scholarship on the Unification of Israel and the Nations in Ancient Jewish Traditions

Few scholars even indirectly address the phenomenon of the unification of Israel and the nations in biblical, (non-New Testament) Second Temple or Pauline traditions. Most of these neither take note of all the features present in the several examples above, nor try to make sense of the use of those features in such traditions. For the most part, neither do scholars bring together biblical and other early Jewish traditions for comparison. Consequently, what work has been done regarding the unification of Israel and the nations generally leaves unresolved the questions raised by the above examples.

¹⁶ Corneliu Constantineanu, *The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul’s Theology: Narrative Readings in Romans* (LNTS 421; London: T&T Clark, 2010), 177–78 similarly interprets 15:7–13 as ‘welcome one another in the same manner that Christ welcomed you, namely, as a servant; for there is eschatological significance of God’s mercy to the Gentiles in doing so.’ Francis Watson has privately suggested a reading wherein the voice of the psalmist in Rom 15:9b (= Grk Ps 17:50) is that of a first-century Jewish believer whose knowledge of Scripture enables him to disclose the ramifications of Jesus’ messiah-ship. But these suggestions share the same shortcoming as those above.

Concerning biblical traditions, Gregory Beale in *The Temple and the Church's Mission* indirectly accounts for the unification of Israel and the nations in worship in terms of the role played by a unified humanity in God's intention of spreading his presence throughout creation.¹⁷ Beale fits the theology of the Christian canon into an adopted scheme determined by the overarching theme of *temple*. He thus argues for viewing Eden in Genesis 2 as God's sanctuary, in support of which he takes the single, whole humanity of Genesis 1–2 at Eden's center as normative.¹⁸ Beale subsequently deduces that God's purpose for humanity is its unification, largely based on a lightly argued interpretation of Genesis 12:3.¹⁹ Christopher Wright in *The Mission of God* similarly adopts an organizational scheme into which he places his biblical (mostly Old Testament) theology, using the rubric of *mission*.²⁰ He indirectly explains biblical occurrences of the unification of Israel and the nation as resulting from Genesis 12:1–3. He proceeds on the basis of the working hypothesis that “blessing for the nations is the bottom line, textually and theologically, of God's promise to Abraham.”²¹ But in addition to possible criticisms centering on their canonical approaches, these studies are more synthetic than analytic, and each generally supposes that the Hebrew Bible (and the Christian canon) has a harmonious and positive presentation of the nations' ultimate destiny vis-à-vis Israel. Also, they provide little engagement with biblical traditions that reference the unification of Israel and the nations.

There are no studies to speak of that focus upon the unification of Israel and the nations in Second Temple traditions. Scot McKnight in *A Light Among the Gentiles* and Martin Goodman in *Mission and Conversion* focus upon the phenomenon of early Jewish mission activity.²² They independently agree that Second Temple Jewish attitudes toward non-Jews were often positive due to a conviction regarding the cosmic scope of God's reign as the creator, which in turn yielded the generally held belief that God would effect the nations' eschatological conversion (which explains the paucity of Second Temple Jewish

¹⁷ *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 17; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004).

¹⁸ *Temple*, esp. 66-80, 88-89.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

²⁰ *The Mission of God: Unlocking the Bible's Grand Narrative* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2006).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 194.

²² McKnight, *A Light Among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

mission activity).²³ By contrast, Elliot in *The Survivors of Israel* indirectly (again) finds that the unification of Israel and the nations is a corollary of God's salvation of the righteous.²⁴ He argues that at least one Jewish faction (who he figures was responsible for essentially all Jewish pseudepigrapha) focused upon righteousness as the criterion for being God's people, theoretically regardless of ethnic background. Beyond this, though, he does not deal with the unification of Israel and the nations as such, or engage traditions that reference it. Therefore, even more than with biblical traditions, there is a lacuna in scholarship regarding this phenomenon.

Perhaps understandably, Pauline traditions have received a disproportionate degree of consideration. Still, even the most substantially relevant study in *Paul and the Gentiles* by Terence Donaldson relates only indirectly to the unification of Israel and the nations.²⁵ Donaldson explains this phenomenon in Paul as a result (almost incidentally) of the conversion of the Gentiles in light of the role of Torah being replaced by Christ. He seeks to move from an understanding of Paul as a covenantal nomist to a reconstruction of the Jewish model for Gentile salvation implicit in the Pauline documents. Donaldson finds the only option compatible with other areas of Pauline theology (on God, humanity, Torah, etc.) to be a christocentric variant of the "proselyte" model, in which inclusion into Israel is sought through adherence to its boundary-markers. So on his reconstruction, Paul focuses primarily—if not wholly—upon the status of the *ethnē* in relation to Israel's covenant. For Donaldson, this explains the Pauline "conviction" that Gentiles now have access to membership in Israel, which also accounts for the apparent unification of (believing) Jews and the *ethnē* in relevant passages. Yet he does not investigate (and hardly notices) the references to the unification of Israel and the nations—in either Pauline or other ancient Jewish traditions—or the logic of recurrent features like creation or worship. Thus,

²³ Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 290, 327 argues the opposite, that Jews were generally contemptuous of Hellenism and advocated Judaism out of a general pride in their superior religion and lifestyle.

²⁴ David E. Aune and Eric Stewart, "From the Idealized Past to the Imaginary Future: Eschatological Restoration in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives* (ed. James M. Scott; Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 72; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 148-75 track in various Second Temple traditions the "expectation of God's imminent intervention into human history to save his people and punish their enemies by destroying the existing cosmic order and by restoring or recreating the cosmos to its original pristine perfection" (ad loc., 148). They find that this expectation can be evinced by the "universalistic" features of the eschatological restoration of Edenic conditions and the restoration of creation (150). However, they do not connect this with the unification of Israel and the nations.

²⁵ *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997).

Donaldson's study leaves unanswered (and largely unexamined) the questions brought out in the above survey of traditions.

More recently, James Ware in his *The Mission of the Church* indirectly makes sense of the unification of Israel and the nations in just Philippians in terms of a dependence of the eschatological conversion of the Gentiles upon the hope of biblical traditions that envision the nations' pilgrimage to Zion.²⁶ He argues that one event anticipated in the so-called fourth Servant Song of Isaiah is the conversion of (representatives of) the nations, so that its fulfillment by Christ's in Philippians 2:5–11 signals for Paul the advent of God's eschatological reign and the nations' pilgrimage. Consequently, Paul urges his audience to join him in evangelization, in order to further realize Isaiah's expectation regarding the nations' conversion. Ware's argument interestingly draws a connection between the "conversion" of the *ethnē* in Philippians and elements of the constellation of features noted in the above overview, namely, the nations' pilgrimage (which seems to connote unification with Israel in worship) and Zion. In this way, his analysis more emphatically repeats (without answering) the question of why and how in ancient Jewish traditions is the nations' pilgrimage linked to God's eschatological reign.

A final study on so-called universalism in Paul that is worth mentioning comes from farther afield. In *A Radical Jew*, Daniel Boyarin accounts for the unification of Israel and the nations in terms of Paul's adoption of Hellenistic universalism.²⁷ He seeks both the contemporary and modern implications of Jew-Gentile relations in Pauline traditions, and reads Paul as a Hellenistic Jew who is motivated and enabled by the Hellenistic view of universalism to reject his native Judaism and its ethnic exclusivism while retaining its universalistic monotheism (Israel's God as the God over all creation). The problem for Boyarin, is that his view of Paul's universalism is characterized by a "univocity" that results in the annihilation of all of an individual's distinctive characteristics, which are replaced by a Platonic universality of human essence. Thus, Paul's universalism is adiaphoric, and erases the differences—ethnicity included—between people. But by definition first-century Jewish distinctives are *diaphora*, so that it is impossible for Paul to have become a believer yet remain culturally Jewish. For Boyarin, Paul's theology of the unification of Israel and the

²⁶ *The Mission of the Church in Paul's Letter to the Philippians in the Context of Ancient Judaism* (NovTSup 120; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

²⁷ *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Boyarin, Daniel Contraversions 1; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

nations make him a living contradiction, simultaneously both a Jew and not-a-Jew.²⁸ Thus, he reiterates the question of whether references to the unification of Israel and the *ethnē* in Pauline traditions are in continuity with those in other ancient Jewish traditions.

II. Scope and Method

A. Direction of the Study

The foregoing surveys of relevant ancient Jewish traditions and the limited scholarship on the unification of Israel and the nations indicate the direction for this study. In the above sampling of traditions that reference the nations' pilgrimage, "conversion" or the overcoming of the division between Israel and those who are not-Israel, such events are depicted as Israel and non-Israelites uniting together in the worship of Israel's God. Moreover, the depiction of such events in each of those traditions is expressed in terms of a constellation of features of creation or eschatological New Creation (context depending), unification, worship, and *shalom*.

Based on these traits, several questions line up for attention (many of which are alluded to above). Why are the same features repeatedly grouped together, and how are they significant to the phenomenon of the unification of Israel and non-Israelites? What relationship exists between those ancient Jewish traditions that seem to share these themes in common, and do they point to some shared vision regarding creation and humanity? It must further be sought out whether other ancient Jewish traditions that reference the unification of Israel and non-Israelites do so in a manner consistent with the trends apparent in the traditions surveyed above. Also, what clues do such traditions contain as to why they would look forward to or hope for non-Israelites participating in Israel's covenantal blessings? Finally, besides the question of agreement between relevant biblical traditions, what is their relationship to relevant early Jewish traditions, in terms of continuity, discontinuity, or innovation?

²⁸ By contrast, Alain Badiou, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005) is exhilarated by his Marxist interpretation of Paul as a champion who tears the grace found in ancient Jewish traditions from its ethnic and religious constraints, and delivers it to a common, undifferentiated mass of humanity, who are thereby freed from the confines of either a religious (Jewish) or philosophical (Greek) identity. Thus, for Badiou, the unification of Israel and the *ethnē* in Pauline traditions is also significant for Paul's contribution to the concept of identity in Western tradition, and for modern questions about the politics of ethnicity. Peripherally, David G. Horrell, *Solidarity and Difference: A Contemporary Reading of Paul's Ethics* (London: T&T Clark International, 2005) examines the relationship between ethics and the theme of unity in Paul, exploring the degree to which that relationship allows for diversity (ethnic and otherwise) within the church, and the relationship of the church to the non-Christian world.

These questions are summed up in the thesis question for this study, *How do ancient Jewish traditions relate the worship of God to the unification of Israel and the nations?* I propose to examine how, why and in the presence of what other salient features biblical traditions combine worship and the unification of Israel and non-Israelites. In turn, I will look at how and to what ends early Jewish traditions deploy the theme of the unification of Israel and non-Israelites, and inspect their connections to each other and to relevantly similar biblical traditions.

However, the nomenclature for this task is not initially clear. Regarding those who are not part of God's people in biblical traditions, Genesis 10 recounts the so-called table of *nations* (גוים) who descend from Noah and his sons (vv. 5, 20, 31, 32, where Israel's progenitors are also "nations"; cf. 1 Chr 1; 1 Kgs 10:23–25), prior to God's election of Abraham. Other traditions list names of other nations in contradistinction to Israel, rather than refer to "the nations" (e.g. Gen 15:18–21; Exod 3:8; 23:23–24, 28; Josh 3:10; 12:8; Judg 3:5; Isa 11:11–14; Jer 25:19–21; Ezra 9:1, 8; cf. מוצרִים, בְּנֵי עַיִן, מוֹאָב, אַמֹּרִי in Deut 1). Still other traditions refer to the stranger or (legally) protected non-Israelite (גֵר), or to the transient foreigner or foreign outsider (נֹכְרִי); in some traditions they are distinguished (e.g. Exod 12:43–44), while in others they are virtually equated (e.g. Gen 23:4; Isa 14:1; 61:5; cf. the enigmatic עַרְבֵי רֶבֶעַ of Exod 12:38). For the most part, though, biblical (and Second Temple) traditions divide humanity into Israel, who are identified by their most fundamental characteristic of being God's people, and all other peoples, who are accordingly identified by their most fundamental characteristic of being "not-Israel." While sensitive to the above distinctions, for ease of language in this study I am adopting the convention of referring to those who are "not-Israel" as *the nations*.

Another term that needs defining is *unification*. In this study, I am examining ancient Jewish traditions that reference the nations' participation in Israel's covenantal blessings and/or promised eschatological heritage, whereby the division between Israel and the nations is overcome. That is, in such traditions Israel and the nations jointly participate or are *united* to some degree in Israel's blessings. The somewhat slippery term *universalism* that sometimes attaches to this phenomenon is unsatisfactory in that, depending on the scholar, it variously refers to the invitation of being God's people being open(ed) to all people equally; the idea that ancient Israelite religion focuses not upon Israel but upon how Israel brings blessing to the world; the idea that God is accessible to all peoples equally; or even an intention on God's part to bring salvation to all humanity without qualification. More

importantly, *universalism* seems to minimize the Jewishness or Israelite-ness of relevant traditions; ancient Jewish tradition never merely envision a monolithic, undifferentiated unified humanity (Boyarin's concern, above), but rather they depict unification in light of Israel's theological heritage as distinct from other religious, philosophical and ideological traditions.²⁹ The term *inclusion* is also unsatisfactory because it ambiguously refers to a theological identity, to national, social or religious membership, or to some combination of these in various proportions. Additionally, *inclusion* can seem inordinately to preference Christian or Pauline traditions, and specifically the New Perspective in Pauline studies. For similar reasons *conversion* is also undesirable, especially as it may presume a confessional Christian perspective or, alternatively, unduly underscore an institutionally religious dimension. Furthermore, in at least those traditions surveyed above, there is an *active* sense to the nations' participation in Israel's blessings. The nations *come* to join with Israel at the temple or Zion, and they jointly *participate* in activities that are traditionally prerogatives of Israel. Therefore, in this study I employ the term *unification* to refer generically to the phenomenon of Israel and the nations being united in joint participation in Israel's blessings.

Given these qualifications, I should further be clear that I am not singling out traditions that reference both Israel-nations unification and worship. Rather, I am simply attending to ancient Jewish traditions that reference Israel-nations unification, and in doing so I am interested to see whether and how worship is involved in such traditions, based on the above survey of traditions in which worship is also a prominent factor. Also, I would let such traditions speak for themselves and allow for a spectrum of possible results, ranging from merely decreased hostility between the nations and Israel, to reconciliation, to even (representatives of) the nations fully "becoming" God's people. So I am unprejudiced as to the degree to which that division is overcome or to which the nations participate in Israel's blessings, and I am not selecting traditions for examination based upon how "positive" a portrayal they present. As I have framed the issue, it seems from the above survey that Israel and the nations are not unified *simpliciter*, but are unified in activities or prerogatives that are unique to Israel's worship of Israel's God. So I shall be looking to see whether and how this carries through in biblical traditions, and whether and how such biblical traditions carry through or are subsequently developed in early Jewish traditions.

A final methodological note is that, as necessary, I shall examine the original literary context of the Scriptures quoted (or cited) in early Jewish traditions. I would argue that

²⁹ This point is argued at length in a forthcoming essay by Joel S. Kaminsky, provisionally titled "The Hebrew Bible's Theology of Election and the Problem of Universalism."

scholars often overlook the meaning and significance of Israel-nations unification in many of these traditions because they neglect their use of biblical traditions. So I shall follow the program generally set out by Richard Hays and others, who in recent years ask the fresh question of whether Paul, at least, interprets Scripture in a contextually aware manner. Ultimately, an answer must be sought on an *ad hoc* basis, and will depend upon whether the resultant reading is more satisfying than one that supposes for example a non-contextually sensitive use of Scripture; the proof of the pudding is in the eating, as it were. But just as Paul may be read as a contextually-sensitive interpreter of Scripture, so too I will follow through on Hays' question with Paul's fellow Second Temple interpreters, to see whether this approach likewise produces stronger and more sound readings of other early Jewish traditions.

B. Scope of the Study

Although relevant biblical and early Jewish traditions are relatively infrequent, there are nevertheless too many candidates to cover at once. I also acknowledge that in a study such as this, determination and selection of datapoints is partly unavoidably subjective. However, in view of the parameters laid out above, my primary criterion for determination is a reference to Israel and the nations' joint participation in Israel's blessings (covenantal identity, pilgrimage, worship, prayer, festivals, restoration, God's protection, deliverance, etc.), as for example virtually all scholars agree is clearly the case in Isaiah 2:2–4||Micah 4:1–4. I exclude traditions where reference to the nations' involvement (sometimes negatively) in Israel's blessings is either more in the background (e.g. Isa 51:4–6; Pss 57:6; 79:1–6, 10–13; although cf. Ps 18:50 [Grk 17:50] in Rom 15:9b, below), or marks a more peripheral or ambiguous (and sometimes superficial) response to God's sovereignty (e.g. Gen 12:1–3; 14:18–20; Exod 18:1–11; Num 22:12–13, 18; 23:7–10; Jonah 1:16; 3:5–10; Ruth 1:16–17), even if such discrimination is unquantifiable.³⁰ Likewise, as regards biblical traditions I exclude traditions that refer to the nations' status and treatment by Israel, primarily in legal materials (e.g. Exod 22:21; 23:9; Lev 19:10, 33–34; Deut 14:29; 16:10–11, 13; cf. גַּר in Lev 16:29; 17:8, 10, 12, 15; 18:26, etc.). For biblical traditions in particular, it is additionally advisable to select a representative cross section, that is, instances that range across Torah, the Former and Latter Prophets, and the Writings (as well as covering a reasonable range of putative dates of composition).

³⁰ On Jos 2:9–13, see Aaron Sherwood, "A Leader's Misleading and a Prostitute's Profession: A Re-examination of Joshua 2," *JSOT* 31 (2006): 53–57.

Based on these specifications, I find that of the candidate traditions in the Hebrew Bible, those that consist in the most pronounced or sustained depictions of Israel-nations unification include 1 Kings 8:41–43; Isaiah 2:2–4; 56–66; Micah 4:1–4; Zechariah 8:18–23; and Psalms 46–48. Exodus 12:37–38 is also included because of how significant is its setting of the exodus, even if this tradition is a less strong instance of Israel-nations unification. I shall also attend to Isaiah 11:1–10, since it is cited as an instance of Israel-nations unification by at least two early Jewish traditions, and belongs to the same larger literary unit as does Isaiah 2:2–4. Similarly, early Jewish interpreters find instances of Israel-nations unification in Scripture that I would not necessarily set aside for individual attention (e.g. Isa 65:17–25 in *I En.* 10:16–19, 22; and *Sib. Or.* 3:785–95; or Pss 18:50 [Grk 17:50]; 117:1 [116:1] in Rom 15:9, 11).³¹

Candidates within Isaiah 40–55 are not included for two reasons. First, there is already an extensive body of secondary literature on either the nations or “universalism” in Isaiah 40–55 (not to mention which, further representation of Isaianic traditions may imbalance this study to the detriment of comparatively neglected traditions).³² Second, plausible Israel-nations unification traditions in these chapters (e.g. 42:6; 45:20–25; 49:6[–7]; 52:13, 15) perhaps more properly belong to the category of those traditions in which the nations serve as background or context to Israel and God’s relationship. Joel S. Kaminsky and Anne Stewart argue to this effect, concluding, “Deutero-Isaiah invokes the nations as part of the universal glorification of Israel’s God. . . . If YHWH is truly to be recognized as the greatest and only God, all the nations must turn and acknowledge his sovereignty.”³³ By

³¹ Other biblical candidates that I am unable to examine include Gen 12:1–3 (disputed); Isa 14:1; 19:18–25; Jer 3:17; Zeph 3:9–10; Zech 14:16–19; and relevant traditions in the Psalter (e.g. Pss 22:28–32; 67; 72:8–11, 19; 76; 86:9; 96; 97:1–6, 10; 102:19–29, etc.); David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms* (JSOTSup 252; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 135–39, 146–49 might also add Ezek 40–48. Of these, the traditions in Isa 19; Zech 14; Pss 22; 67; and 102 contain the most robust references to Israel-nations unification, but for the most part the most pronounced references constitute the set of datapoints for this study.

³² For example, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, “Second Isaiah—Prophet of Universalism,” *JSOT* 41 (1988): 99 n. 1 for even an outdated and partial yet still extensive bibliography. For a survey and summary of positions regarding so-called universalism in Isaiah, see Richard L. Schultz, “Nationalism and Universalism in Isaiah,” in *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches* (ed. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2009), 124–26 (cf. Ekhard J. Schnabel, “Israel, the People of God, and the Nations,” *JETS* 45 [2002]: 41–42).

³³ “God of All the World: Universalism and Developing Monotheism in Isaiah 40–66,” *HTR* 99 [2006]: 155. Correspondingly—and regarding a possibly perceived disjunction from other biblical Israel-nations traditions—Rikki Watts, “Echoes from the Past: Israel’s Ancient Traditions and the Role of the Nations in Isa 40–55,” *JSOT* 28 (2004) demonstrates that a binary interpretation of the nations’ destiny as either “positive” or “negative” in Isaiah 40–55 is pedestrian, concluding, “On the one hand there is ample evidence of judgment on those who . . . directly challenge Yahweh and oppress his people. . . . But at the same time, survivors from among

contrast, the only focused study on the nations in Isaiah 56–66 is a master’s thesis by Matthew Lynch, which fills a gap otherwise in Isaianic scholarship.³⁴

References to Israel-nations unification in (non-New Testament) Second Temple Jewish sources are fewer, and so it is possible to conduct a nearly comprehensive examination. The most apt candidates are *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2; Tobit 14:3–11; *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–95; *1 Enoch* 90:28–38; and Josephus’ *Antiquities* 8.116–117 (partly due to its use of 1 Kgs 8:41–43||2 Chr 6:32–33).³⁵ It needs mentioning that there are no apparent instances of Israel-nations unification in the sectarian traditions of Qumran. Ronald Herms offers the same conclusion with an explanation:

The use of biblical traditions that envision the future salvation or participation of Gentile nations in the eschaton [is not represented at Qumran]. In light of the dualism which characterizes the eschatology and sectarian polemic in the writings from Qumran, it should not be surprising that very little evidence of a tension created by universalistic visions of salvation can be found. Not even hypothetical scenarios designed to illustrate the mercy of God or buttress a given author’s ‘agenda of vindication’ can be legitimately spoken of. For an Essene community that viewed itself as the *remnant* of Israel—perhaps even the “true” Israel—no consummation of the present age that did not envisage their complete vindication and the utter destruction of their opponents was ultimately palatable.³⁶

Unfortunately, Philonic traditions are also not represented in this study, since Philo does not reference Israel-nations unification, and rarely even refers to Israel or the nations, as such. The closest he comes to referencing Israel-nations unification is in his discussions of the universal applicability of Torah. Hindy Najman demonstrates how Philo adapts and incorporates Platonic and Stoic understandings of the laws of nature, which are universal and

these nations find life in submitting to Israel... far from submission necessarily implying loss of status and abject humiliation, it can instead mean elevation, the obtaining of wisdom, and substantial blessing. ... Indeed, it might be that the pattern should be reversed: Israel had become like the nations. The radical shift in Isaiah 40–55, if one exists at all, concerns not so much the destiny of the nations but instead the destiny of Israel” (ad loc., 506–7).

³⁴ Lynch, *A Literary-Theological Study of the Nations in Isaiah 56–66* (ThM thesis, Vancouver: Regent College, 2005); cf. idem, “Zion’s Warrior and the Nations: Isaiah 59:15b–63:6 in Isaiah’s Zion Traditions,” *CBO* 70 (2008): 244–63. Besides Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, the only studies on the nations in chaps. 56–66 are the brief articles Bernard Wodecki “Der Heilsuniversalismus bei Trito-Jesaja,” *VT* 32:2 (1982): 248–252; and Christopher T. Begg, “Foreigners in Third Isaiah,” *TBT* 23:2 (1985): 98–102.

³⁵ The few Second Temple candidates that I cannot address include *Jub.* 23:26–31 (which is not included in part because it runs very contrary to the vitriol toward the nations throughout the rest of *Jub.*); Tob 13:5–11 (in connection with 14:3–11; for an analysis of the nations’ *salvation* in this tradition, see Ronald Herms, *An Apocalypse for the Church and for the World: The Narrative Function of Universal Language in the Book of Revelation* [BZNV 143; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006], 67–74); and *1 En.* 91:14 (cf. 93:6) in the Apocalypse of Weeks (see Stuckenbruck, “Eschatological,” 199–201 for a brief analysis).

³⁶ Herms, *Apocalypse*, 60–61, emphasis original.

so transcend those of any particular nation and therefore cannot be recorded or written down.³⁷ Thus, for Philo Torah is an “actual expression” of the Patriarchs’ lives, which are in turn an embodiment of the unwritable laws of nature.³⁸ Otherwise, Philo sparsely refers to the conversion of non-Israelites (e.g. *Spec.* 1.308–309; 4.176–177), and almost as rarely defines Israel or Jews.³⁹ As Ellen Birnbaum demonstrates, for Philo *Israel* are those who possess an intellectual apprehension or vision of God, and *Jews* is a socio-political group who deliberately commit to live a life of worship and service to God that reinforces their belief in him.⁴⁰ But “Philo himself does not explicitly draw a connection between the vision of God and the Jewish worship of him. ...[they] are not necessarily connected,” as “becoming” an Israelite instead happens by divine will or spiritual ability, and a striving for enlightenment rather than a religious conversion.⁴¹

Finally, space limitations prevent an examination of several worthy instances of Israel-nations unification in Pauline traditions, such as Galatians 3:28–29; or 6:15–16, wherein Paul declares the end of circumcision-based division with the rally cry, “A new creation!” and declares his Gentile audience to be the “Israel of God” (!). Instead I must restrict my attention to just Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22. The Romans text is noteworthy for its pivotal role within the letter, and the Ephesians text is perhaps the clearest and strongest example of Israel-nations unification in the Pauline writings.

C. Shape of the Study

Having laid out my method and the scope of the study here in Chapter 1, in the next three chapters I examine ancient Jewish traditions that reference Israel-nations unification,

³⁷ “A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: An Unthinkable Paradox?” in *The Studia Philonica Annual, Studies in Hellenistic Judaism, Volume 15 2003: Laws Stamped with the Seals of Nature: Law and Nature in Hellenistic Philosophy and Philo of Alexandria* (ed. David T. Runia, Gregory E. Sterling, and Hindy Najman; BJS 337; Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 2003), 55, 57–60, explaining that “if the originals cannot be adequately represented in language, then...they cannot be adequately represented in writings” (ad loc., 57; cf. Markus Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000], 107–8).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 61. On this basis, Philo’s discussion of Abraham as a source of blessing for the world from Gen 12:3 in *Migr.* 118–123 is a doubtful but arguable reference to Israel-nations unification (cf. the Stoic sense of recreation in the recovery of all lost “sparks” in Abraham’s virtue in §123).

³⁹ Ellen Birnbaum, *The Place of Judaism in Philo’s Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes* (BJS 290/Studia Philonica Monographs 2; Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 204–8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 210–13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 212, emphasis original. Other possible though unlikely Philonic candidates could include *Deus* 173–176; *Abr.* 5, 98, 276; and *Mos.* 2.8–17 (cf. vv. 25–28), 48.

and offer concluding remarks at the close of each chapter. To repeat the biblical datapoints determined above, Chapter 2 looks into Exodus 12:37–38; 1 Kings 8:41–43; Isaiah 2:2–4; 11:1–10; 56–66; Zechariah 8:18–23; and Psalms 46–48. I examine them in canonical order since that is how early Jewish interpreters read them (which further allows the avoidance of convolving speculation regarding compositional history). Chapter 3 examines the early Jewish traditions that reference Israel-nations unification in *I Enoch* 10:16–11:2; Tobit 14:3–11; *Sibylline Oracles* 3.772–95, *I Enoch* 90:28–38; and Josephus’ *Antiquities* 8.116–117. Not all of the traditions that I will examine in this chapter necessarily have a literary (or otherwise) relationship to each other, but I will examine them in roughly chronological sequence to best trace any development of Israel-nations unification in early Judaism. As Paul is also a witness to Second Temple Judaism, Pauline traditions would be included here (between the Animal Apocalypse and *Ant.* 8.116–117) if I were not singling out him for special attention. Chapter 4, then, examines the Pauline Israel-nations unification traditions of Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22.

Coming to each tradition, I carry out a literary-historical analysis in order to appreciate its meaning and function within its literary context. Then within this, I examine whether and how the tradition under examination constructs and deploys Israel-nations unification. In so doing, I look for the salient features that ancient Jewish traditions coordinate with Israel-nations unification, what is the logical relationship between those features in each context, and how Israel-nations unification contributes to the theology and function of each tradition. As the study progresses, I also draw attention to whether and how early Jewish traditions appropriate and develop the depiction of Israel-nations unification in biblical traditions. Finally, Chapter 5 provides a summary and conclusions for the study as a whole, and suggests directions for further study.

CHAPTER 2

THE UNIFICATION OF ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS IN BIBLICAL TRADITIONS

Some of the clearest examples of the unification of Israel and the nations in the Hebrew Bible include traditions such as Exodus 12:37–38; 1 Kings 8:41–43; Isaiah 2:1–4; 56–66; Micah 4:1–5; Zechariah 8:18–23; and Psalms 46–48, which either presuppose or argue the motif in support of their respective primary theological concerns. Despite their diversity, these traditions univocally describe Israel and the nations being unified in worship, in shalom, and as intrinsic to either creation or eschatological New Creation. In so doing, they apparently present Israel-nations unification as a restoration of humanity, which could be seen as patterned on the temple cosmology that is outlined in a plausible reading of the creation accounts of Genesis 1–2.

Generally speaking, biblical traditions that reference the unification of Israel and the nations are not focused upon the nations. They are instead occupied with Israel, God, or some aspect of their relationship. However, such traditions also generally presuppose Israel-nations unification as necessary to the theological point under discussion. The first example is Exodus 12:37–38, which is a relatively tenuous but still telling example of Israel-nations unification in that it sits within the most formative event in Israel’s history.

I. Exodus 12:37–38

Exodus 12:37–38 introduces the summary to the plague cycle of 7:8–12:36. The transitional coda in 12:37–42 (along with the preceding few verses) completes the plunder motif that is introduced in the proleptic summary to the plague cycle in 3:19–22 by cataloguing all that God delivers from Egypt includes. This includes in 12:37–38 the “sons of Israel” and, curiously, “also a mixed multitude [גַּם־עַרְבֵי רַב].” Moreover, this mention of the mixed multitude is related to features of worship and creation that characterize the larger literary context. The plague cycle “revolves around the theme: revelation by God of His name—his essence, his power, his authority—to Pharaoh, to the Egyptians, and to all men.”¹ And encompassing the plague cycle is the larger exodus narrative of chapters 3–14, which recounts Israel’s deliverance and God’s judgment upon Pharaoh and the pantheon of deities

¹ Moshe Greenberg, “The Thematic Unity of Exodus 3-11,” *WCJS* 1 (1967): 153.

whom he represents.² And the deliverance of those mentioned in 12:37–38 is sealed at the culmination of the narrative in Israel’s crossing of the Red Sea, which is saturated with creation imagery.

So spread throughout chapters 3–14 are the integral and interconnected features of creation, worship, and the joint deliverance of Israelites together with the mixed multitude. That the larger narrative is overwhelmingly concerned with Israel’s deliverance only serves to make the **עֲרֹב רֶבֶב** that much more intriguing. The interrelatedness of these features make necessary a review of the larger narrative in order to understand the mixed multitude of 12:37–38, and how it relates to the theology of the exodus.

A. Literary Context of Exodus 12:37–38

The plague cycle is nested within the larger narrative of chapters 3–14. The doxological element that permeates these is introduced in 3:19–22 in the forms of the knowing and hardening motifs (below), along with the plunder motif. The plague cycle concludes with the liturgical material within the final plague (11:1–12:36), and then the coda of 12:37–42 is further framed by the Passover ordinance prior to Israel’s setting out (12:43–49; cf. the institutionalization of circumcision in 13:1–16 preceding Israel’s ultimate deliverance). The exodus itself begins in 12:50–51 but is recounted in 13:17–14:31, culminating in Israel’s final deliverance:

² Donald E. Gowan, *Theology in Exodus: Biblical Theology in the Form of a Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 133; cf. Nahum M. Sarna, *Exploring Exodus: The Heritage of Biblical Israel* (New York: Schocken, 1986), 65; Robert B. Chisolm, Jr., “Divine Hardening in the Old Testament,” *BSac* 153 (1996): 412–14; Charles David Isbell, *The Function of Exodus Motifs in Biblical Narratives: Theological Didactic Drama*, *Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity* 52 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2002), 42. The two pharaohs of chaps. 1–2 and 3–15 literarily blend together (partly because neither is named), thereby presenting a monolithic “ruler whose methods of control are ruthless” (David M. Gunn, “The ‘Hardening of Pharaoh’s Heart’: Plot, Character, and Theology in Exodus 1–14,” in *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature* [ed. David J. A. Clines et al.; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982], 74).

BURNING BUSH THEOPHANY (3:1–4:20)

- Introduction and God's call of Moses (3:1–6, 7–10)
- Moses' Five Refusals (3:11–12, 13–22; 4:1–9, 10–12, 13–17)
 - second refusal: God's name to be revealed in his deeds (3:13–22)

FIRST (FAILED) PLAGUE CYCLE PROLOGUE (4:21–6:1)

- God's instructions and proclaimed results regarding the final plague (4:21–23)
- Moses' first confrontation with Pharaoh (5:1–5)

SECOND (SUCCESSFUL) PLAGUE CYCLE PROLOGUE (6:2–7:7)

- God reiterates his intentions and reaffirms his ability (6:2–8; 7:1–7)
- Proleptic summary of the plague cycle (7:1–7)

PLAGUE CYCLE (7:8–12:36)

Introduction: Moses' second confrontation with Pharaoh (7:8–14)

First nine plagues: 3 + 3 + 3 (7:14–10:29)

Tenth plague (11:1–8; 12:29–32):

Introduction: reiteration of 3:21–22 (11:1–3)

Forewarning and reiteration of 4:22–23 (11:4–8)

Interpretation of Pharaoh's refusal (11:9–10)

[*Instructions for Passover (12:1–13)*

Significance of Passover (12:14–20)

] *Observance of Passover (12:21–28)*

Final plague in fulfillment of 11:9–10 (12:29)

Pharaoh's defeat in fulfillment of 4:22–23; 11:4–8 (12:30–32)

Conclusion: deliverance in fulfillment of 3:21–22; 11:1–3 (12:32–36)

SUMMARY OF PLAGUE CYCLE AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE EXODUS (12:37–13:16)

Coda: summary of the plague cycle (12:37–42)

Ordinances for Passover (12:43–49)

Israel's deliverance and exodus (12:50–51)

Consecration of firstborn and institutionalization of circumcision (13:1–16)

GOD'S VICTORY OVER PHARAOH AND ISRAEL'S PASSAGE THROUGH THE SEA (13:17–15:21)

Figure 1: Literary Outline of the Exodus Narrative

Within this, the mixed multitude of 12:38 is a detail rightly overshadowed by discussion of the Passover (12:1–28, 43–49), which is of much greater significance for Israelite religion and history. But when noticed, many scholars follow early Jewish commentary in dismissing the mixed multitude as the rabble (רַב־רָבָא) of Numbers 11:4 (whereby the Rabbis exonerated Israelites of rebellion in Num 11).³ However, there is no hint

³ U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967), 147–48; Brevard Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical Theological Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 183; William Johnstone, *Exodus* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 83; Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 62; Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus* (2 vols.; Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Kampen: KOK, 1996), 2:202; William Propp, *Exodus 1–18* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 364, 414. See Houtman, *Exodus*, 202; and Propp, *Exodus*, 414 for discussion on ancient Jewish analysis of the mixed multitude.

Other scholars designate 12:38 an instance of so-called universalism, but without providing warrant or analysis; e.g. Josef Scharbert, *Exodus* (Würzburg: Echter, 1989), 58; Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus* (Louisville: John Knox, 1991), 143; Carol L. Meyers, *Exodus*, New Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 100. Or finally, John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 172

of such negativity in the biblical narrative itself (notably, the only other mention of non-Israelites' involvement in the narrative of Exodus is a positive one, at 18:1–11). In light of the dramatic movement toward the fate of those listed in 12:37–38, it will be most helpful to begin at the end, with Israel's deliverance in chapter 14.

B. Theological Features in the Exodus Narrative

1. *Creation and the Exodus*

The larger narrative, by culminating in Israel's passage through the sea in chapter 14, "describes a new act of creation."⁴ The Israelites' fruitfulness at the outset of Exodus (פֶּרֶה, הִרְבֵּה, 1:7) echoes God's creational mandate for humanity (Gen 1:28; cf. Gen 9:1, 7; 17:6), a fruitfulness that Pharaoh impedes with their slaughter (by water; Exod 1:22).⁵ Consequently, God's defeat of Pharaoh and deliverance of Israel at the conclusion of the narrative mark the reinstatement of his creational purposes for his people.

The entire episode comprises 13:17–14:31, and possesses a concentric arrangement of roughly equal portions with Moses' address to the people in 14:13–14 at its center.⁶ Chapter 14 divides into three scenes (vv. 1–14, 15–25, and 26–31).⁷ The conclusion of the first scene speaks of the elimination of the Egyptian threat (v. 13), and that God himself will fight on Israel's behalf (v. 14); at the conclusion of the second scene, God indeed fights for Israel against the Egyptians (v. 25), whose threat is eliminated at the conclusion of the final

describes the mixed multitude aetiologically, as providing an occasion to specify Passover restrictions for non-Israelites (vv. 43–49).

⁴ Jean Louis Ska, "The Crossing of the Sea," *Landas* 17 (2003): 42.

⁵ Terence E. Fretheim, "The Reclamation of Creation: Redemption and Law in Exodus," *Int* 45 (1991): 357; cf. idem, "The Plagues as Ecological Signs of Historical Disaster," *JBL* 110 (1991): 392.

⁶ Bernard N. Bachra, "Structural Regularities in the Story of the Passage Through the Sea (Exod 13,17–22 and Exod 14)," *SJOT* 16 (2002): 250–51; cf. Jean Louis Ska, *Le passage de la mer: Étude de la construction, du style et de la symbolique d'Ex 14,1–31* (AnBib 109 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1986); Pierre Auffret, "Essai sur la Structure Littéraire d'Ex 14," *EstBib* 41 (1983): 53–82; and Ulwe F. W. Bauer, *kōl hadābārīm hā'ēleh: Alle diese Worte: Impulse zur Schriftauslegung aus Amsterdam. Expliziert an der Schilfmeererzählung in Exodus 13,17–14,31* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991).

⁷ Cf. introductory dialogues at vv. 1–4a, 15–18, 26 (Ska, "Crossing," 36–37).

scene (vv. 30–31).⁸ Israel’s initial fear of the Egyptians (אִי־רָא, v. 10) is addressed by Moses (אֶל־תִּירָאוּ, vv. 13–14), and finally becomes reverence for Yhwh (v. 31).⁹

Israel’s passage through the sea in verses 19–22 is cast in creational terms.¹⁰ The pillar of verse 19 sets apart Israel from Egypt as it “engulfs the Egyptians in darkness...but envelopes the Israelites in the light of day.”¹¹ As a result, similar to the Genesis creation, the Red Sea crossing is staged by “cloud and darkness, yet the night was lighted” (v. 20; cf. Gen 1:2, 3). The sea and the waters (הַמַּיִם, v. 21; cf. Gen 1:9–10) are then divided by God’s mighty רוּחַ (cf. Gen 1:2), and are turned into dry land (יַבְשָׁה, v. 22; cf. v. 16; Gen 1:9–10).¹² These elements—a divine *ruah* and the sea, darkness which becomes light(ed), the “waters” being divided and the appearance of “dry land”—identify Israel’s exodus as a new act of creation by God.

This creational episode includes not only cosmic elements, but also the element of humanity in the form of Israel. They cross through the sea from darkness and night (west to east, v. 22) and emerge into the morning (v. 24), freed from Egypt who has been consumed by the waters. Due to God’s antiphrastic use of the sea as his creational tool, Israel’s passage through chaos and death paradoxically results in their creation and life. As Jean Louis Ska

⁸ Ska, “Crossing,” 37-38, noting that this dramatic progression is undergirded by location shifts and temporal movement; cf. Bachra, “Structural,” 250.

⁹ Cf. Ska, “Crossing,” 47, who further notes five clauses in between v. 10 and vv. 13–14 describing Israel’s fear that each end with *Egypt* (ibid., 38-39). On the relationship between chaps. 14 and 15 see Michael A. Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken, 1979), 122-25; Michael A. Grisanti, “Old Testament Poetry as a Vehicle for Historiography,” *BibSac* 161 (2004): 178 (cf. ad loc., 173); and Richard D. Patterson, “Victory at Sea: Prose and Poetry in Exodus 14–15,” *BibSac* 161 (2004), 42.

¹⁰ So Childs, *Exodus*, 237-28; Fishbane, *Text*, 127-28, 135-36; Gunn, “Pharaoh’s Heart,” 83; Fretheim, “Reclamation,” 358-59; Propp, *Exodus*, 559; idem, “Plagues,” 392-93; Ska, “Crossing,” 42. Fretheim, “Reclamation,” 355 argues that for at least the final form of the text, its position following Genesis 1–11 “was theologically significant for Israel. Those who put the canon together in its present form were certainly reflecting existing community perspectives rather than promoting an innovative theological strategy. This is evident from the fact that two traditions (J and P) preface specifically Israelite texts with creation materials. If the Yahwist is given its usual tenth-century dating, such a perspective would have been in place throughout much of Israel’s history and would have informed its most basic theological developments, implicitly or explicitly.”

¹¹ Houtman, *Exodus*, 228; cf. ad loc., 167-68; Propp, *Exodus*, 498. Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 59-60, 68, 70-71, 74-75 argues for manifestations of light, fire and smoke like the pillar (including the cloud of incense in the Holy of Holies) are God’s *kabod* body, in which case the pillar is an incarnation of God’s presence that underscores the doxological feature of the larger narrative.

¹² The passage through the sea may additionally echo the flood account, another a creational narrative (Ska, “Passage,” 42; cf. Fretheim, “Plagues,” 394; see below, p. 134); cf. רוּחַ (Exod 14:21; Gen 8:1), חָרָב, יַבְשָׁה (Exod 14:21–22) and חָרָב וְיָבֵשׁ הָאָרֶץ (Gen 8:13–14).

puts it, “God commands the waters anew to give way to the ‘dry land’ which he had destined for humanity in Gen 1 so that humanity might fill it. . . . Going a step further, we can say that . . . [God] uses the same power he used to create the world; [Israel’s] *salvation is a new creation*.”¹³ Israel’s redemption from Egyptian slavery is their creation as a new humanity, in recovery of God’s creational purposes.¹⁴

Therefore, the larger exodus narrative culminates with a depiction of Israel’s deliverance as a new creational event, with Israel as God’s new humanity. Thus, Israel’s makeup in 12:37–38 supervenes on the creation motif to the degree that this motif both frames and culminates the larger narrative. Finally, the main theme of the plague cycle—God’s glorification—also culminates in chapter 14, as God states, “I will harden [חזק] Pharaoh’s heart . . . in order that I will be glorified [כבוד] over Pharaoh . . . and in order that the Egyptians might know [ידע] that I am Yhwh” (v. 4, blending the hardening and knowing motifs—see below; cf. vv. 17–18). This provides a further link between chapter 14 and 12:37–38, which likewise has a demonstrably strong connection to the glorification theme, and similarly occupies a key structural position.

2. *God’s Glorification and the Exodus*

Perhaps the strongest form that the theme of God’s glorification takes is that of the liturgical material in chapters 11–13. However, this material is given context by the interwoven motifs of hardening and knowing.¹⁵ Both motifs are implicitly introduced in 3:19–22 by the occurrence of several *Leitwörter* (ידע, חזק, ח של 2x; vv. 19–20) of the cycle

¹³ “Passage,” 42, emphasis added, further stating, “What in fact ‘dies’ is the slave bound to Egypt. When Israel comes out of the waters, it is reborn and free” (ad loc., 44–45).

¹⁴ Cf. Fretheim, “Reclamation,” 358. Scholars also note this same principle in the complementary chap. 15: Fretheim, ad loc. notes that in 15:17–18, God’s victory at the sea is interpreted as his enthronement at Zion as a present reality, stating, “a kind of ‘realized eschatology’ is in place here.” Also pointing out the references to Zion in vv. 13b, 17 and in light of Zion traditions in Pss 47; 93; 96–99, Durham, *Exodus*, 208–9 argues that Exod 15:17 portrays the ultimate goal of the exodus as the completion of Solomon’s temple in 1 Kgs 8, until which the exodus is an unfinished event. And though the construction of the Tabernacle later in Exodus is too far removed to be directly relevant, it is worth considering the argument in Peter Weimar, “Sinai und Schöpfung: Komposition und Theologie der Priesterschriftlichen Sinaigeschichte,” *RB* 95 (1988): 337–85, that “von daher bekommt auch die bewusste Parallelisierung von Schöpfung Welt (in der zweigestuften Abfolge von Schöpfung und Flut) und ‘Schöpfung’ des Jahwevolkes, die sich in der Errichtung des Heiligtums am Sinai vollendet, wird aus der Beziehung zur Schöpfung grundlegend neu begründet und gewinnt auf diese Weise eine geradezu urzeitliche Dimension” (ad loc., 385).

¹⁵ On the architectural elegance of the plague cycle, which is arranged in a crescendo 3 + 3 + 3 + 1 pattern, see esp. Greenberg, *Understanding*, 171–73; and Sarna, *Exploring*, 76–78 (esp. the diagram on p. 76); cf. Chisolm, “Divine Hardening,” 419–26.

(and larger narrative).¹⁶ Additionally, these verses announce Israel's deliverance and introduce the plunder motif, which together conclude the cycle and initiate the exodus in 12:33–39 (cf. also the *inclusio* formed by 3:12; 19:1). So both thematically and structurally, 3:19–22 is a proleptic summary of the larger narrative.¹⁷

The hardening motif implicit in 3:19–22 is linked with God's glorification at the turning point of the cycle, the seventh episode at the beginning of the final, most prodigious set of plagues.¹⁸ Immediately preceding this, the sixth episode concludes with the medial obduracy text (9:12) of the larger narrative (tenth of nineteen), wherein God finally steps in to explicitly confirm Pharaoh in his hardening.¹⁹ Then God's reported speech at the outset of the seventh episode in 9:14–16 (in place of a forewarning; cf. 7:17, 27; 8:17; 9:2, etc.) discloses that both hardening and plagues were “‘in order that you [Pharaoh] might know [יִדַע] that there is none like me in all the earth’” (v. 14b), with Pharaoh's destruction put in abeyance “‘for one particular reason: in order that I might make you see my strength and thereby proclaim my name throughout all the earth’” (v. 16). This doxological function displayed at the precise center of the hardening motif is confirmed by paronomasia in the final three obduracy texts (14:4, 17–18). There, God's *hardening* (קָזַח) of Pharaoh is for the sake of his glory (כְּבוֹד, an obduracy term throughout), so that “‘the *kvd* (honor or glory) was Yahweh's,

¹⁶ Moreover, pericope of vv.13–22 opens with the revelation of the divine name (v. 14), whereby vv. 15–22 are an elaboration on God's character and glory.

¹⁷ In v. 19, just as God *knows* Pharaoh's rebellion (see below), at the conclusion of the narrative both Pharaoh and the Israelites come to know that God is Yhwh. God will *send out* his mighty hand to compel Pharaoh to *send out* Israel (cf. 4:23; 5:1–2; 6:11; 7:2, 14–16, etc.). And via the paronomasia provided by קָזַח, it is God's *mighty* hand that compels Pharaoh's *hardened* or 'mighty' heart (cf. 4:21; 7:13, etc.). In contrast to 4:21–23 (whose scope is limited to 7:8–10:29), 3:19–22 circumscribes the events to 12:36.

¹⁸ Cf. Greenberg, *Understanding*, 160-61; Childs, *Exodus*, 158; Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, 347, etc.

¹⁹ See Exod 4:21; 7:3, 13, 14, 22; 8:11, 15; 9:7, 12, 34, 35; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17; cf. Isbell, *Function*, 33-40; Chisolm, “Divine Hardening,” 411-12; Douglas K. Stuart, *Exodus* (NAC 2; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2006), 149-50; but contra Sarna, *Exploring*, 64. The three terms used for hardening in chaps. 3–14 are קָזַח, קָשָׁה, and כְּבוֹד, which in context “synonymously refer to Pharaoh's intellectual-volitional power of refusal” (Beale, “Hardening,” 147). See esp. Beale, “Hardening,” 138–47; and Chisolm, “Divine Hardening” 426-28 for analyses of obduracy texts in chaps. 3–14. For idolatry as the cause of Pharaoh's self-hardening (who idolatrously viewed himself as a divine equal to Yhwh) in the first half of the obduracy texts, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:6–29: God's Judgment upon Israel's Idolatry* (MCS diss., Regent College: Vancouver, 2007), 65-84, following Beale, “Isaiah VI 9–13: A Retributive Taunt Against Idolatry,” *VT* 41 (1991): 258; Chisolm, “Divine Hardening,” 411 (“objects of such judgment were never morally righteous or neutral, but were rebels against God's authority. Divine hardening... was in response to rejection of God's authoritative word or standards”); and Rikki E. Watts, “The New Exodus/New Creational Restoration of the Image of God,” in *What Does it Mean to Be Saved? Broadening Evangelical Horizons of Salvations* (ed. John G. Stackhouse, Jr.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002), 25, 27-28.

while the *kvd* (the sinfulness of a heavy heart) was Pharaoh's...the whole point of the Exodus story."²⁰

The closely related motif of knowing (*i.e.*, acknowledging God's authority and glorious name) likewise contributes to the theme of God's glorification throughout the cycle and larger narrative. Given God's programmatic acquaintance with Pharaoh's sovereign pretensions (עִדִּי, 3:19), the narrator divides the characters of the narrative into "those who...do *not* know...and the One who alone knows (YHWH)."²¹ But because Pharaoh initially refuses to acknowledge "his own dependent role as a dependent vassal who rules by the leave of Yahweh" (עִדִּי, 5:2; cf. 1:8; 7:5), God declares that he will bring knowing to the Egyptians through his judgment (טַפַּשׁ, 7:4; cf. 6:6).²² And so God's purpose is repeatedly stated as bringing all to "know" that he is Yhwh (6:7; 7:17; 8:6, 18, etc.). In particular, the hardening and knowing motifs blend (as noted above) at the purpose statement of 9:14–16, and again at God's final defeat of Egypt (14:4, 17–18; cf. 10:1–2) whereby Israel comes to revere him (14:31).

Finally, in light of these two motifs, God's glorification is developed by the tenth plague episode (see *Fig. 1*, above). Its chiasmic arrangement emphasizes the fulfillment of both 3:19–22 and the hardening motif, but even more the institution and especially interpretation of the significance (12:14–20) of Passover at its center. Israel's deliverance is expressed in terms of the worship that prescribes their relationship with their redeemer God. Furthermore, the start of the exodus (12:50–51) is bracketed by Paschal ordinances and Israel's corporate submission to the Abrahamic covenant (12:43–49; 13:1–16).²³ While the recounted events (12:29–36, 50–51) are roughly adjacent in narrative time, they are interspersed among nearly three chapters discourse devoted a foundational element of Israel's worship and to their covenantal worship toward Yhwh; Israel's worshipful purpose is the basic definition of their identity.²⁴ This also brings the theme of glorification back around to the creation of chapter 14, where God glorifies himself by delivering his new humanity of

²⁰ John D. Currid, "Why Did God Harden Pharaoh's Heart?" *BRev* 9 (Nov./Dec. 1993): 51; cf. Greenberg, "Thematic," 153; Isbell, *Function*, 38-39.

²¹ Isbell, 40, emphasis original.

²² Walter Brueggemann, "Pharaoh as Vassal: A Study of a Political Metaphor," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 35.

²³ On the liturgical features of 4:24–26 in connection with Passover (cf. נָתַע, 4:25; 11:1; 12:22) see Geza Vermes, "Circumcision and Exodus IV 24–26," in *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (rev. 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill: 1964), 179-90.

²⁴ Cf. עָבַד, 3:12; 4:22; 7:16, etc.; זָבַח, 3:18; 5:3; 8:8, 25–29; 10:25; 12:27, etc.

Israel. Therefore, through its use of interrelated doxological elements, the narrative presents the exodus as inaugurating a new creation that is defined by worship, at the center of which is God's new humanity, with which the plunder motif and the mixed multitude of 12:38 are also intertwined.

C. The Plunder of Egypt and the Mixed Multitude of 12:38

1. *The Plunder of Egypt and the Exodus*

Initially, as George Coats remarks, “instructions [in 3:21–22] for despoiling the Egyptians after notation of the Pharaoh’s response to the plagues in vs. 20 seem out of place.”²⁵ The relative prominence of the plunder motif is rather remarkable, but was problematic for ancient commentators.²⁶ As Yehuda Radday asks, “Why is it, unique in the entire Hebrew Bible, repeated almost word for word within eight consecutive chapters?”²⁷ Yet as attested in various biblical traditions, plundering a defeated enemy is a standard ANE military practice, which is clearly the meaning of the motif as seen in the dispersal throughout the narrative of נצל, the term used of Israel’s plunder of Egypt.²⁸

In its first occurrence at the outset of the burning bush theophany, God will “deliver” (נצל, 3:8) his people because he knows (ידע, v. 7) their suffering. And in 3:21–22, God announces that the Egyptians’ identification of Israel with himself (אתחנן העם בעיני מצרים) (נתתי, v. 21; cf. 11:3) will result in their “plundering” (נצל) Egypt when he is victorious against Pharaoh (ונצלתם את מצרים, v. 22).²⁹ Throughout the narrative, then, when God is

²⁵ “Despoiling the Egyptians,” *VT* 18 (1968): 450.

²⁶ Ancient commentators worried that borrowing (שאל, v. 22; cf. 11:2; 12:35) riches that went unreturned constituted an unethical act of theft; see Childs, *Exodus*, 175; Yehuda Radday, “The Spoils of Egypt,” in *ASTI 12* (ed. G. Larsson; Leiden: Brill, 1983), 127. However, many modern scholars recognize that the basic meaning of שאל is ‘to ask’; without other considerations it contains no connotations of borrowing, nor does the context hint at such a pretext (Greenberg, *Understanding*, 86; Childs, *Exodus*, 175; Stuart, *Exodus*, 124–25, etc.).

²⁷ “Spoils,” 127.

²⁸ E.g. Gen 14:16; Josh 22:8; Judg 8:24–28; Pss 68:11–14; 105:36–38; 1 Kgs 10:25 (wherein Solomon’s tribute comprises בסקר, וזהב, and של מות in the same order as is Exod 3:22; 12:35; though some Grk mss. of 12:35 transpose χρυσός and ἀργυρός [Propp, *Exodus*, 364]); 2 Chr 20:24–25. Cf. Childs, *Exodus*, 177; John Van Seters, *The life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus–Numbers* (CBET 10; Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993), 98.

²⁹ Cf. Greenberg, *Understanding*, 168; contra Lawrence E. Frizzell, “‘Spoils from Egypt,’ Between Jews and Gnostics,” in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World* (ed. Wendy E. Hellerman; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 385 (cf. *Jub.* 48:18–19; *Mos.* 1. 140–41). Given the doxological tone of the exodus narrative, it is noteworthy is that these spoils are eventually

the subject of נצַל, he is *delivering* his people, who are his spoils of victory in his contest against Pharaoh and Egypt's (other) gods (5:23; 6:6; 12:27). Likewise when Israel is the subject of נצַל, they are *plundering* Egypt as a result of God's victory on their behalf.

Thus the motif is reiterated in 11:1–3 during the introduction to the final plague, and then fulfilled afterwards in 12:35–38. However, 12:35–38 spans two pericopae, and the antecedent language of *Israel's* plundering only occur in its first half, in verses 35–36. Therefore, I argue that verses 35–38 occupy a key structural position for the larger narrative, and comprise not just Israel's plunder but also Yhwh's, wherein lies the mixed multitude's significance.

2. *God's Plunder of Egypt and the Mixed Multitude*

Exodus 12:34–39 is a hitherto unrecognized chiasmic hinge device that spans two pericopae.

TENTH PLAGUE AND CONCLUSION OF THE PLAGUE CYCLE (12:29–36)	
Unleavened dough and baking equipment	v. 34
Israel's plunder of the Egyptians	vv. 35–36
SUMMARY OF PLAGUE CYCLE (12:37–42)	
God's plunder of Egypt	vv. 37–38
Baking of unleavened dough into bread	v. 39

Figure 2: Chiasmic Hinge in Exodus 12:34–39

This hinge connects the last lines of the plague cycle to the larger exodus narrative, and segues from Israel's plunder of the Egyptians to God's plunder of Egypt. The final pericope of the cycle records the people's taking their unleavened dough (in accordance with Paschal ordinances) and plundering the Egyptians as per 3:21–22 (cf. 11:2–3) as they depart, concluding with the summative *wayyiqtol* וַיִּנְצַלוּ (vv. 34–36). Then, the next pericope opens with the phrase that typically marks the major stages of Israel's journey to Sinai, "And [they] journeyed from [מִיִּסְעוֹ...מִ],"³⁰ begins transitioning from the cycle to the larger narrative by cataloguing all that came out of Egypt (vv. 37–38), and finally revisits the unleavened dough whose baking bridges Passover and exodus (v. 39).³⁰ The parallelism of this structure entails that verses 37–38 catalogue plunder in the same way as verses 35–36, but since Israel is now an item in the list, the most elegant interpretation is what it catalogues is *God's* plunder. This

used in the construction of the tabernacle (Exod 35:22–24, 29; 36:2–7; although also in Israel's idolatrous worship of the golden calf in 32:3–4; cf. Meyers, *Exodus*, 60).

³⁰ Patterson, "Victory," 44.

fits the context, wherein Israel's deliverance marks God's victory, and the narrative repeatedly emphasizes that God's defeat of Pharaoh and the revelation of his glory are the reciprocal of Israel's redemption.

Therefore, bracketed by unleavened bread references is first Israel's plunder and then God's. And God's plunder is not a repetition of Israel's newfound articles, but the bringing out of Israel themselves and their infrastructure, namely, the בני־ישראל and also (וגם) the עֶרֶב רֶב, along with flocks, herds, and large amounts of livestock (vv. 37–38). The narrator conspicuously includes non-Israelites who like the “sons of Israel” have come to revere Yhwh as a result of his display of his power.

Moreover, by way of occupying a key position in its structure, verses 35–38 are also *thematically* key to the larger narrative. The hinge and particularly the transitional pericope starting in verses 37–38 fulfills 3:19–22, sits within a doxological context and marks the first stages of Israel's deliverance, thereby tying together the theme of God's glorification and the creation motif. And the confluence here is more formal than that in chapter 14, due to the Paschal elements to either side.

So without explaining why it should be the case, the narrator makes a point to locate representatives of the nations within this structural and thematic nexus of the larger narrative. At the moment of their deliverance, God's people comprises Israelites and non-Israelites (*i.e.*, representatives of “the nations”), who are his spoils won from Egypt. The plague cycle concludes and exodus begins with the mixed multitude in 12:38, where Israel and the nations are unified in a context of worship in the first step to the institution of Israel as a nation upon Sinai. Leading into chapter 14, the formation of this people is God's signature upon his new act of creation at the climax of the exodus narrative.

D. Summary

In both the plague cycle and the larger narrative of chapters 3–14, the narrator's account of Israel's exodus emphasizes God's glorification and his creative act in delivering Israel from Egypt. He blends liturgical elements and motifs of creation, hardening and knowing, and also structures the narrative in a way that clearly interprets the deliverance of Israel as a new creational event that brings glory to God's name, and characterizes Israel most fundamentally as his people of worship. Within this, the summary of the plague cycle in the pericope of 12:37–42 is what connects the glorification, creation and Israel's worshipful identity in the plague cycle with those same elements in the larger narrative. As part of this

transition, the hinge device in verses 34–39 shows that just as Israel plunders the Egyptians, so too God victoriously plunders Israel from Pharaoh.

The mixed multitude of 12:38 thus marks an implicit instance of Israel-nations unification that is unargued, unexplained, and unassuming. The narrator simply supplies as a given that God’s prize of Israel was made up of both Israelites and non-Israelites who were united in and as worship of him. As his single people, they are together the expression of his new creation. Therefore, by his mention of the mixed multitude, in 12:37–38 the narrator interprets the most formative event in Israel’s history as an instance of Israel-nations unification that is characterized in terms of worship and new creation.

As stated at the outset, this is unfortunately a comparatively tenuous example of Israel-nations unification to begin the study, with the various relevant features permeating chapters 3–14, but nevertheless significant in its implications. On this note, the act of creation in Israel’s exodus indirectly anticipates that in 1 Kings 8. Following the denouement of chapter 14, Moses sings of God’s guiding Israel to his “holy dwelling” upon “the mountain of your inheritance” (15:13, 17). This reference to Zion intones that the eventual construction of the temple—at some indeterminate point in future—will mark the conclusion of the exodus. That is, for the narrator, the exodus is complete when the temple is complete.³¹ As Nahum Sarna states, “The departure from Egypt cannot be isolated from the era that it inaugurated and that came to a close with King Solomon’s erection of the Temple in Jerusalem...the building of the Temple is conceived as being the culmination of God’s great acts of redemption that began with the Exodus.”³² So there a connection exists between the instance of Israel-nations unification in 12:37–38 and that in 1 Kings 8:41–43.

II. 1 Kings 8:41–43

As noted above in Chapter 1, 1 Kings 8 relates the dedication of the temple, with the centerpiece of Solomon’s prayer of dedication. In turn, the center of the prayer is a series of seven petitions made to God, whose fulfillment marks the completion of the temple and fulfillment of its purpose. And among these petitions in 8:41–43 is one for non-Israelites who come to venerate Israel’s God. Scholars sometimes pass off verses 41–43 as representative of

³¹ Durham, *Exodus*, 208-9; cf. Stuart, *Exodus*, 361; pace David Noel Freedman “Temple Without Hands,” in *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times: Proceedings of Colloquium in Honor of the Centennial of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute* (ed. Avraham Biran; Jerusalem: Jerusalem Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1981), 21-29.

³² *Exploring*, 101. For the relationship of the Tabernacle to the temple, see Victor Hurowitz, “The Priestly Account of Building the Tabernacle,” *JAOS* 105 (1985): 21-30.

so-called universalistic traditions, but without extensive analysis: Why should non-Israelites share in the dedication of Israel's temple? Their relative prominence and connection to the temple in Solomon's prayer suggests a deeper logic at work.

A. Literary Structures of the Solomon Narrative and the Temple Dedication

Scholars also agree on the concentric shape of the Solomon narrative of 1 Kings 1–11, with construction of the temple in chapters 6–8 roughly at its center.³³ The most complete and convincing analysis is that of John Olley, who demonstrates complementary, overlapping chiasms which at once highlight the Deuteronomist's critical evaluation of Solomon throughout and the completion of the temple.³⁴

³³ E.g. K. Lawson Younger Jr., "The Figurative Aspect and the Contextual Method in the Evaluation of the Solomonic Empire (1 Kings 1–11)," in *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of 40 Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield* (ed. David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley E. Porter; JSOTSup 87; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 166–67; Jerome T. Walsh, *1 Kings* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1996), 14; Williams, "Once Again," 61–62; John W. Olley, "Pharaoh's Daughter, Solomon's Palace, and the Temple: Another Look at the Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 27 (2003): 355–69, esp. p. 364.

³⁴ Olley, "Pharaoh's," 364; similar is Walsh, *1 Kings*, 151. Olley, *ad loc.*, presents 7:13–8:66 (here *D'* and *E'*) as a single element (his *D'*), and has only one central panel of 7:1–12, but the bulk of 7:13–8:66 plus the joint thematic prominence of the temple justify my amendment. For the Deuteronomist's criticism of Solomon, see Bezalel Porten, "The Structure and Theme of the Solomon Narrative (1 Kings 3–11)," *HUCA* 38 (1967): 97; Kim Ian Parker, "Repetition as a Structuring Device in 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 42 (1988): 27; Marc Zvi Brettler, "The Structure of 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 49 (1991): 87–88, 96–97; Burke O. Long, *1 Kings: With an Introduction to Historical Literature* (FOTL 9; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans 1984), 58; David S. Williams, "Once Again: The Structure of the Narrative of Solomon's Reign," *JSOT* 86 (1999): 61–62; J. Daniel Hays, "Has the Narrator Come to Praise Solomon or to Bury Him? Narrative Subtlety in 1 Kings 1–11," *JSOT* 28 (2003): 174; cf. Michael Avioz, "The Characterization of Solomon in Solomon's Prayer (1 Kings 8)," *BN* 126 (2005): 19–28.

- A DAVIDIC SUCCESSION AND REMOVAL OF OPPOSITION (chaps. 1–2)
 - Pharaoh’s daughter:
no temple for sacrifices and incense (3:1–5)
 - *Yhwh appears to Solomon (3:5–15): wisdom, riches, and long life*
- B WISDOM USED FOR THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS (3:16–5:14)
- C PREPARATIONS FOR BUILDING THE TEMPLE (5:15–32)
 - *Yhwh speaks to Solomon (6:11–13): temple to be built, Yhwh’s presence with Israel*
- D TEMPLE BUILDING (chap. 6)
 - E SOLOMON AND PHARAOH’S DAUGHTER’S PALACES** (7:1–12)
 - D’ TEMPLE FURNISHINGS AND ARK (7:13–51)
 - E’ TEMPLE DEDICATION** (chap. 8)
 - *Yhwh appears to Solomon (9:1–9): warning relating to temple and removal from land*
- C’ AFTER BUILDING THE TEMPLE (9:1–23)
 - Pharaoh’s daughter:
temple for sacrifices and incense (9:24–25)
- B’ WISDOM AND RICHES USED FOR SOLOMON’S OWN BENEFIT (9:26–11:8);
cf. 11:8: “incense and sacrifices to their gods”
 - *Yhwh speaks to Solomon (11:9–13): kingdom to be divided after Solomon’s death*
- A’ SOLOMONIC SUCCESSION AND YHWH BRINGS OPPOSITION (11:14–43)

Figure 3: Literary Structure of the Solomon Narrative

The narrative builds toward a pair of competing central panels (*E* and *E'*, hinged with the second layer of D/D') that compete as its climax by highlighting its two main foci. Both of these candidate “centers” also have concentric structures that accentuate their importance.

The panel of 7:1–12 threatens to displace the temple dedication with Solomon’s failure to “walk in Yhwh’s ways” (cf. 2:3–4; 3:14; 6:11–13; 9:4–9; 11:33).³⁵

- [1 Transition: Yhwh’s ‘house’ to Solomon’s (6:38b–7:1a)]
- 2 Solomon’s house (7:1–8a)
- X The house for Pharaoh’s daughter (similar to Solomon’s) (7:8b)
- 2’ Details of the building materials for Solomon’s house (7:9–12)
- [1’ Transition: Solomon’s ‘court’ to Yhwh’s (7:12)]

Figure 4: Literary Structure of the First Solomon Narrative Center

“From the start,” Olley observes, “there is the hint of weakness with the mention of Pharaoh’s daughter, and the placing of Solomon’s and her palaces at the centre provides a questioning of Solomon’s priorities.”³⁶ Evaluation of Solomon aside, however, 1 Kings 1–11 equally focuses upon the construction of the temple.

³⁵ From Olley, “Pharaoh’s,” 358, 367.

³⁶ Ibid., 368; cf. Walsh, *1 Kings*, 105–6.

Following the tense intrigue of chapters 1–2 and the more sedate narrative of chapter 3–5, the plot halts for Solomon’s building activities. Twenty years of narrative time (with the temple taking seven years to build; 6:38–7:1) are compressed into two chapters of discourse, forcing the reader to linger in the vicinity of the temple.³⁷ An account like that of chapters 6–8 is not uncommon in ANE royal narratives, including elements such as the king’s dreaming during an overnight visit to a holy site, the employment of a master builder and the best available materials, the inclusion of the assembly and dedication, the deity’s indwelling of the temple, and blessing of future stability.³⁸

The dedication likewise corresponds to standard narrative patterns in parallel ANE accounts, as in the importance of the divine presence, recounting of prayers, and the description of celebration.³⁹ Chapter 8 constitutes one of the longest episodes in the Bible, and unlike chapters 6–7 the narrative time slows almost to match the discourse. Like its counterpart in 7:1–12, the temple dedication also possesses a concentric structure:⁴⁰

³⁷ Walsh, *1 Kings*, 108.

³⁸ Arvid S. Kapelrud, “Two Great Rulers and Their Temple Buildings,” in *Text and Theology: Studies in Honour of Prof. Dr. Theol. Magne Saebø*, (ed. Arvid Tangberg; Oslo: Verbum, 1994), 136–41. See Hurowitz, “Priestly,” 21–30; idem, *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in the Light of Mesopotamian and North-West Semitic Writings* (JSOTSup 115; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 110 for parallels between the construction of the temple and Tabernacle.

³⁹ Hurowitz, *I Have Built*, 273–77; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 291.

⁴⁰ Adapted from Gary N. Knoppers, “Prayer and Propaganda: Solomon’s Dedication of the Temple and the Deuteronomist’s Program,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 233–34; cf. Long, *1 Kings*, 94; Walsh, *1 Kings*, 108; Mulder, *1 Kings*, 1:403; Gina Hens-Piazza, *1–2 Kings* (Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries; Nashville: Abingdon, 2006), 75, who likewise sets apart the transference of the ark with the sacrifices as a ritualistic tier within the structure. The episodic introduction and coda of verses 1–3 and 65–66, respectively, define the limits of the passage. See Knoppers, *ad loc.* (cf. also Walsh, *1 Kings*, 112–13, 152–56) for verbal parallels that supports his structure.

1	Assembly (8:1–3)
2	Sacrifice and transference of the ark (8:4–11)
3	Solomon’s address to God regarding his legacy (8:12–13)
4	Blessing (8:14–21)
5	Solomon’s stance (8:22)
6	Solomon’s address to God regarding his dynasty (8:23–26)
7	Invocation (8:27–30)
8	Three petitions (8:31–36)
X	Generalizing petition (8:37–40)
8'	Three petitions (8:41–51)
7'	Invocation (8:52–53)
5'	Solomon’s stance (8:54)
4'	Blessing (8:55–61)
2'	Sacrifice (8:62–64)
1'	Assembly (8:65–66)

Figure 5: Literary Structure of the Second Solomon Narrative Center

The symmetry of Solomon’s described actions (facing and addressing the assembly, turning to the altar for prayer, and returning to face and again speak to Israel) flanks verses 23–53, so that “the literary architecture suggests a centering on the prayers offered to Yahweh.”⁴¹ The center of both prayer and episode are the liturgical model of the seven petitions in verses 31–51. Each comprises the same elements and in the same order, namely, a hypothetical situation and its cause, repentance or petition, an emphatic supplication (“may you yourself hear...”) of the form [מכון שבתך] השמים תשמע ואתה תשמע (v. 45 השמים ושמעת), and finally the request that God acts or forgives.⁴²

The petitions assume their circumstances will come to pass, and their presupposition of sin and disobedience is a foil to the obedience just emphasized in verses 23–26.⁴³ This is in keeping with the deuteronomic character of the narrative (one of the most overtly deuteronomic portions of 1 Kings), insofar as scholars have noted parallels to verses 31–51 in Deuteronomy 28:36–36, 58–61, 64–68; 29:17–27; and 30:1–10.⁴⁴ The fifth petition in verses

⁴¹ Long, *1 Kings*, 94–95. In defense of a 3 + 1 + 3 structure for verses 31–51, Knoppers, “Prayer,” 236–37 argues that the medial petition begins specific but becomes generalized, whereas the other six each pertain to specific circumstances; by contrast, Long, *1 Kings*, 102–3 argues that a 3 + 3 + 1 structure is entailed by the rhetorical prominence of the seventh petition, as it is nearly twice the length of the previous petitions and contains an amalgamation of circumstantial clauses (vv. 46–48) heaped with intricate wordplay.

⁴² Knoppers, “Prayer,” 236–37.

⁴³ D. J. Wiseman, *1 and 2 Kings: Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Leicester: InterVarsity, 1993), 120; Iain W. Provan, *1 and 2 Kings* (New Bible Commentary; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 82–83, 80.

⁴⁴ Cf. De Vries, *1 Kings*, 121, who also draws attention to the cultic legislation character of vv. 31–51 (cf. Lev 1:2; 2:1; ad loc., 126); Provan, *1 and 2 Kings*, 81; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 292; Volkmar Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings: A Continental Commentary* (trans. Anselm Hagedorn; Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 96; Leithart, *Kings*, 68.

41–43 is the exception, which instead begins with an exceptive clause that gives a place to “the foreigner [נכרִי]” (v. 41) within the temple dedication. But in addition to the foregoing analysis, an overview of the temple’s significance is needed for understanding its importance to foreigners.

B. The Temple in the Solomon Narrative

1. *New Creation and the Temple*

In 1 Kings 6–8, Solomon’s temple is designed as a microcosm of creation, and is set upon the temple mount at the symbolic center of the world. As such, it therefore incorporates elements of creation, placing them in proper relationship to one another.⁴⁵ As Walter Brueggemann describes, the temple provides “assurances of *cosmic order*, and consolidates and legitimates concrete *political power*.... In its most comprehensive symbolization, the temple replicates and embodies cosmic order.”⁴⁶ Terrence Fretheim suggests that even the wisdom with which the temple is constructed (cf. 7:14) mirrors that with which God created the cosmos.⁴⁷

The temple’s function as a microcosm is borne out by the use of creation symbolism in its architecture and furnishings.⁴⁸ Both its structure and its location atop the temple mount represent the cosmic mountain, upon which the Garden of Eden was situated.⁴⁹ It is at

⁴⁵ Carol L. Meyers, “The Israelite Empire: In Defense of King Solomon,” *Michigan Quarterly Review* 22 (1983): 422; Younger, “Figurative,” 168, 171.

⁴⁶ Walter Brueggemann, *Solomon: Israel’s Ironic Icon of Human Achievement* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 2005), 87, emphasis original; cf. Younger, “Figurative,” 168, remarking that in the ANE “the foundation of a new capital is the apex among the actions of the king as creator”, and “can be compared, for its symbolic value, only to the works of basic creation owed to gods.”

⁴⁷ Terence E. Fretheim, *First and Second Kings* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 41.

⁴⁸ On the relationship of the temple to parallels in other ANE temples, Provan, *1 and 2 Kings*, 68 clarifies that while “popular Israelite religion was indeed deeply influenced (the authors of Kings would say corrupted) by Canaanite religion”, 1 Kings 6–7 gives no warrant for suggesting that resemblance between the symbolism of the temple and ANE analogues reflects any syncretism. If anything, such symbols were “from the start re-contextualized so that they embody the claim that it was in fact the LORD... who was the establisher and maintainer of the cosmic order” (emphasis original; cf. Hens-Piazza, *1–2 Kings*, 72, who suggests any connection would be polemic). For ANE symbolism in Israel’s temple, see Victor Hurowitz, “YHWH’s Exalted House: Aspects of the Design and Symbolism of Solomon’s Temple,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. John Day; LHB/OTS 422; London: Clark International, 2005), 69–88.

⁴⁹ G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957), 108–9, 140, who further suggests the cosmic mountain is again mimicked in the elevated inner sanctuary (6:16–20); Hurowitz, “Exalted,” 82. See further R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965); Loren R. Fisher, “Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament,” *VT* 15 (1965): 313–24; Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain*

Solomon's temple that heaven and earth meet, so that the heavenly and terrestrial spheres coincide within its structure.⁵⁰ The sea in 7:23–26, which corresponds to the Babylonian and Canaanite source of life and chaos, is contained, stilled and dwarfed within the temple.⁵¹ Later, in Ezekiel's eschatological temple, the sea is replaced by a river (Ezek 47:1–2) that is “a source of fertility, healing and life...parallel to [and which] symbolized the river that flowed out of the garden of Eden (Gen. 2.10).”⁵² Accordingly, since Jerusalem lacked a natural river, the sea (1 Kgs 7:23–26) together with the mobile basins (simulating the flow of water; vv. 27–39) “symbolize the life-giving river flowing forth from the garden of God.”⁵³

Within this Edenic reproduction, palm tree carvings (תְּמָרֵרוּתָהּ, 6:29, 32, 35; 7:36) echo the trees of Eden, and are associated with the only occurrences of *cherubim* (apart from the mercy seat in 6:23–28), thereby symbolizing “a current motif of great age: the Tree of Life with its antithetical guardians, known all over the Near East from the fourth millennium to the first millennium B.C.”⁵⁴ Similarly, the decorated capitals which cap the pillars set at the temple entrance identify them as stylized trees, which may well symbolize the iconic trees at the center of Eden (Gen 2:9b).⁵⁵

Finally, the Deuteronomist confirms the preeminence of the temple in 8:3–11, with the transference of the ark and the cloud of God's glory filling the temple (cf. Exod 13:21–22; 14:19; 40:34–38). The ark is subordinated to the temple simply through its being presented as needing a fixed home, implying that it “served only a penultimate role, until a ‘place for the ark’ [8:21] could be built.”⁵⁶ Therefore, following this scene, the ark disappears from the book of Kings, not even receiving mention among the items seized by

in Canaan and the Old Testament (HSM 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), etc.

⁵⁰ Robert Jan Van Pelt, *Tempel van de Wereld: De Kosmische Symboliek van de Tempel van Salomo* (Leiden: Utrecht, 1984), 46-50.

⁵¹ Wright, *Biblical*, 141; Hurowitz, “Exalted,” 80-82; Hens-Piazza, *1–2 Kings*, 72.

⁵² Hurowitz, “Exalted,” 80-81.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵⁴ John Strange, “The Idea of Afterlife in Ancient Israel: Some Remarks on the Iconography in Solomon's Temple,” *PEQ* 117 (1985): 35 (see here, 36-38 regarding פְּטוּרֵי צִצִּיִּים in 6:29, 32, 35; 7:29, 36); cf. Wright, *Biblical*, 138.

⁵⁵ Hurowitz, “Exalted,” 84. The sturdiness of the pillars as well as their inscriptions, בְּעֵז וְכִיֵּן (7:21, which may elliptically announce ‘God will establish *this temple* by *his* might’), further underscore the temple's embodiment of the stability of creation (Fretheim, *Kings*, 41).

⁵⁶ Knoppers, “Prayer,” 242.

Nebuchadnezzar in 2 Kings 25.⁵⁷ This is untroubling (cf. Jer 3:16; 2 Chr 35:3) because it has become theologically redundant, having served its purpose; God has taken “his rest in the temple,” which “itself is seen as the ‘throne’ of Yahweh.”⁵⁸ Solomon’s concluding words of the dedication, that “not one word has failed from all [Yhwh’s] good promise which he promised through Moses his servant” (1 Kgs 8:56), entail that for the Deuteronomist Moses’ words were unfulfilled until the temple’s completion. Add to this the reference to “our fathers” in the past tense, which is a foil to “us” in the present (v. 57), and the completion of the temple “reflects a periodization of history. The dedication of the temple inaugurates a new epoch, different from the epoch which began with Israel’s ancestors.”⁵⁹

The completion and dedication of the temple, therefore, marks a creation event within Israel’s history. In this newly inaugurated temple era, God’s immanence brings blessing and enables Israel’s obedience (vv. 58, 61). And the ultimate purpose of God’s presence is “in order that all peoples of the earth might know that Yhwh is God; there is no other” (v. 60).

2. God’s Glorification and the Temple: Israel’s House of Prayer for Non-Israelites

The dedication is established as a liturgical context by the sacrifices, the transference of the ark, the theophany, and Solomon’s *berakoth* and invocations. But these elements are subordinate to Solomon’s prayer itself, which is central to the entire episode, whereby it “becomes a unifying symbol in Israel’s worship.”⁶⁰ Similarly, throughout the episode the temple—which in Deuteronomy 12 is to be a place of centralized sacrificial worship—is characterized throughout by the house-of-prayer trope. So by highlighting prayer as the primary liturgical element of the temple dedication, within this context the Deuteronomist instates prayer as the consummate act of worship.⁶¹

“All peoples of the earth” in verse 60 are represented within the seven central petitions of Solomon’s prayer by “the foreigner [הַנִּכְרִי]” in 8:41–43. Solomon requests that

⁵⁷ Cf. Knoppers, “Prayer,” 242; Leithart, *Kings*, 67.

