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'FORMER', 'LATTER', 'COMING', 'NEW'

An Historical and Exegetical Study on

The Expressions of Time

in

Is 40-48

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by

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25 JAN 1990

‘FORMER’, ‘COMING’, ‘LATTER’, ‘NEW’

An Historical and Exegetical Study

on the Expressions of Time

in Is 40–48

by Carsten U. Haeske

The motif of the *former*, *coming*, *latter* and *new things* is not only the dominant theme of Is 40–48, but can be regarded as a key to the message of Deutero-Isaiah and his understanding of history.

The present thesis consists of two parts. After a concise introduction to some problems related to the subject, part I. (‘Historical’) continues with a survey of the discussion of the research, which focuses on various interpretations that the *former* (A.) and the *new things* (B.) have received in the last two centuries. It depends largely upon the standpoint of the speaker (before or after the fall of Babylon), as to whether Cyrus belongs to the *new* or the *former*. The multiplicity of divergent positions leads some critics to investigate further into the functions of these expressions (C.). They draw the conclusion that often the terms appear in a forensic setting in order to prove Yahwe’s power. Part I. closes with a summary of the dominant leads, which also reveals that scholars have jumped too quickly to the conclusion that the *new*, the *latter* and the *coming* have the same meaning. This, however, is not adequate. Nothing indicates that these terms can be identified. An independent examination has therefore to be expanded to the entire wordfield, also including the adverbs of time.

In order to trace the differences between the *former*, *latter*, *coming* and *new*, a critical analysis of the literary units, in which these expressions are embedded, is offered in part II. (‘Exegetical’). Two introductory paragraphs are devoted to preliminary notes. Remarks on methodology (1.) are followed by the description of the account of the expressions of time and the selection of the units to be discussed (2.). This overview is based upon the two appendices added towards the end of the study. While appendix 1 lists the occurrences of the relevant expressions, appendix 2 illustrates the complicated net work of their etymological and contextual relations. The main section of part II. is concerned with the systematic treatment of the selected texts. These are arranged in three context specific groups. In each subdivision, the analysis which follows a fixed pattern acts as the basis for the interpretation of the expressions of time. Each section concludes with a summary of the main results with reference to the texts, as well as to the expressions of time.

Main results of this investigation are: the opposition *former* – *coming* occurs exclusively in trial speeches against the nations and their gods (A: 41, 21–29; 43, 8–13; 44, 6–8; 45, 18–25; cf. excursus 1), where it functions

as an attempt to understand history in conceptual terms. In contrast, the juxtaposition of the *former* and the *latter* proves Yahwe's uniqueness by the convergence of past promise and present experience in the 'Weissagungsbe-
weis' (excursus 2). The 'ah^ari^t' can also be replaced by a demonstrative pronoun that points to the fall of Babylon. The adverbs of time (excursus 3) indicate that the ri'sônô^t have to be understood as ancient events pregnant with a future promise. The statements about Yahwe's creative acts, however, do not refer to a past creation, but to God's present acts in history (excursus 4).

The analysis of two units in which Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' is addressed to Israel (B: 46, 9-11; 48, 12-16), confirms and corroborates the earlier findings about the relation between the *former* and the *latter*. In this context, the self-predication ri'sôn - 'ah^arôn designates Yahwe as the only reliable God who is able to execute his promises. Both units concentrate on the event-part of the proof. Cyrus is not the *new*, but rather the result and end of the *former* (excursus 5).

Three texts with salutary overtones, all of them addressed to Israel, are centered on the opposition *former* - *new* (C: 42, 5-9; 43, 16-21; 48, 1-11), which is unusual in the rest of the OT. Here the *former* consists of the whole history of salvation, from the early beginnings (qadmōniyyô^t) up to its result in Cyrus, i.e. it includes the 'ah^ari^t. While the *former* was valid up to now, the *new* will start from now on (mē'at^tâ). Somehow, the *new* is already present (n^ešûrô^t) and must be perceived by the people. It is something extraordinary, genuinely new, that has no precedent in the *former*. Although it comes as quickly and suddenly as the 'ah^ari^t, the *new* will supersede the *former*. Yahwe creates it for his own sake, so as not to forfeit his honour to the idols. His servant Israel (excursus 6) is to mediate justice that brings salvation and the torah to the nations. In order to take up this future task, obstinate Israel has to undergo an inner change, a refinement, which will enable her to respond adequately to this new election and to Yahwe's claim which is affirmed in the trial speeches. The people will renounce idolatry, acknowledge Yahwe as the only God and give him the praise he deserves.

A final summary resumes the results of part II.. After the appendices, the bibliography and a list of abbreviations are to be found at the end of the thesis.

Preface

Transliteration and Spelling

Due to computer typesetting it was necessary to transcribe the Hebrew. The usual transliteration is followed,¹ with the exception of *yod* and *taw*, which are represented by *y* and *t^h* respectively. *B^e gadk^e fat^h*-letters are not distinguished except for *pe*, which is written either as *p* or as *f* (without dagesh forte). Matres lectiones² can be recognized by the accent $\hat{\ }.$ Naturally long vowels are marked by $\bar{\ }.$ Unfortunately, the Greek could not be accurately accented, as no accents and aspers were available. For the sake of consistency, I have changed deviating transliterations in quotations.

British spelling is used. Thus, *-ize* and *-dgment* are preferred to *-ise* and *-dgement* respectively. For possessives of names ending in *-s* 's is added.

Quotations and Footnotes

The 'logical' approach is taken with regard to the use of punctuation marks; thus only directly quoted material is enclosed in inverted commas, so that a quotation within a sentence will be closed before the closing punctuation of the sentence.

Footnotes after a punctuation mark refer to the whole statement of the preceding (part of a) sentence. In the notes, items are quoted by a reference to the author, which points to the full bibliographical details in the bibliography. Similar surnames are accompanied by initials. If there are more than one work of an author, a keyword—as a rule the first substantive of the title—is added. It appears in italics both in the notes and the bibliography. Commentaries are consistently cited by the author's name and the page number.³ If no page number is given, the reference is *ad. loc.*. To spare the reader searching for a title over previous pages, a work is cited as *loc. cit.* or *ibid.* only if it occurs in the preceding footnote. The commentaries are listed separately in the bibliography, which is only comprised of books that are relevant for the whole subject. Books and articles which refer to specific problems are mentioned in the footnotes with the full bibliographical reference. Cross references to other parts of the thesis are kept as brief as possible.⁴

¹ Cf. Jenni, *Lehrbuch*, 30–34.

² A final vowel (x) followed by *he* is transcribed as \hat{x} .

³ An exception is North, who wrote two commentaries, which I quote by a keyword.

⁴ Thus, e.g., the abbreviated reference 'Cf. 1.2.' in part I.A. implies 'Cf. I.A.1.2.'. The same reference in part II.B. means 'Cf. II.B.1.2.'. A reference in part II. to the place in part I., however, would always be written fully as 'Cf. I.A.1.2.'. The same method is applied to all subdivisions.

Where available, I cited secondary literature in English translation. In this case, the edition used is marked by [ET] in the bibliography. The TDOT was only accessible up to vol. 5. Articles, which have already been published in the ThWAT, are cited in German. If necessary, I have added short explanations in square brackets to make the quotes clearer.

Acknowledgments

I wish to express my appreciation to those persons and institutions whose help was essential in the completion of this study. I am indebted to the 'Stipendienausschuß der Evangelischen Landeskirche von Westfalen' (Bielefeld, W.-Germany), which covered my tuition fees for the year abroad and thus made the writing of this thesis possible. I am grateful to the University of Durham for accepting me as a postgraduate student and providing splendid working conditions in the College of St. Hild and St. Bede and the libraries. Special thanks is due to the staff of Palace Green Library who kept me in good spirits. I also owe thanks to Roger Gawley from the computer department who introduced me to typesetting.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr. C. T. R. Hayward, who has given a lot of his time for proofreading and discussing problems I had during the writing of the study. Likewise I should like to thank the examiners, Dr. A. Gelston (Durham) and Dr. J. Barton (Oxford), for kindly agreeing to correct this thesis.

In particular, my gratitude goes to my friends in Durham and Newcastle for their support during my time in Britain. A special thank you has to be said to Louise for her patience and understanding. In appreciation of all her help, I want to dedicate this study to her.

I am glad that this work is now one of the *former things* ...

Durham, August 1989

Carsten Haeske

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PART I.: HISTORICAL

Introduction

Hardly any other motif in Is 40–48 is as dominant as that of the *former, latter, coming* and *new things*.¹ Accordingly, the importance of these expressions has been rated highly. Many authors consider the proper understanding of the terms as being the heart of the exegesis and the true evaluation of the message of Deutero-Isaiah as well as the key to his total view of history.² Yet, at the same time, hardly any other theme in these chapters is as controversial. When A. KNOBEL³ in the middle of the last century started the discussion about the *ri'sōnōt^h* and the *h^a dāsōt^h* in Deutero-Isaiah, he might not have expected the confusion these terms would bring up in the discussion henceforth. The different positions are often very closely linked with the scholars' general understanding of the prophet and the composition of his book: his significance as a prophet of the fifth century B.C.⁴ and his relation to the historical events of that time—especially the campaigns of Cyrus—his role and function for the Jewish community, his use of literary genres and his theological problems; the understanding of the old Israelite traditions, of creation, exodus and the covenant relationship, of monotheism, universalism and history. Even the Servant-songs were brought into the discussion as relevant for the *former* and the *new things* in Deutero-Isaiah.⁵ Another factor that contributes to the problem is the fact that critics are extremely divided as to the meaning of some passages in which the terms are embedded. Bearing this in mind, it is no longer surprising that the various interpretations that have been made on the subject vary drastically. The dispute about the meaning of these words has not ended.⁶

¹ Cf. appendix 1.

² So Kim, 65: "Dieses Thema ... bildet nicht nur den Kernpunkt der Exegese der dtjs. Rede, sondern auch den Schlüssel, seine gesamte Geschichtsbetrachtung zu verstehen". Cf. Blank, *Faith*, 52–61; Odendaal, *Things*; id., *Expectations*; Preuß, *Deuterojesaja*, 47f.; Rabban, *ri'sōnōt^h*; Haran, *ri'sōnōt^h*; id., *Structure*, 137 (cf. 2.3.3.); von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 239; Leene, *Dingen*. Ewald entitled his commentary 'Das Alte und das Neue'.

³ Knobel, xxxix.

⁴ The fact that in ch. 40ff. it is not the prophet Isaiah of the seventh century, who speaks has been one of the earliest agreements of the research since J. Chr. Döderlein (*Esaias ex recensione textus hebraei ad fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum et versionum antiquarum latine vertit notasque varii argumenti subjecit*, Altdorf 1775). Cf. Vincent, 15–39. For reasons for the separation of the preceding chapters see Michel, *Deuterojesaja*, 510.

⁵ Cf. Condamin, *Serviteur*; id., *Prédications*; id., comm.. Recently Bentzen, *Ideas*, 184f.; id., *Messias*, 55; id., comm., 103. Cf. B.2.1./2.4..

⁶ Unfortunately, the most recent monograph on the subject, H. Leene's thesis *De*



What are the *former things*? Do they refer to a near or a distant past? As for the *new things*, are they present or future events? Why does the prophet give both terms such a prominent place in his prophecy? What is their function and their 'Sitz im Leben'? Does the fact that in the OT Deutero-Isaiah is practically alone in using these terms mean that for him they possess a value of technical terms?⁷ If so, why was it necessary to coin new expressions in the situation of the Babylonian exile? These are some of the questions I will try to tackle in this study. Further queries will come up in the course of the investigation.

Yet, before I elaborate my own understanding of the terms it seems reasonable to ask, how earlier scholars interpreted them. Here too when presenting former interpretations about the content, i.e. the quality of these terms, we will have to keep our key question in mind: "At what point do the *ri'sōnōt^h* end and the *ḥ^adāšōt^h* begin? What is the *terminus ad quem* of the *ri'sōnōt^h* and what is the *terminus a quo* of the *ḥ^adāšōt^h*?"⁸

The account of the history of the discussion in part I. will be of necessity largely descriptive. However, it will save time, if the positions are accompanied by some criticism. I have tried to point to the differences between the positions first and then add my criticism. My own position should also become clear from the brief introductory comments, but then especially in the second part of the thesis.

The antithesis *hāri'sōnōt^h–ḥ^adāšōt^h* is found in Is 42, 9 and 48, 3–6. In 41, 22f. the opposing term is *habbā'ōt^h*. These are all references for *ri'sōnōt^h* with the article. In 43, 18 the *ri'sōnōt^h* oppose the only occurrence of the sg. *ḥ^adāšā*. Finally, in 43, 9 and 46, 9 only the *ri'sōnōt^h* are mentioned.⁹ It will therefore make for clarity, if we summarize the discussion about each term separately.

vroegere en de nieuwe dingen bij Deuterocesaja (Amsterdam 1987) reached me only at a late stage of my own work. His book is a thorough and consistent study, which goes far beyond anything that has been done on the subject. It contains valuable observations in the exegetical parts. In contrast to an historical interpretation, Leene takes a dramatological approach. His thesis that Deutero-Isaiah is a dramatic text with a dialogic and performative character, which was written from a post-exilic point of view, implies the immediate presence of the suggested events, the use of 'performative perfect' and a single advancing line of time, which links the literary units. This last point has consequences for Leene's understanding of the expressions of time in that "what at a certain moment is future may belong to the earlier in a few units later" (ibid., 324). Cf. II. 1. note 6.

⁷ So von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 239; Schoors, *Choses*, 45.

⁸ North, *Things*, 117. Cf. Odendaal, *Expectations*; Penna, 493.

⁹ Cf. appendix 1 and 2.

The 'Former' and the 'New' in the Discussion of the Research

A. THE 'FORMER THINGS'

In his commentary G. A. SMITH sets off that *ri'sōnôth* is a relative term. It means: "first things, prior things", "head things, things ahead, things beforehand or: fountain things, origins, causes ... things previous to certain results or anticipating certain events, either as predictions or as their cause"¹⁰. On this point there is largely unanimity among the scholars.

However, this interpretation raises the question: What are the *ri'sōnôth* prior to? Two fundamental answers can be given to this question. The *ri'sōnôth* can be understood either as prior to the standpoint of the speaker or as prior to other things that will happen in the later future. In fact, both answers have been given by scholars.

1. Prior to Future Events

On Is 41, 21–29 a group of 19th century scholars understood the *former things* in the latter sense as prior to other things that will happen in the future. In their opinion the *ri'sōnôth* were "things at the beginning"¹¹, i.e. things that will happen first. DELITZSCH pointed out that in v. 22 the general idea of what is in the future overrules the passage. The *ri'sōnôth* therefore have to be taken as the immediate, i.e. "the near as opposed to the distant future"¹². "Both ideas lie upon the line of the future; the one being more immediate, the other more remote"¹³. KÖNIG¹⁴, STIER, HAHN, VITRINGA, PIEPER¹⁵, DRECHSEL¹⁶ and CHEYNE¹⁷ came round substantially to the same view. None of these, however, brought forward any further arguments in support of this view. They simply accepted it as it stood.

Already soon after Delitzsch, conclusive reasons were brought forth against his view. DAVIDSON¹⁸ and SELLIN¹⁹ argued that it is difficult to see why the idols should be given a choice between the earlier and the later

¹⁰ G. A. Smith, 125f.. Recently emphasized by Elliger, 184.

¹¹ Delitzsch, 169.

¹² Cited in Cheyne, 259.

¹³ Delitzsch, 168. Cf. B.1..

¹⁴ König, *Deuterojesajanisches*, 958f.. Cf. id., comm..

¹⁵ Pieper, 105.

¹⁶ Drechsel, 40.

¹⁷ Cheyne, 259; cf. Delitzsch, 168.

¹⁸ Cited by G. A. Smith, 124.

¹⁹ Sellin (*Studien*, 153): "Nun würde die gegensätzliche Scheidung zwischen einer 'er-

future. Furthermore, *the coming things* do not necessarily imply a later future. According to Davidson they are “things coming”, which is applicable to both the near and the far future. NORTH²⁰ affirms that in the light of 42, 9 and 48, 3, where the *ri’sōnôth* are past and the *h^adāšôth* are future, it is impossible to agree on Delitzsch’s interpretation. Lately HARAN²¹ rejected this view again vehemently as being “based on a complete misunderstanding” of 41, 22 and therefore “without foundation”. As I see it, this older interpretation can hardly be relevant anymore. Typically enough, it has not been revived since.

2. Prior to the Standpoint of the Speaker

The majority of scholars understand the *ri’sōnôth* as prior to the prophet’s standpoint.²² Here again all sorts of questions come up and the difficulties only begin. Are the *ri’sōnôth* former prophecies or former events?²³ If they are prophecies, can they be found in other books of the Bible or even in Deutero-Isaiah’s prophecy? Or are they rather prophecies the people were so familiar with that they did not have to be mentioned? If they are events, does the fact that the *ri’sōnôth* are ‘previous to the prophet’ mean that they point back to any general occurrences or to specific events in Israel’s ancient history? Or do they refer to events that took place one or two generations before the prophet or even to contemporary events that were happening before Deutero-Isaiah’s eyes? If we assume the latter, we will have to ask: what is the exact standpoint of the prophet? Another, somewhat related question is: should we interpret the *ri’sōnôth* exclusively in a context of the cultic sphere or do we also have to consider the political background? Is Deutero-Isaiah at all interested in the political situation

sten Partie Begebenheiten’ und der ‘auf der ersten Schicht der Zukunftereignisse sich aufbauenden Momente ...’ in diesem Zusammenhange überflüssig, ja albern sein, denn können die Götter die allernächsten Ereignisse nicht voraussagen, so die ferneren selbstverständlich auch nicht ... Eine logische Antithese besteht nur zwischen früher geweisagten Ereignissen und neuen Vorgängen, die jetzt geweissagt werden”.

²⁰ North, *Things*, 120. Already Skinner, 22 and 49.

²¹ Haran, *Structure*, 138. Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 30.

²² Recently Elliger (184): “*ri’sōnôth* ... [meint] das im Vergleich zur Gegenwart des Redenden ‘Erste’, also das Frühere und damit der Vergangenheit Angehörnde”.

²³ Leene formulates to the point: “Is het vroegere een inmeddels gebeurde voorzegging of is het een voorzegged gebeuren?” (*Dingen*, 8, cf. 10). Delitzsch (246) made the subtle distinction between ‘prius praedicta’ (43, 9; 44, 6 and 43, 3.6), i.e. earlier prophecies, ‘prius facta’ (46, 9) and ‘prius eventura’ (41, 22; 42, 9; 43, 18), i.e. earlier events. This distinction between the cases has not been noticed by later commentators, who generally quote Delitzsch, in order to attack his views on 41, 21–29. Only Cheyne (259) applauded this differentiation.

of his time or is he even personally involved in negotiations with Cyrus²⁴? How much does he know about the campaigns of the Persian? Does he allude to them in the mentioning of the *ri'sōnōt^h*? If so, does Cyrus just form an example for the *ri'sōnōt^h* or does he exhaust this term entirely? Can we find allusions to his early, his recent or even his coming victories?²⁵ Or is the “differentiation of stages in the career of Cyrus . . . imported into the text”²⁶? How likely is it to Deutero-Isaiah that Babylon will fall? Does he even utter his prophecy after the fall of the city?²⁷ With these questions we have formed the outline for the following interpretations.

2.1. Predictions in General Terminus ad quem: The Distant Past

In all relevant texts we have to deal with, scholars found reasons for interpreting the *ri'sōnōt^h* as earlier prophecies of a distant past. This view is widely held. One of the first advocates of this theory was again DELITZSCH.²⁸ According to him, in all passages —with the exception of 41, 22— both prophecies and events were uttered and had taken place respectively in the distant past. They could not be specified in any way. On 43, 9, e.g., Delitzsch suggests the meaning: “any former events . . . fortold, . . . which had already taken place”²⁹, i.e. events anticipated by prophecy. Only in his comment on 44, 6–23 it seems as if Delitzsch tried to define the *ri'sōnōt^h* further. He states, they might include prophecies before the captivity, which “had foretold the conquest of Babylon by Medes and Elamites, and the deliverance of Israel from the Babylonian bondage”, but then, in the same sentence, he goes on: “even these prophecies themselves were like a spirit’s voice from the far distant past”³⁰. Further definition of the term did not seem necessary to him, as he considered the pivot of this passage not to be the contents of the term *ri'sōnōt^h*, but rather the fact that God “alone manifests Himself as God . . . by the utterance of prophecy”³¹. Accordingly Delitzsch translates the *ri'sōnōt^h* in 46, 8–11 and 43, 18 by “occurrences of the olden time” to express the contrast with the *ḥ^adāšōt^h*. On the latter passage, he found a supporter in FELDMANN, who comments: “To what time the *ri'sōnōt^h* belong is not said. . . . They are any older prophecies

²⁴ So Haller, 261–277.

²⁵ The question, whether and how far Cyrus has to be considered a part of the *new things* will have to be deferred. Cf. B.2.2..

²⁶ Odendaal, *Expectations*, 66.

²⁷ Cf. 2.3.3..

²⁸ Cf. also Bredenkamp, 268.

²⁹ Delitzsch, 192. Similarly, Whybray, 76.

³⁰ Delitzsch, 207.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 205.

whatsoever that have already been fulfilled”³².

One of the main reasons for Delitzsch’s interpretation of the *ri’šōnôṯ^h* was their connection with the adverb *mē’āz* in 44, 8, which he translates “long ago”. NORTH³³, however, doubted that *mē’āz* necessarily implies ‘distant past’. He attempts to show that the term may refer to recent events by pointing to such references as 2 Sam 40, 34, where it is clear from the context that *mē’āz* has to be translated by “until recently”. In Ex 4, 10 *mē’āz* “is more recent than the day before yesterday”³⁴. However, we will see that North is particularly interested to prove that the *ri’šōnôṯ^h* can refer to recent events.³⁵ He was contradicted by MUILENBURG³⁶, who replied that the parallel passages in Deutero-Isaiah hardly support North’s view.

Against Delitzsch, also the *ri’šōnôṯ^h* in the passage 41, 21–29 were referred to the distant past. This view had been adopted by EWALD and others³⁷ in statements like this: “The heathen, together with the Gods, are called upon . . . to declare that which they had in former times prophesied . . . and which is now being fulfilled”³⁸.

Ewald’s view did not go unchallenged. Already CHEYNE lessened the force of his interpretation with three arguments. First, he argues, the existence of the article, which is expressed in the Hebrew is against this view. Moreover, the context of the passage excludes Ewald’s interpretation: after all Yahwe attacks the Gods in the field of predictions of the future. Thirdly and finally it would have been easy “to answer such a call plausibly by reference to the Babylonian divinations”³⁹.

But Cheyne’s criticism was not the last word on this passage. It can be met with good reasons that speak in favour of applying a general meaning to the *ri’šōnôṯ^h* in 41, 22. The LXX-reading *τα προτερα* and the lack of an opposition to the *ḥ^adāšôṯ^h* caused DUHM⁴⁰, HOONACKER⁴¹, WHYBRAY⁴² and later SCHOORS⁴³ and ELLIGER⁴⁴ to follow Ewald. Schoors,

³² Feldmann, 51. Cited in North, *Things*, 117. Cf. Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 165. Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 32: “des événements du passé, conçus d’une manière générale”.

³³ North, *Things*, 123. Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 31, but also excursus 2.

³⁴ Cf. Ex 5, 23; Josh 14, 10; Is 14, 4; Jer 44, 18.

³⁵ See below, A.2.3..

³⁶ Muilenburg, 554.

³⁷ Cited in Cheyne, 259.

³⁸ Loc. cit..

³⁹ Loc. cit..

⁴⁰ Duhm, 275.

⁴¹ Van Hoonacker, *Questions*: “Les ‘choses anciennes’ sont en général les faits qui appartiennent au passé, éventuelle à un passé déjà très lointain” (RB 20, 110). On 41, 22 he simply translates “le passé”. Similarly on 43, 9: “en appelle aux événements ayant réalisés dans le passé, les prophéties dont ils auraient été l’objet” (Ibid., 113).

⁴² Whybray, 68.

⁴³ Schoors, *Choses*, 25 and 30.

⁴⁴ Elliger (185): “in ganz allgemeinem Sinne gebraucht, von einem speziellen Inhalt ist

however, admits that v. 25 indicates that also more recent events could be included among the *ri'sōnôth*, but he points out that these do not exhaust their full meaning.⁴⁵ A similar view was held by FELDMANN. On 48, 3 he notes: "The expression is general. To every Israelite, who knew the history of his people, such events would be self-evident; the prophet did not need to name them or to have them specifically in mind"⁴⁶. With this statement Feldmann is the forerunner of another group of commentators who seek to identify the *ri'sōnôth* with the history of Israel.

2.2. Events in Israel's Salvation History

In his prophecy, Deutero-Isaiah refers to the most important events in Israel's salvation history: the myth of creation,⁴⁷ the covenant with Noah,⁴⁸ and the election of Abraham and Sarah.⁴⁹ He calls his people by the name of Israel and Jacob,⁵⁰ knows the Exodus tradition⁵¹ —though the name of Mose does not appear— and mentions the covenant with David.⁵² A number of scholars associate (one of) these events with the *ri'sōnôth*. WHYBRAY applies this theory to 41, 22 and 43, 18: "Yahwe's earlier acts of deliverance of his people in particular the events described as the things of old . . . — Israel's ancient history"⁵³. SCHOORS adds 43, 8–13 and claims: "l'expression [*ri'sōnôth*] doit marquer des événements du passé d'Israel"⁵⁴.

Also SMART translates the *ri'sōnôth* by "what has happened up to the present" or simply by "history"⁵⁵. However, it is obvious that he thinks of Israel's history as a history of salvation. In Israel, he says, God has been revealed "to certain men such as Abraham, Moses, Samuel and the great succession of the prophets"⁵⁶. With the *ri'sōnôth* therefore Deutero-Isaiah

nichts zu merken".

⁴⁵ Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 30. This had already been emphasized by Volz: "An unserer Stelle ist der Ausdruck ganz allgemein. . . . Das Wort darf also nicht auf die Geschichte des Cyrus beschränkt werden" (25, cf. 40), "genaueren Einzelheiten ist den beiden Wörtern nicht nachzuspüren" (89). Cf. C..

⁴⁶ Feldmann, 116f..

⁴⁷ 51, 3.9ff..

⁴⁸ 54, 9f..

⁴⁹ 41, 8; 51, 1ff..

⁵⁰ 40, 27; 41, 8; 42, 24; 49, 26; etc..

⁵¹ Cf. excursus 7.

⁵² 55, 3.

⁵³ Whybray, 68, 116 and 126.

⁵⁴ Schoors, *Choses*, 34. Anderson (188): "the 'former things' then are the events of Israel's *Heilsgeschichte*". Cf. Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 147.

⁵⁵ Smart, 76.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

associates all the events that are relevant for the revelation of God's plan for his history. According to Smart, the prophet points to the great tradition of the people, "to the call of Abraham, to the Exodus, to David, to the princes of the sanctuary"⁵⁷. However, the foundation for this history was laid in "the sovereign purpose of a creator God"⁵⁸.

2.2.1. Terminus ad quem: The Creation

Commenting on 46, 1–11, MORGENSTERN associates the *ri'sōnōt^h* with the term *mē'ōlām*. In this perspective he states, they "can refer only to the successive stages of Yahwe's creation of the universe"⁵⁹, since here, as in the parallel passages, the creation supplies an argument to which Deutero-Isaiah often recurs to prove Yahwe's uniqueness.

It is true, Deutero-Isaiah grounds his monotheism on the fact that Yahwe is the creator of the world. But beside Yahwe's acts his predictions play an equally important role, especially in the 'Weissagungsbeweis'⁶⁰. 'To create' and 'to predict' are expressions for the same divine sovereignty: God the creator is identical with God, who directs history. SCHOORS⁶¹ argued against Morgenstern that the *ri'sōnōt^h* are always to be found in the context of 'predictions' and never primarily in the context of 'creation'. Hence, Morgenstern's interpretation cannot be correct.

2.2.2. Terminus ad quem: The Time of Adam or Noah

DUHM⁶² suggested on 44, 6–8 that the *mē'ōlām* refer to the time of Noah. Consequently he thinks that Deutero-Isaiah may have Gen 8, 21–22; 9, 25ff. or even Gen 3 in mind, when speaking about the *former things*.

2.2.3. Terminus ad quem: The Time of Abraham and Jacob

In all passages TORREY translates *ri'sōnōt^h* by "the beginning" and declares: They are the "first steps"⁶³ of the history of Israel, which started with the calling of the patriarchs, especially Abraham and Jacob.⁶⁴ Due to

⁵⁷ Ibid., 145.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 99.

⁵⁹ Morgenstern, *Message*, 97. Cf. also Clifford, 143.

⁶⁰ Cf. excursus 2.

⁶¹ Schoors, *Choses*, 32f..

⁶² Duhm, 305. Cf. Muilenburg, 507.

⁶³ Torrey, 337.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 318, 320 and 337.

his drastic emendations⁶⁵ he refers all passages that are normally associated with Cyrus to Abraham: Abraham was called from the east (Ur) and the north (Haran); he is Yahwe's servant to execute his plan, etc.. His final triumph over all foes had been promised to him in the beginning.⁶⁶ Both, the beginning (*rō's*) and the end (*'ah^arîth*), are part of the divine plan.⁶⁷

Torrey's interpretation was inspired by the Targum, a version which influenced also a number of Jewish interpreters, especially the works of the Rabbis of the Talmud.⁶⁸

Also KISSANE favours the Abrahamic interpretation, but he understands the patriarch in a kind of typological explanation of the *former* and the *new things* as a representative of Israel. "The prophet is making a comparison between the story of Abraham and the future history of Israel"⁶⁹. From this premise he too can suggest that "the 'former things' are the promises made to Abraham which were fulfilled in the conquest of Canaan"⁷⁰.

SMART⁷¹ goes even farther. He holds that in 41, 9 the conqueror, who remains unnamed until this verse, is identified with Israel. He points out that Torrey in his interpretation neglected Deutero-Isaiah's radical eschatological orientation. In fact, Smart says, the prophet speaks of the restored and transformed Israel.

2.2.4. *Terminus ad quem*: The Time of Moses and the Exodus

KNIGHT agrees with Torrey that the *ri'sōnôth* designate the beginning of Yahwe's plan, which he is working out in history. He goes so far as to say that Deutero-Isaiah uses the word as a technical term for the first actions of God in Israel's salvation history.⁷² But, concerning the first action, Knight—unlike Torrey—thinks of the exodus and lays all stress upon this single event: the plan of God, he comments on 41, 21–29, "has had a beginning—what Deutero-Isaiah calls his *first things*—at that point in Israel's history when God raised up Moses to be his prophet"⁷³. With his interpretation that it is in the event of the exodus that the history of the people had its

⁶⁵ Cf. below, 2.3.2..

⁶⁶ Gen 22, 17. Cf. Torrey, 69.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 74.

⁶⁸ Cf. F. Meltzer, "The attitude of 'Hagal' (The Rabbis of the Talmud) to Cyrus", 'El ha 'ayin, Jerusalem 1964, 34. Similarly mediaeval Christian commentaries replaced 'Cyrus' by 'Christ'. Cf. Jones; Kissane, 22.

⁶⁹ Kissane, 22f..

⁷⁰ Ibid., 38. Cf. 94, 110.

⁷¹ Smart, 67f., 77f. and 119. Similarly Snaith, *Studies*, 163f.. Cf. 2.3.2..

⁷² Knight, 67, 172. Similarly, Uffenheimer, 16.

⁷³ Ibid., 65. Cf. 78, 116. Cf. also Ex 16, 7; 10; 24, 16. Similarly, Snaith, *Studies*, 182.

purposeful beginning, Knight is not alone among the scholars.

At least on one passage, 43, 16–21, there is largely unanimity among the commentators⁷⁴ that the *ri'sšōnôṯ^h* can only refer to the exodus from Egypt. It seems to be obvious from the context. SCHOORS⁷⁵ brings forth three reasons in favour of this view: Firstly, he emphasizes that both, *qadmōnit^h* and *mē'ôlām* refer to the distant past and consequently cannot be applied to recent events, which can be shown from parallel references. Secondly, he claims that if the *former things* are put in contrast with the *new things* and if this new element has to be identified with the second exodus, then the *ri'sšōnôṯ^h* have to designate the first exodus. Thirdly, Schoors says, 43, 16–21 is a literary unit.⁷⁶ Therefore the oracle of salvation cannot be separated from the introduction. Both must have a functional link. It follows that only the exodus can be meant in the oracle.

However, a minority of scholars doubted this current interpretation of 43, 16–21. As a representative for this small group I want to discuss ELLIGER's argumentation, since he summarized the results and took up the task of objecting the view of the majority. He does so in meeting Schoors's arguments on the passage: Schoors had concluded from parallel passages⁷⁷ that *qadmōnit^h* is always used in the distant past and never refers to recent things ('choses récentes').⁷⁸ Elliger agrees that the events these references allude to "ein beträchtliches Stück zurückliegen"⁷⁹. However, he points out: "in die Urzeit oder auch nur in die Anfänge der Geschichte Israels gehören sie deshalb noch nicht"⁸⁰. Also the LXX-reading *αρχαίος* (V: antiquus), which Schoors had hinted at, can mean both: "von alters", but also "vor gar nicht so langer Zeit". Deutero-Isaiah's use of the noun *qædæm* supports this argument: true, in 51, 9 it means 'Urzeit', but in 45, 21 and 46, 10 "ist es einfach die der Erfüllung vorangehende Zeit der Ankündigung, die von dem Sieg bzw. dem Auftreten des Kyros nicht allzu weit entfernt gedacht werden kann"⁸¹. Elliger concludes that *qadmōniyyôṯ^h* (v. 18) is a relative

⁷⁴ Cf. Morgenstern, *Message*, 141; Muilenburg, 459; Skinner, 41; Torrey, 70; Frey, 99; van Hoonacker, *Questions*, RB 19, 113; Schoors, *Choses*, 43; North, *Things*, 116f.; id., *Second Isaiah*, 124; Blenkinsopp, *Scope*, 24; Kissane, 23, 37, 94, 110; Anderson, 188; Rignell, 38f.; Preuß, *Verspottung*, 205, 227; Marti, 297; Volz, 43; McKenzie, 57; König, 151; Fohrer, 67; Fischer, 65; Feldmann, 73; R. W. Klein, 101. Cf. II.C.2..

⁷⁵ Schoors, *Choses*, 23–25; id., *God*, 94.

⁷⁶ This argument was recently supported by Leene (*Dingen*, 126), who claims that the messenger formula in Deutero-Isaiah has a 'performative' character, so that the reader is under the impression that it is spoken by Yahwe himself. Often, Leene says, one cannot distinguish between the voice of the prophet and that of Yahwe. He concludes that the text has to be read as a coherent whole. Cf. II.C.2.3..

⁷⁷ 1 Sam 24, 14; Ez 38, 17 and Mal 3, 4.

⁷⁸ Schoors, *Choses*, 23–25; cf. 31.

⁷⁹ Elliger, 352.

⁸⁰ Loc. cit..

⁸¹ Loc. cit.. Cf. excursus 3.

term, just like *ri'sōnōt^h*. “Der konkrete Inhalt und damit die mehr oder weniger große zeitliche Entfernung des ‘Früheren’ vom Standpunkt des Redenden ergibt sich jedesmal erst aus dem Zusammenhang”⁸². In reply to the second objection he feels that again Schoors’s argument cannot hold water. Since *ri'sōnōt^h* and *qadmōniyyōt^h* —in the plural!— oppose *h^adāšâ* —in the singular!— the contrast between them is “keineswegs so kontradiktorisch scharf und eindeutig”⁸³ as Schoors thinks. In Elliger’s view the opposition has been weakened deliberately by the prophet. It seems as if the *ri'sōnōt^h* comprehend at least quantitatively more than the *h^adāšâ*. However, they cannot be specified any further. Against Schoors’s third reason Elliger argues that it is obvious, “daß zwischen der Einleitung des Botenspruchs, in der ja der Prophet spricht, und der eigentlichen Jahwerede formal eben doch ein Schnitt liegt und daß die Jahwerede selbst in [v.] 18 ihre eigene Einleitung hat, deren Inhalt durchaus nicht in direkter Beziehung zu den Erweiterungen stehen muß, die der Bote der Botenspruchformel hinzugefügt hat”⁸⁴. This point has also been strongly emphasized by H. E. v. WALDOW⁸⁵, whose view I will discuss next.

2.2.5. Terminus ad quem:

The Fall of Jerusalem and the Time of the Exile

This group refers the *ri'sōnōt^h* to events of the more recent past. KÖHLER⁸⁶, REUSS⁸⁷ and STAERK⁸⁸ were the first advocates of the theory that the mentioning of the *former things* is an allusion to the exile, especially to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.. But their view remained unnoticed until it was only recently taken up by FOHRER⁸⁹, ELLIGER⁹⁰,

⁸² Elliger, 352.

⁸³ Ibid., 353.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 352f..

⁸⁵ Von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 239–244.

⁸⁶ Köhler (*Deuterojesaja*, 135) refers the *ri'sōnōt^h* to “die Zeit der Sünde und Strafe”.

⁸⁷ Reuss, 258 note 3. Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 41; id., *God*, 291.

⁸⁸ Staerk (83) thought of “die letzte Vergangenheit Israels, die Katastrophe, die über das Volk gekommen ist und den Druck der Sündenschuld, der seitdem auf den Frommen liegt und jetzt ihre Augen blind macht gegen Gottes Wirken im Weltgeschehen. . . . Bei den *ri'sōnōt^h* [ist] zunächst an die Verkündigung von Strafgerichten zu denken, die dann wie Katastrophen über des Volk hereinbrachen. Am ehesten darf man annehmen, daß der Prophet auf den Fall Jerusalems anspielt”.

⁸⁹ Fohrer (68; id., *Propheten*, 127): “die Jahrzehnte des Lebens im Exil”.

⁹⁰ Elliger, 350.

KISSANE⁹¹, KAISER⁹², KIESOW⁹³, WESTERMANN⁹⁴ and von WALDOW⁹⁵, who think of earlier predictions of this event. Exemplarily for the whole group I want to present the argumentation of the latter. On account of his literary analysis of the genres in Deutero-Isaiah, von Waldow defines 43, 18–21 —following Begrich⁹⁶— as an oracle of salvation. Yet, even more than Elliger, he sees a deep parting before v. 18. Apparently, in this verse the oracle itself refers to a community lament, which recalls the *ri'sōnōt^h*. The fact that these *former things* have to be understood as referring to the judgment that could be experienced by the people in the catastrophe of 586 is to be seen from 48, 3 and 42, 9, where the *ri'sōnōt^h* are subject to old predictions and their fulfilment in the present is pointed out. Hence, for von Waldow, the 'former predictions' consist of the prophecies of doom, uttered by the pre-exilic prophets. These had come true 'at once' (48, 3) with the fall of the city. This interpretation is due to the fact that, according to von Waldow, a motif of lamentation must necessarily refer to calamity. In the oracle of salvation, however, the prophet asks the people to forget this dreadful past, as Yahwe promises new salvation.

KIM⁹⁷ attacks this interpretation with strong arguments. The understanding of *ri'sōnōt^h* as a term of judgment, he says, betrays the whole message of the prophet. Deutero-Isaiah wants to bring Israel back to Yahwe and encourage her.⁹⁸ He is thus more interested in presenting Yahwe as merciful than recalling him as a god of mischief. Correctly, Kim points out that in the trial speeches Yahwe presents the *ri'sōnōt^h* as praiseworthy in front of the idol worshippers. Could the catastrophe of the exile really be glorious for Yahwe and his people? Deutero-Isaiah himself rejects this idea, when he presents the event as a sad and shameful discord between husband and wife.⁹⁹ The Yahwe-self-praise in the trial speeches does only make sense, if the *ri'sōnōt^h* are connected with the victory over the idol worshippers, i.e. if *ri'sōnōt^h* is used as a term of judgment against the nations, rather

⁹¹ Kissane, 116 [on 48, 16]: "The 'former things' are the threat of chastisement which was fulfilled at the exile". Cf. J. Hausmann, *kl'*, ThWAT 4, 153–156, 155.

⁹² Kaiser (43) adopts von Waldow's interpretation.

⁹³ Kiesow, 72f.: "Das Frühere, das sind die Leiden des Volkes, konkret Jerusalems Untergang und die Deportation".

⁹⁴ Westermann (*Heilsworte*, 51): "Das 'Frühere', das Jahwe durch seine Boten ankündigte (44, 26) [ist] ... das Gericht, das die Propheten vor dem Zusammenbruch ankündigten". Cf. id., comm., 128.

⁹⁵ "Unter dem Früheren [sind] die Gerichtsankündigungen Jahve's zu verstehen, die sich mit der Zerstörung Jerusalems und dem Exil erfüllt haben. ... Unter dem Begriff *ri'sōnōt^h* faßt Dtjes. die jüngst mit der Zerstörung Jerusalems und der Exilierung geschehene Erfüllung der Gerichtsweissagungen Jahve s zusammen" (von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 241).

⁹⁶ Begrich, *Studien*. Cf. II.C.2.5..

⁹⁷ Kim, 167–171.

⁹⁸ Cf. 40, 27–31; 49, 14–16; 51, 12ff.; 55, 1ff..

⁹⁹ Cf. 50, 1ff.; 54, 4ff..

than Israel. For Israel, the *former things* cannot imply a fearful event, but must be a salutary one.¹⁰⁰

With SCHOORS¹⁰¹ I think that von Waldow is the victim of his method of 'Gattungsanalyse', which he handles too rigidly. As a consequence he comes to one-sided results. We have to keep in mind that 'Gattungen' are artificial patterns, which can only be found through text-analysis. Analysis of genres is good for what it is, as *one* tool of exegesis, but it becomes dangerous, if a 'Gattung' as such is applied to the text, so that the text has to be read through a filter. In my view this is a kind of eisegesis. Von Waldow seems to realize that there is more to the text than his explanation, for he suggests the antithesis *first exodus* — *second exodus* himself.¹⁰² But somehow he cannot bring himself to identify the *h^adāšôth* with the new exodus. At least in this point his argumentation seems to be inconsistent.

Though ROHLAND applies von Waldow's interpretation to the passage 41, 21–29,¹⁰³ he is not entirely content with this solution himself. On 43, 16–21, he argues against von Waldow that even if v. 18 firstly refers to a 'Klage des Volkes' about the events of the recent past—which in his opinion is not unlikely, but cannot be proved—the parting between v. 17 and v. 18 must not be judged as so grave that it excludes an interpretation of the terms *qadmōnit^h* and *ri'šōnôth^h* as referring to the complete earlier history of Israel, especially the exodus (v. 16f.). For this reason, Rohland doubts that the *former things* pinpoint exclusively an event of the recent past, such as the fall of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴

McKENZIE takes a mediating position between the scholars discussed above when he says: "the recommendation not to remember the past is directed in the first place to the judgments of the past, but not exclusively"¹⁰⁵.

2.2.6. Israel's Salvation History From its Beginnings up to the Fall of Jerusalem

Closely related to and yet to be distinguished from the previous positions, is a type of interpretation, which does not associate the *ri'šōnôth^h* with a particular point of time, but with a long period of time that starts in the

¹⁰⁰ "Wäre *ri'šōnôth^h* ein Gerichts begriff, so würde Jahwe hier als Unheilsgott an Israel seine Einzigartigkeit präzisieren, und das verriete die gesamte Intention Dts., also seine Heilsverkündigung an Israel" (Kim, 170). Cf. North (*Second Isaiah*, 177): "if they were calamities, Israel could hardly point to them proudly as the work of their 'idols' [48, 5b]"

¹⁰¹ Schoors, *Choses*, 24f..

¹⁰² Waldow, *Anlaß*, 98f..

¹⁰³ Rohland, 99 note 2. The events of the year 586, he argues, must have been difficult to understand for the 'chosen' people and therefore needed an explanation. Yahwe had given them this interpretation through his prophets.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 99ff..

¹⁰⁵ McKenzie, 57.

distant past and finishes with the fall of Jerusalem. At first sight this theory looks very much like the interpretation of SMART. The specific differences between these positions we have to defer to a later point of the discussion.¹⁰⁶

Whereas to many scholars of previous interpretations *ri'sōnōt^h* is a technical term, ROHLAND thinks of it rather as a blurred expression, which can only be determined in the direction of the *ḥ^adāsōt^h*.¹⁰⁷ As for their beginning, he points out, they may include events of a more distant past. Supposedly, Deutero-Isaiah thinks of predicted events from the beginning of history,¹⁰⁸ which he quotes in 43, 16f. and 51, 9f. as proofs for the power of Yahwe. For Rohland, the key passage to prove this meaning of the *ri'sōnōt^h* is 46, 9f., where the term is linked with *mē'ōlām*. The difference of his interpretation from the previous theories lies in his understanding of the term *'ah^arīt^h*, which leads him to a new understanding of the *ri'sōnōt^h*. Yahwe has announced *the end* (*'ah^arīt^h*) from the *beginning* (*mērō's*). In the *'ah^arīt^h* Rohland sees an allusion to the fall of Jerusalem and concludes that the *ri'sōnōt^h* mean "nicht einen eng begrenzten Ereigniskomplex, sondern einen größeren Zeitraum . . . , der allerdings in der Zerstörung Jerusalems seinen Abschluß fand"¹⁰⁹. For the *qadmōniyyōt^h* in 43, 18, which refer to the distant past, the *ri'sōnōt^h* have to be interpreted similarly. In Rohland's opinion Deutero-Isaiah wants to say: "Das, was mit der Herausführung aus Ägypten begonnen hat, hat mit der Zerstörung Jerusalems ein Ende gefunden und soll daher vergessen werden"¹¹⁰. The whole previous epoch is put aside as *old*.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. 2.3.2..

¹⁰⁷ Cf. also Leene, *Dingen*, 5; Staerk, 84; van Hoonacker, *Questions*, RB 20, 111ff.; Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 165; Schoors, *Choses*, 23ff..

¹⁰⁸ Likewise Elliger comes to the conclusion: "Gedacht ist wohl an die gesamte Geschichte Israels bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit hinein, wobei die Katastrophe von 587 ganz selbstverständlich ihre besondere Rolle spielt . . . Der Sinn von [v.] 18 ist also ganz allgemein: Laßt die Vergangenheit auf sich beruhen und richtet euren Sinn auf die Zukunft, die ich jetzt verkündige!" (353). Similarly Odendaal (*Expectations*, 72f., 116) who sees in the *ri'sōnōt^h* the period from Abraham up to the exile. Cf. R. E. Clements (*Prophecy and Covenant*, London ³1968, 115): "by the 'former things' the prophet was referring to the whole earlier history of Israel, extending from the exodus to the exile". Also von Waldow revised his earlier standpoint (cf. 2.2.5.) and followed this line of interpretation: "unter dem 'Früheren' versteht Dtjes. die ganze Heilsgeschichte Gottes, die mit dem Auszug aus Ägypten begann, die sich mit dem Einzug in das verheißene Kulturland fortsetzte, aber wegen der fortgesetzten Untreue des Volkes ihr Ende in der Zerstörung Jerusalems und in der Deportation fand" (id., *Jesaja*, 50). Similarly, W. H. Schmidt (264): "Dabei schließt das 'Frühere' über das erfahrene Gericht hinaus wohl doch die gesamte Heilsgeschichte seit dem Auszug ein (43, 16f.; 46, 9)". Cf. Kraus (*Schöpfung*, 161): "Mit dem 'Früheren' ist fraglos die ganze Geschichte Israels von Abraham bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems gemeint" and Steck, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 292.

¹⁰⁹ Rohland, 100.

¹¹⁰ Loc. cit..

Rohland's supervisor G. von RAD¹¹¹ applauded these results: In Deutero-Isaiah, he says, "zerfällt das Heilshandeln an seinem Volk in zwei Phasen"¹¹². The *ri'šōnôṯ*^h mean the 'Heilsgeschichte', which began with the vocation of Abraham and the exodus from Egypt and ended with the destruction of Jerusalem. It matters a great deal to von Rad that all these events had been predicted by Yahwe in advance, for salvation history is predicted history. In the prophetic view of history, the exile was the end of the way from prediction to fulfilment. The 'first history' of Yahwe with Israel had come full circle.¹¹³ The carrier of the tradition, through which the message of the deed of salvation had reached Deutero-Isaiah, von Rad proceeds, was obviously "der kultische Hymnus", as can be seen from the stylization of 43, 16f.

This thesis had already been advanced before von Rad by BENTZEN. Having emphasized that the verb *zkr* in 43, 18 implies a creative 'remembrance' in the cult, which makes the Holy Past live again"¹¹⁴, Bentzen comes to the same understanding of the passage as von Rad: "Deutero-Isaiah exhorts his people no longer to look to back to the Holy Past of their nation, the 'old' history of salvation, embodied in the story of the Exodus from Egypt. For they experience new events which are to be the creative contents of a new cult myth, the new Exodus from Babylonia"¹¹⁵.

Interestingly enough, from the point of view of an historian of religions LUDWIG comes to very similar conclusions. He tackles our subject in a more sociological approach, analysing to what extent both Israel's cultural and especially her religious belief and practice underwent a transformation during the Neo-Babylonian period. It is difficult, within a reasonably short compass, to summarize Ludwig's theory. Before we examine his ideas thoroughly, we will have to clarify his presuppositions and get familiar with his vocabulary. The fundamental thesis of his essay is: "religious change is precipitated when the soteric value (the power of Erlösung ...) of the transmitted religious reality (the traditum) is experienced as deficient under new circumstances. In such a situation, the meaning and security of the accepted traditum are called into question. Questioning the tradition means distancing oneself from it, becoming conscious of the gulf between the 'old' structures of salvation and the realities of the new situation"¹¹⁶. Such experiences of disjunction can have three responses: alienation, reversion to the old traditum or transformation of the tradition. It is only through the latter that the gulf between the old and the new can be bridged. For that very reason, religious transformation can be described in the dialectic of 'demything', i.e. calling the old into question, and 'remything', i.e. extending

¹¹¹ Von Rad, *Theologie 2*, 256-258. Cf. id., *Deutero-Isaiah*, 214-216.

¹¹² Id., *Theologie 2*, 256. Cf. McKenzie, 41.

¹¹³ Similarly already Cheyne, 167. Cf. Smart, 87.