⁵⁸ Leithart, *Kings*, 67; cf. Hurowitz, *I Have Built*, 267, commenting, “If the dedication of a house is accomplished by its builder taking up residence in it [cf. Deut 20:5–7; 28:30], so a temple, which is primarily conceived of as a divine dwelling place, is dedicated by its divine resident taking up residence within it.”

⁵⁹ Knoppers, “Prayer,” 250. Similarly, the timing of the dedication during the Feast of Booths (which celebrates the ingathering of the harvest, cf. Exod 23:16; 34:22) as opposite to Pentecost in the third month may subtly indicate that “the temple completes the process of maturation begun at Sinai” (Leithart, *Kings*, 68).

⁶⁰ Knoppers, “Prayer,” 246.

⁶¹ Cf. Knoppers, “Prayer,” 245–46, also commenting, “Prayer does not seem inherently to be any less mythological or any more clearly a sign of submission than sacrifice” (ad loc., 231).

God himself would hear them (אָתָּה תִשְׁמַע, v. 43), since the nations come to the temple for the purpose of prayer. The inclusion of foreigners' prayers together with those of Israel entails that, with the temple's completion, the nations are to participate in Israel's worship of Yhwh.

Yet the foreigner appears in the fifth petition, an unremarkable position within the heart of Solomon's prayer (vv. 31–51). The context does not prepare the reader to expect that concerns other than Israel's own would be relevant for the temple. Likewise, regarding the form of the petition, whereas in the other petitions Israel's prayer are occasioned by calamity or sin, verses 41–43 uniquely lack a specified circumstance for the nations' coming to Jerusalem (cf. וְגַם, v. 41).⁶² Solomon's prayer simply states that the nations' coming results from their hearing of “your great name and your mighty hand and your outstretched arm” (v. 42), the only apparent precondition being the fact of the temple's existence.⁶³ Thus, non-Israelites are unobtrusively intrinsic to the significance of Israel's temple.

Finally, Solomon requests that God heed the prayers of the foreigner “in order that all the peoples of the earth might know your name in order to revere you, just like your people Israel” (v. 43; cf. v. 60). The express purpose of the nations' participation in Israel's worship is not universalism as such, but rather all humanity's glorification of God. And this joint worship is what the Deuteronomist selects to prove the legitimacy of the temple, whereby God heeds the foreigner's prayers “in order that they [all the peoples of the earth] might know that your name is upon this house which I [Solomon] built” (v. 43). The foreigner's worship at the temple is assumed as a present reality—and not a future hope—in the life of the temple.⁶⁴

C. Summary

Given the role of non-Israelites in the exodus, their placement by the Deuteronomist within Solomon's dedication of his temple may be unsurprising or even expected. Despite the

⁶² Cf. Fretheim, *Kings*, 51.

⁶³ Cf. Exod 3:19–20; 6:1; Deut 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8; 28:10; Ps 136:10–16; see Mulder, *1 Kings*, 437; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 286; Leithart, *Kings*, 68. Verse 42 in LXX^{B, Luc.} omits וְאֵת־יָדְךָ וְאֵת־זְרֹעְךָ due to haplography (De Vries, *1 Kings*, 118; Mulder, *1 Kings*, 436). The text also agrees with its parallel in 2 Chr 6:32–33, except for in v. 32 changing the explanatory clause of 1 Kgs 8:42a (כִּי יִשְׁמַעוּן אֶת־שִׁמְךָ הַגָּדוֹל וְאֵת־יָדְךָ וְאֵת־זְרֹעְךָ הַנְּטוּיָהּ) to an advantage clause (לְמַעַן). In v. 43, De Vries, *1 Kings*, 118 prefers Grk (G^{LB}) πάντες οἱ λαοί, reasoning that MT כָּל־עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ is pleonastic, but cf. v. 60.

⁶⁴ Eep Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer: Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of 1 Kings 8:14–61* (trans. G. Runia-Deenick; CBET3; Kampen: Kok Pharos 1993), 208; Mulder, *1 Kings*, 436.

Deuteronomist's overriding interest in critiquing Solomon, within his account he likewise centralizes Solomon's temple and its significance. In terms of both physical and literary architecture, the narrative presents the temple as a microcosm of creation and its dedication as an act of new creation that completes Israel's exodus and begins a new era of history.

Furthermore, worship is the *sine qua non* of the temple. Of course the temple's liturgical primacy associates it with worship, but more than this its dedication is liturgically structured, with Solomon's prayer presented as an inaugural paradigm for worship. Insofar as the temple stands not just for itself but is a microcosm of creation, here the Deuteronomist presupposes that worship is intrinsic to creation.

Finally, the inclusion of the foreigner within Solomon's central prayer also makes the temple dedication another unassuming instance of Israel-nations unification. The Deuteronomist does not argue for the nations' participation in Israel's worship of their God, but does articulate its liturgical, cosmic aim that all should revere Yhwh as Israel does. Israel and the nations are to be unified specifically in joint worship of Israel's God at the temple, and thereby fulfill both its purpose and completion. And what finally demonstrates the legitimacy of the temple is the scale of its effect on the world: It is a microcosm of creation whose completion is expressed when Israel and the nations join together in worship of Yhwh to his glory (vv. 43, 60). Therefore, without elaboration, the Deuteronomist interprets Solomon's temple dedication as an act of new creation that is expressed in terms of Israel-nations unification and characterized by worship.

III. Isaiah 2:2–4 and 11:1–10

As mentioned in Chapter 1, because Isaiah 2:2–4 and its parallel in Micah 4:1–4 are famous for their universalism and visions of world peace, scholars rarely inquire into their underlying logic. But why in this double tradition do the nations enjoy Israel's prerogative of pilgrimage, and what is the relationship between this and the other features of the oracles? Moreover, due to their similarity, the oracles are often not extensively treated within their own prophetic and literary contexts. Furthermore, the full impact of Israel-nations unification in the oracles also partly depends on their function within their distinct respective prophetic contexts.

For the most part a reading of one occurrence uncovers the poetics for both, but here I begin with the Isaianic context. I provide a more extended analysis than necessary for just 2:2–4, since 11:1–10 contains another (less pronounced) instance of Israel-nations

unification—at least for *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–95; and Romans 15:7–13 (below)—and Isaiah 2:2–4; and 11:1–10 bracket the literary unit of chapters 2–12.

A. Historical and Literary Context of Isaiah 2:2–4 and 11:1–10

Isaiah 2:2–4 follows the second Isaianic superscription in 2:1, and begins the literary unit of chapters 2–12.⁶⁵ At the same time, 2:2–5 and chapters 2–12 are also informed and contextualized by chapter 1. The oracles of chapter 1 befit the Syro-Ephramite crisis recounted within chapters 2–12, in 7:1–8:18 (cf. 2 Kgs 16), and equally well the Assyrian crisis of Isaiah 36–39. However, in their final form they have been given a dehistoricized presentation that grants them “a new function within [the] literary context.”⁶⁶ Consequently, most scholars reckon that chapter 1 has been placed as the prologue and proleptic summary to both chapters 2–12 and the entire Isaianic corpus.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Cf. Christopher R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1–39* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1993), 23–24; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 171–72, 189 (against Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 30–31); James Limburg, “Swords to Plowshares: Texts and Contexts,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; vol. 1; VTSup 70/1; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1/1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 280; Landy, “Vision,” 318; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 163. Some scholars believe 2:1 introduces only 2:2–4(5) (though for differing and unsatisfying reasons; cf. Peter R. Ackroyd, “Isaia I–XII: Presentation of a Prophet,” in *Congress Volume: Göttingen, 1977* [ed. Walther Zimmerli; VTSup 29; Leiden: Brill, 1978], 32–33 n. 44; Wiklander, *Prophecy*, 94–96, 182–84; Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 28) or chaps. 2–4 (cf. John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1–39* [NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986], 114; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 3; idem, *Isaiah 1–39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* [FOTL 16; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996], 88); against this, see Andrew H. Bartelt, *The Book Around Immanuel: Style and Structure in Isaiah 2–12* (Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 4; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 229, 238; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 172.

Regarding unit delimitation, v. 5 is a hinge between the hope of what Israel can be (and will be in the future)—an invitation to obedience in contrast to the disobedience of chapter 1—and the imminent judgment resulting from their failure to obey in 2:6–3:26; so Wiklander, *Prophecy*, 94–96, 145, 182–84; Seitz, *Isaiah*, 29; J. A. Motyer, *Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC 18; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), 52; John T. Willis, “Isaiah 2:2–5 and the Psalms of Zion,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; vol. 1; VTSup 70/1; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1/1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 307–9. Based on its similarity to 1 Kgs 5:5; 2 Kgs 18:31; Isa 36:16, Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 51 contends that Mic 4:4 is original to the oracle. That would mean that the Isaianic usage intentionally curtails the oracle with its call to obedience in 2:5, which would heighten the contrast between Israel’s calling and its present condition (cf. Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 50).

⁶⁶ Childs, *Isaiah*, 16, condemns Sweeney’s attempt at formal refinement; cf. Seitz, *Isaiah*, 23; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 77; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 15, 41; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 183.

⁶⁷ Cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 61, 84–85; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 24, 30–31, 103 n. 1; idem, *Isaiah 1–39*, 44–45, 70; Klaus Koch “Damnation and Salvation: Prophetic Metahistory and the Rise of Eschatology in the Book of Isaiah,” *ExAud* 6 (1990): 6; Seitz, *Isaiah*, 24, 30–31; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 189; Childs, *Isaiah*, 11–12, 16, 28; Landy, “Vision,” 318 n. 3, etc.

Isaiah 1 opens with a trial or disputation convened by God against his people, who are who are full of iniquity (1:2–4).⁶⁸ The prophet equates their sin (מַשְׁחִיתִים, מַרְעִים, עוֹן, חַטָּא) (1:4) with rebellion (הֵם פָּשְׁעוּ בִי, v. 2; cf. סָרָה, v. 5), so that “the holiness of God [is] repudiated by a people whose entire life now reflects the exact opposite character [from his own].”⁶⁹ Accordingly, the telescoping language of verse 4 (בָּנִים, זֶרַע, עַם, גּוֹי) identifies relationally-distant Israel as those intended to be his household.⁷⁰

As a result, they are battered and bruised (vv. 5–6), with Jerusalem isolated and in decline (vv. 7–8); the appellation “daughter Zion”, which should recall all that is good and hopeful regarding Jerusalem, is instead starkly juxtaposed by its description as “a besieged city” (v. 8).⁷¹ The judgment of verses 4–9 climaxes when, in verse 9, Israel is warned that their rebellion will lead to their being all but annihilated.⁷² Because they have responded with superficial cultic observance (1:10–17), God threatens to close his eyes and ears to their prayers (1:15) and passes judgment: For Jerusalem’s infidelity, God will face off against his enemy Israel as Yhwh *Sabaoth* (1:24–28). The declamation “alas! [אֵיכָה]” beginning verse 21 introduces a speech which moves from lament regarding Jerusalem’s corruption to its cleansing judgment, wherein the contrastive promise of the future restoration of Zion in verses 26–27 is qualified by the surrounding announcement of annihilation for sinners.⁷³

In Isaiah 2–4, God’s judgment upon Israel and Jerusalem (2:6–4:1) is bracketed by oracles of hope (2:2–5; 4:2–6), indicating that God’s judgment is inevitable but not the final word.⁷⁴ However, this alternation shapes chapters 2–12 into a chiaroscuro, a pattern of

⁶⁸ See Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 66 for a description of the “trial” genre.

⁶⁹ Childs, *Isaiah*, 18–19.

⁷⁰ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 182.

⁷¹ Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 92.

⁷² כַּמַּעַט of MT 1:9 is lacking in the Grk but retained by the Targum, and is followed by Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah: A Commentary* (trans. Thomas H. Trapp; 3 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 1:20 correctly denouncing the tactic of reading כַּמַּעַט as modifying כַּסְדָּם *metri causa* in Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 14; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 180. While the remnant motif is often positive in Isaiah, here the emphasis is on Israel’s tragic reduction as the result of God’s judgment when they should have grown innumerable and uncountable (cf. Gen 15:5; 22:17).

⁷³ Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 84, 86.

⁷⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 172.

judgment punctuated by brief, bright moments of eschatological hope that scholars have endorsed since its discovery by Peter Ackroyd.⁷⁵

1:1–31	Judgment: God's <i>rib</i> against Israel (prologue and proleptic summary of Isa 2–12; 1–39; and 1–66)	
2:2–5	<i>Hope:</i> eschatological restoration of Zion (Israel-nations unification in worship)	
2:6–4:1	Judgment: devastation for idolatry	
4:2–6	<i>Hope:</i> eschatological restoration of a remnant and Zion	
5:1–30	Judgment: parable of the vineyard; six woes and judgment of uncreation = 3 + 3 + 1(?)	
6:1–13	<i>Denkschrift:</i> potential seventh woe (cf. 6:5); judgment of confirming the people's idolatry	
7:1–8:18	Historical narrative: judgment upon Ahaz's idolatrous rebellion (outworking of 6:9–10)	
8:19–22	Judgment: fulfillment of uncreation of 5:30	
8:23–9:6	<i>Hope:</i> God's righteous rule through a righteous Davidic king	
9:7–20	Judgment: condemnation of wickedness and arrogance	
10:1–4	Judgment: seventh woe = 3 + 3 + 1	
10:5–19	Judgment upon Assyria: indirect hope	
10:20–21	<i>"Hope":</i> restoration of a remnant] Judgment-tainted hope
10:22–23	Judgment: merely a remnant returns (cf. שׂוֹב, 10:22; 7:3)	
10:24–27	<i>"Hope":</i> God's imminent deliverance	
10:28–34	Judgment: advance of "Assyria"	
11:1–12:6	<i>Hope:</i> God's restoration of creation, Zion, humanity and Israel; doxology	

Figure 6: Literary Structure of Isaiah 1–12

Throughout, Israel and especially the Jerusalem leadership are guilty of idolatry and a corrupt cultus (2:6–8, 18–20; 3:3, etc.) and for rejecting God's wisdom in favor of their own autonomous, foolish "wisdom" (1:10, 23–26; 3:12b–15; 5:18–24, etc.).⁷⁶

This leads to the primary theme of Isaiah 2–12, namely, Jerusalem and Israel's pitiable condition due to their being under God's present judgment for their rebellion. In the so-called Song of the Vineyard (5:1–7), God invites Judah to ironically pass judgment upon themselves as God's lovingly cultivated but unfruitful vineyard. The parable segues into a series of six woe oracles (vv. 8–23), echoing the six days of creation in Genesis 1, which are followed by a profound scene of uncreation (presenting a 3 + 3 + 1 structure). For Israel, creation has reverted to darkness and the roaring sea (v. 30; cf. Gen 1:2).⁷⁷ Subsequently, in

⁷⁵ "Presentation," 45, passim; cf. William J. Dumbrell, "Worship in Isaiah 6," *RTR* 43 (1984): 5; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 173; Childs, *Isaiah*, 90, etc.

⁷⁶ Cf. William McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* (London: SCM, 1965), 65; Joseph Jensen, *The Use of tôrâ by Isaiah: His Debate with the Wisdom Tradition* (CBQMS 3; Washington: CBAA, 1973), 65–104; Craig Evans, "On Isaiah's Use of Israel's Sacred Tradition," *BZ* 30 (1986): 99; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 38–39.

⁷⁷ Cf. Watts, "New Exodus," 28.

chapter 6 Isaiah is charged with the pronouncement of God's judgment upon his people for their sins.⁷⁸

The seventh woe arrives at 10:4 (בְּכָל־זֹאת לֹא־שָׁב אִפּוֹ וְעוֹד יָדוֹ נְטוּיָה); cf. 5:25, presenting a larger, complementary 3 + 3 + 1 structure) as a result of Ahaz's rebellion (7:1–8:18).⁷⁹ The contrasting future hope of an ideal monarch in 8:23–9:6 is offset by “the present reality of Israel's persistent disobedience” (8:19–22; 9:7–10:35).⁸⁰ The cataclysmic consequences of the Jerusalem leadership's idolatrous trust in their own wisdom is that “they will look to the earth, but will see only distress and darkness, the gloom of anguish; and they will be thrust into thick darkness” (8:22; cf. 5:30).

The hopeful character of chapters 11–12 concludes the unit. However, its larger context is 10:5–12:6, so that the extended vision of future hope of chapters 11–12 is accentuated by their stark contrast to the foregoing extended picture of present judgment. Even amidst a note of future deliverance from Assyria in 10:20–27, the positive frame (vv. 20–21, 24–27) only qualifies the underscored central judgment: Whereas Israel had been “like the sand of the sea” (cf. Gen 15:5; 22:17), the sign of שָׂאֵר יְשׁוּבִים that originally demonstrated God's defeat of Israel's enemies (cf. 7:3) is turned against Israel with Assyria as God's instrument of judgment.⁸¹

Given this emphasis on Israel's experience of judgment, the sparse expressions of eschatological hope in chapters 1–12 shine more sharply against their dark background. On the one hand, Israel's rebellion is described *in nuce* by the introductory chapter 1. But then 2:2–5 answers—and combats the pervading theme—with an eschatological account of Zion's restoration (as does 11:1–10, below).

⁷⁸ Cf. Childs, *Isaiah*, 53. Whereas Isa 1:3–5 and the wisdom debate make clear *what* Israel fails to see, hear, and understand, “6:9–10 focuses on the fact *that* the people suffer deafness and blindness” (Geoffrey D. Robinson, “The Motif of Deafness and Blindness in Isaiah 6:9–10: A Contextual, Literary, and Theological Analysis,” *BBR* 8 (1998): 177).

⁷⁹ Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:196; cf. the refrain בְּכָל־זֹאת לֹא־שָׁב אִפּוֹ וְעוֹד יָדוֹ נְטוּיָה (5:25; 9:11, 16, 20), just prior to 5:30 and 10:4 (*ibid.*, 1:223).

⁸⁰ Childs, *Isaiah*, 90.

⁸¹ Cf. Watts, *Isaiah*, 154; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 271; Walter Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1–39* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 94–95; Childs, *Isaiah*, 95. Despite the translation of שָׂאֵר יְשׁוּבִים as σωθήσεται in v. 22, the Grk basically agrees with the MT in tone: “And though the people of Israel were like the sand of the sea, the remnant of them will be saved, for a comprehensive and decisive work with righteousness, since a decisive work God will do throughout the whole world” (vv. 22–23).

B. Isaiah 2:2–4

1. Eschatological New Creation, God's Glorification and Shalom in Isaiah 2:2–4*(//Micah 4:1–5)*

The restoration depicted in Isaiah 2:2–4 is both eschatological and New Creational.⁸² God will redeem Zion. But the nature of the offered hope (in juxtaposition to surrounding material) and the expression **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** in verse 2a entail that this redemption is eschatological, marking the consummation of history.⁸³

The New Creation element is similarly brief but pronounced. Within this eschatological setting, the prophet speaks of the establishment of Jerusalem *qua* Zion as “the head mountain” (v. 2a), rather than merely anticipating the restoration of Jerusalem’s political fortunes.⁸⁴ The former hill will be elevated (whether literally or figuratively) as the cosmic mountain, with the streaming nations resembling the primeval rivers of Eden (Gen 2:10–14; cf. Isa 33:21; Ps 46:5; 65:10) in “an impressive metaphor” by which “the nations [flow] back to their source” (*i.e.*, prior to the divisions of Genesis 3; 11:1–9).⁸⁵

⁸² The minor differences between Isa 2:2–4 and Mic 4:1–3 include **עַמִּים רַבִּים כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם וְהַלְכוּ** versus **עַמִּים רַבִּים וְהַלְכוּ גּוֹיִם רַבִּים** in Isa 2:2b–3a||Mic 4:1b–2a; and **בֵּין עַמִּים רַבִּים בֵּין הַגּוֹיִם וְהוֹכִיחַ** versus **עַמִּים רַבִּים וְהוֹכִיחַ** in 2:4||4:3. The main (small) grammatical difference is the forward placement of **הָרַר בֵּית־יְהוָה יְהוָה**—the subject of **נִבְוֶן**—perhaps for rhetorical emphasis (2:2||4:1). However, the double tradition raises the issue of authorship. There is a general consensus that either both of the original prophets each independently employed an earlier and probably well-known oracle (e.g. Allen, *Books*, 244; Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 52; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 115), or that the same was done instead by the redactors of Isaiah and Micah (e.g. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 166; Willis, “Psalms,” 311–13; Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 24E; New York: Doubleday, 2000], 425; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 178–79). A few scholars view the Isaianic text as original, with Micah borrowing (Peter R. Ackroyd, “Note on Isaiah 2:1,” *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 320–321; idem, “Presentation,” 32–33 n. 44; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:86–87). For an exhaustive comparison of Isa 2:2–4||Mic 4:1–3f. in the MT, Grk, *Targum* and *Peshirim* see William McKane, *The Book of Micah: Introduction and Commentary* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 121–26.

⁸³ So Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 53; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:84, 88; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 190; Archibald L. H. M. van Wieringen, “The Day Beyond the Days: Isaiah 2:2 within the Framework of the Book of Isaiah,” in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Leene* (ed. Ferenc Postma, Klaas Spronk, and Eep Talstra; ACEBT 3; Maastricht: Uitgeverij Shaker, 2002), 254–55, etc.; cf. Grk Isa 2:2 **ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις** and *Tg. Isa.* 2:2 **וַיְהִי בְסוֹף יוֹמֵי אֵל**. Several scholars demonstrate that **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** is not a technical reference to the eschaton, and that other features determine whether a text is eschatological (John T. Willis, “The Expression *becharith hayyamin* in the Old Testament,” *ResQ* 22 (1979): 54–71; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 190; cf. Gen 49:1; 24:14; Deut 4:30; Jer 23:20; Ezek 38:16; Hos 3:5; Ezek 38:16, etc.). Still, even scholars who hesitate to label Isa 2:2–4||Mic 4:1–4 view the oracle as describing a transition in history from the present era to a new, indefinite future era (e.g. Schwartz, “Torah,” 13; Ehud Ben Zvi, *Micah* [FOTL 21B; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000], 95; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 180–81).

⁸⁴ For Isaianic and biblical traditions that are more elaborate regarding Zion and creation, see below, pp. 63–83 on Isaiah 56–66.

⁸⁵ Francis Landy, “Torah and anti-Torah: Isaiah 2:2–4 and 1:10–26,” *BibInt* 11 (2003): 319; cf. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 187; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:90; Childs, *Isaiah*, 30, reckoning vv. 2–3 as a new instantiation of the “primordial harmony of the universe”; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 183, etc.

This view exhibits elements of biblical Zion traditions generally.⁸⁶ Matthew Lynch offers a summary of scholars' work on the topic, finding that "the unifying feature of [biblical] Zion traditions is the universal kingship of Yahweh. All other features of the Zion Traditions simply work out the ethical, political, social and religious implications of Yahweh's universal kingship."⁸⁷ Zion in biblical traditions is Yhwh's royal victory mountain (Exod 15:8–10, 17; Ps 68:1–9, 17; cf. Ps 74; Pss 29:10; 93:4).⁸⁸ Again, Lynch offers, "The logical relationship between Yahweh's victories and Yahweh's dwelling is clear in a poem like Psalm 78, which recounts Yahweh's defeat of his enemies (78:66) and then the choice of Zion (78:67) for his sanctuary dwelling (78:68; cf. Ps 48; 110; 125; 132)."⁸⁹ Besides being God's royal and divine dwelling and the locus of his worship, Zion symbolizes God's world-ordering justice (Isa 2:2–4||Mic 4:1–4; Pss 68:16; 132:13–14; cf. 89:14), which in turn brings about the nations' centripetal movement toward Zion (Pss 36:7–9; 47; 65:4; 134).⁹⁰

So Isaiah 2:2–4 reflects the understanding seen in other biblical Zion traditions wherein Zion represents the coherence of creation. It is the center of the world and a macrocosm of creation, where Yhwh, the creator and sovereign cosmic king, is enthroned and worshipped. So *הוררה* and *משפט* in Isaiah 2:2–3, in addition to their function within the oracle (below), seem to designate the principles by which God establishes international and

⁸⁶ I am not speaking of the historical development of biblical Zion traditions, but rather the body of Israel's theological, political and eschatological convictions regarding Zion, that are gathered especially in Isaiah, Psalms, and Chronicles; for precision Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 44 n. 78 labels these "theologically informed tradition clusters."

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 44–45; idem, "Zion's," 247–48; cf. J. J. M. Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," *JBL* 92 (1973): 329; idem, "Solomon's Jerusalem and the Zion Tradition," in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (ed. Andrew G. Vaughn and Ann E. Killebrew; SBLSymS 18; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 169; Leslie J. Hoppe, *The Holy City: Jerusalem in the Theology of the Old Testament* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000); Robert P. Gordon, *Holy Land, Holy City: Sacred Geography and the Interpretation of the Bible* (Didsbury Lectures, 2001; Waynesboro, PA: Paternoster, 2004), 81–98; Ben C. Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult* (JSOTSup 41; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 15.

⁸⁹ *Literary-Theological*, 45.

⁹⁰ Accordingly, its physical features recall a fortress-like power and stability (cf. Ps 48, below; Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 45–47; idem, "Zion's," 248–50). Either Zion is a conduit of blessing for the nations, or else their defeat is correlated with (or logically prior to) their worship (cf. Pss 46–48, below); see Mitchell, *Message*, 128–160 for the ANE and biblical sequence (where the "consistently eschatological form of the programme may have been unique to Israel," ad loc., 165) of Israel's ingathering, the nations' gathering against Jerusalem, and finally the ingathering of survivors from both Israel and the nations to worship on Zion in Ezek 40–48, Zech 9–14, Joel 3–4, Isaiah, and Jeremiah.

cosmic order.⁹¹ But although fleeting, the prophet's invocation of the "mountain of the house of Yhwh" (v. 2a) marks Zion's restoration as the inauguration of God's New Creation.

The oracle further interweaves the two features of Israel-nations unification and God's glorification. As his evidence for Zion's restoration, the prophet selects the nations' streaming (וַיִּהְיוּ) to Zion and walking (וַיֵּלְכוּ) to the temple (vv. 2b–3a).⁹² When pilgrimage to Zion or the temple is in view, Israel and their worship are implicit. So what should first seem stunning is not the degree of universalism, but that non-Israelites are mentioned rather than Israel. In returning to their creational source by coming to Zion, the nations come together in unity (even before v. 4), enjoining each another, "Let us walk [וַיֵּלְכוּ] and ascend [עָלָה], a standard term in psalms of ascent] the mountain" (v. 3a). Zion is the "centre *par excellence* for *Israelite* pilgrimage," and the appellation for the temple, "the God of Jacob [בֵּית אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב]," only occurs elsewhere in cultic traditions (Exod 3:6, 15; 2 Sam 23:1) and in numerous psalms of Zion (46:8, 12; 75:10; 76:7; 81:2, 5; 84:9; 94:7).⁹³ Moreover, placed

⁹¹ Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Book of Isaiah as Prophetic Torah," in *New Visions of Isaiah* (ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney; JSOTSup 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 61; cf. Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 45.

⁹² Allen, *Books*, 325; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:90; Hans Walter Wolff, *Micah: A Commentary* (trans. Gary Stansell; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1990), 120; McKane, *Micah*, 118; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 51, remarking "The natural impossibility of a *stream* flowing upwards is intentional. A supernatural magnetism is at work" (emphasis original); Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 403; Landy, "Torah," 319; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 169, etc. נָהַר I ("to flow") only occurs at 2:2||3:1; and Jer 51:44, and a strong minority holds that the term here is actually the equally infrequent (Isa 60:5; Jer 31:12; and Ps 34:6) נָהַר II ("to shine", and hence "to rejoice at"); e.g. Wiklander, *Prophecy*, 70, citing נָהַר in Isa 2:5; Schwartz, "Torah," 14-15). On this view, elevated Zion becomes a shining beacon (cf. Isa 5:26; 11:12; 13:2; 18:3; 33:23), whose newfound visibility draws the nations. J. J. M. Roberts, "Double Entendre in First Isaiah," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 46-48 offers a harmonization whereby both alternatives may be intended as paronomasia, concluding, "It is probable that the prophet [Isaiah] was purposely playing on the ambiguity between the two homonyms in order to express both joyous recognition of and movement toward God's exalted house" (ad loc., 48). A noteworthy parallel with Jer 51:44 is that the same nations who stream to Zion are there identified as Bel's plunder (cf. Exod 12:35–38, above) who will no longer stream (נָהַר) to Babylon as a result of God's punishment.

Although the text is supported by 4QIsa^c, 1QIsa^a reads עָלָה (cf. Mic 4:1). The MT is demonstrably superior in many cases, and the meaning remains intact in either case (cf. Wiklander, *Prophecy*, 58; Jesper Hoegenhaven, "The First Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIsa) and the Massoretic [sic] Text: Some Reflections with Special Regard to Isaiah 1–12," *JSOT* 28 [1984]: 35; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 169). Similarly, in the Grk, given the translation ἐμφανές τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων, the sg neut in ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ may intend ὄρος as its antecedent. This may be an innocuous stylistic choice, or, as David A. Baer, "It's All About Us! Nationalistic Exegesis in the Greek Isaiah (Chapters 1–12)," *SBLSP* 40 (2001): 200-201, it may suggest that the translator preserved a special status for Judah/Israel over the nations.

⁹³ Williamson, *Isaiah*, 182, cf. p. 183; cf. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 166; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:92; Wolff, *Micah*, 121; Willis, "Psalms," 300-301. In Ps 46:8, it is not Zion but "the God of Jacob" (upon whose presence Zion's significance is founded) who is the *Israelite* petitioner's refuge.

into the nations' mouths (v. 3a) are words of Israelites on pilgrimage to worship at the temple (e.g. Pss 27:11; 86:11, cf. vv. 9–10).⁹⁴

The nations' participation in Israel's worship is further highlighted by the prophet's rhetoric, and the function of God's Torah. The oracle first describes movement up toward (vv. 2–3a) and then down and outward from Zion (vv. 3b–4), with a pithy pair of two-stressed bicola in between (וַיִּוֹרְנוּ מִדְּרָכָיו וְנִלְכָּה בְּאַרְחֻתָיו, v. 3b). It has therefore been suggested that in reflection of its content, the oracle is shaped like Zion itself with the nations receiving instruction from God at its peak.⁹⁵ Atop Zion, they are granted Torah—in this context, both God's wisdom and covenantal judgment—and the oracle conveys “their excited tones as they look forward to receiving the regular instruction available in the temple concerning the way Yahweh wanted men to live,” that which characterizes a life of devotion before Yhwh.⁹⁶

The final theological feature is that of explicit *shalom*. While this worship of the nations is structurally central to the oracle, the causal כִּי in verse 3b reveals that it is due to the dissemination of Torah throughout the world. In keeping with the Zion tradition, the basic reason for “Zion's establishment as the location of YHWH's world rule” is “so that His Torah and His word may go forth from Jerusalem.”⁹⁷ Accordingly, the nations' pilgrimage

⁹⁴ Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 54.

⁹⁵ Jonathan Magonet, “Isaiah's Mountain or the Shape of Things to Come,” *Prooftexts* 11 (1991): 178–79; cf. Woff, *Micah*, 121; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 98; Rick W. Byargeon, “The relationship of Micah 4:1–3 and Isaiah 2:2–4: Implications for Understanding the Prophetic Message,” *SwJT* 46 (2003): 24; Landy, “Torah,” 319; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 173. Regarding the Isaianic context of the oracle, Bartelt, *Book*, 229, 238—taking note of the *inclusio* of 2:2–4 and chap. 4 in Isa 2–4—suggests a similar concentric structure for 4:2–6. Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger “Zion - Ort der Tora: Überlegungen zu Mi 4,1–5” In *Zion - Ort der Begegnung: Festschrift für Laurentius Klein zur Vollendung des 65 Lebensjahres* (ed. Ferdinand Hahn, et al.; BBB 90; Bodenheim, Germany: Athenäum Hain Hanstein, 1993), 125 argues כִּלְהִיגִיִּים in v. 2 is “eine gezielte Fortschreibung eines Redaktors verstehen, der den Text Mi 4,1–3 and den Anfang der [Jes 2] gestellt hat und damit sämtliche Aussagen über die Völker in den Hinteren Propheten im Lichte dieser Verheissung bestanden wissen wollte” (sic.), in order to clarify the scope of Torah's efficaciousness among the nations.

⁹⁶ Allen, *Books*, 232; cf. Jensen, *Use*, 90; Smith, *Micah*, 36, stating, “Rather than being the worship center for the tribes of Israel the renewed Jerusalem will be the worship center for all people”; Kenneth L. Barker, *Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah* (NAC 20; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1998), 84; see e.g. Pss 1:1–2; 25:4; 94:10, etc. In favor of a wisdom sense for יָרָה and תִּוְרָה in v. 3, Jensen, *Use*, 89–94 offers (in addition to the wisdom debate): in the ANE, the teaching and judgment in which God engages (vv. 3b–4a) are functions of the *wise* teacher and king, respectively; and the liberal employment of wisdom terminology, including יָרָה, תִּוְרָה, דָּרַךְ, אִרְרָה, and הִלֵּךְ. However, parallelism between Sinai and Zion—especially in the Isaianic context, given its New Exodus theme—and the motif of God's judgment together suggest that God's instruction to the nations also includes a legislative and covenantal dimension (so Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:92; Sweeney, “Book,” 50–67, Schwartz, “Torah,” 19–20; Frymer-Kensky, “Jewish,” 22; Landy, “Torah,” 323; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 184).

⁹⁷ Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 137; idem, *Isaiah 1–39*, 98. The movement out from Zion is accentuated by the poetry of the oracle, which begins with a prevalence of aspirants lacking sibilants or fricatives and a staccato

and participation in Israel's worship are a function of God's enthronement in his temple upon Zion (v. 4). Zion's restoration is accompanied by God's eschatological reign, as a result of which "the court of YHWH will replace the battlefield of the world... people will use the scarce and valuable materials of earth to cultivate life instead of crafting death."⁹⁸ Thus, God's reign culminates in the nations' pilgrimage and, ultimately, "the enmity that separated the nations at Babel (Gen 11) [being] put aside and all peoples of the world [worshipping] the one true God."⁹⁹

All told, a rather fantastic picture emerges. The prophet does speak of restoration, but of Zion rather than Jerusalem, and in the eschatological future rather than in Israel's present. And then the way in which the prophet depicts this restoration is equally provocative: Zion's restoration is nothing less than the restoration of the *cosmos* itself, the eschatological New Creation. And the primary expression of this New Creation is the worship of Israel's God, before him in the temple atop Zion. That it is Israel's God and the Zion temple means that Israel is present in this worship, but the prophet describes God's glorification instead in terms of the nations' joint participation in that worship. And so if the term *universalism* applies, then it is only as Israel and the nations' unity in worshipping Yhwh. Moreover, the New Creational context entails that this unification is the eschatological restoration of humanity, for which reason cosmic *shalom* is achieved—or reinstated—as the primary characteristic of the new age.

Within the oracle, then, the eschatological New Creation is defined in terms of worship and *shalom*, and realized in terms of the restoration of humanity. Israel-nations unification is somehow constitutive of Zion. The final point to consider, then, is the function of this oracle within the Isaianic context.

2. Isaiah 2:1–4 in its Isaianic Context

In 1:21–31, immediately preceding 2:1–5, God responds to the people's continued sin (despite his appeal for justice and righteousness in vv. 16–20). "Alas!" beginning verse 21

meter—which may initially engender anxiety regarding the nations' intentions in streaming toward Jerusalem—but then is punctuated in v. 2b by the causal clause *kî miššīyyon tēšē tōrāh* and a relaxed pace describing "the mighty finale: There will be no more war" (Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:84-85; cf. Bruce K. Waltke, "Micah: An Introduction and Commentary," in *Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah* [David W. Baker, T. Desmond Alexander, Bruce K. Waltke; Tyndale Old Testament Commentary; Leicester: InterVarsity, 1988], 167).

⁹⁸ James Luther Mays, *Micah: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (London, SCM, 1976), 98; cf. Jensen, *Use*, 90-91 ("It is because the nations are willing to receive judgment and correction from the one they now acknowledge as king that war is no longer the means of settling disputes"); Williamson, *Isaiah*, 185.

⁹⁹ Smith, *Micah*, 37.

mingles lament with judgment because faithful Jerusalem has become an idolatrous whore.¹⁰⁰ “Therefore,” God proclaims (v. 24), in a reversal of the Exodus deliverance, he is turning his hand against them as he had done against Egypt (אָשִׁיבָה יָדַי עַל יֵד, v. 25).

Isaiah moves from the arraignment of the people generally to that of Jerusalem specifically, since the city and its corrupt leadership is both representative of and responsible for the people; God’s disregard for their prayers and the lack of his name for the temple suggest that it is a city already empty of God’s presence (cf. vv. 12, 15).¹⁰¹ Despite a brief note of future salvation (vv. 26–27), the Jerusalem leadership—those “rebels and sinners” who delight in idolatrous *terebinth* worship—are ironically judged when their worship kindles a fire that consumes both idol and idolater (vv. 28–31).¹⁰² Since temple worship is the object of God’s repudiation (vv. 11–15), the prophet asks if following God’s cleansing purge of Jerusalem “will there be a temple, and if so how will it function after the degenerate cult that endeavoured to legitimize social oppression has been eradicated?”¹⁰³ Therefore, chapter 1 asks whether God’s people will repent, or be rejected because of Jerusalem’s unfaithfulness.¹⁰⁴

The oracle of 2:2–4 answers that the holy city will indeed be redeemed, but because of God’s (and not Israel’s) faithfulness. Since the coming redemption is eschatological in its timeframe, God will both execute and later overcome his own judgment upon Jerusalem. Whereas it was Jerusalem with its unnamed temple that has declined, what will be restored is Zion, whose significance derives from the בֵּית יְהוָה atop it. Thus, the cosmic nature of Zion’s transformation within the oracle takes on political relevance for the prophet’s audience within its wider context.

It is likewise with the oracle’s depiction of Israel-nations unification. For in chapter 1, “Israel did become like the nations,” but 2:2–4 ironically speaks to the nations’ role in Israel’s redemption, where “in the latter days Israel will join the nations to learn again God’s

¹⁰⁰ Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 84.

¹⁰¹ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 186; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:72; W. A. M. Beuken, “The Literary Emergence of Zion as a City in the First opening of the Book of Isaiah (1,1–2,5),” in *Gott und Mensch im Dialog: Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 80. Geburtstag* (ed. Markus Witte; vol. 1; BZAW 345/1; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 467.

¹⁰² The hope of vv. 26–27 is phrased in terms of Jerusalem’s former glory (cf. קִרְיָה נִאֻמְנָה, מִשְׁפָּט, זִדְקָה, vv. 21, 26–27), in order to emphasize that their redemption will follow (or come as a result of?) God’s judgment (Koch, “Damnation,” 8; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 86).

¹⁰³ Beuken, “Literary,” 467.

¹⁰⁴ Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 1:72–73.

ways and to be taught by his torah once more.”¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the Jerusalem leadership’s rejection of God’s wisdom (1:10) is eschatologically rectified by the nations’ eager acceptance of Torah.¹⁰⁶ And lastly, the oracle’s replacement of war with worldwide *shalom* salves God’s militaristic punishment of Israel in chapter 1.¹⁰⁷

However, the prophet’s pronouncement of doom is in some way not final, as in 2:5 Isaiah concludes the oracle with the hortatory statement to Israel, “Let us walk in the light of Yhwh [נִלְכֵה בְּאוֹר יְהוָה].” By acting as a hinge between the hope of what Israel can (and will) be with the imminent judgment resulting from their failure to obey in 2:6–3:26, this final verse is for the prophet’s audience an invitation to an obedience that contrasts the disobedience of chapter 1. But also, verse 5 reiterates that the “house of Jacob [בֵּית יַעֲקֹב]” (vv. 5, 6) is meant to be a light drawing the nations to Zion (vv. 2b–3a; cf. אִוֶּר, v. 5), but instead has “forsaken your people” (v. 6).

Therefore despite its “universalism,” 2:2–4 in its Isaianic context is about Israel and not the nations. The position of 2:2–4 emphasizes Israel’s present unrighteousness, but also invites them to live presently in light of their destiny rather than hasten God’s judgment. And the nations within 2:2–4 point to Israel, whose eschatological redemption is occasioned by their uniting with the nations in worship at Zion’s elevation.¹⁰⁸

3. Summary

Isaiah 1–12 is concerned with Jerusalem’s political situation and unrighteousness regarding wisdom and idolatry, but the literary unit of chapters 2–12 is bracketed by scenes of eschatological hope that offset Israel’s present. The prophet uses the oracle in 2:2–4 to hold up for his audience God’s purpose for them, which further highlights their culpability but also invites repentance in the present. They need only accept God’s wisdom as even the nations will do “in the last days.” And the picture Isaiah offers of Israel’s restoration is the

¹⁰⁵ Seitz, *Isaiah*, 39; although, as Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 162 observes, Israel cannot presently “accept the invitation since its crimes have rendered it unfit to walk in the light of YHWH... Isa 2,2–4 describes an ideal time when Jerusalem will attract the nations to follow YHWH’s Torah. Isa 2,5–22, however, demonstrates that Jacob is not qualified to join.”

¹⁰⁶ Isa 1:10; 2:3 are the only Isaianic texts to contain both תּוֹרָה and דְּבַר־יְהוָה; cf. Landy, “Torah,” 323; Williamson, *Isaiah*, 173.

¹⁰⁷ Yehoshua Gitay, *Isaiah and His Audience: The Structure and Meaning of Isaiah 1–12* (SSN 30; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1991), 37; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1–39*, 25.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Hans Walter Wolff, “Swords into Plowshares: Misuse of a Word of Prophecy,” *CurTM* 12 (1985): 142; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 113, 116; Seitz, *Isaiah*, 29.

very restoration of creation in Zion, of the temple and true worship, and of humanity at the center of everything. So Israel's hope—and the offered invitation—is that Israel will again enjoy preeminence and Jerusalem its former glory, as elevated as their present humiliation is low.

Within this, the depiction of Israel-nations unification is quite grandiose. The restored humanity is defined by their worship of Yhwh. So in the sense that Israel is defined by their relationship of worship to God, all humanity will be Israel. Moreover, the nations joining together in worship at Israel's temple is intrinsic to the New Creation of eschatologically restored Zion. And here a pattern begins to emerge, as amidst its well-known vision of the nations' pilgrimage and world peace, the oracle employs the same features occurrent in Exodus 12:37–38 and 1 Kings 8:41–43. The prophet emphasizes creation, that is, the eschatological New Creation; the unification of Israel and the nations; the unifying mechanism of worship, here with God's cosmic sovereignty in his eschatological palace-temple atop Zion; and, explicitly, the worldwide *shalom* that results from such unity and cosmic sovereignty.

Tikva Frymer-Kensky draws a direct connection between these elements in Isaiah 2:2–4 that I am leaving for the end of this chapter. But she rightly observes that God's sovereignty here is depicted creationally:

“There is no kingship language here. Isaiah does not use the terminology that he himself uses for a perfect human king [cf. Isa 9:5–6; 11:1–5], nor does he use the poetic language of God's kingship known from the Psalms. ... [Rather, the] tone is very much like that of Genesis 1, which deals with the beginning (*rešit*). Like Isaiah 2:2–4, Genesis 1 also begins *after* whatever divine combat (“chaoskampf”) Israel understood to have preceded God's kingship... on the first days (*rešit*) of our history.”¹⁰⁹

The logical connection between the above features is unexplained, but it may be argued that it presupposes a theological relationship much like that of the same features in the creation accounts of Genesis 1–2. Providing this is the case, then for the prophet the cosmic significance of Zion and Jerusalem's intended role as a light to the nations entails that their renewal results in the unification of humanity. Although Israel is presently not who they should be, and the declining and isolated Jerusalem bears no resemblance to Zion, the

¹⁰⁹ “Jewish,” 22, emphasis original, further noting a parallel between God's uncontested word and creation by verbal fiat in Genesis 1 and his uncontested sovereignty and the creational force of *דבר יהוה* in Isa 2:2–4 (cf. *דבר*, Isa 2:1 in the Isaianic context); cf. Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 99.

prophet promises that due to God's faithfulness the end will be as the beginning, when Zion, Israel and humanity are restored.

C. Isaiah 11:1–10

Isaiah 11:1–10, the opening to the conclusion of Isaiah 2–12, focuses on God's kingdom and the renewal of creation (vv. 1–9), but includes a subtle reference to Israel-nations unification (v. 10) that becomes more pronounced in that it hinges verses 1–10 to the remainder of chapters 11–12. The prophet goes on to describe Israel's New Exodus restoration, and then brings together all the players of this little drama for the concluding hymn of 12:1–6. This future hope juxtaposes the present judgment of the immediately preceding material, in chapter 10.

The final section of Isaiah 2–12 begins in 10:5 with a pronouncement of woe upon Assyria (following the seven woes pronounced upon Israel and Jerusalem). For their arrogance regarding their role as God's axe in his judgment upon Israel (cf. 10:8–11, 15), he will take the axe to them like a forest, leaving but a token "remnant" (נִשְׂרָף, v. 19). This triggers in 10:20–27 talk of Israel's remnant (נִשְׂרָף, v. 20), whose positive trust in God's deliverance in verses 20–21 and 24–27 is overshadowed by the negative message which they frame, of their reduction to a mere remnant in verses 22–23 (נִשְׂרָף יְשׁוּבָה, 10:22; 7:3).¹¹⁰ Accordingly, chapter 10 concludes with "the advance of a hostile, unnamed army upon Jerusalem," which "takes up once again the theme of the Assyrian threat."¹¹¹ As with Assyria, God will take the axe to the forest of Israel (vv. 33–34). Then chapter 11 introduces the sharply contrasting image of a king who is "a shoot from the stem of Jesse" and "a branch from his roots" (v. 1; cf. 1:29–31; 6:13; 9:9, 17; 10:15; 17–19; 33–34).

The eschatological character of chapters 11–12 is disclosed gradually.¹¹² Isaiah 11:1 initially seems to continue from the end of chapter 10 by beginning with a simple conjunction, and the characteristic temporal expression אִתְּךָ הַיּוֹם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (Grk ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ) that binds together 10:5–12:6 is delayed until 11:10 (cf. 10:17, 20, 27; 11:10,

¹¹⁰ Watt *Isaiah 1–33*, 154 is correct that the "frightfully small" remnant does not negate God's plan, and "there is nothing glorious about it from this point of view"; cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 271; Childs, *Isaiah*, 95, etc.

¹¹¹ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 260.

¹¹² Cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah* 278; Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 470, citing Job 14:7–9; Gitay, *Isaiah*, 212; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 103. The use of the pf in v. 1a enhances the temporal blurring, and could be translated as a dramatic present, "And a root springs"; cf. Gitay, *Isaiah*, 213.

11; 12:1, 4).¹¹³ After the prophet's description of an ideal Davidic king and his governance in verses 1–5, the timeline is clarified in verses 6–9 as the picture broadens to include a fantastic picture of complete order in nature as the result of the king's rule, “the impossible possibility of the new creation!”¹¹⁴ The temporal marker “on that day” (with a reintroduction of “the root of Jesse”) finally comes in verse 10, a recognized hinge device that is written in prose like verses 1–9, but set apart by the temporal markers and sharing its content with the poetry in verses 12–16.¹¹⁵ This expression is repeated in verse 11 to introduce God's ingathering of the scattered remnants of Israel in a New Exodus return from exile (vv. 15–16; cf. 19:19–25), which results in a concluding hymn of thanksgiving (12:1–6).

Isaiah's depiction of New Creation in 11:6–9 and its eschatological character are partly based upon the king's character and actions in verses 1–5. The king's description is in terms that are later understood to be messianic. However, the focus is not upon the king's identity but upon his Spirit-shaped character, which is meant to challenge Israel's present leadership (cf. *בִּינָה*, *יֵדַע*, v. 2; 1:3; 6:9).¹¹⁶ He is attributed with a sevenfold endowment of *קִוִּי* that enables him to rule in Israel as God himself would, as in the oracle of 8:23–9:6, thereby “bringing about a just order in which the poor and powerless can enjoy equal rights with the wealthy and powerful.”¹¹⁷

Two features of this proto-messianism must be noted, however. First, because the king's character and rule are caused by and credited to God through his *קִוִּי*, the text is theological in orientation. The description of the king is subordinate, and contributes to that

¹¹³ Cf. Beuken, “Lebanon with its Majesty shall fall. A Shoot shall come forth from the Stump of Jesse” (Isa 10:34–11:1): Interfacing the Story of Assyria and the Image of Israel's Future in Isaiah 10–11,” in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Leene* (ed. Ferenc Postma, Klaas Spronk, and Eep Talstra; ACEBT 3; Maastricht: Uitgeverij Shaker, 2002), 27. A similar impulse is evident in 4Q285 5; 4Q161 8–10 (ad loc., 18).

¹¹⁴ Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1–39*, 103.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 286; Gitay, *Isaiah*, 213; Gene M. Tucker, “The Book of Isaiah 1–39,” in *New Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 4: Introduction to the Prophetic Literature, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel* (ed. Leander E. Keck; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001), 145, etc.; contra Wildberger, *Isaiah*, 463.

¹¹⁶ Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 211; Motyer, *Isaiah*, 103; cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 244 (noting the function of the *כִּי* clauses in 9:3–6); Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 264–65. On the prolific eschatological and messianic interpretation of 11:1–5, see Shiu-Lun Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans: A Comparative Study of Paul's Letter to the Romans and the Sibylline and Qumran Sectarian Texts* (WUNT 2/156; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 255; and Wagner, *Heralds*, 320–22. Commenting of the “root” in v. 10, Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 267 affirms an individual as its referent, against the views of Barth, Vermeylen, etc.

¹¹⁷ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 263; cf. Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 253; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 278; Gitay, *Isaiah*, 213; Tucker, *Isaiah*, 140; Brueggemann, *Isaiah*, 100–01, etc.

of God's eschatological activity, partly through the king.¹¹⁸ The second thing to note is the king's role as representative of the people, and that, consequently, "the discussion is about the new society. The King and society are inseparable themes."¹¹⁹ Thus, under his ideal rule the king's righteousness is disseminated throughout the people, and the transformed creation of verses 6–9 is an extension of their restoration, since the distortion of human relationships is "at the root of all *distortion in creation*."¹²⁰ Therefore God's rule through his ideal Davidic representative reflects upon the New Creation in verses 6–9 by indicating the importance of worship for that New Creation, and by raising the question of the identity of the king's people.¹²¹

Regarding the liturgical dimension, 11:9 particularly grants a full view of creation as Zion (הַר קְדֹשִׁי), upon which humanity exists in perfect harmony with nature. Isaiah specifies with a causal clause (כִּי, v. 9b) that order and *shalom* characterize the New Creation because "the earth will be full of the knowledge of Yhwh," a state that contrasts and corrects the lack of knowledge which precipitated Israel's rebellion in the opening of the book (cf. 1:2–3). Isaiah speaks hyperbolically in an eschatological context of the magnitude of this restoration (cf. כְּמַיִם לַיָּם מְכֻסִּים, 11:9b), wherein Israel's intimacy and recognition of God cannot be contained within their borders.

As a result, verses 10 and 11–16 paratactically conjoin the nations and Israel's ingatherings, as Zion's vitality is so great that it reaches out and draws in all humanity to itself. In line with the king's close association with the restoration of creation, his drawing of the nations brings glorification to God—verse 11 summarizes, "and his rest will be glory [כְּבוֹד; Grk τιμή]."¹²² By flocking to the banners of Jesse's seed, the nations engage in an act

¹¹⁸ Intentional ambiguity in the subject of the verbs of v. 4–5 "reflects Davidic ideology [which] was structured to think in terms of God's work through the king," and the shift from third- to first person in v. 9 reveals God standing behind the king (Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 170, additionally stating, "The king does have a role, but... the composition carefully subordinates it to the wider view of God's work"; cf. Gitay, *Isaiah*, 223; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1–39*, 101-2).

¹¹⁹ Gitay, *Isaiah*, 213.

¹²⁰ Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1–39*, 102, emphasis original, continuing that the ideal king is thereby "imaginatively linked" to Adam in Gen 1–2; Gitay, *Isaiah*, 213; cf. Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 253.

¹²¹ So also Zenger, "Die Verheissung Jesaja 11,1–10: universal oder partikular?" in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken* (ed. Marc Vervenne and J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten; BETL 132; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 145.

¹²² Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 267 suggests the gnomic phrase כְּבוֹד מְנַחֵמוֹ as an echo of v. 2, perhaps warranting the complementary translation (but one which refocuses upon the king), "glory will rest upon him." Regarding the syntax of שֵׁי אֲשֶׁר עֹמֵד לְנֶס עַמִּים אֵלָיו in "And it will be on that day that the root of Jesse—the one who stands as a signal to the peoples—towards him the nations will seek, and his rest

of worship toward God. And since Israel's restoration coincides with that of creation, "on that day" is repeated in verse 11 to introduce God's ingathering of the scattered remnants of Israel in a New Exodus return from exile (vv. 15–16; cf. 19:19–25). Israel's return is identified as God's mighty deed in Israel's future history by the grandeur it shares with (one of) his mightiest in their past. Appropriately, then, the ultimate expression of God's mighty deeds in chapter 11 is the hymn of thanksgiving of 12:1–6. The primary result of God's restoration of his people and creation is that "on that day" in 12:1, "you" will say, "I will give thanks to you, Yhwh... Sing praise to Yhwh for He has done excellent things; let this be known throughout the earth. Cry aloud and shout for joy, inhabitant of Zion, for great in your midst is the holy one of Israel" (12:1, 5–6).

Isaiah leaves some room for interpretation regarding the identity of God's people, that is, the "you" singing the hymn of chapter 12. The joint testimony of creation's restoration in 11:6–9 is the nations and Israel's coincident ingathering in verses 10–16. And while verse 11 begins a new pericope, the hinge function of verse 10 binds itself to verses 11–15, and them to verses 6–9. Moreover, in verse 10 the nations rally to the king because he stands as a *signal* (נס) of military prowess that enables him—rather, God through him—to unite the world into a single kingdom, in contrast to the *signal* raised by God in 5:26 for the nations to come and dismember Israel.¹²³ The Greek translator makes this dynamic explicit by interpreting נס לנס as ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν and ידרשו as ἐλπιοῦσιν, with the latter of these changes further underscoring the eschatological nature of the nations' ingathering.

So according to the paradigm shift marked by 11:10, it could be interpreted that God's people—the king's subjects—now comprise both the nations and "the scattered of Israel" (ישראל נדח, v. 12).¹²⁴ Thus, the "rest" they enjoy under him in verse 10b links God's restoration of Israel and humanity as a whole with the cosmic *shalom* described in verses 6–

will be glory," the MT precedes the ptc עמד with the relative particle אשר, which the Grk changes to καὶ ὅ, thereby placing the "root" and the one who arises in direct apposition; cf. Roberts, "The Translation of Isa 11:10 and the Syntax of the Temporal Expression whyh bywm hhw'," in *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H I H Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday* (ed. Masao Mori, Hideo Ogawa and Mamoru Yoshikawa; Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 5; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 370. *Tg. Isa.* interprets עמד as an imminent future, "is about to stand."

¹²³ Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 175; Oswalt, *Isaiah 1–39*, 287; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 267–68. Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 263; and Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1–39*, 104 comment how in v. 10, the pilgrimage of the nations in 2:2–4 has been focused upon the king, who is substitutes for Torah and Zion as their signal.

¹²⁴ Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1–39*, 104; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 266; cf. Rom 15:12 (below, pp. 209–13).

9. The hinge of verse 10 is thereby pivotal within 10:5–12:6, defining and encapsulating *in nuce* the final bright eschatological picture in the alternating scheme of Isaiah 1–12.

What this does for the New Creation of 11:6–9 is to fill out its eschatological character and people it with those who worship God. Isaiah’s magnificent depiction is not for its own sake. It is rather a function of the rise of God’s Davidic king, which in turn makes it a function of God’s enthronement. In the context of chapters 11–12, this is significant for signaling Israel’s restoration. And the purpose to the magnificence of Israel’s restoration is as a contrast to the direness of Isaiah’s audience’s present circumstances.

Therefore, in 11:1–10, the picture that the prophet holds up to illustrate God’s intention for his audience is ultimately that of his eschatological kingdom. Righteous, theocentric human governance and New Creation will replace Israel’s present idolatry. This means blessing for Israel, as the advent of God’s reign is also the advent of their restoration. And their restoration is in turn evinced by the right worship of God’s people. Finally, in a not wholly defined way, God glorifies himself not just through Israel but also the nations, as Zion’s pull brings them to celebrate his rule and Israel’s vindication. As early Jewish interpreters will apprehend, in Isaiah 11:1–10 the eschatological New Creation is accompanied by the *shalom* of God’s kingdom and the unification of Israel and the nations in worship of Yhwh.

IV. Isaiah 56–66

Zion is the heart of Isaiah 56–66, or Tritio-Isaiah, the final literary unit of the Isaianic corpus.¹²⁵ There are several putative examples of the unification of Israel and the nations within Tritio-Isaiah. However, the unit as a whole constitutes an extended instance of Israel-nations unification.

The final verse of Isaiah 54 anticipates the theme and opening oracle of Tritio-Isaiah, and chapter 55 is at once a summary of Deutero-Isaiah and presages the tension between God’s salvation and Israel’s slow response in chapters 56–66.¹²⁶ Despite the return to the

¹²⁵ There is debate over whether chaps. 56–66 constitute a distinct compositional unit with its own redaction history, especially given its strong affinities with chaps. 40–55, or Deutero-Isaiah; e.g. Seitz, “The Book of Isaiah 40–66,” in *New Interpreter’s Bible, Vol. 4: Introduction to the Prophetic Literature, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel* (ed. Leander E. Keck; Nashville: Abingdon, 2001), 471–74 (cf. Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 38). However, chaps. 56–66 are distinct enough to warrant treatment as a *literary* unit, with nothing implied regarding compositional history by the nomenclature.

¹²⁶ Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition und Endgestalt* (Herders biblische Studien 16; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1998), 509–15 argues that the juxtaposed themes of Isa 55 help motivate the apposition of 56:1–8 and 56:9–57:13; cf. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66: A New Translation with*

Land, the triumphalism ending Deutero-Isaiah was deflated by post-exilic disappointment at the delay of God's promised deliverance.¹²⁷ Accordingly, Trito-Isaiah addresses the tension between Israel's present experience and their ultimate destiny, both of which revolve around Zion. Because chapters 56–66 are among the most complex in the Hebrew Bible, they require an extended introduction.

A. Introduction to Isaiah 56–66

1. *Literary Structure of Isaiah 56–66*

Scholars agree on a chiasmic shape for Trito-Isaiah.¹²⁸ However, chapters 56–66 are not only structured concentrically for rhetorical emphasis, but these also exhibit a kind of narrative progression wherein the latter panel in each pair builds upon the former.¹²⁹

Introduction and Commentary (AB 19B; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 132. Similarly, Rolf Rendtorff, "Isaiah 56:1 as a Key to the Formation of the Book of Isaiah," in *Canon and Theology: Overtures to an Old Testament Theology* (trans. Margaret Kohl; OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 185 interprets the combination in 56:1 of the hendiadys *צדקה*...*משפט* and the frequent Deutero-Isaianic pairing of *salvation* and *righteousness* as "intended to establish a deliberate continuity with the other two parts of the book."

¹²⁷ So H. C. Spyerboer, "Isaiah 55:1-5: The Climax of Deutero-Isaiah: An Invitation to Come to the New Jerusalem," in *The book of Isaiah—Le livre d'Isaie: les oracles et leurs relecteurs: unité et complexité de l'ouvrage* (ed. Jacques Vermeulen; BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 357-59.

¹²⁸ Various specifics and details of a given proposal of the chiasm in Trito-Isaiah inevitably come under criticism by other scholars. One of the most polished accounts is perhaps that in Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 40–66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 593-95. Contrariwise, Robert H. O'Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah* (JSOTSup 188; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 218-220 sees an asymmetrical chiasm that comprises chaps. 55–66. Cf. Etienne Charpentier, *Jeunesse du Vieux Testament* (Paris: Fayard, 1963), outlined by Jeffrey S. Lu, *Called to Proclaim Covenantal Transformation: A Text Linguistic Analysis of Isaiah 59:21–63:6* (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1992), 305; Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary* (trans. David M. H. Stalker; London: S.C.M., 1969), 295-308; Grace I. Emmerson, *Isaiah 56–66* (OTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992), 20; Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 461; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 60-63; see also the review in O'Connell, *Concentricity*, 216-18.

¹²⁹ Observed first and only by Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 39-41 (wherefrom the following overview is taken); idem, "Zion's," 261-63. The following diagram is adapted from Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 42.

- A MARGINAL CASES OF COVENANTAL SABBATH OBSERVANCE AS PROTOTYPICAL FOR INGATHERING TO ZION (56:1–8)
 - B ISRAEL'S COVENANT VIOLATIONS (56:9–58:8)
 - *TRANSITION (58:9–14): call to covenantal obedience*
 - C LAMENT BY/FOR ISRAEL (59:1-15a)
 - D YHWH WARRIOR PANEL (59:15b–21): Yhwh goes to battle
 - E ZION AS WORLD CENTER FOR COSMIC RENEWAL (chaps. 60–62)
 - D' YHWH WARRIOR PANEL (63:1–6): Yhwh victoriously returns from battle
 - C' LAMENT BY/FOR ISRAEL (63:7–64:11)
 - B' ISRAEL'S COVENANT VIOLATIONS AND RESULTANT DIVISIONS WITHIN ISRAEL (65:1–16)
 - *TRANSITION (65:17–66:17): Cosmic covenantal blessings and further division (resulting from **Israel's covenant violations**; 66:3–6)*
- A' COVENANTAL SABBATH OBSERVANCE AND THE FINAL INGATHERING TO ZION (66:18–24)

Figure 7: Literary Structure of Isaiah 56–66

Chapters 60–62 are the core, with 61:1–3 at their precise center.¹³⁰ Encompassing the core are a pair of divine warrior panels of equal length (twelve and thirteen lines in the MT, respectively) that move from preparation for battle to victorious return. The next panels out are communal laments, the first detailing God's indictment of Israel, upon which the second panel builds God's predicted response to those who fail to repent. Lynch alone further notes that the despondency of the first lament is blended in the second with a longing for theophany (cf. 64:1) in the manner described in the foregoing warrior panels.¹³¹

The next layer resists coordination, but common to both transitional panels is an emphasis on Israel's covenant violations, the latter also being punctuated by hopeful moments of future restoration (65:8–9, 17–25; 66:7–14). The imprecision of parallelism here reflects the progressional aspect of Trito-Isaiah at the expense of its chiasm. Finally, the outermost panels share in common features such as concern over the disfranchised or outsiders, purity and foreigners' participation in Israel's worship, and God's ingathering of the nations to Zion for the purpose of worship.¹³² However, the former panel discusses the examples of individuals, which hints (cf. *עֹד אֶקְבֹּץ עַל יוֹ*, 56:8b) at the crescendo to all humanity in the latter. Therefore, the structure of Trito-Isaiah is at once concentric and dramatically developing.

¹³⁰ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 38-39.

¹³¹ *Literary-Theological*, 40-41.

¹³² Raymond de Hoop, "The Interpretation of Isaiah 56:1-9: Comfort or Criticism?" *JBL* 127 (2008): 673-95 notes the Masoretic break (if any) falls after 56:9, suggesting the pericope for the first panel may be vv. 1–9.

2. *Previous Approaches toward the Nations in Isaiah 56–66*

The nations (or their representatives) feature prominently in the outer and central panels of Trito-Isaiah's chiasm, which by itself suggests an important connection between Zion and the nations. But traditions within Trito-Isaiah variously view the nations in "positive" and "negative" lights. Scholarship on this phenomenon generally comes in one of two flavors, each with their own shortcomings.¹³³

An historical focus is typified by Paul Hanson, who attributes the ostensibly oscillating attitudes to an internal dispute between exclusionary Zadokites, who remained in Judah during the exile, and inclusionary Levites, who returned from exile and were responsible for the final form of the text.¹³⁴ In response, Brevard Childs (among others) voices his conviction that the final form of Isaiah functioned as Scripture for the community who preserved it. So polarizing apparently differing postures toward the nations in Trito-Isaiah fails to account for the data in their present literary context.¹³⁵

Generally theological approaches, on the other hand, exhibit a tendency to focus on the nations' so-called inclusion into Israel, often supposing it to be the highest good for the prophet. Christopher Seitz, for instance, seeks to explain the treatment of the nations in light of that in Deutero-Isaiah (42:6; 49:6; 52:13, 15), also referring somewhat freely to Isaiah 2:2–4 and Genesis 12:3.¹³⁶ Yet such studies are often burdened by interaction with historically fixated approaches, and commit errors such as choosing to deal only with "positive" traditions (56:1–8; 66:18–24), neglecting the significance of Zion, or inattention to the literary shape of the text.

¹³³ The following survey is taken from Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 21-32.

¹³⁴ *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*; Elizabeth Achtemeier, *The Community and Message of Isaiah 56–66* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982); John W. D. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66* (WBC 25; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), especially, in that he rearranges the text according to his reconstruction of its origins; Clinton E. Hammock, "Isaiah 56:1–8 and the Redefining of the Restoration Judean Community," *BTB* 30 (2000): 46-57; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*.

¹³⁵ *Isaiah*, 445; cf. Seitz, "Third Isaiah," *ABD* 3:501-7; idem, "Book," esp. 471-74; Paul Allen Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah: The Growth and Authorship of Isaiah 56–66* (VTSup 62; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 54-58 (who nevertheless endeavors to attribute the authorship and formation of chaps. 56–66 to two authors (whom he dubs T11 and T12; ad loc., 20-21). Likewise, Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 456-57 notes that opposing e.g. 56:1–8 and 57:3–13; 65:1–7 (cf. Ezek 44:6–9; Ezra 4:1–3) represents a false dichotomy, since different matters are at issue in each text. Further, given Trito-Isaiah's dehistoricized presentation, whereby the comparative unimportance of the traditions' original historical circumstances makes them insufficient for explaining the inclusion of chaps. 56–66 at all (ad loc., 452-53).

¹³⁶ "Isaiah 40–66," 508-17; cf. Dirk Odendaal, *The Eschatological Expectation of Isaiah 40–66 with Special Reference to Israel and the Nations* (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1970); Childs, *Isaiah*; Yongsub J. Lim, *The Nations in the Book of Isaiah: Inclusion of the Nations in Yahweh's Eschatological Salvation of Mount Zion* (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2004).

As Lynch summarizes, *historical approaches* generally focus upon the nations vis-à-vis historical reconstructions of post-exilic Israel rather than the final form of Trito-Isaiah, while *theological approaches* typically give insufficient attention to

the diversity of ways in which the nations are treated and have not adequately accounted for the interplay of TI's structure and its theological imagery. They either ignore the complex issues surrounding the "positive" and "negative" texts about the nations, or they create unreasonably homogenous categories of "the nations," as if Israel had a view of all nations *equally*.¹³⁷

Space limitations prevent giving Isaiah 56–66 the attention it deserves. Fortunately, at this point I am able to draw upon Lynch's excellent research; my interpretation here is in many ways a restatement and summary of his reading.¹³⁸

B. A Literary-Theological Analysis of the Nations in Isaiah 56–66

The injunction opening Trito-Isaiah's first oracle—"Keep justice and do righteousness" (56:1)—is interpreted as Torah obedience (specifically, Sabbath adherence and abstinence from evil, v. 2) since it is Torah that "brings every phase of life under obedience to Yahweh."¹³⁹ This leads in turn to worship and temple service upon Zion (v. 8). God's "holy mountain" (66:20) is likewise prominent in the closing oracle of Trito-Isaiah and is, of course, central to the literary unit (see *Fig. 7*, above).

In addition to the elements of Zion traditions noted in connection with Isaiah 2:2–4, I would add here that Zion is a refuge for the disfranchised, who find security and protection in God's presence (Isa 4:6; 14:32; Joel 3:16; Pss 9:12–13; 27:4; 46:6; 61:4; 76:2–3; 86:1–2; 91:1–2).¹⁴⁰ And while perhaps not characteristic of all biblical Zion traditions, in at least Trito-Isaiah the *Völkerwallfahrt* is incorporated into Zion traditions.¹⁴¹ Because it is the manifestation of God's cosmic sovereignty, Zion has important implications for those beyond Israel's pale along with Israel. And due to the importance of Zion for the literary structure of

¹³⁷ *Literary-Theological*, 33–34, emphasis original.

¹³⁸ Namely, Lynch, *Literary-Theological*; cf. idem, "Zion's."

¹³⁹ Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 169. See Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 42–43 n. 74 for a bibliography on Zion traditions in Isaiah.

¹⁴⁰ So Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 47–48; idem, "Zion's," 250. Ollenburger, *Zion*, 66, 69, 100 most extensively discusses this element. See above, p. 47 on Zion in biblical traditions.

¹⁴¹ With little support, Ollenburger, *Zion*, 15–16 relegates this feature to a post-exilic addition to Zion traditions; but cf. Hans Wildberger, "Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion," *VT* 7 (1957): 62–81.

Trito-Isaiah particularly, it is through this lens of biblical Zion traditions—and especially as they relate to the nations—that the prophet delivers his message regarding Israel.

1. Zion, Israel and the Nations in Isaiah 60–62

The core of Trito-Isaiah in chapters 60–62 is unified in its theme, although it comprises various poetic units and has no clear structure. However, Joseph Blenkinsopp observes that “there are 44 stichometric lines preceding 61:1–3 and 44 following it. This arrangement is surely deliberate and reproduces the a-b-a pattern of 56–66 as a whole.”¹⁴² Around this, motifs that construct the dominant theme of Zion’s glorification include the radiance of both Zion and God’s theophanic appearance (60:1–3, 18–22; 61:10–11; chap. 62); Zion’s reconstruction by the nations (60:4–17; 61:4–5) and its positive results (61:1–3, 6–9); all of which are framed by and centered upon appearances by Zion’s herald (60:1–3; 61:1–3; 62:10–12).¹⁴³

Just as Zion traditions are concerned with the implications of God’s kingship, so chapters 60–62 with Zion as their focus ask, if God’s glory fills the earth and “he is King of the universe, then what does that mean for Israel both in relation to God and in relation to the world?”¹⁴⁴ The answer comes, that God’s reign means blessing only for the righteous, and the remainder of Trito-Isaiah qualifies and expands this description to apply equally to groups within both Israel and the nations.¹⁴⁵

As chapter 60 opens, a global, engulfing darkness (60:2; cf. 59:9) is countermanded by Zion’s illumination (vv. 1–3). The illumination imagery later intensifies in the closing frames, as in chapter 62 it is no longer God’s glory reflecting off Zion but his direct presence that shines forth as a world beacon. Therefore, especially in the closing oracle (62:10–12), Zion’s herald enjoins Israel to prepare for Yhwh’s imminent, physical arrival, where he will come (again; cf. 59:15b–24, below) as a vengeful warrior (63:1–6).

Consequently, as the vision builds in chapter 60, God’s coming inspires both joyful anticipation and trepidation (60:12). So 60:19–22 parallels 60:1–3, and crowns the chapter in not only the restoration of Jerusalem but also the reordering of creation itself, and the

¹⁴² Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 39.

¹⁴³ Cf. Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 102.

¹⁴⁴ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 535.

¹⁴⁵ Jacob Stromberg, “An Inner-Isaianic Reading of Isaiah 61:1–3,” in *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches* (ed. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2009), 271.

concomitant unqualified reversal of Israel's political and economic fortunes is guaranteed by God's own permanence (cf. עֹלָם 3x).¹⁴⁶ That is, chapters 60–62 primarily concern Israel, as seen in how Zion's restoration results in their being entirely righteous, permanently possessing the Land, and multiplying uncountably (vv. 21–22, fulfilling and surpassing Gen 15:6-7; 18:18; 24:60; 28:4).¹⁴⁷

Because Zion shines forth, Israel's exiles will return and the nations and their wealth will flood to Zion for its rebuilding (60:4–17; 61:4–5), as per the final step of the ANE sequence of Zion's restoration.¹⁴⁸ At first the nations are to a degree subservient (60:5b–7), but it is a subservience to *Yhwh* (even if expressed through Israel) in that they bring tribute appropriate to their new suzerain (60:8–10, 16; cf. 61:5–6) and pilgrim in to worship their new deity (60:3, 10–11, 13–14; cf. 62:2).¹⁴⁹ Precisely, the nations' wealth is funneled to God's altar, so that their submission "is a liturgical, *theological* submission to Yahweh."¹⁵⁰ Consequently, the nations' subservience is not for the sake of their denigration, but rather is a function of Zion's magnificence and magnification.¹⁵¹ In fact, it is noteworthy that hitherto in Isaianic traditions, rebuilding Zion was a prerogative of the enigmatic Servant or his descendants (44:26; 49:19; 51:3; 54:3), and here the nations' labor results in their permanent installation in Israel's worship (v. 11). Subservience thus progresses to full participation in the life of the temple, as the nations' sacrifices are accepted for beautifying God's beautiful house (יְעָלוּ עַל-רִצּוֹן מִזְבַּחַי, v. 7; cf. וּזְבַחֵיהֶם לְרִצּוֹן עַל-מִזְבַּחַי, 56:7).¹⁵²

Chapter 61 opens with Zion's herald exclaiming that his vocation means blessing for Zion's inhabitants. His mission is effected simply by the delivery of his message.¹⁵³ Thus, he

¹⁴⁶ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 557; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 210.

¹⁴⁷ Schultz, "Nationalism," 141.

¹⁴⁸ See above, n. 90.

¹⁴⁹ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 103.

¹⁵⁰ Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 206, emphasis original.

¹⁵¹ Lynch, "Zion's," 259-60; Schultz, "Nationalism," 141-42; cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 361; Steven Shawn Tuell, "The Priesthood of the 'Foreigner': Evidence of Competing Polities in Ezekiel 44:1–14 and Isaiah 56:1–8," in *Constituting the Community: Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride Jr.* (ed. John T. Strong and Steven Shawn Tuell; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 200.

¹⁵² Shawn W. Flynn, "'A House of Prayer for All Peoples': The Unique Place of the Foreigner in the Temple Theology of Trito-Isaiah," *Theof37* (2006): 9-10.

¹⁵³ Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 366. The prophet is uninterested in the herald's identity, but cares instead about how the herald in his role exhibits characteristics of prophet, priest, and king, what Williamson, *Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* (Didsbury Lectures 1997; Carlisle:

announces at the center of chapters 60–62 that God’s inaugurated justice will radiate outward from Zion. The six infinitives that detail his vocation echo descriptions of Deutero-Isaiah’s Servant (42:7; 49:5–6, 8–9; 50:4; cf. 40:1–2), and his message appropriately results in a reversal (or restoration) of fortunes wherein Zion’s disfranchised are transformed into immovable “oaks of righteousness” (v. 3).¹⁵⁴ This rectifies Israel’s idolatry that has characterized the corpus (cf. 1:27; 6:13), making worship (cf. לְהִתְפַּאֵר, v. 3b) the identifying characteristic of Zion’s inhabitants.¹⁵⁵

Furthermore, the herald’s announcement is the first royal decree following the reestablishment of Yhwh’s throne. This is in keeping with Mesopotamian enthronement customs of proclaiming general amnesty.¹⁵⁶ As this includes the manumission of slaves and canceling of debts, the herald’s good news for Israel also seems to affirm the nations’ movement from subjugation to participation.

The prophet further describes God’s blessings upon Zion (vv. 4–5)—wrought partly by its inhabitants—and Israel (vv. 6–7), until God himself interjects to promise a ברית עולם (v. 8)¹⁵⁷ This covenant recalls that anticipated at the close of Deutero-Isaiah 55:3–5, which in turn recalls those of Genesis 9:16; 17:7, 13, 19. Accordingly, the prophet is interested in Zion’s descendants (זרע, v. 9), which ties in the restoration of Zion with an eschatological realization of God’s promises to the patriarchs.¹⁵⁸ As with Zion, the numerousness of its inhabitants witnesses to the nations (v. 9b).¹⁵⁹

Finally, Zion itself speaks (vv. 10–11), praising God that it has been restored and beautified by God in order that (כי, v. 11a) “all nations” might see his righteousness and

Paternoster, 1998), 188 calls “a composite character, a bringing together into one of all those whom God had earlier [Isa 1–55] said he would use for the salvation of his people.”

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 365; Beuken, “Servant and Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61 as an Interpretation of Isaiah 40–55,” in *The Book of Isaiah—le livre d’Isaïe: les oracles et leurs relectures: unité et complexité de l’ouvrage* (ed. Jaques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1989), 416–17, 438–39; Emmerson, *Isaiah*, 75–76, etc.

¹⁵⁵ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 568. See Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 105 on the occurrences of פִּאֵר and תִּפְאֵרָה (60:7, 9, 13, 21, 61:3, 10) and their cultic connotations.

¹⁵⁶ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 107–8; idem, “Zion’s,” 260.

¹⁵⁷ The shift in person in v. 7 results from a stylistic choice rather than a change in grammatical subject, with the witnesses supporting the MT over the omission of the Grk (cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 568–69).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 229; Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 110 n. 128 (see here, 109–111 for patriarchal allusions in chaps. 60–62).

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 571, 573.

praise him (צדקה ותהלה נגד כל־הגוים, v. 11b).¹⁶⁰ Echoes here of 40:1–2 (along with that of בשר in 40:9; 61:1) mark the elevation of Zion and its inhabitants before the nations as the long-awaited fulfillment of Deutero-Isaiah’s prologue. However, this fulfillment is not for all Israel, but only the righteous to the exclusion of those in rebellion to God (cf. chap. 58).¹⁶¹ And yet the witness of Zion and its righteousness causes the nations (בני נכר, זרים, v. 5) to rename Israel priests and ministers of Yhwh (v. 6), to whom they now lay claim as “our God” (אל־הינו, v. 5).¹⁶²

The core concludes in chapter 62, with the herald’s exhortation *to God* that he would fulfill his promises here to Zion (vv. 1–9), followed by his commanding Israel to prepare for God’s imminent return. Thus the herald’s imperatives frame chapters 60–62 (60:1–3, 2x impv; 62:10–12, 8x impv), whereby Zion’s restoration is both foil and motivation for correcting Israel’s present condition.¹⁶³ In their restoration Israel will and must finally look as they were urged throughout chapters 40–55.¹⁶⁴ I would even suggest that in this concluding summary, by his reference to “the people” and the closely associated “peoples” (העם, העמים, v. 10), the prophet opens Israel’s eschatological New Exodus to the nations. Zion’s inhabitants are an ambiguous “they” whom God elects (קרא) to be “a holy people” and “Yhwh’s redeemed” (v. 12).

Therefore, the nations’ standing within Trito-Isaiah’s core is not static. Even if it at first leans toward subservience, the nations’ affirmation of Zion becomes increasingly integral, resulting in their role in Zion gradually becoming increasingly participatory. Correspondingly, the prophet partly deconstructs expectations regarding who are God’s people, and therefore who will benefit as Zion’s inhabitants. Within progression from foreigner to all humanity across Trito-Isaiah (see below on 56:1–8; 66:18–24), chapters 60–62 intriguingly place the nations with Israel at the center of Zion.

¹⁶⁰ It makes the best sense if Zion is the speaker, even if indirectly through the herald (so Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 557, 574; pace Beuken, “Servant,” 432).

¹⁶¹ Beuken, “Servant,” 416–17, 438.

¹⁶² Lynch, *Literary*, 112.

¹⁶³ Cf. Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 102.

¹⁶⁴ Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 378; Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 558–60; Williamson, *Variations*, 172–73, etc. note nearly an entire line of 40:10 is cited in 62:11, with vv. 10–12 being nearly a catena of Deutero-Isaianic elements.