¹¹⁴ Bentzen, *Ideas*, 184.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 185.

¹¹⁶ Ludwig, *Things*, 25f..

the old tradition by incorporating the present experience in order to provide a new basis for communal soteric experience. In any process of transition, however, there are 'paradigmatic' elements, which function both critically and creatively. As 'sources' they supply a model for the creation of new structures in a changed situation. Ludwig points out that the individuals, who underwent conflict and isolation, in order to search for these patterns, in Israel were the prophets. They were both committed to the religious tradition and yet open to the new situation.

After this general introduction Ludwig goes on to prove his main thesis with the aid of the concept of the *ri'sōnōt^h* and *ḥ^adāšōt^h*. In his opinion the passages, in which these terms appear, deal with exactly this problem of continuity of the sacred tradition, as the context suggests. By *ri'sōnōt^h* he understands, like von Rad, the sacred history itself.¹¹⁷ In Israel not only heterogenic forces, i.e. cultural, political and military pressures from outside Israel's religious tradition had caused changes in her religious understanding. Also orthogenic factors, i.e. forces within the Israelite tradition itself had contributed to the change, especially the *cultus*¹¹⁸ and the covenant relationship. The latter was kept alive in the cultic reactualization: "The notion that divine activity is experienced in a series of historical events awakened a sense of divine plan and purpose in historical existence. New situations were understood in the light of the divine purpose and further, projections of the divine future could supply new motivations and transform present social structures"¹¹⁹. The change of the situation brought about a spiritual crisis, because the "reactualisation of the covenant relationship and the cultic proclamation of Yahwe's continued bestowal of salvation failed to evoke the sense of Erlösung"¹²⁰. Responses to this crisis were on the one hand "a blind and desperate reversion to the old tradition in spite of questions raised by the present"¹²¹; on the other hand the feeling of alienation, which brought with it a spirit of scepticism that questioned Yahwe's continuing saving activity and induced a new growth of individualism and secularity or 'practical atheism'¹²². Both answers did not bridge the gap between the accepted tradition and the new realities. In Ludwig's opinion, Deutero-Isaiah was one of the individuals who gave a third answer to the new situation by taking up the task of transforming the religious tradition. "In the interest of establishing a new soteriological experience the exiles, Deutero-Isaiah articulated a theological conception of history, centered in the belief that Yahwe and none other had both created the soteric design for his people and was in the process of carrying it out . . . With Deutero-Isaiah the horizon of the saving history was expanded drastically; there was

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 29.

¹¹⁸ Cf. B.2.4..

¹¹⁹ Ludwig, *Things*, 30.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 32.

¹²¹ Ibid., 36.

¹²² Ibid., 32-38.

no longer any area of Israel's experience which fell under the control of any alternate power or meaning"¹²³. In my opinion Ludwig's approach is fructifying, as it tries to understand the *ri'sšonôth* in the broad context of sociological changes. However, the religious aspects seem —as in von Rad und Bentzen— too much limited to the cult as the main carrier of tradition. This is, on the whole, also my main criticism of the Scandinavian scholars, who have dealt with the subject. Therefore we will defer a detailed discussion of this problem to a later stage.¹²⁴

2.3. Predictions about Cyrus and his Victories

The previous interpretations agreed that the *ri'sšonôth* mean prophecies up to the fall of Jerusalem. The following theories will differ from this, since they limit the *ri'sšonôth* to relatively near events from the point of view of the prophet, namely the career of Cyrus. Already the older commentators¹²⁵ connected the term with the campaigns and the features of the man, who appeared on the stage of history at 550 B.C. and only 12 years later was ruler of a vast empire. It so happens that the interpretation of the person of Cyrus is extraordinarily relevant to our problem. Cyrus's victory in the revolte against Astyages in 550 had laid the foundation of the Medio-Persian empire. In 546 he took Sardis and annexed Lydia to his dominions. Seven years later, he broke into the fortifications of the Babylonian empire. In 538 Babylon opened its gates without resistance.¹²⁶ How far is the Persian related to the *ri'sšonôth*?

2.3.1. The Career of Cyrus in General

A number of scholars are convinced that Cyrus's advance on Babylon and his victories are reflected in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah. Some of them may be briefly mentioned. Already CONDAMIN held the view that the *ri'sšonôth* proclaim "la mission et l'oeuvre de Cyrus"¹²⁷. However, he seems to be inconsistent, since he also translates the term —as we have seen— with "le passé"¹²⁸.

¹²³ Ibid., 47.

¹²⁴ Cf. B.2.4..

¹²⁵ The interpretation listed the powerful support of scholars as Ewald, Knobel, Condamin, Driver, Marti, Skinner, König, Sellin, and Fischer. Recently Jenni (*Rolle*).

¹²⁶ For the events in detail, cf. S. Smith and bibliography no. 4.

¹²⁷ Condamin, *Serviteur*, 173. Cf. van Hoonacker, *Questions*, RB 20, 109; cf. 279. Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 21.

¹²⁸ Cf. 2.1.. North detected a similar inconsistency in Feldmann (comm.) and explains it from Feldmann's deference "to the biblical commission of 1908, which all but forbid him to deny the Isianic authorship of ch. 40ff." (North, *Things*, 117). This might be

To SKINNER it is obvious — at least in some cases — that by *former things* Deutero-Isaiah means: “the fulfillment of earlier prophecies concerning Cyrus”¹²⁹. “Sometimes the stress lies on the event, sometimes on the prediction, but ... the phrase includes both ideas — ‘past events’ as predicted”¹³⁰.

A similar view is expressed by FISCHER, who thought the *ri'sōnôth* to be “früher ergangene und schon erfüllte Weissagungen, speziell den bisherigen Siegeszug des Cyrus”, but even more hesitating than Skinner, he came to the result that no certain conclusion is possible.¹³¹

GIESEBRECHT and FELDMANN¹³² commenting on 42, 9, emphasized that *hinnê* indicates topical events. Others insist that the article determines the *ri'sōnôth* to particular events of the recent past.¹³³ To SCHOORS, however, these arguments seem too weak. He explains the *hinnê* as a single interjection that functions to arouse attention. As for the article, already S. SMITH had swept away all ultimate determination: “The declaration that, as Yahwe has formerly inspired his prophets truly, so this present prophecy will be realized in fact, contains the main subject of the message”¹³⁴.

An interesting variant of the Cyrus-interpretation can be found in BUBER. For him the *former things* are related “to the prophecy of the people’s liberation which the *limmud* Deutero-Isaiah understands as the liberation from the Babylonian exile”¹³⁵. However, here the *ri'sōnôth* carry negative overtones, for Cyrus has executed them imperfectly. Likewise for LEENE, the “political liberation in keeping with the past” through Cyrus cannot fully achieve the *new*. Rather, in Cyrus the *former things* reach their outcome (*'ah^arîth*). “The perspective lines of Israel’s past apparent in the tradition of Abraham or the sea of Reeds, converge in Cyrus. Cyrus is the focal point of the tradition — this is his significant but limited function”¹³⁶.

true. On the other hand it is obvious that the same term does not necessarily have to imply the same meaning in a different context. North agrees on this principle indirectly by analysing all relevant passages separately.

¹²⁹ Skinner, xxi; cf. xix; similarly, 29, 38 and 81.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹³¹ Fischer, *Perikopen*, 20ff.; cf. *id.*, comm., 47f., 55, 64, 88, 94. Cf. also Bonnard, 121, 20; Whybray, 76 and 84; Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 167.

¹³² Feldmann, *Das Frühere*; cf. *id.*, comm.. Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 39.

¹³³ E.g. Fischer (*Perikopen*): “Der bestimmte Artikel bürgt für einen bestimmten Inhalt” (27). “Man muß in den *ri'sōnôth* das ganze Werk des Cyrus sehen, während sonst immer nur das Auftreten und der bisherige Siegeszug als *ri'sōnôth* bezeichnet werden” (30). Cf. Knobel, Marti, Levy, Driver, König, Staerk, North.

¹³⁴ S. Smith, 58. Cf. Joüon (§137f, note 3); L. Glahn (*Die Einheit von Kap. 40–66 des Buches Jesaja*, Göttingen 1934, 170) and Köhler (*Deuterjesaja*, 37): “Deuterjesaja setzt den bestimmten Artikel nur aus Gründen des Wohlklanges”.

¹³⁵ Buber, 221.

¹³⁶ Leene, *Dingen*, 329. Cf. B.2.1..

2.3.2. Terminus ad quem: Cyrus's Early Victories up to 547 B.C.

C. R. NORTH gave a new turn to the discussion. At the beginning of his article he briefly surveys some important interpretations that the subject has received, in order to show that all of them were mistaken.¹³⁷ Apart from 43, 18, in which the *ri'sōnôth* refer to the exodus, 43, 9 and 44, 7, where they have a quite general meaning and 46, 9–11, where both the general sense or the exodus could be meant, the *former things*, in North's opinion, indicate the early victories of Cyrus up to the fall of Sardis in 547. Three texts remain relevant to prove this thesis: 41, 22; 42, 9 and 48, 3. In fact, in all of them the term is used with the article.

The crux of North's argumentation is that he tries to look for the *ri'sōnôth* that appear in these passages within the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah himself.¹³⁸ Following S. SMITH, he points out that there is no obstacle in doing so, as a fair consensus of opinion regards the chapters as a "series of prophetic utterances delivered at intervals between approximately 547 and 538 B.C."¹³⁹, which are not necessarily logically or chronologically connected.

The assumption that the *ri'sōnôth* were prophecies, which have been preserved in other prophetic books of the OT as such, was not new.¹⁴⁰ BREDEKAMP¹⁴¹ and SELLIN¹⁴² had even thought of former prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah himself, but he assumed that these had been lost later on. This point of view was newly adopted by ELLIGER¹⁴³. Likewise SKINNER had stated: "We think it probable that he [Deutero-Isaiah] refers to predictions previously uttered through him; but if so they belong to the past, and had become history before the composition of this book, of whose message they form no part"¹⁴⁴.

¹³⁷ North, *Things*, 117f.. Cf. id., *Second Isaiah*, 176.

¹³⁸ Before North, the commentators argued like Skinner: "It must be observed that neither the appearance of Cyrus nor the captivity of Israel is ever predicted in this [i.e. Deutero-Isaiah's] prophecy; if they are everywhere assumed as facts to the readers" (xx).

¹³⁹ North, *Things*, 117.

¹⁴⁰ This thesis comes into the discussion again and again. Cf. recently R. E. Clements (*The Unity of the Book of Isaiah*, Int 36 (1982), 125): "It must be held possible that by such references [to the *former things*] the prophet was alluding to earlier prophecies of judgement upon Israel, Judah, and Jerusalem which had been fulfilled". Similarly B. S. Childs (*Introduction to the OT as Scripture*, London 1979, 328f.), Stuhlmüller (*Yahwe*, 194; *Redemption*, 42) and Vogt (60), who speaks of "frühere Voraussagen". See 2.3.3. for attempts to find these predictions in other prophets.

¹⁴¹ Bredenkamp, 226ff.. Contrast Giesebrecht, 132–134.

¹⁴² Sellin, *Serubbabel*, 128; id., *Studien*, 165–168. Contrast Giesebrecht, 136–139.

¹⁴³ "Man muß sich aber von der Vorstellung freimachen, daß in [Jes] 40–55 alles überliefert wäre, was der Prophet jemals von sich gegeben hat; gerade aus seiner Anfangszeit dürfte manches verloren gegangen sein" (Elliger, 238).

¹⁴⁴ Skinner, 20.

In contrast to these positions, NORTH tries to give evidence that there are actually direct hints at the *ri'sōnôth* in the present text of Deutero-Isaiah. He has one particular message in mind: 41, 1–5. Already S. SMITH had suggested that these verses refer to the concrete historical background of the campaigns of Cyrus.¹⁴⁵ However he had dated the passage “earlier than 545, perhaps a year later” on the basis that “the Persian must have established his connections with possible insurgents in the Babylonian Empire before this”¹⁴⁶. Now, North endeavours to show that 41, 1–5 points back to the fall of Sardis in autumn 547: “There is no indication in the passage”, he argues, “that Babylonia was so far in any way involved . . . the oracle must have lost much of its force if two or three years had elapsed between the events and the interpretative pronouncement”¹⁴⁷. However, he emphasizes, when this prophecy was uttered for the first time, its pronouncement had surely not been obvious to those, who were reasonably familiar with the political situation. To back up his statement he quotes S. Smith, who comes to the conclusion: “Babylon must have seemed much more powerful in 547 just before the fall of Croesus, than in 546, on Nabonidus’s accession”¹⁴⁸. Smith agrees that the fall of Lydia altered the position of the Babylonian Empire, but he points out that “Babylon was still apparently strong; no one could have foretold her downfall with certainty just because Croesus had fallen”¹⁴⁹. North sees Deutero-Isaiah as one of those, who did so. For this reason, he assumes that the prophet started his ministry as early as 547 and that some of his prophecies go back to this time. 41, 1–5, it seems to him, is a connecting link between the original events and 41, 21–29, which North thinks to be a later, fuller and more theological interpretation of the

¹⁴⁵ “The unnamed foes must be the Lydians, just as the one raised up by YHWH must be Cyrus, for the phrase ‘he does not advance on foot along the way’ refers to the speed with which Cyrus marched to Sardis from the Halys, and ‘passes in peace’ is an allusion to the fact that the Lydian army did not oppose the advance. ‘The isles’ here and throughout these chapters are the coastlands and islands of the eastern Mediterranean, the ‘ends of the earth’ seem to be distant settlements of Jewish exiles. The reaction to the fall of Sardis is described as anxious fear, which led to the Syrian and Phoenician cities taking counsels together, since they had to consider their position, if they became involved in the war, and to busy preparation among the armourers. The Jewish settlements in the north shared the anxieties of their neighbours. Some time, therefore, had elapsed since the capture of Sardis” (S. Smith, 50).

¹⁴⁶ Loc. cit.. Smith thought this to be good evidence against Begrich’s thesis that the prophet’s activity “ended shortly after 546” (Begrich, *Studien*, 69). From the absence of any claim that the success of Cyrus had been predicted, he concluded that this passage is the earliest of all allusions to Cyrus in Deutero-Isaiah.

¹⁴⁷ North, *Things*, 120.

¹⁴⁸ S. Smith, 40.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 40f.. Against Volz (xv), who states that by the battle on the Halys “Cyrus took over world-leadership in place of Babylon, and it was almost an historical necessity that Babylon would fall to him sooner or later”.

events.¹⁵⁰ He attempts to prove this thesis by listing similarities between both passages. It is important to notice that both *ri'sônôth* and *h^adāšôth* are relative terms.¹⁵¹ *ri'sôn* implies the past, but not necessarily a distant past, as can be seen from a number of references.¹⁵² Therefore it seems absolutely possible that the *ri'sônôth* in v. 22 were perchance predictions of such relatively recent events as the rise and early conquest of Cyrus up to the fall of Lydia.

We have already mentioned in passing that MUILENBURG¹⁵³ doubted North's explanation of *mē'āz*. But also other commentators tried to refute his argumentation. TACHAU¹⁵⁴ holds that 2 Sam 15, 34 —one of the verses North mentioned to prove that the expressions of time refer to the recent past— could just as well prove that these terms divide past and present in general. HARAN¹⁵⁵ objected to North with the argument that the fate of kingdoms like Media and Lydia could not possibly interest Israelite prophets, as they had no contact with Israel's history. I think this argument is convincing. Particularly if —as North assumes— Babylonia was still strong, it is very unlikely that the prophet could be bothered to believe that Cyrus in the end would bring the liberation for the exiles.¹⁵⁶ From a perspective from shortly before or even after the fall of the city, however, this would be probable. LUDWIG¹⁵⁷ criticized North from his own characteristic point of view. As we have seen, he thinks the *former things* to be Israel's sacred tradition, which is experienced and reactualized within the cultus. That is why he thinks that North's interpretation, which takes the prophecy out of its sacral context and interprets it as "reading of the political and military history of the day", in fact "softens the sharpness of the disjunction, which the prophet felt with the past traditum"¹⁵⁸. ROHLAND¹⁵⁹ objected that, for North's thesis that 41, 1–5 describes the vocation of Cyrus to be the Messiah of Yahwe, there is no reliable basis. After all we do not even know, he stresses, whether Deutero-Isaiah pronounced these verses to the same listeners to whom he addressed the oracle of salvation 43, 10ff..

In my opinion, North has made an important contribution to the discus-

¹⁵⁰ North, *Things*, 120f..

¹⁵¹ See above A..

¹⁵² Gen 25, 25; 41, 20; Dtn 10, 1; 24, 4; 1 Sam 14, 14; 2 Sam 19, 21. Cf. II.A.1.7..

¹⁵³ Muilenburg, 554. Cf. 2.1..

¹⁵⁴ Tachau, 39: "[2 Sam 15, 34 erbringt gerade den Beweis], daß mit den Begriffen ganz allgemein Vergangenheit und Zukunft getrennt werden, soweit sie im Augenblick interessieren". Cf. C..

¹⁵⁵ Haran, *Structure*, 139.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Baly (194): "We have no reason to believe that the exiles viewed this dramatic advance with enthusiasm, or regarded Cyrus as a possible saviour".

¹⁵⁷ Ludwig, *Things*, 28.

¹⁵⁸ Loc. cit..

¹⁵⁹ Rohland, 99.

sion, in which he focuses on the decisive problems. His pointing to 41, 1-5 and his attempt to identify the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah with the concrete political background, in which it came into being, is commendable, as it tries to advance the research on the subject. However, similarity between the passages does not necessarily prove dependency. Could 41, 1-5 not just as well be a short summary of v. 21-29, which was formulated as a flashback to all campaigns of victories of Cyrus? In the same way, North's argument to draw the conclusion that in 41, 1-5 Babylon was not yet involved from the non-existence of a certain mood, cannot really serve as a proof, since we know far too little about the concrete political circumstances of that time. The weakest point in his argumentation is that from his presuppositions he has to refer the adverbs of time to the recent past. It is true that these do not necessarily convey a notion of 'remote antiquity', but I will show in part II. of this thesis that these expressions refer mostly to a remote past. At least in the trial speeches the argument is drawn from the 'Weissagungsbeveis'¹⁶⁰. An appeal to the recent past would not support this recurring and context-dominating argument, that Yahwe has been there from the beginning to the end and announced his purpose 'from of old' or 'long ago'.¹⁶¹ All in all North's propositions remain speculation, as they lack concrete clues in the texts. Unless we find these, other interpretations, which explain the state of affairs more easily, will have to be preferred.

SCHOORS does not exclude the possibility that the rise of the Persian could serve as an example for the *ri'sōnōt^h*. At the end of his study, he comes to the conclusion: "Ce qui caractérise principalement les 'choses anciennes' c'est d'abord qu'elles concernent des données historiques, ensuite qu'elles ont été prédites, enfin qu'elles sont à même de servir de fondement à un croyance, à savoir la foi monothéiste. Ajoutons en raison d'Is XLI, 25-26 qu'elles ne visent jamais Cyrus"¹⁶². However, he grants willingly, "que l'action de Cyrus possède une valeur 'salutaire' aux yeux du prophète"¹⁶³.

In comparison to this moderate and mediating view, we now have to discuss the fundamental objections which have been raised against the "historical scholarship that regards its primary task as the placing of the Old Testament-document in its historical setting"¹⁶⁴. This protest has been brought up by scholars, who want to be associated with those who emphasize the salvation history. However, whereas von Rad a.o. understand

¹⁶⁰ Cf. excursus 2.

¹⁶¹ Cf. the analysis of the individual texts in part II. and excursus 3.

¹⁶² Schoors, *Choses*, 45. Similarly, Ridderbos (280): "Naar onze meening bedoelt hij mit de 'vroegere dingen' die de Heere voorzegd heeft, gebeurtnissen, uit de vroegere geschiedenis (met inbegrip der ballingschap, maar niet van 'Cyrus' optreden)". Cf. V. de Leeuw [on 42, 9]: "Comme conclusion il nous paraît préférable de ne pas repousser les 'choses anciennes' trop loin dans le passé et de ne pas les lier trop à une seule personne ou un seul événement" (cited in Schoors, *Choses*, 44.).

¹⁶³ Ibid., 46. Schoors assumes that Cyrus is mainly part of the *h^a dāsōt^h*.

¹⁶⁴ Smart, 30.

history as salvation history and salvation history as history and therefore include the campaigns of Cyrus among God's acts of salvation, these scholars deny the historical perspective on principle. To them the idea that the Persian king could serve as an instrument to prove God's omnipotence and to carry out God's plan, is "amazing folly"¹⁶⁵.

In his commentary TORREY was the first to turn his back to the "absurdities of the Cyro-centric exegesis" of Deutero-Isaiah. He struggles especially with the fact that Cyrus's rise has been predicted long ago.¹⁶⁶ Directing the attention to 41, 26, he says, it would be very difficult to explain how Yahwe had 'announced from the beginning' the career of Cyrus. Even if one supposes that *mērō's* means 'beforehand' —though this is very unlikely according to the parallels¹⁶⁷— "the 'foreknowledge' would seem very common place, to say the least"¹⁶⁸.

SMART takes up this argument,¹⁶⁹ applies it to 46, 8ff. and adds: "Those who insist that this must be Cyrus have never rightly explained . . . how the *former things* in which Israel was the agent of God's purpose could reach their ultimate fulfillment in the 'things not yet done' in which not Israel but Cyrus would fulfill 'all God's purpose'. Their theory necessitates that God should have cast aside Israel as his instrument and should have chosen Cyrus instead, but the prophet's constant insistence is that God has not cast Israel aside (50, 1-3), but on the contrary has expanded Israel's responsibility"¹⁷⁰.

Obviously, these attacks derive from the authors' pre-understanding, to put an end "to the embarrassing search for a prediction of Cyrus to which the prophet could be referring"¹⁷¹, as Smart puts it. They are largely polemic against the argumentation of the 'historical' interpretation. Torrey¹⁷² assumed that the direct references to Cyrus, of which there are only two¹⁷³ and the mentioning of 'Babylonia-Chaldea'¹⁷⁴ are a deliberate "explanatory addition"¹⁷⁵. In his opinion this assumption can be supported mainly by

¹⁶⁵ Torrey, 25.

¹⁶⁶ This seems to be indicated by some rhetorical questions in the text. Cf. Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 166; Begrich, *Studien*, 138, 154; Haran, *Structure*; Schoors, *Choses*, 42; Vogt; Staerk, 83; Fischer, 21.

¹⁶⁷ 41, 4; 45, 19; 48, 14.16; etc..

¹⁶⁸ Torrey, 320.

¹⁶⁹ "How could a self-respecting prophet make superiority and honor of Yahwe dependent upon the claim that the coming of Cyrus had been long foretold in Israel?" (Smart, 117, cf. 137).

¹⁷⁰ Smart, 137. Similarly Snaith (*Studies*, 163f.) turns down the Cyrus interpretation.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁷² Torrey, 20-52.

¹⁷³ 45, 1; 44, 28.

¹⁷⁴ 43, 14; 48, 14.20.

¹⁷⁵ Torrey, 41.

metrical and logical reasons.¹⁷⁶

Smart¹⁷⁷ points out that he developed his understanding of the prophet independently, though his approach might seem “largely dependent” on Torrey’s. Nevertheless, he comes to the same conclusions as far as the main theses are concerned. He too feels free to conjecture the references to Cyrus, in order to make the text “clear”, for “Cyrus has trampled across the text . . . with his clumsy feet . . ., robbing the prophet of his integrity and confusing the character of his message”¹⁷⁸. Like Torrey, he regards the work of a later editor of the Jewish community of the fifth century, who—looking back to the events— could identify the unnamed conqueror with the Persian king.¹⁷⁹

In my opinion Smart’s commentary is a repetitive and aggressive book. What he calls a “running debate”¹⁸⁰ is largely the discussion with only four commentators, whom he does not always quote correctly. Too early he applies a symbolic meaning to the text, without considering a concrete historical background. It is not surprising that he comes to one-sided, dogmatic answers. On this background we understand that his emendations come in handy not “to make the text clear”, but to support his own pre-understanding of the text. Already Torrey argued on the weak bases of the metre. Until today there is no final agreement on the principles of Hebrew poetry.¹⁸¹ The ‘textual surgery’ of these scholars to me seems like an artificial and arbitrary tour de force; all the more since simpler explanations for the mentioning of the name of Cyrus can be found.

JONES and RIGNELL¹⁸² arrive at an interesting synthesis of both views. Jones suggests a typological interpretation that combines both, allusions to Cyrus and to Abraham. He takes the view that this linking of Abraham with Cyrus makes the *former* and the *coming things* more pointed.¹⁸³ As for the *ri’šōnôth*, Jones agrees with the Abrahamic interpretation that they refer to Yahwe’s election and choice of Israel in this patriarch. It was this election of the people that Yahwe had announced ‘from the beginning’ (*mē-rō’š*). “When he now affirms Israel’s election after the period of Exile in Babylon by acting on her behalf through Cyrus, it is as if he had declared ‘the things to come’ (*habbā’ôth*) and ‘the outcome’ (*hā’aharit^h ān*) from the beginning. The juxtaposition of ‘the former things’ and ‘things to come’

¹⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 50.

¹⁷⁷ Smart, 10.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 119. Against this view North: True, “salvation history is usually interpretation *after* the event”. However, “in Deutero-Isaiah the relation between Salvation History and history is reversed”. “His description of the new Exodus is a kind of Salvation History (Heilsgeschichte) in prospect instead of retrospect” (North, *Isaiah*, 25).

¹⁸⁰ Smart, 7.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Merendino (11) and G. Wanke (in: Fohrer, *Exegese*, 74f.).

¹⁸² Rignell, 30.

¹⁸³ Jones, 317f..

refers to God's one and same work, which started with Abraham and is now [repeated, renewed and] fulfilled in [and through] Cyrus"¹⁸⁴.

LEENE holds that the Abraham-Cyrus typology in Is 41 has an incidental character and a limited function. "Rightly Abraham can be seen as an illustration of all the *ri'sōnōt^h*, the former acts of Jhwh, which in Cyrus find their '*ah^a rīt^h*'"¹⁸⁵.

Apart from these mediating interpretations there has been another positive attempt at explaining the mentioning of Cyrus. In their interpretations, two Jewish scholars can demonstrate convincingly why the objections of Torrey and Smart do not necessarily exclude an interpretation that includes Cyrus. To my mind, their fresh approach is therefore a very important contribution to the discussion, which too few scholars have taken notice of yet.

2.3.3. *Terminus ad quem*: Cyrus's Conquest of Babylon

RABBAN¹⁸⁶ offered an independent and original solution to our problem. He understands the *ri'sōnōt^h* and the *ḥ^a dāsōt^h* as the key characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah and stresses the fact that they are often associated with an attack on idolatry, whereby they serve as a challenge to the Gods, who have no former prophecies.¹⁸⁷ Further, he bases his argumentation on the fact that they are already established.¹⁸⁸ Rabban takes the *ri'sōnōt^h* as prophecy, which has proclaimed Yahwe's activity from the beginning and which therefore proves him to be the Lord of prophecy. This idea is also found in 48, 14–18. The word '*ellē*' in this passage is the pivot for Rabban's argumentation. In his opinion this word refers to the conquest of Babylon! From this assumption he goes on to detect further allusions to the event in 45, 21; 43, 9–14 and 40, 21. As a consequence, the *ri'sōnōt^h* designate former prophecy, which marked out the victory of Cyrus over Babylon and which has been fulfilled in the event.

Rabban himself thinks of such prophecies as Jer 25, 12f., Is 13; 14 and

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 318. Similarly Rignell: "Just as the Lord gave victory to Abraham and let him be honoured by Melchizedek, so he now gives victories to Cyrus. . . . God used Abraham in the past, now he uses Cyrus" (23). "[In ch. 41] Abraham's history seems to be presented as a prophecy about, or as a type of, Cyrus and his victories" (54). Cf. also Simon, *König*.

¹⁸⁵ Leene, *Dingen*, 325. Cf. excursus 5.

¹⁸⁶ Rabban, *ri'sōnōt^h and ḥ^a dāsōt^h*. For the translation of this article I am very grateful to Dr. C. T. R. Hayward, University of Durham.

¹⁸⁷ 41, 21–29.

¹⁸⁸ 48, 3; 46, 10f., where the perfect tenses are therefore important.

21, 1–10. Already KNOBEL, GIESEBRECHT¹⁸⁹ and ORELLI¹⁹⁰, who added Jer 2, 28 and 51, 11.28 brought these passages into the discussion. Likewise KITTEL, LEVY, von WALDOW and KAISER had thought of predictions of preexilic prophets.¹⁹¹ G. A. SMITH suggested Jer 29, 10, BRUEGGEMANN¹⁹² mentions Jer 23, 7f., G. v. RAD¹⁹³ saw similarities with Hosea and HARAN¹⁹⁴ added Hab 1f.. KOCH holds that Deutero-Isaiah might think of “cultic hymns which had long since been given an eschatological interpretation — the hymn about the sun hero, for example, who hastens across the earth from the east to the end of the world (Ps 19, 5f.)”¹⁹⁵.

Rabban ventures to show that these prophecies in fact antedate the time of the prophet and the exile. Therefore he has to take issue with the view of some scholars, who concluded from the stylization and anachronisms in matter and language that these prophecies are postexilic. To meet this objection, he points out that the fact that some prophecies have not been fulfilled as they were predicted disproves them being post eventum accounts. Another main argument in his reasoning is the fact that in these prophecies only Media, but not Persia is mentioned among the destroyers, though Cyrus was ‘king of Media and Persia’, when he took the city.¹⁹⁶ This indi-

¹⁸⁹ Cited in Schoors, *Choses*, 30. Cf. 2.3.2.. Similarly also Uffenheimer (16) and Bonnard (178, note 3).

¹⁹⁰ Orelli (53, 136 and 144) assumed that these prophecies were uttered by Proto-Isaiah himself. Against this view, North argued on Is 13f. and 21 on the assumption that these are non-Isianic oracles, which “were contained in a collection on foreign nations (Is 13–23) of which Isaiah was the reputed author and which contained a fair proportion of genuinely Isianic material. . . . Therefore it seems probable that the predictions of the fall of Babylon at the hands of the Medes were an important contributory cause of the collection of Is 40–66 —which speaks of the fulfilment of predictions very similar— with 1–23 (39)” (*Things*, 124). Whereas North and also Haran (*Structure*, 140) think the joining of both books was the work of redactors in the later generation, Rabban’s sweeping conclusion is that Deutero-Isaiah himself —having meditated on ch. 1–39— added his prophecies to those of Proto-Isaiah, as he could not find a more suitable place for them, for he recognized Proto-Isaiah as a book of prophecies about the destruction of Babylon. Cf. above 2.3.2..

¹⁹¹ Cited in Elliger, 238.

¹⁹² W. Brueggemann, *Unity and Dynamic in the Isaiah Tradition*, JSOT 29 (1984), 89–107, 90.

¹⁹³ Von Rad (*Theologie* 2, 258) proposed that Deutero-Isaiah like Hosea might have understood “Heilsgeschichte als Weissagung”.

¹⁹⁴ Haran, *Structure*, 140. Cf. Bonnard (178) and Whybray, (97). Contrast Schoors, *Choses*, 30.

¹⁹⁵ Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 132. Koch explains this thesis in detail in: id., *Stellung*. In addition, he too refers to prophetic predictions about the Medes who were going to destroy Babylon (Is 13, 17; Jer 51, 11).

¹⁹⁶ The mentioning of ‘Elam’ in 21, 2 should, according to Rabban, not be referred to

cates that they were uttered during a time when was Persia under domination of Media. Other hints pointing to a time that antedates Cyrus are the facts that the destruction of Babylon is referred to as a future event, that the captivity of the exiles is mentioned and that the king of Babylon is regarded as ruling with anger (Is 14, 6), which —Rabban shows— can only refer to Nebuchadnezzar¹⁹⁷. Consequently, the material in Isaiah and Jeremiah must have been uttered before the fall of Babylon.

Rabban's view remained unnoticed until HARAN followed his suggestion, took over his main assumptions and worked them out. He agrees with Rabban in regarding the concept of the *ri'sōnōt^h* and *h^adāšōt^h* as the cardinal component in Deutero-Isaiah. In his literary analysis he tries to prove that these terms hinge together the loosely connected strophes of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy. Like Rabban, he argues that in all cases —with the exception of 46, 9 and 43, 16–19, where they mean 'former acts'— the *former things* connote 'former prophecies', which have been fulfilled. The current view, which understands by *ri'sōnōt^h* prophecies already fulfilled before 539, he says, is due to a failure to distinguish between the cases: scholars assumed, misled by 46, 9 and 43, 16–19, that the meaning of *ri'sōnōt^h* in these exceptional cases was the general significance of the term in Deutero-Isaiah. In Haran's opinion, they substituted by their view "the secondary connotations for the main one"¹⁹⁸. Indeed, the former *events* do antedate the fall of Babylon, "but the former *events prophesied*—which are meant in all but the two passages— are in every case . . . precisely Cyrus's capture of Babylon"¹⁹⁹.

As we have seen above, Haran argued convincingly against North that the fate of Media and Lydia could not interest Israelite prophets in the slightest, for these kingdoms had no contact with Israel's history.²⁰⁰ This was not true for Babylon, which had uprooted the exiles from their homeland. Babylon's fall could have been understood as of mighty historical-theological significance and as the realization of 'former prophecies'. If the prophet is speaking *after* the event, this would also explain why Cyrus does not have to be mentioned by name or obliquely. It seems therefore plausible to see in the *ri'sōnōt^h* the momentous event of the conquest of Babylon. Haran agrees with Rabban expressly on the point that the *ri'sōnōt^h* were uttered after

Anshan, the birthplace of Cyrus. Galling (*Studien*, 20) objected to this opinion: "Elam und Medien: damit ist das medisch persische Reich des Kyros gemeint".

¹⁹⁷ Unlike Nabonidus, Nebuchadnezzar was distinguished by military power and known as the great, cruel and proud king to the Israelites. Rabban's main argument is that there was no hate against the kings of Babylon after Nebuchadnezzar, which can be seen from the material in 2 Kg 25, 27f., where one of them, Ewil Merodach, is even singled out for praise.

¹⁹⁸ Haran, *Structure*, 137. For a detailed discussion of his theses, cf. id., *ri'sōnōt^h*.

¹⁹⁹ Ginsberg, JBL 84, 89.

²⁰⁰ Cf. above 2.3.2..

the conquest had taken place.²⁰¹ To support his dating of the prophecy, he quotes two passages which, he thinks, refer explicitly to the fall of Babylon as an accomplished fact.²⁰² These we will have to scrutinize closely. With his translation of 43, 14 ('For your sake I have sent [i.e. Cyrus] to Babylon and have broken down all the bars, . . .'), Haran rejects the possible interpretation, according to which the text is speaking of a prophetic past and consequently would have to be taken as an announcement of future events. These sentiments, he says, "are uttered straightforwardly in the past and signify that we are after the event"²⁰³. Similarly, he translates 48, 14f.: 'Did any of you announce in advance that Yahwe loved him [i.e. Cyrus] and that he would execute his [i.e. Yahwe's] will and deliverance²⁰⁴ in Babylonia-Chaldea?'. Here, *ya^a sâ* should be understood as a 'future in the past' in the sense: 'Who foretold that Babylon would fall into the hands of Cyrus?' Yahwe answers in v. 15: 'I, even I, spoke and called him, I have brought him and he has made his way prosperous'. Haran concludes that here the fall of Babylon serves to establish that God is the Lord of prophecy.

In my opinion, Haran's thesis is very stimulating in that it presents the *ri'sônôth* from a new and original angle. It is convincingly argued and seems to make sense. Moreover it fits in very well with the rest of his reasoning, which gives all in all a clear and comprehensive picture of the events of the time after the fall of Babylon. Unfortunately, Haran failed to prove his assumptions in detail. The two main pillars on which his argumentation is based were shaken by H. L. GINSBERG²⁰⁵.

Although in agreement with Haran on principle, Ginsberg finds the choice of Haran's references unfortunate. To start with, 48, 14b is largely unintelligible. Ginsberg argues that "if the second as well as the first verb referred to the past, classical Hebrew would have been at least as likely to throw it into imperfect consecutive as to leave it in the same tense as the first verb, and that consequently the Masorah has a point when it takes the verb as referring to the future (note the ultima stress)"²⁰⁶. So too in 48, 14f., Ginsberg says, Haran's interpretation is possible, but unlikely, as 48, 15 implies that Yahwe "has only brought Cyrus close, his final success lying still in the future"²⁰⁷, for the MT-reading *w^e hislî^ah* is prima facie a perfect consecutive, even if LXX translates aorist²⁰⁸, which can be shown

²⁰¹ Haran, *Structure*, 139. In this he also follows a number of older commentators (Seineke, Meyer, Hölischer, Mowinckel. For details see Haran, *Structure*, 138, note 3), who differed, however, from his view in their assumption that all Deutero-Isianic prophecies were composed in Palestine.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 139.

²⁰³ Haran, *Structure*, 139.

²⁰⁴ For the meaning of 'arm' see JBL 67 (1958), 154, 156. Cf. Ginsberg, JBL 84, 89.

²⁰⁵ Ginsberg, JBL 84, 89f..

²⁰⁶ *Loc. cit.*.

²⁰⁷ *Loc. cit.*. Cf. Sellin, *Studien*, 165.

²⁰⁸ LXX reads *εὐδωσα*: 'And I have made his mission successful'. Cf. II.B.2.2.f..

to be a flawless Hebrew idiom.²⁰⁹ Finally, the future sense of MT²¹⁰ agrees with Deutero-Isaiah's own usage.²¹¹

In a short notice, SCHEIBER²¹² tries to date Deutero-Isaiah's appearance from a new angle and hereby excludes Haran's view indirectly. He draws the attention to the word *šābā'* in 40, 2, which is here to be translated by 'military service'.²¹³ According to Nu 1, 3 and 2 Chr 25, 5 the military service begins at the age of 20. In Lev 27, 3 and in the Talmud²¹⁴ on Nu 14, 29 Scheiber finds hints that it ended at the age of 60. Since Deutero-Isaiah proclaims the end of the military service for the people, 40 years must have past since the destruction of Jerusalem. Hence, 547 B. C. can be deduced to be the date of the appearance and speech of the prophet. This would contradict Haran's theory that Deutero-Isaiah uttered his prophecy after the fall of Babylon.

However, I doubt that Scheiber's attempt can hold water. His references fail to give the necessary exact dates, to start with. Moreover, Deutero-Isaiah uses an image in 40, 2. In symbolic language precision does not matter terribly. Therefore, if this image really wants to make a statement about a period of time at all, the passage could as well be understood in the sense: '40 (*or more*) years have passed'.

B. THE 'NEW THING(S)'

On the basis of the *ri'sōnôṯ^h* we can now discuss the interpretations that were given on the *ḥ^adāšôṯ^h*. This term is to be found in 42, 9 and 48, 6. In 43, 19 it appears in the singular. In some passages it is replaced by *habbā'ôṯ^h* (41, 22)²¹⁵ or (*hā*)'*ôṯ^h iyyôṯ^h* (41, 23; 44, 7). It is important to notice that these terms hardly play a role in the literature. Either the difference is neglected or the terms are hastily and selfevidently identified with the *ḥ^adāšôṯ^h*.²¹⁶ In my own analysis a distinction will be of necessity.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Gen 24, 14.42.

²¹⁰ 'He will bring his mission to a successful close'.

²¹¹ Cf. Is 55, 11b.

²¹² Scheiber, 242f..

²¹³ Cf. Hi 7, 1; 14, 14.

²¹⁴ Baba batra 121b.

²¹⁵ Cf. *šær ṯāb'ōnā* in 44, 7. See also the appendix, table 1.

²¹⁶ A point in case is Buber, 220. Cf. Fischer (80), Koch (*Deutero-Isaiah*, 147), Kim (174f.), Westermann (*ḥdš*, THAT 1, 524-530, 527) and Herrmann (298). One of the commendable exceptions is Schoors (*Thema*, 131): "De woorden *bā'ôṯ^h* en *ḥ^adāšôṯ^h* hebben dus elk hun eigen specifieke inhoud. Met het eerste woord heeft de profeet nl. de toekomst in het algemeen op het oog, met het tweede bedoelt hij in concreto het einde van de ballingschap". Cf. id., *Choses*, 44. Similarly Steck, *Deuterojesaja*, 291f.; Leene, *Dingen*, 184. Hessler (*Gott*) makes a less qualitative distinction. Having differentiated

Though the situation is not less complicated for the $h^a dāšôth$ as for the $ri'sônôth$, there is at least agreement on the following points: it is generally accepted that the *new things* lie in the future. Further, scholars agree that they are the substance of the present prophecy of the prophet and that they are published contemporaneously (*now*).

1. Events in General

Brief mention may be made to those exegetes, who understand the *new things* as general events. As we have seen below, on 41, 21–29 DELITZSCH a.o.²¹⁷—conformably with their definition of the $ri'sônôth$ —thought the ‘things to come’ ($habbā'ôth$) to take place in the distant future: They imply the meaning “ventura in posterum”, “things further off, in later times”²¹⁸. In comparison with Delitzsch, ELLIGER states that the distance to the coming point does not matter at all, but he too thinks that in 41, 22 no specific meaning is implied.²¹⁹ STAERK and VOLZ²²⁰ assume the meaning “any future events” also for 44, 7 and 48, 6 respectively. LINDBLOM summarizes the $h^a dāšôth$ as “future history”. He points out that “the prophet sees a great and glorious change; the *new things*, however, do not mean the end of history, but a continuation of the present in ideal forms. Future history will develop on this earth, as history has done hitherto, though under better conditions”²²¹.

2. Specific Events

Yet, the majority of scholars try to specify the $h^a dāšôth$. I will summarize the discussion in four groups: the ‘spiritual’, the ‘historical’, the ‘salvation-historical’ and the ‘cult-mythological’²²² interpretation.²²³

the expressions for ‘coming things’ and the oppositions $ri'sôn$ and $'ah^a rôn$ as well as $ri'sônôth$ and $h^a dāšôth/h^a dāšâ$, she arrives at the conclusion: “*r'sn* hat nicht nur eine sondern zwei komplementäre Aussagen, die sich nicht unbedingt decken müssen” (302).

²¹⁷ Delitzsch, 168f.; Drechsler, 40; Pieper, 105; König, *Deuterocesajanisches*, 958f. a.o. (cf. A.1.1.).

²¹⁸ Delitzsch, 169.

²¹⁹ Elliger, 184f.. Likewise Schoors, *Choses*, 30.

²²⁰ Cf. Staerk, 85. Cf. Volz, 35.

²²¹ Lindblom, 96. Cf. C..

²²² It could also be called ‘dramatical’, because of its main thesis of the actualization of the old myth in a cult-drama. Yet, it can be distinguished from Leene’s dramatological interpretation, as it postulates an actual drama and not primarily an inner development in the text. Cf. excursus 1.

²²³ It has to be noticed that these groups are only rough classifications. It is absolutely

2.1. The 'Spiritual' Interpretation

This theory was advanced by some of the older commentators,²²⁴ but revived lately.²²⁵ It tries to give a somewhat symbolical meaning to the *new things*. They are "the events of redemption"²²⁶, as Smart puts it. The interpretation has two aspects: on the one hand it concerns Israel's relationship to the heathen, on the other hand Israel herself.²²⁷ To take this last point first: FELDMANN²²⁸ emphasizes the fact that God restrains from his anger and does not exterminate his people. For this scholar the *new* is thus inter alia the undeserved pardon of Israel. DELITZSCH points out that "the *new things* will embrace the redemption of Israel with its attendant circumstances ... not merely on its outward side, but on its spiritual side as well"²²⁹. For SMART this "universal redemption"²³⁰ starts with the ingathering that "the *new things* will embrace the redemption of Israel with its attendant circumstances ... not merely on its outward side, but on its spiritual side as well"²³¹. For SMART this "universal redemption"²³² starts with the ingathering and the transformation of Israel.²³³ TORREY speaks of "the spiritual awakening"²³⁴ of the people. On the same lines KNIGHT comments in NT-terms: "Israel still requires to be born again. But no one can be born again until his old self has died. That therefore must be the *new thing* that Israel has never known before. If only Israel would recognize that the Exile was her death as the people of God"²³⁵. Similarly, HESSLER holds: "Jahwe kündigt Israel im heidnischen Lande ein [fundamentales] Heilsereignis (einen Messias?) an, das eine Erneuerung seines Lebens bedeutet und zur Bekenntnisgrundlage eines [anbrechenden] neuen Glaubensäons werden soll"²³⁶. FREY gives the term a completely symbolic meaning. According to him the *new*, the way and the water in the desert (43, 18f.), stands for salvation in misery, difficulty, troubles and poverty.

As indicated above, the second aspect of this theory is Israel's rela-

possible that one and the same author appears in more than one group.

²²⁴ Cf. Ewald, Giesebrecht, Delitzsch, Torrey.

²²⁵ Especially by Smart, partially by Whybray, Knight and Kissane.

²²⁶ Smart, 146.

²²⁷ Cf. loc. cit..

²²⁸ Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 164.

²²⁹ Delitzsch, 248 [on 48, 6].

²³⁰ Smart, 103.

²³¹ Delitzsch, 248 [on 48, 6].

²³² Smart, 103.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 146, 104 [on 48, 6 and 43, 19].

²³⁴ Torrey, 340.

²³⁵ Knight, 169 [on 48, 6].

²³⁶ Hessler, *Struktur*, 362.

tionship to the heathen. EWALD, STAERK²³⁷, GIESEBRECHT²³⁸ and HESSLER²³⁹ hold that the *new things* comprise the mission to the nations, which will finally lead to the conversion of the heathen.²⁴⁰ This overthrow, to SMART, is nothing less than “a new creation, a new beginning for Israel and for the world”²⁴¹. Whereas DELITZSCH²⁴² thought this process to be the work of Yahwe himself, a group of scholars²⁴³ sought to prove it as the mission and exaltation of the Servant. As we saw above,²⁴⁴ for BUBER, the *former things* coincided with the imperfectly executed national deliverance through Cyrus. The “unsatisfactory character” of the work of the Persian necessitates the announcement of “the future satisfactory work of the Servant”²⁴⁵. Antithetically, the *new thing* is thus the worldwide, universal redemption of “the world of the nations from the yoke of its guilt”²⁴⁶. According to Buber the word-pair ‘*former–new*’ does therefore not only reflect the contrast between Cyrus and the Servant, but coincides at the same time with the difference between national and universal deliverance.²⁴⁷

LIND too emphasizes the juxtaposition of the Servant, but he underlines the moral difference between them when he says: “[Cyrus’s] politics of violent power falls short of fulfilling Yahwe’s oath and purpose [cf. 45, 20–25], only a new politics, disclosed in the work and the way of the Servant, establishes and fulfills Yahwe’s oath. For in the Servant’s mission the moral quality of Yahwe’s rule of *t^h ôrâ*–justice guarantees both the continuity of the community and the acclaim of the nations that Yahwe alone is God, creator and redeemer”²⁴⁸.

A similar line is taken by LEENE in his dramatological interpretation. “Only through the new Jhwh will receive the praise which evidence-out-of-the-past could not evoke from his people. What could not be fully achieved through Cyrus, i.e. through the political liberation in keeping with the past, Jhwh will achieve through the new: Israel’s real transformation”²⁴⁹. In fact,

²³⁷ Staerk, 85.

²³⁸ Cited in Schoors, *Choses*, 22.

²³⁹ “Das [Heilsereignis] führt auch die Heiden, die irgendwie daran teilhaben, zur Anerkennung Jahwes” (Hessler, *Struktur*, 362).

²⁴⁰ Cf. Delitzsch, (181, 129); Skinner (29, 81); Kissane (38).

²⁴¹ Smart, 146.

²⁴² Delitzsch, 181 and 197.

²⁴³ Already Sellin, Staerk, Torrey, Condamin, Skinner; then Smart, Knight, Beuken and Koole; but also Bentzen and partially Odendaal (*Expectations*, 74) and Haran.

²⁴⁴ Cf. A.2.3.1..

²⁴⁵ Buber, 222.

²⁴⁶ Loc. cit..

²⁴⁷ Buber’s interpretation might be inspired by the ‘disappointment-theory’ of Haller, according to which the high hopes centred on Cyrus were dissipated by reality and thereby turned to the Servant of the Lord. Cf. excursus 5. Cf. Davidson, 179.

²⁴⁸ Lind, 446.

²⁴⁹ Leene, *Dingen*, 329. Similarly already Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 164.

for Leene the transformed Jacob-Israel is the Servant, who is understood as “an anticipation of the drama about the conversion which Deutero-Isaiah’s listeners must still experience”²⁵⁰. The Servant will give them *t^h ôrâ*, the instruction through which the hearers will have access to the new of which they at present can only see images²⁵¹, and guarantee that the *new* will actually take place. Thus for Leene, “the Servant as a dramatic personage is not himself the new, but certainly the instrument by which Jhwh transmits the new and thus nothing less than the embodiment of the *b^e rî^h* with which Jhwh wants to embrace the listeners”²⁵². The *new* is rather Israel’s purification (48, 10), in which the listeners participate through the speech of the Servant. “Just as the ‘former’ appears linked to the dramatic progression through Cyrus’s march by stages, the new is jointed to it by the transformation of Jacob-Israel, accomplished in performative”²⁵³.

The juxtaposition of Cyrus and Servant was also one of the main issues in a long and in the end tedious discussion on 42, 1–9, carried out by A. CONDAMIN²⁵⁴ and A. van HOONACKER²⁵⁵ at the beginning of this century. Both were at one in supposing that 42, 1–7(9) had been displaced. Condamin suggested that this passage originally stood after ch. 49; so he could take ch. 40–47 as referring to the mission and work of Cyrus and ch. 49–55 as referring to that of the Servant. Under these presuppositions he understood the *h^a dāsôt^h* in 42, 9 and 48, 6 as the work of the servant of Yahwe.²⁵⁶ In Condamin’s structure ch. 48 took on a special significance as a “poème centrale”, which marks the transition from the *old* to the *new*.

Already van Hoonacker —though in general agreement with Condamin— admitted that this artificial theory of composition did not correspond with reality.²⁵⁷ In fact, though a few commentators came round to similar results, Condamin’s theory is too complicated to be convincing. In comparison with his colleague, van Hoonacker felt free to interpret the *h^a dāsôt^h* as the work of Cyrus, i.e. he referred them to temporary events. With this interpretation he joins the big group of exegetes, who represent the ‘historical interpretation’.