2. Warrior Panels (Isaiah 59:15b–21 and 63:1–6)

a. Zion, Israel and the Nations in Isaiah 59:15b–21

The warrior panels of 59:15b–21 and 63:1–6 constitute the first layer out from chapters 60–62.¹⁶⁵ The first of these comes on the heels of Israel’s lament at their pitiable (albeit self-inflicted) state (59:1–15a; see below), which in turn follows a lengthy set of primarily judgment oracles (56:9–58:8). As a result of their rebellion and unrighteousness, 59:15b–21 begins with Yhwh seeing that “there was no justice” (אֵין מִשְׁפָּט, v. 15b) within Israel.¹⁶⁶

The imagery is spectacular, but the message basically straightforward. Israel’s failure as God’s servant prompts him to gear up to do their job himself (vv. 16–17). Starting in verse 18, the tense shifts from the perfect to the imperfect, as God’s imminent and eschatological judgment bears down upon his adversaries and enemies (לְצַרְיוֹ... לְאֹיְבָיו, v. 18b).¹⁶⁷ And since injustice is reigning over the world, God’s setting things aright is “vengeance” (נִקְמָה, v. 17; cf. 61:2; 63:4) and earned repayment (בְּעַל גְּמֻלוֹתָ, v. 18a).¹⁶⁸ The gravity of God’s judgment is further intensified in that the collocation of reverence, Yhwh’s name and his glory (כְּבוֹדוֹ, v. 19) denotes a liturgical context.¹⁶⁹ Leading from the first warrior panel to the core of Trito-Isaiah, then, the nations appropriately respond to God’s awesomeness with an awe that ultimately propels them to Zion.¹⁷⁰

God’s action means redemption for “those who turn from rebellion” (v. 20), presumably Israel. Here, salvation and judgment are concomitant aspects of God’s personal

¹⁶⁵ For verbal connections between the core and warrior panels, see Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 86–87; idem, “Zion’s,” 245.

¹⁶⁶ Gosse, “Deux usages du Psaume 96,” OTE 12 (1999): 271–73 traces parallel usage of *salvation* and *righteousness* in chaps. 56–59 and Pss 93–101 to argue that in Isa 56:1 (below); 59:4 (cf. Ps 96:13) salvation is conditioned on God-established righteousness, whereas “en Is 59:15b–20 la venue du salut et de la justice de Yahvé se faisait malgré l’échec de l’établissement du droit et de la justice” (ad loc., 273).

¹⁶⁷ Beuken, “Servant,” 422. Cf. בְּנַהֲרֵי צַר, v. 19b, where the articular בְּנַהֲרֵי makes most sense as a comparative nominal clause (and not with צַר as adjectival), yielding a smoothed translation of “as the narrow, rushing river” (cf. Lynch, “Zion’s,” 252 n. 23).

¹⁶⁸ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 530 notes the irony that *repayment* (שָׁלוֹם) here could have been *shalom*. The omission of לְאֹיְבָיו גְּמוּלָהּ שָׁלוֹם in the Grk need not reflect a different understanding, since “God’s foe is sin” and not just sin in Israel (ibid., 525–26, 530–32, noting support for the MT in 1QIs^a; Tg. Isa. 59:18, etc.).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Tryggve N. D Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (trans. Frederick H. Cryer; ConBOT 18; Lund: Gleerup, 1982), 34–36; cf. Isa 6; Ezek 1; Ps 29:2; 1 Chr 16:10, 29.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Lynch, *Literary*, 91–92; idem, “Zion’s,” 253.

enactment of justice.¹⁷¹ However, the apposition of verses 15b–21 to verses 1–15a and the foregoing judgment oracles indicates that God’s “enemies” in verse 18b include the transgressors within Israel.¹⁷²

Lynch is virtually the only scholar to account for the apparent disjunction that in 59:15b–21, God executes his judgment upon the *nations* regarding injustice located within *Israel*. He notices that God’s astonishment and retaliation in the international arena entail a causal relationship between injustice in Israel and that in the world. Namely, the darkness enshrouding the nations (60:1) is “a function of Israel’s own dark rebellion (59:9).”¹⁷³ So whether there is justice in the world depends upon whether there is justice in Israel (cf. 10:20), especially given God’s global concern as cosmic king. Likewise, nations not subdued by Yhwh’s rule continually oppressed his people. Lynch puts it, “There could be no societal equity in Zion as long as the nations were in uproar, and there would be no stability for the nations unless Zion was properly ordered.”¹⁷⁴ Thus the shift from a domestic to an international arena, wherein God is attacking Israel’s international injustice.

So Zion’s centrality in Trito-Isaiah coordinates the warrior, vengeance, and temple motifs. Given the Zion tradition progression from battle to international response to enthronement, “TI’s presentation of the nations is comprehensible in two primary senses: [The] nations are blessed or cursed based on their attitude toward and treatment of Zion; [and] the nations experience a transformation following their encounter with the Divine Warrior.”¹⁷⁵ Accordingly, the international (לְיַיִם, 59:18) witness of God’s glory and revelatory “coming” (בוֹא, vv. 19, 20) accompanies the nations’ subjection to his martial judgment (יִהְיֶה... אֲתֵּן שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה, v. 19), so that their movement toward Zion in chapters 60–62 is the corollary of God’s self-revelation (vv. 19–20).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Thomas L. Leclerc, *Yahweh is exalted in Justice: Solidarity and Conflict in Isaiah* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 152.

¹⁷² Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 350; Beuken, “Servant,” 423-24.

¹⁷³ Lynch, “Zion’s,” 250-51; idem, *Literary-Theological*, 88; pace John Goldingay, *Isaiah* (NIBC; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001), 334, who suggests לְיַיִם (v. 15b) may ambiguously refer to a lack of international justice that should benefit Israel. Cf. Moshe Weinfeld, *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995), 189-91.

¹⁷⁴ *Literary-Theological*, 89.

¹⁷⁵ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 85; cf. Zeph 3:14–17; Pss 22:27; 47:3–9; 98:1–3; Sir 35:22 (ibid., 88 n. 169). See also Mettinger, “Fighting the Powers of Chaos and Hell: Toward the Biblical Portrait of God,” *ST* 39 (1985): 26-29.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 90, 92; idem, “Zion’s,” 253. God’s name or glory are often the proper objects of reverence; cf.

Moreover, God's indiscriminate judgment upon injustice again blurs the identity of both his people and enemies. Zion is no refuge for the wicked (57:21), so that God comes as redeemer only for those in Jacob who repent (59:20b; cf. 1:27-28; 33:14-16).¹⁷⁷ Therefore, God's theophanic coming entails both positive and negative implications for both Israel and the nations, which are fleshed out in descriptions of their fates upon Zion in the subsequent unit (chaps. 60-62).¹⁷⁸ This complication serves as a warning to the prophet's audience.

Finally, this first warrior panel concludes with God commemorating his victory by establishing a covenant with Zion's righteous (צִדִּיקִים).¹⁷⁹ The shift to first person reflects Yhwh's establishment of covenants with Israel at other "victory mountains" in their history, most notably Sinai (Exod 19:4-6; 20:2; cf. Lev 19:36; 25:54-55; Ps 68:17).¹⁸⁰ When it is recast in 61:8-9, which shares a focus upon descendants (זֶרַע, v. 21 3x; 61:9 2x, also with צִדִּיקִים) but adds an international shading (בְּתוֹךְ הָעַמִּים, 61:9), this covenant fulfills the Abrahamic promise of Genesis 12:3 (cf. Deut 4:5-14). Further, given the division cleft by 59:20, the grammatical object of verse 21 is ambiguous. At least some Israelites are excluded and, though not certain, the implied inclusion of representatives of the nations turns verse 21 into a hinge between the nations' defeat in 59:15b-21 and their ingathering in chapters 60-62.

b. Zion, Israel and the Nations in Isaiah 63:1-6

The second warrior panel in 63:1-6, following Triton-Isaiah's core, builds upon and completes the first. Yhwh's victorious return from battle is conveyed by the dialogue between the warrior and Zion's watchman. He comes "from Edom" apparently arrayed in royal crimson, but upon inspection bathed in blood from battle (vv. 1-3). The purpose of this panel is not merely structural, but also to advance the message of its predecessor.

As in Isaiah 34-35, here Edom-Borzah is metonymic for "all the nations" (34:2; cf. vv. 5-6), as well as being a paronomasia on *blood* (and *red*; cf. Gen 25:25).¹⁸¹ And this panel

1 Chr 16:29; Neh 9:5; Ps 29:2; 45:5-6, 17; 66:2; 72:19; 79:9; 96:8; 97:1-6; 98:1-2, 4; 102:15; 115:1; 113:3-4; Isa 42:8; Mal 1:6, 11; 2:2 (Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 91 n. 78).

¹⁷⁷ This dynamic is explicit in the Grk ἤξει ἔνεκεν Σιῶν, where God's march upon his own people implies that they are responsible for world injustice (Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 351).

¹⁷⁸ Lynch, "Zion's," 253.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 255-56 for the placement of v. 21.

¹⁸⁰ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 199-201; Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 94.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Achtemeier, *Community*, 108; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 225; Leszek Ruzkowski, *Volk und*

is bloodier than the former, emphasizing the brutality of God's wrath upon those who perpetrate injustice.¹⁸² In fact, that injustice is the *casus belli* is inferred from the connection to the former panel, as the dialogue cannot spare words for detailing God's actions and generically identifying them as deliverance and redemption (cf. גְּאוּלִּים, ישׁע, vv. 1, 4–5). John Sawyer has even advanced the compelling but unfortunately neglected proposal that God returns as a victorious but broken warrior, having spent himself to complete Israel's task.¹⁸³ Negative imagery paints a picture of a warrior who staggers home in soiled, stained garments.¹⁸⁴ Thus the exchange with Zion's watchman may be genuine rather than rhetorical, asking incredulously, 'If you are Yhwh, then why do you come to Zion looking like *that*?'¹⁸⁵

God's looking not just to Israel for help but to "the peoples" generally (v. 3a) again blurs the distinction between Israel and the nations. Either the nations are "elevated" to share Israel's position, or, more likely, Israel has sunk to the nations' level.¹⁸⁶ This disappointment initiated God's march in the first warrior panel, but here it is both central and climactic.

The purpose of this reproach is twofold. First, it emphasizes that the glory that illuminates Zion in the central verses 61:1–3 is Yhwh's own. Namely, it is the glory of the triumphant divine warrior, who after defeating all enemies is enthroned upon Zion's central peak.¹⁸⁷ If Israel had defended the disfranchised, then their light would have illuminated Zion (58:10).¹⁸⁸ In their failure, God has taken up their mantle and their glory, thereby fulfilling

Gemeinde im Wandel: eine Untersuchung zu Jesaja 56–66 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 48-51; Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 353; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 250. See Claire R. Mathews, *Defending Zion: Edom's Desolation and Jacob's Restoration (Isaiah 34–35) in Context* (BZAW 236; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 159-61; Lynch, "Zion's," 256-57 for connections with Isa 34–35, the only other Isaianic tradition that collocates Edom and Borzah (though Childs, *Isaiah*, 518-19 suggests also אֲחִיבֵּם in 66:5). Most noteworthy is that God's victory over Edom-Borzah is summarized as יוֹם נִקָּם and שְׁנַת שְׁלֹמִים (34:8; cf. 63:4) that benefits Zion's disfranchised (35:3–6), and who are redeemed and consequently throng to Zion in worship (v. 10).

¹⁸² Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 355.

¹⁸³ "Radical Images of Yahweh in Isaiah 63," in *Among the Prophets: Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings* (ed. Philip R. Davies and David J. A. Clines; JSOTSup 144; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 72-82.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. חֶמְצָה as *vinegar* (v. 1); צַעֲהָ (v. 2), used elsewhere only of prostitutes, prisoners, and vagabonds (cf. Isa 51:14; Jer 2:20; 48:12); and the warrior's isolation, listed four times (vv. 3a [2x], 5a [2x]); cf. הִיחַ חֲמָה in v. 5a (cf. 59:16), a mark of panicked desperation in Ps 143:3–4; Dan 8:17, 27 (ibid., 74-78).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 74-75.

¹⁸⁶ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 248.

¹⁸⁷ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 100.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 98, 100; idem, "Zion's," 258-59.

the ethical concern for Zion's weak. So the warrior panels further emphasize that Zion and the identity of its people are defined by God's glory.

Second, God's defeat of injustice upholds the ideal of Zion, since his victory is נִקְם and שְׁנַת־רִצּוֹן (63:4; cf. 59:17) that directly benefits Zion's unjustly suffering inhabitants (cf. 61:2). He battles against nations like Edom-Borzah, who "notoriously persecute Zion's weak," but also against the wicked within Israel themselves.¹⁸⁹ Since God finds no help from Israel or the nations, he equally wreaks destruction upon "the peoples" (v. 6a).¹⁹⁰ And as is Zion's purpose, this has the intended transformative effect upon the onlooking (and disciplined) nations. As Lynch states, God's "intervention catalyzes the transformation of the nations. ... The Divine Warrior initiates what Israel was *unable* to do on its own—bring the light of justice to the nations."¹⁹¹

Therefore, the warrior panels display the international and cosmic consequences of Israel's injustice in relation to the significance of Zion's justice within the core that they frame. As well, the panels exhibit Trito-Isaiah's narrative progression, as the latter amplifies the former and shows that, while Zion's restoration lies at the heart of God's purposes, there is an urgency concerning the disjunction between the audience's current state and how they ought to act (see 59:1–15a; 63:7–64:11, below).

Regarding the nations, the warrior panels demonstrate that, while they are culpable for their violence toward Israel (and especially Zion's weak), their rebellion is a symptom of Israel's own. The redemption of *both* Israel and the nations is intrinsic to Zion's restoration, which is reciprocally requisite to Israel and the nations' redemption. In this way, especially the more violent second panel is indicative not of the prophet's general stance on the nations, but of his stance on both their *and Israel's* hostility toward Zion's disfranchised.¹⁹² So rather than displaying nationalistic antipathy, the prophet illustrates how God will not dismiss the nations anymore than Israel, to whom they are alike.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 99.

¹⁹⁰ Hence the slightly enigmatic construction $\text{וְהַתְּשֵׁעַ לִי זֶרַעִי}$ in v. 5, where it seems Israel's deliverance is not nationalistically ensured, but rather the deliverance of the survivors of God's wrath—Israelite and international—depends upon their orientation toward God.

¹⁹¹ *Literary-Theological*, 99–100, emphasis original, citing the nations' relinquishment of the slander that previously characterized their stance toward Zion (cf. 60:14; 61:6; 62:4).

¹⁹² Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 101.

3. Lament Panels (*Isaiah 59:1–15a and 63:7–64:11*)

a. Zion, Israel and the Nations in *Isaiah 59:1–15a*

Like the previous panels, the lament panels both contextualize what they bracket and are governed by the centralized focus upon Zion. Also, there is again a narrative progression wherein 63:7–64:11 elaborates upon and amplifies 59:1–15a. These panels only contain implications for the nations' relationship with Israel (and nothing directly related to Israel-nations unification), but they still contribute importantly to the overall theology of Trito-Isaiah.

Following the primarily judgment oriented material of 56:9–58:14 regarding the wickedness confronted in the warrior panels, 59:1–15a laments the remoteness of God's salvation that is due to Israel's actions. In the first half the prophet indicts Israel for their wickedness (vv. 1–8), and in the second half (cf. *עַל-כֵּן*, v. 9) the people twice (for rhetorical emphasis) bewail their resultant straits (vv. 9–11, 12–15a, joined by *כִּי* beginning v. 12).¹⁹³ As this first lament opens, it deviates from formal convention (in which a righteous sufferer petitions Yhwh) and instead states that God is attentive to the community's plight and able to deliver, but their bloody hands keep *them* from *him* (vv. 1–3). Israel, who were to separate themselves in the sense of holiness (*בְּדַל*, Lev 20:24, 26; cf. Ezra 6:21; Neh 9:2; 10:28), have separated themselves instead in wickedness (*בְּדַל*, Isa 59:2).¹⁹⁴ As a result, beginning in verse 9 the community laments not God's abandonment of them, but the consequences of their abandonment of him.¹⁹⁵ The severity is such that the summarizing statement of verses 14–15 is part of the hinge to the first warrior panel, as the injustice under which the people sends Yhwh to battle. For Israel, the loss of *shalom* is the price for failure to live it out.¹⁹⁶

b. Zion, Israel and the Nations in *Isaiah 63:7–64:11*

In the second lament panel, following on the second warrior panel, the prophet continues his line of thought from the first, but also incorporates the intervening theophanies and depiction of Zion. So just as the second warrior panel amplifies the first, this lament is

¹⁹³ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 518-19, 522; cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 349.

¹⁹⁴ Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 329; Schultz, "Nationalism," 140 notes that Israel is designated a *גֵּר* as they are indicted for rebellion in 58:1. Commentators generally explain this material as accompanied by an erroneous sense of guiltless injury, necessitating that God point out their guilt before hearing of their grief.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 518-19, 522.

¹⁹⁶ Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 329.

much longer than its antecedent.¹⁹⁷ Accordingly, it weaves an inconsistent pattern of complaint, petition, and also “confession, questioning, prayer, appeal, and accusation.”¹⁹⁸ Especially in light of 63:1–6, in a display of penitential piety the second lament poses the question for chapters 65–66, Will Yhwh indeed come in power and reaffirm that Israel are his people, chosen over and above the adversarial nations (cf. 63:19–64:1)?¹⁹⁹

Compared to the first lament panel, the lack of charges implies Israel’s cognizance of their guilt.²⁰⁰ Instead, in the wake of Zion and the divine warrior’s theophany (60:1–63:6), the lament is set up by a recounting of God’s *hesed* (63:7–9) and Israel’s rebellion (vv. 10–14) upon Sinai. The prophet’s recollection that God’s ensuing punishment led not to abandonment, but rather Israel’s repentance (וַיִּזְכֹּר יְמֵי־עוֹלָם מִשָּׁה עֲמוֹ, v. 11) and his eventually giving them rest in the Land (v. 14) raises the question, Where is God in the post-exilic continuance of exile (אֵיךָ הַמַּעֲלָם מִיָּמִים... מוֹלַיְכֶם בַּתְּהוֹמוֹת, vv. 11b–13a), and will he forgive again? Still, Israel’s behavior and attendant sharing in the nations’ punishment in 59:1–8 and the warrior panels forces them to conclude, “We have become ‘Those Whom You Never Ruled,’ as they who are not called by your name” (v. 19a).

For this reason, in the next section (63:19b–64:6), the community “implores Yahweh to reenact his Sinai theophany on its behalf,” (63:19b–64:2), since it will vindicate God’s name before the onlooking nations (v. 3).²⁰¹ But Israel’s unexpectedly wicked response to God’s loyalty at Sinai (vv. 7–10) is analogous to the community’s complaint of abandonment (63:15–19a), so that their confession of God’s faithfulness (and their own “righteousness”) vindicates him from the unjust charge (vv. 5–6; cf. v. 7).²⁰² Finally, at the climax of the lament (vv. 7–11), Israel appeals that their ignominy and the ruination of Zion and the temple

¹⁹⁷ With Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 251–54, I divide the lament into 63:7–9, 10–14, 15–19a, 63:19b–64:6, and 7–11. The textual variants indicate that 64:1 (or 63:19b) is a later addition, but the MT provides the opening, “If only you would tear open the heavens above, that you would descend with the mountains shaking before you like when a fire kindles...” (63:19b–64:1a).

¹⁹⁸ Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 355.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Jeffrey J. Niehaus, *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1995), 196–98; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 266; see also Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 634–635 for verbal links between 63:7–64:11 and chaps. 65–66.

²⁰⁰ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 613; cf. n. 194, above.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, also noting the connection between 63:7–64:11 and 63:1–6 (and 59:15b–21) in theophanic elements, e.g. 63:19b–64:2 (ad loc., 100–01, 114).

²⁰² Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 388; Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 603, 607–08; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 234, etc.

(vv. 9–10) should cause God to act since they detract from his reputation, entreating, “After these things will you restrain yourself, Yhwh? Will you keep silent and afflict us beyond measure?” (v. 11; cf. $\square\psi$, 63:12, 14, 16; 64:1). Therefore the overall thrust of the lament is Israel’s plea “for Yahweh to vindicate his [name] on behalf of his city and people.”²⁰³

Therefore, the lament panels directly necessitate the divine warrior’s intervention—since God’s glory is threatened by the people who bear his name—and ask for his return, that he may restore Zion and his people. The first panel focuses upon Israel’s sad state of affairs, but the second draws out the disastrous implications for God’s reputation. This, in combination with the liturgical elements seen in the second lament (64:9–10), the warrior panels and in the temple in chapters 60–62, again underscores the connectedness between the restoration of creation (in Zion) and worship.²⁰⁴

Also, the laments together—and especially the second lament indirectly speak of Israel and the nations, in that they show how the prophet’s audience has sunk to the level of the nations in both action and appearance. Israel and the nations are unified in depravity, both needing deliverance from the divine warrior’s wrath and to be made into those who glorify God at the heart of the new creation. Accordingly, peppered throughout chapters 65–66 is God’s response to Israel’s plea for vindication.²⁰⁵ The prophet increasingly distinguishes between (ethnic) Israelites and Yhwh’s servants by initially designating Israel (and then addressing their unrighteous) a אֱלֹהִים (65:1); by discriminating between Israelite interlocutors (“you”) and the servants, who are further identified as “chosen ones” (65:9, 13–14); by drawing out a kinship division between “those who tremble at my word” and “your [the interlocutors’] brothers” (66:2, 5); and in the alternation of judgment and salvation oracles, which respectively speak to the destinies of God’s Israelite opponents and the righteous servant whom they afflict.²⁰⁶ Thus, God will grant Israel’s request from the lament panels,

²⁰³ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 116.

²⁰⁴ Similarly, for the heavy emphasis upon worship (both restored and corrupt) in chaps. 65–66, see Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 120–21.

²⁰⁵ Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 365 attributes the jolting literary style of chaps. 65–66 to redaction, which may be correct. But Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 119 suggests a rhetorical intention to the style, wherein both judgment and redemption from God for both Israel and the nations are jarringly commingled events at the advent of the eschaton: “The style conveys the thunderous reworking of ‘conventional’ distinctions between Israel and the nations that will transpire.” His interpretation is strengthened in that the paratactic alternation of judgment and salvation is paralleled by alternation of domestic and cosmic scopes, generally moving toward the latter.

²⁰⁶ Cf. David M. Carr, “Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65–66): Multiple Modern Possibilities,” in *New Visions of Isaiah*: (ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney; Sheffield:

but in an unexpected manner that surprisingly redefines the “Israel” who will benefit from God’s actions.

4. Outer Panels: Worship and Unification (Isaiah 56:1–8 and 66:18–24)

a. Zion, Israel and the Nations in Isaiah 56:1–8

Isaiah 56:1–8 is programmatic for the chiasm, where, right at the outset, the prophet stretches conventions regarding Israel’s identity by addressing the cases of two representative individuals, the foreigner and the eunuch.²⁰⁷ But just as this exposition on the ideal for Israel is followed instead by judgment on the postexilic community’s rebellion (56:9–58:8), interspersed judgment and salvation oracles on various segments of both Israel and the nations (65:1–66:17) lead into 66:18–24, Trito-Isaiah’s celebration of the restoration of humanity as constitutive to the renewal of creation in Zion.

Like the other layers, then, Trito-Isaiah’s frame is both defined by and also contextualizes Zion at its center. Zion drives the prophet’s interest in covenant observance, ingathering, and the link between the two. At the same time, the foreigner and eunuch demonstrate that God’s main intentions for Zion and his highest priorities for its restoration are the care for the disfranchised and the ingathering of his people from amongst both Israel and the nations. In this way the prophet builds upon a theme from Deutero-Isaiah, as Leszek Ruzkowski pithily concludes, “im Vergleich zum ‚auserwählten Volk‘ bei DtJes läuft es bei TrJes auf ein Volk hinaus, das Jhwh zu seinem Gott erwählt.”²⁰⁸

Returning to 56:1–8, those who would be Israel are enjoined, “Keep justice and do righteousness” (v. 1a). The provided motivations of Yhwh’s visitation (v. 1b) and blessing (v. 2a) show that by (𐤊𐤍, v. 1b) obeying this command (as defined in v. 2b), Israel works with God in producing the conditions he intends for them.²⁰⁹ As in the programmatic opening of the Psalter (of which the blessing here is reminiscent, v. 2; cf. Ps 1:1), the command is

Sheffield Academic, 1996), 211; Seitz, “Book,” 540; Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 117-18.

²⁰⁷ Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 316; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 169, etc.

²⁰⁸ *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel: eine Untersuchung zu Jesaja 56–66* (FRLANT 191; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 173-74; cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 313-14; Bernard Gosse, “Sabbath, Identity and Universalism Go Together after the Return from Exile,” *JSOT* 29 (2005): 364-65, citing בְּחַר in 56:4 (in contrast to the wickedness chosen in 65:12).

²⁰⁹ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 67.

interpreted as covenantal Torah obedience—specifically, Sabbath adherence and abstinence from evil—since Torah “brings every phase of life under obedience to Yahweh.”²¹⁰

Thomas Leclerc argues that the injection of covenant theology into these introductory verses emphasizes that covenant keeping is active (not just doxastic), so that “for Third Isaiah, the coming of God’s salvation is the [liturgical] motive for enacting justice.”²¹¹ Moreover, the specification of Sabbath identifies obedience with worship and piety, and such a posture grants access to God’s blessing to anyone (בן־אדם, אנוש יעשה־זאת) (v. 2a) and not specifically Israelites. But the delay of salvation over which Israel expresses frustration in chapters 56–66 is traceable to here, in its conditionality as seen in the paronomasia on צדקה (v. 1): Israel lacks God’s salvation because they fail to uphold his righteousness.²¹²

Justice and righteousness, for the prophet, look like God’s treatment of the foreigner and the eunuch in verse 3–8. Correspondingly, these individuals exemplify obedience to his command to do the same. Specifically regarding faithful foreigners (הַנִּכְר הַנְּלוּהָ אֶל־יְהוָה) (בן, v. 3), the prophet states that when they live out covenant keeping, then they live as Yhwh’s servants (לַהֲיוֹת לוֹ לְעַבְדִּים) (v. 6b). However, in Torah the נִכְר was prohibited from cultic participation.²¹³ And both eunuchs and foreigners are precluded (apparently; see below) from belonging to God’s people (לֹא־יִבְאֹ...בְקִהְלֵ יְהוָה) (Deut 23:2–9).²¹⁴ So their shared concern as marginalized outsiders prompts their protest that God will dismiss them in the imminent vindication of “his people” (עַמּוֹ, v. 3), which the prophet denies initially in verse 3 and in detail in verses 4–7.

Verses 3–7 introduce the foreigner and then the eunuch, but first address the eunuch’s concern and then the foreigner’s.²¹⁵ This rhetorical move allows the prophet to amplify

²¹⁰ Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 169. The emphasis on Torah and covenant keeping is evident in the numerous occurrences of שָׁמַר (vv. 1, 2 [2x], 4, 6) and the parallelism of *Sabbath* and *covenant* (e.g. vv. 4, 6b).

²¹¹ *Yahweh*, 135–36, also arguing a cataphoric connection of יהוֹיֵק בָּהּ (v. 2a) with וּמַחְזִיקִים בְּבְרִיתִי (v. 4a).

²¹² Williamson, *Variations*, 190; so also de Hoop, “Interpretation,” 681–82, saying vv. 3–8(9) are “an implicit criticism of leaders who apparently follow certain laws of the Torah [e.g. Deut 23:1–8; see below] but neglect more important ones,” which becomes explicit in vv. 10–12.

²¹³ E.g. the Passover celebration, where by contrast the נִכְר—the protected non-Israelite—was permitted; cf. Exod 12:43–48 (Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 67 n. 122, also citing Num 9:14).

²¹⁴ So Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 316; Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 458; Seitz, “Isaiah 40–66,” 485; Achtemeier, *Community*, 35; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 83–84; Emerson, *Isaiah*, 107, etc.

²¹⁵ Gosse, “Sabbath,” 364.

toward the climactic case of the foreigner (vv. 6–7), disclosing the theological centrality of Israel and the nations’ relationship (and its cosmic implications regarding Zion).²¹⁶ The eunuch’s concern is that, for obvious reasons, he will lack a legacy in Israel (v. 3b).²¹⁷ God’s reply to both plaintiffs (formally introduced by *בְּהָאָמַר יְהוָה*, v. 4a) follows the form of naming them, specifying their covenantal standing, and pronouncing a blessing.²¹⁸ In the eunuch’s case, it an everlasting memorial (*יָד*) and a name, not just in Israel but within Yhwh’s temple itself (*בְּבֵיתִי וּבְחֹמֹתָי*) that surpasses (*שֵׁם טוֹב מֵ־*, v. 5) the legacy of sons and daughters.²¹⁹

The faithful foreigner’s suit is similar, in that he fears being separated from Israel (v. 3a). But more than this, the only other Isaianic occurrence of *בְּדַל* is the opening of the first lament panel (59:2), where separation from God is the consequence of Israel’s iniquity. So in separation from God’s people, the foreigner truly fears separation from Yhwh himself.²²⁰ Yet even more emphatically than with the eunuch, the prophet piles on five relative clauses that elaborate on the faithful foreigners’ identity as those “who are joined [*לְיָהוָה*] to Yhwh” (v. 5). As Lynch argues, the term *לוֹיֵה* is etymologically linked to *Levite* (*לוֹיֵי*) and usually entails temple service (though cf. Isa 14:1, where it refers to the stranger [*גֵּר*] who joins Israel), and the infinitival construction *לְשָׂרְתָו* (v. 5b) without exception refers to *priestly* temple (or Tabernacle) service (e.g. Deut 10:8; 21:5; Ezek 40:46; 1 Chr 23:13; 2 Chr 29:11; cf. Isa 60:7, 10; 61:6).²²¹ In their liturgical role, intimacy with God (*חִזְקָא, אֱהָבָה*) and covenant loyalty, such foreigners are “a total embodiment of all that Israel was meant to be, and all that Yahweh’s presence with his people was meant to effect” (cf. Lev 22:23).²²²

²¹⁶ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 68.

²¹⁷ *הַסְרִיִּים* likely refers to Israelites who entered into foreign imperial service at the expense of their faith; cf. Isa 39:6–7 (Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 171; Ruzskowski, *Volk*, 139; Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 316).

²¹⁸ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 68.

²¹⁹ Cf. Flynn, “House,” 7–8. Gosse, “Sabbath,” 364 observes that the eunuch’s Sabbath keeping provides a positive corollary of Exod 31:14, whereby keeping the Sabbath means life and *not* being “cut off.” Tuell, “Priesthood,” 193 further observes that *יָד* translates as *penis* in 58:7, so that 56:3, 5 offer a paronomasia wherein the eunuch who is *כְּרוּת שִׁפְכָה* (Deut 23:2) is granted a name and *יָד* that will *יְכַרְתֶּנּוּ*.

²²⁰ Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 513; cf. Gosse, “Sabbath,” 364, both insisting that *בְּדַל* (Grk ἀφορίζω, 56:3; διοίσθημι, 59:2) echoes *בְּדַל* (LXX διαχωρίζω) in Gen 1:6.

²²¹ *Literary-Theological*, 69. See here n. 124 on biblical occurrence of *שָׂרְתָו*; cf. Tuell, “Priesthood,” 194 n. 27.

²²² *Ibid.*, 75–76.

In verse 7, God will bless these faithful foreigners by bringing them into the temple atop Zion—designated *בבית הפלתי* in fulfillment of 1 Kings 8:43, 60 (see above)—for worship and service.²²³ Such participation in worship is coextensive with Israelite identity.²²⁴ At the outset of Trito-Isaiah, far from being rejected on the basis of national or social status, foreigners (and the eunuch) in their covenant loyalty are held up as paradigmatic for Zion’s eschatological community. It is this community, “consisting of foreigners, eunuchs and outcasts,” who is “the precise channel through which Yahweh begins world transformation.”²²⁵

This opening panel concludes with a summary (introduced by *נאם אדני יהוה*, v. 8). It first designates Yhwh as the God who “gathers the dispersed of Israel” (a unique predication within an oracle formula in the Bible; cf. the unlikely individuals listed in Mic 4:6–7; Zeph 3:19–20; Jer 31:8) in order to stage his declaration that he gathers not just Israelites, but “I will further gather to them” from the nations.²²⁶ Thus, the resolution of the foreigner and eunuch’s concerns results in a redefinition of the familiar theme of Israel’s ingathering to now also refer to the nations. In fact, given the context, God’s justice toward Israel is guaranteed by his justice toward the foreigner and eunuch.

Therefore, when establishing his guiding principles for chapters 56–66, the prophet makes Israel’s salvation and deliverance conditional to (or at least correlated with) that of the nations. As borne out by chapters 60–62, 56:1–8 states that for Trito-Isaiah, Israel and the nations’ redemption and being gathered as God’s one servant people is both essential to and the purpose of Zion’s restoration. Finally, both Israel-nations unification and God’s “holy mountain” (66:20) enjoy the same prominence in Trito-Isaiah’s closing oracle as in its opening oracle.

²²³ Westermann’s position (*Isaiah 40–66*, 316) is typical of nearly all scholars’, who argue that 56:1–8 either opposes or eschatologically abrogates Torah in view of traditions like Deut 23:2–9. But Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 73–76 is correct that the eunuch bemoans the lack of a future rather than entry into Yhwh’s assembly (*i.e.* social inclusion); and that the Deut 23:3–9 does not prohibit foreigners generally but rather Ammonites and Moabites (specifically for their inhospitality and curses toward Israel), and explicitly welcomes Edomites and Egyptians after three generations (for their hospitality and brotherhood). See here for analysis of how the foreigner (and eunuch) fulfill the religio-symbolic function of Pentateuchal laws that *prima facie* exclude their presence from the temple and its worship.

²²⁴ Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 314; Flynn, “House,” 7.

²²⁵ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 114.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

b. Zion, Israel and the Nations in Isaiah 66:18–24

Isaiah 56–66 concludes with the oracle in 66:18–24. There is some dispute regarding limits, but **לְאֶמְרֵי יְהוָה** ending verse 17 (and the shift to 1cs in v. 18) seems to conclude a section (the long transition of 65:17–66:17), and the apparent “judgment” text of verse 24 has a place with verses 18–23 (see below).²²⁷ Besides its chiastic parallelism to 56:1–8, numerous correlations between the two oracles link them across the span of Trito-Isaiah, *viz.*, first person speech; Yhwh’s coming (**בֹּאֵי**) and the use of infinitives for indicating its imminence (**לְבֹאֵי**, **לְקַבֵּץ**, 56:1; 66:18); the importance of Sabbath, and foreigner’s worship and priestly activities; and Yhwh’s holy mountain and ingathering activities.²²⁸

The characterization of Zion here—the destination of the ingathered (v. 20)—climactically fulfills the New Creational dimension of Zion from chapters 60–62, but also draws upon that in 66:1–2 (immediately following the New Creation oracle of 65:17–25).²²⁹ There, creation is identified with God’s palace-temple.²³⁰ But the prophet modifies the sequence of divine victory, ascent and palace-temple building by building a people instead of his temple: “But to this one I shall look, to him who is humble and contrite of spirit, and to him who trembles at my word” (v. 2b; cf. 57:15b).²³¹ In this liturgical or creational “temple” context, such a posture constitutes worship. And insofar as this people occupy the palace-temple position in the sequence they symbolically embody worship, so that their identity is bound up in this New Creational vocation.²³²

²²⁷ So Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 683–84; Childs, *Isaiah*, 542; pace Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 311. The debate partly stems from the fact that vv. 18–21 seem to be in prose (or else exhibiting a very unusual poetic meter). Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 129 also points out that vv. 18–24 contain two punctuations by the prophet (**לְאֶמְרֵי יְהוָה**, vv. 21, 23), and that vv. 18–24 hold together thematically while vv. 15–17 can serve as a prelude to Yhwh’s coming to Zion.

²²⁸ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 130.

²²⁹ See below, pp. 134–37.

²³⁰ See Anne E. Gardner, “Isaiah 66:1–4: Condemnation of Temple and Sacrifice or Contrast between the Arrogant and the Humble?” *RB* 113 (2006): 506–28 for a refutation of an anti-temple polemic in this passage.

²³¹ Lynch *Literary-Theological*, 125–26.

²³² It is for this reason that the prophet goes on to pronounce judgment upon corrupt worship in the temple (vv. 3–6); so also Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 126: “In essence, Yahweh enters into judgment against [idolaters] in order to ‘cleanse’ his cosmic temple community and make provision for the restoration of worship in Zion [in 66:18–24].”

Ulrich Berges effectively demonstrates this link between Zion and creation in 66:1–2, and particularly how creation is presented as an Edenic garden.²³³ He examines the intersection of garden, Zion and Temple imagery in chapters 40–66 (e.g. 40:6–8; 44:24–28; 51:9–16; 65:17–25), finding that “Baum- und Vegetationsmetaphern sind wesentliche Bestandteile der Zukunftsvision des neuen Jerusalem... seinem heiligen Berg, [und] seine Erwählten, die selbst ergrünen und langlebig sind wie ein Baum.”²³⁴ His subsequent appraisal of the importance of creation for the prosperity of Zion and its inhabitants ultimately shows that “Als Zentrum der Schöpfung, als Nabel der Welt, kommen Tempel und Stadt höchste Bedeutung zu. Wie das Haus des Lebens, wie Garten Eden aussieht, hat Folgen für die gesamte Schöpfung.”²³⁵ Therefore, my analysis agrees with Berges’, that 66:1–2 prepares for verses 18–24 by depicting restored Zion as the eschatological New Creation (or at least its center), which is also God’s palace-temple within which his people worship him. The restoration of creation is coincident with and illustrative of that Israel.²³⁶

In its final form, 66:18–24 falls into two halves, divided by כִּי at the beginning of verse 22.²³⁷ The first half begins with a proleptic summary and then a more detailed description of God’s ingathering of the nations, though not unambiguously.²³⁸ Verse 18b describes, “[The time] is coming to gather all nations and tongues [אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם וְהַלְשׁוֹנוֹת], and they are coming to see my glory,” but the identity of the gatherers and the gatherees in verse 19 is not immediately clear. God will establish a sign among “them,” and will send survivors “from them” to the nations (v. 19a). The nearest antecedent of the first reference is

²³³ “Gottesgarten und Tempel: Die neue Schöpfung im Jesajabuch,” in *Gottesstadt und Gottesgarten: Zur Geschichte und Theologie des Jerusalemer Tempels* (eds. Othmar Keel and Erich Zenger; QD 191; Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 69–98; cf. Levenson, *Sinai*, 137–42.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 74, offering the supplementary support regarding God’s servant(s) in Trito-Isaiah that “ist es kein Zufall, dass sich sowohl bei der ersten als auch bei der letzten Erwähnung der Knechte in Jes 56–66 Vegetationsmetaphern finden” at 56:1–8 and 66:14–15 (ad loc.).

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 90 (cf. 41:17–20; 44:1–5; 45:8; 51:3; 55:12–13; 60:13; 61:3; cf. 58:9b–12), also mentioning the doxological dimension of Trito-Isaiah’s new creation and people of God: “In den neuen [Schöpfung], auf die Völkerwelt hin geöffneten Kultordnung des Jerusalemer Tempels und im leidfreien Zusammenleben jeder Kreatur auf dem heiligen Berg ist alle Wirklichkeit dem Urzustand, dem paradiesischen Archetyp, nachgebildet” (ad loc., 89).

²³⁶ Cf. Berges, “Gottesgarten,” 87–88.

²³⁷ Cf. Smith, *Rhetoric*, 170.

²³⁸ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 309 assesses v. 18a—“For I myself [know?] their deeds and thoughts [וְאֵנֹכִי מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשְׁבֹתֵיהֶם]”—as unintelligible but still attested by the earliest witnesses, contra José Severino Croatto, “The ‘Nations’ in the Salvific Oracles of Isaiah,” *VT* 55 (2005): 152 who omits it as corrupt. Perhaps “them” refers to both כָּל־בָּשָׂר in vv. 16 (anaphorically) and 23 (cataphorically), so that v. 18a formally introduces God’s final judgment of both the righteous and the wicked among both Israel and the nations.

the nations in the preceding verse. The specification of survivors likewise most directly refers to “all flesh [כָּל־בָּשָׂר],” that is, those who underwent God’s judgment in verse 16, which would also identify them as the survivors of the nations, if not of both Israel and the nations together.²³⁹ Therefore, after God’s victory against the corrupt worship of all humanity, his emissaries—the nations’ (or Israel and the nations’) surviving witnesses to that victory—proclaim his glory (כָּבֹד 3x, vv. 18–19) throughout the conquered earth.²⁴⁰

God’s “sign” in verse 19 is referentially ambiguous, but its function is clear as the symbol of God’s mighty deeds, by which the nations recognize the emptiness of their idolatry.²⁴¹ And so their tribute of diaspora Israelites and their offerings upon Zion (each being both a socio-political and cultic act; cf. 60:4; 62:12) are fundamentally characterized as worship that is of a single piece with Israel’s own (בְּאִשֶּׁר...בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, v. 20). Thus the prophet locates Deutero-Isaiah’s long delayed New Exodus for Israel (cf. 40:5; 43:6; 49:2–3) in the eschatological ingathering of the nations and Israel to Zion.²⁴²

Then the prophet pushes even further by declaring that even “from them [מֵהֵם]” Yhwh will take priests and Levites (v. 21; cf. לֵוִי, 56:5).²⁴³ Such offices in Trito-Isaiah are the prerogative of Zion’s inhabitants (60:7, 10; 61:7; 63:17; 65:8-9, 13-15; 66:14), which furthers the identification of Israel’s restoration as Israel-nations unification, that is, the restoration of humanity.²⁴⁴ In fact, the nations actually initiate Israel’s renewal of non-corrupt worship: The participation of surviving foreigners catalyzes the nations’ ingathering, who escort Israel to Zion, and the nations’ example of worship (v. 19a) is then followed by Israel (vv. 19b, 22–23).²⁴⁵

²³⁹ Lynch, *Literary*, 132 n. 167 rightly observes that this identification together with the scope of v. 16 militate against an exclusively Israelite interpretation of פְּלִיטִים.

²⁴⁰ Seitz, “Isaiah 40–66,” 548; and Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 314 examine parallels between the peoples listed in v. 19 with the table of nations in Gen 10, which imply that the prophets means for the ingathering of the nations to heal humanity’s fracture at the tower of Babel.

²⁴¹ Cf. Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 137.

²⁴² Williamson, *Variations*, 199-200.

²⁴³ Again, the referent of “them” is ambiguous enough to invite debate; but also again the most direct antecedent is the nations of v. 19 (בָּהֵם); so Graham I. Davies, “The Destiny of the Nations in the Book of Isaiah,” in *The book of Isaiah—Le livre d’Isaïe: les oracles et leurs relecteurs: unité et complexité de l’ouvrage* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University, 1989), 95; Smith, *Rhetoric*, 168. See Gardner, “Nature,” 15 nn. 19-22 for scholarship on referents of the various objects in vv. 19–21.

²⁴⁴ Lynch, “Zion’s,” 254 n. 28.

²⁴⁵ So Seitz, “Isaiah 40–66,” 549, arguing on the basis of the cosmic scope of vv. 18–24, its parallel

The transitional כִּי (v. 22) beginning the second half of the oracle emphatically draws together the events of verses 18–21 in order to summarize Trito-Isaiah’s eschatological program.²⁴⁶ God addresses “you,” the Zion community comprising the faithful from both Israel and the nations. To this effect, just as “all flesh” was defeated (v. 16), “all flesh” is now restored for worship (v. 23).²⁴⁷

The oracle combines the new creation language of 65:7–25 (66:22a; cf. 66:1–2), and the promise of descendants for the marginalized (v. 22b) and covenant faithfulness in Sabbath keeping (v. 23) of 56:1–8.²⁴⁸ Yhwh names himself as guarantor of the new creation, and of the descendants and faithfulness in worship of Zion’s inhabitants, promising, “I myself am the one who causes [them] to stand steadfast in my presence [אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה עֹמְדִים לִפְנֵי]” (v. 22b). Zion’s restoration thus fulfills the promise to the marginalized and the hope for justice from 56:1–8. But more significantly, worship from Israel and particularly the nations “no longer distorts creation; it exists in harmony with Israel’s own creation-patterned worship.”²⁴⁹

However, the oracle concludes soberly, by describing the fate (consistent with that outlined throughout) of those who “rebel against me” (v. 24). This is an intentional prophetic technique, to offer a challenge in the form of a gruesome final word that leaves “no further hope of reversal.”²⁵⁰ Somewhat ironically, then, the prophet brings his depiction of humanity and Zion’s joint eschatological restoration into the service of his message to postexilic Israel, regarding their need to repent of their wickedness (cf. 56:1).

So in the final form of chapters 56–66, its first and last oracles encompass the prophet’s entire discussion of postexilic Israel’s situation vis-à-vis the implications of Zion’s ultimate destiny. Isaiah 56:1–8 provides a setup for the subsequent judgment oracles, leading into the first lament panel by holding up God’s faithfulness to marginalized individuals—

with 56:1–8 and the asseverate כִּי beginning 66:21 that “the false religion of the servants’ opponents is replaced by right worship by the nations”; cf. Moshe Weinfeld, *The Promise of the Land: The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 262–64; Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 134–35.

²⁴⁶ Smith, *Rhetoric*, 170–71, providing a review of the options.

²⁴⁷ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 137 n. 281 suggests allusions to בָּשָׂר (כָּל) in Gen 2; 6–9; cf. כָּל in 66:10–11 (ad loc., 282).

²⁴⁸ Cf. Gardner, “Nature,” 19–27; Gosse, “Sabbath,” 369. Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 691; and Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 316 both note how 66:18–24; Zech 8:20–23 (see below); 14:16–21 all conclude primary unit within their respective books by using Sabbath to express Israel-nations unification. This makes sense in light of the collocation of worship and festivals, namely, *Sukkot* where the Torah is annually read (cf. Deut 31:10–13).

²⁴⁹ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 137.

²⁵⁰ Williamson, *Variations*, 199; cf. Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 373.

most notably the foreigner—who exemplify for Israel Zion’s faithful inhabitants.

Correspondingly, 66:18–24 concludes God’s response (chaps. 65–66) to Israel’s second lament (63:7–64:11) by stating that he will indeed vindicate and fully restore—along with creation in Zion—his people, but clarifies that they “are neither wholly inclusive of Israel nor are they limited to Israel.”²⁵¹

In continuance of Trito-Isaiah’s narrative progression, the outsiders’ centripetal participation in Israel’s worship upon Zion in the first panel is amplified in the second as the permanent covenant faithfulness and worship of all humanity at the center of the New Creation. The terminal oracles also reinforce Trito-Isaiah’s concentric structure, by detailing that, in accordance with chapters 60–62, Zion’s restoration will be glorious and will consist in the realization of Israel’s task of servanthood in the form of Israel-nations unification. However, the prophet’s opening and concluding words to his audience (56:1–2; 66:24; cf. 66:15–17) are not that of Zion’s glorious destiny, but of how they ought to respond in light of how it compares to their present relationship with God, especially given that God’s people will ultimately comprise the faithful and not simply all Israelites.

C. Summary

For the arc of Isaiah 56–66, chapters 60–62 are the keystone of its chiasm, while at the same time 66:18–24 is the capstone of its narrative progression. The prophet opens with his programmatic injunction, and sketches a portrait of the paradigm for God’s people by way of God’s address to Zion’s disfranchised (56:1–8). By contrast, postexilic Israel’s rebellion and unfaithfulness call upon them a series of judgment oracles, leading to the first lament panel wherein God corrects their misperception of his abandonment and they mourn their God-less estate (59:1–16a). Seeing Israel not only failing to keep justice but actually perpetuating the cause of international injustice, the Yhwh warrior is forced to bring judgment in person upon injustice in the first warrior panel (59:15b–21), which precipitates the nations’ ingathering to and restoration of Zion, its temple and its cosmic restorative influence (chaps. 60–62). As a result, the second warrior panel (63:1–6) builds upon the first by further connecting the divine warrior’s glory with Zion’s illumination, and by further breaking down the identification of God’s people and Israel in light of the latter’s failings. Consequently, Israel laments the breakdown of their relationship with God, and asks that he would indeed come in order to restore their lot and their intimacy with them (63:7–64:11).

²⁵¹ Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 139.

God responds by both vindicating himself and promising to vindicate his people—his servants—but also further blurs their identification, until finally promising that their vindication will be the eschatological restoration of creation and humanity in worship before him; but God also gives a final warning and challenge for the prophet’s audience (66:18–24).

Overall, then, Trito-Isaiah is theological, that is, focused upon *God* and *his purposes* for Zion, Israel, and humanity. Servant Israel’s identity is theocentric. And God’s self-revealed character is disclosed in metaphors ranging from the cosmic king enthroned upon Zion to the wrathful warrior executing vengeance upon his and Zion’s—and not necessarily postexilic Israel’s—enemies. By contrast, Zion’s inhabitants will enjoy eschatological *shalom* (cf. 60:17; 66:12). Correspondingly, the controlling factors of Trito-Isaiah’s theology are the Israel-defining injunction to do justice and keep righteousness; God’s care for Zion’s disfranchised; his simultaneous ingathering of the faithful among Israel and the nations to form his Zion community, which are all introduced in the programmatic oracle of 56:1–8; and the consummating establishment of his throne and the restoration of creation in Zion, which is elaborated in chapters 60–62. In this, 56:1–8 and chapters 60–62 are reciprocally determinative, in that Zion’s character is normative for the composition, character and obligations of its community, and vice-versa.

Finally, in all this, chapter 56–66 exhibits a rather extraordinary depiction of Israel-nations unification, even compared with the biblical traditions examined so far. Whereas the ingathering of the nations is a function of God’s sovereignty in Deutero-Isaiah, in Trito-Isaiah it is a function of the New Creation of Zion, which is in turn a function of God’s sovereignty.²⁵² The nations are one of the prophet’s primary foils for God’s character and Israel’s identity. Thus, Trito-Isaiah interprets the Isaianic corpus—and also postexilic Israel’s experience—in terms of Israel-nations unification. God’s injunction in 56:1–2 has the cosmic purpose of eventuating the restoration of the postexilic community, then Jerusalem, and finally creation (Zion) and humanity. But since the community is failing as God’s servant, he must fill that role himself until he directly recreates a faithful people for himself and creation itself. So the prophet finally looks forward to the eschatological New Creation as God’s restored temple, with a restored humanity—constituted of the faithful from among both Israel and the nations—living in *shalom* and worshipping him at its center. And while Zion’s restoration effects that of Israel and the nations, it is also true that its purpose and completion depends upon their wholeness.

²⁵² Cf. above, p. 17.

V. *Micah 4:1–4*

The theology of the double tradition of Isaiah 2:2–4||Micah 4:1–4 in its *Mican* context is internally alike (for at least verses 1–3) to that of the oracle’s Isaianic occurrence. It constructs the same relationship between the features of eschatological New Creation, worship, new humanity (comprising Israel and non-Israelites), and *shalom*. Like its mate, Micah 4:1–4 foretells how Israel-nations unification and *shalom* result from Zion’s eschatological restoration and God’s enthronement.

However, the Mican occurrence includes the elaboration of an extra verse (4:4), exhibits a distinct ending (v. 5), and possesses its own literary context. These factors add to the full impact of the oracle and grant it a connotation that is slightly different than but also complementary to the oracle’s Isaianic occurrence. Therefore, Micah 4:1–4 merits a separate treatment as a biblical instance of Israel-nations unification.

A. Historical and Literary Context of Micah 4:1–4

Like Isaiah 1–39, Micah is set in the southern kingdom during the eighth century, at the time of Uzziah and his successors (Mic 1:1; cf. Isa 1:1). However, whereas Isaiah *ben Amoz* was evidently a court prophet in Jerusalem, Micah came from Moresheth and would have been acquainted with the conditions faced by his rural countrymen. Leslie Allen summarizes,

The influx of material prosperity had spawned a selfish materialism, a complacent approach to religion..., and the disintegration of personal and social values...and social concern was at the bottom of the list of priorities of national and local government officials. Even religious leaders...did little more than echo the spirit of the period.²⁵³

While Isaiah 1–12 is concerned with the political situation and unrighteousness, Micah is concerned with social justice and cultic purity regarding Jerusalem’s temple.

Micah marks the center of the Book of the Twelve in the MT. Given the shared emphases upon judgment (and mercy), Assyria and Babylon that Micah shares with the prophets to either side, Marvin Sweeney therefore states that Micah’s position “aids in giving direction to the [Twelve] by pointing to the punishment suffered by Israel and Judah at the hands of the nations, first Assyria and later Babylonia, as a key element in realizing the future

²⁵³ Joel, 240; cf. Smith, *Micah*, 5-6; Kosuke Koyama, “The Mountain of the Lord: Micah 4:1–7,” *International Review of Mission* 77 (1988): 194; R. Mason, *Micah, Nahum, Obadiah* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 18-21, etc.

idealized role of Zion at the center of creation.”²⁵⁴ Elizabeth Achtemeier concurs, adding that the book is therefore concerned with God’s intention for the entire world and Israel’s role within it, which is impeded by their rebellious iniquity.²⁵⁵

Micah’s literary structure comprises three units (chaps. 1–2; 3–5; and 6–7) concentrically arranged.²⁵⁶

Part I. 1:2–2:13	1:2–2:11	long judgment	
	2:12–13	short hope	
Part II. 3:1–5:14	3:1–12	long judgment	
	4:1–5	short hope	
	4:6–8	remnant – hope with distress allusions	
	4:9–10	4:11–13	4:14–5:5
	long distress, short hope	short distress, long hope	short distress, longer hope
Part III. 6:1–7:20	5:6–8	remnant – hope with distress allusions	
	5:9–13	long judgment	
	5:14	short hope	
Part III. 6:1–7:20	6:1–7:7	long judgment	
	7:8–20	short hope	

Figure 8: Literary Structure of Micah

Each unit begins with the prophetic enjoiner שׁמַעוּ (1:2; 3:1; 6:1), with the outer units consisting of a long section of judgment (1:2–2:11; 6:1–7:7) followed by a short section of

²⁵⁴ “Micah,” in *The Twelve Prophets, Vol. 2: Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, (ed. David W. Cotter, Jerome T. Walsh, and Chris Franke; Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000), 339; so also Paul R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (JSOTSup 97/Bible and Literature 27; Sheffield: Almond, 1990), 85, 87. In the Grk, Micah is the third Minor Prophet, which Sweeney, “Micah,” 339 argues is also (though differently) appropriate to its emphases. Cf. Smith, *Micah*, xv, who suggests length as a factor in the Grk ordering; and Andersen and Freedmen, *Micah*, 6-7 who discuss the historical chronology in the Grk ordering.

²⁵⁵ *Minor Prophets I* (NIBCOT 17; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 288-89, noting how Micah opens and closes with the nations’ role in God’s promises to the patriarchs; cf. 1:2; 7:16, 20; cf. James Limburg, *Hosea–Micah: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah* (IBC; Atlanta: John Knox, 1988), 167.

²⁵⁶ See Allen, *Books*, 257-58; Smith, *Micah*, 8, David Gerald Hagstrom, *The Coherence of the Book of Micah: A Literary Analysis* (SBLDS 89 Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), 11-22; Limburg, *Hosea*, 159-61; Barker, *Micah*, 32-33, etc. Sweeney, “Micah,” 346 oddly divides the book into 1:1; 1:2–16; 2:1–5:15; chap. 6; and chap. 7. The following diagram is adapted from Allen, *Books*, 259-60; cf. Limburg, *Hosea*, 160-61. Mays, *Micah*, 99 and Sweeney, “Micah,” 377 concur that 4:6 begins a new unit.

hope for salvation (2:12–13; 7:8–20). Similarly, the central unit of chapters 3–5 first consists in a core of three oracles that each follow the judgment/hope pattern (4:9–10; 4:11–13; 4:14–5:5; cf. עֲתָהּ, 4:9, 11, 14), shifting from an emphasis on judgment in the first oracle to an emphasis on hope in the third. This core is framed by parallel oracles that focus on the remnant, and on the tension between present distress and future hope (4:6–8; 5:6–8). Finally come bookends of unequal length (3:1–4:5; 5:9–14) that nevertheless possess similar proportions of judgment (3:1–12; 5:9–13) and hope (4:1–5; 5:14). It is further noteworthy that Micah 3:12 marks the exact center of the Twelve in the MT, with the second half beginning at 4:1–4.²⁵⁷

Therefore, 4:1–5 is on the one hand the hopeful portion of the judgment/hope dyad that introduces the center of Micah. At the same time, the oracle is pivotal in the Minor Prophets in the Hebrew. It begins the second half of the Twelve with the announcement of the eschatological restoration of Zion, in answer to the impending judgment of 3:12 (see below).

B. Zion in Micah 4:1–4

1. Eschatological New Creation, God's Glorification and Shalom in Micah 4:1–4

As noted above, Micah 4:1–4 is substantially similar to its Isaianic counterpart, barring a few superficial differences.²⁵⁸ The major difference is the Mican inclusion of an elaboration on verse 3 (||Isa 2:4), “And each man will sit beneath his vine and beneath his fig tree, and there will be no one to make them afraid” (Mic 4:4).²⁵⁹

In ancient Palestine, wine from grapevines (which were often grown among fig tree branches for support) was necessary for life given the scarcity of water, and figs were vital to the economic livelihood of many. Additionally, both required several years of undisturbed cultivation to flourish.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, the pairing of vine and fig tree echoes and expands upon the halcyon prosperity of Solomon's empire (1 Kgs 5:5), and occurs elsewhere as an

²⁵⁷ Limburg, *Hosea*, 179; Knud Jeppesen, “‘Because of You!’: An Essay about the Centre of the Book of the Twelve,” in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament Interpretation in Honour of Ronald E. Clements* (ed. Edward Ball; JSOTSup 300; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 198. Mic 3:12 is verse 526 of 1,050 in the Twelve, with the precise center falling on the statement שִׁדְדָה תִּחְרָשׁ חֲצִי הַסֵּפֶר בַּפְּסוּקִים in the MT Mp.

²⁵⁸ See n. 82, above.

²⁵⁹ See Hillers, *Micah*, 51 in n. 65, above.

²⁶⁰ Philip J. King, *Amos, Hosea, Micah: An Archaeological Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 117–18; Wolff, *Micah*, 122; Barker, *Micah*, 86.

expression of living in joy or harmoniously with one's neighbors (Zech 3:10; 1 Macc 14:11–14; cf. 2 Kgs 18:31; Isa 36:16).²⁶¹

The picture that Micah presents presupposes the kind of peace that is established in verse 3. Moreover, this ideal Israelite condition following on the nations' pilgrimage is not confined to Israel, but is enjoyed by "each man" without qualification.²⁶² The prophet equally extends Israel's Solomonic peace and prosperity to both his audience and the nations. Internally, then, the Mican occurrence of the oracle contains the same theology of both Zion and Israel-nations unification as does Isaiah 2:2–4, and if anything offers an even more robust portrait of this vision.²⁶³

2. *Micah 4:1–4 in its Mican Context*

In chapter 3, Micah excoriates the "heads of [the house of] Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel" (3:1, 9) for their oppression of God's people. As in Isaiah, this condemnation is dehistoricized. That is, it "shows a clear tendency to avoid any specific anchoring in a too narrowly defined set of historical circumstances" and instead focuses upon the character of their oppression.²⁶⁴

The prophet vividly describes the leadership's devouring of Israel, for which God will visit judgment upon them in direct proportion to their wickedness (בְּאִשֶּׁר הִרְעוּ מֵעַל לַיהוָה, v. 4). The people go hungry, yet they proclaim an era of *shalom* while simultaneously sanctifying violence against the oppressed (v. 5). In the final oracle (vv. 9–12), a looming buildup of relative clauses details the leadership's offences: They are judges who judge based on a bribe, priests who dispense their sacred duty (יִרְהוּ, v. 11; cf. 4:2) on the basis of illicit profit, and prophets who twist prophecy for money; they detest justice and twist everything righteous; assume their own inviolability; and have the audacity to "build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity" (v. 10).

As God's ambassador, Micah therefore repeatedly distances himself from wicked prophets and leadership, declaring, "By contrast, I myself am filled with power, with the *ruah*

²⁶¹ Wolff, *Micah*, 122; Sweeney, "Micah," 380; idem, "Micah's Debate with Isaiah," *JSOT* 93 (2001): 116.

²⁶² Contra Wolff, *Micah*, 122. Similar to Isa 66:22, כִּי־פִי יְהוָה צְבֹאוֹת דָּבַר in Mic 4:4b bases the certainty of Micah's vision on Yhwh's character (Waltke, "Micah," 169; Achtemeier, *Minor*, 329; Barker, *Micah*, 86).

²⁶³ On the remainder of Mic 4:1–4, see above, pp. 46–50.

²⁶⁴ Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 81.

of Yhwh, and justice and strength, so that I am able to declare to Jacob his rebellion and to Israel his sin” (v. 8; cf. 2:6–11).²⁶⁵ For their oppression and for leading the people astray, they will come under the dire (anti-creational?) judgment of a treble pronouncement of darkness (v. 6). Micah astoundingly concludes that because of the leadership (לְכֹהֵן בְּגַלְלָכֶם), “Zion will be plowed under like a field, and Jerusalem will become a ruin, and the mountain of the house will become high places of forest” (v. 12).

Because of Jerusalem’s importance, this declaration was so shocking that it hung over the city for years, to be quoted a century later in testimony against Jeremiah (Jer 26:19).²⁶⁶ It is difficult to overstate the stunning severity of Micah’s judgment: Zion has become so vile as to be built by blood that it is now worthy of nothing better than unmitigated annihilation and a return to wilderness. Given God’s promised silence (v. 7), the expression הָרַר הַבַּיִת in (v. 12) is chilling, and suggests—especially in contrast the ownership of בֵּית־יְהוָה in 4:1—that God has already vacated his temple. The oracle in 3:9–12, chapter 3 as a whole and the first half of the Twelve in the Hebrew text all conclude with “the silence of the living God [being] matched by the silence of a city which has died.”²⁶⁷

Micah 4:1–4 is therefore placed where it has “maximum dramatic impact... [the] contrast is total.”²⁶⁸ Charles Shaw further suggests that the initial conjunction in verse 1 functions as a syntactic link that forms “a progression of thought: after human efforts fail to build up Zion Yahweh himself will exalt the city by his own deeds.”²⁶⁹ Taking Micah 3:1–4:5 together, God’s judgment upon Jerusalem for being everything it should not is contrasted by Zion’s restoration to be what it should. Correspondingly, the unjust leadership who exemplify everything ungodly are replaced by God himself, who takes his position as sovereign judge. And although the דְּבַר־יְהוָה found in 4:2 typically refers to the prophetic word, given the leadership’s foregoing failure it is appropriate that “neither priest nor prophet is mentioned in this vision of a reconstituted world order.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ So Koch, *The Prophets, Volume 1: The Assyrian Period* (trans. Margaret Kohl; London: SCM, 1978), 95.

²⁶⁶ Mays, *Micah*, 87; Allen, *Books*, 320-21; Smith, *Micah*, 35, etc.

²⁶⁷ Limburg, *Hosea*, 179; cf. Mays, *Micah*, 94; Wolff, *Micah*, 87, 120; Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 90, 96.

²⁶⁸ Limburg, *Hosea*, 180.

²⁶⁹ *The Speeches of Micah: A Rhetorical-Historical Analysis* (JSOTSup 145; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 101-2.

²⁷⁰ Hillers, *Micah*, 51; cf. Allen, *Books*, 324; Wolff, *Micah*, 87; Ben Zvi, *Micah*, 98, noting that the Hebr title of the book, “The Word of Yhwh” (1:1).

Finally, whereas the Isaianic occurrence of the oracle concludes with an hortatory statement (Isa 2:5), Micah concludes with a liturgical response that, in the face of all evidence (3:1–12), “all the peoples, they will walk, each man in the name of his god; but we ourselves shall continue to walk in the name of Yhwh our God, forever and ever” (v. 5).²⁷¹ The prophet turns back to the present, and invites his audience to respond to the oracle’s eschatology by living now according to Torah, as will all people when Torah goes out from Zion.²⁷² Preexilic Israel is invited to uphold the worship that will define the eschatological new humanity in the New Creation.

Therefore, Micah 4:1–4—like Isaiah 2:2–4—centers on Israel rather than the nations. Likewise, the picture Micah selects to spur his audience into obedience is that of non-Israelites’ participation with Israel in their worship of Yhwh upon Zion. But by his concluding liturgical response, he appropriately colors his usage of the oracle in terms of his concerns. Israel’s corruption of Jerusalem and its temple will be rectified by pure worship upon Zion.

C. Summary

Micah 3:1–12 presents a portrait of Jerusalem’s downfall, resulting from God’s judgment upon injustice and impiety. This devastation falls at the precise midpoint of the Twelve in the MT, and divides the initial segment of Micah’s core. Perhaps dismayingly, neither forgiveness nor reform is the solution, and judgment is inevitable. But this is not the final word, as 4:1–4 promises that the ultimate solution lies with God in the future, in his eschatological restoration of Zion. Where Jerusalem and its temple are brought down by corrupt seers, judges, priests and prophets, God’s purposes for Israel are fulfilled by the worship of non-Israelites in the restored and reclaimed “house of the God of Jacob” (v. 2), as a result of God’s teaching and judgment.

And as is typical of Israel’s prophets, despite the apparent finality of 3:12 Micah urges his audience to repent and live instead in light of their (Zion’s) glorious future. The nations’ role in this exhortation is to model for Israel Zion’s restoration. As Hans Wolff remarks, “Was kann das anderes bedeuten, als daß die israelitischen Hörer jetzt schon der

²⁷¹ There is some debate regarding the initial כִּי of v. 5. Most scholars view it as explanatory (possibly concessive, as entertained by Andersen and Freedman, *Micah*, 413) and reject a causal interpretation (except for Sweeney, “Micah,” 381). The MT אֵלֵהֶם אֵלֵהֶם is usually preferred over the Grk τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ (apart from Hillers, *Micah*, 50).

²⁷² Cf. Mays, *Micah*, 94, 99; Allen, *Books*, 327; Smith, *Micah*, 37-38, etc.

Weisung Jahwes folgen sollen, die einst alle Völker zum Frieden untereinander anleiten [wird]? Somit ist die eschatologische Verheißung für die Völker zu einer Gegenwartsorientierung für Israel geworden.”²⁷³

Micah’s understanding of Israel-nations unification is very much that of Isaiah 2:2–4, even amplifying the oracle’s announcement of worldwide peace by extending to the nations an Edenic description of life under God’s rule. Remarkably, Israel’s restoration is again expressed in terms of not Israel but non-Israelites. The two groups are unified and restored into the eschatological new humanity, living in *shalom* and worshipping Yhwh at the center the New Creation. Zion will replace failed Jerusalem’s role as a light to the nations, and redemption cannot come to Israel alone. Thus, Micah 4:1–4 is another biblical instance of Israel-nations unification, where it is correlated with creation, worship, and *shalom*.

VI. Zechariah 8:18–23

Like Isaiah 2:2–4||Micah 4:1–4, the trio of oracles in Zechariah 8:18–23 are classic examples of the pilgrimage of the nations in biblical traditions.²⁷⁴ These three oracles conclude Zechariah 7–8, which together with Haggai bracket the seven visions with the temple at their center in Zechariah 1:7–6:15. Consequently, 8:18–23 picks up on the temple focus of the larger literary unit, but does so by looking forward to Zion’s eschatological restoration. But the prophet’s three concluding pictures are of the nations coming from around the world to Zion to celebrate and worship with Israel, desperate for the presence and blessings of Israel’s God. Though not immediately apparent from the oracles themselves, the relative importance of eschatology, New Creation and temple for the nations’ pilgrimage is underscored by the wider context. Doubly so, since (similar to Mic 4:1–4) Zechariah 8:18–23 is the conclusion and midpoint of major compositional units in the Twelve. The nations’ pilgrimage in 8:18–23, then, attests to an instance of Israel-nations unification that is structurally significant for the theology of Zechariah.

²⁷³ “Schwerter zu Pflugscharen—Missbrauch eines Prophetenwortes? Praktische Fragen und exegetische Klärungen Joël 4,9–12, Jes 2,2–5 und Mic 4,1–5,” *EvT* 44 (1984): 288.

²⁷⁴ First developed by Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der frühnachexilischen Prophetie* (Assen: Van Goreum, 1967), 179; and Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai; Sacharja 1–8; Sacharja 9–14; Maleachi*, KAT 13, 4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neuenkirchener, 1976), 152. On the nations’ defeat and subsequent submission to Yhwh in Hag 2:6–7, 21–22; Zech 1:15; 2:1–4, 10–17, see Janet E. Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8* (JSOTSup 150; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 216.

A. Historical and Literary Context of Zechariah 8:18–23

1. *Haggai–Zechariah 8 and the Haggai/Zechariah/Malachi Corpus*

Differences between Zechariah 1–8 and chapters 9–14 (“Zechariah” and “Deutero-Zechariah,” respectively) lead most scholars to conclude that they were separate compositions prior to their arrangement within the Twelve. The use of the full dating formula in Zechariah 7:1 echoes that of Haggai 1:1, so that “the arrangement of the first and last dates thus frames the entire work” with Haggai and Zechariah 7–8 as its bookends.²⁷⁵ While ancient readers would have viewed Zechariah as a unity, this division proves how the oracles of 8:18–23 are thematically climactic in two complementary ways.

First, 8:18–23 are the thematic climax to Haggai–Zechariah 8, as they offer hope for the correction the remnant generation’s mistakes. Haggai begins with God commanding them to rebuild the Jerusalem temple in 521 BC, under the auspices of Darius (Hag 1:1–9).²⁷⁶ However, building efforts are frustrated (cf. Ezra 4:1–24) owing to the remnant generation’s uncleanness (Hag 2:14).²⁷⁷ Haggai concludes with the possibility that the returnees will repeat their forbearers’ failures, and then Zechariah then opens with doubts due to the halted rebuilding of the temple, which lead to fears regarding the delay of the promised Isaianic New Exodus.²⁷⁸ Consequently, Zechariah further traces the returnees’ decline, from the opening injunction, “Do not be like your ancestors,” (Zech 1:4) to their indictment for disingenuous worship (7:5–7). The prophet thus acknowledges the tension between mythopoetic and historical perspectives on current events, “but [holds] out hope of a restoration to divine favor if the people should turn to their God,”²⁷⁹ In this way, 8:18–23 is

²⁷⁵ Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai; Zechariah 1–8: New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25B; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), lx; cf. 381; see xlvi–l (esp. Chart 3 on p. xlix) for links between Haggai and Zech 7–8. For the literary unity of Hag–Zech 8 and also Zech 9–14, see Paul Lamarche, *Zacharie IX–XIV, Structure Littéraire et Messianisme* (Paris: Gabalda, 1961); Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, xliv–xlvi, xliv; Ronald W. Pierce “A Thematic Development of the Haggai/Zechariah/ Malachi Corpus,” *JETS* 27 (1984): 407–8, etc.

²⁷⁶ Smith, *Micah*, 169, 518; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, xlvi; Sweeney, “Zechariah,” in *The Twelve Prophets, Vol. 2: Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (ed. David W. Cotter, Jerome T. Walsh, and Chris Franke; Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000), 561, etc.

²⁷⁷ Thomas McComiskey, *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary, Vol. 3: Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 1004.

²⁷⁸ Hanson, “In Defiance of Death: Zechariah’s Symbolic Universe,” in *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (ed. John H. Marks and Robert M. Good; Guilford, CN: Four Quarters, 1987), 175; cf. Mark J. Boda, “From Fasts to Feasts: The Literary Function of Zechariah 7–8,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 394–5, 402–3 (see here, 398–402 for evidence of redaction in chaps. 7–8).

²⁷⁹ Hanson, “Defiance,” 178; cf. McComiskey, *Prophets*, 1006.

the semi-triumphant climax to the earlier compositional unit of Haggai–Zechariah 8. Zechariah condemns the returnees by pushing the fulfillment of their expectations into the future, yet washes away unfaithfulness with an ultimate message of hope and restoration.

Zechariah 8:18–23 are also thematically climactic as the center of Haggai, canonical Zechariah and Malachi, an “HJM corpus” that concludes the Twelve in its final form.²⁸⁰ Within this larger compositional unit, its three oracles mark a hopeful highpoint, but this also marks the start of the returnees’ decline until the HJM corpus (and the Twelve) ends at a low ebb. Deutero-Zechariah continues the unfortunate trajectory prior to central oracles of 8:18–23, until the remnant generation’s false piety results in them being made into a “flock for slaughter” (11:7) by their corrupt priesthood, so that “the comparison made by Zechariah with the former prophets (1:4; 7:7) had been tragically accurate.”²⁸¹ And then Malachi condemns God’s people and their priesthood for their disobedience, insincere worship, and unrighteous leadership, concluding “with a picture of Judah in a worse condition than that portrayed at the beginning of the [HJM corpus].”²⁸² So the HJM corpus traces the widening gulf between the prophets’ initial hopes for the remnant generation and their actual performance, which serves as a counterpoint to the Zechariah 8:18–23, and therefore underscores its eschatological character. While 8:18–23 climaxes its original compositional unit, it also marks a missed opportunity at the turning point in the conclusion to the Prophets.

2. Zechariah 1–8

The literary structure of Haggai–Zechariah 8 also shows how Zechariah 8:18–23 is also structurally crucial for the larger unit. Following the concern for the temple in Haggai, Zechariah 1–8 comprises a series of visions (chaps 1–6), and a series of oracles occasioned by the query of a delegation from Bethel (chaps. 7–8):²⁸³

²⁸⁰ See Pierce, “Literary Connectors and a Haggai/Zechariah/Malachi Corpus,” *JETS* 27 (1984): 277–89; idem, “Thematic,” wherefrom much of the following is taken; cf. Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 476; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, xlv; House, *Unity*, 124–60, etc. With the exception 4Q12^a which places a Jonah after a fragment of Zechariah and Malachi, available evidence indicates that the HJM corpus consistently concluded the Twelve (Barry Alan Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 129–67).

²⁸¹ Pierce, “Literary,” 409. Likewise, whereas Joshua had been a hopeful sign in 3:8 and Zerubbabel victorious in 4:7, by 7:9–14 the latter is demoted to the unnamed and in 11:8 the priesthood have become “worthless shepherds” relegated to imminent destruction.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 410.

²⁸³ Scholars largely see the night visions as “apocalyptic,” a not unproblematic label; cf. McComiskey, *Prophets* 1011. Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 127–33, 153–58 helpfully demonstrates that chaps. 1–8 *qua* (proto-)apocalyptic reflects

Haggai 1–2	<i>Restoration of the Temple</i> (chap. 1)
	<i>Oracles of Encouragement</i> (chap. 2)
Zechariah 1:1–6	<i>Call for Obedience with Retrospection</i>
Zechariah 1:7–6:15 <i>Night Visions</i>	
A	VISION 1: HORSES PATROLLING THE EARTH (1:7–17)
B	VISION 2: FOUR HORNS AND FOUR SMITHS (2:1–4)
C	VISION 3: THE MAN WITH THE MEASURING CORD (2:5–9)
	INSERTION – JOSHUA AND THE PRIESTLY VESTMENTS (chap. 3)
D	VISION 4: THE LAMPSTAND AND THE TWO OLIVE TREES (chap. 4; with INSERTION – ZERUBBABEL , vv. 6b–10)
C'	VISION 5: THE FLYING SCROLL (5:1–4)
B'	VISION 6: THE EPHAH (5:5–11)
A'	VISION 7: THE FOUR CHARIOTS (6:1–8)
	INSERTION – CROWNING OF THE KING-PRIEST TEMPLE BUILDER (6:9–15)
Zechariah 7–8	
	<i>Introduction</i> (7:1–6)
	<i>Retrospection on Divine Justice</i> (7:7–14)
	<i>Zion and Judah Restored</i> (8:1–17)
	<i>Zion and the Pilgrimage of the Nations</i> (8:18–23)

Figure 9: Literary Structure of Haggai–Zechariah 8

The visions are arranged chiastically, with the lampstand (מנורה, 4:2) vision (chap. 4) placed at the center and prefaced by a prophetic vision concerning the high priest Joshua (chap. 3).²⁸⁴ Given the temple focus and the invocation of biblical Zion traditions in the central vision, this arrangement structures visions into a literary model of the temple that reflects the physical temple and its precincts, whereby the temple's reconstruction is "the reconstruction of that community's institutional core."²⁸⁵ Finally, the night visions are capped off by the subunit of chapters 7–8, which likewise focus upon the temple.²⁸⁶

mainstream religious belief during the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple, contra the prevailing view that apocalyptic texts were necessarily the products of disenfranchised fringe groups (and therefore are in conflict with prophetic traditions and biblical theology). The following diagram is relevantly similar to the analysis in Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, xlvi–lxiii.

²⁸⁴ Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, lvii; Hanson, "Defiance," 176; Pierce, "Thematic," 404–6, etc.; pace Meredith G. Kline, "The Structure of the Book of Zechariah," *JETS* 34 (1991): 179–93.

²⁸⁵ Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, lvi. Idem, "Jerusalem and Zion After the Exile: The Evidence of First Zechariah," in "*Sha'arei Talmon*": *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. Michael Fishbane, Emanuel Tov, and Weston W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 132–33 remark how Haggai–Zech 8 "reactivated" in the early postexilic period (and for ancient Judaism) "the mythic power of the Zion tradition"; cf. Achtemeier, *Nahum–Malachi* (IBC; Atlanta: John Knox, 1986), 142; Peter Marinkovic, "What Does Zechariah 1–8 Tell Us About the Second Temple?" in *Second Temple Studies, Vol. 2: Temple Community in the Persian Period* (ed. Tamara Cohn Eskenazi and Kent Harold Richards; JSOTSup 175; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 103.

²⁸⁶ Cf. Smith, *Micah*, 220; cf. Boda, "Fasts," 393, 395–6; cf. Theodor Lescow, "Sacharja 1–8: Verkündigung und Komposition," *BN* 68 (1993): 94–95.

The delegation's question about fasting in 7:2–3 does not produce an answer, but rather provokes a series of oracles wherein the prophet censures the people for insincere worship and the resultant social injustice (vv. 4–12). Zechariah's conclusion that Yhwh *Sabaoth* waged war against his own people and “drove them with a whirlwind among all the nations...so that the land was desolated” (v. 14) portends that the same judgment may befall the returnees. But chapter 8 continues with a sudden series of oracles of eschatological hope describing the restoration of Zion. Yhwh *Sabaoth* fights not against Jerusalem but rather on its behalf, as he is “greatly jealous for Zion,” and “will return to Zion, and dwell in the midst of Jerusalem” (8:2, 3).

Zechariah 8 is arranged into a decalogue of oracles (cf. [צבאות] יהוה, vv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14), in a 7 + 3 pattern.²⁸⁷ The first seven highlight the totality of the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple. It will again be called “city of truth [or “faithfulness”]” and “mountain of righteousness” (v. 3). The eschatological hope, peace and plenty which results from this restoration contrast with the remnant generation's past and present experience of violence and insecurity.²⁸⁸ They will live to an old age and “the streets of the city will be filled with [children], playing in the streets” (vv. 4–5); they will receive deliverance as God ingathers the Diaspora “from the land of the east and the land of the west” to renew his covenant (vv. 7–8; cf. Lev 26:12; Jer 31:33; Ezek 37:27); the completion of the temple will plant “a seed of *shalom*” which contrasts with the present enmity (vv. 10–12a). The eschatological future of “those days” (בִּימֵי הַהֵם, v. 6) is partly realized “now” (עַתָּה, v. 11), “in these days” (בִּימֵי הָאֵלֶּה, vv. 9, 15). For Zechariah, the restoration of the temple is an epoch-dividing event that inaugurates the eschaton. Despite the somewhat elliptical structure of verse 16, *shalom* seems syntactically centralized (“speak truth, each man to his neighbor; with truth and justice—*shalom*—judge at your gates,” v. 16), whereby it is the goal of Israel's obedience.

Finally, the three oracles of verses 18–23 describe the climax of the inaugurated eschaton and *shalom* in terms of the pilgrimage of the nations to the temple and Zion. In this way, the temple focus that defines the chiasmic structure of Haggai–Zechariah 8 (cf. Hag 1; Zech 3–4; 6:9–15) is climactically taken up by the Zion focus in the conclusion of Zechariah 8:18–23. These oracles, besides being thematically climactic, also bring to fruition the

²⁸⁷ Cf. Smith, *Micah*, 181; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 429, etc.