²⁵⁰ Leene, *Dingen*, 329.

²⁵¹ Deutero-Isaiah’s images of the *new thing* are indeed “open-ended”: “the way back to the homeland, the way of the commandments to Jhwh, the royal way of Jhwh himself to Zion” (loc. cit.).

²⁵² Ibid., 330. Cf. also Hessler (*Gott*, 304): “Es [ist] verfehlt zu sagen, der Knecht sei das Neue. Vielmehr dürfte das Neue das sein, das mit ihm anfängt oder eintritt”.

²⁵³ Leene, *Dingen*, 329f..

²⁵⁴ Condamin, *Serviteur*; id., *Prédications*.

²⁵⁵ Van Hoonacker, *Ebed*; id., *Questions*.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 162. North (*Things*, 116; *Servant*, 68). Contrast Fischer (*Perikopen*, 25f.), who however makes an exception for 42, 9: “Man muß . . . unter den *h^a dāsôt^h* das Werk des Ebed verstehen, während sonst dieser Ausdruck das kommende Heil der Cyrusepoche im Auge hat”. Cf. id., comm., 48, 88.

²⁵⁷ Cf. also Mulenburg, 555 and North, *Things*, 116.

2.2. The 'Historical' Interpretation

Against Buber, Leene and Condamin, who think that Cyrus has exclusively to be counted among the *former things*, the scholars of this group agree in referring also the $h^a d\bar{a}š\hat{o}t^h$ to Cyrus. Some think that *Cyrus himself* is the *new thing*, "in so far as he sprang from the quarter of the world not indicated in former predictions, and in so far as he was a gentile and yet the anointed, the Messiah of Yahwe — a combination unprovided for by any tradition in Israel"²⁵⁸. This view "that the newness of these things lies in the fact that salvation at this stage was brought about for Israel through the favour of a pagan king and that this announcement was the thing never before heard of in Israel"²⁵⁹ is widely held.²⁶⁰ The role that Cyrus plays in the accomplishment of the $h^a d\bar{a}š\hat{o}t^h$ is especially underlined in some authors.²⁶¹ Others emphasize more the *work* of the Persian, his mission, the campaigns and his victories, which finally led to the fall of Babylon.²⁶² Here, however, the opinions diverge. Again, as in the definition of the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ the standpoint of the prophet becomes crucial in this theory for the interpretation of the $h^a d\bar{a}š\hat{o}t^h$. If the prophecy was uttered before the decisive date of 539 —so the current view— the *new things* must include the fall of Babylon. If it was uttered after this date —so the minority— they cannot include this event and must be specified differently.

²⁵⁸ G. A. Smith, 225 [on 48, 6]. Staerk emphasizes particularly the second part of the statement. According to him the *new things* are "die Antinomie der Erlösung Israels und der Welt durch die Siege eines heidnischen Weltherrschers" (83).

²⁵⁹ Odendaal, *Expectations*, 115.

²⁶⁰ Cf. C. R. North ($h\bar{d}š$, TDOT 5, 239–241, 240): "The larger context shows that the 'new thing' is to be understood as deliverance from the exile through Cyrus, a foreigner, rather than through a Jewish leader", following Westermann ($h\bar{d}š$, THAT 1, 524–530, 527): "Das 'Neue' besteht darin, daß die jetzt angekündigte Rettung aus dem Exil nicht mehr durch Israels Heere und nicht mehr durch einen von Jahwe 'begeisterten' Führer durchgeführt wird, sondern durch den Perserkönig Kyros (44, 24–45, 7), daß also hier die Rettung Israels von der Macht Israels abgelöst wird, daß diese Rettung auf Vergebung beruht (43, 22–28) und darum auch für 'die Völker' zu diesem neuen Heil Jahwes eingeladen werden können (45, 20–25)". Similarly, id., *Heilsworte*, 34: "Ein Neues ist es, weil die Befreiung aus der babylonischen Gefangenschaft auf andere Weise vonstatten geht: Durch den von Gott dazu beauftragten Perserkönig Kyros, nicht aber durch Israel selbst und seine Streitmacht". Cf. von Waldow (*Anlaß*, 243): "Die Art des Vollzuges dieses Heilshandelns ist etwas absolut Neues in Bezug auf die überkommene prophetische Tradition, denn von einem König aus dem Norden, durch den Jahve die Wende vollziehen läßt, hat bis zu Dtjes. kein Prophet etwas gesagt". Cf. also Whybray, 84; H. C. Schmitt, 49; Schoors, *Choses*, 42; id., *God*, 292; Staerk, 83f.; Ewald, 436f.; Giesebrecht, 119; Morgenstern, *Message*, 74; Contrast Haller, *Kyroslieder*, 266; Sellin, *Serubbabel*, 121; Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 139.

²⁶¹ Cf. Skinner, von Waldow, North and Giesebrecht; see also Schoors, *Choses*, 22.

²⁶² Cf. van Hoonacker, *Questions*, 109; Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 165; Odendaal, *Expectations*, 115.

2.2.1. Standpoint of the Speaker Before the Conquest of Babylon Terminus a quo: 539 B.C.

The majority of exegetes²⁶³ interpret the *new things* as the coming salvation for the exiles through Cyrus, which consists basically of his conquest of Babylon²⁶⁴ and its results. In this material sense, the scholars of the 'historical interpretation' too can speak of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h* as the *restoration of Israel*: the liberation and deliverance of the exiles,²⁶⁵ their triumphant return (a 'new, second exodus'),²⁶⁶ the reconstitution of Israel as a people in her homeland, the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple.²⁶⁷

2.2.2. Standpoint of the Speaker After the Fall of Babylon Terminus a quo: 529 (537) B.C.

As we have seen, Rabban and Haran tried to assert the assumption that the *ri'sōnôṭ^h* —not the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h*!— refer to the conquest of Babylon. In their opinion they are prophecy uttered after the event, that is to say: their *terminus ad quem* is 539 B.C..

How then do they define the *terminus a quo* of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h*? RABBAN points out that the *new things* are only now published and not yet established.²⁶⁸ The prophecy of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h* is itself new and had not been heard before.²⁶⁹ Another important observation of his is that the context of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h* are prophecies of consolation and redemption. From 43, 19f. one can see that they will be a good event. Here, as in 55, 11–13, the image of

²⁶³ All previous positions are examples for this theory, but cf. also B.2.3.. Cf. further Feldmann, 59 [on 41, 22f.]; id., *Das Frühere*, 163, 165; Schoors, *Choses*, 40, 42; Fischer, 24, 27, 30f.; Ridderbos, 245; Mowinckel, *Komposition* [on 42, 8]; Muilenburg, 555; van Hoonacker, *Questions*, 109f. [on 48, 6]; Marti, Haller, von Orelli, Bonnard, North (*Things*, 123).

²⁶⁴ Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 40; Whybray, 76 [on 42, 9]; Skinner, 81; Whybray, 129; G. A. Smith, 225 [on 48, 7]. Cf. Anderson, 187; Preuß, *Deuterocesaja*, 47; R. W. Klein, 102.

²⁶⁵ "[Das Neue ist] insbesondere die Aussage der Befreiung aus der Gefangenschaft. . . . Das Heil [ist] . . . die Möglichkeit, in Freiheit ein eigenes Leben zu gestalten" (Elliger, 238f.). Cf. Feldmann, *Das Frühere*; Schoors, *Choses* [on 41, 22f.]; Kissane; Cheyne [on 42, 9]; Ridderbos; Muilenburg; Cheyne; Kalt [on 48, 7].

²⁶⁶ Cf. Muilenburg [on 41, 22f.]; van Hoonacker, *Questions* [on 41, 22f. and 48, 7]; Kissane, 57; Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 147; Kim, 175; R. E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, London³1968, 114.

²⁶⁷ Cf. König (367) [on 41, 21–29]; Delitzsch; Morgenstern, *Message*; Skinner [on 42, 9]; Whybray (96, 98); Hoonacker (*Questions*, 297): The 'choses nouvelles' or 'à venir' consist first of all and essentially of "la mission de salut dont Cyrus est investi à l'égard d'Israël", i.e. "le châtement de Babylon, le retour de l'exil et la restauration de Jerusalem à réaliser par Cyrus" [on 48, 6].

²⁶⁸ 48, 6f..

²⁶⁹ 44, 9; 43, 19.

the exiles, who return to Zion through the wilderness is closely connected with that of the transformation of the desert. The *'af* ('indeed') in 43, 19b indicates, Rabban says, that it is possible for the exiles to undertake the journey. The journey itself is therefore in his view not only an accompanying circumstance of the return, but the essence of the departure from Babylon.²⁷⁰ Rabban states that the preaching of the *new things* is Deutero-Isaiah's special function.²⁷¹ Their implementation, however, will be carried out by Cyrus.²⁷² He will give the exiles the permission to go home. This return is, in Rabban's opinion, the core of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h*.

Although arguing on the same assumption that the *new things* are chiefly concerned with the return to the land of Israel, HARAN understands the term in a more general way as "the revival of Israel"²⁷³. He agrees with his Jewish colleague in emphasizing the tension in the contents of the *new things*: on the one hand they describe a miraculous-eschatological divine enterprise that transcends the laws of nature and transforms nature itself; on the other hand they comprise—in a more down to earth perspective—concrete political expectations concerning Cyrus.²⁷⁴ Both are, according to Haran, two forms of consolatory promise. Like Rabban, Haran refers to the suddenness of this message of revival: it happens immediately, without delay. Yet *he* thinks that this is not the whole content of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h*. A further important ingredient is the image of the Servant of the Lord.²⁷⁵

What is to be concluded from these observations for the determination of the chronological framework of the prophecies? Haran's arguments are sound: it is conceivable, he says, that Deutero-Isaiah uttered the promise of the departure from Babylon when the emigration to Palestine had already taken place. The disappointment of a 'normal/natural' return would have been sufficient to dull the impact of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecies. Moreover, if the first wave of emigration had already taken place, one would expect hints of it within Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy, to which the *coming* return would be put in contrast. As this is not the case, we have to assume that the prophecies were composed before the first exiles returned. Since the first emigration under Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel was carried out not later than the reign of Cyrus, the *terminus a quo* for the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h* cannot be later than 529 B.C.. Yet, the first wave of emigration must have taken place shortly after the Cyrus edict of Nisan (April/May) 538 B.C.. Therefore

²⁷⁰ This is also to be seen from 48, 20f., where the journey in the wilderness is presented as the departure from Babylon.

²⁷¹ 44, 26.

²⁷² 43, 14; 48, 1-4; 44, 28. That is why the Persian can be addressed with honorary titles. Cf. Skinner (xx). According to Rabban, Cyrus serves as the intersection between the *ri'šônôṭ^h*, which have been realized and the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h*, which will be materialized through him.

²⁷³ Haran, *Structure*, 140f..

²⁷⁴ On this tension cf. excursus 5.

²⁷⁵ Haran, *Structure*, 145. Cf. note 243.

the space of time must be drastically reduced. However, Haran reckons with not less than one year that must have passed till all the preparations for the journey could have been carried out. Consequently, he concludes: "These prophecies were composed, then, within the short period of time that had elapsed between the conquest of Babylon and the first wave of emigration"²⁷⁶.

2.3. The 'Salvation-Historical' Interpretation

Haran had pointed out both the 'eschatological' and the concrete 'political' aspect of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h*. The following exegetes try to combine these aspects to a synthesis. But, as we have seen, specifying the political side of the *ri'šōnôṭ^h* they go back to the fall of Jerusalem. In doing so, they join the current view of the political interpretation that sees the coming salvation in the liberation from the Babylonians. According to von WALDOW²⁷⁷, in 43, 18–21 Deutero-Isaiah promises new salvation after the catastrophe of 586.²⁷⁸ Both the *fact* that Yahwe brings new salvation and the *way* he does it (through the vocation of Cyrus)²⁷⁹ enable and justify him to call the new salvation a *new thing*.

I doubt that the simple juxtaposition of judgment (*former things*) and salvation (*new things*) to which his interpretation ultimately amounts, is an appropriate interpretation of the term. After all, Yahwe had also brought salvation earlier on, which is indicated in 43, 16. Further, Cyrus is not mentioned in this particular passage, as well as in the other passages that speak of a new exodus.

ROHLAND²⁸⁰ had claimed that Deutero-Isaiah means by *ri'šōnôṭ^h* the old prophecies of earlier prophets about the end of salvation history, in order to express that Yahwe has abandoned his people. Now in 43, 19 the prophet refuses the view that Yahwe has ceased to act for his people by the concept of the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h*. Yahwe's new acts will be the new exodus and especially a new guidance through the desert. Against von Waldow, Rohland understands the events as the beginning of a new epoch, which follows the previous and *old* one and which is characterized by the fact that Yahwe's history with his people will start again.

Similarly, for von RAD the *ḥ^a dāšôṭ^h* contain "das Heilshandeln, das sich dem Propheten nach langer heilsgeschichtlicher Pause in der Bewegung der

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 143.

²⁷⁷ Von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 239–244.

²⁷⁸ Cf. similar statements on the function of '*at^h t^h â*' in Tachau (36): "das Gericht hat ein Ende an der Grenze zur Gegenwart, mit der Gegenwart hebt das Neue an."

²⁷⁹ "In Cyrus ... sieht der Prophet die neue Zeit 'sprossen'" (von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 243).

²⁸⁰ Rohland, 100.

Geschichte ankündigt”²⁸¹. On the one hand they allude to the old exodus, on the other hand these new saving acts will supersede all imagination. The *new things* will transcend all that has happened so far. For this reason Deutero-Isaiah can ask the people to turn away from all that had previously filled their faith. This must have sounded slanderous to many Israelites. The *ri’sōnōt^h* keep their validity only in as far as they are a *τυπος* of the *new things*. But Yahwe’s work did not fall apart, for also the *ḥ^a dāsōt^h* had been predicted from of old.²⁸²

This theory was taken up and extended by LUDWIG. In Ludwig’s opinion Deutero-Isaiah re-interpreted the sacred tradition in terms of present and future realities. Following von Rad, he lays the stress on the fact that the prophet very sharply marked off the *ri’sōnōt^h*, the *old* saving history, from the *ḥ^a dāsōt^h*, the new soteric realities, which were breaking from the bud of the moment.²⁸³ But although the *ri’sōnōt^h* had come to an end and therefore should not any more be remembered cultically²⁸⁴ for their loss of soteric power for the present, these *former things* set the pattern and shaped the vision of the *ḥ^a dāsōt^h*. That is to say: Deutero-Isaiah extended the tradition by including the present historical events, but he used the old traditum “as a kind of grammar” for his “remything”. The new saving events were about to begin, “signalled by the rise of Cyrus and the impending overthrow of the Babylonians”²⁸⁵.

But, as Ludwig sees it, Deutero-Isaiah went even further. He broadened the reality of Israel’s saving traditum not only into the past, but also into the future and in fact “made the future events decisive for the revitalisation of the covenant people”²⁸⁶. Ludwig calls this the “eschatological dimension”²⁸⁷ in Deutero-Isaiah’s message. Again, the “shape of the new reality was . . . guided by the radicalized soteric paradigm along the lines of the old saving history: new [patriarchal] covenant²⁸⁸, new exodus²⁸⁹, new Zion²⁹⁰, new [royal] David [tradition]²⁹¹, etc.”²⁹². The *ḥ^a dāsōt^h* however involve a

²⁸¹ Von Rad, *Theologie 2*, 257. Cf. id., *Deutero-Isaiah*, 214–216. Similarly Baltzer, 84.

²⁸² Cf. Rabban and Haran. On the whole also Harner follows Rad’s understanding. Yet he asks, if the ‘model’ of the old exodus was sufficient to provide the continuity between the old and the new era and comes to the conclusion that in fact the creation faith in Deutero-Isaiah “serves to bridge the gap between the Exodus tradition and the expectations of the imminent restoration of Israel” (*Creation*, 304).

²⁸³ 43, 18f.. Ludwig, *Things*, 50.

²⁸⁴ 43, 14–28.

²⁸⁵ Ludwig, *Things*, 50. Cf. Blenkinsopp, *Scope*, 23.

²⁸⁶ Ludwig, *Things*, 47.

²⁸⁷ Loc. cit.. Cf. Mulenbarg, 602; Anderson, *Exodus-Typology*, 190.

²⁸⁸ 42, 6f.

²⁸⁹ 52, 10. Cf. 42, 5; 45, 22f..

²⁹⁰ 52, 7–10.

²⁹¹ 55, 3–5.

²⁹² Ludwig, *Things*, 48.

“heightening (Steigerung)”, which contains the “fresh soteric meaning”²⁹³ and consists of the universalizing and cosmicizing of the *new things*. “Like no one before him Deutero-Isaiah cosmicized the divine saving activity; that is he fused the old cultic creation tradition with the exodus tradition and made a cosmogonic-soteric paradigm the basis of the new salvation. . . . [He] saw the whole earth as the arena of Yahwe’s concern to be reestablished from its current chaos by Yahwe, with the new exodus of Israel and the temple as the centre of the new creation. With this vision he set before the disheartened exiles the possibility of a revitalisation of their covenant relationship with Yahwe and a renewal of their experience of the soteric power of the tradition”²⁹⁴.

Also according to KOCH, “the whole stress is on the fact that salvation history is beginning anew, and that a new kind of time, a new *deræk*, will be contingently set by Yahwe” and this “new time will far exceed the analogies of the early time”²⁹⁵.

ODENDAAL goes even farther in emphasizing the difference between the *former* and the *new*. He agrees with SELLIN that Deutero-Isaiah “sich dessen vollständig bewußt [ist], . . . ein eschatologisches Buch geschrieben zu haben”²⁹⁶ and that therefore *ḥādās* can be translated by ‘eschatological’. The prophet, Odendaal says, stands “at the dividing line between two ages”²⁹⁷. In the *new things* we find an instance of Deutero-Isaiah’s *Naherwartung*. They are “the great realities of the new era of salvation and hope”²⁹⁸, “of the renewed coming of Yahwe to his people and the universal triumph of his royal rule”²⁹⁹, a “new age budding into existence as a wonder of new life”³⁰⁰, “the eschatological times”³⁰¹, in which both Cyrus and Servant play a significant role. The accent, however, “falls on Yahwe’s sovereign Lordship which ushers in the new age, which creates these things. The newness is in his final, sovereign deeds of salvation, in the ultimate fulfillment of all his promises, and in his guidance of history to its intended goal”³⁰².

293 Ibid., 51.

294 Ibid., 52f.. Similarly, North, *Isaiah*, 25.

295 Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 147f.. Cf. W. Schottroff (*zkr*, THAT 1, 507–518, 518): “Ankündigung eines neuen, das bisherige überbietende Heilshandeln Jahwes”

296 E. Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, Leipzig 1912, 83.

297 Odendaal, *Expectations*, 114.

298 Ibid., 116.

299 Id., *Things*, 73.

300 Id., *Expectations*, 111.

301 Ibid., 112. Cf. W. H. Schmidt (264): “Wie die Unheilsansage der älteren Gerichtsspropheten, so kündigt Dtjes’ Trostbotschaft eine nahe, schon anbrechende, ja im Prophetenwort gegenwärtige und insofern eschatologische Zukunft an: ‘schon sproßt es!’ ”.

302 Odendaal, *Expectations*, 115.

Similarly, FOHRER³⁰³, PREUSS³⁰⁴, SCHMITT³⁰⁵, von WALDOW³⁰⁶, HAAG, JERGER, VOLZ³⁰⁷ and KRAUS³⁰⁸ underline the eschatological aspect of the $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$. According to these critics, Yahwe's new order of salvation interferes in world history and opens up something new, "die Endgeschichte Jahwes mit seinem Volk und mit der Welt"³⁰⁹, the beginning of the 'eschaton'. As the first of all prophets Deutero-Isaiah announces the beginning of the new eschatological epoch of history, in which Yahwe is 'king' and 'sovereign' of his people.³¹⁰ This turn signals a radical upheaval of Yahwe's acts in history, by which the whole creation will be renewed.

For ANDERSON³¹¹ the opposition $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h-h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$ coincides with that of the 'old' and the 'new exodus'. In line with the previous authors, this scholar stresses the fact that the *new* will be a radically new event.³¹² It will not only surpass the old exodus in wonder and soteriological meaning, but also supersede it in many respects.³¹³ Yet, against the sharp distinction between the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ and the $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$ made by the above scholars,³¹⁴ Anderson is concerned to point out that there is also a correspondence

³⁰³ Fohrer, 52, 67f., 95. Cf. id., *Testament*, 69f.: "Die Verkündigung Deuterojesajas ist von einem eschatologischen Erlösungsglauben beherrscht. Dabei wird das wirklich Neue durch den Begriff 'eschatologisch' angegeben. ... Wesentlicher Grundzug der eschatologischen Erwartung ist die Unterscheidung und Trennung zwischen zwei Zeitaltern. ... [Deuterojesaja] selbst sah sich und seine Generation am Ende des alten und an der Schwelle des neuen Zeitalters stehen; das Heute, in dem er lebte, war der Augenblick, in dem sich der große Wandel der Dinge abzuzeichnen oder zu vollziehen begann. ... [Er] nahm an, daß das Neue unmittelbar bevorstand — eine ewige Heilszeit, die kein Ende finden wird".

³⁰⁴ Preuß (*Deuterojesaja*, 47) defines the *new* as "das jetzt anbrechende Endheil (48, 7), das sich im Auszug, in der Heimkehr zum Zion und im Handeln des Kyros konkretisiert". He too holds: "das Kommende und das Neue steht hier stets dem Alten und Früheren, es eschatologisch überbietend, gegenüber" (loc. cit.). Cf. id., *Jahweglaube*, 203; id., *Verspottung*, 205.

³⁰⁵ H. C. Schmitt (51, 61) speaks of the "universale eschatologische Heilshoffnung" in the 'Grundschicht' of ch. 48.

³⁰⁶ Von Waldow (*Auslegung*, 52): "Die anbrechenden Ereignisse der Erlösung Israels werden ... als eschatologische Ereignisse verstanden. ... Es beginnt etwas 'Neues', die Gottesherrschaft über eine neue Welt".

³⁰⁷ Haag, *Gott*, 212; Jerger, 105, 121; Volz, 36.

³⁰⁸ Kraus, *Königsherrschaft*, 101–106; id., *Schöpfung*, 160–168. For him the *new* is "jenes zukünftige Heilshandeln Jahwes ... , das die ältere Prophetie ankündigte" (ibid., 161).

³⁰⁹ Id., *Königsherrschaft*, 103.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 105. Cf. von Waldow, *Auslegung*, 55. See also excursus 5.

³¹¹ Anderson, 189–192.

³¹² Ibid., 191, 194.

³¹³ Ibid., 191. Cf. W. H. Schmidt (264) who points to the parallel Jer 23, 7f.. See also Preuß, *Deuterojesaja*, 44, 47; id., *Verspottung*, 205, 227; id., *Jahweglaube*, 200f., 203.

³¹⁴ Cf. also 2.4. (Bentzen).

between them. He understands the expressions as a historical typology, in which there are elements of both, discontinuity and continuity. Anderson describes this typology in Gunkel's terms as a correspondence between events of the *Urzeit* and the *Endzeit*, the beginning and the end, protology and eschatology.³¹⁵ The parallelism, he says, "is an expression of the unity and continuity of history in Yahwe's purposive and dynamic will"³¹⁶, which undergirds the present with meaning.

Recently, ZIMMERLI re-emphasizes this point strongly, when he says: "The superiority [of the 'new' (antitype) to the 'old' (type)] is not meant to be interpreted in a polemical or didactic sense, as though Israel were being cut off from its ancient history with Yahwe and being confronted with something totally new (von Rad)³¹⁷. The equation with the exodus is meant rather to maintain the link between the new history and the old, however superior the glory of the new thing be, thus expressing the faithfulness of Yahwe, who remains true to his cause"³¹⁸.

Likewise, CHILDS holds: "the prophet stresses both continuity and discontinuity of history. There is continuity between the past and the future because of the one purpose of God. There is discontinuity because of Israel's failure. Israel's past response evokes the need of a radically new quality within history"³¹⁹.

KIESOW agrees with this aspect. He says that the continuity between the *former* and the *new* was no longer selfevident, as the catastrophe of 586 had questioned the validity of all previous traditions. It could only be secured on a high level of abstraction. Deutero-Isaiah had to root it more deeply in a theology of creation and election. "Nicht eine Negierung des bisherigen Heilsgrundes vollzieht sich damit, sondern seine —freilich durch Abstraktion erkaufte— Vertiefung"³²⁰.

Also for KAISER the *new things* are the renewal of the earlier promises and traditions,³²¹ but moreover "die Ankündigung der universalen Aufgabe, welche Gott seinem Volk in der Zukunft zgedacht hat"³²².

³¹⁵ Anderson, 189, 194. Cf. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*,² 1921. Similarly, Bentzen, *Ideas*, 186; Blenkinsopp, *Scope*, 24.

³¹⁶ Anderson, 189.

³¹⁷ Whereas von Rad adopted Rohland's view in his *Theologie*, he could agree with Zimmerli's position in his lecture *Einleitung in das AT* (WS 1958/59), where he admitted that both "[das], was in Urzeiten geschah" and "das Neue, das jetzt an Israel geschehen wird" originate in the same will of salvation of Yahwe. Cited in Kim, *Verhältnis*, 233 note 24.

³¹⁸ Zimmerli, *Theology*, 216f..

³¹⁹ Childs, 59.

³²⁰ Kiesow, 196. Cf. C..

³²¹ Kaiser (43): "Das Neue, das Jahwe jetzt seine Gemeinde hören läßt, ist die Heilsbotschaft des Propheten, konkret also die Erneuerung des Berufungs- und Erwählungsversprechens".

³²² Loc. cit.. This position comes close to some authors discussed in 2.1..

2.4. The 'Cult-Mythological' Interpretation

In his unpublished thesis, KIM³²³ explains the terms *ri'sōnôth* and *ḥ^a-dāšôth* against a cultic background. He sees a connection between Deutero-Isaiah's choice of words and the passover festival. Unlike other feasts, the Passah could be celebrated 'in the houses' and therefore also during the exile in form of a 'Notkult'. In the situation of the exiles who waited for the return to the homeland, the fact that the passover recalled the historified Exodus from Egypt might have taken on a special significance. The festival was celebrated during the first month of the year. After the beginning of the year had been transferred from the autumn to the spring, the older designations for the months were replaced by Babylonian names. However, to avoid the Babylonian calendar, the Israelites counted the months by ordinals.³²⁴ The first month (*ḥdš hr'swn* or simply *hr'swn*) took on a special significance, as the most important events of Israel's salvation history occurred here.³²⁵ For Kim, this is evidence enough to derive Deutero-Isaiah's terminology of *ri'sōnôth* and *ḥ^a-dāšôth* from the designation of this first month: *ḥdš + hr'swn = ḥdš hr'swn*. According to this scholar, the main theme of Deutero-Isaiah's message, the new Exodus, was thus integrated in the old 'credo'.³²⁶ The best time for the remembrance of the 'credo' was the passover festival in the first month. When coining the terms *ri'sōnôth* and *ḥ^a-dāšôth*, Deutero-Isaiah combined their content with formal motives. This might have been one of the reasons, why his listeners could understand the expressions without any further explication. Though the *ḥ^a-dāšôth* probably stem from the same terminological background, Kim tries to define them further, identifying them as "die dtjes. Verkündigung vom Kommen Jahwes, das durch die bisherigen Propheten in ihrer Verkündigung vom endgeschichtlichen 'Tag Jahwes' proklamiert wurde"³²⁷.

Kim is one of the few scholars who try to discover a possible 'Sitz im Leben' for Deutero-Isaiah's terminology. His suggestion offers an original solution to this question.³²⁸ However, at a closer look, his thesis seems to be based on too many assumptions and a good deal of 'imagination'³²⁹, which Kim admits frankly.

Another attempt at giving a cultic explanation to the *new things* origi-

³²³ Kim, 175–177.

³²⁴ The Babylonian name 'Nisan' appears only twice in the OT: Neh 2,1; Est 3, 7!

³²⁵ E.g. the flood (Gen 8, 13); the exodus (Nu 33, 3) and the prophetic vision in Ez (29, 17; 30, 20) and Dan (10, 4); the crossing of the Jordan by David's men (1 Chr 12, 16) and the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem by Hiskia (2 Chr 29, 3.17).

³²⁶ Cf. Is 51, 9ff.; 48, 20ff..

³²⁷ Kim, 179.

³²⁸ "[Es] ist zweifellos, daß der Sitz im Leben des Begriffs ... *ri'sōnôth* als Credo in der Passaherzählung ist, welche in dessen Text wiederholt und in dessen Kultus aktualisiert wurde" (loc. cit.).

³²⁹ Ibid., 176.

nated in a Scandinavian debate about the term *šē mū'āt' ēnū* ('what was heard by us') in Is 53, 1. NYBERG³³⁰ had translated it by 'the tradition, which we have received'. Bentzen's problem with this had been, how an old myth could be something, of which no one had heard before. Thereupon ENGNELL had pointed to the cult: "The mysterious message of the ancient cult is, contemporaneously, always new, i.e. experienced over and over again"³³¹.

BENTZEN tries to apply this thesis to Is 53, whereby he brings the last of the Servant songs into the discussion about *old* and *new* in Deutero-Isaiah. His argument is based on the assumption that "it is very plausible ... that the Deutero-Isaianic book is an imitation of a liturgy for the New Year Festival"³³². In Is 53, he suggests, Deutero-Isaiah uses old forms taken over from this festival such as the idea of 'recreation' of the world. "But he does so in a way quite different from that of the old cult hymns" that serve him only as a model. "He not only in his poems speaks of re-iteration in the cult of the 'old' reality of creation, or —what to Israel is the same— the Exodus from Egypt. The *new* is here something far greater than that, which was experienced in the 'old' festival 'over and over again'". It was "something absolutely new which nothing in the past equalled"³³³. The *šē mū'ā* replace the tradition (the cult hymn), which has lost its creative power. The *former*, i.e. the old exodus from Egypt —kept alive in the cultus— has lost its power in the exile. The *new* is the new Exodus, carried out by the Servant.

This seems to indicate that Bentzen regards the *šē mū'ā* and the *h^a dāsā* as a different expression for the same thing.³³⁴ The *new* is the Servant of Yahwe, who Bentzen describes in terms of a prophetic Messiah, a 'Moses redivivus', part of whose task will be to lead the exiles from Babylon and replace the old by a new cult myth.³³⁵ Bentzen holds that Deutero-Isaiah easily introduces the idea of creation into the new exodus. He understands the exodus story as an 'historification' of the myth of creation. The great events of Israel's history, he says, have always had a tendency to become 'myths', i.e. "expressions of revelation of the creative, vital forces of God"³³⁶.

First of all we have to bring forth a methodological objection to this interpretation. Bentzen and Engnell are primarily concerned to see single

³³⁰ Nyberg, 48f., 78. Cf. North, *Things*, 125f.

³³¹ Engnell, 30 note 6. It means something very similar, when Ringgren (260) notes: "The cult means re-experiencing of ancient events, an awareness of their effects here and now and a corresponding shaping of the future". Cf. also S. Mowinckel's explanations on actualization: *Psalmen-Studien* 2, 19–26, 282f.; *Religion und Kultus*, 79.

³³² Bentzen, *Ideas*, 184. Cf. Eaton; Blenkinsopp, *Scope*, 25.

³³³ Bentzen, *Ideas*, 184f.. Cf. 2.3..

³³⁴ Cf. North, *Things*, 125.

³³⁵ Cf. Bentzen (*Messias*, 66f.) and North (*Things*, 126).

³³⁶ Bentzen, *Ideas*, 186. Cf. Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 505.

Deutero-Isaianic statements in the light of the "sacral-kingship-ideology"³³⁷. The latter is not choosy in identifying different items with the 'king'.³³⁸ On this background it is not clear what Engnell means, when he calls the Deutero-Isaianic prophecy as "a prophetic imitation of a cult liturgy"³³⁹. Further, he tries to prove this ideology in single sentences and words of the prophet, but he is very little interested in the whole of the texts. Engnell never comments on the structure or the relation between statements within their immediate context. In his investigation he leaves for example aside the whole group of the trial speeches, i.e. the texts which will play a major role in my analysis.³⁴⁰

Also objections against the content of the Scandinavian thesis have to be raised. STUHLMULLER objects to Bentzen's thesis that Deutero-Isaiah uses some of the old forms of the New Year festival, including the ideas on the re-creation of the universe, as he could prove convincingly that the "doctrine that Yahwe created the universe at the beginning ... is definitely not to the forefront of his [Deutero-Isaiah's] argument". "It either serves as a secondary purpose of expanding on what is meant by Yahwe-Redeemer ... or is a conclusion drawn from the same faith in Yahwe-Redeemer"³⁴¹.

ANDERSON³⁴² and SCHOTTROFF join the criticism concerning the thesis of the book Deutero-Isaiah as an imitation of the New Year liturgy. In addition Schottroff criticizes in the previous positions especially the postulated background of the 'God-king-ideology'.³⁴³ He comes to the conclusion: "ist das 'alte Neue' nicht der Kultmythos, dann kann man in *zkr* auch nicht 'das schöpferische Erinnern im Kult, durch welches die heilige Vorzeit lebendig wird' ... sehen"³⁴⁴

In my opinion, Bentzen —as the Scandinavian research on the whole— tends to overestimate the function of the cultus. After all, how much was left of it during the exile? "The exiles ... were faced by the tremendous difficulty that the sacral presuppositions for any cultic activity were lacking. None of the acts of worship they had celebrated in their homeland could be simply transferred and adopted to an alien environment"³⁴⁵. They had

³³⁷ Egnell, 56.

³³⁸ E.g. the Ebed, Israel, Jerushun, Cyrus, 'ādām —though this term has clearly to be understood in the collective sense— and even "the primeval prophet" (ibid., 66 note 1).

³³⁹ Ibid., 64.

³⁴⁰ Cf. II.1. and excursus 1.

³⁴¹ Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 204.

³⁴² Anderson, 192–194, 193.

³⁴³ Cf. here also the critical remarks in M. Noth, 60; id., *Gott, König, Volk*, in: *Gesammelte Studien zum AT*, ThB 6, München 1957, 188–229. For further criticism see also Westermann, *Vergegenwärtigung*, 16; Anderson, 193; J. M. Schmidt, 192f., Leene, *Dingen*, 123.

³⁴⁴ Schottroff, 135. Similarly Childs (82): "It is highly questionable whether the cult of Ancient Israel ever had the character of a drama which was re-enacted". Cf. ibid., 74ff..

³⁴⁵ H. J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel*, Oxford 1966, 229, [ET].

no cultic objects; no cultic feast could be held in the unclean land. The king, the leader of the cult and in charge of the official worship, had been transported to Babylon and was imprisoned there, which made the cult impossible. How then could the exiles worship in Babylonia? "The cult had to renounce more and more every material and sacramental support, and greater attention had to be given to the spiritual and the intangible"³⁴⁶. Cult was only possible as a 'negative' cult: fasting and observing the laws of food and cleanliness were means for the people to show that they did not feel at home in the foreign country.³⁴⁷ New tokens for the covenant relationship had to be found. Sabbath and circumcision, prayers, songs and confessions became increasingly important. A new non sacrificial worship developed. During the exile the teachers of the *ṯōrâ* must have gained more and more influence vis à vis the priests. All these changes can be understood as the preparatory steps towards the establishment of the synagogue. On this basis I am very sceptical about the importance of the cult for the *ri'sōnōtḥ* and the *ḥ^adāšōtḥ*. I think it is very dubious, to award them the character of 'cult myths'.³⁴⁸

Nevertheless, NORTH³⁴⁹ holds a very similar view to Bentzen. But then he struggles against Bentzen's suggestion that we identify the *ḥ^adāšâ* with the *š^emū'â*, since he cannot find any concrete political background for the latter term.³⁵⁰ Instead, he suggests the following three fold pattern for the prophet's perspective of history: *ri'sōnōtḥ* > *ḥ^adāšâ* > *š^emū'â*. Against Bentzen North thus distinguishes clearly between the *new things* and the work of the Servant. The *š^emū'â*, he sees it, is posterior even to the *ḥ^adāšâ*: "Something, indeed, occasioned by the prophet's disillusionment that the *ḥ^adāšâ* there anticipated had such a meagre fulfilment"³⁵¹.

I think the Scandinavian discussion has complicated the situation unnecessarily. It is questionable, whether the term *š^emū'â* in the isolated passage Is 53 can be considered equivalent to the *ri'sōnōtḥ* and *ḥ^adāšōtḥ*, which appear only in chs. 40–48, considering the fact that these chapters deviate significantly from chs. 49ff..³⁵² Does North's understanding not come back to the beginning of our presentation, where we regarded the distinction between two future events as improbable?³⁵³

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 230.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Fohrer, *Geschichte*, 193.

³⁴⁸ I will take up the position of the 'cult-mythological theory' once again in the second part of this thesis in the context of the Hebrew concept of 'memory'.

³⁴⁹ North, *Servant*, 125.

³⁵⁰ Id., *Former Things*, 125.

³⁵¹ Loc. cit..

³⁵² Cf. II.2. and excursus 6.

³⁵³ Cf. A.1.. In this context also the syntax of the Hebrew verb brings up a number of difficulties. On this specific problem cf. the explanations in Stuhlmüller (*Redemption*, 42–56) and Ratschow (375).

C. 'FORMER' AND 'NEW THINGS'
AS FORMAL AND FUNCTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

TACHAU summarizes the discussion on the expressions as follows: "[Es ist] schwierig, eindeutig und für alle Belege übereinstimmend den Inhalt von *ri'sōnōt^h* und *ḥ^adāšōt^h* anzugeben. Es ist bisher nicht gelungen, diese Aufgabe befriedigend zu lösen". He concludes: "*hāri'sōnōt^h* and *ḥ^adāšōt^h* scheinen Formalbegriffe zu sein, die jeweils mit verschiedenem Inhalt gefüllt sein können und je nachdem dann auch eine größere oder kleinere Zeitstrecke umschließen"³⁵⁴. This statement indicates that the confusion of recent scholarship concerning an exact definition of the expressions caused a shift in the formulation of the issue. The authors I present in this final paragraph regard the question *what* the terms mean as less important.³⁵⁵ In contrast, they ask for their *function* in their immediate context.

First observations in this direction had already been made by FISCHER. He pointed out that the expressions occur mainly in a forensic context.³⁵⁶ In the trial between Yahwe and the gods, he says, always the *former*—not the *new!*— is the decisive argument.³⁵⁷ On the basis that the *former things* have come, the *new things* are proclaimed.³⁵⁸

Similarly, HARAN states: "The fulfillment of the former prophecies has established his [Yahwe's] trustworthiness as the true God. Consequently he is armed with authority to publish new messages through the medium of the prophet"³⁵⁹.

LEENE³⁶⁰ objected to these positions. Rightly he asks how the *new things* can on the one hand be surprisingly new, if they are on the other hand prepared by the *former things*. Why are they necessary at all, after the *former things* have come? What is the real new aspect of the *new things*?

³⁵⁴ Tachau, 38f.

³⁵⁵ "[In] einer inhaltlichen Näherbestimmung . . . , [bei der] man fragt, welche Ereignisse, welches Geschehen, welche Epochen durch das 'Frühere' und das 'Kommende' umgriffen werden sollten, . . . ist nicht übereinstimmend gesagt, was damit im einzelnen gemeint sei und woran man im besonderen denken solle" (Herrmann, 300). "Die inhaltliche Frage, was in Einzelfällen gemeint sei, ist . . . als weniger wichtig anzusehen" (Michel, *Deuterocesaja*, 518). Cf. Tachau (40) on 48, 1-11: "von einer Präzisierung der Begriffe kann abgesehen werden, wenn der Abschnitt als Versuch verstanden wird, Jahwe als Lenker der Geschichte zu erweisen, der frühere Heils- und Unheilstaten angekündigt und erfüllt hat und daher Neues zu schaffen vermag".

³⁵⁶ Cf. excursus 1.

³⁵⁷ "Den aktuellen Streit mit den Götzen entscheidet niemals das Neue, sondern immer das Alte" (Fischer, *Perikopen*, 22. Cf. id., comm., 63.).

³⁵⁸ "Das 'Alte', d.h. die schon erfüllten Weissagungen Jahves sind eine Bürgschaft dafür, daß er das große 'Neue' vollbringen wird" (loc. cit.).

³⁵⁹ Haran, *Structure*, 135. Cf. Fischer (94) and Preuß (*Jahweglaube*, 203): "Die Verbindung [des 'Neuen' mit dem 'Alten'] . . . offenbart Jahwe als den Herrn der Zeit".

³⁶⁰ Leene, *Dingen*, 9, 11.

HERRMANN, STECK³⁶¹ and MICHEL³⁶² follow the functional inspection of the expressions. The former emphasizes that *ri'sōnôth* and *h^a dāsôth* are closely connected with Deutero-Isaiah's message of the nothingness of the foreign gods and the proof of Yahwe as the only God.³⁶³ In this context, the stress falls on the fact that Yahwe's predictions have really come true and will also further on be fulfilled, which proves that Yahwe as the lord of time and history.³⁶⁴ In the Israelite tradition, the expressions represent a totally new way of arguing Yahwe's power. Unique in this argumentation is "die bis dahin noch nie so konsequent vollzogene und formulierte Abstraktion der Zeitvorstellung", "[die] Beherrschung der reinen Zeitdimension durch gelungene Abstraktion"³⁶⁵. Thus according to Herrmann, we have to understand the *former* and the *new* as 'abstract formulae', designed by the prophet to grasp the dimension of time.³⁶⁶ They indicate "die Überwindung des Zyklisch-Naturhaften zum Linear-Einmaligen"³⁶⁷ and thus express the particularity of the Israelite understanding of history against the environment in the challenge of the exile.

In this context we can also mention VOLZ who understands *ri'sōnôth* and *h^a dāsôth* as "die beiden Typen des geschichtlichen Geschehens, Vergangenes und Zukünftiges"³⁶⁸, which designate "die Gesamtheit des Geschehens"³⁶⁹.

Also KOCH stresses the abstractness of the terms, when he says: "More stringently than any other prophet before him, Deutero-Isaiah analyses the breach in the history of his people, and of humanity as a whole, reducing it to conceptual form"³⁷⁰.

Yet, Herrmann does not deny that these functional terms at some point can carry qualitative overtones, for they include also the new order of the

³⁶¹ Steck, *Deuterocesaja*, 290 note 17.

³⁶² Michel, *Deuterocesaja*, 518f..

³⁶³ Cf. Herrmann, 294, 299. Cf. also Preuß (*Deutero-Isaiah*, 48)

³⁶⁴ "Das Gewicht der Aussagen liegt . . . auf der Tatsache überhaupt, daß das, was Jahwe zuvor angekündigt hat, was er seit je vorhatte, sich wahrhaftig erfüllt hat und auch in Zukunft erfüllen wird" (Herrmann, 300). Cf. excursus 2.

³⁶⁵ "Die linienhafte Vorstellung der Zeit von Uranfang an bis hin auf ein Ziel der Zukunft (im Unterschied etwa zum zyklischen Denken der Griechen) ist durch die Begriffe *ri'sōnôth* *mē'ôlām*, *bā'ôth* and *'ah^a rîth* in Verbindung mit den schon der älteren Sprache geläufigen *mē'āz* and *miqqædæm* auf überzeugende und allgemein gültige Formeln gebracht; auch die Gegenwart ist auf diese Weise durch ein *'th . . . w!* *m'z* markant herausgehoben und erfaßt" (Herrmann, 300). Similarly Steck (*Deuterocesaja*, 290f.) Wolff (*Anthropology*, 89) and Kiesow (196), cf. note 320.

³⁶⁶ Cf. the difference to the quote of Schoors on p. 29, note 215.

³⁶⁷ Herrmann, 303. Cf. Michel, *Deuterocesaja*, 519.

³⁶⁸ Volz, 89, cf. 90.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁷⁰ Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 147. Koch expresses this 'conceptual form' in his translation: *ri'sōnôth*: 'first, main, primordial time'; *qadmōniyyôth*: 'foretime'; *h^a dāsôth*: 'new time'; *'ah^a rôn*: 'aftertime'; *'ôth iyyôth*: 'coming time'.

world. "Sie wollen sagen, daß das Frühere, Gottes Ordnung von Anbeginn der Welt, sich im Kommenden in einer Völkerversammlung fortsetzen soll, die allein Jahwe heraufführen kann und wird. Die Universalität des Gottes Israels wird triumphieren, alle bisherigen Grenzen des Raumes und der Zeit sprengend und die fremden Götter entmachtend. So sind die Sprüche vom Früheren und Kommenden herausgewachsen aus der Gottesidee"³⁷¹.

In this context, PREUSS³⁷² too points to the importance of the expressions for Deutero-Isaiah's understanding of history, especially for the connection between word and event, promise (or menace) and fulfilment. He assumes that the prophet's argument is influenced by Babylonian ideas, of which the prediction of *coming things* through omnia oracles of the past is characteristic. Preuß suggests that a possible 'Sitz im Leben' for the proof of Yahwe as lord of history could be the danger of apostasy, which Deutero-Isaiah wants to avert by his argumentation with the *former* and the *coming*. The polemic attacks against the Babylonian faith and the proof that the other gods are 'nothings' give indeed reason for this thesis.

I appreciate that the authors discussed in this section bring up questions that have largely been neglected. Important is their pointing to the respective context of the terms. In fact, these commentators have come closest to my own understanding of the *former* and the *coming things*. In part II. of this thesis we will see that the function plays indeed a chief role for a closer definition of these terms. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it is false to put all the emphasis on a functional analysis, which rejects any specification of the content of the expressions. As I see it, the function and employment of a term provides at the same time a criterion for its content.

³⁷¹ Herrmann, *Heilservartungen*, 303. Cf. Michel, *Deuterojesaja*, 519.

³⁷² Preuß, *Deuterojesaja*, 48.

Summary of Part I. and Conclusions

After a short introduction to the main questions related to the problem, sections A. and B. are mainly concerned with two questions: what is the content of the terms *ri'sōnōt^h* and *ḥ^adāšōt^h* in Deutero-Isaiah and what is their exact terminus a quo and terminus ad quem respectively? A related issue concerns the nature of these expressions. Are they prophecies (A.2.3.2./3.) or events?

A small group of older scholars referred both terms to future events, one being more remote than the other (A.1.). However, the great majority interpret the *ri'sōnōt^h* as past predictions that oppose future events (A.2.). Some say that either both terms cannot be specified (A.2.1./B.1.) or that a symbolic meaning has to be applied to them (B.2.1.). Several commentators see in the *ri'sōnōt^h* particular events of Israel's salvation history (creation, Noah, patriarchs, exodus, exile) or the whole period of time that includes these events up to the fall of Jerusalem (A.2.2.). For them the *new things* are a new period, a second history of God with his people (B.2.3.). Some representatives of this group emphasize the role of the cult as the main carrier of tradition (A.2.2.6./B.2.4.) and the work or the person of the Servant (B.2.1.). Most exegetes, however, think that the terms allude to contemporary events, especially to the campaigns of Cyrus (A.2.3./B.2.2.). Here the question arises: is the fall of Babylon part of the *ri'sōnōt^h* or part of the *ḥ^adāšōt^h*? Most scholars of the 'historical interpretation' assume the latter. Two Jewish exegetes deviate from this opinion. They say the prophecy was uttered after the fall of Babylon, which is therefore itself a *former thing*. Instead, the *new things* must be the return of the exiles.

The multiplicity of views caused some authors to replace the question about the exact content and the limitation of the words —and thus the alternative events or predictions— by that of their respective *function* (C.). These scholars appreciate the fact that the expressions appear mainly in a forensic context, in which they serve as means to prove the power and uniqueness of God and at the same time the powerlessness of the foreign gods. In this argumentation, *ri'sōnōt^h* and *ḥ^adāšōt^h* can be understood as abstract terms of time, which indicate an attempt to understand history in conceptual terms.

In part II. I will follow these important observations as a kind of working hypothesis. This does not mean that we can neglect the content of the terms. Rather, their function may provide important clues for this issue. In order to find out about the specific function of the *former - latter - coming - new*, we will have to examine this contrast against the background of the major themes and genres in Deutero-Isaiah.

Concerning the content of the expressions, some key questions arise, which will have to be kept in mind. They comprise the nature of the relationship of Cyrus and that of the Servant to the *former* and the *new things*.

Does Cyrus exclusively belong to either, (a.) the *former*³⁷³ or (b.) the *new things*, or is he (c.) part of both?³⁷⁴ This last possibility is less likely as it weakens the vigorous contrast between *ri'sōnôṭ^h* and *ḥ^adāšôṭ^h*.³⁷⁵ As to the *new things*, are they exclusively or partially connected with the Servant (or his work) or is the Servant entirely unrelated to the *ḥ^adāšôṭ^h*?

To answer the question, whether *ri'sōnôṭ^h* and *ḥ^adāšôṭ^h* are either predictions or events, or whether they comprise both aspects, the analysis of the term *'ah^arîṭ^h* seems to play an important role. Also the adverbs of time are significant in this context. I will therefore extend the field of the investigation, including these adverbs and the other expressions of time.³⁷⁶ Often the *new things* have been identified too quickly with the *coming* or/and the *latter things*.³⁷⁷ This is not justified. In the following analysis, we will have to differentiate between these groups. Apart from the contextual relations, I will also consider the etymological word-families and parallels in the OT.³⁷⁸ For want of a more definite criterion we are forced to analyse the relevant passages in detail. Investigating the context in which the terms are used, we shall seek to discover the meaning attached to the words and trace the nuances in their employment.

³⁷³ "Is any part . . . of the career of Cyrus to be assigned to the *ri'sōnôṭ^h*? It is here that the real problem lies" (North, *Things*, 117).

³⁷⁴ "Soweit das Werk und die Mission des Cyrus für den Standpunkt des prophetischen Schriftstellers der Vergangenheit angehört, zählt es zu den *ri'sōnôṭ^h*, soweit es für den Standpunkt des prophetischen Schriftstellers der Zukunft angehört, zu den *ḥ^adāšôṭ^h*" (Fischer, *Perikopen*, 23).