²⁸⁸ Dominic Rudman, “Zechariah 8:20–22 and Isaiah 2:2–4//Micah 4:2–3: A Study in Intertextuality,” *BN* 107-08 (2001): 52; so also Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 429.

literary structure of the larger unit, but stunningly do so with a wider scope than just the temple and calling out to more peoples than just Israel.

B. The Nations' Pilgrimage in Zechariah 8:18–23

In the first of the three oracles (v.19), Zechariah finally arrives at an answer for the delegation's question from 7:3. However, he enumerates more fasts than asked, setting up an expectation of stringent requirements (given the commands issued in the preceding coda of vv. 16–17; cf. 7:9–10).²⁸⁹ Further, if the fasts listed are associated with the preexilic fall of Jerusalem, then they paint “a picture of absolute doom,” as they would correspond to the Judean leadership's flight from Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 25:3–7; Jer 39:2–7; 52:6–11); the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 25:8ff; Jer 52:12 ff); the murder of the Judean governor (cf. 2 Kgs 25:25); and the siege of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 25:1; Jer 39:1).²⁹⁰ Yet through the restoration of the temple, these times of mourning and the cultus itself are eschatologically transformed into rejoicing.²⁹¹

The oracle closes—and prepares the subsequent pilgrimage of the nations—by describing that “it is goodness, truth [or “faithfulness”], and *shalom* that they [Judah] will love” (v. 19). “Love (אהב)” here carries a covenantal connotation, and the compound object is placed forward for rhetorical emphasis and builds up to *shalom* as its pinnacle. Zechariah also names the eschatologically restored remnant “the house of Judah,” perhaps indicating that they alone do not constitute Israel.

The next oracle (vv. 20–22) opens with the declaration that eventually (עד אשר) the nations—named as “peoples” (עמים, v. 20), “inhabitants [of many cities]” (יְשֵׁבֵי עָרִים) [רבות], vv. 20, 21), “many peoples” (עמים רבים, v. 22), and “mighty nations” (גוים עצומים, v. 22)—will come to the temple in devotion to God.²⁹² The concentric arrangement of the

²⁸⁹ Joyce G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1972), 313; David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 320.

²⁹⁰ Baldwin, *Haggai*, 313; cf. 143–44; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 433–35.

²⁹¹ The alliterative synonyms ששון and שמחה—used together for rhetorical emphasis—have durative and ritual connotations; cf. Baldwin, *Haggai*, 314; McComiskey, *Prophets*, 1154.

²⁹² When following prepositions or adverbial particles such as עד, the relative pronoun אשר in v. 20—and as well in v. 23, perhaps with v. 20 as its antecedent—is untranslated, yielding, “eventually peoples will enter in [lit. “It will be still that peoples will enter in”]”; cf. Smith, *Rhetoric*, 239; McComiskey, *Prophets*, 1156. Nearly all scholars agree that “peoples” in v. 20 refers to the nations; see Baldwin, *Haggai*, 155; Petersen,

oracle (with the superlative repetition of its center at its close) places its focus upon the nations' participation in worship at the temple and Jerusalem-Zion.²⁹³

עד אשר יבאו עמים וישבי ערים רבות	A
והלכו ישבי אחת אל-אחת לאמר	B
לכה הלוך	[B
לחלות את-פני יהוה	C
ולבקש את-יהוה צבאות	C'
אלכה גם-אני	B'
ובאו עמים רבים וגוים עצומים	A'
לבקש את-יהוה צבאות בירושלם	C'
ולחלות את-פני יהוה	[C'

Figure 10: Literary Structure of Zechariah 8:20–22

The emphasis upon “many” nations (as well as earlier language of “blessing” [הייתם ברכה] among the nations [בגוים] in v. 13) may echo Genesis 12:3, in fulfillment of its promise.²⁹⁴ Certainly the concentration of movement language (בוא x2; הלך x7) in this and the following oracle emphasizes the nations' movement to and around Jerusalem, and the repetitions of חלה (x2) and בקש (x2) likewise indicate their recognition of God's authority.²⁹⁵ Their pilgrimage echoes the obligation to send delegates (cf. 7:2–3) in fealty to the suzerain during the height of the Davidic monarchy. Here, however, it is God who reigns in the reconstructed temple, the “holy center of the cosmos,” and to whom the nations give homage.²⁹⁶

In the final, conclusive oracle (v. 23), the refrain “in those days” compares the returnees' present condition against God's eschatological purposes for them. The detail that ten men will call upon every Judean denotes completeness.²⁹⁷ By contrast, the mention of a single Judean man suggests the small size of the remnant generation, which in turn highlights

Haggai, 123; Tollington, *Tradition*, 238 (cf. n. 2); etc. The Grk oddly glosses v. 21 as συναλεύσονται κατοικούντες πέντε πόλεις, although commentators do not make anything of this change.

²⁹³ Adapted from Mike Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah* (JSOTSup 130; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 160, who remarks “whether this is an intended chiasmus or not, it is a striking one” (ad loc., 159).

²⁹⁴ Cf. McComiskey, *Prophets*, 1156. Rudman, “Zechariah,” passim argues vv. 20–22 are an interpretive expansion of Isa 2:2–4||Mic 4:2–3 (contra Tollington, *Tradition*, 237–38).

²⁹⁵ Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 444.

²⁹⁶ Sweeney, *Zechariah*, 655.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Achtemeier, *Nahum*, 143.

the dramatic proportions of the nations' convergence.²⁹⁸ As well, the strong language that the foreigners “will clutch—clutch!—onto the hem of a Judean [יְחֻזְקוּ... וְהִחֲזִיקוּ בְּכַנְף אִישׁ יְהוּדִי]” accentuates their desperate devotion to Yhwh.²⁹⁹ If מִכֹּל לְשׁוֹנֵת הַגּוֹיִם echoes Genesis 11:1–9, then Zechariah is also presenting the reconciliation and unity of humanity as an undoing of the Babel episode.³⁰⁰ And in recollection of the second night vision in the 2:1–4, wherein the nations' subjugation resulted in relief from oppression and ingathering for scattered Judah (יְהוּדָה, vv. 2, 4; cf. יְהוּדִי, 8:23), God's enthronement upon Zion now results in *shalom* and ingathering for the nations.

Therefore, by participating in their worship, the nations are unified with the house of Judah. The reconstructed temple (whose reconstruction goes poorly in Hag–Zech 6) is not only completed but becomes restored Zion, the eschatological New Creation. The peak of this restoration comes in verses 18–23, but was sounded in the seven preceding oracles of verses 1–17. And Zion is properly inhabited by Israel only when the nations and the house of Judah unite in worshipping Israel's God. Likewise, the peace planted in the earlier oracles (vv. 12, 16, 19) now sprouts as this restored Israel before Yhwh in the temple on Zion. Carol and Eric Meyers neatly summarize, “in the final eschatological scheme there is no royal palace or human king; the temple as earthly residence of God is the object of the international gathering in Jerusalem.”³⁰¹

C. Summary

Both the center and the bookends of the chiasmic composition of Haggai–Zechariah 8 are focused on the temple. The prophets persistently decipher the remnant generation's foundering at the temple's reconstruction as their repetition of the infidelity of Israel's past. Pure worship is necessary to God's faithfulness in granting prosperity and deliverance. But despite their failure—or in contrast to it—in Zechariah 8 God launches into a description of Jerusalem *cum* Zion's renewal. The inauguration of the New Creation and the *shalom* it

²⁹⁸ Cf. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 445; Tollington, *Tradition*, 241.

²⁹⁹ The Grk rhetorically enhances this dynamic with the protasis of a third class conditional that has no apodosis: “In those days—imagine!—ten men from every tongue of every nation will grasp—grasp!—the fringe of a Judean man [ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐὰν ἐπιλάβωνται δέκα ἄνδρες ἐκ πασσῶν τῶν γλωσσῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐπιλάβωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου ἀνδρὸς Ιουδαίου].”

³⁰⁰ See Wolff, “Kerygma of the Yahwist,” *Int* 20 (1966): 157, further suggesting covenantal connotations to כִּי שָׁמַעְנוּ אֱלֹהִים in v. 23 as an echo of כִּי־יְהוָה עִמָּךְ in Gen 26:28.

³⁰¹ “Jerusalem,” 131; so also Tollington, *Tradition*, 248.

promises for God's people is the manifestation of God's faithfulness, and that which prompts the returnees' faithfulness.³⁰² Zechariah 8:18–23 concludes the compositional unit by holding up the realization of the audience's New Exodus expectations, in order to combat their current attitude. Thus, as with the traditions examined above, the nations are invoked as an illustration for Israel, upon whom these oracles primarily focus.³⁰³

Similarly, 8:18–23 is the hopeful apex of the HZM corpus, coming just before the downturn into Malachi. So the restoration in chapter 8 stands in stark contrast to the overall narrative progression of the HZM corpus and the returnees' historical circumstances and spiritual decline. This antithesis underscores the eschatological scope of Israel's restoration. Particularly, 8:18–23 reveals that the remnant generation's faithfulness in worship is important for the fact that Israel's worship will evince their eschatological restoration, which comprises the exaltation of the temple and pilgrimage of the nations to Jerusalem, the world center.

In the process of delivering his message, Zechariah depicts Israel's restoration in terms of Israel-nations unification in a fashion that is substantially similar to the traditions examined above. In 8:18–23 the prophet once again collocates the constellation of features of eschatological New Creation, the Israel-nations unification, worship, and *shalom*.³⁰⁴ And as before, the logical relationship between these features is one of Zion's epoch-dividing renewal, which inaugurates God's royal rule in its restored temple, Israel and the nations being (re)united as an eschatologically restored humanity in their worship of Israel's God, and the resultant *shalom* of God's cosmic reign. Zechariah even emphasizes this rhetorically by recounting the nations' pilgrimage in three oracles, to bring the panorama of chapter 8 to a fullness of ten. Though he addresses himself toward his Israelite audience, it is only together with the future faithful nations that their joint restoration will be realized.

³⁰² Cf. Achtemeier, *Nahum*, 142.

³⁰³ Achtemeier, *Nahum*, 142–43 notes the nations come as a result of witnessing Jerusalem's prosperity (8:5, 7, 9, 13, 19), and then become "missionaries" to their own countrymen.

³⁰⁴ Additionally, Ollenburger, "Peace as the Visionary Mission of God's Reign: Zechariah 1–8," in *Beautiful Upon the Mountains: Biblical Essays on Mission, Peace, and the Reign of God* (ed. Mary H. Schertz and Ivan Friesen; Studies in Peace and Scripture 7; Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 2003), 117 suggest that that Torah is present (like in Isa 2:2–4||Mic 4:1–4) though not specifically mentioned, as the oracles are a *de facto* prophetic Torah.

VII. Psalms 46–48

As noted above in Chapter 1, Zion traditions are plentiful in the Psalter, and are not confined to so-called Zion songs (e.g. Pss 2; 48; 76; 96; 102) but crop up in many psalms of various genres.³⁰⁵ Also as discussed there, Psalms 46–48 offer the most extended and pronounced instances of reference to Israel-nations unification, making them the best candidate for study if space is available for only one. Yet for many modern interpreters, these psalms, and particularly the nations' participation in Israel's worship at the conclusion of Psalm 47 represents a source of "theological tension," often compelling an emendation of the Hebrew suggested in the apparatus of the BHS.³⁰⁶ But the plain sense of the text is demonstrably the best fit for its context, wherein the psalmist portrays the unification of Israel and the nations in praise of Israel's God.

A. Literary Context of Psalms 46–48

Psalms 46–48 belong to the collection of psalms that are associated with the "Sons of Korah" (Pss 42–49; 84–89; cf. לַבְּנֵי־קֹרֵחַ 42:1; 44:1; 45:1, etc.).³⁰⁷ In biblical tradition, the Korahites were Levitical musicians and singers, and gatekeepers of the temple.³⁰⁸ Their traditional association with the temple also carries over into the Korah psalms, which are

³⁰⁵ Susan Gillingham, "The Zion Tradition and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; LHB/OTS 422; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 316 lists seventy-two of the one hundred fifty psalms in the Hebrew Psalter with linguistic references to Zion (at the time of the editing of the Psalter)

³⁰⁶ Bodner, "'Embarrassing'," 573 (see here, pp. 570-73 for evaluations of previous attempts at negotiating the syntax of 47:10); cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary* (trans. Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 465-66; Craig C. Broyles, *Psalms* (NIBCOT; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1999), 215; etc. Roberts, "The Religio-political Setting of Psalm 47," *BASOR* 221 (1976): 129-32 views ׀ַע in v. 10 as a preposition but invests it with the meaning of *to*, which Ollenburger, *Zion*, 183 rightly criticizes as special pleading.

³⁰⁷ Mitchell, "'God Will Redeem My Soul from Sheol': The Psalms of the Sons of Korah," *JSOT* 30 (2006): 366-67 (cf. idem, *Message*, 71) reasonably states that by its placement Ps 86 "falls within the orbit" of the Korah psalms, as does Ps 89 which functions as a coda to the collection; so also Gillingham, "Zion," 326. Moreover, while nearly all scholars regard Pss 42 and 43 as a single unit, Mitchell (ad loc.) notes that only eleven psalms bear the superscription לַבְּנֵי־קֹרֵחַ and suggests Pss 42/43 were originally a single psalm split by a redactor in order "to bring the Korah Psalms up to the talismanic twelve."

³⁰⁸ Martin J. Buss, "Psalms of Asaph and Korah," *JBL* 82 (1963): 381-84; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part I: With an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (FOTL 14; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 38; Mitchell, "'God'," 366. Michael D. Goulder, *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah* (JSOTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT, 1983); idem, "The Social Setting of Book II of the Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (ed. Patrick D. Miller Jr. and Peter W. Flint; VTSup 99/Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 4; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 349-67 offers numerous helpful data in the service of an interesting but rather speculative and unconvincing argument that the Korahites were a Danite priesthood, and that the Korah psalms originated (and persisted?) as a liturgical collection used at Sukkot in Dan.

unified partly by their shared concern for the temple and Zion.³⁰⁹ The first group of Korah psalms (Pss 42–49) opens both Book II of the Psalms and the so-called Elohistic Psalter (Pss 42–83), while the second (Pss 84–89) both closes Book III and marks a return to the predominance of *Yhwh*.³¹⁰ So Psalms 42–49 are purposefully placed in the Psalter’s final form, and introduce a literary structure that unites the Korah psalms with the Davidic psalms at their center.

Psalms 42–49 as a collection also exhibit a narrative progression.³¹¹ Psalms 42/43 begin the collection with an individual lament regarding God’s seeming remoteness, which persists and becomes a communal accusation in the communal lament of Psalm 44. The answer to these complaints comes in Psalms 45–48 (punctuated by direct speech by God in 45:11–13; 46:11), and consequently in Psalm 49 the psalmist summarily dismisses those previous complaints in favor of wisdom, that is, humble dependence upon God (cf. vv. 13–16).³¹² Motifs that unify these Korah psalms include praise for God’s defeat of Israel’s foes (which Erich Zenger reckons “ist genau das Thema” in Psalms 46–48), a longing for return to Zion or confidence in God’s presence upon Zion, and God’s rescue from the exile and destruction that is Sheol.³¹³

The celebratory triad of Psalms 46–48 are a literary unit. They consist in a psalm of confidence that proclaims God’s deeds on his people’s behalf, a hymn celebrating God’s enthronement, and finally the quintessential Zion song. Psalms 46 and 48 are a clear pair, even sharing some structural similarities.³¹⁴ Between them, the praise of Psalm 47 typifies the

³⁰⁹ Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 38.

³¹⁰ Gillingham, “Zion,” 324–36; Mitchell, “‘God’,” 366–67.

³¹¹ See Erich Zenger, “Zur redaktionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Korachpsalmen,” in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung* (ed. Klaus Seybold and Erich Zenger; Herders biblische Studien 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 177–82 for the linguistic features and poetic techniques common to Korah psalms.

³¹² Zenger, “Bedeutung,” 182–83; cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 178–202; Gillingham, “Zion,” 323.

³¹³ Zenger, “Bedeutung,” 185; cf. Jurgen van Oorschot, “Die ferne *deus praesens* des Tempels: Die Korachpsalmen und der Wandel israelitischer Tempeltheologie,” in *Wer ist wie du, HERR, unter den Göttern?: Studien zur Theologie und Religionsgeschichte für Otto Kaiser zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Ingo Kottsieper, et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 420. Walter Houston, “David, Asaph and the Mighty Works of God: Theme and Genre in the Psalm Collections,” *JSOT* 68 (1995): 105, 108 shows that in comparison to other collections (or those without ascriptions) in the Psalter, the Korah psalms exhibit an abnormally high percentage of psalms focused on praise, at a frequency four of eleven (not separating Ps 43), three of which are Pss 46–48 (e.g. in contrast to eight in seventy-three Davidic psalms, at one quarter the relative frequency); and likewise an abnormally frequent focus on Zion, in at least four of eleven psalms. Similarly, Gillingham, “Zion,” 324 concludes, “The Zion tradition provides the focus for the [Korah] collection as a whole.” On the Sheol motif, see Mitchell, “‘God’,” 374–81.

³¹⁴ The three strophes in Ps 46 (see below, esp. regarding v. 4) are paralleled by those of Ps 48, where 48:2 (for vv. 2–4), 9, 15 are variations on a refrain that parallel the repeated refrain in 46:8, 12 even if “die

set, and fuses the three Korah motifs of worship, Zion and rescue from destruction, depicting these as functions of God's enthronement and its consequences.³¹⁵ In Psalms 46–48, then, the nations demonstrate God's glory at the height of the Israelite psalmist's celebration. So their praise is all the more significant for its positions within the literary structure of the first collection of Korah psalms.

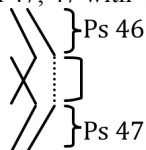
B. The Nations' Worship in Psalms 46–48

1. *Zion, Worship and the Nations in Psalm 46*

Psalm 46 is a song of confidence that is characterized by the *Leitmotif* of protection.³¹⁶ It opens by declaring God to be the community's refuge (מחסה, v. 2) and structurally divides into three strophes (vv. 2–4, 5–8, and 9–12) marked by the refrain that Yhwh *Sabaoth* fights on his people's behalf and is "our stronghold" (משגב, vv. 8, 12).³¹⁷ The strophes relate the community's confidence, respectively, in the midst of natural disaster, in God's deliverance of Zion from the nations, and ultimately in God's identity as the divine warrior.³¹⁸

Refraintechnik hier nicht so konsequent realisiert ist wie Ps 46" (Zenger, "Bedeutung," 181; cf. Mitchell, "'God,'" 377). Additionally, scholars sometime identify Ps 46 as a Zion song along with Ps 48.

³¹⁵ Cf. Richard J. Clifford, *Psalms 1–72* (AOTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 2002), 227. Pierre Auffret, "L'ensemble des trois Psaumes 46, 47 et 48: Étude structurale," *ScEs* 43 (1991): 339–48 offers an argument for the unity of Pss 46–48 that focuses on shared or semantically overlapping vocabulary, but which largely neglects the psalms' motifs and generally does violence to their structures. Based on the relative position of shared or similar terminology, he overdetermines the arrangement as an elaborate series of interlocking chiasms (46 with 47; 47 with 48; and 46 with 48):



He thus reckons that Ps 47 is hermeneutically determinative for the triad (ad loc., 347–48), but arrives at this correct conclusion based on dubious analysis.

³¹⁶ Cf. Gillingham, "Zion," 324; Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 342.

³¹⁷ See Brettler, "Images of YHWH the Warrior in Psalms," *Semeia* 61 (1993): 143 for מחסה and משגב as a pair elsewhere in the Psalter (e.g. Pss 59:10, 17–18; 94:22) that testifies to the unity of Ps 46; cf. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 345. Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM: 1962), 386–69 suggests the refrain in vv. 8, 12 was originally present after v. 4 but was omitted by a scribe, and many scholars emend the text to (re)include it (Louis Jacquet, *Les Psaumes et le coeur de l'homme: étude textuelle, littéraire et doctrinale, Vol. 2: Psaumes 42 à 100* [Gembloux: Duculot, 1977], 66; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 458–59; Carroll Stuhlmueller, "Psalm 46 and the Prophecy of Isaiah Evolving into a Prophetic, Messianic Role," in *Psalms and Other Studies on the Old Testament Presented to Joseph I. Hunt* [ed. Jack C. Knight and Lawrence A. Sinclair; Nashotah, WI: Nashotah House Seminary, 1990], 18; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen*, 286, etc.).

³¹⁸ Brettler, "Images," 143; cf. Weiser, *Psalms*, 367.

Verse 2 conveys “that God’s power is immediate.”³¹⁹ Therefore, the community expresses confidence even during an earthquake, the most calamitous natural disaster, in which the earth rolls like water and gapes open to the underworld (v. 3). Their confidence is an argument *a fortiori* for security, since human threats in the second strophe are unthreatening by comparison.³²⁰ The psalmist’s confidence persists even when the mountains slide into “the heart of the sea,” the barely contained primordial waters of chaos that boil and roil (הַמַּה, חֲמַר) against creation (v. 4).³²¹

The waters in verses 3–4 transform in the second strophe: “A river causes the city of God to rejoice” (v. 5) as a result of their taming by God, feeding into Zion (and perhaps the sea in the temple; cf. 1 Kgs 7:27–39).³²² The joy expressed in verses 5–6 is a further expression of confidence, flanked as it is by primeval revolt and God’s combat with his eschatological enemies, the nations (vv. 7–8).³²³ The mountains will shake (מָוַה, v. 3) into the sea, but with God in its midst Zion will never shake (מָוַה, v. 6). Like the seas in verse 4, the nations boil (הַמַּה, v. 7) against Zion, but God’s aid comes at “the turning of the morning” (v. 6), before dawn when attacks usually came so that his deliverance is secured before the battle is even met. Merely at the thunder of his voice, the quake that had threatened creation instead causes the earth to consume Zion’s enemies (v. 7).³²⁴

Consequently, the psalmist extols God’s decisive, cosmic victory, which has achieved the cessation of warfare (vv. 9–10).³²⁵ Accordingly, in verse 11 both the two forms of threat to order and creation—a chaotic, tumultuous earth and the rebellious nations—are enlisted in worship. The cosmic scope of God’s kingship signals that “the metaphor is modified to accommodate...YHWH’s incomparability,” and again his voice thunders (cf. v. 7),

³¹⁹ Brettler, “Images,” 143-44.

³²⁰ Ibid., 144.

³²¹ Cf. Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I: 1–50* (AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 279; Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 344. Goulder, *Psalms*, 138, notes that Ps 46 is the only Korah psalm where waters threaten creation (drawing parallels with Ps 93, and between Pss 42–46; and 90; 94).

³²² Goulder, *Psalms*, 141; cf. A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms* (London: Oliphants, 1972), 1:356; Broyles, *Psalms*, 209; Clifford, *Psalms*, 228.

³²³ Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 192.

³²⁴ Cf. Dahood, *Psalms 1–50*, 280-81; Brettler, “Images,” 144-45, who suggests מָוַה in v. 7 refers either to the land of Zion’s enemies or metonymically to the enemies themselves.

³²⁵ The subjects of the impv. in v. 9a are Israel (and perhaps the survivors of the nations, who are mentioned in v. 11); cf. Weiser, *Psalms*, 373; contra Goulder, *Psalms*, 145-47.

commanding both Israel and the nations to “be still” and allow him to perform his royal work of disarmament.³²⁶ Thus in a creative act of divine verbal *fiat*, God effects “the transformation of all chaotic forces into instruments of divine praise.”³²⁷

As Peter Craigie describes, this psalm “contains one of the clearest elaborations in the Bible of the theological implications of the faith in *creation*. . . . Because God controls both history and nature, the chaotic threat which both may offer to human existence may be faced fearlessly.”³²⁸ The movement from chaos to order (God’s presence in Zion, the unshakeable mountain garden) instantiates the ANE pattern of cosmic battle progressing to enthronement, whereby God is king over creation as a consequence of his victory.³²⁹

Yet there is an also eschatological dimension to the creational element, in that the praise is partly proleptic since God’s mastery of creation does not yet represent the psalmist’s experience.³³⁰ Moreover, like Zion’s majesty here, worship—which somehow involves Israel and also the nations—is a function of God’s kingship, the peace inaugurated by his reign causes his praise among the nations.³³¹ At the same time, though, cosmic renewal and worldwide *shalom* also partly *result* from worship, since “der Friede kommt durch die Anerkennt des Gottes Jakobs durch die Völkerwelt als des ihnen allen (Israel und den Völkern) gemeinsamen Königs JHWH . . . , der vom Zion aus das Chaos in Kosmos verwandeln will.”³³² Psalm 47 continues this trajectory, taking on and refining its eschatological new creation, and worship by Israel and the nations.³³³

³²⁶ Brettler, “Images,” 160; cf. Broyles, *Psalms*, 210.

³²⁷ Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 345. Matthew Lynch privately reminded me how the nations’ worship is likewise a function of creation’s restoration in the opening two tricola (vv. 1–3) and the closing three tricola (vv. 10–13) of the Zion song Ps 96.

³²⁸ *Psalms 1–50*, 346, emphasis original.

³²⁹ Cf. Mettinger, “Fighting,” 21–38; Stuhllmueller, “Psalm 46,” 19–20; Brettler, “Images,” 146–47. The psalm’s cosmic scope is also evinced in the recurrence of the *Leitwort* יָרֵא (vv. 3, 7, 9, 10, 11); cf. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 343.

³³⁰ Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 343, 346; cf. Weiser, *Psalms*, 367; contra the resistance of eschatological features in favor of emphasizing the psalm’s original *Sitz* in Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 460–61; Stuhllmueller, “Psalm 46,” 19.

³³¹ Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 463. Further, Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 342 suggests the appellation על יין in v. 5 accommodates the nations’ worship since it is not particular to Israelite religion; so also Hausmann, “Beitrag,” 94; and Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 349 regarding 47:3.

³³² Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen*, 289.

³³³ Cf. Goulder, *Psalms*, 151.

2. *Zion, Worship and the Nations in Psalm 47*

Psalm 47 is the first Korah psalm called a *mizmor* (v. 1), which is a well-earned designation given the five-fold occurrence of זָמַר in verses 7–8.³³⁴ While it focuses upon God’s kingship, the overwhelming response of praise together with the presence of formal hymnic elements in the two equal strophes (vv. 2–5, 6–10) identify the psalm as an emphatic double hymn.³³⁵ The psalm’s structure is formed by repeated linguistic features such as the introduction of each strophe by עַל־הַ/עַל־יְיָ (vv. 3, 6) and a call to praise (vv. 2, 7); central כִּי clauses that introduce the substance of praise and have parallel occurrences of מַלְךְ and כָּל־הָאָרֶץ (vv. 3, 8); and a concluding כִּי clause with praise (v. 10).³³⁶ Moreover, the psalm is lent a concentric structure by mentions of the nations in verses 2 and 10 and of God’s people in verses 4 and 7 (the subject of the imperatives there), although the identity of the latter radically alters through the course of the psalm.³³⁷

Similar to Psalm 46, the nations’ appearance points to the dominant theme of God’s cosmic rule. “All peoples” are recruited for God’s glorification (v. 2) because (כִּי) he “is to be revered” as “king over all the earth” (v. 3).³³⁸ So while the nations are subjugated in verse 4, Israel (cf. the 1cp in vv. 4–5) celebrates not because of their or the nations’ relative status but because that subjugation represents God’s kingship.³³⁹ Most scholars identify Israel’s inheritance in verse 5—which is also termed “the pride of Jacob”—with the Land, but its parataxis with the foregoing verse suggests that the psalmist somehow views the nations themselves as Israel’s legacy (see below).³⁴⁰

The first strophe is primarily historical, recalling God’s mighty deeds on Israel’s behalf in the Land. Still, the double sense of verses 4–5 along with their use of the imperfect

³³⁴ Ibid., 154.

³³⁵ Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 195-98; Zenger, “Bedeutung,” 172; pace Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen*, 289.

³³⁶ Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 196; Zenger, “Bedeutung,” 172; Hausman, “Beitrag,” 96-97, etc.

³³⁷ Cf. Hausman, “Beitrag,” 91-92, who further argues a concentricity to the nations participation (vv. 2, 10) and subjugation (vv. 4, 9).

³³⁸ Ibid., 93.

³³⁹ Broyles, *Psalms*, 214; Hausman, “Beitrag,” 94; cf. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 349.

³⁴⁰ Compare vv. 4–5 with the ANE convention of a victorious and enthroned king distributing his spoils amongst his people (cf. *Midr. Pss.* 68:19); cf. Weiser, *Psalms*, 377; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, Goulder, *Psalms*, 155. The Grk and Syr. of v. 5 (“his inheritance”) is unlikely, given the parallelism of the bicolon (below).

also look toward the future, which segues to the eschatological theophany recorded in the second strophe.³⁴¹ God's ascent to his throne in Zion (v. 6) induces the psalmist's call to praise, which is certainly issued to Israel but likely also the nations alongside them (cf. v. 4).³⁴² In fact, given the apposition of verse 6 with the immediately preceding verses 4–5 (along with the injunction to the nations in v. 2), it could instead be read as *Israel* being invited to worship God along with the *nations*. The reason for God's praise (יְהוָה, v. 8) is again his kingship over “all the earth,” which again opens the psalm to a cosmic scope in that it polemically appropriates the claims of other ANE gods.³⁴³ God's kingship is further liturgically defined by his being seated at the ark of the covenant, his “holy throne” (v. 9), so that his enthronement is in the heart of the temple in Zion.³⁴⁴ And the psalmist reserves the honorific *king* for God by referring to the nations' royal representatives instead as מְלָכֵי (v. 10).³⁴⁵

God's cosmic kingship—the substance of praise in the second strophe—climaxes in the final verse of the psalm, which proclaims, “The nobles of the peoples are gathered as the people of the God of Abraham, for to God belong the shields of the earth.”³⁴⁶ Few scholars who opt for the emendation suggested in the BHS apparatus, “gathered *with* the people,” provide their rationale beyond an appeal to the Greek. However, Michael Goulder has apparently vocalized their concern, “Can we really think that the Israelite poet could have spoken of foreign princes as being the people of the God of Abraham?”³⁴⁷ While the Greek translator had some trouble with this clause, and interprets מֵעַ as μετὰ for the preposition מֵעַ,

³⁴¹ Cf. Goulder, *Psalms*, 155.

³⁴² Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 350.

³⁴³ Dahood, *Psalms 1–50*, 286.

³⁴⁴ Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 469; cf. Jer 3:16–18; Ps 99:1.

³⁴⁵ Weiser, *Psalms*, 378; Broyles, *Psalms*, 215–16 (also citing in the ascent of v. 6); cf. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 348.

³⁴⁶ So Hausman, “Beitrag,” 98–99 (citing a fulfillment of Gen 12:3); Geoffrey W. Grogan, *Psalms* (Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 102, etc. Goulder, *Psalms*, 159 takes this view since Abraham traditions are in view, but roots his reading in his reconstructed *Sitz*; but e.g. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 348 finds such reconstructions too speculative, and adopts a sound conservatism in reading the final form of Ps 47 as a general praise tradition of the Psalter. Taking note of the Grk οἱ κραταῖοι for מְלָכֵי, the MT apparatus suggests an original reading of מְלָכֵי that is followed by Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 347. The difference is stylistic as the two options are substantially similar, the MT simply having a heightened use of metaphor.

³⁴⁷ *Psalms*, 159.

what no scholar has pointed out is that even the Greek supports the MT. Otherwise the absence of τοῦ λαοῦ in the Greek would have to mean that either the instance of haplography was already present in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, or, untenably, that the Greek translator would have also had to separately omit an ׀ע.

Moreover, structural parallelism within Psalm 47 would seem to necessitate my grammatically feasible reading of verse 10. In the first strophe, the central reason for praise (v. 3) is followed in verse 4 by a bicolon that elaborates on God’s sovereignty (which is delegated through Israel). The same occurs in the second strophe, as the bicolon in verse 9 explicates, following the central reason for praise (v. 8), “God reigns [מלך] over the nations; God indeed sits upon his holy throne.” Then the final bicolon of the first strophe (v. 5) is a mini-chiasm, whose arrangement is fixed by the unusual use of direct object markers:³⁴⁸

He will choose
for us
[אֵשׁ] our inheritance, /
[אֵשׁ] the pride of Jacob
[Jacob] whom
he loves.

Figure 11: Literary Structure of Psalm 47:5

The final bicolon of the second strophe (v. 10, barring its closing acclamation הַמַּאֲדָה נֶעְלֵה) is likewise arranged:

The nobles of the peoples
are gathered as the people
of the God of Abraham, /
for to God
belong [copula implicit]
the shields of the earth.

Figure 12: Literary Structure of Psalm 47:10

The repeated pattern of God’s cosmic kingship as reason for praise, elaboration on God’s reign and a second, chiasmic explication of the consequences of God’s reign (vv. 3–5, 8–10) together dictate that in verse 10 the “shields” that belong to God identify by direct apposition those belonging to him as his people, namely, the “nobles of the peoples.”³⁴⁹ Therefore, my

³⁴⁸ Also noticed by Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 468.

³⁴⁹ It is noteworthy how the pattern of detailing Israel’s inheritance (v. 5) and then God’s (v. 10) God’s is similar to that of Exod 12:35–38; see above, pp. 30–31. John Eaton, *The Psalms: A Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation* (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 194 similarly insists

reading best preserves the MT and accounts for this identification of the nations given its theological context.

The nations are fully present in the expression נְדִיבֵי עַמִּים, represented in their leaders (just as the king represents Israel in biblical and other ANE traditions).³⁵⁰ Psalm 47 thus tracks the same pattern for the nations as that seen in Trito-Isaiah. Taken with the preceding Psalm 46, the nations move from judgment for their rebellion, to subjugation as a result of God's victory, and finally becoming part of Israel with their new identity displayed in their worship. Jutta Hausman therefore argues that the psalmist understands those who worship God to be the people of Abraham: Just as Israel's origin lay in God's creative initiative (cf. Jos 24:2–13), so too here God's assembling of the nations is a creative act until which his people are not fully complete.³⁵¹

The eschatological scope is likewise unmistakable. The unification envisioned in verse 10 is not yet realized, but doxological elements of the psalm (vv. 2, 7, 10) capture the expected consummation of history as a present reality to be celebrated by the community.³⁵² Even supposing the psalm originally had an historical event in view, in its final form any such referent is mythologized and has been assimilated into a creational pattern, wherein “the creation myth takes precedence over historical narration as the paradigm for God's fundamental acts of salvation.”³⁵³

So Psalm 47 addresses the nations' status in God's eschatological act of new creation, in order to unfold the full dimensions of God's eschatological, cosmic kingship. Initially, they are made subject to God in view of his sovereignty and so are compelled to revere him. But then God's reign will mysteriously effect their becoming Israel, as they (in their “noble” representatives) unite with Israel in worship. Between the strophes the division between the

that the context is of “a visionary ideal that all peoples will become the people of the God of Abraham”; cf. John Goldingay, *Psalms, Volume 2: Psalms 42–89* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 80.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Hausman, “Beitrag,” 98.

³⁵¹ “Beitrag,” 99, stating “die Völker also solche, die sich JHWH zuwenden, als Volk dieses Gottes und damit des Gottes Abrahams angesehen werden können.” Though less certain, this could still be argued for the emendated reading of v. 10, if the difference were seen as rhetorical rather than theological, and the nations' new identity would be implicit in their joining together *with* Israel in worship.

³⁵² Weiser, *Psalms, 375-76*, further noting a use of Ps 47 on Rosh Hashanah that suggests an eschatological understanding in early Judaism; Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 198; Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 350.

³⁵³ Roberts, “God's Imperial Reign According to the Psalter,” *HBT* 23 (2001): 215 (cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms*, 198); on the primacy of creation for this theme, he observes that it is “primeval, cosmogonic victories of Yahweh that the psalmist cites, not the exodus . . . , as a motivation to stir up Yahweh to act against the historical enemies that now [the psalmist's present] threaten God's people.”

psalm's community and the nations is blurred and erased, so that the saturating praise in verses 7, 8b (זמר x5) is joined by a single people who comprise both Israel and the nations, who together announce in closing, "[God] is exceedingly exalted" (v. 10). And if Psalms 46–48 do constitute a single theological trajectory, whereas in Psalm 47 God's new creation is his eschatological people, in Psalm 48 it is Zion itself.

3. *Zion, Worship and the Nations in Psalm 48*

The Zion song Psalm 48 opens the same way that Psalm 47 concluded: proclaiming that God is (to be) exceedingly (גאָר) praised (v. 1; cf. 47:10b). It is reasonable to suppose a liturgical *Sitz* for the psalm, where the adulation of Zion taking place *in* the temple would affirm the significance of the temple.³⁵⁴ In its final form, the psalm's praise of Zion is distilled, yet still retains the features that recall the inherent liturgical character of Zion and the cosmos that it represents.

Following the opening acclamation (v. 2a), verses 2b–3 consist in effusive praise for Zion in the form of seven epithets.³⁵⁵ These verses are bound by the *inclusio* formed by occurrences of *city* (עיר; cf. also the aural mirroring of v. 2b בעיר||v. 3b רב), and its depiction progresses from nationalistic ("our God") to internationally renowned ("the heights of Zaphon") to the cosmic ("the great king"; cf. 47:3).³⁵⁶ The epithets divide into two tricola of seven words each, "forming a kind of quantitatively climactic pattern."³⁵⁷ And Zion's glory is a reflection of God's, as seen in the brackets of verse 2a and the statement in verse 4 that when God is in Zion *he* is Israel's stronghold (cf. 46:2, 8, 12).

Regarding possible historical referents for verses 5–8, Goulder is correct that in its present context God's defense and vindication of Zion is dehistoricized, whereby it substantiates the community's confidence, "As we have heard, thus we have seen... God

³⁵⁴ Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 352.

³⁵⁵ In the first colon of v. 2a, "he is exceedingly praised" may function as an appellation parallel to גדול יהוה, further identifying praise for Zion as indirect worship of God.

³⁵⁶ Michael L. Barré, "The Seven Epithets of Zion in Ps 48:2–3," *Bib 69* (1988): 559–60, also reinforcing the *inclusio* with v. 2a גדול||v.3b רב. "Mount Zion, the heights of Zaphon" for ירבה צפון in v. 3 is grammatically and contextually preferable to the translation "Zion in the far north;" so Barré, "Epithets," 559; Broyles, *Psalms*, 218; Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 351; Grogan, *Psalms*, 103. For the latter option, see Weiser, *Psalms*, 381; Goulder, *Psalms*, 162, but who still notes the subversive implication.

³⁵⁷ Barré, "Epithets," 559–60.

himself will establish [Zion] forever” (v. 9).³⁵⁸ Their declaration transitions to exhortation, as their witness of God’s deeds moves them to offer the invitation to come and witness Zion’s majesty (vv. 13–15).³⁵⁹ That majesty is predicated on God’s *hesed*, for which God’s name is praised throughout the earth (vv. 10–12). So for the psalmist, it is the fullness of God’s presence in Zion (חֶסֶד, שִׂמְךָ, יְמִינְךָ, צְדָקָה... יְמִינְךָ, vv. 10–12) that *makes* it Zion, which is expressed most fully by the worship of Israel (vv. 10b, 12b) and the nations (v. 11a).

Psalms 46–48 ends על־מוֹת in 48:15, as it began in 46:1.³⁶⁰ As in the subsequent meditation in Psalm 49, the psalmist here seems to again invoke the Korah psalms’ motif of Sheol in announcing that “[God] himself will guide us above death” (v. 15; cf. 49:16).³⁶¹ This expectation, coupled with God’s apocalyptic victory over the rebellious nations, the anticipated praise (v. 12) and permanence of Zion (vv. 9b, 15a) give the psalm an eschatological scope. As in the preceding psalms of the triad, in Psalm 48 worship by both Israel and by the nations is a function of Zion’s eschatological restoration, which in turn is a function of God’s glorification and eschatological cosmic kingship.

C. Summary

The glorification of God for his kingship is the central theme of each of Psalms 46–48, and therefore of the literary unit. This theme resonated with circumstances of the biblical Israelite community who originally produced the psalms, but they have also been invested with a strong eschatological dimension in their final context. In the service of interpreting God’s kingship, the three psalms together deploy the theological resources of the restoration of creation and Zion (resulting from God’s defeat of chaos and presence in the temple), God’s worship by both Israel and the nations (resulting from his victory over Zion’s rebellious enemies), and the restoration of his people, Israel—now also comprising the nations—and *shalom* (resulting from Israel-nations unification in worship and his cosmic kingship).

³⁵⁸ *Psalms*, 164.

³⁵⁹ Grogan, *Psalms*, 103.

³⁶⁰ The MT should be taken at least on the grounds of *lectio difficilior* (Mitchell, “‘God’,” 379), and emendations to עוֹלָמוֹת or עַל־מוֹת are unwarranted (Dahood, *Psalms 1–50*, 293; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 476; Stuhlmüller, “Psalm 46,” 21; Claude E. Cox, “Schaper’s Eschatology meets Kraus’s Theology of the Psalms,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* [ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Peter John Gentry, and Claude E. Cox; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001], 292). See Goulder, *Psalms*, 169-70 for variants; besides the Grk, LXX^B omits.

³⁶¹ Mitchell, “‘God’,” 379.

All three psalms contain an aspect of eschatological New Creation, namely, the *cosmos* and Zion at its center in Psalms 46 and 48, and between them in Psalm 47 the newly constituted “people of the God of Abraham.” And while the two outer psalms each have both Israel and the nations worshipping God they are emphatic about Zion as a reflection of God’s glory. Between them, however, Psalm 47 emphasizes rather the unification of Israel and the nations in worship before God in the most holy place, the heart of his palace-temple at the heart of creation.

Individually, each of the three psalms bespeaks the close relationship between worship, God’s royal rule, and the wholeness of creation. Taken together, as describing one theological trajectory, the psalmist(s) declares that the basis of Israel’s worship and confidence in God is the cosmic scope of his kingship and the eschatological *telos* in which it will one day result. And the expression of that *telos* is creation’s restoration and a worshipful restored humanity at its center. It is this constellation of features that restores the psalmist (Pss 42/43) and his community’s confidence, and reminds them of the wisdom of God’s ways and the certainty of his deliverance (Ps 49). So Israel-nations unification in conjunction with God’s New Creation are the fulcrum of the first collection of Korah psalms (Pss 42–49) to begin Books II–III of the Psalter.

VIII. Genesis 1–2: Temple Cosmology and the Unification of Israel and the Nations

The biblical instances of Israel-nations unification that I have examined to this point consistently exhibit the same constellation of salient features, namely, creation or eschatological New Creation (context depending), Israel-nations unification, worship, and *shalom*. One outstanding aspect of this uniformity is the consistent appeal to *Urzeit*, a pristine state in which all is ordered as intended, that is either invoked (Exod 12:37–38; 1 Kgs 8:41–43) or eschatologically recaptured (Isa 2:2–4; 56–66; Mic 4:1–4; Zech 8:18–23; Pss 46–48).

But perhaps the most unexpected of these is worship. At first blush, what has worship to do intrinsically with creation? In answer, here I offer a reading of the creation accounts of Genesis 1–2 as outlining a theological framework of temple cosmology that emphasizes the fundamentally liturgical character of both creation and humanity, and presents them as interdependent. Although not all scholars may be convinced of this reading, if true then the prominence of worship in biblical references to Israel-nations unification is not quizzical, but rather the key to their understanding.

A. Temple Cosmology in Genesis 1–2

1. *Creation and Temple*

The creation accounts of Genesis 1–2 and their presentation of creation share much in common with that of their ANE parallels. The act of creation in ANE patterns of thought is neither theogenic nor *ex nihilo*, but rather cosmogonic. It is the transformation of chaos into order, that is, into *cosmos*. In Mesopotamian traditions, the process of creation is typically described by the sequence of a cosmic battle and victory over chaos, the ordering of chaos, kingship of the deity, and finally temple building and worship of the god(s).³⁶² Ugaritic creation accounts describe an initial state of chaos followed by Baal’s cosmic battle with Yam or Mot, the ordered *cosmos* as a result of his victory, and then his kingship and temple building.³⁶³ In Babylonian accounts, Marduk also creates first by ordering the *cosmos*, and then builds his temple.³⁶⁴ Although in Egyptian traditions the element of *chaoskampf* is largely absent, still the act of creation is there understood as the ordering of the *cosmos*. For instance, the Hermopolitan creation account begins with the chaotic deep, and following “breath” (Amun) moving on the waters and the creation of light, the hill of land emerges “in the middle of the waters” (cf. Gen 1:1–10).³⁶⁵ Creation itself, then, is conceptualized as the primeval chaos which has been ordered as the *cosmos*.

³⁶² Loren R. Fisher, “Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament,” *VT* 15 [1965]: 316; Clifford, *Cosmic*; Jakob H. Grønbaek, “Baal’s Battle with Yam: A Canaanite Creation Fight,” *JSOT* 33 (1985): 33; John H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 113-34, 196-99.

³⁶³ Fisher, “Creation,” 316; cf. Grønbaek, “Baal’s,” 33.

³⁶⁴ Fisher, “Creation,” 320.

³⁶⁵ James K. Hoffmeier, “Some Thoughts on Genesis 1 & 2 and Egyptian Cosmology,” *JANES* 15 (1983), 46. Although Genesis 1–2 has long been considered to reflect a Mesopotamian background, scholars increasingly suggest that it may instead reflect primarily an Egyptian background. In addition to Hoffmeier, see James P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1988), esp. 56-63; Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997); James E. Atwell, “An Egyptian Source for Genesis 1,” *JTS* 51 (2000): 463; Rikki E. Watts, “On the Edge of the Millennium: Making Sense of Genesis 1,” in *Living in the LambLight* (ed. Hans Boersma ; Vancouver: Regent College, 2001), 129-51, etc. Some admit, however, significant disconnects between Genesis and Egyptian material (e.g. Currid, *Egypt*, 39; Watts, “Sense,” 130). It is probably best to see Genesis 1–2 as reflecting—possibly to varying degrees, and at least in part as a polemic—both Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions (so George L. Klein, “Reading Genesis 1,” *SwJT* 44 [2001]: 32-33; Richard E. Averbeck, “Ancient Near Eastern Mythography as It Relates to Historiography in the Hebrew Bible: Genesis 3 and the Cosmic Battle,” in *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions; the proceedings of a symposium, August 12-14 2001, at Trinity International University* [ed. James K. Hoffmeier and Alan Millard; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 351). For instance, in Gen 1 *Chaoskampf* is present by its absence, that is, chaos is present but God’s sovereignty dispenses with the need for battle, which is an implicit polemic against non-Israelite, polytheistic traditions.

Central to such traditions is the concept of a sacred or cosmic mountain, which symbolizes ordered creation over against the chaotic sea.³⁶⁶ In some Mesopotamian cultures, heaven and earth together constituted a single cosmic mountain. Its peak was the point of contact between the divine and terrestrial spheres, upon which the gods were enthroned and from which flowed the waters of paradise (cf. Ps 46:3).³⁶⁷ And in Egyptian culture, especially, pyramids were models of the primeval mountain of order, elevated out of the inundation of chaos (cf. Gen 1:9) and upon which were enthroned the god(s).³⁶⁸ Even those Mesopotamian cultures that might not have envisaged creation as a *Weltberg* nevertheless employed the concept of a sacred mountain, which was identified with the temple and understood as the “cosmic center” out of which the world was created and brought to order.³⁶⁹ This picture becomes part of biblical Zion traditions, which variously equate Jerusalem, the temple, Sinai, and Zion as God’s throne over defeated human enemies or chaos waters (e.g. Pss 29:10; 65:8; 93:4; cf. Ezek 47:1–2; Zech 14:8; Joel 4:18).³⁷⁰

The temple was identified with the cosmic mountain because it was considered a microcosm of creation, whose design represented the ordering of creation.³⁷¹ The earthly temple corresponded to the deity’s heavenly palace, and was the focal point from which radiated the god’s blessing into the terrestrial sphere.³⁷² The climactic position of its construction within the sequence of creation reflects both Mesopotamian and Egyptian social orders, which employed royal connotations of deity wherein king and deity both held back (on their respective planes) the agricultural chaos of “war, lawlessness, or flood.”³⁷³ Just as the king built his palace after subduing his domain and thereby bringing peace to his people,

³⁶⁶ See Clements, *God*, esp. 1-11; Clifford, *Cosmic*, 14-17, 25-27, passim; Ollenburger, *Zion*, 15, 54-55; Levenson, *Sinai*, 108-9.

³⁶⁷ Ollenburger, *Zion*, 15.

³⁶⁸ Currid, *Egypt*, 22-24.

³⁶⁹ Clifford, *Cosmic*, 15 n. 2, 25, whose argument that the *Weltberg* (or *Urhügel* in Egyptian mythologies) was not ubiquitous in ANE traditions has been met with a mixed reception.

³⁷⁰ Levenson, *Sinai*, 108-9; Ollenburger, *Zion*, 54-55.

³⁷¹ Fisher, “Creation,” 318-19, citing Sigmund Mowinckel, Micae Eliade, and Arvid Kapelrud; Watts, “Sense,” 151-53; William Dumbrell, “Genesis 2:1–17: A Foreshadowing of the New Creation,” in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, (ed. Scott J. Hafemann; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002), 53-65.

³⁷² Mark S. Smith, “Like Deities, Like Temples (Like People),” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. John Day; LHB/OTS 422; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 5; cf. A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: A Portrait of a Dead Civilisation*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970), 108.

³⁷³ Watts, “Sense,” 146; cf. Walton, *Ancient*, 293-94.

the deity's defeat over chaos logically precipitated the building of his palace-temple, whose completion signaled the completion of the *cosmos*.³⁷⁴ As such, the temple was “symbolic of the ordered cosmos,” which “at the same time makes it possible to maintain order.”³⁷⁵

Correspondingly, numerous scholars have demonstrated the same for the temple (and Tabernacle) in ancient Israel. Israel's temple was understood not as “a place in the world, but the world in essence...the Temple is a microcosm [of creation].”³⁷⁶ The temple as God's dwelling represents both his universal sovereignty and the maintenance of the cosmic order. Just as chaos is redeemed as the cosmos in Genesis 1–2, within the microcosm of the temple it is not eliminated but rather subdued (cf. Gen 1:28) and redeemed for a cultic purpose. As Jon Levenson remarks, the “defeat and containment [of the sea] constitute order,” which additionally “legitimize the victor's claim to kingship and initiate the construction of his royal palace, his temple.”³⁷⁷

It is within this larger context that the creation accounts in Genesis 1–2 likewise depict God's act of creation as the transformation of chaos into the ordered *cosmos*. The first account in Genesis 1:1–2:3 begins not with creation *ex nihilo*, but rather with the circumstantial clause בראשית ברא אל הים (“when God began creating,” v. 1) and the presence of the chaos תהו ובהו (v. 2), which was initially תהו ובהו (v. 2) and from which God brought forth the *cosmos* (captured in the merism ואת הארץ השמים, v. 1). The 3 + 3 + 1 pattern of days expresses the order of the *cosmos*, wherein God creates appropriate dwelling

³⁷⁴ At the political level, only after the construction of his own palace would the king build the temple as a testimony to the god(s), who had fulfilled their divine obligation to legitimate his rule (a pattern is generally observed in 2 Sam 1–8; 1 Kgs 1–8). Oppenheim, *Ancient*, 98 further notes that in ancient Mesopotamia, success in war and prosperity in peacetime were jointly attributed to both the god and the king whom he upheld.

³⁷⁵ Fisher, “Creation,” 320.

³⁷⁶ Levenson, *Sinai*, 139; cf. Michael A. Fishbane, “The Sacred Center: The Symbolic Structure of the Bible,” in *Texts and Responses: Studies Presented to Nahum N. Glatzer on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday by his Students* (ed. Michael A. Fishbane and Paul R. Flohr; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 24-43; Gordon J. Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story,” in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1–11* (ed. Richard Hess and David Tsumura; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 399-404; G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* (NSBT 17; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2004), 29-80.

Worth pointing out is the general consensus that the Tabernacle was likewise a microcosm of creation; see Joseph Blenkinsopp, “The Structure of P,” *CBQ* 38 (1976): 275-92; Peter J. Kearney, “Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Ex. 25–40,” *ZAW* 89 (1977): 375-77; Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (San Francisco: Harper, 1988), 78-79; Eric E. Elnes, “Creation and Tabernacle: The Priestly Writer's ‘Environmentalism’,” *HBT* 16 (1994), passim; Samuel E. Balentine, *The Torah's Vision of Worship* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999) 63-77, 136-41; Terence E. Fretheim, *God and World in the Old Testament: A Relational Theology of Creation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 128, etc.

³⁷⁷ *Sinai*, 138-39.

spaces in the first triplet of days and populates them in the second triplet. Likewise, each class of life is created “after its own kind” (לְמִינֵהוּם, vv. 11–12, 21, 24, etc.; cf. 2:18, 20b). And echoing the ANE concept of the cosmic mountain, the firmament (רַקִּיעַ) and dry land are drawn “from the midst of the waters” (vv. 6, 9). Further present in the second account is the river of paradise, which divides into four rivers that water (surround?) the creation (2:10–14; cf. Ezek 47:1–2; Zech 14:8; Joel 4:18).

Accordingly scholars writing on this topic generally agree that “the heavens and the earth” in Genesis 1–2 are depicted as the cosmic mountain. Moreover, numerous scholars have observed further liturgical features of this *cosmos*. Loren Fisher, noting both that Baal’s temple was constructed in seven days in Canaanite mythology and the Jerusalem temple in seven years, comments, “If these temples were constructed in terms of ‘seven’ it is really no wonder that the creation poem of Gen. 1 is inserted in a seven-day framework. One must speak of ordering the cosmos in terms of seven even as the construction of the microcosm must be according to the same pattern.”³⁷⁸ Likewise, the final moment of the first account is liturgical, with the Sabbath being prefigured in God’s rest on the seventh day.³⁷⁹ William Dumbrell observes that in the text the seventh day is without an end, whereby it “[introduces] the context in which the historical happenings will come to occur” and divine rest “gives meaning to the account of creation as a whole and explains the ongoing purpose for which creation exists.”³⁸⁰ Similarly, the language of Genesis 2 identifies God as the king in the realm of the garden, where he and humanity meet regularly and unmediated.³⁸¹ Particularly in

³⁷⁸ “Ugarit,” 40.

³⁷⁹ If the occurrences of בָּרָא and עָשָׂה in 2:4 (to begin the second account) are included, then in 1:1–2:4 there is a completeness of seven occurrences of each; the first six and the first episode conclude with the summation וַיִּכְלֹ הָאֱלֹהִים וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל-צְבָאָם (2:1), and 2:1–4 links the two accounts (Dumbrell, “Genesis,” 53). Similarly, 2:1–3 parses into seven crescendoing poetic lines with three occurrences of הָשָׁבִיעִי (ibid., 54).

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 55.

³⁸¹ Margaret Barker, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* (London: SPCK, 1991), 181; Dexter E. Callender Jr., *Adam in Myth and History: Ancient Israelite Perspectives on the Primal Human* (HSS 48; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 50–55; cf. Ps 36:8–10; Jer 17:12–13. See also Beale, *Temple*, 29–66; see also Donald W. Parry, “Garden of Eden: Prototype Sanctuary,” in *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism* (ed. Donald W. Parry; Salt Lake City: Desert Books, 1994), passim; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC 1; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 86; Dumbrell, “Genesis,” 56, 58; cf. *Jub.* 3:19. See Terje Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature* (CEBT 25; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 307–12 for a survey. E. O. James, *Creation and Cosmology* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 29; and Stephen D. Ricks, “Liturgy and Cosmogony: the Ritual Use of Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East,” in *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism* (ed. Donald W. Parry; Salt Lake City: Desert Books, 1994), 120 demonstrate through early Rabbinic use of Genesis 1 for New Years and other festivals an early Jewish understanding of Genesis 1 as a *liturgical* text. Another possible datum is the presupposition in Gen 4:1–16 of Adam’s knowledge of proper Levitical Law regarding sacrificial worship.

the second account the completed portion of creation in Eden is structured like a sanctuary, and its opening is marked with a command (or Torah) similar to that of Solomon's temple (Gen 2:16; cf. 1 Kgs 9:6–7, 68).³⁸² After the failure of chapter 4, Eden is guarded over by cherubim, similar to the ark of the covenant.³⁸³ And *adam*'s creational vocation to עֲבַד and גִּמְלֵם the garden (2:15) has liturgical and priestly associations (e.g. Num 1:53; 3:7–8; 8:25–26; 18:5–6; 1 Sam 7:1; 2 Kgs 12:9; Ezek 44:14; 1 Chr 23:32; 2 Chr 34:9).³⁸⁴

So just as creation is a cosmic mountain, if the analyses of scholars like Fischer, Richard Clifford, Michael Fishbane, James Hoffmeier, Levenson, and James Atwell are sound then the corollary may be considered, that Genesis 1–2 may present the *cosmos* as a temple, which stands for both God's sovereignty and the maintenance of the cosmic order.³⁸⁵ Again, not all scholars may agree with such a reading, although no alternative has been offered to account for the data. While it would be unwise to tether the above examinations of biblical Israel-nations unification traditions to such a robust statement, Rikki Watts at least concludes that “given the rather widespread [ANE] notion linking creation, defeat-of-chaos, and temple-building, and the thorough-going architectural imagery which characterizes the biblical conceptualizing of creation, it would be very odd if Genesis 1 were not to be understood along the lines of cosmic palace-temple building.”³⁸⁶ If such a reading is correct, then creation is God's palace-temple because it is the cosmic mountain where the creator-deity is present.

Additionally, even if chapters 1–2 are a relatively late composition as is often thought, these accounts have been positioned at the beginning of the Hebrew Bible, and so would have been read by early Jewish readers as the prologue of Scripture. If these accounts were read in a way similar to that suggested here, then they would have been seen as displaying the prototype for the Temple in the life and thought of Israel. Also, the pristine state of creation as God's palace-temple may have been understood as the benchmark for

³⁸² Beale, *Temple*, 70-71, 81-83.

³⁸³ Cf. Exod 28:41; 29:8; 40:14; Lev 8:13; so Wenham, “Sanctuary,” 40; Beale, *Temple*, 70-71.

³⁸⁴ Wenham, *Genesis*, 67; Beal, *Temple*, 66-70.

³⁸⁵ Cf. Bernard W. Anderson, *Contours of Old Testament Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 209-15.

³⁸⁶ “Sense,” 147; cf. Ps 104:2–3; Isa 24:18; Job 38:4ff., etc., data which Watts calls “overwhelming” (ad loc.).

God's intentions for creation and human history, by which Israel's expectations regarding God's reign are measured.

Therefore, while I offer the above reading only as a suggestion, such a reading of Genesis 1–2, if accepted, would further help to account for the interface between the nations' pilgrimage and biblical Zion traditions, given identification with God's cosmic palace-temple. Just as his sovereignty over creation and Zion is predicated upon his role as creator, so too his sovereignty over humanity—and, hence, the nations—is predicated upon their place and function within creation. For if temple building was climactic of creation in ANE thought, then it was the placement of an enlivened image of the deity that was climactic of temple building.

2. *Creation and Humanity*

Biblical references to humanity as God's image “are tantalizing in their brevity and scarcity.”³⁸⁷ The fundamental statement is found in Genesis 1:26–27, “Let us create humankind in our image [צלמ], according to our likeness [דמות]” (v. 26). David Clines analyzes biblical occurrences of צלמ and its cognates, and is one of the first to argue that Genesis 1:26 defines humans as God's physical representations and/or representatives.³⁸⁸ He demonstrates that “Man [humanity] is created...as God's image, or rather *to be* God's image [in creation]...man is...the visible, corporeal representative of the invisible, [transcendent,] bodiless God.... The whole man is image of God, without distinction of spirit and body. All mankind, without distinction, are the image of God.”³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ David J. A. Clines, “The Image of God in Man,” *TynBul* 19 (1968): 53.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 73–80; Clines, *ad loc.*, 56–63 surveys and refutes alternative interpretations of בצלמנו, such as its referring to either the same physical form of deity (so Güntel and von Rad), or to a “spiritual” image (mental faculty and/or “spiritual nature”; so Cassuto, Barth, and Bonhoeffer). Equally unlikely is Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary* (trans. J. J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 146—that v. 26 says nothing of the quality of humans but speaks only of them as ruling counterparts to God—especially in light of available ANE data (see below). The first-person plural of v. 26 likely refers to a heavenly court (e.g., Wenham, *Genesis*, 28; Bruce K. Waltke, *Genesis: A Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001], 64–65). Clines, “Image,” 63–69, however, surveys several alternatives, arguing that this issue is not determinative for the meaning of בצלמנו כדמותנו.

³⁸⁹ Clines, “Image,” 83, emphasizes original; so also Wenham, *Genesis*, 29; Waltke, *Genesis*, 65–66, etc. ‘Image’ and ‘likeness’ in מבצלמנו כדמותנו are functionally synonymous, and are used together for specification and rhetorical emphasis; cf. Clines, 90–92; Westermann, *Genesis*, 146; Wenham, *Genesis*, 29; Richard S. Hess, “Genesis 1–2 and Recent Studies of Ancient Texts,” *Science and Christian Belief* 7 (1995): 145; although Atwell, “Egyptian,” 462 notes that ‘image’ can mean ‘copy’ and so suggests it carries stronger identification).

“Image” in Genesis 1:26 is particularly provocative given an ANE background, since the placement of the deity’s image was the climactic moment in Mesopotamian temple building. Watts describes:

First, the image would be formed, often in connection with sacred forests or gardens [cf. the garden of Eden]. Then there would be a series of ritual acts of animation in which the eyes, ears, and mouth of the image would be opened, its limbs enabled, and the spirit of the deity invoked to indwell the image. This indwelling of the image by the fiery spirit of the deity is perhaps the crucial event since it is only when this occurs that the idol truly functions as the deity’s image. Finally, the “enlivened” image was installed in its temple so that the deity could dwell among his people and daily provision could be made for his or her sustenance.³⁹⁰

In some ANE traditions, this concept even found expression in some human origins accounts. For instance, in Egyptian traditions “the impartation of life occurs through the breath of the creator-deity,” similar to the picture provided by Genesis 2:7.³⁹¹ Or again, descriptions of the gods fashioning humanity from clay with their hands in some Mesopotamian sources may be suggestive of the idea that humans were made in the god’s image.³⁹²

Moreover, scholars compare the language of delegated sovereignty in Genesis 1:26–28 with that of texts like Psalm 8:4–8, to argue that in Genesis mankind is presented as the *royal* image of God.³⁹³ This may echo Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources that describe the king as the image of deity, wherein some Egyptian sources further assign to the king divine sovereignty or dominion over creation similar to that in Genesis.³⁹⁴ For at least the Pharaoh—in contrast to Mesopotamian understanding—this anticipated a divine indwelling within the

³⁹⁰ “New Exodus,” 19-20, citing Katherine Beckerleg and Christopher Walker. This paradigm was first argued by Meredith G. Kline, “Investiture with the Image of God,” *WTJ* 40 (1977): 39-51, who analyzes creation as God’s palace-temple, and finally notes the high priest’s function as an idol in the holy of holies “recalls the Genesis 1 episode of the creation of man in the likeness of the Glory-Spirit as the personal image-temple of God” (ad loc., 51). Wright, *Mission*, 187-88 notes the corollary that idolatry is the central problem in human history, *i.e.*, the substitution of a creature or part of creation for the “Creator God”: “Since God’s mission is to restore creation to its full original purpose of bringing all glory to God himself... God battles against all forms of idolatry.”

³⁹¹ Currid, *Egypt*, 37-38; Watts, “Sense,” 145.

³⁹² Watts, “Sense,” 145.

³⁹³ Levenson, *Creation*, 113-14.

³⁹⁴ Levenson, *Creation*, 114, citing Hans Wildberger on both Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources; cf. Hoffmeier, “Genesis” 47 who discusses Egyptian kings’ practice of leaving statues and image-bearing stelae in conquered territories to symbolize their ruling presence; Atwell, “Egyptian,” 463 (“indeed the king in Mesopotamia was never considered divine in the way he was in ancient Egypt”); Watts, “Creational,” 21 n. 17; Beale, *Temple*, 88-89.

human image.³⁹⁵ This was possibly democratized, to some degree, throughout Egyptian culture in later traditions, but the degree of democratization in the biblical tradition is unique.³⁹⁶ Genesis distinctively affirms “the dignity of man, and elevates all men [humans]—not just kings or nobles—to the highest status conceivable, short of complete divinization.”³⁹⁷ Humanity is not merely God’s image, as Clines demonstrated, but one which God himself made, enlivened, and placed at the center of creation.³⁹⁸

To explore further, if Genesis 1–2 is read as presenting creation as God’s palace-temple as suggested above, then such parallels give new depth to the account in 1:26–27 wherein “on the last creative day, Yahweh fashions his own image and places it in his palace-temple.”³⁹⁹ If this approach is accepted, then the cultic significance of humanity and the liturgical character of creation are complementary. Humanity then becomes God’s ultimate expression of the order in creation, and therefore its ordering coheres in humanity’s wholeness.⁴⁰⁰ That is, on such a reading, humanity—and particularly a unified humanity—is constitutive of creation.

Furthermore, adopting this reading also helps to explain the final feature of the now familiar constellation of *shalom*. While *shalom* is not explicit, it is the implicit thoroughgoing characterization of the Genesis creation accounts: Humanity is fundamentally created and

³⁹⁵ Atwell, “Egyptian,” 463; however, compare some of the findings in Oppenheim, *Mesopotamia*, 184–86, which suggest echoes of this idea in Mesopotamian sources.

³⁹⁶ Atwell, “Egyptian,” 464.

³⁹⁷ Clines, “Image,” 53.

³⁹⁸ If humanity is the pinnacle of creation in the first account, then in the second creation is concentrically arranged around them. Jeremy Cohen, *Be Fertile and Increase, Fill the Earth and Master It: The Ancient and Medieval Career of a Biblical Text* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 81 notes a parallelism of vv. 26a and 26b with vv. 27 and 28 that reinforces a priestly interpretation of 2:15; so also Dumbrell, “Genesis,” 61, noting parallels between LXX 2:15 and LXX Exod 28:17–20; Grk Ezek 28:13; Beale, *Temple*, 83. Also, that humanity is God’s cultic self-image strengthens the above suggestion that Gen 1–2 present creation as a palace-temple.

³⁹⁹ Watts, “Sense,” 147. The LXX use of εἰκόων rather than εἶδωλον in vv. 26–27 is unproblematic in terms of any suspected negative connotations to humanity as God’s idol or cultic image in the MT, since, as Charles A. Kennedy, “The Semantic Field of the Term ‘Idolatry,’” in *Uncovering Ancient Stones: Essays in Memory of H. Neil Richardson* (ed. Lewis M. Hopfe; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 193–204 demonstrates, the terms for “image” and “idol” were basically synonymous and had no inherent negative bias, only that which was added by their context.

⁴⁰⁰ There may be a correspondence between this principle and the fact that in Mesopotamian cultures social obedience defined civilized behavior, suggesting that the deity’s ordering of chaos was to be manifested by internal peace (Oppenheim, *Mesopotamia*, 103). Watts, “New Exodus,” 29 observes how “given that image and creation are interconnected by means of the temple motif, we might expect creation also to be involved in [humanity’s] exile.” For subsequent creational connotations to God’s covenant with Israel, see Levenson, *Creation*, 12, 17, 135–37; Patrick D. Miller, “Creation and Covenant,” in *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology: Collected Essays*, JSOTSup 267 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 487–91.

placed in God's presence, and that relationship is normative for the rest of Scripture. Likewise, humanity is a single, harmonious corporate entity, as their right relationship with God is reflected in the relationship between representatives Adam and Eve; again, this state is normative for human relations in the Hebrew Bible.⁴⁰¹ And the coherence of creation in humanity is even expressed narratively in *adam's* peaceable stewardship of the garden and its denizens (2:19–20a).

Even if creation is not viewed as God's palace-temple, and despite the absence of any positive didactic statement, the larger narrative provides a strong negative argument that the order of creation generally is predicated upon humanity's wholeness: Their sin in Genesis 3 results in enmity both between God and humanity (vv. 23–24, cf. v. 8), and within humanity itself (v. 15). This in turn leads to fratricide as the second recorded sin (4:1–16); ambivalence regarding the rise of civilization, whose increase in knowledge and crafts is matched by its increase in wickedness (vv. 17–24); the desecration of the cosmos in the union between heavenly beings and humans, which precipitates chaotic uncreation through the flood (6:1–8); and the shattering of humanity at the tower of Babel, immediately preceding God's choice of a single family to be a new humanity (11:1–9).

Therefore, in both narrative and symbolic terms, chapters 1–2 depict humanity as God's cultic self-image. Their very makeup is worshipful in nature, as their role within creation is liturgical (and priestly), and they glorify God by reflecting him as his image. And while less certain, their placement within creation can be better explained if its nature is understood as God's cosmic palace-temple.

B. Summary

The creation accounts of Genesis 1–2 focus primarily on the nature of creation and the character of God. Within these emphases, humanity enters the narrative as a character who embodies the former's defining characteristic of order and the latter's sovereignty and glory. So the final redactors of these traditions elected to place at the fore of Scripture the dual axioms of creation as *cosmos* and the prototype of Zion, and humanity as God's constitutive self-image. Even if this is taken no further, Genesis 1–2 have heuristic value in trying to account for the constellation of features of creation, unification, worship and *shalom* consistently observed in the biblical traditions examined above. In this case, such traditions

⁴⁰¹ On the relationship of creation/image with ethics and *shalom*, see Watts, "New Exodus," 27.

bear a resemblance to the order, wholeness and right relationships between God, humanity and creation in Genesis 1–2.

However, if the suggested reading of Genesis 1–2 as presenting creation as God’s palace-temple is further accepted, then these axioms construct a theological framework of temple cosmology. In this case, creation is not only the cosmic mountain, but God’s palace-temple itself, with humanity as his cultic self-image properly placed at its center. God’s overwhelmingly good creation and human creatures are then placed into relationships with him and each other to which all that follows aspires, especially for early Jewish readers.

In either case, however, it is because creation *qua cosmos* is defined by the wholeness of humanity that the rebellion in Genesis 3 marks the partial derailment of God’s purposes for creation and its completion, humanity and human history, and all the relationships thus disrupted. By its presentation of God’s properly ordered rule, Genesis 1–2 thereby informs that what is “wrong” with the world of those who preserved and refined these sacred traditions, is the loss of creational worship, *shalom*, and humanity’s unity and right relationship with their creator. What will set these aright, then, is the restoration of humanity and consequent restoration of creation. And this makes perfect sense on the more robust reading, since such restoration would then mark the recovery of the relationships intended with the framework of temple cosmology.

IX. Summary and Conclusions

The biblical instances of Israel-nations unification examined in this chapter consistently exhibit the same constellation of salient features. Along with the unification of Israel and the nations, they include elements of creation, worship, and *shalom*. What impresses, though, is how all the examined traditions are univocal in their understanding of how Israel-nations unification comes to pass, and what is its significance. Each of these traditions describes Israel and the nations being unified in and by their worship of specifically Israel’s God, Yhwh, and that this unification inaugurates (new) creation, and results in *shalom* amongst humanity and between humanity and God.

The feature of creation is intriguing in that it can either present as an extension of the original creation—as with Exodus 12:37–38 and 1 Kings 8:41–43—or according to a pattern of *Endzeit wird Urzeit*—as with Isaiah 2:2–4; 56–66; Micah 4:1–4; Zechariah 8:18–23; and Psalms 46–48. Members of the first set pick out edifying moments in Israel’s history, where claim is being made to a legacy. Members of the second set are instead prompted by crisis, and hold up the ideal of New Creation as a foil to the present circumstances or experience of

a tradition's audience. But in all cases, Israel-nations unification is included in a picture that hails back to God's original design for the world. Pointing out the importance of creation or New Creation in biblical traditions might seem a truism or even cliché were it not for the nations' presence at Israel's most significant experiences.

The feature of worship may be less expected, but perhaps this should be otherwise. The nations' presence does not point to an undifferentiated, monolithic unification with Israel, but instead worship of Yhwh is the mechanism for unification in every instance. In most cases Israel and the nations actively praise God, but in all they in their unification are a praise to God. That is, in each instance their joint devotion to him is a function of his glorification as the triumphant and enthroned cosmic king and creator. So if Israel-nations unification is "universalistic," then it is a peculiarly particularistic universalism, specifically oriented around Israel's self-identity.

The feature of *shalom* may be the most expected, due in part perhaps to the familiarity of Isaiah 2:2–4||Micah 4:1–4. But while *shalom* in its fullest sense may be the logical outcome of God's eschatological enthronement, it must be remembered how radical is peace among all humanity from a biblical perspective, especially given the nations' intrinsic hostility and that the absence of *shalom* is the default state of existence for even Israel. While *shalom* is not explicit in all the examined traditions, in every instance it is nevertheless the basic characteristic of a unified humanity's relationship with itself, and with God to whom they are reconciled. This stands out further when it is taken into account how in several of the examples considered, Israel faces the same hostile discipline or destruction from God as do the nations.

Finally, the function of Israel-nations unification in the examined traditions is also interesting. In no instance is it argued for or even explained. Perhaps not too much should be made of this fact, but we could reasonably suggest that the fact and significance of Israel-nations unification was a mutual presupposition between author and audience in each case. Either way, in those places where it occurs Israel-nations unification is offered as the depiction of Israel's creation or restoration. And in each instance a specifically Israelite audience is in view. The authors of these traditions are not interested in the nations or their redemption as such, but rather see Israel-nations unification as a resource for defining Israel's own identity that an Israelite audience would have presumably found comprehensible. This being so, Israel-nations unification was versatile enough to explain the significance of Passover (Exod 12:37–38), the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 8:41–43), political difficulties (Isa

2:2–4), social injustice (Mic 4:1–4), and even God’s faithfulness amidst crisis (Pss 46–48).

The data so far may be displayed in a diagram that will be of further use later in the study:

Biblical Israel-nations unification traditions	Exod 12:37–38	1 Kgs 8:41–43	Isa 2:2–4	Isa 11:1–10	Isa 56–66	Mic 4:1–5	Zech 8:20–23	Pss 46–48	Gen 1–2
Function of text	Deliverance of Israel as God’s plunder of Egypt, amidst observance and ordinances for Passover	Completion of temple and inauguration of temple era bringing glory to God in all the earth	Eschatological restoration of Zion and inauguration of God’s cosmic kingdom as a foil to present political crisis and unrighteousness regarding wisdom and idolatry		God’s purposes for Zion, Israel and humanity in the restoration of his people as a foil to Israel’s present failure as his servant	Eschatological restoration of Zion and inauguration of God’s cosmic kingdom as a foil to present social injustice and impiety and cultic impurity	Eschatological restoration of Zion for the reconstructed temple as a hope to renew Israel’s faithfulness and piety	Glorification of God for his cosmic kingship, restoration of creation, restoration of Zion, and deliverance an protection of his people	Creation as <i>cosmos</i> and the prototypical cosmic mountain, and unified humanity as God’s constitutive self-image; plausibly theological framework of temple cosmology, with creation as God’s palace-temple
Overall: univocal depictions the restoration/(creation) of creation and humanity; plausibly univocal depictions of temple cosmology									

Figure 13: Function of Israel-Nations Unification in Biblical Traditions

In addition to these findings, the logic to the sequence of God’s redemption of Israel and the nations in the examined traditions could offer a harmonization of biblical traditions that variously focus on the nations’ destruction, subjugation, or full participation. Like individual panels that together form a relief, God must defeat his enemies (who in biblical traditions—and given Israel’s consistent rebellion—comprises Israel almost as often as the nations), bring them to heel in his victorious enthronement, and finally transform them into his people. Thus, the approach may be taken that instances of Israel-nations unification display what is God’s ultimate purpose in all his dealings with the nations (or, equally, Israel).

Israel-nations unification is by no means a frequent phenomenon in biblical traditions. But perhaps, similar to the concept of covenant in early Judaism, that is because it was something of a commonplace in Israelite religion. It is something that all of the instances considered resemble the character and relationships of creation and humanity in the creation accounts of Genesis 1–2, even when treated individually as I have done. In harmony with Genesis 1–2, the authors of the above traditions envision—and then summarily utilize—Israel-nations unification in terms of the making or restoration of creation and humanity at its

center. And though not necessary to the task, if Genesis 1–2 is further read as presenting a theological framework of temple cosmology then we could confidently assert that in these cases biblical authors uniformly interpret Israel’s restoration in terms of the paradigm set forth in the prologue of Scripture. The explanatory value of such an approach is that the depictions of Israel-nations unification in the above traditions could then be seen as presupposing a theological framework of temple cosmology that is virtually indistinguishable from that preserved in prologue of Scripture.

In either case, the biblical Israel-nations unification traditions examined in the chapter consistently present creation as doxological in nature, with a single humanity as essential to its completeness. Therefore, regarding at least the theological phenomenon of Israel-nations unification, we can with confidence speak of a coherent biblical theology and a consistent biblical witness. This conclusion is further warranted by the supposition of temple cosmology also in the instances of Israel-nations unification in the Second Temple traditions that we next come in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

THE UNIFICATION OF ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS

IN SECOND TEMPLE TRADITIONS

The clearest examples of the unification of Israel and the nations in Second Temple traditions are 1 Enoch 10:20–11:2; Tobit 14:3–11; Sibylline Oracles 3:772–95; 1 Enoch 90:28–38; and Josephus’ Antiquities 8.116–117. Each of these traditions presupposes the biblical understanding that Israel-nations unification is a primary element of a theological framework of temple cosmology. Accordingly, each of these traditions describes Israel-nations unification in terms of worship and shalom, and as intrinsic to the eschatological New Creation, often drawing upon the same biblical traditions examined in the previous chapter. Despite this initial agreement, these traditions’ application of their common scriptural starting point diverges widely.

If anything, references to the unification of Israel and the nations are less common in Second Temple traditions than in Scripture. But those traditions that do refer to Israel-nations unification are interesting for their interpretation of it in the same terms as in Scripture. These traditions have varying purposes and interpretations of what it means to be the people of God, and so they find even more varied use for Israel-nations unification than did their biblical predecessors. But still, there appears to be no disagreement among them as to its significance or its basis in a theological framework of temple cosmology. Not all of the traditions that I will examine in this chapter necessarily have a literary (or otherwise) relationship to each other, but I will examine them in roughly chronological sequence to best trace any development of Israel-nations unification in early Judaism. The earliest of these is found in the Book of the Watchers.

I. Book of the Watchers: 1 Enoch 10:16–11:2

1 Enoch 10:16–11:2 concludes chapters 6–11, the earliest core of the Book of the Watchers.¹ These chapters blend distinguishable rebellious angels traditions, but their present

¹ The main translation used here—and for the Animal Apocalypse, below—is George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), with consultation of Gr^{Pan}. Nickelsburg and VanderKam’s translation is primarily based upon the Ethiopic recensions, as in Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes in Consultation with James C. VanderKam* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 3–6; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 9; for a recent discussion on the value of the Ethiopic, see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Commentary on 1 Enoch 91–108* (Commentaries on Ancient Jewish Literature; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 19–26. See also

form dates to perhaps the late fourth century, and was treated as a literary unit by the redactor of chapters 1–36.² As introduced in Chapter 1, the Enochic narrator combines his retelling of the Genesis flood story with material that is conceptually drawn from the theology and eschatology of Trito-Isaiah, and so follows an *Urzeit wird Endzeit* pattern that unites primordial events with the culmination of history. In this, the narrator brings all humanity into the worship of God in 10:16–11:2. But scholars' general focus upon the angelic Watchers' wickedness in the hypothetical sources of *1 Enoch* 6–11 leads them to presume that the present text is fundamentally theodicean in orientation.³ This stance, however, at least partly overlooks 10:16–11:2 as an instance of Israel-nations unification.

analyses of the Aramaic mss. found in Jozef Tadeusz Milik and M. Black, *Enoch, The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 22-26; and Michael A. Knibb and Edward Ullendorff, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 2:19, who conclude that on the whole, greater agreement with the Aramaic indicates that the Ethiopic and Gr^{Pan} of chaps. 6–11 appear to be more original than Gr^{Syn} (cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 9); although Stuckenbruck, "The Early Tradition Related to 1 Enoch from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment" in *The Early Enoch Literature* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins; Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 121; Boston: Brill, 2007), 44-46, pace Milik, *Books* 141, cautions that 4QEnoch^a may not have been fully consistent with Gr^{Pan} for *1 En.* 1–36, and argues that the tradition it preserves may have still been in use in the early second century.