³⁷⁵ Cf. Odendaal, *Things*, 66: "This differentiation of stages in the career of Cyrus is imported into the text, which here and elsewhere describes his work as a unity".

³⁷⁶ Cf. II.A.2.. Cf. appendix 1.

³⁷⁷ Cf. B., note 215.

³⁷⁸ Cf. appendix 2.

PART II.: EXEGETICAL

Preliminary Notes

1. Methodology

I agree with JENNI, "daß . . . Diskussionen über den atl. Zeitbegriff sich nicht allein auf Wortuntersuchungen oder andere Beobachtungen über die vorhandenen sprachlichen Mittel (Tempora, Adverbien), sondern nur auf konkrete Satzaussagen in den Texten und deren systematische Auswertung stützen können"¹. Accordingly, I want to look at the decisive statements about time in Deutero-Isaiah embedded in their respective context. In my opinion, very critical attempts which separate several stages of redaction remain largely speculation.² They are always at risk of representing the theology of the respective scholar rather than that of the text. Where possible at all, I will try to understand the text as it stands. Of course this does not exclude occasional changes. I analyse all passages according to a similar pattern. To start with, a (1.) Translation of the text is given, which is in fact the end product of the analysis. Though the basis for the exegesis is MT, the English text demonstrates my interpretative decisions and serves as an introduction to the first problems. Deviations from MT are written in italics. The copula of the nominal clauses and other additions to make the text clearer are put in square brackets. Parantheses indicate alternate readings and the Hebrew key words of time. The superscript-letters refer to the second paragraph (2.) Text Criticism, where the textual tradition as attested in the versions and textcritical suggestions are discussed. This step is crucial, as often the differences of interpretation are due to deviations in the restoration of the text. However, I had to restrict myself to the most important changes.³ Emendations are necessary, as the texts are partially corrupt. (3.) Literary Criticism, which is concerned with the separation of the unit from its context (*beginning and end of the passage*) and its *integrity* (do tensions attest secondary alterations within the text?), is followed by (4.) Linguistic Observations. Here, *style and syntax* of each unit are taken into account. Observations concerning the sentence level (description of the types of sentences and the interrelationships be-

¹ Jenni, *‘et*, THAT 2, 370–385, 381. Similarly, Barr, *Words*; id., *Semantics*. Cf. Preuß, *Jahweglaube*, 92. Westermann (*hdš*, THAT 1, 524–530, 527) points out that an explanation of the *new things* is only possible "von der Gesamtverkündigung Deuterojesajas her". Similarly North, *hdš*, TDOT 5, 239–241, 240.

² A case in point for these "scissors and paste"-theologians who pick the text to pieces extensively is Merendino's commentary. Often his criteria for the 'Textscheidungs' are dubious.

³ For an extensive discussion of other variants, see BHS, BHK, the commentaries, esp. Elliger, Leene (*Dingen*) and the following articles: Ginsberg, *Emendations*; Morgenstern, *Message*; Dahood, *Texts*; id., *Problems*.

tween the clauses) are followed by an examination of the types of words and their function (word level). Then the stylistic devices are listed and their function is explained. Special attention is paid to the *semantics* of the key words in the text. (5.) Form Criticism brings out the *structure* and the typical elements of the passage by its comparison with similar texts of the same genre. At this point, to be sure, we have to keep in mind that a 'Gattung' is a theoretical construct of the research. It represents the *ideal* form, which precedes and shapes the particular form of a text. In literature only *forms*, not genres exist.⁴ The genre and its *Sitz im Leben* will be defined each time for the whole group of texts to which it can be applied. By (6.) Criticism of Motifs and Traditions I want to draw attention to 'coined traits' (symbols, themes and formulae⁵) in the text. Here, I also deal with the following questions: did the prophet absorb earlier Israelite or contemporary Babylonian traditions? If so, what was his motivation for doing so? Did he alter these existing traditions? If so, how did he do it? Did he take up motifs eclectively or polemically? Following the reasoning of the *text* a final (7.) Interpretation tries to sum up the succession of thought in a nutshell and formulate the intention of the pericope. Looking back on all preceding steps of the exegesis, in consideration of the 'ductus' and 'scopus' of the text and with regard to the immediate context, I shall then give an *interpretation of the expressions of time* in each respective passage.

On the basis of the limited number of units analysed it is difficult to make statements about the redactory work in the book and the combinations of single texts and their compository arrangement. An entire analysis of chs. 40-55, which is beyond the scope of this thesis would be necessary to come to final conclusions.⁶

Whereas the single analysis gives a cross section through the subject, the EXCURSUS provide longitudinal sections through the the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah and give an overview of the research on some particular problems.

⁴ In this differentiation I follow L. Markert's distinction between *Gattung* and *Form*, in: Fohrer a. o., *Exegese*, 83-88.

⁵ In Homeric studies M. Parry defines a formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (cited by A. Lord, *The Singer Tales*, Cambridge 1966, 4).

⁶ For a detailed analysis see Melugin (*Formation*) and Kiesow, 10-17. Also Leene (*Dingen*) focuses on the literary composition, esp. of chs. 41-44. He suggests that the interaction between semantic field and literary structure is equivalent to the *former - latter - coming - new* schema and dramatic progression. By 'isotopy' he distinguishes meaningful and meaningless word-collocations between the individual texts.

2. The Expressions of Time and the Choice of the Texts

The tables in appendix 1 give a survey about all relevant occurrences of expressions of time in Deutero-Isaiah. The immediate context of these terms will be the basis for the following analysis, in which also the separation of the literary units will have to be justified. At first sight it is obvious that almost all terms are limited to chs. 41–48 and concentrated in 41, 21–29. For this reason I will make this passage the starting point of the following analysis. In the course of the investigation it will also provide the standard of comparison.

The diagram in appendix 2 describes the complicated net of interrelations between the expressions of time. The account renders it likely that Leene is right when he assumes that all expressions form a “semantic field”⁷, in which the meaning of one word is connected with the meaning of others. The arrangement of the expressions in different groups has the advantage of not only showing their contextual relation (horizontal level), but also the etymological relations as members of a common word family (vertical level).

The $\sqrt{r's}$ -group is clearly dominant. In fact, derivatives of $\sqrt{r's}$ occur in each of the pericopes that we are going to analyse. This is not the case for all other groups. In 43, 18 the term *qadmōniyyôth* is found in a direct parallel with *ri'sōnôth*. On this basis it can be assumed that the $\sqrt{r's}/qdm$ -group refers to the past.

The variety of remaining terms can be classified in three groups: *latter* (derivatives of \sqrt{hr}), *coming* (derivatives of $\sqrt{bw'}$ and $\sqrt{t'h}h^8$ respectively) and *new* (derivatives of $\sqrt{hd\bar{s}}$)⁹. In part I. I pointed out how important it is, not to identify these groups too quickly as different expressions for the same thing.¹⁰ “The difference in meaning between the $h^a d\bar{s}\hat{o}th$ and $b\bar{a}'\hat{o}th / 'o\hat{t}h iy-y\hat{o}th$ suggests that also the *new* and *coming* are concerned with different matters. We are obviously dealing with a well-balanced combination of words for the time-dimensions of Jhwh’s actions in history that is unique in the OT”¹¹. Apart from the relation between *former* and *new*, which we were primarily concerned with in part I.,¹² we will thus also have to examine the relations *former* – *latter* and *former* – *coming*.

⁷ Leene, *Dingen*, 12. He refers to J. Lyons (*Semantics I*, Cambridge 21978, 268): “Lexemes and other units semantically related, whether paradigmatically or syntactically within a given language system, can be said to belong, or to be members of the same (semantic) field”.

⁸ The pt. fem. of *'o\hat{t}h iyy\hat{o}th* without article is unique. In 41, 23 it occurs with the article. MT in 45, 11 ($h\bar{a}'\hat{o}th iyy\hat{o}th s^e 'al\hat{u}n\hat{i}$) has to be rendered. KBL (101a) suggests $ha'at^h t^h \bar{a}m t^h i\bar{s}'al\hat{u}n\hat{i}$, BHS proposes $h^a y\hat{o}'mar$. Cf. also Elliger (526f.), H. D. Preuß (*b'w*, TDOT 2, 40) and North (*Things*, 113f.). For a detailed discussion see Leene, *Dingen*, 192–195.

⁹ Cf. $n^e \hat{s}ur\hat{o}th$ in 48, 6.

¹⁰ Cf. I.B.. Cf. note 216.

¹¹ So correctly Leene, *Dingen*, 323.

¹² For the description of the relations $ri's\hat{o}n\hat{o}th - h^a d\bar{s}\hat{o}th / h^a d\bar{s}\hat{a}$ see the introduction

The relation *former* – *latter* is dominated by the stable connection of the word-pair $ri'sōnōt^h - 'ah^a rōn[īm]$ ([41, 4]; 44, 6; 48, 12).¹³ The combinations $mēē'sīt^h - 'ah^a rīt^h$ (46, 10) and $hāri'sōnōt^h - 'ah^a rīt^h$ (41, 22) will be analysed in their immediate context.

Whereas the groups of *latter* and *new* are always connected with the *former*, the *coming* can also appear independently, contrasting the adverbs $mē'āz/mē'ōlām$ instead.¹⁴ Does this mean that the connection between $\sqrt{r's}$ and $\sqrt{bw'/t^h h}$ is more incidental? Apart from 44, 6–8, again 41, 21–29 is a crucial pericope, as it contains the important opposition $hāri'sōnōt^h - habbā'ōt^h / 'ōt^h iyyōt^h$.

The adverbs of time¹⁵ are grouped at the margins of the diagram. On the left, $mēē'sīt^h$ and $mēō's$ as derivatives of the $\sqrt{r's}$ -group form transitions to the *former*.¹⁶ On the right, $'at^h t^h ā$ is closely related to the $\sqrt{hd's}$ -group. Striking is its opposition to $mē'āz$ (48, 1–11), which seems to sharpen the contrast between $hāri'sōnōt^h$ and $h^a dāsōt^h$.¹⁷ Interestingly, all adverbs occur with the preposition *min*. This preposition will therefore deserve special attention.¹⁸

Remarkable is further the fact that the demonstrative pronouns $zō't^h$ and $'ellā$ seem to carry temporal connotations, where they occur in connection with other expressions of time. Here the main question is: with which of the four groups can they be associated? Does the occurrence of $zō't^h$ together with $ri'sōnōt^h$ in 43, 9 indicate a synonymity or antonymity?

We have to be aware that from text to text the terms may take on slightly different meanings. In all of the pericopes we will therefore have to ask for the exact meaning of each expression in its particular connections.

In addition to a context immanent approach, the comparison with related OT-parallels can occasionally be of help. As a rule we can assume that a similar context (at least in one and the same author) should guarantee the relative constancy of a term. For this reason I will classify the texts in context-specific groups.

Before we investigate the relation between the groups $\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{hd's}$ (C.), we analyse the texts that speak of the combinations $\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{hr}$ and $\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{bw'/t^h h}$ respectively (A. and B.). From a formcritical point of view it is interesting that these latter oppositions occur exclusively in polemic texts.

of part I.

¹³ As this opposition appears three times, I will not analyse 41, 1–4 in detail.

¹⁴ Cf. 41, 22f. with 44, 7.

¹⁵ Cf. appendix 1, table 2.

¹⁶ Cf. also the etymologically related terms $miqqədēm/qadmōniyyōt^h$. Further, $mē-ōlām$ and $mē'āz$ have contextual links with $\sqrt{r's}$. Cf. appendix 2.

¹⁷ Cf. C.3.7..

¹⁸ Cf. excursus 3.

Text Analysis

A. TRIAL SPEECHES (addressed to the Nations and their Gods)

1. Analysis of Is 41, 21–29

1.1. Translation

- 21 αα “Bring forth your case!”
β says Yahwe.
βα “Set forth your proofs!”
β says the king of Jacob.
- 22 αα “They shall *draw near*^a
β and tell us
γ what is to happen (‘*šær t^hiqrænâ*)!
βα The former things (*hâri’šônôt^h*), what [were] they?
β Say!
γ that we might consider them,
δ^b that we may know their outcome (‘*ah^arit^h*)^c
ε^b or make us hear the coming things (*habbâ’ôt^h*).
- 23 αα Tell us what is to come (*hâ’ôt^hiyyôt^h*) hereafter (I^e*ahôr*)
β that we may know
γ that you [are] gods.
βα Yes, do [something] good,
β do [something] bad
γ that we may fear
δ and *be afraid*^d altogether.
- 24 αα See, you [are] *nothing*^e!
β and your work [is] *nought*^{e,f}!
b an abomination one chooses in you!¹⁹
- 25 αα [But] I stirred up [one] from the north
β and he came,
γ from the rising of the sun I^g called him by *his^h* name.
βα He *trampled*ⁱ rulers as mortar
β as a potter tramples the clay.
- 26 αα Who declared [it] from the beginning (*mērō’š*)
β that we might know [it]
γ — and beforetime (*mill^efānīm*)
δ that we might say: “[He is] right. [= He has a claim to deity]²⁰”?
βα Yes, none who declared [it]!
β Yes, none who made us hear!
γ Yes, none who heard your oracles!

¹⁹ Joüon (§ 157aI) refers the statement to the worshippers: “(il est) une abomination (celui qui) vous choisit”. Cf. § 158d.

²⁰ Cf. Whitley, *šedeq*, 474. Cf. 46, 11.

- 27 a [As the] former (ri'sōn) [I] *declared*^j [it] to Zion
 b and to Jerusalem I (will) give a herald of good tidings.
 28 aα *With these*^k [there is] nobody!
 β With these [there is] no counsellor!
 bα [that] I may ask them
 β and they would give [me] answer.
 29 aα See, all of them [are] *nothing*^l!
 β Nothing [are] their works,
 b wind and emptiness their molten images!"

1.2. Textcriticism²¹

a. On the basis of LXX (εγγισατωσαν) and σ' (προελθετωσαν) I change the hi. (*yaggišû*) into q. and read *yigg^ešû*. This reading is reaffirmed by the fact that in Q^a *yod* can replace *shwa*, so that the consonantal text need not be changed. Also the translations (S: *nqrbwn*; T: *yt^hqrbwn* and V: *accedant*) seem to read q..

b. Nearly all modern commentators transpose the last two lines of v. 22 for the parallelism.²² Also Q^a and LXX had difficulties here: Q^a inserts 'w before 'aharit^hān and combines it this way with the following ("either ... or"). LXX translates "και γνωσομεθα τι τα εσχατα", i.e. it ignores 'aharit^hān and replaces 'w by και (likewise V: et). However, T and S read MT. Appendix 2 illustrates that derivatives of $\sqrt{r's}$ and \sqrt{hr} form fixed word-pairs.²³ This fact is an argument against the transposition, which would separate *hāri'sōnōt^h* from 'ah^ari^t^h. Further, Koole and Leene draw attention to the stylistic parallelism of v. 22,²⁴ which is indeed impressive. Merendino points to the chiasmic structure of v. 23a in relation to v. 22b.²⁵ I think these are convincing reasons to keep MT.

c. Seebaß²⁶ reads 'hrwnwt^h, following Q^a, but MT makes sense.

d. To translate *w^enir'æ* as a form of *r'h* is rather shallow and does not make very much sense.²⁷ The form *wnr'* can be understood as a cohortative without the ending *â* from *yr'*.²⁸ In favour of this interpretation speaks the

²¹ Cf. Elliger, 171–177; Schoors, *Choses*, 25–30; Dahood, *Texts*; Whitley, *Note*.

²² Cf. BHS, BHK, Fohrer, North, McKenzie, Westermann, Beuken, Skinner, Marti, Haller, Schoors, Elliger Whybray, Duhm, Köhler.

²³ Cf. 'ah^ari^t^h – mēre'sit^h: 46, 10; ri'sōn – 'ah^aron[im]: 41, 4; 44, 6; 48, 12. Cf. II.A.2..

²⁴ *hāri'sōnōt^h* — *haggidû* — *w^enēd^e'â*;

habbā'ōt^h — *haggidû* — *w^enēd^e'â*.

²⁵ *hāri'sōnōt^h* — *habbā'ōt^h*; *wnšymh lbnw* — *wnd'h*. Cf. Merendino, 193.

²⁶ H. Seebaß, 'ah^ari^t^h, TDOT 1, 207–212, 209.

²⁷ Q^a reads *r'h*, but changes *wnšt^h'h* consequently to *wnšm'*. V (et loquamur et videamus) is probably dependent on S (*wnšt^h'h* "we tell").

²⁸ So with most modern commentators: BHS, Duhm, Elliger, Fohrer, McKenzie, Muilenburg, North.

cohortative q. *w^eništ^hā'ā* from *št^h*, which is always used in parallel with *yr'* (cf. 41, 10) and has the same meaning as this verb.²⁹

e. The *mem* in *mē'ayin* and *mē'āfa'* is to be deleted as a dittography.³⁰

f. In v. 24aβ MT reads *mē'āfa'*, which is missing in Q^a. LXX is not very helpful, as it interprets the verse as a question (οτι ποθεν εστε υμεις και ποθεν η εργασια υμων;), to which this term is the answer: εκ γης, which probably derives from *mē'æræs* or from *mē'āfār*. With the reading *mn ḥrb'* (= *m^eḥæræb*) also S shows that the text was uncertain. 'f' is a hapax legomenon and likely to be a spelling mistake for 'æfæs'.³¹

g. V. 25aγ is problematic. What is to be done with a Cyrus, who invokes Yahwe? "Did Deutero-Isaiah expect that the Persian king would actually be converted to the Israelite religion? Or did he merely anticipate Cyrus would officially permit the Yahwe cult?"³² In any case, the idea is unmotivated here.³³ BHS follows LXX (κληθησονται), suggesting ni. 3. pers. sg. impf. (*yiqqārē'*).³⁴ But maybe T ('gbrnyh "I will make him strong") has preserved the subject in the 1. pers. sg.. With BHK, Westermann a.o., I read 'æqrā'. This emendation is favoured by the parallel in 45, 6, where also Yahwe is the subject (cf. 40, 23; 43, 1).

h. Consequently, in this sense the *bišmî*, which is also attested by LXX, S and T, has to be rendered with Q^a into *bišmô*.

i. On the basis of the parallel in v. 25bβ (*rms*) I change MT (*w^eyābō'*) into *wayyābās* (haplography of the *samech*, then addition of the *aleph*).³⁵

j. V. 27 is one of the most difficult sentences in Deutero-Isaiah.³⁶ The expression *hinnê hinnām* is unattested in the OT. Elliger's suggestion (^a*māray*

²⁹ On the basis of Phoenician and Ugaritic parallels (J. Hoftijzer, DISO, 322; J. Aistleitner, WB, 2956. Cited by Elliger, 132f.) the meaning "to fear" can be deduced. Cf. Elliger, 172.

³⁰ Cf. T and the parallel in v. 29a. So Köhler; Fohrer; Westermann; McKenzie; Ginsberg, *Emendations*, 58.

³¹ Cf. the parallels 40, 17(!); 41, 12; 41, 21; 45, 14.

³² Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 128f.. Leene (*Dingen*, 62) assumes that this verse is an allusion to Cyrus's permission to rebuild the temple.

³³ Cf. Elliger, 173; Schoors thinks it possible that MT has been influenced "by an application of the verse to the Servant of Yahwe or any messianic figure" (*God*, 219).

³⁴ The passive form is also attested by Q^a, which reads impf. cons. ni..

³⁵ So with North, Fohrer, Westermann. Older commentators (Clericus, Delitzsch, Kittel, Marti, Köhler, Haller, Torrey, Feldmann) read *w^eyābūs*, McKenzie and Penna: *w^eyābōs*. Cf. Elliger, 173.

³⁶ For discussion in detail see: Bonnard, 123; N. J. McEleney, *The Translation of Isaiah 41, 27*, CBQ 19 (1957), 441-443; Elliger, 174f.; A. Guillaume, JBL 76 (1957), 40f.; E. Sellin, NKZ 41 (1931); Whitley, *Note*, 327; G. Thomas, JThSt 18 (1967), 127f. ("forerunner"); Torrey, *Isaiah*, 129 ("beginnings"); C. R. North, BB1 (1950) 46f. ("first speaker"); id., *Second Isaiah*, 103f.; Leene, *Dingen*, 54ff.. For a discussion of the explanations of V (followed by Knabenbauer, Delitzsch, Condamin and Auvray-Steinmann), Duhm, Großmann, Mowinckel, Volz and Driver, see Schoors, *Choses*, 28f..

šiyyôn hinnê nî nôt^{he} nām) is very attractive,³⁷ but changes MT too drastically. I follow Whitley, Westermann and Melugin,³⁸ who read *higgadt^h ikā*. Whitley supposes that *ri'šôn* is a deformation of *mērō's*. First the *mem* dropped out by haplography, then the *-ôn* was added by assonance with *šiyyôn*. The LXX-reading (*αρχην*) represents one stage of this process.³⁹

k. In v. 28aα S, T and V support MT, but LXX reads “*απο γαρ των εθνων και απο των ειδωλων αυτων*”. The genitive seems to be the translation of *ûmē'ellâ*. A jussive in the 1. pers. is very rare and suspicious.⁴⁰ Obviously, *w^e 'ērâ* has the pointing of (*w^e*)'ellâ. Because of the parallel in v. 28aβ I decide to follow Köhler, who proposed *mē'ellâ*.

l. Though σ', θ' (*αδικοι*) and V (*iniusti*) translate *'āwān*, the MT-reading seems to be a spelling mistake for *'ayin* (cf. Q^a, S and T).⁴¹

1.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and End of the Unit: In v. 20 a train of thought terminates the preceding unit. V. 21 very clearly marks the beginning of a new independent unit, indicated by the direct speech and the change of the subject. It is an “absolute beginning”⁴², which arouses attention and invokes expectation. With the direct address ‘my servant’ a new theme starts in 42, 1. Therefore 41, 21–29 can be taken as a separate literary unit.

Integrity of the Passage: Following the succession of thought, the text divides naturally into two parts A (v. 21–24) and B (v. 25–29). The contrast between Yahwe's speech and act and the silent gods who cannot act is obvious. The separation can be supported by the following grammatical observations. The break is indicated by the change of subject in v. 25. In B, the 1. pers. pl. decreases in importance for the benefit of the 1. pers. sg., which appears in v. 25aα for the first time. Further, the address in the 2. pers. pl. is missing. Also concerning the tempora A and B differ clearly. The imperatives and jussives that dominate A are missing in B.

However, there are also several links between the two parts. As far as the structure is concerned, the internal continuity is clearly marked by a striking word parallelism.⁴³ Also as regards the content, the passages fol-

³⁷ Cf. Elliger, 175. It stresses the contrast between the parties: *'imrēkām* — *ᵐmāray*.

³⁸ Cf. Marti, Haller, Begrich (*Studien*, 39), Fischer, North (*Things*, 111) Melugin (*Formation*, 98), Schoors.

³⁹ The LXX translates *ri'šôn* normally by *απ/εξ αρχης*, whereas *rō's* is mostly transcribed by *αρχην*. Cf. Hatch/Redpath, 164. That means LXX translated a text, in which the *mem* was dropped out already, but the *-ôn* was not added yet.

⁴⁰ Cf. Jouion, § 114g.

⁴¹ Cf. the parallels 40, 17; 41, 12.24.

⁴² Elliger, 181.

⁴³ Vv. 22a: *yaggidû* — 22c: *w^enēd^e'â* — 24: *hēn ... mē'ayin*;

low a common pattern: the arguments are followed by a conclusion, which contains the result of the reasoning. V. 29 reaffirms the conclusion of v. 24. Both verses correspond syntactically (nominal clauses), metrically, phonetically and semantically. The integrity can also be seen on the word level.⁴⁴ Further, it is obvious that the suffix of the 2. pers. pl. (v. 26b) and the demonstrative pronoun 'ēllā (v. 28a) refer back to those addressed in A. Moreover, from v. 21aα it is clear that the whole pericope has to be understood as a Yahwe-speech.

Result: In 41, 21–29 we have to deal with a compound unit,⁴⁵ which consists of two simple units that are related by several interdependences. These links will play an important role for the interpretation of the whole passage. I will analyse both units separately.

1.4. Linguistic Observations

1.4.1. Unit A (41, 21–24)

Syntax and Style: Very short verbal sentences clearly dominate the passage. The compressed and vivid verbal style emphasizes the imperatives addressed to the gods. In v. 24 nominal clauses form the conclusion of the preceding argument.

V. 22b has a central position in the passage. This is indicated by the interrogative sentence, which denotes a break and introduces the *former* and the *new things* that are rendered prominent by their position at the beginning of the sentence and directly after the conjunction respectively. Though both form an antithesis in content, they are linked by the sentence structure. It can be deduced from their position that they constitute the decisive argument.

In v. 21aα–23aα six vigorous imperatives underline the prescriptive-normative character of the text. Nearly all verbs are verbs of action. The gods are urged to *do* something. With the exception of the apposition in v. 21bβ all nouns are non-human, inanimate, uncountable abstracts. This indicates that we are concerned with an abstract text, dealing with theoretical matters. This is supported by the verba dicendi ('*mr*, *ngd* [3×!], *šm'* [hi.], *yd'* [2×]), which express mainly acts of verbal communication and thought.