² At least so-called Shemihazah and Asael strata have been identified by Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 197, 204; Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 384-86; Devorah Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective," *SBLSP* 13 (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1978), 323-24, 329; Carol A. Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment" *CBQ* 42 (1980): 313-14; Corrie Molenberg, "A Study of the Roles of Shemihaza and Asael in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JJS* 35 (1984): 134-46, etc. On dating, see Milik and Black, *Book*, 6, 24-25; Hanson, "Rebellion," 197; Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: a Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 48; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 169-71; James H. Charlesworth "A Rare Consensus Among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books," *Hen* 24 (2002): 234; and Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 190. For the general agreement that chaps. 6–11 form a distinct literary unit, see e.g. Newsom, "Development," 313-15; Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work," *JJS* 53 (2002): 225-26; Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 192-93.

³ The cosmic scope of evil in chaps. 6–11 and the third century interpretation of the Watchers and their giant offspring as demonic (15:4, 7–16:1) militate against a reductionistic identification of them as corrupt priests (David W. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 [1979]: 115-35; idem, "Revisiting 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest,'" *Hen* 24 [2002]: 137-145), Diadochi (Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic," 390-91, 396-97, 404-5; idem, *1 Enoch*, 168-70; cf. Annett Yoshiko Reed, "Textual Identity, Literary History, and Social Setting of 1 Enoch: Reflections on George Nickelsburg's Commentary on 1 Enoch 1–36; 81–100," *ARG* 5 [2003]: 291-2) or those ministering in the Gerizim temple (Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and The Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of the Watchers and Apocalyptic* [OtSt 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 198-204), even if any of these describes a plausible *Sitz*. Rather, the narrator examines the demonic source of evil, which lies behind even that committed by humans, and the antediluvian setting dehistoricizes events, which grants them an applicability beyond just contemporary circumstances (John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* [New York: Crossroads, 1984] 39; cf. Newsom, "Development," 315; Dimant, "Noah in Early Jewish Literature," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren; Trinity Press International: Harrisburg, PA, 1998), 113; Mark Elliott, "Origins and Functions of the Watchers Theodicy," *Hen* 24 [2002]: 64; Stuckenbruck, "The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4 in the Second and Third Centuries B.C.E.," in *The Fall of the Angels* [ed.

A. Literary Context of *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2

In its final form, *1 Enoch* 6–11 is positioned after an introduction that has been added in chapters 1–5. The introduction brings warning of God’s actions on the Day of the Lord, describing future judgment upon the wicked and rescue of the righteous elect. Chapters 12–16 go on to describe Enoch’s mediation on God’s judgment upon the Watchers, including the death of their giant offspring—although their demonic nature is revealed when their spirits remain on earth to cause violence and destruction. Finally, the Book of the Watchers is concluded by Enoch’s two journeys, when Enoch visits locations of eschatological significance for the Watchers and for humanity in chapters 17–19 and 20–36, respectively:

Chaps. 1–5:	Introduction – judgment upon the wicked and blessing for the righteous
Chaps. 6–11:	Story of the Watchers
Chaps. 12–16:	God’s judgment upon the Watchers – mediated by Enoch “before these things” (12:1), <i>i.e.</i> , prior to chaps. 6–11
Chaps. 17–19:	Enoch’s first cosmic journey
Chaps. 18–36:	Enoch’s second cosmic journey, departing from the end of the first journey (chaps. 18–32), and his return (chaps. 33–36)

Figure 14: Literary Outline of the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)

As most scholars now agree, chapters 6–11 begin in 6:1–2 with a rewritten quotation of Genesis 6:1–4. That is, the current majority assessment (if not consensus) is that Genesis 6 is the earlier tradition, upon which *1 Enoch* is dependent.⁴ Certainly the biblical tradition is the shorter and the *lectio difficilior*; while it is easy to imagine an enigmatic tradition like Genesis 6:1–4 being expanded, it is hard to explain why a more elaborate account like that of *1 Enoch* 6–11 would be reduced and obfuscated. Given this, the Enochic narrator’s use of Scripture set the narrative in a primordial and creational context. In turn, the remainder of the Book of the Watchers derives its use of the theme of creation from that of chapters 6–11. Within the introduction, the Enochic narrator’s didactic rebuke against sinners takes the form of an argument from nature, wherein God’s will is clearly expressed in the boundaries of a

Christopher Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck; *Themes in Biblical Narrative* 6; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 101; idem, “Eschatological,” 195–96).

⁴ Dimant, “Fragment,” 225 correctly states that the interpretive character of *1 En.* 6–11 of Gen 6–9 traditions “effectively disposes” of the suggestion that the Book of the Watchers predates the Genesis text, further noting that Genesis material in 6:1–1a; 7:1; and 9:1 provides the framework within which the enclosed elaboration fills out the narrator’s theology (ad loc., 231); cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 166; Helge S. Kvanvig, “The Watchers Story, Genesis and Atra-hasis, A Triangular Reading,” *Hen* 24 (2002): 18; Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT 2/198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 27–28, 48, 50; Siam Bhayro, “Noah’s library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JSP* 15 (2006): 164. Black, *Book*, 124–25, an example of a scholar who argues Enochic priority, nevertheless admits that Gen 6:1 seems the earlier, and that in *1 En.* 6:2 “angels of heaven” appears to have originated from Hebrew; see Wright, *Origin*, 29–46 for a review of scholarship.

well-ordered creation.⁵ Then the creational aspect of chapters 6–11 extends into God’s judgment in chapters 12–16, since the Watchers’ crimes begin and end with their violation of the cosmic order (12:4; 16:2–3; cf. 15:3–6). And in both of Enoch’s journeys, the wisdom that is revealed to Enoch is predicated upon the order in creation that is witnessed by him. So the creational dimension to the Book of the Watchers has been dictated by and, in turn, accentuates the creational character of the core around which it has been arranged.

The Enochic narrator is entirely absent from chapters 6–11, and is replaced by anonymous third person narration about events during the time of Noah, the “son of Lamech” (10:1–3). Traditions from Genesis 6–9 and fallen angels traditions are thus interwoven to produce an interpretive elaboration on the flood story.⁶ Chapter 6 expands the opening verses of Genesis 6 with an account of the Watchers’ rebellious conspiracy. Genesis 6:2 is again used in 7:1, which catalogues the Watchers’ sins of breaching the cosmic order by procreating with humans (7:1a; cf. Gen 6:2), and further teaching them heavenly secrets (cf. chap. 8).⁷ Chapter 7 goes on to detail the consequences of the Watchers’ violation. Their giant offspring likewise violate creation by subjecting it to violent oppression and death, devouring first humankind’s provisions and then humanity and creation themselves (vv. 2–6; cf. Gen 6:5, 11–13).⁸ In 9:1 angelic mediators witness on God’s behalf the devastation wrought by the Watchers’ deeds, in a paraphrase of Genesis 6:12 (angelic mediation being a typical Second Temple device for expressing reverence).⁹ Then in verses 3–11 the mediators

⁵ Cf. Newsom, “Genesis 2–3 and *1 Enoch* 6–16: Two Myths of Origin and Their Ethical Implications,” in *Shaking Heaven and Earth: Essays in Honor of Walter Brueggemann and Charles B. Cousar* (ed. Christine Roy Yoder, et al.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 14.

⁶ Stuckenbruck, “Eschatological,” 194 notes how the traditions are combined by having the same quartet of angels who intercede for humanity in chap. 9 carry out God’s judgment in 10:4–13.

⁷ The Watchers’ teachings are later specified as sin and unrighteousness (9:6, 8), which foregrounds their effects on human behavior, and secrets (8:3; 9:6; 10:7) and emphasizes “the Watchers’ transgression of proper epistemological boundaries” (Reed, “Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent, and the Transmission of Knowledge in *1 Enoch* 6–16,” in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* [ed. Ra’anan S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004], 54). It is noteworthy how in the final form, the Shemihazah and Asael strata are again bound by the contrast between the Watchers’ illicit instructions and Uriel’s proper instruction to Noah (10:2–3).

⁸ In another Genesis allusion, the giants’ murder and bloodshed causes the earth to cry out in 9:1–3 (cf. Gen 4:10; Hanson, “Rebellion,” 200; Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic,” 387; cf. Stuckenbruck, “Origins,” 102–3). See Knibb and Ullendorf, *Ethiopic*, 2:77; Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 157; and Nickelsburg, *Enoch*, 185 regarding the conflicting traditions of 7:2. Black, *Book*, 126 notes that one tradition of 7:5 has the giants drinking their own blood, sinking even to the level of cannibalism; cf. Sir 16:7 (Grk); Wis 14:6; 3 Macc 2:4; 3 Bar. 3:26–28; *b. Sanh.* 108a; *Gen. Rab.* 30.10 (Dimant, “Noah,” 128).

⁹ Cf. Hanson, “Rebellion,” 200; Lars Hartman, “‘Comfort of the Scriptures’—an Early Jewish Interpretation of Noah’s Salvation, 1 En. 10:16–11:2,” *SEÅ* 41–42 (1977): 91; Davidson, *Angels*, 40; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 205; Dimant, “Fragment,” 233, etc.

turn back to God with the murdered humans' plea (v. 10), which creates a tension between God's awareness and apparent inaction (v. 11).¹⁰ Finally, the Noahic storyline that begins in Genesis 6:13–14 is introduced in 10:1–3 as the divine response to the plea. As George Nickelsburg argues, the pervasive and demonic nature of evil only admits a solution of divine intervention, and chapters 10–11 reveal God had prepared and began enacting his plan prior to the petition.¹¹

However, in place of the flood narrative, which would have been expected by readers familiar with Scripture, the narrator substitutes the eschatological consummation of history. More precisely, in Paul Hanson's classic formulation, chapters 6–11 extends the primordial drama to "encompass all time from the original rebellion of the divine beings to the eschaton," in a pattern of *Endzeit wird Urzeit*.¹² Of the original storyline, 10:1–3 only retains in the most general terms God's announcement that "a destruction of 'the whole earth' is imminent [and] that Noah is to be instructed on how to survive this cataclysm," and adds that "from him a 'plant' [Eth.; Grk. 'seed'] will be established 'for all generations of eternity.'"¹³ Then the narrative relates the punishments measured out against Asael (vv. 4–6), the giants (vv. 9–10) and "Shemihazah and his companions" (vv. 11–13) for "seventy generations" (v. 12), that is, all history spanning from the primordium to "the day of the great judgment" (vv. 6, 12).¹⁴

Some Noahic elements recur beginning in 10:14, such as the destructive purification of the earth, the "plant of righteousness" (v. 16) in recollection of Noah's plant (v. 3) and the survival of "the righteous" (v. 17; cf. Gen 6:8), but these are recontextualized within a vision of the eschatological restoration of creation that is shaped the narrator's use of Isaiah 65:17–

¹⁰ The theodicy element introduced by the plea in chap. 9 leaves many scholars content to view chaps. 6–11 as an aetiology of evil, since the text frequently emphasizes humanity as victim of the Watchers' sin; cf. Hanson, "Rebellion," 202–3; Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic," 387, 389; idem, *1 Enoch*, 27, 167–68; Dimant, "Methodological," 326; Ronald Huggins, "Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves," *JBL* 114 (1995): 104. However, in the final form of the text, humans are not the Watchers' victims only but also their collaborators (8:1–3; 9:6; 8; 10:4–10), and their guilt by association is assumed (cf. 1:9). The motif of the origin of evil is secondary to the purpose of the narrative, and if anything demonstrates the magnitude of humanity's plight which needs addressing by God; cf. Dimant, "Methodological," 330; Newsom, "Development," 313; idem, "Genesis," 10, 18; Stuckenbruck, "Origins," 100; idem, "Eschatological," 194, etc.

¹¹ "Apocalyptic," 389; cf. Davidson, *Angels*, 52.

¹² "Rebellion," 201.

¹³ Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 195.

¹⁴ Cf. Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 248–49; Black, *Book*, 137; Davidson, *Angels*, 52; Dimant, "Fragment," 234.

25 (and possibly Isa 66:22–23).¹⁵ Even though the Isaianic restoration of Israel and their relationship with God is replaced with all humanity being purified and worshipping Israel’s Most High, analyses of the Scriptures used by the narrator in their original contexts will demonstrate how Genesis 6:1–4 and Isaiah 65:17–25 are especially suited to the his purpose.

B. Scriptures in *1 Enoch* 6–11 in Their Original Contexts

1. Genesis 6:1–4

The key features taken up in *1 Enoch* 6–11 from Genesis 6:1–4 are its nature as a creational text, and its uncreational consequences in the form of the offspring between angels and human females. Chapter 6 opens the flood narrative, which possesses a well-recognized concentric structure that marks both the chaotic uncreation of the cosmos, and a second, new creation modeled on Genesis 1.¹⁶ Its opening, “When *adam* began to multiply,” ties 6:1–8 into both the line of Cain in 4:16–24 and that of Adam in chapter 5, with the two passages being contemporaneous in narrative time. In a sense, then, the flood narrative belongs to the larger unit of 4:16–9:17 (comprising the *toledoth* of both Adam in 5:1 and Noah in 6:9), and 6:1–8 draws together and initiates the resolution of its two plots:¹⁷

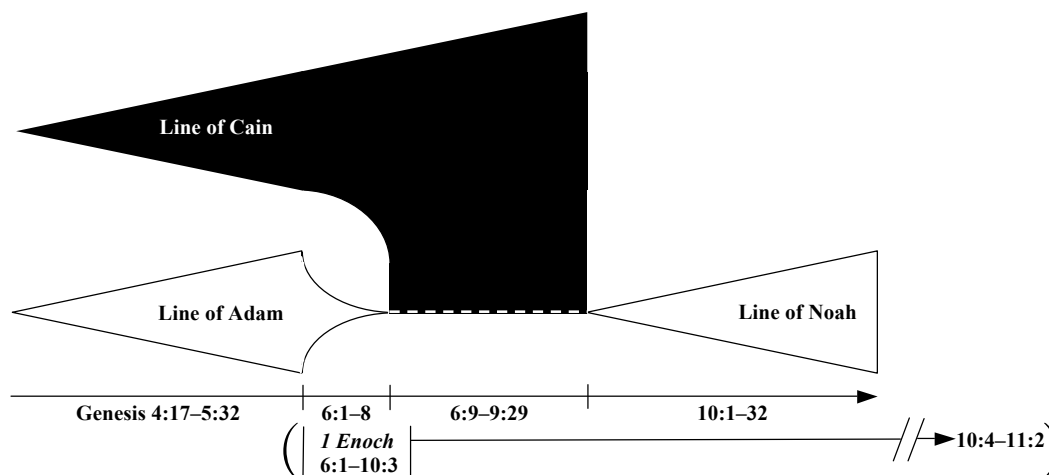


Figure 15: Narrative Time in Genesis 4–10

¹⁵ Cf. Black, *Book*, 140; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 29, 167, 226–27; Stuckenbruck, “Eschatological,” 196–97, etc.

¹⁶ See Wenham, *Genesis*, 156–58; cf. John E. Hartley, *Genesis* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 101; Waltke, *Genesis*, 125; David W. Cotter, *Genesis* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2003), 52, etc.

¹⁷ Cf. Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis* (JPS; Philadelphia: JPS, 1989), 46–47, making the helpful observation that the state of affairs referenced in 6:1 includes previously extant evil (e.g. 4:26–27) so that הַבְּרִיאָה in 6:1, 5 equates the increase of wickedness with the increase in population; Marc Vervenne, “All They Need is Love: Once More Genesis 6:1–4,” in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John F. A. Sawyer* (ed. Jon Davies, Graham Harve, and Wilfred G. E. Watson; JSOTSup 195; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 33, 35; Sven Fockner, “Reopening the Discussion: Another Contextual Look at the Sons of God,” *JSOT* 32 (2008), 442–47, etc. The following figure is adapted from Fockner, “Reopening,” 447.

Verses 1–8 constitute a single episode, bound by a unique cast of characters (הַאָדָם, [הַאָדָם] בְּנוֹת, v. 1, בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, v. 2, and הַנְּפִלִיִּם, v. 4), a thematic repetition of *adam* (3x in vv. 5–7), and the *inclusio* of עַל פְּנֵי הַאָדָמָה (vv. 1, 7) that forges the bridge between multiplication and eradication.¹⁸ The episode divides into two scenes (vv. 1–4, 5–8), the first of which describes the involvement of the “sons of God” with the “daughters of *adam*” and God’s response.

There is a general consensus that the expression בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים in verse 2 refers to divine beings from Yhwh’s heavenly court.¹⁹ In a deliberate echo of Genesis 3:6, they see (רָאוּ) something that is טוֹב and take (לָקְחוּ) it for themselves.²⁰ Thus, they breach the cosmic order by copulating with human females, and in consequence of this obscene hybridization, God’s judgment in verse 3 accentuates the nature of *adam* as בִּשְׂרָר in contrast to Yhwh (and the בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים) as רוּחַ.²¹

The identification of the characters in verse 4—particularly of the *nephelim* and their relationship to the “sons”—remains a *crux*. However, the syntax of verse 4 helps to identify its characters:

¹⁸ Fockner, “Reopening,” 445.

¹⁹ E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 44; Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary* (trans. J. J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 371; Wenham, *Genesis*, 139–40; Sarna, *Genesis*, 45 (stating the article in הָאֱלֹהִים suggests a familiar referent for the narrator and his first readers); Davidson, *Angels*, 40; Fretheim, “Genesis” in *The new interpreter’s Bible, Vol. 1: General Articles on the Bible; General Articles on the Old Testament; Genesis; Exodus; Leviticus* (ed. Leander E. Keck; Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 382–83; Clare Amos, *The Book of Genesis* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2004), 35.

²⁰ Cf. Wenham, *Genesis*, 144; Carol M. Kaminski, “Beautiful Women or ‘False Judgment’? Interpreting Genesis 6.2 in the Context of the Primaeval History,” *JSOT* 32 (2008): 471–73. Similarly, Horst Seebass, “Die Gottessöhne und das menschliche Mass: Gen 6,1–4,” *BN* 134 (2007): 11 suggests “Der Wortlaut lässt im Übrigen zu, dass sie sich mehr als eine aussuchten, so wie Könige das mit ihren Harems machten,” so that the “sons” rebelliously took the appearance and prerogatives (harem building) of royalty (ad loc., 11–12).

²¹ The text and meaning of v. 3 are ambiguous: וַיִּדְּוּ is an anomalous form, and has been interpreted as both וַיִּדְּוּ (“to dwell”) and וַיִּדְּוּ (“to contend”); the LXX interpretation is καταμένω (possibly from וַיִּדְּוּ?), although LXX^{Syn} reads κρινέω; cf. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 75–78. Then the LXX interpretation of ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις for בְּאָדָם possibly relativizes judgment, either upon sinful humans or all humans as a result of just the sinful (cf. Sarna, *Genesis*, 46). בְּשָׂרָה is also anomalous, although a strong case can be made for reading it as the introduction to a causal clause; see Vervenne, “All,” 27–30 for discussion.

הַנְּפִלִים הָיוּ בָאָרֶץ בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם וְגַם אַחֲרֵי־כֵן
 אֲשֶׁר יָבֹאוּ בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל־בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם
 וַיִּלְדוּ לָהֶם
 הֵמָּה הַגְּבֹרִים
 אֲשֶׁר מֵעוֹלָם
 אִנְשֵׁי הַשָּׁמַיִם

Figure 16: Syntactical Structure of Genesis 6:4

The hypotaxis of the verse virtually necessitates that the *nephelim* be identified with the *geborim*, who were also known as the “[men] of old” and “men of renown.” Whoever the *nephelim* were, usage of the term in wider biblical tradition suggests that it functioned as a bogeyman-like term (cf. Num 13:33).²² Though the first clause of verse 4 alone is less definite, הַמָּה (which is parallel to הַנְּפִלִים in v. 4a) can be read in sequence with וַיִּלְדוּ לָהֶם, suggesting the identification of the *nephelim* and the children born to the “sons of God” and “the daughters of *adam*.” And use of the designation “giants” in the Book of the Watchers is unsurprising given their description, and their early interpretation as γίγας in the Septuagint.²³ So verse 4 describes the results of the “sons” sin, while God’s preceding judgment in verse 3 is upon the act itself; destruction by deluge is judgment jointly for celestial rebellion (which causes human disorder) and human wickedness (v. 5), which together constitute a comprehensive disorder that corrupts creation.²⁴

Additionally, 6:1–4 is (half of) the introduction to the larger flood narrative, and so partakes in its status as creation redux.²⁵ Amidst the flood, the high water mark of the narrative where “God remembered Noah” (8:1a) initiates a new creation as the רֹחַ of אֱלֹהִים

²² Cf. Westermann, *Genesis*, 377, suggesting the apposition of נְפִלִים and גְּבֹרִים as an attempt to clarify the former, as it had become an outmoded term; Wenham, *Genesis*, 143; Vervenne, “All,” 27; Ronald Hendel, “The Nephelim were on the Earth: Genesis 6:1–4 and its Ancient Near Eastern Context,” in *The Fall of the Angels* (eds. Christopher Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck; Themes in Biblical Narrative 6; Leiden: Brill, 2004)12-13, 16, etc; contra R. Gilboa, “Who ‘Fell Down to our Earth?’ A Different Light on Genesis 6:1–4,” *BN* 111 (2002): 73.

²³ So Sarna, *Genesis*, 46; Vervenne, “All,” 37; Amos, *Genesis*, 35, etc.; cf. Stuckenbruck “Genesis 6:1–4 as the Basis for Divergent Readings During the Second Temple Period,” *Hen* 24 (2002): 99.

²⁴ See Speiser, *Genesis*, 46; Sarna, *Genesis*, 46-47; Fretheim, *Genesis*, 383; Vervenne, “All,” 39.

²⁵ Parallels between the flood narrative and the first Genesis creation account include extensive shared vocabulary, obvious elements such as the appearance of dry land, and more subtle features like the waters receding under a brooding or flying overseer (cf. 8:3a, 5a, 7); cf. Westermann, *Genesis*, 393; Kenneth A. Matthews, *Genesis 1–11:26* (NAC 1A; Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1996), 383; Hartley, *Genesis*, 103-4; R. W. L. Moberly, “Why Did Noah Send Out a Raven?” *VT* 50 (2000): 350-51, passim, etc.

stills the waters (8:1b; cf. 1:2), which withdraw to reveal dry land (8:5, 13; cf. 1:9).²⁶ And just as the account in Genesis 1 climaxed with the creation of humanity, the new creation of the flood narrative concludes with the presentation of Noah as a second Adam, progenitor of a new humanity (9:1–7; cf. 1:27–28).²⁷ Thus, Genesis 6:1–4 are at once a story of the intrusion of wicked divine beings into the terrestrial sphere and the consequent decay of humanity leading to judgment, and the first step towards a renewal of the creation marred by these events. And despite inherent ambiguity in verses 1–4, the sinful actions of rebellious angels and the nature of their monstrous offspring the *nephelim* (LXX “giants”) necessitate a cataclysmic judgment and a subsequent recreation.

2. *Isaiah 65:17–25*

Isaiah 65:17–25 is one of four connected oracles in chapter 65.²⁸ Verses 1–7 proclaim God’s judgment apparently upon all Israel, even designating them merely as “a nation [גוֹי]” (v. 1), but the identity of those under judgment is quickly qualified. Verses 8–12 distinguish between God’s elect or servants (v. 9) and the reprobate among the prophet’s hearers (vv. 11–12), specifying God’s judgment as directed towards the second group. Then verses 13–16 (linked by לָכֵן, v. 13) spell out the eschatological implications for both groups.²⁹ Finally, the eschatological context introduced by verses 13–16 is carried over into the description of New Creation in verses 17–25. So as these oracles progress, the identification of God’s people broadens to include those who are righteous both from among Israel and from among the nations (cf. בְּאֶרֶץ, 2x v. 16), that is, “all” who invoke God’s name in blessing or oath (vv. 13–16).³⁰ It is unsurprising, therefore, to find representatives of both Israel and the nations

²⁶ Westermann, *Genesis*, 444; Wenham, *Genesis*, 185; Sarna, *Genesis*, 56; Fretheim, *Genesis*, 396–97; Waltke, *Genesis*, 128–29; Moberly, “Why,” 350–51; Cotter, *Genesis*, 58. Wenham, *Genesis*, 180, 187 further calculates that if the narrator is operating on a lunar calendar, then the events of 8:13 fall on the same day of the week on which the sun, moon and stars were created.

²⁷ Cf. Wenham, *Genesis*, 192; Sarna, *Genesis*, 50; Fretheim, *Genesis*, 398–99; Cotter, *Genesis*, 59, etc.

²⁸ Cf. Jacques van Ruiten, “The Role of Syntax in the Versification of Is 65:13–25,” in *A Prophet on the Screen: Computerized Description and Literary Interpretation of Isaianic Texts* [ed. Eep Talstra and A. L. H. M. van Wieringen; Applicatio 9; Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1992], 119–21. On chap. 65 within Trito-Isaiah, see above, pp. 74–75.

²⁹ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 275. In light of vv. 1–7, *Tg. Isa.* 65:8 connects Isa 65 with Gen 6, citing Noah as one alone saved from a wicked world (*ibid.*, 274).

³⁰ So Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 406; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 243; Barry G. Webb, *The Message of Isaiah: On Eagle’s Wings* (Bible Speaks Today; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996), 79; contra scholars who default without analysis to (ethnic) Israel as the grammatical subjects of v. 16 (e.g. Emerson, *Isaiah*, 32; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 282).

collocated with Zion and creation in the oracle of 65:17–25 (especially in light of the movement of chapter 65–66 toward 66:18–24; see above, pp. 79–82).³¹

Even compared with its Isaianic antecedents in 2:2–4 and 11:1–10, the oracle in 65:17–25 rather rhapsodizes about the New Creation. Its eschatological significance is emphasized by the structure of verses 17–25, which comprises four sets of “no longer”/“but rather” antitheses:³²

A	Notice of New Creation	(v. 17a)	A' (vv. 18b–19a)		
	(כִּי־הֵנְנִי בּוֹרֵא)				
B	No longer (לֹא x2) the old,	(v. 17b)	B' (vv. 19b–20a)	B" (v. 22a)	B''' (v. 23a)
	negative things				
C	But rather the new,	(v. 18a)	C' (vv. 20b–21)	C" (v. 22b)	C''' (v. 23b–25)
	good things				
	[Reprise of A (בְּכֹל־הָהָר קָדְשׁ)]:	v. 25]			

Figure 17: Literary Structure of Isaiah 65:17–25

The “new Jerusalem” of verse 18 is metonymic for Zion, which is identified as a renewed cosmos by its parallelism to the merism “new heavens” and “new earth” in verse 17 (cf. בְּרֵא, 3x vv. 17–18), and here as elsewhere his sovereignty upon Zion (*i.e.*, creation) is necessary for its restoration.³³

Within this, the effect of the community divisions in verses 8–16 is that “my people” (vv. 19, 22) and “my chosen ones” (v. 22) cannot refer indiscriminately refer to all or only Israelites, but rather designates the blending of those from among Israel and the nations who seek God, and whom he answers (v. 24).³⁴ As such, the New Creation holds promise of special blessings for them. In a reversal of the life-shortening judgment of Genesis 6:3 they will be granted hyperbolic health and length of days, and in verses 21–22 covenantal blessings will be showered upon them in a reversal of the deuteronomic curses under which Israel currently suffers.³⁵ The oracle concludes in verse 25 with an apparent redactional addition that has been intentionally incorporated into its final form in order to portray a

³¹ Cf. Barry G. Webb, *The Message of Isaiah: On Eagle's Wings* (Bible Speaks Today; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996), 79.

³² See Ruiten, “Role,” 143.

³³ Cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 286; Watts, *Isaiah 40–66*, 925; Ruiten, “Role,” 36.

³⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 286; Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 120.

³⁵ See Deut 28:3–12, 30; 29:30–33; 38–42; cf. Lev 26:16, 20, 22, 29; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 289 (also suggesting Isa 65:13–14 express an “eschatologization” of the Deut 28:47 refusal to serve; ad loc., 281); Lynch, *Literary-Theological*, 124.

fantastic picture of complete order in nature, and the “final undoing of the work of the serpent who brought sin and death into the world” in a reversal of Genesis 3:14.³⁶

Moreover, the opening of the oracle is saturated with language of celebration and worship (משׁוֹשׁ; גִּילָה; גִּילָה; גִּילָה; גִּילָה, vv. 18–19), as the response of God’s people to the New Creation will be to worship him, and he will likewise rejoice over its new, worshipful inhabitants. As well, intertextuality between the oracle and Isaiah 11:1–10; and 66:18–24 exhibits the essential role played by worship in the restoration of creation and humanity in 65:17–25.³⁷ Accordingly, the worshipful restoration of creation and God’s people extends to the conclusion of chapters 65–66 with the recurrence of the expression “my holy mountain” in 66:20 (cf. 56:7), whereby “the perfect worship with which [Trito-Isaiah] ends is the final answer to the corrupt worship with which it began.”³⁸

The New Creation oracle of 65:17–25 is therefore part of the build up towards explicit Israel-nations unification at the close of Trito-Isaiah, focusing especially upon the New Creation element of the familiar constellation of features. But also, in the gradual redefinition of the identity of God’s people, the oracle places them within a detailed, ebullient description of the eschatological restoration of creation. So this oracle subtly but clearly points to the advent of the New Creation as the timeframe for humanity’s purification and redemption.

C. Humanity’s Restoration in *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2

The narrator of *1 Enoch* 6–11 reshapes the initial quotation from Genesis 6:1–4 to emphasize and heighten the corrupting character of evil in creation. He foregrounds the role of the giants by moving the phrase “in those days” (cf. Gen 6:4) forward to verse 1, and underscores the lustful nature of the Watchers’ actions by adding that human women were

³⁶ Webb, *Message*, 245; cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 284–85, who also identifies a return to Gen 1:29–30 (ad loc., 290); Watts, *Isaiah 40–66*, 925. Odil Hannes Steck, “Der neue Himmel und die neue Erde: Beobachtungen zur Rezeption von Gen 1–3 in Jes 65,16b–25,” in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken* (ed. Marc Vervenne and J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten; BETL 132; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 358–61 argues a connection between 65:17–25 and Gen 1–3, based on Isa 43:16–21; which is preferable to Berges, “Der neue Himmel und die neue Erde im Jesajabuch: eine Auslegung zu Jesaja 65:17 und 66:22,” in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Leene* (ed. Ferenc Postma, Klaas Spronk, and Eep Talstra; ACEBT 3; Maastricht: Uitgeverij Shaker, 2002), 9–10: “Der neue Himmel und die neue Erde beziehen sich demnach auf die Neuordnung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse im nachexilischen Jerusalem zugunsten der Nachkommenschaft des Knechtes.”

³⁷ On this intertextuality, see Ruiten, “Role,” 35; Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 369; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 284–85, 290; Watts, *Isaiah 40–66*, 925, 941, etc.

³⁸ Webb, “Zion in Transformation: A Literary Approach to Isaiah,” in *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield* (ed. David Clines, Stephen Fowl, and Stanley Porter; JSOTSup 87; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 80; cf. idem, *Message*, 251.

not just beautiful (cf. כִּי־יָפֶה, Gen 6:2) but also lovely in appearance, adding too that the Watchers desired them (*I En.* 6:1–2).³⁹ Their intent is not merely intercourse but procreation, which was unnecessary for eternal divine beings and carried with it the intent that their offspring should be equally rebellious and disastrous for creation.⁴⁰

Equally, the Watchers' descent upon Hermon, a representation of the cosmic mountain, signifies an assault on heaven.⁴¹ As Hanson remarks, these features together “establish emphatically the culpability of the heavenly beings: their act of rebellion was premeditated, and therefore they must fall under the wrath of the Most High.”⁴² Accordingly, in 7:1 the narrator adds to the scriptural report that the Watchers “went into” the women (Gen 6:4) his explicit evaluation that in so doing they “defiled themselves through them.”⁴³ This together with the subsequent account of the giants' monstrousness and destructive activities supports the overall thesis that “rebellion against the order of the Most High unleashes the forces of chaos.”⁴⁴

Wickedness also quickly comes to characterize the actions of humanity, as “the angels have infected human beings with their own transgressive desires.”⁴⁵ Humanity collaborates with the Watchers (10:7b), and embraces the arts of warfare and seduction, and mantic skills for cosmic manipulation (7:1; 8:1–3).⁴⁶ As a result, they “committed fornication, and there was much godlessness on the earth” (8:2; cf. Gen 6:5), and their deeds are identified as iniquity (9:6; some mss. also adding “deceit”).⁴⁷ For the narrator, even if evil in the narrative originates in the divine sphere and is demonic in character (cf. “all sin,” 10:8), in the present

³⁹ James C. VanderKam, “Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees,” in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSup 14/Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 105; Dimant, “Fragment,” 229.

⁴⁰ VanderKam, “Biblical,” 106; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 168; Tigchelaar, “Some Remarks on the Book of the Watchers, the Priests, Enoch and Genesis, and 4Q208,” *Hen* 24 (2002): 143; Dimant, “Fragment,” 231.

⁴¹ The narrator's paronomastic use of the roots כָּרַד (cf. Gen 5:15–19; *Jub.* 4:19), יָרַד (cf. Gen 6:4) and יָרַד paints a picture of the Watchers *descending* in the days of *Yared* onto Mount *Hermon* to take an *oath* *Semihazah's* leadership (cf. *I En.* 6:6); so Hanson, “Rebellion,” 199; Dimant, *Fragment*, 229–35.

⁴² “Rebellion,” 199.

⁴³ Cf. VanderKam, *Biblical*, 107.

⁴⁴ Hanson, “Rebellion,” 199; cf. Dimant, “Methodological,” 327–29.

⁴⁵ Newsom, “Genesis,” 18.

⁴⁶ Cf. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic,” 397–98; cf. Stuckenbruck, “Origins,” 100.

⁴⁷ On textual variants for 8:2, see, Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic,” 378; Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *I Enoch*, 25.

form of the text it is the wicked deeds of the Watchers and humanity, jointly, that cause the devastated creation to cry out and trigger God's purifying judgment.

At the other end of history in 10:16–11:2, following the interim punishment of the rebellious watchers (10:1–15), God (through Michael, v. 11) establishes the “plant of righteousness” (v. 16) who will enjoy eternal blessing. The link between the two epochs is provided by Noah in 10:1–3. This includes mention of the flood, which here functions less as judgment than as a narrative vehicle for humanity's survival. Also, the Noahic “plant” that represents postdiluvian humanity in verse 2 is recalled in verse 16 by the “plant of righteousness,” which is representative of the narrator's Enochic community.⁴⁸

By providing this link, and also by replacing the postdiluvian recreation of Genesis 8–9 with the eschatological New Creation of Isaiah 65, the narrator has intentionally widened the days of the flood to encompass all of history, in order to place it “under the ominous chaos of the deluge...the blessings of the Noatic covenant...would at last come to fruition in the wake of the final battle of the Most High against his rebellious adversaries.”⁴⁹ Thus, *I Enoch* 10 follows Isaiah 65 in announcing cosmic restoration (vv. 16, 18, 22; cf. Isa 65:17) and reprising the same blessings of security, longevity and deuteronomic abundance that were anticipated by the prophet (10:17, 19; 11:1 cf. Isa 65:20–23; Deut 28:12).⁵⁰ Furthermore, this picture of eschatological *shalom* (cf. 10:17; 11:2) explicitly includes the Trito-Isaianic feature of Israel-nations unification, when in verses 20–21 God commands the cleansing of the earth from “all impurity and all wrong and all lawlessness and all sin [or “godlessness”],” and that at the same time that “all the children of men will become righteous.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ See Stuckenbruck, “Eschatological,” 196; cf. Black, *Book*, 133, 139; Davidson, *Angels*, 46 (comparing IQS 8.5; 11.8; CD 1.7; 1QH 6.15; 8.6, 9–10); Isa 60:21; 61:3. The “trees” of v. 18 are not identified with the “plant” of v. 16, even in Gr^{Syn} where the sg “tree” is the translator's attempt at inserting the Gen 2 tree of life (Black, *Book*, 139–40).

⁴⁹ Hanson, “Rebellion,” 202, sic.

⁵⁰ Ibid.; Hartman, “Comfort,” 89–90; Davidson, *Angels*, 53; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 228; Elliott, “Covenant and Cosmology in the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book,” *Hen* 24 (2002): 37.

⁵¹ The longer reading of v. 21 is original, found in the Eth. and supported by 4QEn^c 1 v. 1, though omitted in Gr^{Pan} due to homoioteleuton (Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 189; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 218; Stuckenbruck, “Eschatological,” 189 n. 2). Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 227 comments that the final verb of v. 20 in the Grk is ἐξαλείφω, which in LXX Gen 7:4 (cf. *I En.* 10:16), 23 translates Hebr נָקַד, again confirming the pattern of *Urzeit wird Endzeit*. The sense is captured elegantly in the translation by Siebert Uhlig, *Apokalypsen, Lfg 6: Das Äthiopische Henochbuch (JSHRZ 5; Gütersloh: Gerd Mon, 1984)*, 29–30: “Und du, reinige die Erde von aller Gewalttat, von aller Ungerechtigkeit, von aller Sünde, von aller Gottlosigkeit und von aller Unreinheit, die auf Erden getan wird; vertilge sie von Erde! Und alle Menschenkinder sollen gerecht werden, und alle Nationen werden mich verherrlichen, mich preisen, und alle werden mich anbeten.”

Two key features of the narrator's view of humanity need pointing out. First, humans are not identified with their wickedness or their wicked deeds. Significantly, God commands in verse 16 the destruction of "all wrong perversity" and "every wicked deed"—rather than wicked persons—thereby creating space for the appearance of the "plant of righteousness," which results in "deeds of righteousness and truth" and the planting of eternal joy (cf. "tilled in righteousness," v. 18).⁵² Wicked *deeds* share the same fate as the fallen angels and their offspring, while the humans who committed them are assigned a separate category. Evil and sin for the narrator are not intrinsic to humanity, either as God created them or as he will restore them in his eschatological New Creation.

Second, it is not just the narrator's Enochic community who "escapes" (v. 17) and enjoys the blessings of the eschaton, but "all the [children] of men" and "all the peoples" (v. 21). The narrative begins in 6:1–2 with all humanity, that is, "the sons of men" and their daughters. Although the same scope is represented in the Noahic "plant" of 10:2, by the time of the narrator's present the true heirs of Noah have dwindled to a smaller, more restrictive group. However, just as the narrator trades the conclusion of the flood narrative for Isaiah 65:17–25, at the eschatological cleansing of the earth the category of "the righteous" (v. 17) expands to include all humanity (hyperbolic of Isa 65:17–25).⁵³

Finally, as in Trito-Isaiah (and the Genesis creation accounts), the ultimate destiny of this purified, unified humanity in the New Creation is worship. Verse 21 states that in becoming "righteous, all the peoples will [serve] [Grk λατρεύοντες] and all will bless [Grk εὐλογοῦντες] me and [worship] [Grk προσκυνῶντες]." ⁵⁴ The narrator weaves into his eschatological vision the rejoicing of Zion and new Jerusalem from Isaiah 65:18–19 together with the worship of "all flesh" from its companion in Isaiah 66:23.⁵⁵ The liturgical element is further underscored by the cultic characterization of the evil as "perversity," "wicked deed," "impurity" and "lawlessness" (vv. 16, 20), and its eradication as an act of cleansing (v. 20).⁵⁶ And true to his primordial setting, the narrator does not connect Zion with Jerusalem as in

⁵² Cf. Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 196.

⁵³ Bhayro, "The Status of Non-Jews in the Eschaton: An Enochic Debate," *Jewish Culture and History* 6 (2003): 5-6 gives a literary analysis of 10:11–11:2 wherein 10:16b is parallel to v. 21, which, if correct, could suggest a type of identification or elaboration of the "plant of righteousness" as "all [children] of men."

⁵⁴ Gr^{Pan} λατρεύω corresponds to Eth. *yāmelleku* "to be subject to," which has no cultic connotations (Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 197, n. 20).

⁵⁵ Cf. Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 196-97.

⁵⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 227-28. If Hartman, "Comfort," 89 is correct in seeing v. 21 also as an allusion to Gen 8:20, then all humanity is further depicted as performing the Noah's act of worship.

Isaiah, but rather directly replicates the prophet's cosmic scope by specifying the arena of righteous humanity's blessing as "all the earth" (v. 22; cf. vv. 16, 20).

D. Summary

The narrative trajectory of *1 Enoch* 6–11 builds towards the climactic restoration of creation, purged of evil and wrongdoing, in 10:16–11:2. The primordial, creational setting of the narrative's beginning transmutes into an eschatological, New Creational setting by its conclusion, when humanity regains the pristine condition possessed by them prior to the introduction of evil into creation by the Watchers. In a sense, humanity is the prize over which God's war with the Watchers rages, and in this divine conflict it is not merely a bygone chapter of history but all of human history that is at stake.

The narrative thus gains relevance for the narrator's audience, namely, his Diaspora Enochic community in the early Second Temple period. Even if a version of scholars' attempted reconstructions at the *Sitz* of chapters 6–11 is correct, the narrator purposefully sheds any historical context and instead interprets the significance of his audience's present experiences in terms of legend. This makes even more interesting how he expands humanity's eschatological restoration to more than just those who are Noah's true heirs.

In this way, the aetiological elements of the narrative are bent into the service of its anthropology. What is important is not the narrative component of theodicy, but rather the character of the resolution of evil and of the world which results. That is, in chapters 6–8, the narrator does not detail the angelic origins of evil as an end unto itself, but rather in order to teach in 10:16–11:2 that while humans quickly become wicked and commit wicked deeds, wickedness is not intrinsic to humanity. As this applies to humanity as a whole, the *telos* of the Enochic community's Jewish traditions is not the mere vindication and elevation of those with an ancestral claim to Israel's heritage, but rather their unification with all non-Jews at the consummation of history.

Therefore, *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2 exhibits the familiar constellation of features, arranged in the same relationship to one another as seen in Scripture. All humanity is restored as a single worshipful entity, living in the *shalom* of God's righteous rule in the restored eschatological New Creation. Appropriately, the narrator forms his creational eschatology by incorporating into his retelling of the flood narrative biblical traditions that are implicitly associated with Genesis 1–2 by their creational and New Creational elements. That humanity's restoration announces the advent of God's reign shows that the narrator understands anthropology as a function of eschatology, and therefore also of cosmology.

And for the narrator, essential to the restoration of creation is the restoration and unification of humanity, specifically in worship. At least this much is evident from the way in which he weaves together Scripture in order to depict the unification of Israel and the nations, that is, his the Enochic community, expanding to all humanity. And though it must remain only a suggestion, this depiction of Israel-nations unification takes on additional clarity if Genesis 1–2 were understood to contain a theological framework of temple cosmology that may be reflected in *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2. Even if this were not the case, there is nevertheless a similarity between the two traditions. Just as *Urzeit ist Endzeit geworden* in *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2, so too *Endzeit wird Urzeit*. Regardless of how Genesis 1–2 is read, for the Enochic narrator as it was in the beginning, so it shall be in the end.

II. Tobit 14:3–11

Exile is the literary setting of the book of Tobit, as well as the context of its author and his audience. The opening verses locate the title character in Assyria, deported from Naphtali in the Northern Kingdom in the days of Shalmaneser (1:1–2). Scholars generally date the final form of Tobit to at least the early second century, with an audience of Diaspora Jews whose circumstances parallel that of Tobit, in their awaiting return to Israel and the restoration of Jerusalem.⁵⁷ As Ronald Herms summarizes, “The book of Tobit is a work of

⁵⁷ Cf. Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 40A; New York: Doubleday, 1996), 41–42; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 52–54; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 61–62. Merten Rabenau, *Studien zum Buch Tobit* (BZAW 220; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 189–90 offers a late-second century date based on his view that Tobit has Palestinian origins, which is problematic (despite his observations regarding Judith) given his own remark, “Trotz seiner palästinischen Herkunft kann das Buch seine Diasporaorientierung nicht verleugnen”; cf. Moore, *Tobit*, 17. Frank Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit: An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (JAL; New York: Harper, 1958), gives an Asia Minor provenance for the main of the book, dating it to the mid-second century under Antiochus IV, but dates chaps. 13–14 to after AD 70.

The textual history of Tobit is complex, and until the discovery of Qumran scholars questioned its literary unity, particularly the originality of chaps. 13–14 (the short recension is represented by G¹). However, Aramaic and Hebrew mss. of Tobit in its long recension at Qumran have effectively laid to rest questions of dating and unity, overturning the consensus represented by Zimmermann at the time of his writing; cf. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 657–61 (see Herms, *Apocalypse*, 62–66 for consideration of arguments for the originality of the short recension of Tobit). Accordingly, Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 3–17 (cf. Herms, *Apocalypse*, 62) suggests a mid-third century date for the early *Vorlagen* of Tobit, prior to the emergence of Jewish apocalyptic writing; all of this, however, does not diminish the exceptional nature of the theology in chaps. 13–14. My analysis depends upon G², and for a summary of text types and an overview of scholars’ assessment of their genetic relationships, see Stuart Weeks, Simon Gathercole, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions. With Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac* (Fontes et subsidia 3; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 1–4.

fiction that illustrates and seeks to inspire idealistic Jewish piety in the context of the hostile conditions of exile.⁵⁸

Near the conclusion of the tale in 14:3–11, Tobit on his deathbed prophesies the fall of Jerusalem and the Babylonian exile. But he goes on to foretell Israel’s return to the Land and the rebuilding of the temple (v. 5), which will also result in a response of worshipful repentance from the nations (vv. 6–7). All peoples of the earth will praise God along with Israel, and wickedness will be forever eradicated. This vision ultimately motivates his children’s piety (vv. 9–11). Thus, Israel’s return from exile is envisioned as no less than the inauguration of the eschaton and God’s cosmic kingdom, in which Israel and the nations are joined in worship.

A. Genre and Historical Context of Tobit

The story of Tobit is that of a Diaspora Jew, that is, an Israelite in exile. He introduces himself as one who walks in truth and righteousness, and who religiously gives alms or performs “acts of mercy” (ἀλήθεια, δικαιοσύνη, and ἐλεημοσύνη, 1:3). Yet Tobit is blinded when risking his life to observe Jewish Law by burying his murdered kinsman (2:3–10). His experience, similar to Job’s, asks why a righteous man should suffer, but the end of his tale sees Tobit’s vision restored and him praising God for his blessings, thereby upholding “the great Deuteronomic equation” that God blesses the righteous while punishing the wicked.⁵⁹ But while the narrative ends with the restoration of his fortunes, it yet leaves Israel in exile. Through his use of various techniques, the narrator addresses both how Diaspora Jews are to live piously and the question of exile and the restoration of Israel’s fortunes.

The opening and closing of the book focuses on Tobit, which anchors his as the primary interest perspective of the narrative (despite the focus of the middle portion on Tobit’s son Tobiah).⁶⁰ The book is also accurate to historical sources where available (notably 2 Kgs), and although fictional it “does display a good level of historical accuracy.”⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Apocalypse*, 61–62; cf. Moore, *Tobit*, 22–24, 27–33; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 31–32, 46–49. Herms, *ad loc.*, 61–72 offers an excellent overview and summary of Tobit and its critical issues, of which my analysis here is largely an abridgment; see there for greater detail and support.

⁵⁹ Alexander A. Di Lella, “The Deuteronomic Background of the Farewell Discourse in Tob 14.3–11,” *CBQ* 41 (1979): 384

⁶⁰ Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 303.

⁶¹ Alan Millard, “Judith, Tobit, Ahiqar and History,” in *New Heaven and New Earth—Prophecy and the Millennium: Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (ed. P. J. Harland and C. T. R. Hayward; VTSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 198, 202–3; *contra* Moore, *Tobit*, 6, 9–11; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 31–33.

Likewise, the choice of Nineveh is an effective setting for a Diaspora audience, since it is historical and scriptural yet sufficiently remote in time and space to serve as a symbol.⁶² These features make the book a plausible historical drama designed to teach second-century Jews.

Comedic or “humorous” features of the narrative reveal that Tobit is unreliable as a narrator (cf. the shift to third-person narration at 3:8) because he has a merely human perspective on events.⁶³ So while, for instance, Tobit’s devotion to tribe and family is not absurd (let alone immorally excessive), the divine evaluation is the correct one: “In the book of Tobit, the limitation of perspective is comedic... because human life exists within a divine comedy in which God ultimately rewards the good Tobit family... and will bring about a new Jerusalem of universal joy.”⁶⁴ And Alexander Di Lella’s analysis particularly has caused scholars to generally agree upon Deuteronomy as a primary influence upon the shape of the narrative, especially as regards the content and climactic function of Tobit’s song in chapter 13 and testimony in 14:3–11.⁶⁵ The Assyrian setting creates a moral backdrop for Tobit’s story, so that his restoration by its end is “witness to the truth that God rewards the righteous,” and contrariwise “the fate of Nineveh witnesses that God punishes the wicked,” which causes Tobit’s concluding praise and joy in 14:15.⁶⁶

The narrator’s choice of beginning and ending the narrative in exile, rather than the protagonist’s homeland, and his deuteronomic dependence establish the final form of Tobit as other than a fairytale. In William Soll’s analysis, this accounts why the narrator finds an alternative to the formal fairytale ending of the return home.⁶⁷ Namely, the narrative engages the larger issue of Jews’ Diaspora condition, but exile is too large an issue to resolve in

⁶² William Michael Soll, “Misfortune and Exile in Tobit: the Juncture of a Fairy Tale Source and Deuteronomic Theology,” *CBQ* 51 (1989): 230.

⁶³ Cf. Irene Nowell, “The Narrator in the Book of Tobit,” *SBLSP* 27 (1988): 28, 35, 38; David McCracken, “Narration and Comedy in the Book of Tobit,” *JBL* 114 (1995): 404-10, 413-14 (refining Nowell’s research); J. Cousland, “Tobit: A Comedy in Error?” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 539-40 (rightly correcting and tempering McCracken’s view).

⁶⁴ McCracken, “Narration,” 410.

⁶⁵ “Deuteronomic,” 380-89; cf. Zimmermann, *Tobit*, 113; Steven Weitzman, “Allusion, Artifice, and Exile in the Hymn of Tobit,” *JBL* 115 (1996): 52-53; Moore, *Tobit*, 284-85, etc.

⁶⁶ Nowell, “Narrator,” 33.

⁶⁷ “Misfortune,” 228-31; cf. Moore, *Tobit*, 18.

Tobit's lifetime, and so as a token the narrator offers the restoration of Tobit, as an individual Diaspora Jew.⁶⁸

The foregoing analysis is needed for understanding how radical the reference to Israel-nations unification in 14:3–11 is. The book is basically “a well constructed narrative in the service of Israelite religion,” wherein the narrator offers to his audience Tobit as a model of “genuine Deuteronomic doctrines and practices” in the midst of exile.⁶⁹ His faith is represented in almsgiving and in nationalistic terms (specifically in his concern for the plight of all exilic Jews and in preservation of tribal distinction; cf. 1:4–6, 9–11), by which Tobit demonstrates how one lives “as a Jew away from land and temple.”⁷⁰ Accordingly, Tobit's final command to his children in 14:9 forms an *inclusio* with his self-introduction at the story's beginning (1:3; cf. 3:2), as he teaches them to be—like himself—“like God...righteous, merciful and truthful.”⁷¹

And at the same time, the reason for his sufferings in the midst of an overall comedic structure is that the good man Tobit's experience is also representative of Israel, those people of the good Land. Likewise, then, his restoration is meant to prefigure theirs. So concerning Tobit's prophetic insight in 14:3–11, his description of the “joyous gathering in a new Jerusalem” will be “the Israelite analogue of what happened to Tobit” (cf. 14:4).⁷² The true comedic structure of the book is therefore its outlandish construction of a dystopic view of the world, “where the order that is supposed to prevail in the cosmos has been profoundly subverted and inverted,” as a consequence of which its happy ending emphasizes the resolution of dystopic states of affair, “and particularly God's active role in that process. The author elaborates a convincingly dystopic world in order to celebrate its systematic restorations.”⁷³

In the end, the narrator does manage to resolve the issue of exile, by pointing to Tobit as his example of the certainty of God's future deliverance to which Tobit himself testifies. The eucatastrophe of both Tobit and Israel's restoration does not deny their suffering, but

⁶⁸ Soll, “Misfortune,” 229.

⁶⁹ Di Lella, “Deuteronomic,” 380; cf. Moore, *Tobit*, 20, 24, 284; Benedikt Otzen, *Tobit and Judith* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 45; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 47, etc.

⁷⁰ Herms, *Apocalypse*, 67.

⁷¹ Di Lella, “Deuteronomic,” 386.

⁷² McCracken, “Narration,” 418.

⁷³ Cousland, “Tobit,” 548.

instead provides encouragement by denying the necessity of final defeat.⁷⁴ For the narrator, then, the meaningfulness Tobit's story is in its didactic value for teaching piety to Diaspora Jews in light of God's providential care for Israel. Therefore, Tobit's description of God's future restoration of Israel in 14:3–11 provides an upswing that sharply contrasts both the setting and initial events of the narrative, and is stunning in that it enlists even the nations to illustrate the value of Jewish piety.

B. Literary Context of Tobit 14:3–11

Just as Tobit is not a wholly reliable narrator, scholars note that his blindness is symptomatic and symbolic of his misperception. Anatheia Portier-Young has observed that early on, Tobit fails to see God's immanent blessing and provision.⁷⁵ Accordingly, David McCracken (especially) and others suggest that Tobit's tribalism and nationalism are portrayed as excessive, which is another way in which Tobit fails to perceive God's intentions for Israel and the world.⁷⁶ Therefore, after Tobit's healing and praise (11:14–15) and the conclusion of the Tobiah sub-plot (11:16–25), in 12:6–20 Raphael's *sotto voce* speech intended for the reader (cf. κρυπτῶς, 12:6) begins with a call to praise and piety (vv. 6–10) that sets up the cosmic scope of the subsequent visions.⁷⁷ And Tobit goes from praising "all" aspects of his own piety to praising God in "all" manner of ways.⁷⁸

He begins immediately in chapter 13, with an eschatological psalm that proves Tobit's healing has produced not only physical sight but also spiritual clarity.⁷⁹ He proclaims that God's mercy in response to Israel's repentance and obedience will lead to their return

⁷⁴ Anatheia Portier-Young, "Alleviation of Suffering in the Book of Tobit: Comedy, Community, and Happy Endings," *CBQ* 63 (2001): 50-51.

⁷⁵ "Alleviation," 41-42; cf. McCracken, "Narrative," 416 n. 31. This explains the physician's inability to heal Tobit in 2:10, which is meant as preparation for the lesson that healing comes from God alone rather than as an attack on doctors (cf. Sir 38:2; Cousland, "Tobit," 547).

⁷⁶ "Narration," 415, passim; cf. Portier-Young, "alleviation," 44 who argues the allusion to Jonah 4:3, 8 in Tob 3:6 indicates that Tobit parallels Jonah in his refusal of God's will and non-particularistic plan of salvation.

⁷⁷ Cf. Herms, *Apocalypse*, 71.

⁷⁸ McCracken, "Narration," 415 contrasts the use of πᾶς in 1:3–10 with its twenty-two occurrences in 13:4–13, 14:6–9, an excess that led the NRSV translators to omit several occurrences.

⁷⁹ Cf. McCracken, "Narration," 417. For the genre of chap. 13, see David Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers," Pages 551-71 in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress: 1984), 556; Moore, *Tobit*, 21, 283-84. Herms, *Apocalypse*, 68 observes for chap. 13 the sedate discourse markers, "And Tobit said," (v. 1) and "words of praise" (14:1), and the testamentary (rather than visionary) context for 14:3–11.

from exile, the eschatological restoration of Jerusalem, and the ingathering of the nations.⁸⁰ The narrator's deuteronomic framework is still apparent, as when Tobit affirms that God repays iniquities and calls for repentance prior to restoration (vv. 5–6), but the shift from chapters 1–12 is dramatic (especially given Tobit's literary unity).⁸¹

Several scholars detect Isaianic allusions in the nations' participation in Israel's restoration, especially in 13:11–14.⁸² Steven Weitzman, though, extends Di Lella's interpretation in a way that underscores the theological unity of the book as a whole. He identifies thematic parallels between verses 8–17 and the Song of Moses, wherein the narrator notably sees the ingathering of both Israel's exiles and the nations as the eschatological realization of Israel's restoration foretold in Deuteronomy 32:43.⁸³ Thus, in chapter 13 the narrator presents a deuteronomic eschatology that finally moves towards resolving the problem of exile, the rhetorical effect of which is to communicate that his audience's exile is nearly over just as Israel's wilderness wanderings were concluding.⁸⁴

Therefore, Tobit is meant to represent Israel not just in his experience, but also in his prophecy regarding *their* impending experience.⁸⁵ But the narrative cannot conclude until it tells of God's blessing in Tobit's remaining days. So 14:2 summarizes Tobit's prosperity (including his blessing in Tobiah's children, v. 3) as well as his righteousness and piety until his death, which necessitates a final speech from Tobit. His deathbed testimony provides the narrator an opportunity to summarize his teaching for his audience in 14: 3–11, which has

⁸⁰ Moore, *Tobit*, 282–83 structures chap. 13 as an introduction and thesis (vv. 1b–2a), an expansion on the praise of God (vv. 2b–8), praise of Jerusalem (vv. 9–18a), and a doxological conclusion (v. 18b); further, Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 308 sees the praise for God's mercy and sovereignty in vv. 1–8 as modeled on the Song of the Sea, and the restoration of Jerusalem in vv. 9–18 on Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah.

⁸¹ So also Di Lella, "Deuteronomic," 383; Nickelsburg, "Stories of Biblical and Early Post-Biblical Times," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 44; Donaldson, "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles'?: The Status of Gentiles in Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought," *JSP* 7 (1990): 20; Amy-Jill Levine, "Tobit: Teaching Jews How to Live in the Diaspora," *BRev* 8 (1992): 108. See Herms, *Apocalypse*, 63–66 for a review of proposed explanations.

⁸² E.g. Zimmermann, *Tobit*, 113; Moore, *Tobit*, 280–81; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 74–75, etc.

⁸³ "Allusion," 51, 54; for analysis of the Song of Moses and the same interpretation of Deut 32:43 by Paul, see below, pp. 201–6.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 61; cf. Soll, "Misfortune," 230.

⁸⁵ Soll, "Misfortune," 230.

been reckoned one of “the most explicit post-biblical articulation[s] of [universalism] in early Jewish literature.”⁸⁶

C. Humanity’s Restoration in Tobit 14:3–11

Tobit’s sudden cosmic horizon in 14:4–7 initially seems mismatched with his prior presentation as a particularly deuteronomic model of piety. However, by way of Tobit’s vision, the narrator arrives in verse 9 at the synopsis of his message, placing in Tobit’s mouth the words, ““And now my children, I myself command you: Serve God in truth and do what is pleasing in his presence.”” Therefore, the purpose of Tobit’s speech is to encourage Diaspora Jews in a hostile Hellenistic context to remain true to their faith, which places the narrative as a whole “in the service of Israelite religion.”⁸⁷ Tobit’s route to this principle is circuitous, but with the benefit of providing a deuteronomic answer to the problem of exile.

The καὶ ὅτε beginning 14:3 (G²; G¹ δε̅) links these verses to the preceding material as its conclusion, identifying verses 3–11 as the summary of the narrator’s teaching through Tobit’s story. Tobit on his deathbed summons Tobiah, and delivers an *ex eventu* prophecy concerning Nineveh’s fate that both fits the narrative context and ensures the veracity of the other elements in Tobit’s story.⁸⁸ Moreover, he locates his speech and himself within the stream of biblical prophecy, saying “I myself believe the word of God... which Nahum spoke... and as much as the prophets of Israel spoke... [that] not one thing will be diminished from all the words but will come to pass at their appointed time” (v. 4).⁸⁹ And although in a moment Tobit will address the solution to exile, he first details its consequence with the narrator’s concern for Judah’s deportation to Babylon (even though his character is from Naphtali in Israel).⁹⁰ Accordingly, Tobit foretells the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, although being ignorant of (or disdaining?) the Second Temple.

⁸⁶ Herms, *Apocalypse*, 67, specifying Isaianic influences.

⁸⁷ Di Lella, “Deuteronomic,” 380, further noting in v. 9 an echo of Deut 8:10 and possibly 32:43 (ad loc., 384; see below, pp. 201-6); cf. Beate Ego, “The Book of Tobit and the Diaspora,” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology: Papers of the First International Conference on the Deuteronomical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 20-21 May 2004* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengeller; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 53-54.

⁸⁸ Cf. McCracken, “Narration,” 416 n. 31.

⁸⁹ Cf. Deut 31:29; Isa 10:5, 12; 14:25; Nah 2:8–10, 13; 3:7; Zech 2:13; Mic 5:5; Di Lella, “Deuteronomic,” 381; and Moore, *Tobit*, 290; contra Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 327: “The dying Tobit’s discourse has become long-winded and repetitious.”

⁹⁰ Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 324; Richard Bauckham, “Tobit as a Parable for the Exiles of Northern Israel,” in *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (ed. Mark R. J. Bredin; Library of Second Temple Studies 55; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 140-64 argues the provocative alternative that the book’s

But then in verses 5–7, Tobit moves ahead (to the audience’s future) to Israel’s restoration. Significantly, Israel’s restoration is identified with their return from exile. The Jews’ repentance (*i.e.*, renewed piety, v. 9) leads to God’s mercy and their readmittance into the Land.⁹¹ Moreover, Tobit prophesies in verse 5 the rebuilding of the temple, even though Nebuchadnezzar had not yet destroyed it in narrative time. Unlike its Solomonic predecessor (καὶ οὐχ ὡς πρῶτον), the new temple will persist until the culmination of history (ἕως τοῦ χρόνου οὗ ἂν πληρωθῆ ὁ χρόνος τῶν καιρῶν; G¹ ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος).⁹² The rebuilding of the Temple is the priority, as its centrality will catalyze the building of the new Jerusalem around it.

The sequence is somewhat unclear, which may be the narrator’s intent: Tobit has the Babylonian exiles returning to Israel and rebuilding the temple, after which “they will all return from captivity and rebuild Jerusalem...and the house of God within it,” and without specifying when is the fulfillment of the appointed time in relation to these events. Most likely, the ambiguity emphasizes the narrator’s identification of the return from exile with the inauguration of the eschaton, rather than reflecting chronological confusion. The attendant circumstances listed in verses 5–7 collapse together into a single, extended event that comprises both Israel’s restoration and the inauguration of the eschaton.

Correspondingly, Tobit does specify that the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple, that is, Zion, is in accordance with its eschatological restoration promised in “the prophets of Israel” (v. 5b).⁹³ And also in line with many scriptural portrayals of Israel’s restoration, in verses 6–7a Tobit prophesies that “all the nations in the whole earth will all *return* and revere God sincerely and abandon all their idols...and bless the eternal God in righteousness.”⁹⁴ Insofar as the nation return or repent to the temple, there is some sense in which Tobit

“eschatological prospect is...the return of the exiles of the northern tribes of the land of Israel and their reconciliation to Jerusalem as the national and cultic centre” (ad loc., 141).

⁹¹ Di Lella, “Deuteronomic,” 382.

⁹² Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 328-29, however, thinks Tobit merely anticipates Zerubbabel’s Second Temple, which is meant as a stand-in until the “appointed time.”

⁹³ Cf. Isa 54:11–12; 60:3–11; 61:4; 66:12; so Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 313; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 74-75; Bauckham, “Tobit,” 147-49, etc.

⁹⁴ The NRSV translation of “convert” for ἐπιστρέφω in v. 6 is undesirable. It is a possible translation, and the nations’ action partly consists in an attitudinal change as they “turn” from their idols to God, but “convert” neglects both the geographic aspect to the Jews’ “return” (ἐπιστρέφω) in v. 5 and the nations’ physical movement towards Jerusalem in v. 6. We may grant, however, the awkward syntax in G² (lit. “all the nations, those in the whole earth, all will return”), which Di Lella, “Deuteronomic,” 382 suggests may group Jews together with the nations. Zimmermann, *Tobit*, 120 also suggests parallels between 14:6 (cf. 13:13) and the Jewish ‘Aleu prayer.

reckons they have been missing until now. Given the emphasis to this point on an ethnic dualism outlined by the strictest Jewish boundaries, Tobit's overwhelming optimism regarding the nations now seems rather incongruous.⁹⁵ Simultaneously, in verse 7, "all Israelites who are saved in those days" will permanently possess and congregate in the Land.

Also, there arguably is an implicit element of eschatological New Creation in Tobit's vision. The entire world will gather to the temple and be contained within Israel, with Zion at its center. By correlation, the eschatologically renewed Zion is likely understood as encompassing all creation.

This is further suggested in the eradication of those who commit sin and injustice "from all the earth" in verse 7b. Israel's security in the land of Abraham and the absence of wrongdoers, along with Israel-nations unification, bespeak that God's rule will be one of cosmic *shalom*. So the narrator does envision an eschatological judgment upon the wicked, wherein there is no indication that sinners are distinguishable from their deeds. However, he neither emphasizes judgment nor specifies the ethnic makeup of those judged (especially given the recurrent motif of Jews' need to repent and live righteously). Rather, his focus is on the restorative aspect of the consummation of history, in the joint ingathering of the scattered and formerly wayward Israelites and the nations alike.

Furthermore, this focus is evinced by the repeated element of worship. The nations will renounce their idolatry—that which defines them *as* the nations—to praise God (vv. 6–7). Israel is thereby identified as all who "love God in truth." This entity now includes the nations, whereby this Jew-Gentile Israel will rejoice in restored Zion (v. 7). The narrator does not spell out the relationship between the features of creation, unification, *shalom* and worship, but he clearly sees the last of these as intrinsic to the restoration of Zion. As Peter Söllner concludes, this *Leitmotif* is realized in verse 6, where, "Zusammenfassend läßt sich festhalten, daß das Rühmen und Preisen Gottes als die vom Verfasser für die Gegenwart erstrebte und im eschatologischen Jerusalem realisierte Handlungsweise gilt."⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Cf. Herms, *Apocalypse*, 62. For ethnicity and its biblical antecedents in Tobit, see Pekka Pitkänen, "Family Life and Ethnicity in Early Israel and Tobit," in *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (ed. Mark R. J. Bredin; Library of Second Temple Studies 55; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 112-15.

⁹⁶ *Jerusalem, die hochgebaute Stadt: Eschatologisches und himmlisches Jerusalem im Frühjudentum und im frühen Christentum* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 25; Tübingen: Francke, 1998), 49, noting the saturation of praise roots (ἀγαλλι-, εὐλογ-, ἀνάγ-, ἔξομολογ-) in 13:1–4, 7–11, 13–14, 18; 14:6–7; cf. Helen Schüngel-Straumann, *Tobit: übersetzt und ausgelegt* (Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament; Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 179.

Finally, in verse 9 Tobit arrives at the command, whereby his prophetic route has explicated the eschatological significance of deuteronomic piety.⁹⁷ The requirements for enjoyment of God's eschatological blessing require that Israel and the nations alike "be Tobian, that is, good."⁹⁸ Jewish piety is somehow instrumental in effecting the end of exile and God's eschatological rule in Zion, and also one's participation in that rule is somehow contingent on one's piety. Correspondingly, the "primary rhetorical function [of the nations] seems to be as a way of affirming the ultimate sovereign rule of Israel's God."⁹⁹ So Tobit's sufferings and restoration are indeed representative of Israel's, since "the joyous gathering in a new Jerusalem... is the Israelite analogue of what happened to Tobit."¹⁰⁰

D. Summary

Tobit's narrator uses his tale of the pious Jew, the good man, to teach his Diaspora audience how to properly live in terms of Jewish religion. Like Tobit, the problem they face is that of exile, but God's covenant faithfulness to Tobit is to illustrate how he will likewise respond to the audience's piety. The narrator goes so far as to incorporate irony into Tobit's perspective in order to show how characters may not see God's hand within their own story, but the divine perspective reveals both God's attention to religious merit, and that he has an overall plan for human history regardless of currents in world events.

But when the narrator finally delivers this message in the closing chapters, his technique is radical and rather jarring given his approaches towards ethnic and religious identity for most of the book. He "answers" the audience's problem of exile by prophesying its eschatological resolution. So the importance of Jewish piety lies in its eschatological implications: The narrator, through Tobit in his deathbed speech in 14:3–11, exhorts his Diaspora audience to live now as they will when they return from exile into God's kingdom, whereby their Jewish fidelity is significant to the eschatological restoration of Zion and creation.

⁹⁷ Pace Paul Deselaers, *Das Buch Tobit: Studien zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Theologie* (OBO 43; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 213-17, who considers 14:2–11 a chiasm with v. 5 at its center, so that "In Verbindung mit dem Chiasmus und unter Berücksichtigung der jeweiligen Stellung... erweist sich das Thema der Praxis der [Barmherzigkeit] als das Thema par excellence der Tobit-erzählung," whereby God's mercy becomes the model for Jewish piety.

⁹⁸ McCracken, "Narration," 418; similarly, Herms, *Apocalypse*, 77 argues that the nations' participation is dependent upon God's mercy but not guaranteed.

⁹⁹ Herms, *Apocalypse*, 77.

¹⁰⁰ McCracken, "Narration," 418.

And almost as radical as this sudden shift in scope is that the unification of Israel and the nations is the mechanism by which the narrator chooses to drive home his point. In this, he embeds his Diaspora audience's return from exile in a vision of the consummation of history to which Israel-nations unification is essential. The narrator thus presents *Israel's* restoration and (eschatological) return from exile in terms of the constellation of features of eschatological New Creation, Israel-nations unification, *shalom*, and worship.

The most elegant explanation for these data is that the narrator is employing a very similar theological framework to that evident in our previously examined biblical traditions that also reference Israel-nations unification. The presence of and relationship between the features of *shalom* and worship are more muted than in other Second Temple traditions I examine in the chapter. But on the other hand, the broader literary context accentuates the boldness of the constellation of features, where the actual concern of the tribal focus earlier in the narrative is God's starkly contrasting desires for all creation and humanity.

As before, it is interesting to ask whether the narrator's configuration of these elements correspond to some established theological framework. If one is persuaded by the reading of Genesis 1–2 in terms of a framework of temple cosmology that I explored in Chapter 2, then it perhaps it could correlate with the narrator's theology in Tobit 14:3–11. In that case, it would neatly explain the reference there to Israel-nations unification and reliance on Scripture, wherein the narrator would understand the restoration of Israel to mean the restoration of a single unified humanity, who worship Israel's God at the center of the restored creation. Then it would be because Jews alone get to live out this picture in microcosm that the narrator commends Jewish piety to his Diaspora audience.

III. Sibylline Oracles 3.772–95

The third book of the *Sibylline Oracles* is characterized by its condemnation of non-Jewish nations for their wickedness and idolatrousness. Particularly, the second half of the book (3:489–808) contains a series of admonitions that direct Greece to serve the one true God of Israel. But the final admonition breaks form (vv. 762–808), and in place of such a directive, the Sibyl proclaims the inauguration of God's cosmic kingdom (initially administered by the Jews, vv. 767–84) and the eschatological restoration of Zion and creation (vv. 785–95). Within this is a poignant reference to Israel-nations unification, as all humanity comes to worship Israel's God in the realization of several Isaianic eschatological traditions that the Sibyl employs.

Yet as a collection the *Sibyline Oracles* are far dourer than the traditions examined so far in this chapter. This makes their infrequent moments of hopefulness all the more interesting, and doubly so in that above such moment is an instance of Israel-nations unification. For especially in the Third Sibyl, while scholars debate the Sibyl's attitude toward Hellenism, there is general agreement that she holds an overall negative stance toward the nations.

A. Genre and Historical Context of *Sibyline Oracles* 3

The Jewish *Sibyline Oracles* appropriate their genre from oracular utterances of the Hellenistic period that were attributed to the Sibyl, and most of which have not survived.¹⁰¹ The *Sibyline Oracles* comprise twelve books, the third of which is the oldest complete book.¹⁰² In the Sibyl's Hellenistic origins, she is always depicted as an old and even ancient woman. Her age both grants her credibility, and frequently allows the use of *ex eventu* prophecy. Her oracles are ecstatic and divinely inspired, and consistently have a somber and morose tone that often finds her forecasting doom for the wicked. Repetition is another generic stylistic convention, whereby the Sibyl's message is driven home and consequently internalized by her audience.¹⁰³

Much of the Third Sibyl is addressed to or seems focused upon various Gentile nations, but this is a rhetorical effect of the author's use of the Sybil persona for addressing a Jewish audience. As Erich Gruen describes, "The Jews were assiduous in exhibiting the superiority of their faith and nation through usurpations of pagan convention."¹⁰⁴ Correspondingly, "the natural milieu of the [Third Sibyl] is the street, not the academy," as it

¹⁰¹ J. J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 357; on the form and familiarity of Sibylline oracles in the ancient world, see H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (ed. B. C. McGing; London: Routledge, 1988).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 365.

¹⁰³ Cf. Collins, "Sibylline," 358-91; *idem*, "The Sibyl and the Potter: Political Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi* (ed. Lukas Bormann, Kelly Del Tredici, and Angela Standhartinger; NovTSup 74; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 59; John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan, 323 BCE – 117 CE* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 221-22, etc.

¹⁰⁴ *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 268.

is popular literature that is “far removed from the court-culture” of its Hellenistic antecedents.¹⁰⁵

While a small degree of acculturation must be admitted in the use of hexameter and Homeric epithets, these superficial similarities are explained as a Jewish attempt “to assimilate Greeks into their own traditions, rather than subordinating themselves into [Hellenistic] traditions.”¹⁰⁶ As Gruen argues, the *Sibylline Oracles* subvert the positive perception of Hellenism, but do so using a Hellenistic genre that was respected because of the esteem given in Mediterranean culture to both the intellectual value of Hellenism and the stability and order of law represented by Spartan tradition. Accordingly, the Third Sibyl represents “an expropriation and transformation of the Spartan mystique to declare the primacy of the Jews.”¹⁰⁷

The author through the use of his Sibyl persona is able to not merely critique, but positively eviscerate other nations, by which he exhorts and encourages his Jewish audience.¹⁰⁸ However, the Third Sibyl does not particularly hate the nations, but rather employs a level of harshness that is typical of the genre.¹⁰⁹ But equally, neither does the Third Sibyl represent a proselytization effort or a “manifesto for missionary activity,” but rather carried a message of symbolic import for its Jewish audience.¹¹⁰ As John Barclay correctly observes, the Sibyl is clear and consistent that the nations’ participation in Israel’s blessings (both present and eschatological) “can only come about when they abandon idolatry and recognize the unique sanctity of the Jerusalem temple. Such hopes of radical conversion are the correlate of a cultural antagonism which recognizes no value in the religious practice of non-Jews. If this is propaganda, it represents a proselytization by fear.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Barclay, *Jews*, 224.

¹⁰⁶ Gruen, *Heritage*, 266; cf. Barclay, *Jews*, 224, who also cites the intention of Jewish luminaries Aristobulus and Aristeas to establish some common ground with Graeco-Roman culture in their use of Hellenistic literary elements.

¹⁰⁷ *Heritage*, 267.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Valentin Nikiprowetzky, “La Sibylle et le troisième livre des Pseudo-oracles Sibyllins depuis Charles Alexandre,” in *Principat 20, 1: Religion (Hellenistisches Judentum in römischer Zeit, ausgenommen Philon und Josephus)* (ed. Wolfgang Haase; Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt 2; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 462-63; Barclay, *Jews*, 221.

¹⁰⁹ Shum, *Paul’s*, 76.

¹¹⁰ Erich S. Gruen, “Jews, Greeks and Romans in the Third Sibylline Oracle,” in *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (ed. Martin Goodman; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 33.

¹¹¹ *Jews*, 222.

The Third Sibyl mostly dates to the second century, and represents in part an Egyptian Jewish response to turmoil in Palestine and military vulnerability in Egypt.¹¹² Still, the composite nature of the book is generally acknowledged.¹¹³ There is some disagreement whether the relative or absolute dates of various portions of the text are determinable.

John Collins has formed a virtual majority of one by repeatedly publishing his position (with some modifications) since the original publication of his doctoral dissertation.¹¹⁴ His position derives from his identification of the “seventh king” of verses 193, 318, and 608 and the so-called king from the sun (ἀπ’ ἡλίοι θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα) in verse 652 with the Egyptian king Ptolemy VI Philometer. Collins consequently brackets out passages that reference this figure as the original, main corpus of the book (vv. 97–349, 489–829) which he dates to 163–145 B.C., and then designates second and third compositional layers (respectively, vv. 350–488, comprising four politically-oriented but otherwise themeless oracles against nations; and vv. 1–96, which includes attacks on Rome).¹¹⁵

But Collins’ identification of the seventh king (and the king from the sun) is problematic, as is his confidence regarding historical referents.¹¹⁶ Barclay cautions that the

¹¹² Ibid., 223–35; cf. Arnaldo Dante Momigliano, “La portata storica dei vaticini sul settimo re nel terzo libro degli Oracoli Sibillini,” in *Forma Futuri: Studi in Onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (ed. Antonio Maddalena, et al.; Turin: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1975), 1077–84.

¹¹³ Cf. John Joseph Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Ancient Judaism* (Missoula, MT: SBL, 1974), 28; see Rieuwerd Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting, with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (SVTP 17; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 53–60 for a recent bibliography and the history of scholarship on the Third Sibyl.

¹¹⁴ *Sibylline*, 40–44; idem, “Sibylline,” 365–66; idem, “The Development of the Sibylline Tradition,” in *Principat 20, 1: Religion (Hellenistisches Judentum in römischer Zeit, ausgenommen Philon und Josephus)* (ed. Wolfgang Haase; ANRW 2; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 430; idem, “The Kingdom of God in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Kingdom of God in 20th Century Interpretation* (ed. Wendell Willis; Peabody, MA; Hendrickson, 1987), 84–85; idem, “Potter,” 59, 61–64; idem, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2d ed.; Biblical Resource; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 94–95; idem, “The Third Sibyl Revisited,” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther Glickler Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth Anne Clements; Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 89; Boston: Brill, 2004), 3–19.

¹¹⁵ For vv. 1–96 as a later, anti-Roman addition, see also Barclay, *Jews*, 218; Shum, *Paul’s*, 39.

¹¹⁶ See esp. Barclay, *Jews*, 219–22; also Gruen, *Heritage*, 274–75, demonstrating that Collins’ identification would require the book to be set in the very narrow window of 170–168 B.C.; idem., “Jews,” 19–21; Shum, *Paul’s*, 45. Goodman, “The Sibylline Oracles,” in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, Vol. 3 (ed. Geza Vermes, et al.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 635, 637 shares Collins’ view that references to the seventh king are meant to bind together the book, but reckons these as redactional additions that date the Third Sibyl to as late as the destruction of the Second Temple.

oracles are insufficiently specific to allow any real measure of historical precision.¹¹⁷ Firm identification of historical referents in the oracles is unlikely, but such speculation would only “miss the essence of the Sibyl’s message, its apocalyptic character, and its significance for the interaction of Judaism and Hellenism.”¹¹⁸ Accordingly, she delivers a dehistoricized presentation of historical circumstances in order to invest them with her cosmic concern regarding nations’ power, piety and morality, and God’s imminent, eschatological vindication of the Jews.

Most scholars (Collins aside) see in the Third Sibyl an animosity toward non-Jewish culture, and especially toward Egyptian Hellenism.¹¹⁹ Barclay in particular surveys several passages in the Third Sibyl that reveal the Sibyl’s scorn for other nations’ endemic, ubiquitous foolishness, which manifests itself most often as idolatry and immorality (often sexual perversion).¹²⁰ He remarks, “the Jews’ moral and social differences are so pronounced that ‘everyone will be offended at your customs,’” thereby evincing a “predominant mood of cultural and social alienation.”¹²¹ By contrast, the Sibyl depicts Jews as positively and

¹¹⁷ *Jews*, 219 n. 67, stating, “It is possible that this oracle began in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer but ‘grew’ over subsequent decades.” Gruen, *Heritage*, 272, goes so far as to employ a catalogue of unclear historical references to offer the positive argument that the text “constitutes a conglomerate, a gathering of various prophecies that stem from different periods.... To postulate a main corpus or a primary redaction reflecting special circumstances does not get us very far,” further asserting (n. 108) that his view is also reflected in the confused mss. evidence; cf. idem, “Jews,” 17-18. His reaction is somewhat overbalanced (Shum, *Paul’s*, 40-41, 43), but nevertheless is compatible with Barclay in offering a corrective to Collins.

¹¹⁸ Gruen, *Heritage*, 271; cf. idem, “Jews,” 28-29; Barclay, *Jews*, 225. Shum, *Paul’s*, 47 arrives at the same analysis, but also insists that historical references identify the general timeframe for the fulfillment of the Sibyl’s prophecies.

¹¹⁹ See esp. Barclay, *Jews*, 219-23; Gruen, *Heritage*, 284; Shum, *Paul’s*, 76-77, 79 n. 120. Collins takes his identification of Philometer and the positive role or light in which he is cast, and interprets them to mean that the Third Sibyl has a markedly positive assessment towards and relationship with Egypt and particularly the Ptolemaic dynasty, even to the point of expecting Jewish vindication under the auspices of an Egyptian Messiah; cf. idem, *Sibylline*, 40-44; idem, “Sibylline,” 365-66; idem, “Potter,” 59, etc. His identification of seventh king and interpretation of the Sibyl’s positive view of Egypt are interdependent. The former is at best uncertain (Barclay, *Jews*, 222-23; and Shum, *Paul’s*, 43 further point out that the seventh king is inactive, and his advent merely marks a time when God effects significant events), and Barclay, *Jews*, 222 demonstrates the latter as untenable, so that Collins’ position as a whole does not hold. Collins, “Sibylline,” 371 does admit some of the Sibyl’s negativity toward Egypt, but claims it belongs to later oracles that “show a changing attitude towards Egypt” that “resulted from historical circumstances, especially the conquest of Egypt by the Romans.” But Gruen, *Heritage*, 274-76 offers the corrective that Asian invasion of Egypt was for Egyptians “endemic in history and lore. The Sibyl simply fastened upon the traditional foe as anticipated ravager of the land,” and that “a narrow political interpretation [of the eschatological character of God’s judgment upon Egypt] would be simplistic and distorting.”

¹²⁰ *Jews*, 221-22.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 222, citing v. 272. Gruen, *Heritage*, 284-87 agrees generally with Barclay, but suggests the Sibyl is less polemic toward Greeks and less overtly nationalistic than in Barclay’s characterization; cf. Shum, *Paul’s*, 77-79, noting his own proposal “unavoidably involves a high degree of conjecture” (though elsewhere summarizing, “the Third Sibyl, by the ‘seventh king’ references, pinpointed a specific time when divine

traditionally as this genre allows, repeatedly referring to the importance of the Land and particularly the temple, their sacred Law, and their unique identity as God's people.¹²² This tension between the Sibyl's depiction of Jews and her censure of Egyptian and other non-Jewish cultures betrays a significant degree of social maladjustment: The author employs the Sibyl persona to privilege his Jewish audience with a look her message to the nations, in order to communicate that their judgment will coincide with God's (imminent) vindication of his people.

B. Literary Context of *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–95

The first major oracle of the Third Sibyl (vv. 97–161) combines Jewish and Greek accounts of the past (fall of tower of Babel, vv. 97–104; a euhemeristic retelling of the war between Kronos and the titans, vv. 105–55; and a catalogue of world empires, vv. 156–61) to fabricate a universal rehearsal of world history up to the Second Temple period.¹²³ The Sibyl thus establishes for the book a universal framework, whereby her prophecies are authoritative and relevant for Jews and non-Jews alike. Also, throughout the book, the Sibyl ties her oracles, particularly those to the nations, to the impending day of God's judgment. So the eschatological context that she manufactures for her message is an instrument for promoting moral exhortation, as she depicts her audience's behavior as having eternal significance, in order to advance the principle that "respect for the Jewish temple and ethical behaviour are

deliverance of the Jews...and divine judgment upon the immoral nations would take place. ...she conveyed to her Jewish audience a messianic hope which in her sight would find its imminent fulfillment," ad loc., 47). However, while the Sibyl's characterization need not be read as hostile, in support of Barclay her depiction of the nations is decidedly partisan, and is intended for Jewish ears rather than the named addressees.

¹²² Barclay, *Jews*, 219–221. Given Egyptian Jews' apparent ties with—or at least continued concern over—Palestine and events in Jerusalem, Momigliano, "Portatata," passim; and more conservatively Barclay, ad loc., 223 therefore argue that the Third Sibyl reflects a resurgence of Jewish nationalism among Egyptian Jews resulting from the Maccabean revolt. Barclay notes the lack of explicit reference to the Maccabees (which Collins, "Potter," 60 is quick to point out), yet observes the suitable dating and shared ideology regarding nationalism, temple, and law. Gruen, "Jews," 29 (cf. idem, *Heritage*, 285) offers an argument from silence that anti-Egyptian lines in the oracle do not entail Egyptian provenance, and suggests instead a Palestinian provenance, while Collins, *Between*, 87–89 argues the opposite, that the provenance could *not* have been of Palestinian based on its anti-Roman stance and together with his supposition of Philometer as the seventh king. Finally, Buitenwerf, *Book*, 63, 127, 304–21 proposes not only a literary analysis of the final form of the Third Sibyl, but asserts without evidence or argument that it was originally a literary unity that dates to its latest portions (giving a *terminus post quem* of 80–40 B.C.), and being left without plausible Egyptian provenance defaults to a provenance of Asia Minor. However, Barclay, *Jews*, 225 highlights the later additions to the book that reflect the rise of Roman power (and even the shockwaves felt at the destruction of the second temple; cf. vv. 398–401) as further evidence of the persistence of the Sibylline traditions, and their dehistoricized, cosmic presentation.

¹²³ Collins, *Between*, 87; cf. idem, "Sibylline," 366, noting a combination of non-Jewish and Jewish kingdoms that present a representative fullness of ten world empires (eight kingdoms in vv. 156–161, Kronos' kingdom, and the anticipated eschatological kingdom).

essential prerequisites for the ideal kingdom.”¹²⁴ And a final characteristic of the book is the centrality of the temple, and how it is essential to the Second Temple theme of restoration eschatology, as the Third Sibyl “especially looks back to this important biblical theme, and forward to its final realization.”¹²⁵

Andrew Chester has detailed the Sibyl’s presentation of the temple, which is wholly positive throughout (cf. vv. 213–15, 266–67, 273–84, 302, 564–72, 573–600, 602–18, 624–34, 657–68, 702–31, 772–75, 808), and which is put to various uses.¹²⁶ For example, in verses 573–79, the glory of the temple is an analogy (or a function) of the glorification of the Jews, the “holy race of God-fearing people” (v. 573). Temple and worship in the form of sacrifice are central to Jewish identity in verses 702–4, which in turn draws in the nations to the temple where they will change to behave like the Jews in offering sacrifice and worship (vv. 715–30; cf. 616–23, 568–72).

The Sibyl also sets worship and the centrality of the temple in contrast with idolatry (vv. 548–72, 573–600, 715–20, 772–75). The allegedly “pagan” Sibyl employs her universal framework to hold the nations accountable to Torah and the worship of the one true God.¹²⁷ This is further seen in the consistent conjoining of Torah (the Jews’ “holy Law”) with the temple (vv. 234–64, 275–76, 284, 580, 600, 686–87, 719, 768–69).¹²⁸

The temple also features prominently in the Sibyl’s eschatology (vv. 657–68, 702–31, 772–75), and her openness to Egyptian Gentiles is contingent upon their turning from idols to worship—according to Torah and in the Jerusalem temple—the God of the Jews, because for her “all truth ultimately resides in Judaism and the temple” (cf. vv. 767–95).¹²⁹ Weighing up the repeated references, Barclay concludes that the Sibyl and her Egyptian Jewish audience

¹²⁴ Collins, “Sibylline,” 367, identifying the thematic sins of (Roman) homosexuality, idolatry, and adultery.

¹²⁵ Andrew Chester, “The Sibyl and the Temple,” in *Templum Amicitiae: Essay on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (ed. William Horbury; JSNTSup 48; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 40.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*; cf. Collins, “Sibylline,” 369–70, who likewise demonstrates the programmatic high doctrine of God in vv. 1–45 (cf. vv. 11, 15), the introduction to the final form, establishes for the book as a whole that idolatry is the ultimate sin because it is a sin against the truth. Cf. the temple’s destruction as punishment for *Israel*’s idolatry in vv. 266, 273–81, where its restoration is dependent upon Torah observance in vv. 282–94.

¹²⁸ Barclay, *Jews*, 221 n. 69.

¹²⁹ Chester, “Sibyl,” 46.

were emphatic about the unique sanctity of the Jerusalem temple.¹³⁰ It is not unexpected, therefore, that the temple and worship should figure prominently in the Sibyl's final oracle (vv. 762–808), which also concludes with the features of eschatological new creation and Israel-nations unification.

In its final form, the literary structure of second half of the Third Sibyl (vv. 489–808) consists in introductory prophecies against various nations (vv. 489–544) followed by an arrangement of four admonitions (vv. 545–623, 624–731, 732–61, and 762–808).¹³¹

¹³⁰ *Jews*, 221; cf. Collins, “Sibylline,” 366, concluding an overall focus of the Sibyl is the “denunciation of idolatry and sexual abuses, and the advocacy of the Jewish temple;” idem, “Potter,” 59-60. In his earlier research, Collins, *Sibylline*, 48-49 contended that the temple is only as important for the Third Sibyl as for instance for *Let. Aris.* or Philo, but Chester, “Sibyl,” 21 argues that there Collins had not done justice to those texts.

¹³¹ Buitenwerf, *Book*, 236-38. The book ends with an account of the Sibyl's genealogy and prophetic reliability (vv. 809–26), which brackets the book as a whole together with the introductory oracles (partly against Rome, vv. 1–96) and the rehearsal of world history (vv. 97–161). Largely because he prioritizes his identification of the seventh king (and subsequent identification of the “main corpus” of the book), Collins, *Sibylline*, 35-37; idem, “Sibylline,” 356-66 divides the oracles thematically, and without Buitenwerf's attention to discourse markers. Collins dismisses vv. 489–544, reckoning that they “contribute nothing to the picture of the eschaton” (*Sibylline*, 36), abuts vv. 545–808 to vv. 162–294, and parses his “main corpus” into four oracles (vv. 162–95, 196–294, 545–656, and 657–808) that follow the general pattern of sin, consequent disaster and tribulation, and the advent of a glorious king and/or kingdom (Barclay, *Jews*, 219-22 lacks the space for an examination of the book's structure, but seems to accept Collins' divisions). The following diagram is adapted from Buitenwerf, *Book*, 236-38; cf. Shum, *Paul's*, 71.

PREFACE TO THE SIBYL'S FOUR ADMONITIONS (3:489–544):

1. introduction to new prophetic section (3:489–91)
2. predictions against nations—Phoenicia, Crete, Thrace, Grog (vv. 492–519)
3. ...and against Greece (vv. 520–44)

FIRST ADMONITION (vv. 545–623):

1. Greece admonished to serve the true God properly, even though they will not (vv. 545–72)
2. Jews are a morally superior people who will live prosperously around God's temple (vv. 573–600)
3. wicked kings will be punished by a king from Asia during the reign of the seventh king (vv. 601–615)
4. ...which will be God's victory, and idols will be destroyed and worldwide *shalom* inaugurated (vv. 616–23)

SECOND ADMONITION (vv. 624–731):

1. Greece (cf. v. 639) admonished to serve the true God, or else they will be plundered by a foreign nation (vv. 624–51)
2. God will send a king from the East to conquer, who will produce peace by killing his enemies and allying with other kings, and the kings of the earth will conspire against the prosperous Jews and their temple (vv. 652–68)
3. God will intervene, and defeat and punish the wicked people while protecting the Jews (vv. 669–709)
4. some impious non-Jews will recognize the Jews' religious and moral superiority and turn to Israel's faith (vv. 710–31)

THIRD ADMONITION (vv. 732–61):

1. Greece admonished not to attack Jerusalem, or else they will be punished (vv. 732–40)
2. God will judge humanity, and after the destruction of the wicked all people will live in peace and prosperity by a common law (vv. 741–61)

FOURTH ADMONITION (vv. 762–808):

- hinge device*: addressee admonished to serve God and live morally (vv. 762–66)
1. Jews predicted administrate justice in God's eschatological kingdom, including the nations (vv. 767–84)
 2. restoration of Zion, the eschatological world center, and of creation (vv. 785–95)
 3. a sign will mark the beginning of God's judgment (vv. 796–807)
 4. ...and concluding admonition to worship God (v. 808)

Figure 18: Literary Structure of Sibylline Oracles 3:489–808

Each of the four sections begins with a second person admonishment that is addressed to the Sibyl's fictive Greek audience, for them to turn toward the faith and God of the Jews. However, in the first three sections, the Sibyl's *ex eventu* revelation recounts how Greece will fail to heed her warnings, to their own peril. The fourth section begins differently, with an initial admonition (vv. 762–66) that is also a structural hinge device which links the final section to what has gone before. Here, the Greek identity of the Sibyl's addressee is only implicit (by contrast with the Jews in vv. 767–84), which taken together with the first three admonitions suggests a 3 + 1 structure to the arrangement.

All four sections share a thematic progression from admonition, to the praiseworthiness of Israel, their faith and their temple, followed by God's judgment upon Greece (and the nations), and finally ending with the abolition of idolatry and non-Jewish humanity's turning to worship God. The third section ends with all humanity living according to a shared common Law, namely, Jewish Torah, and the hinge device introducing the fourth section is unique in advocating moral living along with piety. The fourth and final section concludes with a comparatively more extensive emphasis on the eschatological character of God's intervention, includes rich depictions of the restoration of both Israel and creation itself, and is punctuated by the parting declaration that "all must sacrifice unto the great king" (v. 808).

It is further noteworthy that the first three admonitions conclude with representatives of every nation (or all humanity? cf. "they" in v. 616 as "all mortals" of v. 601; "all the islands and cities," v. 710, etc.) worshipping or serving Israel's God (cf. vv. 616–19, 710–31, 757b–60).¹³² The Sibyl's focus is not on the nations, however, but upon God and the gloriousness of vindicated Israel, so that the nations' role serves a theological function. In each case, their participation is accompanied by the motifs of order, and of peace and plenty in nature. And while these passages seem to evoke some level of subjugation, features such as the Sibyl's use of dramatic descriptions and first person reports of the nations' speech entail that the resultant state of affairs is positive for them, and "brings out the Sibyl's underlying conviction that in the last days... God's salvation of and blessing upon his people will extend to the nations."¹³³ The concluding admonition includes the same elements, but almost all the space usually taken up by admonishment and judgment is given over to an elaborate account of God's restoration of Israel and creation. And in this instance, the nations appear near the beginning of the passage, and play an inaugural role in the advent of God's kingdom on earth.

C. Humanity's Restoration in *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–795

In the Sibyl's final admonitory oracle (vv. 762–808), the admonition element (vv. 762–66) is not only brief but also summative. Her adjuration economically encapsulates what was her message all along, that her ostensibly Greek addressee should eschew idolatry (in favor of true worship, vv. 762–63), sexual perversion (including homosexuality, v. 764), and

¹³² Cf. Barclay, *Jews*, 221; Shum, *Paul's*, 67-71, suggesting in v. 710 an echo of Isa 49:1, and in vv. 757–59 a dependence upon Isa 2:3–4||Mic 4:2–3; Buitenwerf, *Book*, 267.

¹³³ Shum, *Paul's*, 68, referring specifically to vv. 702–31.

immorality (v. 765). The Sibyl then expounds consummation of human history, which reveals the eternal significance of her audience’s behavior, beginning with the advent of God’s heavenly kingdom upon earth (vv. 767–71). The initial significance of God’s kingdom is that it fulfills his promise to Israel, as the Sibyl modifies her announcement of its advent by recounting God’s relationship with the “godly ones [εὐσεβέσιν]” to whom he promised every possible joy and blessing, extending into eternal gladness in the eschaton (vv. 769–71).

However, the kingdom will be inaugurated by the pilgrimage of the nations from “every land,” as they come to worship at the heart of the kingdom, the temple at the center of Jerusalem (v. 772). The Sibyl’s account of the inauguration of the kingdom, of the pilgrimage of the nations and subsequent description of the restoration of creation is saturated with Isaianic new creation language and imagery. She extracts from their original and occasional prophetic contexts traditions from Isaiah 2:2–4(=Mic 4:1–4); 11:1–9 and 65:17–25 (examined in Chapter 2, above), which together constitute a thematic trajectory of Israel’s future hope of New Creational restoration:

<i>Sibylline Oracles</i> 3:762–808	Isaiah 1–12	Isaiah 65:17–25
vv. 762–766	Admonition: idolatry, sexual perversion and immorality	
vv. 767–771	God’s kingdom arises, proving his faithfulness to Israel	11:1–5 God’s future reign through a righteous Davidic regent
vv. 772–779	Pilgrimage of the nations demonstrating the preeminence of the temple	2:2–3 Pilgrimage of the nations at the restoration of Zion (Mic 4:1–2)
vv. 780–784	...enabled because of peace in God’s kingdom, ensured by himself and Israel as his executors	11:1–5; cf. 2:4 God’s kingdom will be characterized by righteousness and justice (Mic 4:3–4)
vv. 785–787	Call to praise God (and God will dwell in Zion)	12:1–6 Hymn of thanksgiving (and God will dwell in Zion) because of
vv. 788–795	because of his restoration of Zion and creation	11:6–9 God’s preceding restoration of creation
vv. 796–807	Apocalyptic heavenly battle as the battle to end all battles is the sign that God is victorious and will next inaugurate his kingdom	65:18 Call to praise God
v. 808	Parting admonition	65:17, 25 because of his restoration of Zion and creation

Figure 19: Outline of Sibylline Oracles 3:762–808 and its Use of Scripture

In verses 771–779, she applies and elaborates upon the tradition of Isaiah 2:2–3, specifying that the nations will worship by bringing offerings for the temple service, and adding that the Jerusalem temple will be the only one in all the world, for all future generations (vv. 773–75).¹³⁴ And if the traversability of paths, mountain passes and seaways (vv. 777–79) is meant to recall the straightening of paths in Isaiah 40:4, then the Sibyl is extending Israel’s Deutero-Isaianic new exodus to the nations, as they “return” home to Zion (that is, eschatological Jerusalem) for the first time.¹³⁵ She explicitly elevates the temple further with a blending of polity, it will be the world center for not just worship, but also political authority (cf. γεραίρω, v. 775), and martial authority and royal judgment (vv. 780–82). In this, a certain preeminence may be reserved for the Jews, as they are the “prophets of the great God” who convey his judgment upon “mortals and just kings” (vv. 782, 784; cf. Isa 2:4a||Mic 4:3a).¹³⁶ In another possible echo of Isaiah 2:4(||Mic 4:3), all aggressors against God’s rule will be disarmed and *shalom* (πάσα εἰρήνη) will cover the earth (v. 780).

The advent of God’s kingdom in verses 767–771, 780–84—which is not dissimilar from God’s rule through a righteous king in Isaiah 11:1–5—runs into a renewal of creation in verses 785–795. Thus, the Sibyl identifies the renewal of Zion as the restoration of the cosmos itself. She first incorporates the thanksgiving hymn of Isaiah 12, which results partly from the New Creation described in 11:6–9 but also from the New Creation oracle of Isaiah 65 (cf. ἀγαλλιάομαι, εὐφραίνω, *Sib. Or.* 3:785; Isa 12:6; 65:18; ὅς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισε καὶ γῆν, *Sib. Or.* 3:786; ἔσται [Heb. נָטַב] ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινή, Isa 65:17; and ἐν σοὶ δ’ οἰκήσει, *Sib. Or.* 3:787; ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, Isa 12:6).¹³⁷ Jerusalem is to rejoice because God will restore them and establish it as his eternal dwelling, with the light of his

¹³⁴ Cf. Buitenwerf, *Book*, 289. It has not been strenuously argued that the grammatical subject of v. 772 is pious Jews only, but Shum, *Paul’s*, 71 does argue that it refers to humanity generally, or perhaps both pious Jews and non-Jews together. For v. 776 as a Christian interpolation, see Buitenwerf, *Book*, 289–90. However some ms. traditions do state instead that mortals will call upon God’s “temple” (ναόν, Φ Ψ) or “house” (οἶκον, Alex.); cf. Johannes Geffcken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina (Texte und Untersuchungen sur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur Neue Folge 8.1; Leipzig, 1902)*, 87.

¹³⁵ So Buitenwerf, *Book*, 290, who lists other ancient parallels that reference safe seafaring. Alternatively, the γόρ clause of v. 780 could indicate that secure travel in God’s worldwide kingdom is a function of its peacefulness.

¹³⁶ Cf. Shum, *Paul’s*, 71. There is no indication that the Jews’ status in vv. 781–782 (cf. vv. 768–71) implies the nations’ subservience, pace Buitenwerf, *Book*, 289. By her emphasis on Israel’s privileged role and its positive effects, the Sibyl is depicting them as first among equals rather than subordinating the nations.

¹³⁷ Cf. Shum, *Paul’s*, 72–74, also suggesting that σοὶ δ’ ἔσσειται ἀθάνατον φῶς in *Sib. Or.* 3:787b echoes Isa 60:1a (which would further affirm the Sibyl’s identification of an eschatologically restored Jerusalem as Zion). See here for the scriptural pairing of ἀγαλλιάομαι and εὐφραίνω, which together mark God’s greatness in victory or salvation and mercy for Israel, and for the creation theme that links *Sib. Or.* 3:788–95 and Isa 65:17–25.

presence shining out from the city and over the earth (*Sib. Or.* 3:787). The Sibyl then continues by describing the attendant circumstances of Zion's restoration with language taken from Isaiah 11:6–9 and, in turn, 65:25 (vv. 788–95).¹³⁸ Her expansion upon her biblical sources forms a hypersuperlative depiction of peace and the absence of all animosity in the future, restored creation, with his throne in the temple in Zion at its center.

Isaiah 2:2–4 and 11:6–9 are traditions of eschatological hope in Israel's restoration that bracket the prophet's occasional response to historical circumstances in Israel in chapters 1–12. At the same time, the panorama of eschatological New Creation in 65:17–25 typifies Trito-Isaiah's post-exilic expectation of Israel's restoration, which draws upon that hoped for in chapters 1–12 (once the horrors warned about in Isaiah 1–39 have come to pass). And while these three traditions serve an historical function within their original literary contexts, each is eschatological in orientation and without historical referents. Thus, they together compose a thematic arc that tracks through the Isaianic corpus, so that the author behind the Sibyl persona is able to lift them free as a set from their original prophetic contexts. And so finding himself and his Egyptian Jewish audience similarly awaiting return from exile, the author contextually employs within the Sibyl's oracle the Isaianic hope described by this arc.

Finally, the Sibyl explicitly provides the eschatological scope and timeframe of this restoration by revealing that it will follow a cosmic, heavenly battle (vv. 796–808). The battle will signal the consummation of history, occurring at “the end [or fulfillment] of all things” (ἡνίκα... πάντων τὸ τέλος, v. 797), and is described in terms of apocalyptic imagery with the trample of heavenly combatants shaking dust from their battleground down onto the earth (vv. 800, 805).¹³⁹ God's victory in this final battle accomplishes *shalom* in heaven, and also on earth in the form of Israel-nations unification. And its position at the close of the Sibyl's final oracle recalls the “beginning of war” (ἀρχὴ πολέμου, v. 154) in her first oracle (vv. 97–161), which marked humanity's subjection to war by successive Greek kings until this point in history.¹⁴⁰ There is no indication that immorality or unrighteousness are intrinsic to humanity, as the Sibyl's prophecy does not include a final judgment of the nations. Indeed,

¹³⁸ Cf. Collins, “Kingdom,” 85; Shum, *Paul's*, 72-74. Jan N. Bremmer, “Paradise in the Oracula Sibyllina,” in *Ultima Aetas: Time, Tense and Transience in the Ancient World: Studies in Honour of Jan den Boeft* (ed. Caroline Kroon and Daan den Hengst; Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000), 83-88 analyzes vv. 785–795 largely in terms of non-Jewish depictions of paradise (see here for a bibliography), but nevertheless finds that the combination of peace among humanity and also in nature, “which are harmoniously united here,” is “a rare, purely Jewish contribution” that can only come from Isa 11:6–9.

¹³⁹ Buitenwerf, *Book*, 292-93 restricts the referent of πάντων τὸ τέλος, v. 797 to evils mentioned earlier by the Sibyl.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 295, further noting war is caused partly by immorality.

the purpose of her vision is to exhort her Greek audience to repent of their immorality and return to Israel, the home they have not yet known; the only judgment that takes place is that in heaven, with God's victory bringing to pass his subsequent restoration of humanity and creation.

What is most impressive about this final admonition, is the way in which the Sibyl appeals to the eschatological restoration of Israel, humanity and creation as a means of promoting the temple and Jewish piety to her fictive Greek addressee (and actual Jewish audience). She both begins and concludes with adjuring her addressee to worship Israel's God, and in her motivational vision of the future situates the temple as the locus of that worship. Accordingly, God's faithfulness in bringing about his kingdom and its character (vv. 767–771, 780–84), the nations' pilgrimage (vv. 772–79) and God's dwelling in and restoration of Zion along with creation (vv. 787–95) all demonstrate the supremacy of the temple (with which Jerusalem/Zion is identified), or the ethical and religious superiority of Israel directly. So the Sibyl does not focus on either eschatological New Creation or Israel-nations unifications. Those features are included incidentally.

D. Summary

The Third Sibyl was written by a Jewish author for a Jewish audience, partly in response to upheaval in Palestine and as an expression of the large degree of Jewish social maladjustment Hellenistic Egypt. In order to encourage the audience, the author uses the Sibyl persona to allow them to overhear her praise for Jewish religion, her opprobrium for non-Jewish nations, and her foretelling of the cosmic ascendancy of the Jews' God and their consequent vindication and restoration. In the four admonitions that comprise the second half of the book, the Sibyl's pronouncements certify Israel's restoration on an apocalyptic scale.

This is especially the case in the final, climactic admonition of verses 762–808. There, the Sibyl largely relegates her censure of the nations, and instead focuses upon how an Isaianic New Creation and the pilgrimage of the nations express the advent of God's eschatological kingdom. Her technique of choice is to show how these elements extol Jerusalem's temple, which is implicitly identified with creation. In so doing, the Sibyl casts the nations' pilgrimage in terms of Israel-nations unification. The result is that Zion's restoration occasions not just Israel's restoration, but the restoration of a humanity who comprises Israel and the nations together.

In her expression of God's enthronement and the temple's restoration in terms of the unification of Israel and the nations in worship, the Sibyl discloses the presupposition that

creation is God's palace-temple, of which humanity is constitutive.¹⁴¹ That is, in wanting to promote the temple, the Sibyl found ready and available a theological framework described by the same constellation of features present in the Isaianic traditions that she uses and, ultimately, Genesis 1–2. So she presupposes a scriptural temple cosmology, and not in order to teach about Israel's restoration, but to use that restoration in speaking about the temple and Jewish religion. In so doing, the Sibyl reveals that the temple's significance is that it will certainly result in Israel-nations unification, which in turn is part of the eschatological restoration of creation. Therefore, we can go further than Shiu-Lun Shum's observation, "that God's eschatological blessings upon his people will extend to foreign nations [is] probably inspired...by the Isaianic tradition," and suggest that the Sibyl, like her Isaianic sources, understands Israel-nations unification to be essential to the eschatological restoration of both Israel and creation.¹⁴²

IV. Animal Apocalypse: 1 Enoch 90:28–38

Another Second Temple instance of Israel-nations unification is *1 Enoch* 90:28–38, the fantastic conclusion to the Animal Apocalypse. Following a retelling of Israel's experience in exile, including their oppression under Selucid rule, these verses look forward to the consummation of history and inauguration of God's cosmic kingdom. The seer anticipates the replacement of the Second Temple with a permanent heavenly temple (90:28–29) at which Israel and the nations pay obeisance to God (v. 30). Israel is restored and given authority over the nations, resulting in worldwide peace (vv. 32–37), but then the nations are likewise restored and made to share in Israel's eschatological identity and blessings (v. 38).

This instance of Israel-nations unification is fantastic also because of the literary nature of the Animal Apocalypse itself. This text preserves a tradition that was written to edify Jews living through the ravages of Greek rule. Yet the author chooses for his audience a climactic picture not just of Israel's restoration, but of their vindication by way of the restoration of all humanity.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Chester, "Sibyl," 44, who notes that while the Third Sibyl "does not passively collect traditions, but actively takes them over and modifies them for its own purposes," the Sibyl's use of Trito-Isaiah is compelled to include the feature of the nations' pilgrimage to Zion since it is inextricable from Trito-Isaiah's understanding of the temple.

¹⁴² *Paul's*, 68, cf. ad loc., 70-71.

A. Genre and Historical Context of the Animal Apocalypse

The Animal Apocalypse in *1 Enoch* 85–90 is the second of two visions that together constitute the Enochic Book of Dreams (chaps. 83–90). Both visions are *ex eventu* prophecy, which attain prophetic authority by their pseudonymous attribution to Enoch (83:1; 85:1).¹⁴³ Enoch's first dream vision in chapters 83–84 (and the editorial transition of 85:1) postdates the Animal Apocalypse. It was composed for the purpose of providing a companion piece which reinforces the principle of the Animal Apocalypse that history is unfolding according to a divine plan that includes a final restoration rather than destruction (cf. 84:5–6).¹⁴⁴ The Animal Apocalypse then uses zoomorphic symbols to rehearse human history from creation to the final judgment. It dates to circa 165-160 BC, during the Maccabean revolts led by Judas Maccabeus, whom most scholars identify with the “big horn” of 90:9.¹⁴⁵

The Animal Apocalypse divides into three unequal sections. The first comprises the era of history that spans from creation to God's judgment in the flood (85:3–89:6), and includes an accounts Adam's line until Seth (chap. 85), the Watchers' rebellion (chap. 86), and their judgment and destruction (chaps. 87–89:6). The middle section covers Israel's history from the Noah to the final judgment at history's end (89:7–90:27).¹⁴⁶ The final section describes the consummation of history, which consists in a renewal of creation that inaugurates an open future (90:28–38).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ The literary setting has Enoch relating to his grandson Methuselah (cf. 83:1; 85:2) the visions which he had at an early age, prior to marriage (83:2; 85:3). Regarding the value of celibacy for reception of visions, see Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBLEJL 4, Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 231; cf. Devorah Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *VT* 33 (1983): 14-29.

¹⁴⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 347; cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 98. The final restoration is essential in order to uphold a positive evaluation of God in light of Enoch's prayer from chap. 34 in the Book of the Watchers. Tiller (ad loc.) further notes that even editorial comment on stylistic differences (83:2) entails that the Animal Apocalypse stood apart and was interpreted as an independent work, prior to its incorporation into the Enochic corpus.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Charles, *Book*, liii; Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 43-44; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, D.C.: CBAA, 1984), 161-62; Black, *Book*, 274; Davidson, *Angels*, 100; Tiller, *Commentary*, 8, 16, 62-63; Elliott, *Survivors*, 75; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 43-44, 401; idem, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (2d rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 86; Dimant, “Israel's Subjugation to the Gentiles as an Expression of Demonic Power in Qumran Documents and Related Literature,” *RQ* 22 (2006): 376, etc. Correspondingly, 90:12–16 is generally considered a reference to the battle of Beth-Zur (Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 43-44; Davidson, *Angels*, 100; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 400; cf. 2 Macc 11:6–13).

¹⁴⁶ This section further subdivides with the division of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, and their placement into the care of seventy angelic shepherds (89:59–60).

¹⁴⁷ For the structure of the Animal Apocalypse, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 15-20, 383 (with the idiosyncrasy that he sees the second section stretching to 90:36 and vv. 37–38 by themselves constituting the final section); Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 354-55; idem, *Jewish*, 83-84; and Herms, *Apocalypse*, 123. Ida Fröhlich, “The Symbolical Language of the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch (1 Enoch 85–90),” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 630-31

The Animal Apocalypse is an allegory that represents characters and some objects through the use of symbolic categories of lower value than their real-world analogues, in order “to render the interaction between the angelic and human worlds” in mundane and, therefore, “more easily accessible terms.”¹⁴⁸ Jerusalem is represented as a “house” (89:50, 54, 56, etc.), and its Temple as a “tower” (89:50, 54, 56, etc.). Angels are represented as men (87:2; 89:59; 90:20), and the rebellious Watchers as stars (86:1, 3).¹⁴⁹ And persons and people groups are represented as animals, whose species and color correspond to ethnic and ethical factors; Adamic, Noahic and Abrahamic proto-Israel are depicted as white cattle and Israel (beginning with Jacob and his sons, 90:12) as white sheep, while non-Israelites are depicted by means of various types of creatures.¹⁵⁰ The seer deploys symbols according to what Ida Fröhlich terms a “dichotomic system,” which emphasizes the distinction between Israel and the nations—that is, non-Israelite humanity—at whose hands Israel suffers.¹⁵¹ This is done without recourse to fantastic creatures, and instead “the fantastical nature of the Animal Apocalypse lies in the sudden changes of the figures.”¹⁵²

Through the use of this symbolic schema, the seer gives shape to Israel’s history in a manner which allows him to interpret the second-century Enochic community’s present experiences. The seer depicts the movement of history through the Maccabean revolts and beyond, to God’s inevitable judgment and Israel’s vindication, in order to interpret events in

stands apart in parsing the narrative according to appearances of new symbols, which she reckons mark formal breaks in successive eras of history.

¹⁴⁸ Herms, *Apocalypse*, 122.

¹⁴⁹ Noah (a bull) in 89:1 and Moses (a sheep) in 89:36 are elevated to the symbol of human, implying their semi-divine or angelic exaltation, following their earthly lives, a status curiously not conferred upon Elijah in 89:52; cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 40-41.

¹⁵⁰ Scholars agree that the color white is a positive symbol throughout the Animal Apocalypse, and designates the chosen line of God’s people (e.g. Tiller, *Commentary*, 225-26; David J. Bryan, *Cosmos, Chaos and the Kosher Mentality* [JSPSup 12; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995], 75; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 371). However the function of other colors has been disputed, especially as regards Noah’s sons Ham and Japeth (and their identities) in 89:9; cf. Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 376; Tiller, *Commentary*, 267-68; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 123.

¹⁵¹ Fröhlich, “Symbolical,” 632. The nations—and the Watchers’ offspring in 86:4—are depicted by means of animals that were designated as unclean in Scripture or understood as unclean by Kosher standards; *ibid.*, 633; Tiller, *Commentary*, 28-36, 271; Bryan, *Cosmos*, 79, 98-129, etc. While many of the animals referenced occur in biblical traditions (e.g. Lev 11; Deut 14; Jer 23:1-7; Ezek 34; 39:17-18), the usage of some is innovative, as for example the identification of the Watchers’ offspring as elephants and camels, whose viciousness is “a deliberate breaking of the bounds of the imagery by the seer in order to stress the extreme character of the chaos which had invaded the created order” (Bryan, *Cosmos*, 97). Likewise, the predatory nature of many of the animal symbols—collectively referred to as (wild) beasts in 89:49, 68, 74-75—corresponds to their treatment of Israel; cf. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 91-93; Tiller, *Commentary*, 28-36; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 377; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 125-26.

¹⁵² Fröhlich, “Symbolical,” 632-33, contrasting the Animal Apocalypse with the Book of Daniel.

the Palestine of the author's present in terms of God's good purposes for his people. As Herms comments, "The result is that these current events are infused with cosmological significance and eschatological urgency."¹⁵³

B. Literary Context of *I Enoch* 90:28–38

Each of the three sections of the Animal Apocalypse progresses from (new) creation, to disintegration as a result of sin, to cataclysmic divine judgment.¹⁵⁴ In the first section, sin quickly becomes a factor that mars the Edenic condition of Adam's creation (85:3), much as in its scriptural antecedent.¹⁵⁵ However, rather than Eve and Adam's eating from the tree as in Genesis, the first recorded sin in the vision is the fratricide of Cain (v. 4), who as a black bull is the precursor to the progenitor(s) of the nations who violently oppress Israel throughout the narrative.¹⁵⁶ Creation is subjected to further chaos when "stars" (86:1, 3, the Watchers of *I En.* 6–11) fall from heaven and procreate with humans to produce monsters (elephants, camels and asses, v. 4) that "bite...and devour and gore...all the sons of the earth" (vv. 5–6; cf. *I En.* 7:1–5). Then, completing the recapitulation of the Book of the Watchers tradition, the rebellious angels and their giant offspring along with sinful humanity perish in God's judgment (87:1–89:6). The fallen angels are bound and thrown "into an abyss of the earth," and the earth is purified of both sinful humanity ("all the cattle of that enclosure," 89:5) and the giants (v. 6) in the seer's account of the deluge.¹⁵⁷

The movement of this first section reveals two of three important features in the vision. First, both human sinfulness and the demonic forces are responsible for evil and chaos in creation. The deeds of rebellious angels, fallen from the heavenly realm, lead to destruction for their own destructive offspring and for all humanity, that is, the white and

¹⁵³ Herms, *Apocalypse*, 121.

¹⁵⁴ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 354-55, 404, noting additional shared elements among each section such as a cry from the earth (87:1; 90:11), the role of archangels, formal judgment of rebellious angels (chap. 88; 90:21, 23–24), and the judgment of both angelic and human sinners.

¹⁵⁵ The color white is a positive symbol throughout the narrative, cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 225-26; Bryan, *Cosmos*, 75; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 123, etc.

¹⁵⁶ Tiller, *Commentary*, 354 (cf. p. 371). The seer does not explore or develop a theology of the origin of evil, such as offering any suggestion why the first white bull should produce red and black offspring.

¹⁵⁷ According Stuckenbruck, "Origins," 109-10 (cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 83-96), the binding of the angels (especially in 88:3) is not necessarily a retelling of 10:4–6, 8, 11–14, but rather "derives ultimately from the widespread images associated with the [Hesiodic] binding and incarceration of the Titans." Also in contrast to parallel episode in the book of the Watchers (cf. chaps. 12–16) is the degree of distinction between the watchers and the giants, where in the Animal Apocalypse the latter are completely annihilated in the deluge and have no further spiritual existence (ibid., 110, 118).

black cattle alike. Likewise, evil is committed by the black cattle, the bulk of humanity distinguished from the chosen line of white cattle (here Adam, Seth, and Noah) and who are set apart by their symbolic coloration. The seer does not identify a single, ultimate source for evil, but neither at this point has he defined the relationship between humans and sin beyond stating that those not belonging to the chosen line are characterized by their sinful deeds.

The second outstanding feature is the character of chaos and evil. Sin is manifested in violent oppression and destruction, symbolically portrayed by the animal brutality of the characters in the vision.¹⁵⁸ While in this first section the demonic realm visits violence upon all humanity, it is significant that the first evil deed is the paradigmatically violent act of Cain's murder of Abel, which is also the precedent that characterizes the relationship between the white bulls (and sheep) of God's people and the animals symbolizing non-Israelite humanity throughout the vision.

The third feature is the pattern of the first section itself, which the seer repeats in the remaining two sections. The middle section is the longest, but understandably so given the breadth of history covered. Immediately, Noah's sons Japeth and Ham beget the nations, who are represented by a myriad of unclean or predatory animals (89:10) that inflict Israel throughout this section (89:15, 19, 42, 55–58, 66, etc.). Their apostasy midway through this section (89:51–54) even sees Israel's sin lowering them to act like the nations, as they kill the sheep (prophets) sent to them by the Lord of sheep in the same way that the nations had preyed upon them. This leads to a full reemergence of the nations' violence against Israel, as God allows "all the wild beasts" to ravage the sheep for their sin (89:54–58), and further results in the exile and destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (cf. vv. 66–67), as God "rejoiced because they [the sheep] were devoured and swallowed up and carried off, and he abandoned them into the hands of all the beasts" (v. 58).

Likewise, at this point violent oppression of Israel by demonic forces also reemerges. The final stage of this section—which covers a single era that comprises both exilic and post-exilic periods, up to the final judgment (89:59–90:27)—relates Israel's suffering at the hands of seventy angelic "shepherds," who break God's command by bringing excessive destruction upon the sheep (cf. vv. 61–63, 65, 68–69).¹⁵⁹ The construction of the Second

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 354.

¹⁵⁹ Black, *Enoch*, 272; Tiller, *Commentary*, 322-23; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 134; Dimant, "Subjugation," 379. Scholars generally agree that the seventy shepherds are angelic (e.g. Davidson, *Angels*, 89, 107-8; Tiller, *Commentary*, 39, 87-88, 334-35; Dimant, "Subjugation," 382-84; cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 391), but here the "myth of the fallen watchers is of relatively little importance for our author whose purposes are different [than

Temple (vv. 72b–77) offers a momentary false hope that history—along with Israel’s oppression—is coming to a close, but instead history continues on, defined by the nations’ prolonged violence against Israel (90:1–5), as well as chaos within Israel in the form of extreme and excessive deafness and blindness among the sheep.¹⁶⁰

And so once again, the sin, evil and destruction wrought by the nations and rebellious angels spiral downward, to the point where God brings cataclysmic judgment upon the world: Judas Maccabeus, symbolized by a ram with a great horn (vv. 9, 14, 16), wages war against the beasts and holds them at bay until God answers his supplication, when “the Lord of the sheep came upon them [the beasts] in wrath, and all that saw him fled and fell into darkness before him” (v. 16).¹⁶¹ God splits the earth, which consumes the nations (v. 18), he passes sentence upon the angelic shepherds, casting them into the abyss along with the condemned Watchers from the previous section of the vision (vv. 20–25), and condemns faithless Israelites, the blind sheep who are “found to be sinners” (v. 26) and who are likewise sentenced to the abyss.¹⁶²

The middle section of the vision, then, exhibits the same features that were apparent in the first. Once again, evil and chaos are caused by the nations, demonic forces, and additionally by sinful Israelites who in turn act like the nations, committing violence against faithful Israelites. Also, the seer continues to depict evil and chaos in terms of violent

the Book of the Watchers]. His interest lies much more with the plight of Israel in his own day, and... why Israel has suffered so excessively in the past” (Davidson, *Angels*, 103).

¹⁶⁰ Black, *Enoch*, 272; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 128; on the blindness and deafness of the sheep, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 339–40, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 394. Due to textual corruption, it is unclear whether two or three sheep build the Second Temple in 89:72, making identification difficult; see Tiller, *Commentary*, 338–39; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 394. The “false” beginning to a third, final section in vv. 72b–73a may have a literary precedent in Scripture: In Exodus 19–40, which comprises a set of three theophanic episodes (19:3–24:2; 24:3–34:5; and 35:1–40:38), chaps. 32–34 (the golden calf and its fallout) are a disruption to the narrative that threatens to usurp the position of the climactic third theophany as a “non-event...distorting and threatening the proper succession of events” (Martin Randal Hauge, *The Descent from the Mountain: Narrative Patterns in Exodus 19–40* [JSOTSup 323; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001], 156).

¹⁶¹ Cf. 1 Macc 4:30–33; 2 Macc 11:6–9, 13; Davidson, *Angels*, 100.

¹⁶² Cf. Black, *Enoch*, 273. There is little consensus regarding the apparent doublet in vv. 13–18. Elliott, *Survivors*, 75 n.69; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 400 (in part because he believes vv. 18–19 are in tension, and looks to 91:11–12 in the Apocalypse of Weeks for a resolution) interpret vv. 13–15 as an initial campaign (possibly unsuccessful, possibly Beth-Zur) and vv. 16–19 as a future battle or a revisionist retelling of the first that is infused with an eschatological element. Tiller, *Commentary*, 365–66 begs off deciding firmly, seeing in the text a redactional complexity too uncertain to unravel. However, the view of Bryan, *Cosmos*, 181 is attractive, that in its final form the doublet is employed as a literary technique for heightening the drama of the narrative as it leads into the eschaton (cf. the cosmic earthquake in v. 18; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 129). The revenge vignette in v. 19 is likely meant as a vindication of Israel rather than a statement on the nations’ dessert, and “represents the second stage of classical battles in which there is an initial victory on the battlefield, followed by successful pursuit and slaughter [of] fleeing forces” (Tiller, *Commentary*, 365–66; cf. 2 Macc 15:15–16). Moreover, the seer incorporates the “big sword” into the *shalom* of the final age, in v. 34 (below).

oppression and destruction, which is expressed in particularly vicious terms.¹⁶³ Then also, the fact that God's triumph and judgment in 90:15–27 initiate the final section of the vision (90:28–38)—which again begins with new creation—upholds the macrostructure of the Animal Apocalypse, whereby it is arranged according to the repetition of the narrative pattern of (new) creation, disintegration as a result of sin, and cataclysmic divine judgment.¹⁶⁴

These three features together reveal the purpose of the Animal Apocalypse. Employing the persona of the seer, the author's selective rehearsal of human history (*i.e.*, Israel's history) establishes the vision's theological paradigm that history is unfolding according to God's plan, according to which all wrongs committed against Israel will be righted. Writing in Enoch's name enables the author to report the events of his own present together with the impending consummation of history *in the past tense*, without any break in style. He thereby locates his interpretation of his present within the seer's prophetic rehearsal of history: God's involvement with human history in the past certifies the author's evaluation that the Maccabean revolt will result in the defeat of both the nations and demonic forces, rest for Israel, and heralds an eschatological new creation.¹⁶⁵

Moreover, whereas creation gives way to disintegration in previous sections of the vision, the New Creation in the final section leads to the elimination of evil and chaos, Israel's restoration, and the establishment of a kingdom of eternal peace (see below). By using his persona of the seer in this way, the author directly connects his audience's present suffering with imminent victory and relief, and then to the eschatological restoration of both Israel and creation. Therefore, the primary message of the Animal Apocalypse is located in its final section, in the cosmic and permanent resolution of evil, chaos, sin and suffering, which is the climax of the narrative as a whole.¹⁶⁶

C. Humanity's Restoration in *1 Enoch* 90:28–38

The final section of the Animal Apocalypse (90:28–38) begins with a couplet that describes in parallelism (cf. “pillars...beams...ornaments,” vv. 28–29) the removal of

¹⁶³ Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 355-56.

¹⁶⁴ In this way, the seer grants equal narrative weight to all three sections of the vision. Despite the disparate lengths of their discourse, they are each as long as one another in terms of narrative time. Consequently, section length is not a reliable indicator of theological priority.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Elliott, *Survivors*, 522.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Herms, *Apocalypse*, 131-32, calling the eschatological climax of the narrative the “ultimate concern of the author.”

Jerusalem (the “old house”) and its replacement with an eschatological Jerusalem (the “new house”), brought from heaven by the Lord of sheep.¹⁶⁷ The seer uses the symbol of a house throughout the vision to represent Israel’s true home in God’s presence, as in the desert camp constructed by Moses (as a sheep *cum* man, 89:36), or Jerusalem (and, more broadly, the secured kingdom of Israel) under Solomon (89:50).¹⁶⁸ When in 90:29 the new house is placed on the site of the old (which had merely been repaired by Joshua and Zerubbabel, 89:72b), it is larger and higher than the house it replaces, exceeding it in opulence and able to contain all the sheep in the world. As Patrick Tiller comments, “the ideal house is one in which Israel and God live together in peace and goodness.”¹⁶⁹ Moreover, in verse 30 the new Jerusalem becomes the world center, when all the nations of the earth flock to it in order to bow before, worship, petition and obey Israel in their new home, which is unexpected given the nations’ wholly negative depiction to this point.¹⁷⁰

The nations’ worship (in addition to the new, larger “ornaments,” v. 29) raises the question of whether there is a temple in the new Jerusalem, over which there is some disagreement among scholars. In the first section of the vision, Enoch is taken to view events on earth from the divine court in God’s heavenly palace, which is symbolized as a “tower high above the earth” (87:3).¹⁷¹ This parallels the seer’s description of Solomon’s temple, which is twice detailed as “high,” as well as “large” and “raised up” (89:50). By contrast, however, the Second Temple that is rebuilt after the exile is only “called the high tower,” and its “bread was polluted and not pure” (v. 73, emphasis added, going on to detail in v. 74, “and besides all these things, eyes of the sheep were blind, and they did not see”).¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ Cf. 2 Esd 7:26; 13:36; 2 Bar 32:3; Rev 21:2, 10 (Black, *Enoch*, 269).

¹⁶⁸ Tiller, *Commentary*, 36, 41-43; pace Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 381-82, who supposes that *house* in 89:36 refers jointly to the desert camp and the Tabernacle. For Fröhlich, “Symbolical,” 631, *house* refers to the earthly temple while *tower* refers to God’s heavenly palace, but this is unwarranted inconsistency. For identification of the rams in 89:42–50, see Fröhlich, “Symbolical,” 630; Tiller, *Commentary*, 306; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 383-84, etc.

¹⁶⁹ *Commentary*, 36.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Herms, *Apocalypse*, 131, noting, “Interestingly...no suggestion of differing source has ever been made to explain the presence of such divergent traditions within the same document” (ad loc., n. 232).

¹⁷¹ Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 43; Black, *Enoch*, 261; Tiller, *Commentary*, 46-47; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 374, etc.

¹⁷² Cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 340; Dimant, “Subjugation,” 381 (pointing out that the Second Temple was built during the superintendence of the rebellious shepherds); Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 86; and *idem.*, *1 Enoch*, 394-95, who concludes, “The destruction, exile, and rebuilding notwithstanding, the situation parallels the circumstances that led to the destruction and exile. Nothing has really changed.”

The seer's negative view of the Second Temple is contrasted by his description of the new Jerusalem in 90:29, with its height and with God's presence within (cf. v. 34).¹⁷³

Regarding verse 29, Matthew Black reckons that "no explicit mention is made here of the Temple...but it is no doubt included."¹⁷⁴ However, Tiller is surely correct that the seer "has given consistent and clear attention to the temple, and it is inconceivable that it is here merely assumed."¹⁷⁵ Nickelsburg is likely correct, then, when he interprets verse 29 as a blending of Jerusalem and the Temple, "a superlative divine work that permanently replaces the buildings of Moses, Solomon, and Zerubbabel."¹⁷⁶ This fusion of city and divine palace yields a restored Zion that binds together the New Creation, by which "the apocalyptic dualism between heaven and earth is resolved," perhaps modeled after the pattern of a text such as Isaiah 2:2–4.¹⁷⁷

While the nations' presence at Zion's restoration in verse 30 is surprising, the seer employs them in the finalization of his concern for the vindication of Israel (cf. v. 19) in that *Israel* rather than God is the subject of the nations' worship, petition and obedience.¹⁷⁸ Yet aside from this tactical alteration, the nations' progression in verses 30–38 from defeat through subservience to full and equal participation in Israel's eschatological blessing matches the pattern witnessed in (at least) Trito-Isaiah and the Psalter. By verse 33 the sheep

¹⁷³ Tiller, *Commentary*, 38 summarizes, "Everything that is called high does in fact have something to do with either the presence or worship of God."

¹⁷⁴ *Enoch*, 269, presupposing without support a background of Ezek 40–48.

¹⁷⁵ Tiller, *Commentary*, 376.

¹⁷⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 355.

¹⁷⁷ Tiller, *Commentary*, 376; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 405, both of whom detect in v. 29 at least an echo of Isa 2:2–4. Tiller overextends the lack of explicit mention of a temple in v. 29 to conclude that "the tower simply disappears and its cultic function is not replaced," which would entail that for the seer the temple represented an inferior stage in Israel's relationship with God (ad loc., 46–47, 49), which Herms, *Apocalypse*, 132 n. 235 is correct to assess as "an unsustainable argument from silence." But Tiller and Nickelsburg's analyses are essentially in agreement (aside from the former's secondary conclusion), since both understand v. 29 as the eschatological renewal of Zion, which then becomes the center of God's heavenly kingdom on earth, as an echo or fulfillment of Isa 2:2; cf. Tiller's comparison (ad loc., 338) with *T. Dan* 5:12, where Eden and the New Jerusalem are also combined; Likewise, Herms, ad loc. sees the implicit presence of a temple in the ornaments of v. 29, and Stuckenbruck, "Reading the present' in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90)," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library* (ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 95–96 sees the implicit present of a temple in the *absence* of the polluted table and bread of the Second Temple (89:73).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Herms, *Apocalypse*, 132. Regarding apparent tension between vv. 19, 30, Black, *Enoch*, 279 simply asserts that the "animals" of v. 30 refer to those "Gentiles who had not oppressed Israel;" so also Tiller, *Commentary*, 377. But Herms, *Apocalypse*, 132; and Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 203–4 n. 33 are correct that such precise identification is not textually possible. Moreover, such a move entirely misses the point of the seer, who is interested in the character of the eschaton rather than in its literal history.

who were destroyed experience a *joint* resurrection *together with all the wild beasts* who destroyed them.¹⁷⁹ Despite their past heinous deeds against God's chosen people, both condemned apostate Jews (vv. 26–27) and the nations slaughtered in Israel's vindication (v. 19) "had returned to that house" and "all" had been made "good" (v. 33), their wickedness removed from them as they instead join the faithful remnant as the object of God's joy.¹⁸⁰

Consequently, the sword of Israel's vindication (which had been wielded with divine approval) is sealed up, signifying that *shalom* defines the unification of Israel (and apostate Israel) and the nations (v. 34), and "all" those assembled are righteous in God's presence (v. 35).¹⁸¹ So the nations' redemption and unification with Israel "is treated [by the seer] as the proper conclusion to the reconstitution of Israel," and Loren Stuckenbruck correctly concludes,

The Animal Apocalypse...adopts a discourse that distinguishes both the demonic and the bearers of socio-political power...though heinous deeds have been carried out against God's people, those who have committed them are not entirely demonized. The ultimate establishment of God's rule in creation demands that human beings who are part of this creation be restored."¹⁸²

That is, for the seer humans were not created sinful or evil, which includes even the nations, and the recreation of humanity according to their essential nature and without their former, external sinfulness is inherent to Israel's eschatological restoration.

The final verses of the vision reveal that this restoration of humanity is the ultimate expression of God's plan for Israel and human history. Verse 37 sees the appearance of the Messiah, who is depicted in Edenic terms as a "white bull," the final Adam. Since God has vindicated Israel by defeating their demonic and human oppressors (redeeming the latter), the only task left to the seer's Messiah is to catalyze the consummation of the eschaton. So his

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 388; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 133; Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 204.

¹⁸⁰ Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 204; pace Herms, *Apocalypse*, 134 (cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 381, who is puzzled by the "return" of Gentiles to Zion and so supplies, "The author is thinking primarily of the restoration of Israel and secondarily of the Gentiles' adherence to the eschatological theocracy").

¹⁸¹ Cf. Elliott, *Survivors*, 524-45 on v. 34. VanderKam, "Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90)," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman; Supplements to the Journal of the Study of Judaism 83; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 292 present evidence that the Pentateuchal and especially Sinaiatic identity of Israel as the people who sees God is the background to the seeing imagery in the Animal Apocalypse, entailing that it is in v. 35 that Israel finally returns to being Israel, and moreover are *joined in doing so by the nations*; cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 382; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 404.

¹⁸² Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 204-5, who further points out that whereas *sin* is destroyed in the Book of the Watchers, in the Animal Apocalypse *sinful people* are destroyed but then remade (contra Elliott, *Survivors*, 522-25).

patriarchal role is fulfilled not by descendants, but through the transformative restoration of all humanity, Adam's descendants in the broadest sense.¹⁸³ Finally, in verse 38a, both the sheep and all the wild beasts and birds become white cattle, which marks their complete return to being a single, unified humanity. God's retention of the distinctive appellation "Lord of sheep" (v. 38b) emphasizes both that this is accomplished specifically under the aegis of Israel's God, and that the unified humanity is coextensive with Israel.¹⁸⁴

D. Summary

The author of the Animal Apocalypse adopts the persona of Enoch the seer in order to encourage the Diaspora Enochic community with a prophetically certified vision. The author combines the seer's allegorical retelling (and interpretation) of world history with eschatological predictions into a single, past tense account that is meant to convey the imminence of Israel's vindication (in light of the Maccabean revolt), and to assure that God has accounted for and will put to an end Israel's sufferings at the hands of the nations. Thus, in a way, the first two sections of the vision are mere setup for the author's primary message, which is delivered in *I Enoch* 90:28–38.

Despite the presence nations' presence at the consummation of history, Israel is still the focus of the vision's climax. The nations are disciplined (destroyed) and Israel vindicated by God, then they are subjected to a restored Israel, and finally they receive restoration to be like Israel. The nations' recreation lags behinds Israel's by one step, so that their function is to underscore Israel's restoration. Likewise, there are differences in the seer's depiction from the other traditions examined to this point. Within the restored temple of New Creation Israel (by definition) worships God, whereas the nations' explicit worship is initially of God's chosen people and God's Messiah (vv. 30, 37). Thus, prior to all humanity being Israel (v.

¹⁸³ Cf. Milik and Black, *Enoch*, 45; Black, *Book*, 280; Davidson, *Angels*, 99; Tiller, *Commentary*, 384–85 (contra Charles, *Enoch*, 215); Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 356–57, 406–7; idem, *Jewish*, 85. Pace Herms, *Apocalypse*, 133–34 (cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 385), the beasts' fear of the white bull makes sense as reverence rather than subservience, which would confuse the logical progression of the immediate context.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 19–20, 385; Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 407, further noting that because there is "no red bull to be slain or any black bull to slay him [the] creation cannot go awry as it did with the first two beginnings"; Herms, *Apocalypse*, 134; Stuckenbruck, "Eschatological," 204. The text of v. 38b is likely corrupt, and is notorious for its textual and syntactical difficulty. The seer envisions a final transformation of either the white bull of v. 37 or one of the newly transformed white cattle of v. 38a, but both the grammatical subject and what it becomes are unclear. Tiller, *Commentary*, 385–88 is possibly correct when declaring his dissatisfaction with all proposals, and settling for the white bull becoming a large, impressive "thing;" cf. Knibb and Ullendorf, *Ethiopic*, 2:216; Bryan, *Cosmos*, 63; and Black and Milik, *Enoch*, 214; Black, *Book*, 117; and Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 403.

38a), Israel is given primacy. But ultimately the nations shed their identity and share Israel's, and so implicitly share in their worship.

But even Israel's primacy, the sudden reversal toward the nations in the vision's climax may appear inconsistent given their thoroughgoing loathsomeness throughout. However, their ultimate treatment by the seer coheres with his anthropology. There are echoes from the Enochic antecedent of the Book of the Watchers in that sin is not intrinsic to humanity. So the seer has his cake and eats it, too, by having the sinful nations (and blind among Israel) destroyed, but then created anew, purified of wickedness.

Regarding the restoration of humanity, as with the Second Temple traditions examined above the seer expresses Israel's restoration in terms of Israel-nations unification. And again, his depiction exhibits the now familiar constellation of features of eschatological New Creation, unification, worship, and *shalom*, standing in their usual relationship to one another. New Creation, temple and Zion/restored Jerusalem are identified, so that at the advent of God's kingdom creation is restored to its proper function as God's palace-temple. His presence and its character entail a liturgical context, whereby worship defines the new existence of the transformed race of "white bulls" in 90:38. And the sheathing of the sword together with the oneness of God's ultimate "flock" characterizes his rule and the unity of Israel and the nations as one of *shalom*.

So despite his adaptations, the seer follows the basic model of a new, single humanity comprising both Israel and the nations, united in worship, effecting *shalom*, and completing the New Creational restoration of Zion. Therefore, in the Animal Apocalypse, Israel's restoration belongs to humanity, and not Israel alone. Or rather, Israel's restoration precipitates that of all of God's purposes for creation and human history. That the seer does not give reasons for collocating the above features is no reason to suppose along with Nickelsburg that 90:37–38 are included basically out of a sense of narrative completeness.¹⁸⁵

And once again, I tentatively suggest that the seer's depiction of Israel-nations unification is more comprehensible if we suppose that he is operating with a theological framework of temple cosmology. If the seer reads creation in Genesis 1–2 as God's palace-temple, then his depiction of humanity's restoration upon restored Zion would be the restoration of God's constitutive self-image, and a return to the paradigmatic state outlined by the prologue of his Scripture. But even supposing that there is no connection to such a

¹⁸⁵ Even if Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 406 is correct in supposing that "for this author, complete resolution of the plot requires that in the end all the species representing the diversity of nations and people return to the primordial unity from which they diverged," he apparently lacks the space to properly elaborate *why* the author should feel the need to do so, thereby neglecting to address the implicit cosmology of the vision.

reading of Genesis 1–2, the seer’s depiction of Israel-nations unification does correspond to the model that is repeatedly employed in Scripture, including his own Isaianic sources. The seer found the familiar constellation of features available within his religious heritage, and moreover thought it familiar enough to his audience to import (and even slightly adapt) it for his communicative purposes. His innovation is to propose that from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit*, humanity consists of Israel alone, over whom Israel’s God ultimately rejoices (*1 En.* 90:38b).

V. Josephus’ *Antiquities* 8.116–117

This instance of Israel-nations unification in Josephus is essentially his retelling in his *Jewish Antiquities* of 1 Kings 8:41–43, which was examined in Chapter 2. However, *Antiquities* 8.116–117 is a genuinely fresh example, and one that is very much a witness to Judaism of the Second Temple period. True to form, Josephus adapts and reshapes his scriptural source(s) to suit his rhetorical purposes. It is fascinating, therefore, that he not only seizes upon the detail of the nations’ mention at Solomon’s dedication of the temple, but actually expands upon and spotlights it as the primary element within the episode.

A. Genre and Historical Context of the *Jewish Antiquities*

Josephus states that he writes the *Jewish Antiquities* for a Greek readership (*Ant.* 1.5) who are interested in the history of the “Judeans” (Ἰουδαῖοι, *Ant.* 1.6) at the behest of his apparent patron, one Epaphroditos (*Ant.* 1.5–6, 8–9). His purposes in writing are to tell of “the origin of the Jews, their historical experiences, the wars they fought up to the great war with Rome—a war in which he says they were ‘involuntarily engaged’ [*Ant.* 1.6]—and their great law-giver..., Moses, the founder of their constitution.”¹⁸⁶ Most of the relatively little scholarship on the character of the *Antiquities* designates it as “a defense against widespread slanders concerning Judean origins.”¹⁸⁷ But unlike *Against Apion*, Steve Mason points out that few passages in the *Antiquities* are expressly apologetic (cf. *Ant.* 14.186–187; 16:174–175), and an audience of hostile outsiders (or fellow Jews questioning Josephus’ loyalty)

¹⁸⁶ Mark Harding, “Making Old Things New: Prayer Texts in Josephus’s *Antiquities* 1–11: A Study of the Transmission of Tradition,” in *The Lord’s Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era* (ed. James H. Charlesworth, Mark Harding, and Mark Christopher Kiley; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity International, 1994), 54.

¹⁸⁷ Steve Mason, “Introduction to the *Judean Antiquities*,” in Louis H. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4: Vol. 3 of Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), xiii; cf. H. St J. Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the Historian* (New York: Ktav, 1967), 51–52; Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Compositional-Critical Study* (Studia post-biblica 39; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 2, 15.

would not be expected to persist through the twenty-volume opus.¹⁸⁸ Rather, Josephus' themes and rhetoric "require a first audience of willing, Greek-speaking Gentiles in Rome.... It is a primer in Judean law and culture for interested outsiders."¹⁸⁹

Unifying themes in the *Antiquities* include the antiquity (ἀρχαιολογία, *Ant.* 1.5)—and, hence, the prestige—of Jewish culture and institutions, the admirability and superiority of their (priestly) political constitution (διάταξις τοῦ πολιτεύματος, *Ant.* 1.5), the sympathies between classical philosophy and Mosaic Law, and the outstanding moral examples provided by significant figures in Jewish history.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, because he writes to an audience who is almost entirely ignorant of Judaism, Josephus must often detail its most elementary aspects.¹⁹¹ While this together with the moralizing and celebratory tone fits with an audience of sympathetic non-Jews, Josephus still furnishes them with responses to criticisms they may hear from those hostile toward Judaism.¹⁹²

A common charge leveled against Judaism in antiquity was that of misanthropy, but for the most part Katell Bertholet finds aggressive apologetic for Jewish philanthropy curiously absent from the *Antiquities* (in contrast to *Against Apion*); Josephus' appeals are largely positive rather than defensive, and he is content to highlight the "caractère humain de la Loi."¹⁹³ Nonetheless, Bertholet does identify points where he appears to respond to accusations of impiety (or atheism) or misanthropy, wherein the detractors of Mosaic Law see it in opposition to the "vertu d'humanité."¹⁹⁴ Consequently, an apologetic element is detectable at the more difficult turnings, one of which is the retelling of Solomon's temple dedication in *Antiquities* 8.106–117.

¹⁸⁸ Mason, "Introduction," xiii.

¹⁸⁹ Mason, "Should Any Wish to Enquire Further (*Ant.* 1.25): The Aim and Audience of Josephus's *Judean Antiquities/Life*," in *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives* (ed. Steve Mason; JSPSup 32; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 96; cf. idem, "Introduction," xix, xxxiv.

¹⁹⁰ Mason, "Introduction," xxii-xxxiv.

¹⁹¹ Katell Bertholet, *Philanthrôpia Judaica: le débat autour de la "misanthropie" des lois juives dans l'Antiquité* (Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism 76; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 349-50 n. 88, following Gregory Sterling.

¹⁹² Mason, "Introduction," xxxiv.

¹⁹³ *Philanthrôpia*, 350.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 349-51. Regarding *Against Apion*, Bertholet, ad loc. finds that Josephus is heir to Philo's pointedly non-allegorical defense of Judaism, whereby he argues an ethical harmony between nature and Jewish Law that is identifiable as philanthropy (ad loc., 353), since "les lois...conformes aux préceptes fondamentaux d'humanité" (ad loc., 381).

B. Literary Context of *Antiquities* 8.116–117

Structurally, the *Antiquities* naturally fall into two ten-volume halves, each ending with the destruction of either the Solomonic or Second temples.¹⁹⁵ Mason builds upon the literary outline developed by Per Bilde, and proposes the following literary structure for the *Antiquities*:¹⁹⁶

PART 1: THE FIRST TEMPLE (Ant. 1–10)

1. The Lawgiver's Establishment of the Constitution (*Ant.* 1–4)
2. First Phase: Senate, Kings and, High Priests of Eli's Descent (*Ant.* 5–8)
3. Second Phase: Decline through Corruption of the Constitution (*Ant.* 9–10)

PART 2: THE SECOND TEMPLE (Ant. 11–20)

1. Re-establishment of the Aristocracy through the Glorious Hasmonean House and Its Decline (*Ant.* 11–13)
2. Monarchy Writ Large: Herod (*Ant.* 14–17)
3. World-wide Effectiveness of the Judean Constitution (*Ant.* 18–20)

CONCLUSION (Ant. 20.259–268)

Figure 20: Literary Structure of the Jewish Antiquities

The unit of *Antiquities* 5–8 comprises Joshua's conquest of Canaan (Book 5), conflict with the Philistines under Samuel and Saul (Book 6), the climax of the first monarchy with David (Book 7), and Solomon's reign and the division of the kingdom (Book 8). Josephus' account of Solomon's construction of the temple falls within this final division, in *Antiquities* 8.99–123 (cf. 1 Kgs 6:1–38; 7:13–8:66||2 Chr 3:1–7:7).

Like his scriptural source(s), Josephus begins in *Antiquities* 8.61 by dating the construction of the temple. But he then relativizes the event not just to nationally significant dates, but to the creation of Adam, the progenitor of the Hebrews and his (primarily) Graeco-Roman audience alike (*Ant.* 8.62). At several points Josephus passes over details relating to building specifications for the temple and its furnishings as largely irrelevant to his audience (e.g. 1 Kgs 6:16–18; 7:30–32, 40–44||2 Chr 4:11–15), while at other times he elaborates on Scripture in order to accentuate the opulence of the temple, even adding an extra story (cf. *Ant.* 8.63–64, 68–69, 83, 95–97, 104–105).¹⁹⁷ His description of the magnificence of the

¹⁹⁵ Thackeray, *Josephus*, 58; Mason, "Introduction," xx.

¹⁹⁶ Simplified from Mason, "Introduction," xxii; cf. Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and Their Importance* (JSPSup 2; Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), 89–92.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 596–97; Christopher T. Begg and Paul Spilsbury, *Judean Antiquities 8–10: Vol. 5 of Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 26–27, commenting that the effect of the historian's embellishments "is to accentuate the piety of Solomon, who

temple and the unsurpassed skill of its construction is complemented in *Antiquities* 8.89–97 by an extra-Scriptural account of its cultic implements, which accentuates the grandeur of the temple service. So Josephus’ rhetoric creates a vision of the temple that is meant to dazzle and blaze (cf. *Ant.* 8:68) in the mind’s eye of his audience.

Josephus’ account of Solomon’s dedication generally follows that in Scripture (*Ant.* 8.99–123; cf. 1 Kgs 8||2 Chr 6:1–7:10), again explaining details whose meaning might otherwise elude his non-Jewish audience (e.g. *Ant.* 8.100, 104–105). This brings him to two prayers by Solomon (*Ant.* 107–108, 111–117; cf. 1 Kgs 8:12–13||2 Chr 6:1–2, and 8:23–53||6:14–42). Because Josephus is interested in the *Antiquities* in historical drama over theology, he most commonly notes that a prayer took place without detailing it.¹⁹⁸ It is telling, then, that the direct speech of both Solomon’s prayers are included.

Josephus’ rendering of the dedication seems to follow 1 Kings 8 through its first portion, but its latter half resembles more closely 2 Chronicles 5–7. Tessel Jonquière, for example, reckons that greater divergence from Kings and only minor differences with Chronicles (cf. *Ant.* 8.118–123) suggests that Josephus primarily followed the latter.¹⁹⁹ However, the biblical prayers themselves are substantially similar (in both the Hebr and Grk), and so their peculiarities in the *Antiquities* are down to Josephus alone.

C. Humanity’s Creation in *Antiquities* 8.116–117

Josephus’ Solomon’s prayers and his expression of God’s presence at the temple are both strongly Stoic in coloration. He specifies that God did not descend to dwell in the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 8:11||2 Chr 5:14), but rather he only appeared to do so (φαντασίαν καὶ δόξαν) in the observers’ minds (ταῖς διανοίαις), signifying his willingness to dwell there (*Ant.* 8.106; cf. the “human opinion” of 8.102).²⁰⁰ Then, in the first prayer, Josephus’ Solomon goes on to correct the priests’ mistaken conclusion (in Scripture), explicating that God’s true palace is in

provides the temple with such an abundance of costly vessels.” The exception to this rule is in *Ant.* 8.122, and Feldman, *Josephus’s*, 601–2 argues Josephus’ reduced numbers from Scripture make Solomon concerned for the poor and to eschew waste, because of which his people feast on the sacrifices in *Ant.* 8:123; further, see here, 596–602 on Josephus’ characterization of Solomon in the construction and dedication of the temple.

¹⁹⁸ E.g. *Ant.* 1. 218, 245, 275; 2.194; 3.34; 4.124–125; 5.159, 263, 280, etc.; Harding, “Making,” 56, 67 n. 13.

¹⁹⁹ “Two Prayers by King Solomon in Josephus’ ‘Antiquities’ 8 and the Bible,” in *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium, Paris 2001* (ed. Folker Siegert and Jürgen U. Kalms; Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 12; Münster: LIT, 2002), 74.

²⁰⁰ John R. Levison, “Josephus’ Interpretation of the Divine Spirit,” *JJS* 47 (1996): 241–42; Jonquière, “Prayers,” 86–87; Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 30.

the cosmos—comprising the four elements, heaven (fire), air, earth and water—but which does not actually contain him (*Ant.* 8.107).²⁰¹ Consequently, Solomon reveals that while the temple symbolizes God’s presence, his unbounded presence in creation means that he does not “cease being near to all” (*Ant.* 8.108).²⁰²

This Stoic tint is even more pronounced in the second prayer. Josephus’ Solomon describes God as ἀπροσδεής, that is, without any need (*Ant.* 8.111), which employs the Stoic conceptualization of the independence of the divine from the created, material order.²⁰³ Consequently, God requires no service or tribute, but instead “the right way to thank God is [through] praise,” wherein “the voice is what distinguishes man from the animals” (*Ant.* 8.111).²⁰⁴ It is for this reason that, for Josephus, the temple’s modest purpose is for petitions, the offering of sacrifices, and singing of hymns (*Ant.* 8.108).²⁰⁵ Even more compelling is the request for “a portion of your *pneuma*” (*Ant.* 8.114), the mention of which “is exceptional in Josephus, who tends to avoid biblical mentions of the divine ‘spirit’.”²⁰⁶ In Stoicism, the divine *pneuma* is what unifies the cosmos, and that by which the cosmos coheres.²⁰⁷ So in Josephus’ presentation, the temple is symbolic—if not the actual nexus—of the heart of creation, which is sustained and ordered in Stoic terms by the presence of Israel’s God.

Josephus’ Stoic presentation preserves Jewish philanthropy in two ways, but without confrontation or hostility. First, given the Roman destruction of the Second Temple, he avoids the misanthropy of shouldering his audience with destroying God’s earthly dwelling by not portraying it as such.²⁰⁸ Second, since it is the divine *pneuma* that shapes and maintains the cosmos, Josephus’ Solomon’s request for only a portion of God’s *pneuma* avoids both an inconsiderate greediness and nationalistic exclusivism, either of which would

²⁰¹ Cf. Levison, “Josephus’,” 241-42; Jonquière, “Prayers,” 77-78; Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 33, citing γενόμενις ὡς ἐνδον in 8.115.

²⁰² Levison, “Josephus’,” 243; Jonquière, “Prayers,” 80; Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 30. Jonquière, “Prayers,” 78 further suggests the purpose outlined in *Ant.* 8.108 is for the benefit of Josephus’ audience, on whom significance “the name of Yhwh” (1 Kgs 8:17||2 Chr 6:7) would be lost.

²⁰³ Harding, “Making,” 63; Jonquière, “Prayers,” 81; Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 31.

²⁰⁴ Jonquière, “Prayers,” 81. On the “gift of speech,” see Ralph Marcus, trans., *Josephus, Vol. 5: Jewish Antiquities, Books V–VIII* (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), 633; Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 31.

²⁰⁵ Harding, “Making,” 63.

²⁰⁶ Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 32.

²⁰⁷ Levison, “Josephus’,” 243; Jonquière, “Prayers,” 83.

²⁰⁸ Levison, “Josephus’,” 241-42.

be misanthropic.²⁰⁹ Of course, at the same time, the mention of God's *pneuma* preserves an important element in the scriptural account(s), without which Josephus risks alienating any Jewish readership.²¹⁰

Generally, however, Josephus' rhetorical strategy of omitting in his retelling features that would fuel Graeco-Roman prejudice against "Semitic superstition" (in Mark Harding's words), while also adopting elements of Greek philosophy and tradition, shapes for his audience his account into an apologetic and positive portrayal of Solomon's temple.²¹¹ And his Stoic presentation avails him of a final apologetic resource, with regards to his avoidance of a nationalistic exclusivism. Namely, his harmonization of Jewish ardor for Israel's temple and the Stoic ideal that the divine is not physically located entails that God is simultaneously present within the temple and universally accessible to all people (cf. *Ant.* 8.108).²¹² Josephus' universalistic portrayal of Judaism, with the temple as his vehicle, is most explicit in his version of Solomon's second prayer, in *Antiquities* 8.115–117.

Josephus drastically contracts what in Scripture is the sevenfold petition that is the centerpiece of Solomon's dedication prayer.²¹³ His rendition includes only two petitions, for Israel first, followed by the nations. Josephus' omissions are not just stylistic, since in compressing the original six petitions for Israel he omits all references to war or enemies.²¹⁴ Likewise there is no mention of sin leading to exile (cf. 1 Kgs 8:46–51||2 Chr 6:36–39). Rather, Josephus' Solomon lists only calamities faced by Israel in the Land as a result of their sin against God, which is likened (perhaps only for Josephus' Jewish readership) to murder by an echo of Numbers 35 (φυγαδευτήριον, LXX vv. 6, 11–13, 15, 25; καταφεύγω, LXX vv. 25–26; cf. καταφεύγω, *Ant.* 8.115). As a result, God's forgiveness of their sin displays his mercy and blessings in the form of reversal of misfortune.

Moreover, given the progression of prayer (*Ant.* 8.107–108, 111–114, 115, 116–117), the prayer on behalf of non-Israelites is not secondary, but rather "stands as the final,

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 243.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 240; Jonquière, "Prayers," 86.

²¹¹ Harding, "Making," 64; cf. Levison, "Josephus," 239, who likewise comments on Josephus' account of Num 22–24 in *Antiq.* 4.102–130.

²¹² Levison, "Josephus," 243; Jonquière, "Prayers," 80; Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 30; cf. Harding, "Making," 64, noting also Josephus' omission of the scriptural *berakah* formulation; cf. 1 Kgs 8:15||2 Chr 6:4.

²¹³ See above, pp. 32–41.

²¹⁴ Cf. Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 240.

climactic petition.”²¹⁵ Josephus’ Solomon requests that just as God supports “the Hebrews” in their failings, that he would attend supplications of all, “even if anyone should come from the opposite edge of the inhabited world, even if from wheresoever” (*Ant.* 8.116; cf. ἔστιν αὐτὸς καὶ ἔλθῃ ἐκ γῆς μακρόθεν, Grk 2 Chr 6:32). In a further departure from the scriptural account, the request is punctuated by its reason (γάρ), that it would demonstrate “that we [the Hebrews] are not inhuman [ἀπάνθρωποι] by nature nor are we hostile to those not of our same race [οὐχ ὁμοφύλους]” (*Ant.* 8.117).²¹⁶ In addition to the tactics already noted, Josephus appropriates the temple as a proof of Jewish philanthropy, arguing through Solomon that its intended purpose shows that “we [the Hebrews] wish for your help and the benefit of good things to be common to all” (*Ant.* 8.117). And besides this direct counter of accusations of Jewish misanthropy, Josephus’ Solomon’s alternative motivation also does so on the level of disposing of “Roman sensitivities about Jewish proselytizing,” by which this tradition comes closest to expressing an adiphoric universalism in the traditions examined thus far.²¹⁷

In context, then, Josephus uses his retelling of Solomon’s dedication of the temple to contest charges of misanthropy against Jews and, in fact, to promote an ideally philanthropic portrayal of the Jews. He does so explicitly, in his novel climactic conclusion of Solomon’s prayer, but also by systematically integrating Stoic features and muting or omitting distinctly Jewish elements throughout his account. In the sense that Josephus rhetorically takes pains to refrain from hinting at proselytization or locating the God of creation at Israel’s temple only, but states that Jews merely desire “good things” for all regardless of affiliation with Israel, this does not seem to be an example of an Israel-nations unification tradition.

However, in contextualizing Stoic principles within Israel’s history, Josephus cannot fully escape a particularly Israelite-leaning universalism. The Stoic divine *pneuma* is the S/spirit of Israel’s God, who is the source of the blessings experienced by all in common. And while he is near to all regardless of their proximity to the temple, it is Israel’s temple that symbolizes the source of God’s blessing on earth and to which foreigners are drawn in supplication from the farthest reaches of the earth. Whereas in Josephus’ scriptural source(s) the temple was characterized by the trope house of prayer (which there signified worship), he

²¹⁵ Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 33; cf. Levison, “Josephus,” 240. Correspondingly, the closing blessing in 1 Kgs 8:56–61 is relegated to indirect speech in *Ant.* 8.120–121.

²¹⁶ See Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 33 on the textual emendation.

²¹⁷ Begg and Spilsbury, *Antiquities*, 33.

explicitly identifies both prayer and sacrifice at the temple as the worship of Israel's God (*Ant.* 8.108), which is the appropriate response to the mere fact of the temple's existence.²¹⁸ Viewed from this angle, Josephus cannot be said to have been wholly successful in avoiding the "misanthropy" of presenting a non-exclusivistic account of the cosmic order. For while the Jews desire God's blessing for all, apparently without qualification, Josephus reports that Solomon's final teaching is that by their piety and justice, namely, in their "keeping the commandments which God had given them through Moses," they would "be blessed more than the entire human race" (*Ant.* 8.120).

D. Summary

Josephus' primary goal in his retelling of Solomon's dedication of the temple is to disabuse his Greek audience from any notion of Jewish misanthropy. Quite the opposite, he means to turn the dedication into *tour de force* of Jewish philanthropy. To this end, he omits unfamiliar references, amplifies the temple's resplendence, and translates his sacred Jewish traditions into more comfortable and familiar Stoic terms. Even so, the basic elements of his biblical source(s) shines through, whereby Josephus' Solomon's prayer become an enticement to Jewish religion for the Greek audience.

Everything taken into account, *Antiquities* 8.116–117 falls just short of being a true instance of Israel-nations unification, and does not directly point to humanity's creation (rather than restoration, since Josephus is not dealing with an eschatological dimension). This makes it a kind of control for the overall study. And yet in his defense of Jewish philanthropy, even in its Stoic incarnation, Josephus brings together the same constellation of features that is found in at least 1 Kings 8, one of his scriptural source(s).

While Josephus does not point to a creational *event*, he does presuppose the continually maintained order of creation and—through the intermediate role of the divine *pneuma*—shapes his account "into an affirmation of the temple's integral relationship to the entire cosmos."²¹⁹ And there is a high degree of mutual participation—if not unification—by Israel and the nations in Israel's blessings in the (unconfined) presence of Israel's God, especially at (though not limited to) the temple.²²⁰ Furthermore, while in one sense the nations come to the temple merely to benefit from God's blessings, their doing so—like

²¹⁸ Jonquière, "Prayers," 78.

²¹⁹ Levison, "Josephus," 244.

²²⁰ It may even be speculated that Josephus is kept from a full expression of Israel-nations unification only by his rhetorical strategy.

Israel's prayers and sacrifices—is on some level an act of veneration or worship (a further consequence of Josephus' Stoic filter, since none can offer any other recompense to the God who needs nothing). And while, again, an element of *shalom* is not explicitly present, Josephus' campaign for Jewish philanthropy defines the entire account, to the point of dictating his rhetoric. In apologizing for perceptions of Jewish misanthropy, Josephus is also pleading for a Graeco-Roman philanthropic disposition toward Judaism that would produce mutual acceptance, if not full *shalom*.

Therefore, it would not be unreasonable to speculate that *Antiquities* 8.116–117 was an instance of Israel-nations unification in its gestational form, which Josephus found necessary to alter just past recognition in his final arrangement to suit its new rhetorical context. It is reasonable to guess that Josephus collocates his apologetic with a biblical model of Israel-nations unification—taken from (at least) 1 Kings 8—that is appropriate to his rhetorical task. But even supposing this is not the case, Josephus' position on Jewish philanthropy and acceptance by a Greek audience at least resonates with other Second Temple Israel-nations unification traditions. Of the possible routes available to him for defending Jewish philanthropy, he chooses to take that which also allows him to proclaim the cosmic significance of Israel's temple and the worship of their God that takes place there. In so doing, he produces a proof of Jewish philanthropy that takes the form of the creational essentiality of Israel's temple, and some level of both peace and Israel and the nations jointly worshipping Israel's God.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

For the most part, there is a high degree of uniformity among the Second Temple traditions examined in this chapter regarding Israel-nations unification, and a likewise high degree of conformity to that in Scripture. This phenomenon appears even less common in Second Temple traditions than in the Bible, but when it occurs it is consistently expressed in terms of the same constellation of salient features, with each of the traditions examined here even resorting to one or more of the biblical traditions examined in Chapter 2. Furthermore, in the use by these Second Temple traditions of their own versions of temple cosmology—what may be dubbed in eschatological contexts, *temple eschatology*—for various occasional purposes, Israel-nations unification is portrayed as the restoration of humanity. And though not central to the study, I have further speculated this could make further sense if these early Jewish traditions were seen as mutually drawing upon a single biblical framework of temple cosmology, providing a reading of Genesis 1–2 that outlines such a theological framework.

But in either case, it is additionally fascinating how, like their biblical antecedents, these traditions consistently resort to depictions of humanity's restoration as a means of illustrating the character and significance of *Israel's* anticipated restoration.

However, the agendas of these Second Temple traditions vary widely, and they are preserved within documents whose theologies are often at odds on particular points. The use to which these traditions put the restoration of humanity equally varies. The instance in *I Enoch* 10:16–11:2 in the Book of the Watchers takes pains to shed its *Sitz*, and is a case of expectational eschatology for its own sake—an example of pure apocalypticism—but which is preserved for the general encouragement of the Enochic community. The narrator of Tobit invents at 14:3–11 an eschatological prophecy about Israel's restoration not to teach about humanity's restoration, but rather presupposes humanity's restoration to teach about the moral significance of piety within Diaspora Judaism. The real interest in *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–95 is the promotion of the temple as a symbol of all that is praiseworthy about Jewish religion, but humanity's restoration and temple cosmology are availed of in order to accomplish this goal. In *I Enoch* 90:28–38, the Animal Apocalypse concludes with expectational eschatology (again, genuine apocalyptic) that is nearly for its own sake, but ends up being formed to fit an historical context in which the Maccabean revolt—a current event in the audience's present—is incorporated. And in this instance, it is unclear whether Jews generally or only the Enochic community is meant to be encouraged, so that humanity's restoration may not bring the hope of Israel's restoration *simpliciter*, but only lends encouragement to a (sectarian?) subset of “Israel.” Finally, as the exception that proves the rule, Josephus' interpretation of Solomon's temple dedication stands out for its creational rather than eschatological New Creational setting, and as an instance of Israel-nations separate-but-equalness rather than unification. Nevertheless, he saw in a biblical Israel-nations unification tradition the relevant features, and while being uninterested in temple cosmology for its own sake he found it suitable to his purpose of apologizing for Judaism to a sympathetic non-Jewish audience.

These data may be displayed in the following diagram (building upon that at the conclusion of Chapter 2, above):

Second Temple Israel-nations unification traditions	Biblical Israel-nations unification traditions										Further relevant biblical traditions	Purpose of tradition
	Exod 12:37-38	1 Kgs 8:41-43	Isa 2:2-4	Isa 11:1-10	Isa 56-66	Mic 4:1-4	Zech 8:18-23	Pss 46-48	Gen 1-2	Deut 32:43		
<i>I En.</i> 10:16-11:2					Isa 65:17-25							Expectational eschatology ("apocalyptic") for its own sake (encouragement for the Enochic community)
Tob 14:3-11 (cf. 13:8-11)			√ (?)		(Isa 66:10 in 13:14)	(Isa 2:2-4)				√		Presupposed temple eschatology used for the sake of instruction for how to live in the Diaspora
<i>Sib. Or.</i> 3:772-95			√	Isa 11:1-9; chap. 12	Isa 65:17-25	(Isa 2:2-4)						Presupposed temple eschatology used for the sake of promoting the temple and righteousness within Egyptian Judaism
<i>I En.</i> 90:28-38			√ (?)			(Isa 2:2-4)						Expectational eschatology ("apocalyptic") for its own sake (encouragement for the Enochic community)
<i>Antiq.</i> 8.116-117		√										Presupposed temple cosmology used for the sake of apologizing for Jewish philanthropy

Figure 21: Distribution, Interrelatedness and Purpose of Israel-Nations Unification in Early Jewish Traditions

This most parsimonious explanation for these data is that some form of temple cosmology/eschatology and its consequence of humanity's restoration were commonplaces in at least certain quarters of Second Temple Judaism. Additionally, these were seen to have versatile theological currency, as they were applicable in various circumstances and for various purposes. The Second Temple traditions in this chapter have differing ideas as to how it is best employed and may even disagree about what it entails, but they all agree on its presentation in Scripture as their common starting point.

A final observation is that these examples inspire a renewed awareness of the global and cosmic significance of Israel for early Judaism. These references to Israel-nations unification and humanity's restoration are not debating who can claim the privilege of laying hold of the honorific *Israel*, but instead are extrapolating from what is riding on Israel for the world. Antecedent biblical Israel-nations unification traditions were valuable for engaging questions like, Why are Israel and their vindication crucial to the course of human history? Or, How are God's intentions for his creation wrapped up in his intentions for his people? The issues raised in such discussions are logically prior to the secondary, derivative issue of how "being Israel" is properly lived out. Therefore, the traditions examined in this chapter are rare examples of these questions rising to the surface of the discussion, but the presuppositional importance of these questions is what gives intra-Jewish debate over the identity and so-called boundary-markers of Israel any meaning.

CHAPTER 4

THE UNIFICATION OF ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS IN PAULINE TRADITIONS

The Pauline traditions of Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 are clear instances of the unification of Israel and the nations. In Romans 15:7–13, this unification signals the eschatological realization of the scriptural hope for the restoration of Israel. However, Paul’s logic here is implicit, due to his occasional, pastoral focus. Ephesians 2:11–22 is more didactic and explicitly spells out the Pauline view apparent in Romans 15:7–13, identifying the climax of Paul’s gospel as the fulfillment of a scriptural expectation of the eschatological restoration of humanity. The composition and function of Israel-nations unification in these traditions is homologous to those of other relevant Second Temple traditions—and also corresponds to those in biblical traditions—except for the innovation that Pauline traditions offer a uniquely christocentric interpretation.

As noted in Chapter 1, space limitations force me to restrict my attention to Pauline Israel-nations unification traditions to Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22. While Pauline traditions are most often considered in the area of New Testament studies, they do belong with the early Jewish traditions examined in Chapter 3 as further witnesses to Second Temple Judaism. It makes sense, then, when we find that the Pauline references to Israel-nations unification examined in this chapter share several features with those references in the early Jewish traditions examined above.

I. Romans 15:7–13

As previewed above in Chapter 1, Paul references Israel-nations unification in Romans 15:7–13, the conclusion to the *paraenesis* in 12:1–15:13 and the theologically climactic “clincher” that he has saved for the end.¹ He ends by commanding his audience to “welcome one another” (v. 7), and supports this directive with a catena of Scriptures that

¹ Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University, 1989), 70; cf. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 844–45; Leander E. Keck, “Christology, Soteriology, and the Praise of God (Romans 15:7–13),” in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. Louis Maryn* (ed. Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa; Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 85 (“the horizon of 5:7–13 is nothing short of the entire argument”); N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 235; Gerhard Sass, “Röm 15:7–13—als Summe des Römerbriefs gelesen,” *EvT* 53 (1993): 510–27; J. Ross Wagner, “The Christ, Servant of Jew and Gentile: A Fresh Approach to Romans 15:8–9,” *JBL* 116 (1997): 473; James C. Miller, *The “Obedience of Faith,” the Eschatological People of God, and the Purpose of Romans* (SBLDS 177; Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 56–61; Heil, “Voices,” 187–88; Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 161; etc.

refer to the worship of Israel's God by the *ethnē*. Yet perhaps because 15:7–13 is located in the “merely” hortatory portion of the letter, it is often overlooked in favor of the prevailing opinion that Paul simply “makes one, fairly obvious point, with one, even more obvious Scriptural support for it.”² But the unsatisfactory readings offered by Heil, Hafemann and Wagner's (above, pp. 7-8) distill the need to approach Paul's argument with two questions in mind. First, what is Paul's theological rationale for gathering together the Scriptures which he does in 15:9–12? And second, how does the catena function in support of Paul's instruction in 15:7, and justify it as the climax of the letter?

A. The Historical and Literary Context of Romans 15:7–13

One of Paul's primary reasons for writing Romans in the way that he does, is his desire to provide pastoral instruction, especially in response to problems of unity resulting from ethnic tensions among his audience (cf. 1:11–12).³ But Paul approaches them

² Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 161.

³ Cf. F. F. Bruce, *Romans* (TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 172; Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38A; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1988), lviii–lxiii; Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 79–80, 541; James C. Walters, *Ethnic Issues in Paul's Letter to the Romans: Changing Self-Definitions in Earliest Roman Christianity* [Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993, 78; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996, 20, 22 stating, “Paul wrote to the Roman church so that they would function harmoniously. Such unity could only be obtained by a thorough explication of Paul's gospel, for Paul's advice would be heeded only if the Romans were persuaded that his understanding of the gospel was on target”; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans* (BECNT 6; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 471; Grant R. Osborne, *Romans* (InterVarsity Press New Testament Commentary 6; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), 379.

Paul wrote his letter to the Romans to a church whom he had not met and for whom he was not responsible (e.g., Rom 1:11–13; 15:22; so Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, xliv–xlv; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 86–87; Walters, *Ethnic*, 56–57; Brendan Byrne, *Romans* [SP 6; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1996], 11; Schreiner, *Romans*, 3; Miller, *Obedience*, 99; Ben Witherington III, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 7, etc.). His audience were believers of mixed ethnicity, though predominantly Gentile (so Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, xlv; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 32–33; Walters, *Ethnic*, 63; Byrne, *Romans*, 10–12; Schreiner, *Romans*, 13–14; Miller, *Obedience*, 108–9; Witherington, *Romans*, 7–8; Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, [asst. Roy D. Kotansky; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007], 70–71, etc.). Regardless of ethnic makeup, however, Paul's audience was “likely raised on Jewish roots through the preaching of the gospel in the synagogues,” and so Gentile believers “would have had a keen knowledge of the OT Scriptures” (Schreiner, *Romans*, 14, citing evidence from J. Christiaan Beker and Dunn; cf. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 1).

There is a general consensus that Paul's purposes for writing Romans are “a cluster of interlocking factors” which combine both “the present situation of the church in Rome and the present situation of Paul” (A. J. M. Wedderburn, *Reasons for Romans* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988], 142 [though see Miller, *Obedience*, 17]; cf. idem, “Purpose and Occasion of Romans Again,” in *The Romans Debate* [ed. Karl P. Donfried; rev. and exp. ed.; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1991], 195–202; Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 7–18; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, lv–lviii; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 79–80; Brian J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1–9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis* [Library of New Testament Studies 301; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2005], 30). For a survey and an introduction study of Paul's purpose(s) for Romans and the issues involved, known as the “Romans Debate,” see Karl P. Donfried, “A Short Note on Romans 16,” in *The Romans Debate* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), 50–59; cf. further those in Karl P. Donfried, ed., *The Romans Debate* (rev. and exp. ed.; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1991).

diplomatically because of their apprehension about the rumored divisive effects of his gospel.⁴ Accordingly, in 1:16–17, the thesis statement to the ground clearing argument of chapters 1–11, Paul states that he is not ashamed of his gospel, for it proves rather than denies God’s covenant faithfulness (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, 1:17).⁵ Then having defended himself by expanding on relevant, select portions of his gospel, in 12:1 Paul is able to return to exhorting (Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς) his audience on how to live in light of it.⁶

In chapter 12, Paul gives instructions on unity within the believing community, followed in chapter 13 by instructions on how to live peaceably in the world. Then in chapter 14, he addresses the ethnic tensions between the predominantly Jewish “weak” believers and the predominantly Gentile “strong” believers, who are experiencing tension over matters of Torah observance.⁷ So just as Paul finished his argument in chapters 1–11 with the

⁴ E.g., Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul’s Letter to the Romans: A Commentary* (trans. Scott J. Hafemann; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 143-44; Byrne, *Romans*, 2-4, 9; Miller, *Obedience*, 36 (referring to Paul’s boldness in 15:15). If George Smiga, “Romans 12:1–2 and 15:30–32 and the Occasion of the Letter to the Romans,” *CBQ* 53 (1991): 262-63, 272 is correct regarding the letter’s rhetorical structure, then Romans was not just an introductory letter but also a substitute for Paul’s presence.

⁵ On the apparent shameful of Paul’s gospel as the instigation for 1:16–11:36, see Steve Mason, “‘For I am Not Ashamed of the Gospel’ (Rom. 1.16): The Gospel and the First Readers of Romans,” in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker* (ed. L. Ann Jervis and Peter Richardson; JSNTSup 108; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 254-87, esp. p. 280; Watts, “‘For I Am Not Ashamed of the Gospel’: Romans 1:16–17 and Habakkuk 2:4,” in *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. Sven K. Soderlund and N. T. Wright; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 22-23; similarly, Erwin Oechsenmeier, “Romans 1,11–12: A Clue to the Purpose of Romans?” *ETL* 83 (2007): 395-406 argues that Paul’s basic purpose of writing Romans is found in 1:11–12(=15:15), so that the intervening material is tangential. On δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in 1:17 as God’s covenantal faithfulness, see J. Christiaan Beker, “The Faithfulness of God and the Priority of Israel in Paul’s Letter to the Romans,” in *Christians among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (ed. George Nickelsburg and George MacRae; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 14; Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 41-42; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 257; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 30-31; N. T. Wright, “Romans and the Theology of Paul,” in *Pauline Theology, Vol. 3: Romans* (ed. David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 33-34, 39; Byrne, *Romans*, 53-54, 60; Wagner, *Heralds*, 44-45, esp. n. 5, etc.

⁶ Cf. Miller, *Obedience*, 24-29. Wedderburn, *Reasons*, 87; and Miller, *Obedience*, 76-77 observe that the concluding doxologies in 11:33–36 and 15:13 and that the letter closing beginning in 15:14 necessitates holding together 12:1–15:13 as a single literary unit.

⁷ Contentious issues included diet (14:2), festival and/or Sabbath observance (14:5) and concern regarding food and drink offered to idols (14:21); cf. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 827; Wedderburn, *Reasons*, 60; Francis Watson, “The Two Roman Congregations: Romans 14:1–15:13,” in *The Romans Debate* (ed. Karl P. Donfried; rev. and exp. ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 204-5; Moo, *Romans*, 829-31; Miller, *Obedience*, 112-13, 116; Simon Gathercole, “Romans 1–5 and the ‘Weak’ and the ‘Strong’: Pauline Theology, Pastoral Rhetoric, and the Purpose of Romans,” *RevExp* 100 (2003): 37, etc., with several of these scholars rightly observing that some Jewish believers had likely ceased Torah observance, and that some Gentile believers likewise practiced Torah observance. Watson, “Congregation,” 205 argues that because 15:7–13 deals with Jew-Gentile unity, that there is no break between that passage and 14:1–6, “it is therefore natural to conclude that the whole passage [14:1–15:13] concerns the relationship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Indeed this final point puts this identification virtually beyond doubt” (so also Miller, *Obedience*, 75, citing the use of ἀλλήλων in 14:13, 19; 15:5, 7). Paul’s descriptions are, to a degree, tongue in cheek, as for example no groups in the ancient world ate either “all things” or only vegetables (v. 2); such caricatures are meant to gain

Israelfrage in chapters 9–11, in the exhortation of 12:1–15:13 he leaves the most contentious ethical issue until last.⁸

Paul does not condemn either group's theology or practice, but rather condemns the practice of condemning (14:1–6), and instead offers the positive instruction, “So then: the things of peace let us pursue, and the things of edifying one another,” (v. 19).⁹ Then, in 15:1–6, he summarizes the argument of chapter 14 by instructing the “strong”—himself included—to please their weaker (ἀδυνάτος, v. 1) neighbors, following the example of Christ.¹⁰

Finally, the pericope of 15:7–13 concludes both Paul's teachings on the “weak” and the “strong,” and his ethical instructions of chapters 12–15 as a whole. So Paul's command of mutual acceptance in verse 7 is the culminating ethic of Romans, and the summative διό beginning verse 7 therefore goes back to 12:1 and, in turn, to the letter opening in 1:8–15. Therefore, 15:7–13 is the climax to the literary structure and the logical culmination of Paul's theology in Romans.¹¹

him acceptance with his audience, through the use of humorous rhetoric (Jewett, *Romans*, 71; contra J. Paul Sampley, “The Weak and the Strong: Paul's Careful and Crafty Rhetorical Strategy in Romans 14:1–15:13,” in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks* [ed. L. Michael White, and O. Larry Yarbrough; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1995], 41–43 who figures *weak* and *strong* are rhetorical inventions that do not accurately describe any groups of Roman believers, which enables “the Roman believers to consider afresh...the relative insignificance of diverse practices...when seen in light of their common standing in the Lord” [ad loc., 42]).

⁸ Witherington, *Romans*, 325. Against the view of Robert Karris, “Romans 14:1–15:13 and the Occasion of Romans,” in *The Romans Debate* (rev. and exp. ed.; ed. Karl P. Donfried; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1991), 65–84 that 14:1–15:13 is a non-occasional abstraction of 1 Cor 8–10, see Wedderburn, *Reasons*, 30–35; Miller, *Obedience*, 112–13, 116, etc.

⁹ Cf. Gathercole, “Romans 1–5,” 39, noting pace Dunn that “nothing is unclean in and of itself” (v. 14; cf. v. 20) may represent Paul's view of the “correct” theological position, likely on the basis of Jesus tradition(s) [οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, 14:14; cf. Mk 7:18–19]).

¹⁰ Paul frustrates the audience's expectations with his use of obligation language (ὀφείλω, v. 1) and the conspicuous absence of how the “weak” are obligated to the “strong” according to the social value of reciprocity. Instead, according to the key principle in verse 4, “believers are to learn from the *experience* of the psalmist (v. 3b), now replayed in that of the messiah (v. 3a), that those who join the righteous in *enduring* in the midst of suffering...will not be put to shame...but will be comforted by God” (Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 166–67, emphasis original, contra Hays, “Christ Prays the Psalms: Paul's Use of an Early Christian Exegetical Convention,” in *The Future of Christology: Essays in Honor of Leander E. Keck* [ed. Abraham J. Malherbe and Wayne A. Meeks; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 131).

¹¹ Numerous verbal and conceptual links to both the letter opening and chapters 9–11 further establish verses 7–13 as a “summation of the themes of the letter as a whole” (Wagner, “Christ,” 473 nn. 2–3; cf. N. T. Wright, “The Letter to the Romans” in *The New Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 10: The Acts of the Apostles, Introduction to Epistolary Literature, the Letter to the Romans, the First letter to the Corinthians* [ed. Robert W. Wall; Nashville: Abingdon, 2002], 746–47; Jewett, *Romans*, 887).

B. Humanity's Christocentric Restoration in Romans 15:7–13

In Romans 15:7–13, Paul repeats the structure of verses 1–6, moving from command (v. 7a; cf. vv. 1–2), to christological warrant (vv. 7b–9a; cf. v. 3a) grounded in Scripture (vv. 9b–12; cf. vv. 3b–4), and concluding with a benediction (v. 13; cf. vv. 5–6).¹² Given these parallels, Paul's repetition in verse 7 of the language of 14:1 (cf. 15:2) is striking, as he extends his command to the “strong” to the entire audience, “Welcome one another [προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους] just as Christ also welcomed you [ὑμᾶς].” And whereas the unity *qua* worship in verses 1–6 is homological, that is, expressed *vocally*, in verses 7–13 it is ethical, that is, expressed in their God-glorifying *actions* toward one another.¹³

As in verse 3, in verse 7 Paul supports his command by appealing to the example of Christ, which is introduced by a comparative καθὼς.¹⁴ Given this comparison between Christ and Paul's audience, it is likely that the syntactical ambiguity of the antecedent of the prepositional phrase εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ is intentional. The phrase should be read with both the main verb and the dependent clause, so that the audience's welcoming one another will be to God's glory just as Christ's welcoming them was to God's glory.¹⁵

In verses 8–9a, Paul grounds (γάρ, v. 8a) the comparison of verse 7 in the description of Christ as a servant (διάκονος), referring to his eschatological role as a representative mediator who confirms “the promises on behalf of God as a mediator of God's glory.”¹⁶ The titular ὁ Χριστός in verse 7a reminds the “strong” Gentiles of Christ's Jewish identity, but then anarthrous use of the virtual name Χριστός in verse 8a underscores Jesus' personal service to both “the circumcision” and the *ethnē* alike.¹⁷ Paul's use of the perfect tense

¹² Cf. Keck, “Christology,” 86; Wagner, “Christ,” 474–75; Miller, *Obedience*, 62; Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 169; Heil, “Voices,” 188, etc.

¹³ Keck, “Christology,” 89.

¹⁴ So Dunn, *Romans 1–9*, 846, who is followed by most scholars, contra C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1975), 2:739, who takes καθὼς as causal.

¹⁵ Cf. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 846; Wagner, “Christ,” 475 n. 13; Schreiner, *Romans*, 754, pace Calvin; Shum, *Paul's*, 250 n. 215; Heil, “Voices,” 189 n. 6. Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:739; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 248; Moo, *Romans*, 875; and Wright, “Romans,” 746 take εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ as modifying only ὁ Χριστός προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς.

¹⁶ Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 169. The only other Pauline occurrence of διάκονος in connection with Christ is in a negative context in Gal 2:17; cf. Byrne, *Romans*, 431; Schreiner, *Romans*, 754 n. 5; Jewett, *Romans*, 891.

¹⁷ Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 846; Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 172; Witherington, *Romans*, 343 n. 68. The earlier identification of the “weak” and the “strong” along generally ethnic lines suggests that περιτομή here is a reference to Jewish believers. However, given Paul's use of περιτομή earlier in the letter (3:30; 4:20), the

γεγενῆσθαι emphasizes the ongoing nature of Christ’s service and the state of affairs which it has inaugurated. He describes Christ’s service and the resultant participation of the *ethnē* in Israel’s story in terms of God’s ἀλήθεια and ἔλεος, terms that in the Greek Old Testament consistently translate אמת and רחם, which are often used in combination as a complementary expression of “the totality of God’s self-revelation”; notably, this thematic pair occurs in Ps 117:2, completing the thought of 117:1 which Paul cites in verse 11.¹⁸ So for Paul, the results of Christ’s service epitomize God’s character and the nature of his promises to Israel. However, the syntax of verses 8–9a is notoriously difficult, and has become something of a *crux*.

1. Syntax of Romans 15:7–9a

The syntax of 15:8–9a obscures why the participation of the *ethnē* in Israel’s story is so significant, and how Christ’s service in verse 8a explicates his welcoming Paul’s audience to God’s glory in verse 7b. There are two plausible solutions, each of which is compatible with my overall reading.

The option adopted by most scholars takes τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἑλέους δοξάσαι (v. 9a) as an elliptical infinitival clause, and reads it with an implicit εἰς τὸ along with εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι κτλ (v. 8b) as coordinate parallel clauses that are dependent upon γεγενῆσθαι:¹⁹

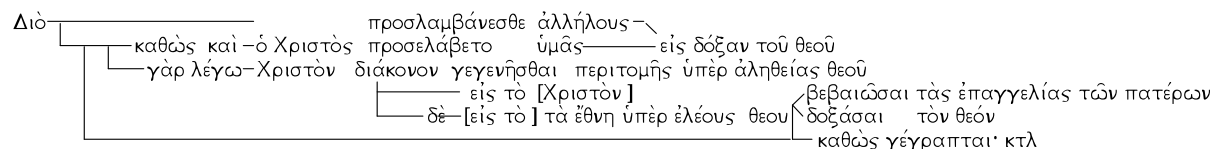


Figure 22: Structural Analysis of Romans 15:7–9a: Option 1

pairing of “the circumcision” and *ethnē* may be a merism that refers to all humanity, which would suit the otherwise eschatological character of the pericope; see Jewett, *Romans*, 890.

¹⁸ Heil, “Voices,” 191, further claiming that ἀλήθεια and ἔλεος are conceptually implicit in Grk Ps 117:50 = Rom 15:9b, since they are included in Grk Pss 91:2–3; 137:2 which share other features present in Grk Ps 117:50 (ad loc., 192–93); see here, pp. 190–98 for a discussion of God’s truth and mercy in the Hebrew Bible and in Romans.

¹⁹ So Morris, *Romans*, 504; Moo, *Romans*, 876; Jan Lambrecht, “Syntactical and Logical Remarks on Romans 15:8–9a,” *NovT* 42 (2000): 259; Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 170; Heil, “Voices,” 190 n. 9; Wright, “Romans,” 747 n. 563 (suggests in vv. 8–9a an echo of Mic 7:20 that reveals “the promises were both *to* Israel and *through* Israel to the world,” emphasis original); Jewett, *Romans*, 892. Some scholars take εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι κτλ and τὰ δὲ ἔθνη κτλ as adversative infinitival clauses that are both dependent upon λέγω in v. 9a, but this reading is incoherent with the command to welcome one another and eviscerates Paul’s message in the pericope; see John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (2 vols.; NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 2:205; Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:743; Shum, *Paul’s*, 251.

On this view, the infinitive δοξάσαι straightforwardly takes as its subject the most proximate candidate, τὰ ἔθνη, and the two ὑπέρ clauses are still conceptually conjoined if not syntactically parallel.²⁰ As a result of having become a servant, Christ confirms God’s promises and the *ethnē* glorify God. Paul would then be equating God’s promises to the patriarchs and the *ethnē*’s worship of God, which resonates with the catena in verses 9b–12 (see below).

This reading attributes a coherent argument to Paul, wherein Christ welcomed the audience of Jewish and Gentile believers because his service confirmed the promises of bringing the *ethnē* into the worship of God, and therefore on his example they are to welcome one another. However, C. E. B. Cranfield has described the grammatical subject shift required from verse 8b to verse 9a as “extraordinarily harsh,” and a “stylistic horror in Greek.” While this is perhaps an extreme evaluation, it does highlight the main difficulty for this option.²¹

Wagner has recently put forward an alternate solution. He suggests taking τὰ ἔθνη as an accusative of respect (cf. 8:3; 9:5; 12:18; 15:17; 1 Cor 5:3; Phil 4:30) that is elliptically dependent upon διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι, so that περιτομῆς κτλ and τὰ δὲ ἔθνη κτλ are parallel elaborations on Christ’s service:²²

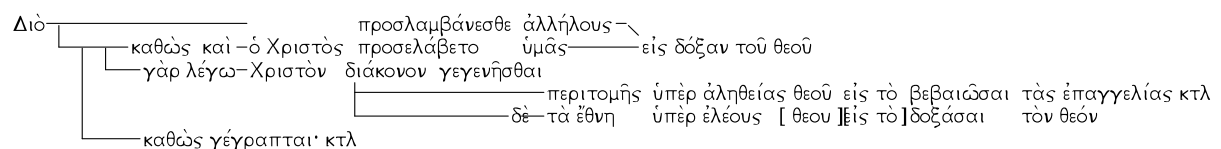


Figure 23: Structural Analysis of Romans 15:7–9a: Option 2

According to this view, Christ has become a servant to both the circumcision and the *ethnē* and is the subject of both infinitives, whereby he both confirms the promises and worships God. Although this option has gained little traction among scholars, it is appealing in its

²⁰ Even Wagner, “Christ,” 479 n. 30 admits (cf. Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 171 n. 32) that the use of ὑπέρ in “for the sake of mercy” (v. 9a) which is otherwise unattested in Greek at this time may have been for the sake of stylistic balance, and so does not militate against this construction.

²¹ *Romans*, 2:743.

²² Wagner, “Christ,” 481–84. Norbert Baumert, “Diener Gottes für Wahrheit und Barmherzigkeit: Eine Rückmeldung zu J R Wagner’s ‘Fresh Approach to Romans 15:8–9’,” *BN* 104 (2000): 9–10 upholds Wagner’s syntactical analysis but finds in v. 8a a further ellipsis to fill, yielding the translation, “Christ has become a servant of God with respect to the circumcision..., and with respect to the nations... [Christus Deiner (Gottes) geworden ist, hinsichtlich Beschneidung..., hinsichtlich der Völker...]”

syntactical elegance since it avoids a shift in subject and holds parallel both ὑπέρ clauses and the two infinitival constructs.

As with the first option, this option also attributes to Paul a coherent argument: Christ's acceptance of Paul's ethnically mixed audience is an act of worship because his service was to both "the circumcision" and the *ethnē*, which confirmed God's promises and was (redundantly?) an act of worship to God; therefore, he is the exemplar of how the audience's mutual acceptance is likewise an act of worship. And on this view, verses 9b–12 are coordinate with verses 8–9a, both offering a parallel elaboration on why Christ's acceptance is an act of worship and clarifying how his service explains that acceptance. However, it is odd to see Christ worshipping God as the purpose of his service, and Wagner's argument that Paul employed an accusative of respect of ἔθνος in order to prevent its confusion with the preceding τῶν πατέρων is weak, especially "given the clear use of δὲ to demarcate a new clause."²³

Deciding between these two options may not be possible, but may also be unnecessary: In either case, Christ's acceptance is explained in terms of his service, which consists in a realization of God's promises, namely, the unification of "the circumcision" and the *ethnē*. As well, in both cases this unification involves an act of worship (whether the *ethnē*'s or Christ's), whereby Christ's acceptance is an act of worship, according to which in turn the audience's mutual acceptance is an act of worship. And in each case, the reason why the audience's Christ-like mutual acceptance is an act of worship is explained (either indirectly or directly) in terms of Scripture.

Therefore, the logic of the pericope resides in the Scriptures that Paul cites in verses 9b–12. Seemingly overwrought analyses of these Scriptures are necessary, owing to the fact that insufficient attention has been one pitfall for previous readings of Paul's argument. The first of these is Psalm 18:50 in verse 9b.

²³ Hafemann, "Eschatology," 170 n. 32; see here for further criticism of Wagner's view. Paul's choice of ἔθνος of rather than ἀκροβυστία (cf. 3:30; 4:11–12) may also be a difficulty for Wagner's view, although it could be argued that it was based on the vocabulary of his scriptural citations.

2. Scriptures in Romans 15:7–13 in Their Original Contexts

a. Psalm 18:50 (Greek 17:50) in its Original Context

MT Psalm 18:50	Grk Psalm 17:50	Romans 15:9b
עַל־כֵּן אֲוֹדֶךָ בַּגּוֹיִם יְהוָה וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲזַמְרָה	διὰ τοῦτο ἔξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν κύριε καὶ τῶ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ	διὰ τοῦτο ἔξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν καὶ τῶ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ

In Romans 15:9b, Paul quotes the Greek text of Psalm 18:50 (Grk 17:50).²⁴ Psalm 18 is a royal song of thanksgiving that is positioned within the chiasmic literary collection of Psalms 15–24.²⁵ The thematic foci of this collection are the king’s righteousness in Torah obedience, and God’s activity in and through the king’s life in light of his righteousness.²⁶ Regarding the second of these, Patrick Miller states, “The rule of God’s anointed as reflected in the prayers by (Ps 18) and for the king (Pss 20,21) is given a very central focus,” so that “God’s word in the torah and God’s rule through the king are bound together. The witness to that single torah-shaped rule is the voice of the king [at] the center.”²⁷ His obedience in 18:24

²⁴ Contra Mark Reasoner, *The Strong and the Weak: Romans 14.1–15.13 in Context* (SNTSMS 103; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 111; Schreiner, *Romans*, 757. Psalm 18 (Grk Ps 17) and 2 Sam 22 (Grk 2 Kgdms 22) preserve nearly identical traditions, but the language of 2 Kgdms 22:50 differs slightly from that of Grk Ps 17:50||Rom 15:9b. There are noteworthy parallels between the psalm in both its Samuel and Psalter context, however: 2 Samuel 20:23–24:25 interrupts the chronology between 2 Sam 20:22 and 1 Kgs 1:1, and has been inserted to provide the narrator’s evaluation of David (A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* [WBC 11; Waco, TX: Word, 1989], 16-17; Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel* [IBC; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990], 335). This appendix is an uneven chiasm of narrative (21:1–14; chap. 24), lists (21:15–22; 23:8–39), and with poems at its center (chap. 22; 23:1–7; so P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* [AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984], 18-19; Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 18-19, 248; etc.). It juxtaposes both praise and criticism of David, thereby drawing attention to dissonance between the royal ideal which he represents and the failures of his monarchy in chaps. 11–20 (cf. Brueggemann, “2 Samuel 21–24: An Appendix of Deconstruction?” *CBQ* 50 [1988]: 386-87, 393-95). Additionally, 2 Sam 22; 23:1–7 form an *inclusio* with the song of Hannah in 1 Sam 2:1–10 (Childs, *Introduction*, 272-73; Brueggemann, *Samuel*, 339; Robert Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History Part Two, I Samuel* [New York: Harper & Row, 1989], 31). So the narrator takes a well-known liturgical piece and places it within 2 Sam 22 in order to show that God’s activity defines David’s kingship, and as a summation of David’s life which is therefore to be interpreted through the lens of the Psalter (cf. Mays, “The David of the Psalms,” *Int* 40 (1986): 148; Jean-Luc Vesco, “Le Psaume 18, lecture davidique,” *RB* 94 [1987]: 52-53; Anderson, *Samuel*, 262; Brueggemann, *Samuel*, 339). In so doing, the narrator identifies Ps 18 as a normative presentation the ideal of the Davidic monarchy, which is defined by the character of God’s activity for and through his king.

²⁵ Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 61, 226-27 (citing von Rad and Koch); Pierre Auffret, *La Sagesse a Bâti sa Maison: Etudes de Structures Littéraires dans l’Ancien Testament et Spécialement dans les Psaumes* (OBO 49; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 407-38; Hossfeld and Zenger, “Wer,” 166-82; Patrick D. Miller, “Kingship, Torah Obedience, and Prayer: The Theology of Psalms 15–24,” in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung* (ed. Seybold Klaus and Erich Zenger; Herders biblische Studien 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 127.

²⁶ Cf. Miller, “Kingship,” 127-28.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 128.

(וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה תְּפִלָּתְךָ עֲמֹךָ); cf. obedience in the opening and closing of the collection, in 15:1–2; 24:3–5) to the injunction to the *people* in Deuteronomy 18:13 demonstrates how “the king’s responsibilities are the same as those of the people.... Thus he embodies faithful Israel and models Israel’s way with the Lord.”²⁸

The collection also correlates the king’s righteousness and identity with his deliverance by God. Looking out from the center, Psalm 18 is a prayer by the king that looks back to God’s deliverance in Psalm 17, and the prayers for the king in Psalms 20–21 look forward to the deliverance of Psalm 22, which has profound implication for both the community and all creation (cf. 22:26–32).²⁹ Within Psalm 18 itself, the superscription attributes the song to David “on the day when Yhwh delivered him from the hands of all his enemies.”

This superscription and וְיִשְׁמַע in verse 2a identify the psalm (to v. 51) as reported speech by the king.³⁰ But since this description does not correspond to one single event in David’s life (and along with the distance from David caused by the reference to his descendants in v. 51), the psalm represents an historical look back on David’s victories, generally.³¹ Psalm 18 comprises a single story in two parts (vv. 5–20, 29–49), which is bisected by a central didactic peak (vv. 21–28) that delivers the moral of that story.³²

²⁸ Ibid., 130; cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 258; Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 472; Patrick Miller, “The Beginning of the Psalter,” in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter* (ed. J. Clinton McCann; JSOTSup 159; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 91, stating there, “The king, indeed David, is a representative figure, and never more so than as the one who lives by the Lord’s Torah.”

²⁹ Miller, “Kingship,” 132–33.

³⁰ Cf. Robert E. Longacre, “Discourse Structure, Verb Forms, and Archaism in Psalm 18,” *JOTT* 15 (2003): 39.

³¹ Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 261; cf. Craigie, *Psalms*, 171, 174; Mays, “David,” 148; L. Clinton McCann Jr. “The Book of Psalms: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections,” in *The New Interpreter’s Bible, Vol. 4: 1 and 2 Maccabees, Job, Psalms, Introduction to Hebrew Poetry* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 174; Antony F. Campbell, *2 Samuel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 197.

³² This structure is based on a convention of Hebrew narrative in which action may be suspended to deliver the moral of the story; cf. Longacre, “Discourse,” 36–37; Mays, “David,” 148; Brueggemann, “2 Samuel,” 388; similar are McCarter, *Samuel*, 473; Craigie, *Psalms*, 172, 174; Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 473–74; Brueggemann, *Samuel*, 340–44; Pierre Auffret, “‘C’est un peuple humilié que tu sauves’: Étude structurelle du Psaume 18,” *ScEs* 46 (1994): 275–77.

Superscription (vv. 1–2a)

Introduction (vv. 2b–4)

First strophe: God’s deliverance of David (vv. 5–20)

Didactic peak (vv. 21–28)

Second strophe: God’s victory on behalf of David (vv. 29–49)

Conclusion (vv. 50–51)

Figure 24: Literary Structure of Psalm 18

Moving outward from the center, verses 21–25 identify God’s deliverance as a vindication of the psalmist’s righteousness, which then in verses 26–28 illustrates the moral symmetry of God’s response to human actions. Then, the first strophe therefore tells of God’s deliverance of the psalmist, and the second of his empowerment by God to partner with him in defeating the psalmist’s enemies. And finally, bracketing the two-part narrative is the *inclusio* formed by the psalm’s introduction and conclusion.

The setting for the composite narrative is described in verses 5–6, and the psalmist’s cry in verse 7 is the catalyst which initiates the dramatic action of God’s intervention.³³ The mythic language used in describing the psalmist’s circumstances is contrasted by the imagery employed in God’s rescue. God’s action is reminiscent of the Sinai theophany, which is used elsewhere in early poetic traditions as a fundamental expression of God’s preparation for warfare (cf. Deut 33:2–3; Judg 5:4–5), and has also been directly adapted from his victory in the exodus at the Song of the Sea.³⁴ So the first strophe depicts for the king a “second exodus” deliverance with cosmic proportions.

In the second strophe, the aid of God himself (cf. בִּי־אֱתֶה הַאֵלִים, v. 29) enables the psalmist to perform an impressive catalogue of feats of victory (vv. 30, 38–39, 43), which are overmatched only by God’s role in those feats and by the catalogue of God’s own deeds that are described in a second person address (vv. 29–30, 36–37, 40–41, 43–45).³⁵ Indeed, the picture in verses 33–37 is not one of equipping so much as God’s manufacturing a warrior from the feet up (v. 34) with mighty hands and arms (v. 35), and who is given a march of conquest (v. 36) and “set in motion (v. 37) with long steady strides.”³⁶ Thus, Brueggemann is able to observe, “it is the power and fidelity of Yahweh which is decisive. That is, the power

³³ Longacre, “Discourse,” 50.

³⁴ Cf. Craigie, *Psalms*, 173-74; Brueggemann, *Samuel*, 340; Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 175.

³⁵ Cf. Brueggemann, “2 Samuel,” 388.

³⁶ Anderson, *Samuel*, 469-70.

of the speaker... is fully subordinated to and derived from the power of Yahweh.”³⁷ David decisively overcomes his enemies and is granted an international kingdom because God fights through and alongside him (vv. 44–45).

Overall, then, the psalm focuses less upon the king’s reign than upon God and his mighty deeds in David’s life. The coda in verses 47–49 repeats praise language from the introduction, reusing the appellations “rock” and “God of my salvation [שׁוֹדֵי יְהוָה, v. 47],” and accrediting God with the psalmist’s deliverance from his enemies.³⁸ Central to the psalm, then, is that it is God and not the king who has worked these mighty deeds (vv. 48–49).

The primacy of God’s glorification is most apparent in the conclusion of vv. 50–51. The praise language in the *inclusio* of the introduction and conclusion provides the lens through which the narrative that they bracket is meant to be interpreted. Thus, the summative על-בן (Grk διὰ τοῦτο) in verse 50 refers back to all of God’s deeds on David’s behalf. Accordingly, the simple imperfects of the introduction become cohortative in verse 50, as David employs language typical of a thanksgiving psalm, “I am determined to thank you [וְיִשְׁבַּח; Grk ἐξομολογήσομαι]... to your name let me sing praises [זָמַרְהוּ].”³⁹

David does not praise God alone, however, but rather does so בגוים (Grk ἐν ἔθνεσιν).⁴⁰ This is the first psalm in the Psalter to implicate the nations in praising God, but this theme becomes explicit later in the same collection in Psalm 22.⁴¹ In verse 50 the nations’ subjugated role from verse 48 (which there functioned as an illustration of God’s victory) has been rhetorically transformed into a participatory role of worship with David. And in virtue of their worshipping with the king, the representative of the people, verse 50 depicts the unification of the nations with Israel in worship for God’s mighty deeds in history regarding David’s life.

Finally, in verse 51, the third person reference to the king, God’s Messiah David confers to the psalm a measure of messianic and eschatological relevance. God’s eternal חסד (Grk ἔλεος) in the form of deliverance and Israel-nations unification in the king’s life are therefore normative not only for the present community of Israel, but in the life of the coming

³⁷ Brueggemann, “2 Samuel,” 388.

³⁸ Cf. Clifford, *Psalms 1–72* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2002), 109.

³⁹ Longacre, “Discourse,” 40.

⁴⁰ The original location of יהוה (Grk κύριε) in v. 50 may not be determinable. LXX^L of 2 Sam 22:50 matches its positioning with that of Ps 18, but also reads the MT זָמַר as זָכַר; cf. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 463.

⁴¹ Goldingay, *Psalms 1–41*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2006); cf. John T. Willis, “Isaiah,” 295–316.

Davidic Messiah.⁴² Therefore, Psalm 18 interprets God’s mighty deeds in David’s life, also with reference to the exodus, and to messianic and eschatological expectation. For the psalmist, the climactic expression of God’s mighty deeds is, in verse 50, the unification of the nations with the king and his people in worshipping Israel’s God.

b. Deuteronomy 32:43 in its Original Context

MT Deuteronomy 32:43	LXX Deuteronomy 32:43	Romans 15:10
הֲרַנִּינוּ גוֹיִם עִמּוֹ כִּי דָם־עַבְדֵי יְקוֹם וְנִקְם יִשִּׁיב לְצַרְיֹו וּכְפַר אֲדַמְתּוֹ עִמּוֹ	εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ καὶ προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται καὶ ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἀνταποδώσει δίκην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀνταποδώσει καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ	εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ

Paul’s second citation, in Romans 15:10, is LXX Deuteronomy 32:43, the conclusion of the Song of Moses.⁴³ The Song of Moses lies within the outer frame of Deuteronomy, and constitutes the last of three Pentateuchal blocks of poetry that describe events for Israel “in the latter days [בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים; LXX ἔσχατον τῶν ἡμερῶν]” (31:29).⁴⁴ The precise structure of Deuteronomy 31–34 is debated, but scholars generally agree the Song is central to, or perhaps the center of this block of material. For example, C. J. Labuschagne strongly argues that chapters 31–34 exhibit an otherwise sevenfold chiasmic structure that is unbalanced by the deliberate insertion of Moses’ testamentary blessings in chapter 33 (which therefore has its own thematic significance):⁴⁵

⁴² Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 176.

⁴³ Elsewhere in Romans, Paul cites Deut 32 in 10:19; and 12:19; for the presence of the Song at Qumran, see Wagner, *Heralds*, 192 nn. 214-15.

⁴⁴ Cf. Gen 49:1 in Genesis 49, and Num 24:14 in Numbers 24; John Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative: A Biblical-Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992), 35-37; Wagner, *Heralds*, 191, nn. 211-12.

⁴⁵ Adapted from Labuschagne, “The setting of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy,” in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans* (ed. Marc Vervenne and Johan Lust; BETL 133; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 114-15; cf. ad loc., 116-17; Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12* (WBC 6B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002), 750, etc.

MOSES' FINAL PROVISIONS IN VIEW OF HIS NEARING DEATH (31:1–13)
 YAHWEH'S CHARGE TO MOSES AND JOSHUA IN THE TENT (31:14–23)
 MOSES' PROVISIONS REGARDING LAW AND SONG (31:24–30; cf. vv. 19–22)
SONG OF MOSES (32:1–43)
 MOSES' LAST CHARGE TO "ALL ISRAEL" (32:44–47)
 YAHWEH'S COMMAND TO MOSES TO CLIMB THE MOUNTAIN (32:48–52)
Moses' blessing (chap. 33)
 MOSES' DEATH, FUNERAL AND NECROLOGY (34:1–12)

Figure 25: Literary Outline of Deuteronomy 31–34

The prose sections that bracket the Song (31:24–30; 32:44–47) guide how it should be read.⁴⁶ It anticipates Israel's disobedience (cf. 31:16), and functions as a mnemonic that will interpret God's response to their unfaithfulness as the events it describes come to pass (cf. 31:19, 21). In so doing, the Song prescribes Israel's proper response, "both to guard them from acting like the sinful generation of the Song and to lead them in responding to any evil that was brought upon it."⁴⁷ And parallels observed by Wagner demonstrate that the Song is "a poetic précis of the Law," through which Torah "recounts God's mighty deeds on [Israel's] behalf as he delivered them from Egypt" and, ultimately, God's plan for his people and for the world through them.⁴⁸ Yet in its context, the Song speaks to the second generation of the exodus, with Moses (along with Joshua) declaring in the framing conclusion, "This is not a pointless word for you, for this is your life" (32:47).⁴⁹ The Song therefore memorializes God's gift of Torah to Israel, and celebrates the mighty deeds by which he has brought Israel into the Land.

⁴⁶ Cf. Miller, *Deuteronomy* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 235; Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), 282; Wagner, *Heralds*, 192.

⁴⁷ Matthew Thiessen, "The Form and Function of the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32:1–43)," *JBL* 123 (2004): 424; cf. Miller, *Deuteronomy*, 225; Wagner, *Heralds*, 192–93.

⁴⁸ *Heralds*, 200–01; e.g. the publication of the Song and law "in the hearing [בְּהִשְׁמָעוֹתָם, LXX [λαλέω] εἰς τὰ ὅσα αὐτῶν] of the people" (Song: 31:30; MT 32:44; law: 31:11; 31:28; LXX 32:44). Most telling is the Greek translator's interpretation in 32:44, where 31:22 is inserted and "all the words of this song [MT בְּכָל דִּבְרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת] are changed to "all the words of this law [πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου τούτου]" (ad loc.; cf. Miller, *Deuteronomy*, 226).

⁴⁹ Cf. Brueggemann, *Deuteronomy*, 282. Since the Song dates to the period of the Judges, John M. Wiebe, "The Form, Setting and Meaning of the Song of Moses," *Studia Biblica et Theologica* 17 (1989): 151–52 argues that it functioned proleptically as "a teaching device to show Israel how to bring about covenant renewal" (emphasis original); cf. George E. Mendenhall, "'Samuel's Broken Rib': Deuteronomy 32," in *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (ed. Duane L. Christensen; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 3; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 176–77. Moreover, Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (JPS; Philadelphia: JPS, 1996), 513 notes how the Song functioned as a common liturgical piece in early Judaism; cf. *b. Ros. Has.* 31a, which attests to the Levites' performance of the Song at the afternoon sacrifice in the temple. Similarly, Philo in *Virtues* 72–75 interprets God's actions in the Song as acts of grace, and reads the Song as Moses' thanksgiving to God, while *Tg. Onq.* Deut 31–32 consistently portrays the Song as a "praise."

The first portion of the Song (vv. 4–26) follows the typical form of a *rib*, or covenantal lawsuit, while the second (vv. 27–42) adds God’s deliberation concerning the reaction and fate of Israel, the defendant.⁵⁰ As Christopher Wright notes, in this way the “secular form [*rib*] has...been given a fresh interpretation in the context of Israel’s covenantal theology.”⁵¹

Introduction, witnesses introduced:	vv. 1–3
<i>Lawsuit:</i>	
Introduction continued, plaintiff introduced:	vv. 4–6
Prosecutor’s speech:	vv. 7–8 vv. 9–11 vv. 12–14
Indictment of Israel:	vv. 15–18
Sentence:	vv. 19–23 vv. 24–26
<i>Deliberation:</i>	
Complaint reflecting lamentation/repentance:	vv. 27–30 vv. 31–33
Deliberation by judge (v. 34), decision of deliberation (cf. vv. 35–36)	vv. 34–36 vv. 37–39 vv. 40–42
Doxological conclusion	v. 43

Figure 26: Literary Structure of the Song of Moses

The Song is organized poetically in a four-bicola introduction (vv. 1–3) and conclusion (v. 43; see below on the text of v. 43), and in twelve strophes that each consist in usually five or sometimes six bicola.⁵² The first seven strophes cover the lawsuit, and the final five the heavenly judge’s deliberation.

The Song begins as far back as creation. In a typical *rib* summons, Moses or the singer convenes heaven and earth as witnesses to the proceedings. Verses 4–6 introduce Yhwh the plaintiff (cf. v. 3, כִּי שָׁם יְהוָה אֶקְרָא), and the prosecutor’s speech begins with a

⁵⁰ Weibe, “Form,” passim: “To really understand this text one must find what the second part of Dt 32 is doing and how it relates to the lawsuit found at the beginning,” (ad loc., 123; cf. Eduard Nielsen, *Deuteronomium* [HAT I/6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995], 286), contra the analysis in G. Ernest Wright, “The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 26-67 of the Song as a *rib* with miscellaneous “expansions.”

⁵¹ *Deuteronomy* (NICOT 4; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1996), 297-98. The following diagram is adapted from Weibe, “Form,” 128.

⁵² Weibe, “Form,” 127-32; cf. Miller, *Deuteronomy*, 226-32; Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 297-98; Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, 286 only offers the divisions of vv. 1–25, 26–35, and 36–43.

description of God's covenant with Israel in creational terms (rather than the expected reference to the patriarchs; cf. Pss 105; 135; 136).⁵³ The singer goes on to deliver God's indictment of exile-causing idolatry, relaying in the following two strophes (vv. 19–26) the sentence that God will spurn the people and heap punishments upon them, leading ultimately to their destruction (v. 26). Therefore, when the deliberation portion of the Song begins in verse 27 with God's decision to preserve Israel in their future rebellion, this marks an abrupt reversal of his previously decided course of action.⁵⁴

God is concerned that his glory might be impugned because of Israel's fate, as their enemies high-handedly (יִדְּיָנוּ רָמָה, v. 27) take credit for their downfall.⁵⁵ Consequently, he announces that his verdict resides within his heavenly counsel on the matter (v. 34) and discloses his decision: He will eventually bring vengeance upon Israel's enemies (v. 35a), because (כִּי) their day of judgment is impending (v. 35b), and because (כִּי) God will vindicate his people out of compassion (v. 36). God will rebuke Israel for their idolatry, since only he can deliver them (vv. 37–39), but then the singer describes the spectacular manner in which he will effect their rescue (vv. 40–42).

Whereas in the sentencing God faces Israel as his enemy by means of a foolish nation (בְּגוֹי נָבָל; LXX οὐκ ἔθνευι, ἔθνευι ἄσυστέτω, v. 21), concern for his reputation leads him to side with them against their mutual enemies, utilizing nonspecific language of אֲוִיב (LXX ἐχθρός) and צָר rather than referring to the nations. And in verse 39, at the precise center of the final three strophes, is a sevenfold qualification (רָאוּ עֲתָה כִּי) of God's ability to deliver—including four occurrences of an emphatic אֲנִי (LXX ἐγώ 2x), seven first person *alephs* and seven concluding first person *yods*—which is perhaps “the most impressive monotheistic formula in the O.T.”⁵⁶

⁵³ E.g. עֲשָׂה, קָנָה, vv. 6, 15; תָּהוּ, v. 10; עוֹר, v. 11, cf. Gen 1:2b רָחַף; cf. J. Luyten, “Primeval and Eschatological Overtones in the Song of Moses (Dt 32,1–43),” in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (ed. Norbert Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1985), 342–43; Patrick W. Skehan, “The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy (32:1–43),” in *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (ed. Duane L. Christensen; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 3; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 158–59; Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002) 371–72.

⁵⁴ English translations typically wrongly interpret אֲמַרְתִּי (LXX εἶπα) in verse 26 counterfactually or conditionally, since the language expresses the finality of God's verdict as a summation of the sentencing.

⁵⁵ Cf. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 309. This tension produces in verses 27–33 the narrator's complaint regarding the people, which includes elements of lament and a dirge that reflect Israel's throwing themselves on the mercy of the court; see Weibe, “Form,” 125–29.

⁵⁶ Luyten, “Primeval,” 346.

This motif of God’s glorification culminates in verse 43, the conclusion of the Song. The perspective swings abruptly from God’s actions for his people, to the effect in which they result: The nations will raise up (*hiph. impf.* רָנְן) Israel who will praise God for his deliverance. Whereas elsewhere in songs of praise the cause for praise is often the nations’ defeat (if they are accorded any role at all), here they implicitly play a part in God’s worship. This dynamic is made explicit in the disambiguation provided by Greek translator, wherein the singer exhorts, “Rejoice, nations, with his people.”⁵⁷ Therefore, for the second generation of the exodus, who are on the verge of entering the Land, Deuteronomy 32:43 culminates the summary of Torah and the covenants at Horeb and Moab. The climactic expression of God’s mighty deeds is the unification of the nations with Israel in worshipping God for bringing Israel into the Land.

⁵⁷ Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 304 defends this interpretation as necessary for making sense of Israel-nations unification in Ps 47. The textual traditions of v. 43 are complex. LXX v. 43 comprises four bicola, to the two bicola of MT v. 43; furthermore, a variant of the Hebrew is preserved in 4QDeut^q 32:43:

Deut 32:43 MT	Deut 32:43 LXX	4QDeut ^q 32:43
גוים עמו הרנינו יקום כי דם־עבדיו לצדיו ונקם ישיב עמו וכפר אדמתו	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ· εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ· ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται, καὶ ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἀνταποδώσει δίκην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀνταποδώσει, καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.	הרנינו שמים עמו והשתחוּ לו כל אלהים כי דם בניו יקום ישׁיב לצדיו ונקם ולמשינאיו ישלם אדמת עמו וכפר

The major differences between the MT and both 4QDeut^q and (especially) the LXX are the absence of angelic references in the former. *Heavens* likely refers to heavenly beings (rather than the heavens, as in 32:1; so Weibe, “Form,” 140; Mendenhall, “Broken,” 177; Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 304; Alexander Rofé, “The End of the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32.43),” in *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation* [OTS; London: T&T Clark, 2002], 50-51), and the angels in the LXX are proximate to *sons* (υἱός 2x/בן; MT עבד). The MT is likely unoriginal, and in any case seems to reflect a scribal desire to avoid the troublesome possibility of an angelological or polytheistic reading; so Skehan, “Structure,” 159-60 (who views the unparalleled LXX lines as inspired by Grk Ps 96:7b); Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, 293 (citing “dogmatic” reasons); Wright, *Deuteronomy*, 304-5; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 516-17; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 812-13 (Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 379 views MT הרנינו גוים עמו as parallel to εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί ἅμα αὐτῷ, in which case he opts for *heavens* as the more offensive and therefore original reading). By contrast, the LXX is likely a conflation of the traditions preserved in both the MT and 4QDeut^q into a single, composite, “theologically corrected” reading (Rofé, “End,” 51; cf. Wagner, *Heralds*, 316 n. 36). In the second bicolon, the LXX exhibits a double reading of the MT עמו to read “with his people.” While Paul’s reading in Rom 15:10 utilizes the LXX form of v. 43, it is compatible with and arguably implicit in the MT (contra Romans scholars who see the Hebrew as exceptionally hostile toward the nations); indeed, though difficult to date, *Tg. Neof.* (where the *Targum* preserves the common understanding of its time) disambiguates similarly to the LXX: קלסו קדמוי אומייה שבתו יתיה עמיה בית ישראל.

At the same time, the Song does not detail events of Exodus or Deuteronomy, whereby “deuteronomic themes have been deliberately eschatologized.”⁵⁸ The orientation of the Song toward “the latter days” and its description of God’s restoration of Israel following their future rebellion reveal an eschatological dimension of the Israel-nations unity in verse 43, so that their joint worship is an eschatological model of God’s glorification. From this perspective, verse 43 also looks forward to the unification of Israel and the nations in worship as the climactic expression of God’s restoration of Israel, in fulfillment of his covenant with his people. For the singer of the Song, then, the unification of Israel and nations to the glory to God is the goal of God’s mighty deeds in history, both for the second exodus generation and in “the latter days.”

c. Psalm 117:1 (Greek 116:1) in its Original Context

MT Psalm 117:1	Grk Psalm 116:1	Romans 15:11
הללו את יהוה כל גוים שבחוהו כל השמים	αλληλουια αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπαινεσατε αὐτόν πάντες οἱ λαοί	αἰνεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὸν κύριον καὶ ἐπαινεσάτωσαν αὐτόν πάντες οἱ λαοί

Paul’s third citation, in Romans 15:11, is of the Greek translation of Psalm 117:1. As the shortest psalm in the Psalter, Psalm 117 (Grk Ps 116) is a deceptively simple song of praise. Despite its length, it contains all the elements of the hymn form, namely, a call to worship (v. 1), the reason for praise (כִּי; Grk ὅτι, v. 2a), and a conclusion (הללו יהוה, v. 2b). The psalm seems to straightforwardly call “all the nations [כל גוים; Grk πάντα τὰ ἔθνη]” and “all the peoples [כל השמים; Grk πάντες οἱ λαοί]” to worship God because of his כסד (Grk ἔλεος) and נטת (Grk ἀλήθεια).⁵⁹ However, the full meaning of Psalm 117 is tied into its position within the Egyptian Hallel of Psalms 113–118.

In ancient Judaism even prior to AD 70, the Egyptian Hallel—also called the Pesach Hallel—was annually sung at Passover in celebration of the exodus, and in looking forward

⁵⁸ J. G. McConville, *Deuteronomy* (Apollos Old Testament Commentary 5; Leicester: Apollos, 2002), 461; cf. Luyten, “Primeval,” 344-45; Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 180, etc.

⁵⁹ The absence of the article in כל גוים is metric rather than semantic (Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150* [AB 17A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970], 152), and the anomalous form השמים is unusual, but attested in its masculine form in biblical Aramaic (Allen, *Psalms 101–150* [WBC 21; Waco, TX: Word, 1983], 116; contra Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary* [tra.s Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989], 390).

to a New Exodus return from exile.⁶⁰ The pair of acrostic Psalms 111–112 and the acrostic Psalm 119 are set on either side of the Hallel to form a “stylistic envelope around Psalms 113–18, effectively setting the outer poles of the discourse unit, or macrostructure.”⁶¹ At the same time, the Hallel also forms an *inclusio* with the Songs of Ascent in Psalms 120–134 around Psalm 119, “the great centerpiece of Book V.”⁶² The Songs of Ascent comprise three units (Pss 120–24; 125–29; and 130–34), each with a central royal psalm of Zion (Pss 122; 127; 132) that together depict Israel’s ascent to the Temple as a New Exodus, namely, a return from exile.⁶³

The Hallel, in Zenger’s words, is “dominated by the theology of the Exodus with Psalm 118 focusing on the sanctuary on Zion as goal of the Exodus.”⁶⁴ Psalm 113 opens with a threefold call for all his servants to praise “the name of Yhwh” forever and continuously (vv. 1–3). The remainder of Psalm 113 brings the psalmist into association with Israel when they were enslaved in Egypt, and Psalm 114 recounts the exodus as proof of God’s care for

⁶⁰ *m. Pes.* 5:7b; 9:3; and *b. Ber.* 5–6a name Pss 113–118 as the “Hallel” or “Egyptian Hallel,” in reference to the exodus from Egypt. The Mishnah records the singing of the Hallel during both the sacrifice and meal at Passover (*m. Pes.* 5:7; 10:5–7; cf. Matt 26:30; Mk 14:26), and the Tosefta prescribes that Pss 113–118 are to be read as a whole and in order because they refer to the past (Ps 114), the present (Ps 115), anticipate the Messianic era (Ps 116), and also the eschaton (Ps 118) (*t. Ber.* 2.4.4d). The Hallel was also sung at Sukkot and Shabuot, the other main annual festivals in Israel, as well as at Hanukkah (*m. Sukk.* 3:9; 4:1; 4:5; *m. Ta’an.* 4:4–5; *t. Sukk.* 3:2; cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 367–68; William L. Holladay, *The Psalms Through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 143; Elizabeth Hayes, “The Unity of the Egyptian Hallel: Psalms 113–18,” *BBR* 9 [1999]: 145 nn. 1–2; Wagner, *Heralds*, 314 n. 28; G. T. M. Prinsloo, “Unit Delimitation in the Egyptian Hallel (Psalms 113–118): An evaluation of Different Traditions,” in *Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature* [ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch; Pericope: Scripture as Written and Read in Antiquity 4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003], 234). See Zenger, “The Composition and Theology of the Fifth Book of Psalms, Psalms 107–145,” *JSOT* 80 (1998): 98–99 for the composition of Book V.

⁶¹ Hayes, “Unity,” 147; cf. Zenger, “Composition,” 91–92; Prinsloo, “Unit,” 223. The Hallel is also the largest grouping of psalms in the Psalter without superscriptions. However, both the Grk and *Codex Leningradensis* combine Pss 114 and 115 (Grk Pss 113; 114) into a single psalm (resulting in a Hebrew tradition containing only 149 psalms), and shift the הַלְלֵי יְהוָה (Αλληλουια) subscription from the final verse in MT Pss 113 [112]; 115 [114]; 116 [115]; and 117 [116] to the beginning of the subsequent psalm (the Grk begins a new psalm at the Hebrew 116:10, inserting an introductory at Αλληλουια 115:1). In these ms. traditions, then, the Hallel is further bound together as a sequence of psalms which each bear the title “Hallelu-Yah” (Prinsloo, “Unit,” 236–37, noting such an interpretation may also be evident in *Aleppo Codex* and other Masoretic mss. and possibly at Qumran in 4QPs^b; cf. Zenger, “Composition,” 77–78, who notes that הַלְלֵי יְהוָה occurs in the Psalter only in Book V, except as a transitional device in Pss 104–106).

⁶² “The End of the Psalter: A Response to Erich Zenger,” *JSOT* 80 (1998): 104.

⁶³ Zenger, “Composition,” 92; cf. Miller, “Response,” 105, who adds that just as the Egyptian Hallel moves from exodus to Zion (Ps 118), Pss 135–36—the concluding hallel to the Songs of Ascent—exhibits “a kind of chiasmic echo in the movement from Zion in Psalm 135 to Exodus in Psalm 136.” See Mitchell, *Message*, 166–98, 297 for the Songs of Ascent as representing within the eschatological scheme of the Psalter a stage wherein Israel and the nations together worship God.

⁶⁴ “Composition,” 92.

his people. Then Psalms 115–116, which Elizabeth Hayes labels the “prepeak episodes” of the Hallel, “our God [אלהינו]” is glorified because of his חסד and אמת (115:1, 3; Grk 113:9, 11) in the exodus (Ps 114; Grk 113:1–8), partly because he rescues the psalmist from death itself (116:8) just as he rescued Israel from Egypt.⁶⁵ Likewise, in the “postpeak episode” of Psalm 118, God is to be worshipped and thanked for his eternal covenant loyalty.

This leaves Psalm 117 as the peak of the Hallel. Within it, God’s glorification by all nations and peoples because of his חסד and אמת is for the collection “the high point of the story, the goal of the discourse, the memorable thought.”⁶⁶ Thus, the movement of praise in the Hallel is from call (113:1–3), to vow (115:18), to a renewed emphasis on God’s praiseworthiness (118:1b–4), and finally a present exclamation of God’s glory both “this day [זיההיום]” (118:24) and forever (118:29; cf. מעתה ועד-עולם, 113:2).⁶⁷

In 117:1, the nations share with Israel their role of worshipping God. Within the Hallel, the nations are introduced in 115:2 in connection with their idols, but the focus quickly shifts to Israel, their priests and those who fear Yhwh (vv. 9–11; cf. 118:2–3). The nations’ next appearance is at the peak of the Hallel, where God’s magnificence is too great for Israel alone to praise him.⁶⁸ Subsequently, they are implicitly included along with Israel as those who now fear Yhwh when the catalogue of 115:9–11 is reprised in 118:2–4.⁶⁹ And

⁶⁵ “Unity,” 152.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 155; cf. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, 116: “The primary rationale of the summon [in 117:1] is not contemporary missionary intent or eschatological hope of conversion but the truth that Yahweh deserves the praise of the whole world.”

⁶⁷ Hayes, “Unity,” 149.

⁶⁸ Cf. Dahood, *Psalms III*, 152; Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, 118; Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 391; Craig C. Broyles, *Psalms* (NIBCOT 11; Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1999); 436, all of whom agree that Ps 117 is neither prophetic nor historical but rather rhetorical, as “its basis is the cultic tradition of ‘God Most High,’ to whom all of the world is subjected” (Kraus, ad loc.). That “all the nations [Grk ἔθνος]” and “all the peoples [Grk λαός]” are identified is evident from the synonymous parallelism of v. 1, in addition to the rhetorical progression of the Hallel; Israel is implicit in the nations’ worship, however, so that both praise God together. Wagner, *Heralds*, 314–15 seeks to make this dynamic explicit in Romans by advancing the dubious claim that Paul differentiated between ἔθνος and λαός on the basis of the identification of λαός and ἱερουσαλήμ in Grk 115:9–10, and based on a speculative distinction between “Israel” and “those who fear Yhwh” in 117:2, 4 (MT 118:2, 4). Supplying Paul with such an understanding is unnecessary, and either case there is no warrant to suppose that Paul read οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον (Grk 117:4) restrictively, referring to just the nations rather than both Israel and the nations; in fact, if Wagner were correct, then “Israel” in 118:2 (Grk 117:2) would comprise both Israel and the nations.

⁶⁹ It is not insignificant, therefore, that vv. 1–4 of Ps 116, a royal psalm, share the thought and some language of Ps 18:2–6, and that Ps 117 is thematically similar to Ps 18:50–51 (cf. Goulder, *The Psalms of the Return (Book V, Psalms 107–150)* [JSOTSup 258; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998], 175, 181). Both Ps 18 and Pss 116–117 share the same theological perspective, the former being anchored in David traditions and the latter in exodus traditions.

the role of the exodus in the nations' and Israel's combined worship is further affirmed by the linguistic tie between 117:2 and Exodus 34:6, which inaugurates the covenant renewal upon Sinai (Exod 34:10), and by the description of God's כַּסָּד as "vigorous" (גַּבַּר), which is often used of a powerful military commander.⁷⁰

Therefore, the nations' participation in Israel's worship in Psalm 117:1 occurs at the structural and thematic highpoint of the Hallel. Psalms 113–118 are shaped around the exodus, and for the psalmist the climactic expression of God's mighty deeds at that moment in Israel's history is found in worship. But where Israel's worship is expected, there is instead the joint worship of the nations together with Israel. As the Hallel approaches Zion, the unification of the nations and Israel in worship epitomizes the completion and fulfillment of the exodus. Furthermore, given the parallelism between the Hallel and the Songs of Ascent, the joint praise of Israel and the nations in 117:1 also contains an eschatological element. Just as Israel-nation unity culminates the psalmist's interpretation of the exodus, the unification of Israel and the nations in worship will also climactically express Israel's New Exodus return from exile.

d. Isaiah 11:10 in its Original Context

MT Isaiah 11:10	Grk Isaiah 11:10	Romans 15:12
וְהָיָה בַיּוֹם הַהוּא שָׂרֵשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עֹמֵד לְנֶס עַמִּים אֱלֹהֵי גוֹיִם יִדְרֹשׁוּ וְהִיטָה מִנְחָתוֹ כְּבוֹד	καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ τιμῆ	καὶ ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν

Paul's final citation in Romans 15:12 is of Greek Isaiah 11:10, which was examined along with verses 1–9 in Chapter 2.⁷¹ There it was demonstrated that verse 10 is a hinge device that holds together the eschatological hope of chapters 11–12 at the conclusion of Isaiah 1–12. Isaiah 11:10 is the intersection of eschatology, New Creation, worship and the restoration of both Israel and the nations upon Zion in chapters 11–12.

⁷⁰ So Weiser, *Psalms*, 721; Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 116; McCann, *Psalms*, 1150; Jannie Du Preez, "The Missionary Significance of Psalm 117 in the Book of Psalms and in the New Testament," *Missionalia* 27 (1999): 370; Broyles, *Psalms*, 436; Goulder, *Psalms*, 181. There may also be an echo of creation or exodus-as-creation present in Ps 117, since other instances of the nations' or all humanity's praise in the Psalter are often accompanied by creation language (e.g. Pss 86:9; 150:60), but in 117:2 that element is replaced with the exodus reference (McCann, *Psalms*, 1150).

⁷¹ See above, pp. 54-58.

In 11:1–9, Isaiah locates Israel’s eschatological restoration at the advent of God’s righteous rule through a proto-messianic Davidic ruler (who represents the people), an extension of which is the restoration of creation. And then in verse 10, Isaiah specifies the eschatological timeframe of these events, and expresses Israel and creation’s concomitant restoration in terms of the nations’ being drawn to and joining with God’s king—and, through him, with Israel his people—in Israel’s worship of God enthroned upon Zion. The result will be a state of affairs that is characterized by *shalom* and which glorifies God. In revealing these things, the prophet increasingly breaks down the conventional identification of God’s people, until the closing hymn of 12:1–6 defines the existence of a people of God who is an eschatological new humanity jointly comprised of Israel and the nations, as the direct result of 11:10.

To reiterate my earlier conclusions regarding Isaiah 11:10, it is the pivotal text in 10:5–12:6. It defines the hopeful conclusion within the alternating scheme of chapters 1–12. The signal in 11:10 of God’s king for the nations is the signal of all he does in his eschatological restoration of Israel and creation. And given the context’s theological focus, the depiction of the root of Jesse is a device that illustrates God’s mighty deeds on Israel’s behalf in Israel’s *future* history. Therefore, for the prophet the climactic expression of those deeds will be the unification of the nations and Israel in the worship of Israel’s God.

3. God’s Glorification and Israel-Nations Unification in Paul’s Argument in Romans 15:7–13

In Romans 15:9–12, Paul selects texts that recount God’s mighty deeds at four landmark moments in Israel’s history. In all four Scriptures, the climactic expression of God’s mighty deeds is the unification of Israel and the nations in the worship of Israel’s God.

<i>Scripture:</i>	<i>God’s mighty deeds in Israel’s history:</i>	<i>Future (present) hope:</i>
v. 9b Grk Ps 17:50	David	David’s seed, God’s anointed one
v. 10 LXX Deut 32:43	Entrance into the Land; culmination of Torah and the covenants at Horeb and Moab	“In the latter days,” restoration following rebellion and exile
v. 11 Grk Ps 116:1	Exodus (echoes of creation? cf. n. 70)	New Exodus return from exile
v. 12 Grk Isa 11:10	Day of Yhwh; restoration of creation, Israel and humanity in the inauguration of God’s kingdom through the Messiah	

Figure 27: Thematic Pattern of Scripture in Romans 15:9b–12

Paul orders his representative selections from Torah, the Prophets and the Writings aesthetically, according to a reverse chronology to pick out successively earlier events in Israel's history and finally catapulting ahead to the culmination of that history. The catena is thus a collage that demonstrates the centrality of the scriptural hope of Israel-nations unification, and thereby provides the grounds for Paul's argument in verses 7–9a. The events upon which Paul draws are David; the entrance into the Land, and consummation of Torah and the covenant; exodus; and the messianic Day of Yhwh. He thus demonstrates God's continuity in purpose to unite Israel and the nations.

In Paul's citation of Greek Psalm 17:50 in verse 9, διὰ τοῦτο points back to God's mighty deeds in the life of David by which he established David's kingdom, the zenith of the monarchy in Israel's history.⁷² It is for this reason that David—who corporately represents Israel—goes among the *ethnē* and includes them in his worship of God for what he has accomplished.⁷³ Paul then pulls back from David to Israel's entrance into the Land by citing LXX Deuteronomy 32:43. The Song of Moses memorializes God's mighty deeds in bringing Israel into the Land, the ultimate outcome of which is his own glorification by Israel and the nations. In both the Hebrew and especially in the Greek which Paul quotes, Israel and the *ethnē* are unified in their worship of God. From the threshold of the Land, Paul pulls back once more to Israel's exodus by citing Greek Psalm 116:1.⁷⁴ The Hallel recounts God's mighty deeds in the most formative of events in Israel's history, their deliverance from Egypt by the mighty hand of Yhwh. And here, the definitive result of God's bringing Israel (and the psalmist) out of Egypt is his glorification by all who fear Yhwh, from “all the nations” and “all the peoples” as the *ethnē* are united with Israel in worshipping God for his ἔλεος (MT ַדַּסָּ) and ἀλήθεια (MT ַדַּסָּ; Grk Ps 116:2).

⁷² Paul's citation agrees with Grk Ps 17:50 with the exception of the omission of κύριε, his reasons for which are indiscernible. It is not due to a desire to avoid confusing Christ with Yhwh as in Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 87, 121, etc., since Paul retains κύριος in v. 11 of the same catena (cf. 4:8; 9:28–29; 10:16; 11:3, 34; 12:19; 14:11; cf. Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Techniques in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* [SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 180; Heil, “Voices,” 199 n. 30, etc.).

⁷³ Paul sees the voice of the psalmist as that of David and/or Israel rather than that of Christ; cf. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 849; Schreiner, *Romans*, 757; Shum, *Paul's*, 254 n. 2; Heil, “Voices,” 200; Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 176–77; Jewett, *Romans*, 894 (citing the third person reference in vv. 7–8); against Cranfield, *Romans*, 2:745; Wagner, “Christ,” 475 n. 16, etc.

⁷⁴ Paul's citation exhibits a few minor changes from Grk Ps 116:1. The advancement of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη disrupts the parallelism of the verse, and is clearly a Pauline change done for rhetorical emphasis. The difference of the 2d and 3d person imperative of ἐπιπέτω likely reflects a difference in Paul's *Vorlage*, as suggested by several Grk mss. (cf. Stanley, *Paul*, 181–82).

Finally, Paul rushes forward in verse 12 to the Day of Yhwh by citing Isaiah 11:10. His introduction formula naming Isaiah and the omission of τῆ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ highlight Isaiah's eschatological frame of reference, thereby announcing that the Day has arrived in the Christ-event.⁷⁵ The coming of Isaiah's root of Jesse signals that God is once again acting in Israel's history, performing his mighty deeds of the eschaton. Thus, Paul's citation demonstrates that Israel's future history has now arrived, whereupon God's mighty deeds are realized in the inclusion of the *ethnē* within the king's kingdom—Christ's kingdom—and their unification with Israel in the worship of God.⁷⁶

In all four landmark moments cited by Paul, the fullest expression of God's mighty deeds is his glorification as the result of Israel-nations unity in worship. And from each context, Paul selects the text that details the culmination of God's plan for Israel in terms of Israel-nations unification, that is, the restoration of humanity. That worship is the mechanism of unification accords well with what Paul has said earlier in Romans. For in 1:18–23, worship (δοξάζω, v. 21) is for Paul the creational vocation of humanity, and their sin is summarized in their failure to glorify God.⁷⁷ By contrast, in chapter 4 Abraham is a model of righteousness for Jews and Gentiles alike (vv. 23–25) in his “giving glory [δόξα] to God” (v. 21).⁷⁸ And, of course, in the heading of the *paraenesis* that 15:7–13 completes, Paul urges his audience to “present your bodies as a holy, living sacrifice [θυσίαν]... which is your authentic service (λατρείαν) to God” (12:1).

Additionally, Paul's first three citations each also contain elements of future hope, and await the culmination of God's plan as described by Isaiah 11–12. Especially in the Greek, Paul's final citation from Isaiah expressly speaks of the nations' hope in God's eschatological activity. In one sense, then, all four texts anticipate God's eschatological

⁷⁵ Not dissimilar is the view of Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (FRLANT 179; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 157: “verweist Paulus mit 15.12 auf die *eschatologische* Dimension des Christusgeschehens. Dabei geht es ihm... um die Bedeutung dieses Geschehens für die Heiden: In ihnen weckt es die Hoffnung auf Erlösung, auf die endgültige Verwirklichung der Herrschaft Gottes” (emphasis original; cf. ad loc., 239). Shum, *Paul's*, 253 asserts there is no clear reason for Paul's naming Isaiah as his source in v. 12, contradicting Heil, “Voices,” 205 who suggests that as a Latter Prophet, Isaiah exemplifies the “promises of the fathers” in v. 8. On the omission of τῆ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, see Stanley, *Paul*, 183; Shum, *Paul's*, 253; Heil, “Voices,” 205 n. 42. Additionally, while Paul clearly understands Isa 11:10 messianically and christologically, Wagner is correct that “Paul's main concern... is not to ‘prove’ something about Jesus, but to show that scripture prophesies the inclusion of Gentiles in the worshipping community as a result of what God has done in and through Jesus Christ” (Wagner, *Heralds*, 323).

⁷⁶ Cf. Hafemann, “Eschatology,” 185.

⁷⁷ Cf. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 848.

⁷⁸ Cf. Wagner, *Heralds*, 309, n. 11.

activity, and the Jew-Gentile unity effected by Christ is the eschatological realization of their promises. At the same time however, the ethnic tension among Paul's audience is their experience of straddling two ages, an unrealized aspect in Paul's already-but-not-yet eschatology. So while in verse 7 Paul commands his audience to live in light of their new reality, immediately after the Isaiah citation in verse 13 he prays that the God of hope would fill them with hope by effecting among them the *shalom* that he has brought about in Christ.⁷⁹

C. Summary

A clear view of Paul's logic enables our two initial questions to be answered, namely, what is the reason for the makeup of the catena in verses 9–12, and what is its relationship to the command in verse 7. According to verses 9–12, God's intentions for Israel have always been the restoration of humanity to his glory. And since Christ is the resurrected Son of God and the vindicated Davidic Messiah (1:3–4), he has inaugurated the Day of Yhwh, thereby confirming God's faithfulness in bringing about the worship of the *ethnē* that was promised to the patriarchs. Therefore, by his service Christ brought about the realization of God's eschatological plan by welcoming Paul's ethnically mixed audience, which moreover glorifies God. It is for this reason that the audience is to welcome one another, for as their mutual acceptance brings glory to God, it is the eschatological fulfillment of the unification of Israel and the *ethnē* in worship, and thereby the eschatological restoration of humanity. And although Christ has inaugurated this restoration, it will not be realized in the Roman church until it is claimed by Paul's audience through their mutual acceptance, and so Paul concludes with a prayer that the hope which Christ has realized would indeed be realized among them.

Within 15:7–13, the element of creation is implicit in the contextual meanings of the Scriptures cited by Paul. But insofar as in those contexts God's eschatological restoration of all things is expressed through that of humanity, Paul sees humanity's restoration as essential to creation's restoration.⁸⁰ Furthermore, while it is extending the occasional nature of the

⁷⁹ See Morris, *Romans*, 54, 507 for $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ καὶ εἰρήνης as a typical Pauline hendiadys that refers to *shalom*.

⁸⁰ Harry Alan Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation: Nature in Romans 8.19–22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (LNTS 336; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 35-168 (see sep. the diagrams on pp. 160-61, 163-65) devises a taxonomy (if perhaps somewhat too rigid) of the various manners in which the eschatological restoration of creation is depicted across select Second Temple apocalyptic traditions. Although he does not interact with 15:7–13, on pp. 208, 227-28 Hahne identifies 8:19–22 as belonging to the class of theological outlook that expects a transformative renewal of the present creation, but notes that in that text “Paul

pericope, it is not much of a stretch to infer that what Paul says of the Roman believers is for him true of all believers, that they are restored Israel and restored humanity. Otherwise, Paul's assessment of the significance of his audience's welcoming one another exhibits the same constellation of features seen in the ancient Jewish traditions examined so far in this study. In particular, he argues that just as Scripture and Israel's history therein both presuppose that the unification of Israel and the nations in worship of Israel's God results in the *shalom* of God's kingdom and demonstrates his acts of creation or eschatological New Creation, so also the Roman believers' unification is the eschatological realization of Israel's scriptural hope. And once again, while the above analysis stands on its own, this conformity could be readily explained by supposing that Paul is working within a theological framework of temple cosmology that may be based in the notional reading of Genesis 1–2 explored in Chapter 2.

So as in the biblical and other Second Temple traditions examined in the previous chapters of this study, Paul in Romans 15:7–13 collocates the salient features of the same constellation of eschatological New Creation, Israel-nations unification, *shalom*, and worship. And Romans 15:7–13 exhibits its own peculiarities, like the other Second Temple traditions examined above. Paul's application of the biblical resource of temple cosmology is more ad hoc and uniquely pastoral, as he alone employs it to address a particular situation faced by a particular audience in order to give them both encouragement and instruction. But what is most astounding, in early Jewish terms, is Paul's sense of timing and the defining role that he attributes to Jesus.

Paul does not outline a future reality to motivate an ethic, but rather asserts the inauguration of the eschaton amidst the present age and exhorts his audience to live out the reality within which they somehow already live. Christ is at the center of this for Paul, and so equally the eschatological new humanity is specifically the christocentric eschatological humanity. Israel and humanity have been restored, but only insofar as their identity is defined by their relationship to Christ. So to the degree that scholars and theologians assign importance to Romans, in virtue of Paul's appeal to Israel-nations unification at the logical and theological climax of Romans, then the eschatological restoration of humanity is crucial for Pauline theology. And no Pauline tradition addresses humanity's restoration more directly than Ephesians 2:11–22.

does not describe the exact types of eschatological changes that the natural world will undergo, in contrast to the vivid descriptions found in many Jewish apocalyptic writings" (ad loc., 228).

II. Ephesians 2:11–22

Ephesians, if not written by Paul, at least represents the views of perhaps Paul's earliest interpreter. The current majority view that it is deutero-Pauline nevertheless "does not put to rest the question of the text's overall relationship to Pauline theology."⁸¹ Of immediate relevance is that Ephesians (and especially 2:11–22) exhibits the same inaugurated eschatology as that seen in Romans 15:7–13, above.⁸² But whereas the pastoral focus is more pronounced in Romans (at the conclusion of the letter's paraenesis), the exposition in Ephesians 2:11–22 is more didactic, owing partly to Ephesians' somewhat homiletic style and more impersonal character.⁸³ Hence, as a Pauline instance of Israel-nations unification, Ephesians 2:11–22 provides not only a useful point of comparison with Romans 15:7–13 but one whose theology is relatively explicit and close to the surface of the text, as it were.

A. Rhetorical and Literary Context of Ephesians 2:11–22

Ephesians addresses an audience of Gentile believers in Asia Minor who are experiencing some manner of spiritual oppression. They do not know (or have forgotten) that they have risen above such oppression through their identification with Christ, and so the author writes to teach (or remind) them.⁸⁴ The structure of Ephesians is atypical for Pauline letters. The opening *berakah* in 1:3–14 segues in 1:15 into a thanksgiving that seems to lack a

⁸¹ Benjamin Dunning, "Strangers and Aliens No Longer: Negotiating Identity and Difference in Ephesians 2," *HTR* 99 (2006): 1. Indeed, as noted by Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 1994), 659, given the strength of the Pauline character of the theology and subtleties of language of Ephesians, "it is difficult to imagine someone so thoroughly imbibing the thinking of another as to reproduce him in this way." For recent arguments for authenticity, see Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* (Pillar New Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 14-21; and Harold W. Hoehner, *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2002), 21-60 (see here for trends in consensus). Whatever else Ephesians may be, it is at least relevantly Pauline.

⁸² Characterizing Ephesians' eschatology as "over-realized" is neither helpful nor even-handed; for an analysis of its inaugurated character, see Charles H. Talbert, *Ephesians and Colossians* (Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007), 73-75.

⁸³ On the style of Ephesians, see e.g. Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians* (WBC 42; Dallas: Word, 1991), xl-xli; R. P. Martin, "Reconciliation and Unity in Ephesians," *RevExp* 93 (1996): 203; Ernest Best, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ephesians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 61; likewise, Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 77 notes the blending of genres and styles is typical of Paul's letters and other contemporary documents.

⁸⁴ The occasional model with the most explanatory force is that of Ephesians as a circular or regional letter, meant for the Lycus Valley communities to either preempt or combat the mixing of folk superstitions and Christian beliefs. Though not all will agree, Clinton E. Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism: The Interface between Christianity and Folk Religion at Colossae* (WUNT 2/77; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1995) seems most sound in this regard (excepting perhaps a partial neglect of beliefs regarding spiritual oppression at Qumran); most obviously against L. Joseph Kreitzer, *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (Epworth; London: Epworth, 1997), 48; and John Muddiman, *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (BNTC; New York: Continuum, 2001), 20-32.

formal conclusion, which has led to some disagreement among scholars as to whether Ephesians has a body or where it begins.⁸⁵ But Peter O'Brien and Harold Hoehner's position perhaps best corresponds to the text, wherein 1:3–3:21 is the body, comprising the *berakah*, thanksgiving and prayer (1:15–23), instruction (chap. 2), and the resumption and doxological close of the thanksgiving and prayer (3:1, 14–21, interrupted by the digression of 3:2–13).⁸⁶

So chapter 2 is the theological teaching—embedded within an overall thanksgiving and prayer—that explains the significance and implications of the foregoing material, in preparation for the paraenesis beginning in 4:1.⁸⁷ The author prays in 1:15–19 that the audience would see God's power in Christ, “having raised him from the dead and seated him...upon the heavenlies” (v. 20), over the powers that threaten to oppress the audience (vv. 20–23). Then in chapter 2 (cf. *καί*, 2:1), the author teaches what their identification with this cosmically supreme Christ means for them.⁸⁸

Ephesians 2:1–10 and 11–12 are a kind of theological diptych:

⁸⁵ Cf. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, xxxix; Martin Kitchen, *Ephesians* (New Testament Readings; London: Routledge, 1994), 20; Talbert, *Ephesians*, 77, etc. Muddiman, *Ephesians*, 98 especially views Ephesians as lacking any real structure due to his theory of its redaction.

⁸⁶ O'Brien, *Letter*, 66; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 73. Hoehner, ad loc. includes chaps. 4–6 as the paraenetic portion of the body, while O'Brien, ad loc. formally designates them a paraenesis.

⁸⁷ Contra Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 91; Best, *Ephesians*, 198; and Kitchen, *Ephesians*, 55, who see chap. 2 as an undirected, rambling expansion on chap. 1; or worse Muddiman, *Ephesians*, 98–100, who views chap. 2 as an incoherent result of a clumsy editing of Paul's earlier letter to Laodicea.

⁸⁸ Cf. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 305–06; Timothy G. Gombis, “Ephesians 2 as a Narrative of Divine Warfare,” *JSNT* 26 (2004): 410.

	Timeframe	Subject	Thematic content
vv. 1–2	(formerly)	you <i>ethnē</i>	The <i>ethnē</i> were dead in sin
v. 3	(formerly)	us Jews	Jews were (also) dead in sin
vv. 4–5a	(now)	us together, Jews and <i>ethnē</i>	God’s love and grace
v. 5b		you	
vv. 6–7		us together	Both Jews and the <i>ethnē</i> are enlivened (v. 5a), raised, and seated together with Christ upon the heavenlies
vv. 8–9		you	God’s grace manifested in his creation of a righteous people
v. 10		us together	
vv. 11–12	Formerly (ποτε, v. 11)	you	The <i>ethnē</i> apart from God and Israel
v. 13	Now (νυν, v. 13)		Those “far off” have become “near” in Christ (cf. v. 17)
v. 14a vv. 14a–16 vv. 17–18		us together	Christ makes peace in that: he makes Jews and the <i>ethnē</i> into one new humanity; and he brings about the gospel, namely, the reconciliation of the new humanity to God (cf. Isa 57:19), evident in the freedom of the Spirit
v. 19–22		you	The <i>ethnē</i> are with God and family members of Israel (cf. vv. 11–12), and are the living, growing temple of God by the indwelling and growth of the Spirit

Figure 28: Thematic Structure of Ephesians 2

The two pericopae are bound by similarities in thematic structure. Implicit in verses 1–10 is the explicit formerly/now contrast of verse 11–22, where the audience’s old condition is juxtaposed by their new reality. Also, the author repeats in verses 11–22 his alternation between the grammatical subjects of “us” when providing theological exposition and the audience, “you,” when applying that theology to their situation.⁸⁹ Further, in verses 1–10 (coming off 1:20–23) God is the primary agent with Christ as the center of his activity, and the emphasis is on the soteriological relevance of christology for the audience. With this antecedent, verses 11–22 unfold the character and substance of the audience’s newly christocentric identity, now focusing on Christ as the primary agent.⁹⁰ So both halves of the

⁸⁹ Jewish believers, whom the author (as Paul) represents, become rhetorically present as the result of the digression of v. 3, and thence identify with the Gentile audience in their shared conditions.

⁹⁰ Cf. Markus Barth, *Ephesians 1–3* (AB; Garden City, NY; Doubleday, 1974), 262; O’Brien, *Letter*, 192. Lincoln, “The Church and Israel in Ephesians 2,” *CBQ* 49 (1987): 609 also suggests for vv. 11–22 a progression from “in the flesh” to “by the Spirit.” A chiasmic reading of chap. 2 has sometimes been argued, but against this see O’Brien, *Letter*, 184; Best, *Ephesians*, 236, etc. Similarly, Helmut Merklein, “Zur Tradition und Komposition von Eph 2:14–18,” *BZ* 17 (1973): 79–95 discusses previous attempts to reconstruct a hymnic source for vv. 14–18, but argues motivations for consideration of an earlier source “scheint aber auch dann aufgenommen werden zu können, wenn man Eph 2,14–18 als Eigenkomposition des Verfassers... betrachtet” (ad loc., 95).

diptych have an overall didactic presentation, even while the ultimate focus is the occasional relevance of the author's theology for his audience.⁹¹

B. Humanity's Christocentric Restoration in Ephesians 2:11–22

The structure of Ephesians 2:11–22 is tripartite:

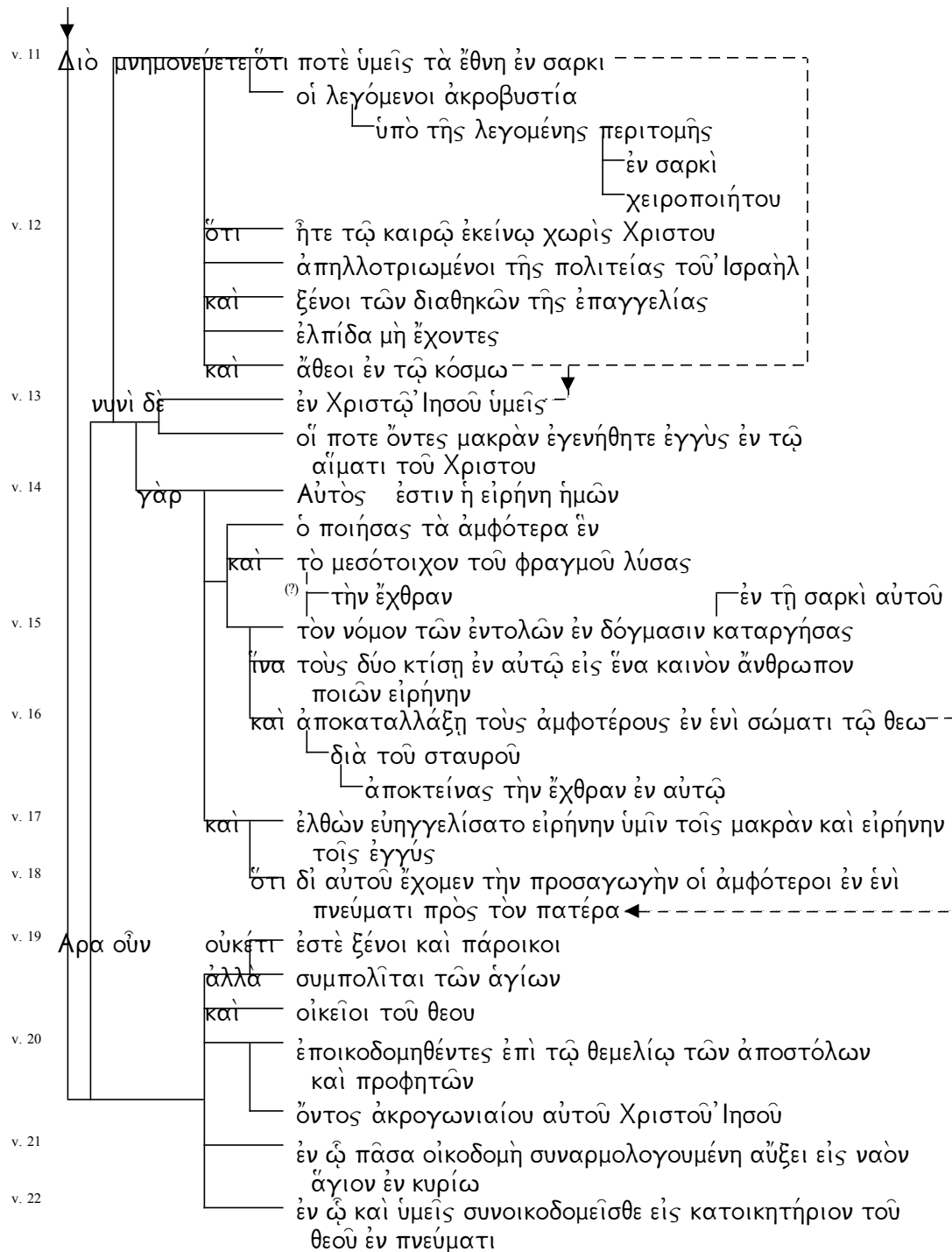


Figure 29: Structure of Ephesians 2:11–22

⁹¹ Cf. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 351.

In the first section (vv. 11–12), the author catalogues negative aspects (v. 12) of his audience’s former identity as “the *ethnē* in the flesh, those referred to as ‘the uncircumcision,’” (v. 11). But the second section (vv. 13–18) asserts the contrary of their present: “now it is in Christ Jesus that you are!” (v. 13a), and supports (γάρ, v. 14a) this contrast by explaining that through him “those far” are made “near” (v. 13b) because he is “our” *shalom* (v. 14a). The warrant for this is supplied by a theological explication in two moves.⁹² First, three parallel substantive participial clauses explain how Christ is the one who reconciled the audience with their fellow Jewish believers (vv. 14b–16).⁹³ Then, Isaianic tradition(s) are used in demonstrating how Christ has also jointly reconciled the audience and Jewish believers to God (vv. 17–18). The final section (vv. 19–22) redresses the earlier catalogue with a list of the benefits of the audience’s new christocentric identity, which result from the reconciliations wrought by Christ.⁹⁴ All told, the thesis (beginning at ἀλλά in v. 19) is systematically supported by the basic contrast between the audience’s past and present identities (vv. 11a, 13a), all of which is substantiated only by the theology in verses 14–18.

So the unification of Jews and Gentiles—along with the restoration of their relationship with God—is the heart of the argument; and not just unification, but reconciliation (cf. ἀποκαταλλάσσω, v. 16). However, there is no *prima facie* reason why the author selects Jew-Gentile unification to illustrate the efficacy of Christ’s work for the audience. Moreover, the author’s designation of his audience as “the *ethnē*” (and the catalogue in v. 12) highlights his Jewish outlook, *qua* Paul.⁹⁵ But scholarship on this text sees little need for such unification (let alone reconciliation) in Paul’s Jewish heritage.

⁹² Note the shift to 3d person after v. 14a.

⁹³ So also Best, *Ephesians*, 252; O’Brien, *Letter*, 192–94. The same type of methodical rhetoric is seen also in vv. 1–10, immediately preceding. The lack of an explicit conj. in v. 15a could be interpreted as τὸ νόμον κτλ being subordinate to τὸ μεσότοιχον κτλ, leaving just two parallel participial clauses. And while vv. 15b–16 could be jointly dependent upon all three clauses in vv. 14b–15a (so Best, *Ephesians*, 261; cf. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 374–75), this would not alter the theology or rhetorical (or aural) effect. Kreitzer, *Epistle*, 83 rightly points out that the set of Christ’s actions here are a collage, rather than arranged in sequence or a hierarchy.

⁹⁴ Using prepositional phrases as a hinge device to begin vv. 21, 22 is a technique employed by the author in the earlier *berakah*; cf. Johannes P. Louw, “A Discourse Reading of Ephesians 1:3–14,” in *Discourse Analysis and the New Testament: Approaches and Results* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jeffrey T. Reed; JSNTSup 170/Studies in New Testament Greek 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 308–15.

⁹⁵ At least prior to catechesis, the Gentile audience would have neither used of the themselves the term *Gentile* or recognized the items listed in v. 12 as deficiencies; cf. Lincoln, “Church,” 609; idem, *Ephesians*, 136; Nils Alstrup Dahl, “Gentiles, Christians, and Israelites in the Epistle to the Ephesians” in *Studies in Ephesians* (*WUNT* 131; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000): 442–43; Dunning, “Strangers,” 11, arguing (*ad loc.*, 6, 12–13) the author’s rhetorical intent: “‘Gentiles’ works to calls Ephesians’ audience into being as a unified subject that the

Nevertheless, Scripture is “increasingly being recognized” by scholars as the background to this text.⁹⁶ The common denominator between the various proposals are the elements of victory, the ordering of creation and divine palace-temple building.⁹⁷ This suggests that their resonances with Ephesians 2:11–22 are due to these traditions mutually drawing upon the biblical pattern of creation. More than any other tradition examined in this study, the Pauline author explicitly interprets the *telos* of biblical Judaism as the eschatological restoration of creation and of humanity at its center, albeit with a distinctly christological perspective. Christ’s work has a creational purpose (ἵνα...κτίση, v. 15b).⁹⁸ Its goal is not merely the unification of two ethnic groups, but the eschatological formation of a “single new humanity [ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον].”⁹⁹ And looking forward to the author’s

text can address as such” and locates them within the orbit of Pauline theology (ad loc., 13); see Margaret Y. MacDonald, “The Politics of Identity in Ephesians,” *JSNT* 26 (2004): 422-23 for similarities between the characterization of Gentiles in 2:11–22 and Qumran sectarian literature. The designation *ethnē*, the you/us schema and the reference to Jew-Gentile hostility in vv. 14b–15a has led to vv. 11–22 “probably [receiving the] most attention as a possible indicator of the social circumstances underlying Ephesians” (MacDonald, “Politics,” 421; for a recent bibliography, see Best, *Ephesians*, 233-34). But an interpretation of ethnic tensions among the audience goes beyond the evidence (so Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 132-33; O’Brien, *Letter*, 183; MacDonald, “Politics,” 434 n. 36; contra Donaldson, *Paul*, 442-43; Kreitzer, *Epistle*, 79). And pace MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians* (SP 17; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000), 253-55; Best, *Ephesians*, 235, the implied perspective of both author and audience is that Jew-Gentile unity is not a sociological issue, but rather a theological issue with Paul’s scriptural heritage as its antecedent and that interfaces with the social reality reflected by the text (this point is even stronger if Ephesians is authentic).

⁹⁶ MacDonald, *Colossians and Ephesians* (SP 17; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000), 256 (ironically insisting in the same thought that the author operates under a discontinuity between the church and the Jewish origins of early Christianity); cf. Kreitzer, *Epistle*, 81 regarding the “covenants of promise” in v. 12. This trend corrects the tack of e.g. Martin, “Reconciliation,” 209, who (writing three decades ago) presumes a Gentile audience’s unfamiliarity with Christianity’s Jewish roots that would necessitate a communicative strategy of foregoing biblical references in favor of Gnostic references. For a recent bibliography, see Robert H. Suh, “The Use of Ezekiel 37 in Ephesians 2,” *JETS* 50 (2007): 715 n. 1.

⁹⁷ Suggested backgrounds include divine warfare (Gombis, “Ephesians,” 404–08; cf. Ephesians’ focus on powers and spiritual oppression in MacDonald, “Politics,” 425-27), eschatological Davidic elements from the Solomonic era (L. Joseph Kreitzer, “The Messianic Man of Peace as Temple Builder: Solomonic Imagery in Ephesians 2:13–22,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* [ed. John Day; LHB/OTS 422; London: T & T Clark, 2007], 490-91, 494-95), and Ezekiel 37 (Suh, “Ezekiel,” 716-24; Ira Jolivet, “The Ethical Instructions in Ephesians as the Unwritten Statutes and Ordinances of God’s New Temple in Ezekiel, *ResQ* 48 [2006]: 195-97, whose examination is more expository than critical, and less thorough than Suh’s). The last of these has the strongest thematic resonances with Ephesians 2, generally, but the similarities are thematic, partial, and non-sequential. So while Ezekiel 37 may contribute to the general tone of 2:11–22, within this context the author foregrounds Isaianic tradition(s).

⁹⁸ Cf. v. 10: “For it is his creational work [ποίημα] that we are, having been created [κτισθέντες] in Christ Jesus.”

⁹⁹ So F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 299; Lincoln, “Church,” 612; Carl B. Hoch, Jr., “The New Man of Ephesians 2,” in *Dispensationalism, Israel and the Church: The Search for Definition* (ed. Craig A. Blaising and Darrell L. Bock; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992), 115; Dunning, “Strangers,” 1; Jolivet, “Ethical,” 194; Talbert, *Ephesians*, 82, etc.; cf. the healing of the “rift in subsequent humanity” caused by Adam’s sin similarly expressed in Rom 5:15, 19, 12:4–5; 15:6; 1 Cor 10:17; 12:12–14, 26; Gal 3:28; Phil 1:12 (per Hoch, ad loc.).

conclusion, the ultimate result of this eschatological restoration of humanity—both internally and to God—is their becoming God’s palace-temple (vv. 21–22). Therefore, initial indications are that the author intends his argument to be heard in terms of a theological framework of temple cosmology, much like every other tradition examined in this study.

He begins in verse 12 by outlining the audience’s former dire straits, as those hopelessly separate from Christ (or possibly “without a Messiah”; cf. the anarthrous Χριστοῦ), Israel, and God.¹⁰⁰ But this is overcome by their new identity, as unpacked in verses 14b–18. The author gets ahead of himself with a preview of verses 17–18 (much like the parenthetical v. 5b for vv. 8–10) with the grouping of μακρὰν, ἐγγύς and εἰρήνη (vv. 13–14a), a scriptural echo that situates his discussion (and not just vv. 17–18) within an eschatological Isaianic context. And *shalom* is presented as relational rather than circumstantial, since it is identified with the person of Christ rather than as a concept or state of affairs.¹⁰¹

The author first describes in verses 14b–18 Christ’s reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles. He begins with the statement that “both” have been made one, referring to two groups by the neuter of ἀμφοτέρω (v. 14b).¹⁰² The same is presented indirectly, in terms of the removal of “the division of the wall [τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ],” which refers cataphorically to Torah in verse 15a.¹⁰³ Torah had become such a pronounced sign of Jews’

Per Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 143, καὶνὸς ἄνθρωπος does not refer to Christ, even insofar as he cosmically represents the church (*à la* Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Ephesians: A Commentary* [trans. Helen Heron; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991], 116; Kitchen, *Ephesians*, 66-67; O’Brien, *Letter*, 194-95, 200); cf. Best, *Ephesians*, 261.

¹⁰⁰ Their Jewish fellow believers had fared little better (cf. v. 3), since their circumcision was not of the heart and had become a source of idolatry (χειροποίητος, v. 11; see Lev 26:1, 30; Deut 10:16; 30:6; Isa 2:18; 11:9; 16:12; Jer 4:4; cf. Rom 2:28–29; 10:3; Phil 3:2–3; cf. Barth, *Ephesians*, 255; Best, *Ephesians*, 239; O’Brien, *Letter*, 186-87; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 241; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 154; Gombis, “Ephesians,” 413 n. 26).

¹⁰¹ Cf. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 140.

¹⁰² So Barth, *Ephesians*, 262; Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 114; Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 140; Hoch, “New,” 114; etc. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 368 helpfully suggests the neut. was chosen over the masc. in order to avoid the interpretation that humans and God are made one; by contrast, the suggestion in Kreitzer, “Messianic,” 498 n. 31 that ἀμφοτέρω refers to πολιτείας in v. 12 is unconvincing. The author uses the aor. throughout (sparing the dependent ποιῶν in v. 15b) to communicate that the *shalom* effected by Christ was historically inaugurated in the Christ-event (Hoch, “New,” 99-100; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 367-68).

¹⁰³ So Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 114; Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 141 (reading the phrase in apposition, *i.e.*, “the division, *namely*, the wall”); Pheme Perkins, *Ephesians* (ANTC; Nashville; Abingdon, 1997), 71; Best, *Ephesians*; 257, etc. Few scholars take “wall” as a metaphorical division (Bruce, *Epistles*, 297-98; Hoch, “New,” 115; Gombis, “Ephesians,” 414), and fewer as a reference to the partition in the Jerusalem temple (Muddiman, *Commentary*, 128; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 244). Formerly, some scholars saw reflected in vv. 14–18 (along with the neut. ἀμφοτέρω) a Gnostic redeemer myth—about one who breaks down walls between aeons—but this view is now generally rejected; see Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 113; O’Brien, *Letter*, 195

particularistic division that it “alienated Gentiles and became a source of hostility” that cut in both directions.¹⁰⁴ So the author uses the unwieldy phrase “the Torah of commandments that are laden with ordinances [τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν]” to describe its abolition (καταργέω) by Christ through his work on the cross.¹⁰⁵

Since “Jews and Gentiles as such still exist as independent groups,” the unification described here is specifically of believers, that is, representatives from both groups.¹⁰⁶ Thus, for the author restored humanity is christocentric (cf. κτίσις ἐν αὐτῷ, v. 15b). Further, the new humanity is characterized by its relationship with God (ἀποκαταλλάξῃ... τῷ θεῷ, v. 16; cf. v. 18).¹⁰⁷ The context restricts the scope of the reference to Torah as that which was the basis of that relationship, which thereby made such a relationship inaccessible to non-Jews. The author states that in this sense, Torah in its entirety is abolished; trust in Christ and his works is now the basis of a relationship with God (cf. v. 8).¹⁰⁸ Jacob Neusner’s insight is a helpful reminder against the impressions of many modern interpreters, that “‘Israel’ refers to those who know God, and ‘not-Israel’ (‘gentiles’) refers to idolaters, pure

(Martin, “Reconciliation,” 206–07 accepts the Gnostic view with his modification that it has been rehabilitated and was only used for the sake of communication as “part of [the] audience’s conceptual background”).

¹⁰⁴ Lincoln, “Church,” 611 (citing *Let. Aris.* 138, 142); Bruce W. Fong, “Addressing the Issue of Racial Reconciliation According to the Principles of Eph 2:11–22,” *JETS* 38 (1995): 571. It should go without saying, though, that neither here nor in Scripture does Torah *cause* division, but rather demarcated and codified a division created by God’s elevation of Israel to a special status from the ranks of mired humanity.

¹⁰⁵ The syntax is ambiguous. Placing τὴν ἔχθραν (v. 14b) in apposition to τὸν νόμον (v. 15a) as opposed to τὸ μεσότοιχον (v. 14b) would be unprecedented in either Scripture or Pauline traditions; cf. Fong, “Addressing,” 572; Best, *Ephesians*, 258–59; O’Brien, *Letter*, 196; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 240; Talbert, *Ephesians*, 79, etc. As Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 373 remarks, Torah “may cause hostility... but in itself it is not hostile.” But either reading is grammatically plausible, and taking an object on either side of λύσας (v. 14b) seems the more awkward option (which is compatible with Hoehner’s qualification); so Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 123–24. But the issue is not crucial, since in the context the author is referring to Torah, generally, and his overall thrust is the same in either case.

¹⁰⁶ Best, *Ephesians*, 253; cf. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 352.

¹⁰⁷ Most scholars read ἐνὶ σώματι as referring to the new humanity of v. 15b (e.g. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 144; Best, *Ephesians*, 264; O’Brien, *Letter*, 202; contra Barth, *Ephesians*, 298).

¹⁰⁸ So also Hoch, “New,” 116; similar are Bruce, *Epistles*, 298–99; and Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 115; (who see Torah being abolished *qua* source of division). Therefore, the author is not antinomian, nor any less Pauline than Rom 4:1–22, for example. Likewise, it is unhelpful to convolve the discussion by comparing vv. 14–15 with a tradition like Rom 3:31, with its apparent diffidence toward Jewish believers, perhaps being prompted by the assumption that the author feels confident to speak negatively of Torah due to a late dating of Ephesians (e.g. Lincoln, “Church,” 611; Best, *Ephesians*, 235). Perkins, *Ephesians*, 72; O’Brien, *Letter*, 197–99; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 245; and Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 375–77 (stating he lacks space to explain why his interpretation is not antinomian); Gombis, “Ephesians,” 415; Talbert, *Ephesians*, 81; also view the whole Torah as being abolished but either in a supercessionistic sense (due to the emphatic modifiers) or resorting to more sociological New Perspective language of Torah as the old covenantal nomism boundary-marker. Muddiman, *Commentary*, 133 alone among recent commentators reads the modifiers as indicating a partial abolition of Torah.

and simple. In [early] Judaism there are no other categories of the social order formed by all humanity.”¹⁰⁹ In this regard, Andrew Lincoln’s advisory is apropos and worth quoting at length:

Eph 2 11–22 is not a general depiction of the relationship between Gentiles and Jews, nor is it primarily an answer to the question, “How can Jews and Christians be the eschatological people of God?” It is not meant to be “an argument for corporate unity,” nor is it even a discussion of the place of the Gentiles in the history of salvation. Instead it involves a comparison between these particular Gentile readers’ pre-Christian past in its relation to...their Christian present... The mention of Israel, then, only functions as part of this comparison and serves the purpose of bringing home to the readers the greatness of their salvation.¹¹⁰

Verses 14–16 (and vv. 11–22, generally) do not compare with Pauline discussions on Torah, the *Israelfrage*, the mechanics of salvation or the socio-religious features of covenantal nomism, because the author is instead interested in (the theology of) the eschatological significance of his audience’s new identity and its implication for their present experience.

1. Scripture(s) in Ephesians 2:11–22 in its Original Context

Given the author’s christological interpretation Jew-Gentile unification, the eschatological element of his argument becomes even more pronounced with his description of the audience’s reconciliation to God. Verse 17 likely combines the Isaianic traditions of Isaiah 52:7 and 57:19:

¹⁰⁹ *Judaism When Christianity Began: A Survey of Belief and Practice* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 91-92.

¹¹⁰ “Church,” 608–09, later adding, “About the destiny of those Jews who do not believe in Christ and about the future of Israel, the writer of Ephesians has nothing explicit to say” (ad loc., 621).

MT Isaiah 52:7	Grk Isaiah 52:7	Ephesians 2:17
מה־נִאֲוֶה עַל־הַהַרִּים רְגֵלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מְשַׁמֵּיעַ שְׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר טוֹב מְשַׁמֵּיעַ יְשׁוּעָה אָמַר לְצִיּוֹן מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ	ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθὰ ὅτι ἀκουστήν ποιήσω τὴν σωτηρίαν σου λέγων Σιων Βασιλεύσει σου ὁ θεός	ἐλθῶν εὐηγγελίσατο [εἰρήνην]
MT Isaiah 57:29	Grk Isaiah 57:19	
בּוֹרֵא נֹב שְׁפָתַיִם שְׁלוֹם שְׁלוֹם לְרַחֹק וּלְקְרוֹב אָמַר יְהוָה וּרְפִאֲתִי	εἰρήνην ἐπὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύς οὖσιν καὶ εἶπεν κύριος Ἰάσσομαι αὐτούς	εἰρήνην ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐγγύς

Figure 30: Isaiah 52:7 and 57:19 in Ephesians 2:17

Providing Isaiah 52:7 is in view, then it is as an echo (appropriately rhetorically modified). Isaiah 51 divides into three trials by God (vv. 1–8, 9–16, 17–23) against a faithless and unresponsive Israel, the last of which contains elements of lament over Jerusalem that linking them to God’s celebration over his city in chapter 52. Isaiah 52 divides into two celebratory oracles (vv. 1–6, 7–12), the second of which in particular crescendoes into the fourth so-called Servant Song (52:13–53:12).

Verses 7–12 announce to Zion Yhwh’s deliverance and cosmic victory, and the restoration of its people (vv. 7b–10). The magnificence of this news brings glory even to its bearer (v. 7). So if there is an echo, the author of Ephesians would apparently be interpreting the Christ-event as God’s victory (perhaps also intimating a christological reading of the fourth Servant Song?), and the good news of the Christ-event as a realization of that which heralds Israel’s Isaianic restoration.¹¹¹ However, rather than explicitly continuing with the fourth Servant Song, the author folds in Isaiah 57:19, a tradition that looks forward to Israel’s reconciliation with God, which in its wider context is a function of the restoration of Zion and creation.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Cf. Barth, *Ephesians*, 295; Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 118; Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 148-49; Best, *Ephesians*, 273; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 247; pace O’Brien, *Letter*, 207; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 385. For discussion of the interpretive options, see Best, *Ephesians*, 271-73; Gombis, “Ephesians,” 415 n. 30.

¹¹² Significantly, in Isa 48–53, the “true Israel” of God’s Servant has been reduced to a population of one, whose sacrifice in the fourth Servant Song immediately effects (cf. 54:13–17) the reconstitution of a plural, corporate Israel (cf. Watts, “Consolation or Confrontation? Isaiah 40–55 and the Delay of the New Exodus,” *TynBul* 41 [1990]: 54-55).

a. Isaiah 57:19 in its Original Context

Isaiah 57:19 is located within the oracle of 57:14–21, the first salvation oracle within the chiasm of Trito-Isaiah and one that directly anticipates the core of chapters 60–62.¹¹³ So the oracle stands out from its general context of judgment oracles upon Israel's covenant violations, but is nevertheless paired with the preceding unit of verses 1–13.

Condemnation: Israel's oppressive leadership (56:9–12)

Judgment: Israel's oppressive leadership (57:1–13)

Suffering righteous among Israel (vv. 1–2)

Judgment upon their oppressors (vv. 3–13a)

Hinge: deliverance of the righteous among Israel (v. 13b)

Hope: restoration of the righteous among Israel (vv. 14–21)

Hinge: judgment upon the wicked among Israel (vv. 20–21)

Condemnation: Israel's covenant violations (chap. 58)

Figure 31: Literary Context and Structure of Isaiah 57

Verses 1–2 momentarily introduce the righteous in Israel, whose idolatrous oppressors are condemned in verses 3–13a.¹¹⁴ But then verse 13b is a hinge device that recalls the righteous in verses 1–2, in order to relate their destiny in verses 14–19 in juxtaposition to that of the oppressors.¹¹⁵ Finally, verses 20–21 are a second hinge that reintroduces the unfaithful in Israel, in preparation for returning to the prophet's coverage of their covenant violations in 58:1–8. However, the ambiguous identity of God's people (see below) further nuances the movement of verses 14–19. The oracle relates Israel's movement toward God (v. 14) and his dealings with the righteous oppressed (v. 15b) and with the oppressors (vv. 16–18a). But it concludes with the character of both parties' joint relationship with God and its results (vv. 18b–19).

In verses 14–21, the opening declaration **סְלוּ פְנוּ-דֶרֶךְ** (v. 14a) is a partly reworded quotation of 40:3, which opens Deutero-Isaiah with the announcement of the New Exodus return from exile.¹¹⁶ So the postexilic audience (who is still in exile) looks for another chance at the salvation of Deutero-Isaiah, which had been pushed to the future due to

¹¹³ See above, pp. 59–60; cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 269, 327; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 168, etc.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 181.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Motyer, *Prophecy*, 475; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 176–80.

¹¹⁶ Childs, *Isaiah*, 469–70; Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 483; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 168 (noting that **סְלוּ** in 57:14 and **מְסַלְהוּ** in 40:3 are cognates), etc. 1QIsa^a replaces **דֶרֶךְ** with **מְסַלְהוּ** from 40:3 (Oswalt, ad loc.).

their forbearers' continued rebellion.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, as in Deutero-Isaiah, in Trito-Isaiah Israel's idolatry in 57:1–13 still remains a “stumbling block” (v. 14) that needs removing in order that they might approach God.¹¹⁸ Thus the prophet creates a new prophecy from an old: Whereas the antecedent journey was geographical, that in 57:14 is figurative (or “spiritual”), a mending of Israel's relationship with God.¹¹⁹ Critically, all available literature on Ephesians 2:17 is silent on this aspect of the oracle, and entirely neglects this facet of Isaiah scholarship.

On a raised (רום, v. 14b) path Israel comes to the exalted (רום, v. 15a) God, who eternally dwells in his heavenly temple. The image of God in “the high and holy place” (v. 15) recalls his presentation in 6:1b–4, whereby the destination of Israel's figurative journey here is God's royal presence.¹²⁰ Rather than any longer following their “own way” (v. 17b), Israel instead will live devotionally and uprightly before God. Likewise, the removal of idolatry entails that Israel's figurative “way” is “inevitably linked with proper worship.”¹²¹ Accordingly, God's comfort (אשלם נחמים, v. 18; cf. נחמו נחמו, 40:1) will create praise from Israel (בורא נוב שפתים, v. 19a).¹²²

However, although Israel's journey is not geographical, there is a physical element reintroduced by God's simultaneously dwelling on high and amidst Israel's “crushed and humble of *ruah*” (v. 15). In showing God's concern for the marginalized righteous of Israel, the text blends his transcendence and his immanence.¹²³ The renewed access to the temple offered in the introductory oracle of 56:1–8 together with the imagery of verse 15 indicates that an earthly temple is in view (in conjunction with its heavenly counterpart), even if it is

¹¹⁷ Cf. Walther Zimmerli, “Zur Sprache Tritojesajas,” in *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* (ThB 19; Munich: Kaiser, 1969): 217–33; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 168 who remarks how the fault lies with the people, since Deutero-Isaiah closes with the assertion that God's word “does not return to God empty but accomplishes what it purposes (Isa 55:11).”

¹¹⁸ Cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 168; S. W. Flynn, “Where is YHWH in Isaiah 57,14–15?” *Bib* 87 (2006): 364.

¹¹⁹ So Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 328; George A. E. Knight, *The New Israel: A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah 56–66* (ITC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 16; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 59; Childs, *Isaiah*, 470; Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 181; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 168, etc.; Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 486 argues for a simultaneously spiritual and physical journey, and that the spiritual dimension is not absent from 40:3. See Childs, *Isaiah*, 470–71 for an objection to “spiritualization” terminology.

¹²⁰ Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 329; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 168.

¹²¹ Flynn, “Where,” 364.

¹²² Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 330; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 167–68, etc.

¹²³ See Flynn, “Where,” 360–62 for a survey of God's “location” in v. 15 in the versions. It is unlikely the multiple differences between the MT and Grk are due to parablepsis, but may reflect a distinct *Vorlage* (ad loc., 360 n. 6). Flynn finds a *Tendenz* among traditions other than the MT to emphasize God's transcendence at the expense of his immanence.

not directly mentioned.¹²⁴ So the physical journey that complements Israel's figurative one is from within the Land to Zion at its center, rather than from distant lands back to Israel. Therefore, the "way" of verse 14 will be represented by Israel's ascent on a "road to the earthly temple."¹²⁵ So in terms of "journey," "location" and response, Israel's reconciliation with God manifests as worship.

Moreover, shifting grammatical objects within the oracle results in the oppressors' reform. The closing reference from the preceding oracle is to the righteous within Israel (v. 13), and God's people (עַמִּי, v. 14b)—that is, those on the "way"—are apparently the righteous oppressed among whom he dwells. But the כִּי clause beginning verse 16 abruptly shifts to God's former anger with an undifferentiated "they" (lit. sg "him") for "greedy sinfulness" (בַּעוֹן בְּצִעַ, v. 17), and is concerned to not forever *rib* lest they are extinguished (v. 16). Accordingly, God shall conclude his punishment (נִכְחָה, v. 17; cf. Isa 1:5) and heal and comfort them.¹²⁶ Finally, when the prophet refers to comfort, worship and peace, he treats Israel as a single entity, apparently now comprising both the righteous oppressed and their former oppressors; it is this corporate entity who is set on the "way" and reconciled to God.¹²⁷ The oracle initially acknowledges but then dissolves a distinction between the righteous and the wicked within Israel, and describes God's purpose in drawing them together once again to simply be one Israel in right relationship with himself (although without clearly explaining how this is to occur).

Finally, the oracle is summarized by its coda, "'*Shalom! Shalom*, to those far off and to those near,' says Yhwh, and, 'I am healing them!'" (v. 19b). The (primarily) figurative sense of verse 14 and the ultimate treatment of Israel as a single entity entail that those "far

¹²⁴ So Childs, *Isaiah*, 471; Flynn, "Where," 369, who rightly argues that an exclusivistic interpretation of the MT is neither warranted nor does justice to the text. E.g. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, is compelled to emend the text, figuring it "very unlikely, and quite unparalleled, for Yahweh to be spoken of as [enthroned] *at the side of* the stricken and the humble" (emphasis original). But this scandalous inversion of expectation is precisely the point for the Hebrew redactor.

¹²⁵ Flynn, "Where," 364.

¹²⁶ Possibly there is a aural play on the דַּכָּה (v. 15) caused by the oppressors and the נִכְחָה (v. 17) which God inflicted upon them. The Grk interprets עֲשִׂיתִי אֲנִי עֲשִׂיתִי in v. 16b as πνεῦμα γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται, καὶ πνοὴν πᾶσαν ἐγὼ ἐποίησα, exchanging a concessive sense for a the rationale of God's passion for his creation. The versions seem to support the Hebr (cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 484), but either tradition is plausible in context (so Childs, *Isaiah*, 471-72). Regarding וְאֶנְחָהוּ in v. 18, e.g. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 167-68 follows the Grk and *Tg. Isa.* 57:18 in reading וְאֶשְׁלֵם תַּנְחִימֵם ("I will complete/repay to them consolations"); by contrast, Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 848 takes "I will lead" as the *lectio difficilior*.

¹²⁷ Pace Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 330, who suggests "my people" (v. 14b) has been narrowed to only "the mourners" (v. 18b); Childs, *Isaiah*, 471.

off” are the former oppressors while those “near” are the righteous, all of whom constitute a post-exilic audience situated in the Land.¹²⁸ The crushed and the crushers are both *ruah* (vv. 15–16), both receive God’s rest and *shalom* of comfort (v. 18), and both consequently praise him (v. 19a).¹²⁹ Correspondingly, it is not just the oppressors but Israel as a whole who needs and receives the *shalom* of reconciliation to God, which is further equated with healing (ורפאתיו, v. 19b; cf. v. 18a).

Nevertheless, at the same time, the distinction between the righteous oppressed and their oppressors is reinstated in the closing hinge device. Verses 20–21 contrast God’s healing and *shalom* for “all” Israel with the warning, ““There is no *shalom* for the wicked [אין שלום... לרשעים]” (v. 21). Internally the oracle looks to the restoration of God’s relationship with Israel generally, and in its immediate context it also acts as a foil to God’s purpose with his judgment upon the unrighteous. So the oracle upholds the prophet’s redefinition of God’s people in Trito-Isaiah, while also offering the hope that both the faithful and wicked are both meant to be reconciled to him.

Therefore, Isaiah 57:19 speaks of God’s intention of *shalom* between himself and Israelites who are either relationally distant or close, respectively. Israel is meant to be on a “way” that is characterized by righteousness and this right relationship. This reconciliation manifests as their worship, and is physically represented by coming into God’s presence in his temple (with him simultaneously dwelling in its heavenly counterpart). While in its context the oracle warns of a division within Israel, in itself it would that the division between the oppressed and the oppressors be mended so that they might jointly be “my people” (v. 14). Lastly, while an eschatological timeframe is not explicitly identified, the oracle’s hopefulness in contrast to its immediate context (which addresses the present) together with its thematic relationship with chapters 60–62 suggest that it looks for Israel’s reconciliation with God in the relatively distant future.

¹²⁸ Cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 40–66*, 491.

¹²⁹ Evidently, then, the formerly sinful “they” of v. 18 correspond to those “far off” and “their mourners (אבליו)” are the “near.” Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 184–85 comments on the progression from anger to healing to wholeness, and suggests that שלום שלום in v. 19 comes in answer to דכא ושפל in v. 15.

2. *God's Glorification, Israel-Nations Unification and Humanity's Reconciliation to God in Ephesians 2:11–22*

The author of Ephesians slightly rearranges his Isaianic source in distributing *shalom* to both those “far off” and those “near,” in turn.¹³⁰ Without exception, Ephesians scholars express the view that “of course, the original reference of ‘far’ and ‘near’ in Isa 59:17 was not to Gentiles and Jews but to [Jews] in exile and those who remained in the land. ...the writer to Ephesians...broadens its application so that is no longer simply a reference to Israelites...but to his Gentile readers and Jews.”¹³¹ However, the foregoing analysis shows this to be a misinterpretation of Isaiah 57:19 in its original context. If Ephesians scholars are roughly correct in their assessment of the author’s meaning, then it would turn out that he is actually using Scripture with an awareness of its original context. That is, Isaiah speaks of those within Israel who are either relationally distant or near equally needing a restored relationship with God, and moreover refers to them together as a single, corporate entity. So, too, the author of Ephesians specifies that through the Christ-event, both Jews and Gentiles—“we...the both, by one Spirit”—gain an access to God that was formerly unavailable to either (v. 18).¹³² His claim is that this is a realization of Isaiah’s hope, since both the relationally distant (from God) audience and Paul’s relationally close compatriots had been separate from God but now are reconciled to him in Christ.

Therefore, the only alteration the author has made is to substitute Gentiles for the unrighteous of Israel. And this change does little violence to the Isaianic source, since in both traditions all parties concerned were at one remove from God’s presence until he actively creates *shalom* between them and himself. Furthermore, the proximity of Israel-nations unification in Ephesians 2:14b–16 amplifies Isaiah’s implicit unification of Israel, so that it now becomes explicit that reconciliation and *shalom* between Israel and God is likewise fused to reconciliation and *shalom* within Israel. In this sense, for the author of Ephesians Isaiah’s intimacy with God is expressed in terms of his audience’s unification with Jewish believers. For the author, Christ is “our” *shalom* (v. 14a) in that he reconciles believers into the eschatological new humanity of Israel and also reconciles this christocentrically reconstituted Israel to God, with both acts of reconciliation being bound up with each other.

¹³⁰ Cf. Lincoln, “Church,” 613.

¹³¹ Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 146–47; so also Barth, *Ephesians*, 260; Hoch, “New,” 112; O’Brien, *Letter*, 207; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 365, 386, etc. Lincoln, “Church,” 611 reads Eph 2:17 also in terms of Jewish proselytism.

¹³² Talbert, *Ephesians*, 82.

Finally, as with his Isaianic source, for the author the unification of Israel and their reconciliation with God manifests in terms of worship. Verse 19 begins the author's thesis and conclusion (Ἄρα οὖν) as he applies his argument (with the objects of "us") to his audience ("you"), first by redressing the catalogue of deficiencies from verse 12.¹³³ But in verses 20–21, he effusively expands upon this redress with several points in parallel to those of verse 19 (see *Fig. 28*, above). The author switches metaphors to say that his audience are an edifice that is founded upon the apostles and prophets and, ultimately, Christ (v. 20).¹³⁴ Verses 21–22 specify that the audience—though more generally the eschatological new humanity—are God's palace-temple.¹³⁵

This assertion consolidates the author's theology within the argument, especially in light of Paul's Second Temple Jewish matrix. The new humanity of restored Israel do not merely worship God (cf. Isa 57:18b), but embody his worship. Likewise, in being called God's "holy temple" and "dwelling," they are not only the restored humanity, but are also somehow identified with restored creation itself. Further, the audience's indwelling by God accentuates the creational element and reiterates believers' nature as God's restored, corporate self-image. And all of this all is the result of the dual reconciliation effected by Christ in verses 14–18.¹³⁶

C. Summary

In Ephesians 2:11–22, the teaching with which the author of Ephesians concludes the body of the letter (prior to his closing prayer—which is interrupted by a digression), in order

¹³³ Perkins, *Ephesians*, 75 comments that the author's redefinition of Israel is seen in an interruption of the parallelism between vv. 12, 19, since estrangement "with regards to Israelite citizenship" (v. 12) does not become fellow citizens with the Jews, but rather with believers, those of God's household. This interpretation of "the saints" as the (catholic) community of believers is shared by most scholars, for example in light of 1:1, 15, 15; 3:8; 4:12, etc.; cf. Lincoln, "Church" 614-15 (see here for a survey of various options); idem, *Ephesians*, 151; Schnackenburg, *Ephesians*, 121; Bruce, *Epistles*, 302; O'Brien, *Letter*, 211; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 248-49; Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 393. Best, *Ephesians*, 278 interprets "saints" as angels and/or believers in heaven, claiming that the majority view violates the division between Jewish and Gentile believers which he believes the author is presenting. Hoch, "New," 122-23 considers them only Jewish believers.

¹³⁴ Some scholars argue for reading ἀκρογωνιάου as cornerstone (e.g. Hoehner, *Ephesians*, 404–07; Talbert, *Ephesians*, 84), while many remain agnostic as to whether it may instead (or also) be a capstone (e.g. Best, *Ephesians*, 286; MacDonald, *Colossians*, 249). There may be some support for a "new man" connotation of καινὸν ἄνθρωπον in v. 15 by συναρμολογέω in v. 21, which is used in 4:16 to blend the temple of God and body of Christ metaphors (though cf. ἄνδρα τέλειον instead, 4:13).

¹³⁵ Contrary to his view of "saints" in v. 19, Hoch, "New," 124 agrees that πᾶσα (v. 21) entails a universal scope and therefore refers to the community of all believers.

¹³⁶ Although v. 22 does not say that the Spirit indwells them (but instead builds them together), see 1:13; 4:4, 30; 5:18.

to motivate the paraenesis of its latter half, is on the significance and present eschatological dimension of his audience's christocentric identity. And this is expressed in terms of the unification of Jewish and Gentile believers, that is, a christocentric Israel-nations unification, which the author ultimately explicates as the restoration of a single new humanity who is eschatologically restored Israel. Regarding the occasional nature of the author's teaching, he argues that the relevance of the Christ-event for his audience is that they now partly constitute the new humanity, and also God's temple, which symbolizes the eschatologically restored New Creation.

However, the occasional nature of the author's teaching is easy to overlook, since the audience's situation exists very close together with the theology that the author is unfolding. Rather than presupposing or alluding to a theological framework of temple cosmology in order to pastorally apply it to a particular circumstance as in Romans 15:7–13, in Ephesians 2:11–22—and especially in verses 19–22—the author directly teaches his audience how the Christ-event alters and fulfills temple cosmology, which he then ties into their own relationships with each other and with God through Christ. While Christ reconciles believers to each other and to God, the significance is not just that it produces change of heart or lifestyle, or promotes church unity, but that it effects nothing less than the renewal of the *cosmos*, a renewal that the audience themselves incarnate.

Thus, 2:11–22 demonstrates the fullness of the audience's being seated with Christ (1:20–22; 2:6). For the author, the pastoral application—finally—is that they have no need to fear dominance from the powers by whom they felt threatened, even despite the persistence of this age. The fact of their unification with their Jewish fellow believers evinces the cosmic inbreaking of the realization of Israel's sacred traditions. Consequently, they now partake of Christ's dominion over those powers who partly occasioned the writing of the letter.

But what is striking is how the author presents his argument toward this conclusion by way of a fairly explicit and didactic presentation of his inaugurated eschatology. His teaching resonates with each early Jewish tradition examined to this point in the study, and most notably coordinates the constellation of salient features consistently employed in the biblical traditions considered in Chapter 2. He views the accomplishment of God's purposes within human history in terms of Israel-nations unification, that is, the restoration of humanity, and also in terms of the restoration of creation—of which the new humanity is not just constitutive, but with which it is (metaphorically) christocentrically identified! This state of affairs is marked by a saturation of *shalom*, both within humanity and between humanity and God (vv. 14, 15, 17 x2). And the cultic dimension of creation is not just present in the act of

worship, but in its very incarnation by the community of believers. Thus if the reading of Genesis 1–2 entertained in Chapter 2 were judged to be sound, then Ephesians 2:11–22 would resonate with its outlined theological framework of temple cosmology to a greater degree than any other early Jewish traditions examined above.

Finally, all this is the eschatological realization of Scripture, the fulfillment for Israel of God’s promises to Israel, regarding Israel. The author of Ephesians’ assertion that God’s purposes for human history are now being realized is consequent to his presupposition that the end was promised to recapture the glory of the beginning. And this continuity with Jewish tradition is no less Pauline for resulting from a Christ-based relationship with God, rather than a Torah-based relationship with God (vv. 14b–15; cf. Rom 3:21–31).

III. Summary and Conclusions

The two Pauline traditions that I have been able to examine in this chapter are in conformity with both other relevant Second Temple Jewish traditions and biblical traditions regarding Israel-nations unification. Both Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 reference Israel-nations unification in terms of the constellation of salient features—eschatological New Creation, unification, worship, and, *shalom*—that denote a theological framework of temple cosmology substantially similar to that employed by the other ancient Jewish traditions examined in this study (whether or not in connection with Genesis 1–2). Moreover, these Pauline traditions identify the unification of believers in their audiences from the Jews and the *ethnē* as *Israel’s* eschatological restoration, which is further equated with the restoration of a humanity whose wholeness grants coherence to restored creation. These data may again be displayed in the following diagram.

Pauline Israel-nations unification traditions	Biblical Israel-nations unification traditions							Further relevant biblical traditions			Purpose of tradition	
	Exod 12:37-38	1 Kgs 8:41-43	Isa 2:2-4	Isa 11:1-10	Isa 56-66	Mic 4:1-4	Zech 8:18-23	Pss 46-48	Gen 1-2	Deut 32:43		Ps 18:50 (Grk 17:50)
Univocal depictions of the restoration of creation and humanity; plausibly temple cosmology												
Rom 15:7-13				Isa 11:10						√	√	√
Eph 2:11-22					Isa 57:19							

Figure 32: Distribution, Interrelatedness and Purpose of Israel-Nations Unification in Pauline Traditions

In other respects, these Pauline references to Israel-nations unification are as or more explicit than other the Second Temple traditions examined above. First, it is by worship that the new humanity comes to the center of creation, and by which humanity holds that center, even to the point of incarnating the cosmic worship of Israel's God. Second, these traditions uniquely present an inaugurated eschatology. Human history has culminated with the Christ-event, so that despite appearances the audiences of Romans and Ephesians now live within the in-broken reality of God's eschatological kingdom (if they would but live out who they in fact are). An extension of this is the third point, that Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 represent the realization of Israel's hopes and promises in Scripture. These traditions do not just employ Scripture for the purpose of illustration, authority and encouragement regarding future realization, but actually to explicate the fulfillment of Paul's Jewish religious heritage. On this count, these traditions are not "universalistic" in an unqualified sense, but presuppose the same, strict Israel-specific type of universalism apparent in the traditions examined in Chapter 3. Finally, then, the greatest Pauline distinctive is Christ, to whom Israel's identity is reoriented. In Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 it is Christ who has inaugurated the eschaton, fulfilled God's scriptural purposes for Israel and the world, restored humanity and redefined their identity, and through whom that new humanity theologically signals the initiation of creation's restoration.

Work still needs doing on those Pauline traditions that reference Israel-nations unification that I have been unable to examine here, but the selected examples are very suggestive. The single theological point that Paul's logic and rhetoric comes down to in Romans is his encouragement that his audience's experience should be that of God's christocentric, eschatological new humanity. How would Paul's teachings here on salvation, Torah, Christian identity, the Spirit and ethics be understood differently if it were read in terms of his vision of the christocentric restoration of creation with humanity at its center? And given the weight traditionally accorded to Romans, how in turn would Pauline theology be understood, or other Pauline documents read? Correspondingly, the author of Ephesians addresses an audience who does needs pastoral care in the form of correct theology regarding their own identity, and so he provides the most candid available exposition of the Pauline understanding of Israel-nations unification in terms of a christocentric temple cosmology. How then would Romans and other Pauline documents be understood differently if read in light of Ephesians 2:11–22?

In any case, apart from the *novum* of Christ's role, the depictions of humanity's restoration in Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 are thoroughly and almost

unremarkably Jewish. In fact, given the consistent recourse to biblical temple cosmology in biblical and non-Pauline Second Temple traditions when referencing Israel-nations unification, we should be surprised if we did *not* find the same in Pauline traditions. And indeed, it is just what we do find.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

I. Summary

This study began in Chapter 1 with a sketch of several ancient Jewish traditions that reference the joint participation or unification of Israel and non-Israelites in Israel's promised blessings, always in a doxological context and with worship as that which unites them. These examples raised the natural—yet neglected—questions of why ancient Jewish traditions envision non-Israelites worshipping Yhwh—that is, doing that by which Israel is identified as God's people—and of why such traditions look forward to or hope for the overcoming of the division between Israel and non-Israelites. Therefore, from the beginning of this study, I have not so much argued a case as explored the question, ***How do ancient Jewish traditions relate the worship of God to the unification of the nations and Israel?*** This has included attention to the recurring attendant constellation of salient features—creation or eschatological New Creation, unification, worship, and *shalom*—and to the nature of the relationship between these features.

Chapter 2 examined the biblical Israel-nations unification traditions in Exodus 12:37–38; 1 Kings 8:41–43; Isaiah 2:2–4; 11:1–10; 56–66; Micah 4:1–4; Zechariah 8:18–23; and Psalms 46–48. These traditions are univocal in their depictions of the unification of Israel and the nations in the worship of Israel's God Yhwh, which inaugurates creation or New Creation and results in *shalom* amongst humanity and between humanity and God. These traditions were directed toward *Israelite* audiences and illustrate in their original contexts the character and significance of *Israel's* creation or eschatological restoration, but to this end the biblical authors chose to express their message in terms of *humanity's* creation or restoration and the concomitant completion of the *cosmos*. These traditions see Israel and humanity's wholeness as interdependent, whereby restoration for Israel is only half of the picture. This move on the part of biblical authors does not entail a “happy ending” for all humanity, since in several such traditions God's judgment and the destruction of his wicked enemies (both among the nations and, in most cases, Israel) is part of the sequence that concludes with his

enthronement and reign of *shalom*; as such, these traditions are not “universalistic” in the more open or optimistic senses, but instead take the more particular stance that the survivors of God’s judgment will be restored specifically in relation to him as creator and cosmic king.

It can be further speculated that these traditions apparently operate within virtually indistinguishable theological frameworks of temple cosmology. On this approach, the implicit frameworks in these traditions resemble that in a plausible reading of Genesis 1–2. If this is the case, then the canonical prologue of Scripture is heuristically relevant for understanding biblical references to Israel-nations unification. But even if this is not so, just as the rabbis later see Israel as the representative or remnant of humanity who serves Yhwh and keeps Torah, the biblical traditions examined in Chapter 2 each convey God’s purpose of bringing humanity into a proper relationship of worship towards him.

Chapters 3 and 4 expanded the focus of the study by further asking how early Jewish traditions deployed and developed Israel-nations unification, and to what rhetorical or theological ends. The investigation in Chapter 3 was a relatively comprehensive look at (non-Christian) Second Temple traditions, as space permitted the examination of *1 Enoch* 10:16–11:2; *Tobit* 14:3–11; *Sibylline Oracles* 3:772–95; *1 Enoch* 90:28–38; and *Josephus’ Antiquities* 8.116–117. Analysis demonstrated that these traditions follow their biblical antecedents in several respects. They consistently reference Israel-nations unification as a means of illustrating *Israel’s* eschatological restoration. They also express Israel-nations unification in terms of the familiar constellation of features. And again, they arrange those features in the same logical relationship; this may be explicable in terms of a shared theological framework of temple cosmology, especially if Genesis 1–2 is operative for the examined biblical traditions. Thus, these Second Temple traditions are mostly uniform with respect to Israel-nations unification, and strongly conform to the depictions of the phenomenon in Scripture, with each making use of at least one of the biblical traditions examined in Chapter 2.

Moreover, these Second Temple traditions (with the exception of *Ant.* 8.116–117) conclude their respective literary contexts with depictions of Israel-nations unification. Thus the literary contexts of each of these traditions climax with the restoration of humanity—and this despite the fact that these traditions belong to documents that may be at odds on other theological issues. Even with their differences, they agree on what is the biblical perspective on humanity’s restoration, its significance for Israel and human history, and that it is in some sense an authoritative starting point from which they could each embark upon their own theological programs.

Thus, Second Temple Jews' understandings of Israel-nations unification apparently derive from its presentation in their shared sacred traditions. So in spite of reflecting a shift in historical and socio-religious context, these Second Temple traditions leave the biblical portrayal of Israel-nations unification basically unmodified, and import or invoke it as a resource that could be taken in various directions or as entailing a range of implications. This finding suggests that the biblical understanding of Israel-nations unification (and possibly temple cosmology) were commonplaces for at least some groups within early Judaism.

Finally, Chapter 4 analyzed the Pauline traditions of Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 and their depictions of the restoration of humanity *qua* Israel-nations unification. Both of these traditions are also climactic within their respective literary contexts (barring the digression of Eph 3:2–13), especially the Romans text which is the theological and structural climax of the letter. And both of these traditions are in conformity with the Second Temple traditions examined in Chapter 3 as regards the shape and importance of Israel-nations unification. Likewise, they are in conformity with the biblical depiction of Israel-nations unification, even quoting Scriptures that were examined in Chapter 2 or were also used by the traditions examined in Chapter 3. Thus, Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22 once again express the realization of Israel's scriptural hope for restoration in terms of Israel-nations unification, which is again depicted by way of the recurrent constellation of salient features placed in the familiar logical arrangement (*i.e.*, the inauguration of the New Creation in the unification of Israel and the nations in worship, which is characterized by *shalom*). And as with other ancient Jewish traditions, a theological framework of temple cosmology may have explanatory value for this phenomenon.

But unlike other Second Temple traditions, these Pauline traditions also develop the ancient Jewish understanding of Israel-nations unification, although not in ways that violate its basic logic. Namely, they give greater emphasis to its doxological character; they suppose an inaugurated eschatology by which Israel's scriptural hopes are beginning to be realized; and they operate within a christocentric frame of reference within which Israel, humanity and creation are all defined in relation to Jesus of Nazareth. For Romans 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22, eschatologically restored Israel and eschatologically restored humanity are coextensive, since trust in Christ is the catalyst for restoration. And for especially Ephesians 2:11–22, humanity's restoration marks the restoration of creation, and therefore the realization of God's cosmic purposes.

The data for the entire study are displayed in the following diagram, which shows how the examined traditions compare and contrast in their use of Israel-nations unification:

Biblical Israel-nations unification traditions										Further relevant biblical traditions				Purpose of tradition
Second Temple Israel-nations unification traditions	Exod 12:37-38	1 Kgs 8:41-43	Isa 2:2-4	Isa 11:1-10	Isa 56-66	Mic 4:1-4	Zech 8:18-23	Pss 46-48	Gen 1-2	Deut 32:43	Ps 18:50 (Grk 17:50)	Ps 117:1 (Grk 116:1)		
<i>I En.</i> 10:16-11:2					Isa 65:17-25				(Gen 6:1-4)				Expectational eschatology ("apocalyptic") for its own sake (encouragement for the Enocheic community)	
Tob 14:3-11 (cf. 13:8-11)			√ (?)		(Isa 66:10 in 13:14)	(Isa 2:2-4)				√			Presupposed temple eschatology used for the sake of instruction for how to live in the Diaspora	
<i>Sib. Or.</i> 3:772-95			√	Isa 11:1-9; chap. 12	Isa 65:17-25	(Isa 2:2-4)							Presupposed temple eschatology used for the sake of promoting the temple and righteousness within Egyptian Judaism	
<i>I En.</i> 90:28-38			√ (?)			(Isa 2:2-4)							Expectational eschatology ("apocalyptic") for its own sake (encouragement for the Enocheic community)	
<i>Antiq.</i> 8.116-117		√											Presupposed temple cosmology used for the sake of apologizing for Jewish philanthropy	
Pauline traditions Israel-nations unification traditions														
Rom 15:7-13				Isa 11:10						√	√	√	Inaugurated expectational eschatology (christological "apocalyptic") for its own sake and for the sake of pastoral instruction	
Eph 2:11-22					Isa 57:19								Inaugurated expectational eschatology (christological "apocalyptic") for its own sake (indirectly for pastoral instruction; cf. 4:1)	

Figure 33: Distribution, Interrelatedness and Purpose of Israel-Nations Unification in Ancient Jewish Traditions

The examined biblical traditions—including those further used in early Jewish traditions—present a unified front on the unity and restoration of humanity. And all of the examined early Jewish traditions take up at least one of those biblical traditions, preserving their theology on Israel-nations unification in an effort to make capital of Israel's role in the restoration of humanity.

These data, then, answer the thesis question of this study: Relevant ancient Jewish traditions—biblical and Second Temple—almost uniformly relate the worship of God with the unification of Israel and the nations by presenting the worship of Israel's God as the fundamental characteristic of a whole humanity, and as the mechanism by which humanity is unified. Such traditions depict the unification of Israel and the nations in worship as the restoration (or creation) of humanity and of Israel, with the two often being seen as coextensive. Each of the examined traditions does so with reference to the same constellation of salient features, arranged in the same logical relationship, as unification in worship marks or effects the restoration (or completion) of creation and is characterized by the *shalom* of God's rule.

Also, the data yield the perhaps unforeseen dividend of accounting for the uniformity of the examined traditions. They are like peaks rising out of a sea of clouds that indicate the shape of the mountain range below, by which the topography of the range can be inferred. The most parsimonious explanation for the likeness between the representations of Israel-nations unification in the examined ancient Jewish traditions is that some kind of theological framework or macrostructure was consistently and persistently held in common by a diversity of authorial and interpretive groups, and over at least several centuries in ancient Judaism. That is, the examined traditions seem best explained as belonging to the same mountain range.

To fill this out with a more speculative suggestion, it could be interpreted that in the examined traditions, references to Zion or temple could point to creation, and references to worship—the catalyst of humanity's restoration—in turn point to temple. And this can be connected with a reading of Genesis 1–2; if this connection were to hold, then the data could be reasonably interpreted as suggesting that ancient Jewish depictions of Israel-nations unification refer to the pattern for God's purposes in history set forth in the prologue of Scripture. In that case, the examined biblical and early Jewish traditions would be expressing the significance of Israel's restoration in terms of the restoration of God's palace-temple of creation, and the restoration of humanity *qua* Israel, God's restored self-image, placed again at the center of creation from where they complete and maintain its wholeness.

Finally, it should be repeated how the traditions examined in this study neither explain nor argue for their presentation of Israel-unification, but all presuppose it to further whatever theological point is instead at issue. This especially seems to reflect a common understanding among the examined early Jewish traditions, given the derivation of their presentation of Israel-nations unification from biblical sources: Scripture only uses this specific depiction of Israel-nation unification when using this theme to illustrate Israel's restoration, and so Second Temple traditions do, too. Thus, given the examination of biblical traditions that reference Israel-nations unification, the same phenomenon in early Jewish traditions seems rather ordinary and unsurprising. And because this way of depicting humanity's restoration is presuppositional, the examined early Jewish traditions were free to apply it in varied ways that suited an author's rhetorical or didactic purpose.

All told, the ancient Jewish traditions examined relate worship and Israel-nations unification in order to paint substantially similar portraits of the restoration (or creation) of humanity. For the relevant biblical traditions, this has to do with Israel's identity and their defining relationship with God. For non-Christian Second Temple traditions, it has to do with Israel's experience and identity within a Graeco-Roman world. And for the Pauline traditions considered, it has to do with Christ and the ramifications of his vindication and resurrection, whereby those who are identified by their relationship with him presently constitute the eschatological restored humanity of Israel.

II. Conclusions

A. Findings of the Study

This study offers beneficial findings in each of the three areas of ancient Jewish traditions examined. Regarding biblical traditions, Israel-nations unification may resolve the apparent tension between biblical traditions that variously envision the nations' destruction, subjugation, or full participation (as suggested at the conclusion of Chapter 2). When destruction or subjugation (or both) also occur together with Israel-nations unification, then the various outcomes are individual stills in a single cinematic progression, wherein the nations are disciplined for their idolatrous rebellion (as is Israel, often), their survivors brought to heel under God's reign (often represented in Israel, his regent), and finally they are restored to the proper worship of the one, living creator God (as is Israel). It is suggested that this final stage represents God's primary intention for all humanity. Biblical traditions that stop at or focus upon the earlier stages of the process do so for rhetorical reasons and not to

the exclusion of God's ultimate purpose, in which case the Hebrew Bible genuinely would offer a single, unified position on the nations and their destiny.

The implications for Second Temple Jewish studies are also interesting. The relative infrequency of Second Temple references to Israel-nations unification and the restoration of humanity could be dismissed as due to a shift away from this interest in early Judaism. Then again, however, it could be concluded that the lowered frequency reflects a settledness on the issue, which provided space for Second Temple Jews to focus instead upon their experience in light of Israel and humanity's ultimate destiny. This would better account for the examined Second Temple traditions' resemblance to and dependence upon biblical Israel-nations unification traditions. And this would indicate that for at least some early Jewish traditions that discuss how Torah should be observed, who are the righteous or what is true piety, that what is really at issue is not these topics but rather the cosmic significance of the fact of Israel and their properly living as God's people. This is not to construe Israel's sacred traditions as somehow being about blessings for the nations rather than Israel, but rather to show how early Jews likely understood Scripture as placing Israel at the center of creation and human history. If, as scholars like E. P. Sanders have argued, Second Temple Judaism was preoccupied with defining Israel's socio-religious identity, then the Second Temple traditions examined in this study demonstrate that this was only because of what was at stake in Israel being Israel. It is too small a thing that early Jews would secure their own identity or vindication; the wholeness of creation and humanity is also tied up in Israel's restoration.

Finally, this study draws some interesting implications for Pauline studies, although the conclusions are partial since only two datapoints could be considered. But the examined Pauline traditions, at least, are thoroughly Jewish in their depictions and use of Israel-nations unification. The so-called universalism of the Pauline documents is not so exceptional as it might have been thought—notwithstanding that Pauline traditions may be unique in foregrounding humanity's restoration, which is traceable to an inaugurated eschatology. Likewise, the implicit Pauline concern with Israel's significance for creation and human history is unremarkably Jewish, as it aligns with the other Second Temple traditions that were examined. These features reaffirm that early Jewish studies is one of the appropriate contexts for Pauline studies (or New Testament studies?), in order that what is actually innovative and unique about the Pauline documents not be overlooked or misperceived.

As to the examined Pauline traditions, this study calls for a fresh assessment of the theology of Romans (and perhaps Ephesians), as its structure orients what Paul has to say on salvation and Christian ethics around the expressed *telos* of Israel-nations unification. In turn,

this may call for a reassessment of the theology of other Pauline documents, depending upon the weight given to Romans for the Pauline corpus. If, as in Romans and Ephesians, a climactic or otherwise pivotal position within a letter is occupied by a reference to Israel-nations unification, then it would suggest that the eschatological restoration of humanity is crucial—perhaps presuppositionally—for that document. Additionally, then, it could be that the relative importance of Ephesians for Pauline studies needs reevaluation. Given the clarity and centrality of the depiction of humanity’s restoration in Ephesians 2:11–22, this tradition may function as a hermeneutical key for Paul’s letters. Regardless of whether scholars assign it deutero-Pauline status, it would at least be a profitable heuristic exercise to analyze critically the Pauline documents relative to Ephesians.

In the same vein, it should be illuminating to reread other areas of Pauline theology in light of Israel-nations unification (and perhaps temple cosmology). The depictions of humanity’s restoration in the examined Pauline traditions could account for why Pauline ethics seem so geared toward producing unity among believers. It could likewise speak to the apparent emphasis on unity in Pauline ecclesiology. It is also evident that if sound, then the findings of this study will have an impact on the interpretation of Pauline teaching regarding evangelism and witness, and presentation of the mechanics of salvation (especially in connection with the Pauline view of Torah). Accordingly, Israel-nations unification could prove useful in reconstructing a sound portrait of the historical Paul, his apostolic self-understanding, and his commitment to mission. On these counts, it may be argued that Pauline theology generally somehow revolves around—and should in our understanding be reoriented to—the theology very much like that preserved (occasionally) in Ephesians.

To extend the analysis a bit further, this study has created a space to argue that a Pauline understanding of the centrality of Israel-nations unification may be generative of both Paul’s Gentile mission and his doctrine of justification by faith. It may be demonstrable through further examination that the notion of a single, christocentric, eschatologically restored humanity prompted Paul to renovate his understanding of *how* Jews and those from the *ethnē* equally become identified with Christ; and that it also significantly motivated Paul’s active participation in realizing the eschatological purpose that God had begun realizing in Christ. If so, then it may be that Paul considered part of his soteriological teaching as auxiliary to his pastoral instruction. Regardless, while these conclusions need fleshing out by further investigation, this study has demonstrated the importance if not actual centrality of Israel-nations unifications for Pauline traditions.

B. Directions for Further Study

On a parting note, this study indicates some possibly fruitful avenues for additional investigation. For biblical traditions, a focused study on the three ultimate destinies envisioned for the nations and their relationship would be worthwhile. It may be that the differing depictions are either incoherent or traceable to compositional histories, or instead it could be found that they harmonize in a way yet to be critically analyzed. Also, the findings of such a study would test the connection I have suggested between biblical references to Israel-nations unification and temple cosmology.

Concerning (non-Christian) Second Temple traditions, the data may not be available for firmer conclusions than those already in this study. But perhaps inquiry can be made into the relationship between cosmology and eschatology in early Jewish sources, which may paint the landscape onto which Second Temple Jewish understandings of both *Israel* and *humanity* can be plotted. Also, of course, the phrase *Second Temple Judaism* is a misnomer for what is properly designated *Second Temple Judaisms*, so that such a study would also compare and contrast differing early Jewish positions and, as a result, would more thoroughly reveal what is common ground on these issues.

As regards Pauline traditions, the above conclusions beg further examination of Pauline traditions that reference Israel-nations unification to which I was unable to attend, paying particular attention to the rhetorical and structural function of those traditions within their contexts. As mentioned in Chapter 1, for instance, Galatians 6:15–16 announces the advent of the New Creation in the overcoming of the division between circumcised and uncircumcised, and names the Gentile audience “the Israel of God.” Or famously, Galatians 3:25–29 but also Colossians 3:9–11 (cf. 1:14–22) both speak of the unification of humanity in Christ, which in each context proves the eschatological inauguration of God’s kingdom (cf. 1 Tim 2:1–6). And in Philippians 2:1–11 the audience’s unity is grounded in the realization of the scriptural hope regarding the cosmic scope of Christ’s reign (cf. the similar focus on unity in e.g. 1 Cor 1–4; 11:17–30; 12:12–13; 1 Thess 1:9–10; 1 Tim 2:1–6; Phlm 17–20). At a glance, these Pauline traditions seem to align with the Pauline view on Israel-nations unification that is expressed in Roman 15:7–13 and Ephesians 2:11–22. If the further investigation needed to test whether such is the case were to pan out, then traditions such as these may confirm the place of humanity’s eschatological restoration in Pauline thought, and clarify how significant the theology of Ephesians is for Pauline study in general.

Finally, my findings may even warrant a degree of reform in Pauline studies. On the traditional view of Paul, areas of Pauline theology such as ethics, the Gentile mission,

ecclesiology or Paul's view of Israel were generally impelled to orbit around personal salvation and the doctrine of justification. The New Perspective offered a corrective to this, in addition to deconstructing the false dichotomy between supposedly legalistic Judaism and gracious Pauline Christianity. But while theology is inextricable from socio-religious identification, the New Perspective arguably devotes much of its focus to *how* Jews and Gentiles gain (socio-religious) membership into Israel. Perhaps more attention could be paid instead to the theological vision that underlies Paul's desire that they would even do so. That is, consonant with his Jewish background, context and identity, and especially given the reality of the inaugurated eschaton, Paul may be much more interested in individually and corporately *being* the people of God and its ramifications, than in the mechanics of how one either "gets in" or "stays in."

The fact of the oneness of God seems insufficient for explaining why the one people of God should be expected to include the *ethnē*. This is especially so in light of the theological sophistication of Israel-nations unification in the Pauline and other early Jewish traditions examined in this study. Neither is the question satisfactorily answered by an emphasis on Israel's Abrahamic promise or the apparent continuity of Pauline theology with Paul's Jewish religious heritage, since the Christ-event represents God's cosmic inbreaking into history. Attempting to arbitrate between these two dimensions (in Galatians), Beverly Gaventa once urged that this tension is an issue in Pauline theology that "cries out for extended discussion."¹ Hopefully this study has made a significant contribution toward filling that gap.

¹ "The Singularity of the Gospel: A Reading of Galatians," in *Pauline Theology, Volume 1: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (ed. Jouette M. Bassler; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 159 n. 34.

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