The synthetic parallelism in v. 21a–b emphasizes the urge of the imperatives. The antithetic parallelism in v. 22bα.γ–bδ.ε stresses the contrast between the two synonym terms. By their repetition the synonym words of

vv. 26: *mī-higgīd* — 26: *w' nēdā'ā* — 29: *hēn ... 'ayin (e)* — 29: '*afæs*.

⁴⁴ Cf. the occurrences of $\sqrt{r's}$ (vv. 22, 26, 27); $\sqrt{bw'}$ (vv. 22f., 25); $\sqrt{t'h}$ (vv. 23, 25); *ngd* (vv. 22, 23, 26 [2×]); *šm'* (vv. 22, 26 [2×]); *yd'* (vv. 22, 23, 26). Cf. C.1.3..

⁴⁵ I cannot follow Merendino (199), who supposes that A and B originally were two separate units, which were jointed together later on. Cf. Köhler and Kissane.

the field of communication and thought take on a leading function. Several alliterations lay stress on the statements.

Semantics: A number of *legal terms* are used.⁴⁶ *rîb* is terminus technicus for the trial (cf. 41, 12)⁴⁷ here even for the claim, which has to be clarified in a trial. *ʿašumôth* are the proofs.⁴⁸ In a forensic context *qrb* (pi.) and *ngš* (hi.) are technical terms for the approaching in the court.⁴⁹

The title *mælæk yaʿqōb*⁵⁰ is addressed to Israel. It implies power and “ideales Herrschertum”⁵¹. Significantly, the title is always epithet of Yahwe. Often enough the human kings in Israel’s history had been failures. Now Israel is reminded that her real king is not a human being, but Yahwe, a king with unlimited power, who is able to meet all demands of his office. He can lead his subjects in any situation. Therefore the title also conveys the impression of Yahwe as protector and shelterer of his people with the promising overtone that this king will stand up for their salvation.⁵² Further, *mælæk* has implications for the quality of a judge.⁵³ In this polemic context it emphasizes that Yahwe is the only Lord. Israel has to be obliged to him and acknowledge his position.

This recognition coincides with the image of the herald of good tidings (v. 27), who announces the manifestation of Yahwe’s power and his return to Zion (cf. 40, 9 and 52, 7).

As Yahwe puts all opposing powers to an end, the gods can be classed with synonyms to express *nothingness*: *ʿayin*, *ʿafæs* (e) and *tʰôʿēbâ*. The original meaning of *tʰôʿēbâ* was ‘taboo’. It then became a technical term for everything not in keeping with Yahwism. In this sense it means a segregation, something to avoid, an abomination.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Cf. I. L. Seeligmann, *Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtswesen*, VTS 16 (1967), 256; Köhler, *Deuterocesaja*, 110–116; Elliger (183), 1.5. and excursus 1.

⁴⁷ Cf. G. Liedke, *rîb*, THAT 2, 771–777, 774f.; Boecker, 54.

⁴⁸ This meaning of the hapax legomenon can be derived from the basic meaning of the root *šm* (= to be strong). Cf. KBL (728b, 727), North (*Second Isaiah*, 103) and Ruppert, *yʿš*, ThWAT 2, 718–751, 735.

⁴⁹ Cf. Elliger, 118, 183.

⁵⁰ In this form hapax in the OT. Cf. the parallels 44, 6 (“king of Israel”) and 43, 15 (“your king”). Cf. also the detailed discussion of the title in Odendaal, *Expectations*, 33–41, 54f.[Lit.], 81–95; Cf. J. A. Soggin, *mælæk*, THAT 1, 908–920.

⁵¹ Elliger, 182, 340.

⁵² Cf. 44, 6, where the expression *mælæk yišrāʿel* is used in parallel to *gōʿel*. It is noteworthy that “königliche Sorge nach altisraelitischer Auffassung in erster Linie in der Abwehr auswärtiger Mächte [besteht]” (Elliger, 182).

⁵³ Cf. Muilenburg, 460; von Rad, *Theologie 2*, 334f., Fohrer, 45; Köhler, *Rechtsgemeinde*, 146; Elliger, 183. Merendino (208) assumes that in this meaning the title touches on the covenant: “Meint der Begriff ‘König’ tatsächlich Jahwe als den Rechtsherrn über Israel, so übersetzt er den Gedanken Jahwes als des Bundesherrn”.

⁵⁴ Cf. P. Humbert, *Le substantif toʿēbā et le verb tʰb dans l’Ancien Testament*, ZAW 72 (1960), 217–237; E. Gerstenberger, *tʰb*, THAT 2, 1051–1055, 1053f..

1.4.2. Unit B (41, 25–29)

Syntax and Style: Among the nominal clauses three participle constructions that deny the existence of the object of the sentence are striking. In v. 29, as in v. 24, which is also introduced by the particle *hēn*, again nominal clauses formulate the result of the reasoning. As in A the sentences are brief. The condensed style continues. Melugin designates it as a “highly stereotyped disputation style”⁵⁵. Its characteristic is one or several question(s) introduced by *mî*. The answer to this question (in this case v. 26) “makes it possible for the speaker to move from the point of common agreement to resolve the dispute”⁵⁶. This structure seems to have been shaped by Deutero-Isaiah himself.

V. 26 connects unit B to A: the use of words⁵⁷, the sentence structure⁵⁸ and the content⁵⁹ show that the preceding scene with its setting in the law court is presupposed and necessary for the understanding of unit B. Unlike A, three times more nouns than verbs are used, which is a clear indicator for a nominal style. The verbs of action underline the advance of the one who is called. Apart from the synonym expressions for Israel, the nouns are, as in A, mainly non-human, inanimate, uncountable abstracts. Some participles designate human beings, however in a metaphorical context.

The comparison in v. 25 α . β (*kē mō*) stresses the easiness in which the one who is called gains victories. Rulers can be treated like dead, formable material (synonym wordpair *hōmæx-ṭîṭ*). The image of the potter expresses the powerful action. *rms* is a very strong and expressive verb for the kneading and stamping. Three synonym parallelisms are to be found in the nominal clauses of the passage. The parallelism in v. 26 α . β . γ follows the pattern: *'af 'ên* + participle (+ object). This stereotype structure emphasizes v. 26b also phonetically. The threefold repetition of *'ên* expresses the nullity of the gods. The repetition of the word *'ên* (5×!) and its affirmation by *'af* (3×) affirm its function as a leitmotif. In contrast to this the rhetorical question in v. 26a implies that Yahwe has declared from the beginning and therefore is the only powerful God.

Semantics: The noun *sēgānîm* (‘deputies, governours’) is an Akkadian loanword (*sāgān* Akk. *šaknu*),⁶⁰ which underlines the polemic tendency of the text. With the idiom *'mr šaddîq* the juridical vocabulary of unit A is

⁵⁵ Melugin, *Formation*, 57. Cf. Zimmerli, *Wort*, 115. For parallels of this style in Israel’s environment see Labuschagne, 33–63.

⁵⁶ Melugin, *Formation*, 58.

⁵⁷ The participles *mî*, *'af* and *hēn* refer back to the question and exclamation in vv. 22 α and 23 α respectively. Cf. also the use of *yd'* and *'ayin*.

⁵⁸ *w^e-finalis* + verb in the 1. pers. pl. impf..

⁵⁹ The theme of ‘nothingness’, which played a major role in A appears again (vv. 26b, 28a, 29).

⁶⁰ Cf. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign words in the OT*, London 1962, 120. Cf. Elliger, 189; Preuß, *Deuterocesaja*, 68; North, *Second Isaiah*, 106; Albrektson, 45.

continued. It expresses that the court agrees with a statement.⁶¹ *ṣaddîq* is the man whose behaviour is examined and found guiltless. Here the immediate context suggests that the term has to be associated with the character or the essence of Yahwe, as he is the only one who has a claim to deity. Also the theme of nothingness is taken up from A. In v. 29a β .b the products of the group addressed in the 2. pers. pl. are identified with synonym expressions of nullity (*'afæs, rû^ah, t^hohû, 'ayin*)⁶².

1.5. Form Criticism⁶³

1.5.1. Unit A (41, 21–24): Structure of the Form

21–22a:	challenge to the opposing party to advance arguments and demonstrate its claim by a 'Weisungsbeweis'
22b–23:	review of the proofs as to their truth and legal competence
23b:	concession to the gods by accepting as a proof any act, either good or bad
24:	declaration of invalidity and nullity (conclusion)

1.5.2. Unit B (41, 25–29): Structure of the Form

25, 27:	ascertainment of facts: 'Selbsterweis'
26:	argumentation in rhetorical questions and answers
28f.:	result (conclusion): declaration of nullity (affirms v. 24)

1.5.3. Unit AB (41, 21–29): Genre

Unit A gives a negative, unit B a positive proof.⁶⁴ Both passages are polemic genres: Yahwe's proof of divinity contests the claims of the other

⁶¹ Cf. Köhler, *Deuterocesaja*, 114; id., *Rechtsgemeinde*, 169f.; Begrich, *Studien*, 46 note 151.

⁶² Cf. R. Albertz/C. Westermann, *rû^ah*, *THAT* 2, 726–759, 731; S. Schwertner, *'ayin*, *THAT* 1, 127–130, 128f.. Cf. C.3.4..

⁶³ Cf. Schoors, *God*, ad. loc.; id., *Choses*, 27f.; Melugin, *Formation*; Elliger, 177–180; Westermann, 82f.; Merendino, 203–208.

⁶⁴ Cf. Elliger, 178.

gods. Thus the issue is an 'Anspruchsstreit'⁶⁵ between both parties. In A Yahwe is concerned as a party with the attack of the other gods, who initiated the suit (*riḅkæm*), but at the same time he functions as judge. In B he argues his own defence, whereby he proves the invalidity of the arguments of the gods. The subject of the dispute is the participation of Yahwe in the rise of Cyrus. The contesting party is Israel. In a 'Selbsterweis' Yahwe refers to his predictions and to the events he caused. He bases his argumentation on the thesis that he dominates history: he alone has given way to Cyrus (v. 25) and has announced in advance (v. 26). The power of Yahwe is the background for the nullity of the gods. They cannot fulfill any predictions.

The direct introduction of the passage—the gods need not be mentioned—leads us to the assumption that the unit is part of a broader literary context. It has to be seen on one line with a group of related passages. The formcritical approach will be of help to find out the typical characteristics of this 'Gattung'. The juridical terminology and the disputation style are characteristics of the *trial speech*.

EXCURSUS 1: The Trial Speeches and their 'Sitz im Leben'

*The Genre:*⁶⁶ In all trial speeches we find expressions of time. The genre 'trial speech' is closely connected with the opposition *former - latter - coming*. It will therefore be of help to examine it thoroughly.

KÖHLER⁶⁷ was the first to collect certain *topoi* and a list of technical terminology in the lawsuit. GUNKEL and especially BEGRICH⁶⁸ offered the first systematic treatment of the trial speeches. Begrich's main error was his assumption that we deal with a criminal law suit. The fact that the trial speeches represent a civil law suit about claims of two parties became clear in an exhaustive study of the juridical genres in the OT by BOECKER. On the whole, Boecker confirmed and extended Begrich's results on the subject. Schematically he came to very detailed and well defined subdivisions.⁶⁹ Boecker found out that for the distinction of the subdivisions often the address to the adversary is decisive: an 'Appellationsrede' addresses the opponent in the 2. pers., whereas the 'accusation in court' speaks of the opponent in the 3. pers..

WESTERMANN⁷⁰ makes a distinction between trial speeches between 'Yahwe and Israel' and 'Yahwe and the nations' respectively, depending on which parties oppose each

⁶⁵ Begrich, *Studien*, 37.

⁶⁶ Schoors (*God*, 176-188) gives an excellent survey about the research on this genre. Cf. id., *Choses*, 27; Melugin, *Formation*, 45-63; Greßmann, 277-280; Westermann, 82; Merendino, 205; Boecker; id., *Anklagereden und Verteidigungsreden im AT*, *EvTh* 20 (1960), 400ff.; Bonnard, 30; Cross; Hermisson, *Diskussionsworte*, 676; Köhler, *Deuterocesaja*, 181ff., 213ff.; id., *Rechtsgemeinde*; D. A. McKenzie, *Juridical Procedure at the Town Gate*, *VT* 14 (1964), 100-104; Preuß, *Verspottung*, 203-206; Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 184f.; G. Tucker, *Witnesses and "Dates" in Israelite Contracts*, *CBQ* 28 (1966), 42-45; von Waldow, *Auslegung*, 60ff.; id., *Anlaß*, 37-46; Westermann, *Sprache*, 134ff..

⁶⁷ Köhler, *Deuterocesaja*, 110-116.

⁶⁸ H. Gunkel/J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, Göttingen 1933, 364f.; Begrich, *Studien*, 26-48.

⁶⁹ For a short summary of his results see the table in Schoors, *God*, 184.

⁷⁰ Westermann, *Sprache*, 134-144; id., *comm.* 16-18.

other in court. It has to be noticed that this is only a formal criterion. We will see in the course of the analysis that the 'trial speeches against the nations' are implicitly meant for Israel as well. Apart from 41, 21-29, this literary genre is to be found in 41, 1-5; 43, 8-13; 44, 6-8; 45, 18-25.⁷¹ In all of these passages Yahwe leads the trial, though he is also one of the parties.

In contrast to Boecker, Westermann opposes a very concrete subdivision of the genre. I agree when he says that we are dealing with an abstract stylization, which does not permit the delineation of structure beyond the following simple threefold pattern:

1. Summons: *Vorladung*
2. Trial: *Verhandlung*
 - a. words of the parties
 - b. interrogation of witnesses
3. Decision: *Entscheidung*

In the *summons* the other party is urged to bring forth proofs. This means that the gods are actually acknowledged as a 'Rechtsperson'. The *trial* is about the 'Weissagungs-beweis'⁷², in which Yahwe's announcement has a decisive function along with his acts. In some speeches witnesses are to prove the claims. The *decision* is not always explicitly mentioned. It turns out automatically, as the other gods have no proofs for their claims. I found this pattern helpful for the sections 'Form Criticism' in my analysis.

Sitz im Leben:⁷³ WÜRTHWEIN⁷⁴ brought up the thesis that due to its relation to the royal psalms⁷⁵ this genre has its origin in a cultic trial at the "Bundesfest", by which Yahwe judges the covenantal behaviour of the people through a cultprophet. HESSE⁷⁶ limited this thesis to the trial speeches against the nations.

Von WALDOW⁷⁷ agrees that the socio-cultural background of the trial speeches is the cult, but for him this cannot be the Covenant Festival as there Israel is the accused and Yahwe is the accuser or the judge. In Deutero-Isaiah, however, the nations and their gods are accused and Yahwe acts mainly as a judge. Instead von Waldow thinks "das kosmologisch-eschatologische Thronbesteigungsfest", an imitation of the Babylonian Enthronement Festival, to be the cultic background of this genre. This festival, he says, was the feast of the enthronisation of Yahwe as creator of the universe, king of the earth and judge of the nations during the autumn feast, at which God judges former opponents in a universal trial. In this context Yahwe is called 'king'.⁷⁸

In my opinion this view is entirely hypothetical. The feast von Waldow postulates is not attested in the Old Testament and it does hardly agree theologically with Yahwism.⁷⁹ Also the title 'king' does not sound very cosmic. The influence of the cult is limited to

⁷¹ Cf. Westermann, 15 and Schoors, *God*, 189-238. Some scholars add also 42, 18-25; 43, 22-28; 45, 11-13(?); 48, 1-11.12-16 and 50, 1-3. Cf. Begrich, *Studien*, 19; Melugin, *Formation*, 57.

⁷² Cf. excursus 2.

⁷³ Cf. Melugin, *Formation*, 45-63; Schoors, *God*, 176-188; Leene, *Dingen*, 30-37.

⁷⁴ E. Würthwein, *Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede*, ZThK 49 (1952), 1-16.

⁷⁵ In fact, there is a similarity to psalms 76, 8-10; 96, 11-13; 97, 5f.; 99, 7-9. S. Mowinckel (*The Psalms in Israel's Worship 1*, Oxford 1962, 148ff.) took Pss. 50, 86, 87 as evidence for the thesis of a cultic drama and found the court scene in Pss. 75; 82; 96, 10.13; 98, 9. Yet it has to be pointed out that his views suffer largely from a number of unproved assumptions. For a critical discussion of Mowinckel's thesis see Odendaal, *Expectations*, 34 and H. J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel*, Oxford 1966 [ET], 205-208.

⁷⁶ F. Hesse, *Wurzelt die prophetische Gerichtsrede im israelitischen Kult?*, ZAW 65 (1953), 45-53.

⁷⁷ Von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 37-46; id., *Auslegung*, 60ff.. Contrast Schoors, *God*, 241ff..

⁷⁸ Cf. 1.4.1..

⁷⁹ Cf. Preuß, *Deuterocesaja*, 65f..

the court scene motif, involving the nations and their gods, Yahwe's appearing as king (v. 21) and the use of the hymn style in the trial speeches. I think these are only vague similarities, as these motifs can also be found in other contexts.⁸⁰ Thus they are no reliable indicator for the setting of a genre. Melugin points out that "the Deutero-Isianic speeches differ markedly from trial language preserved in the cult"⁸¹. True, in the cult Yahwe is always sovereign as judge over the nations, but unlike in the trial speeches his sovereignty is never questioned. Further, in the cult Yahwe's role is to re-establish the disrupted order, whereas in the trial speeches he deals with rival claims to deity. In addition to these differences in content, Melugin finds that "it is unlikely that the form can be derived from the trial between Yahwe and Israel as preserved in the cult. The modifications von Waldow postulates change the form so radically that the imitation scarcely resembles the original genre"⁸².

In a second attempt at analysing the trial speeches, von WALDOW⁸³ can solve the identity of party and judge in Yahwe on these lines with the idea of the covenant, for here Yahwe is at the same time a party and protecting God, who—in case of rupture of the covenant—accuses the people and condemns them at the same time. To my mind the covenant-theology might explain the trial speeches against Israel, but it does not give a satisfactory explanation for the trial speeches against the nations.⁸⁴

W. SCHMIDT assumes that "mythische Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Jahwe und den Göttern"⁸⁵ are the background of the trial speeches and refers to Ps 82.

HARVEY⁸⁶ relates the "rib-pattern" in the OT to ancient Akkadian and Hittite documents, which describe disputes about the sacral law. He wants to prove that the trial speeches have their roots in this international juridical context. In his opinion also the covenant pattern has been borrowed from the international law. "The prophets pronounce, in the name of Yahwe, the condemnation or the ultimatum against the rupture of the covenant. They are the bearers of sacral law"⁸⁷.

BEGRICH⁸⁸ assumes that the trial speeches were held either before or directly in the profane trial. Thus to him the 'Sitz im Leben' is the juridical procedure in the town gate. He was lately followed by ELLIGER, who states "daß sich alle Formen und Motive der Gerichtsrede auch bei Deuterocesaja aus dem Brauchtum und den Situationen des profanen Rechtslebens vollauf erklären lassen, bis hin zur gelegentlichen Identität von Kläger und Richter"⁸⁹.

To be sure, in my view Begrich and Elliger go too far when they imagine the prophet holding the trial speeches in the actual assembly of the 'Rechtsgemeinde'. KÖHLER⁹⁰

⁸⁰ Cf. 1.6..

⁸¹ Melugin, *Formation*, 55.

⁸² Loc. cit..

⁸³ H. E. von Waldow, *Der traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der prophetischen Gerichtsreden*, BZAW 85 (1963).

⁸⁴ Contrast Schoors, *God*, 188.

⁸⁵ W. Schmidt, ThLZ 91 (1966), 26-30, 30.

⁸⁶ J. Harvey, *Le rib-pattern, réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'Alliance*, Bibl 43 (1962), 172-196. Cf. id., *Le plaidoyer prophétique contre Israël après la rupture de l'alliance*, Bruge 1967. Cf. J. Limburg, *The Root rib and the Prophetic Lawsuit Speeches*, JBL 88 (1969), 291-304; R. North, *Angel-Prophet or Satan-Prophet?*, ZAW 82 (1970), 31-67.

⁸⁷ Schoors, *God*, 187.

⁸⁸ Begrich, *Studien*, 21-23.

⁸⁹ Elliger, 109. This latter point was von Waldow's main objection against a *Sitz* in the gate. The identity of accuser and judge, he says is completely impossible in the profane administration of justice. Contrast Köhler, *Rechtsgemeinde*, 145.

⁹⁰ Loc. cit..

himself points out that these assemblies are held spontaneously whenever there is need for them and —more important— that the trial speeches are held orally. The analysis of 41, 21–29, however, shows that the passage is too carefully and skillfully constructed to be a spontaneous oral product of the prophet. Moreover, the content reveals, “daß zum Anbruch der eschatologischen Endherrschaft Yahwe’s innerhalb der aktualisierenden Eschatologie Deuterocesaja’s mit Notwendigkeit auch die Entmachtung der Fremdgötter gehört”⁹¹. With PREUSS⁹² I think it therefore more likely that Deutero-Isaiah’s trial speeches are literary products. Hence we rather have to speak of a ‘Sitz in der Literatur’, a literary setting, than of a ‘Sitz im Leben’.⁹³

Recently LEENE⁹⁴ tried to overcome the dilemma of ‘oral’ or ‘written’ by the assumption that Deutero-Isaiah is a dramatic text, conceived and composed as a written document, but delivered as an oral reading. Before him already BEGRICH, HESSLER, SMART and EATON had made attempts in this direction.⁹⁵ Leene stresses particularly that the listeners participate in this drama. Whenever the address is in the 2. pers. pl., the Israelites are meant. ‘Jacob-Israel’, in the 2. pers. sg., however “is not simply to be identified with the listeners, but is put, as it were on the stage before them”⁹⁶.

In contrast, MUILENBURG thinks more of a real (eschatological) drama outside the text, rather than of an inner development within the text. He too speaks of “dramatic forms”, but he stresses that these are but elements by which Deutero-Isaiah presents his “dramatic theology”: “nowhere we have anything approximating a drama: all the materials are here except the architectonics of the drama itself”⁹⁷.

MERENDINO who supports the literary origin of the trial speeches,⁹⁸ stresses that the prophet was strongly bound to tradition, particularly to the first commandment and to the tradition of the Yahwe-war.⁹⁹ Yet it has to be noticed that even if the prophet’s argumentation has traditional traits, Deutero-Isaiah altered them remarkably. In my judgment, WESTERMANN¹⁰⁰ is right in pointing out that a trial to determine whether or not Yahwe is God is unthinkable in Israel. He is therefore concerned to demonstrate that the stylized structure and the content are due to the prophet’s literary creativity. MELUGIN comes to similar conclusions. He points out that “Deutero-Isaiah’s trial speeches between Yahwe and the nations and their gods contain elements of form and content from a variety of settings . . . These elements have been artfully combined by our prophet under the rubric of a trial as a means of convincing Israelite doubters that Yahwe’s power is believable even in the crisis of exile. The structure of the trial speeches is the work of Deutero-Isaiah to meet that situation. . . in converting the trial from its normal function of dealing with violations of the established order to the purposes of disputation, Deutero-Isaiah has divorced the trial from its traditional moorings”¹⁰¹

While I agree that the speeches have been shaped to a large extent by the prophet

⁹¹ Preuß, *Deuterocesaja*, 66.

⁹² Loc. cit..

⁹³ Contrast von Waldow, *Message*, 273.

⁹⁴ Leene, *Dingen*, 30–37, 324f..

⁹⁵ Cf. Begrich (*Studien*, 40, 93) uses the word ‘drama’ because of the dialogical character of the text. Smart (35: “a play”), Knight (100f.) and Hessler (*Gott*, 296: “Akte”, “Szenen”) emphasize the performative character of the prophecy. Cf. Eaton.

⁹⁶ Leene, *Dingen*, 324.

⁹⁷ Muilenburg, 387f..

⁹⁸ “Bei den Gerichtsreden hat man es mit einer literarischen ad hoc geschaffenen Bildung zu tun . . .” (Merendino, 327).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 329. The Yahwe-war tradition combined the themes of Yahwe as the judge and Yahwe as the saviour (*ibid.*, 328).

¹⁰⁰ Westermann, *Sprache*, 135ff..

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 62f..

himself, this does not imply that Deutero-Isaiah did not at any point draw upon real trials. He wants to make his listeners live through an event which is actually taking place. There is no theoretical speculation about who is in the right. Here and now, on the background of the vividly described trial, the claim of the gods is declared to be nothing. Deutero-Isaiah has to a certain extent borrowed terminology and structures from the actual lawsuit in the gate, but he is better understood as a writer who combined and modified the old language, whereby he created a new genre. This does not mean that the formal critical approach becomes useless. The trial speeches can be separated from the context and a description of the sentences according to their function as part of the trial speech pattern remains helpful for the understanding of the passage.

1.5.4. Application of the Genre to the Form of 41, 21–29

Westermann's categories do not match exactly with the form of 41, 21–29. The threefold pattern 'summons — trial — decision' is slightly modified, for two chains of argumentation end with a final declaration each. The trial consists only of the argumentation of one party; the ascertainment of facts and the interrogation of the other party. With Boecker, vv. 21–23 can be designated as the *Appellationsrede* in the mouth of one party and vv. 25–27 form the self-defence with (implicit) counter attacks. In vv. 24 and 29 we find the *Feststellungsurteil*. It does not necessarily have to be the decision spoken by the judge. It could just as well be the conclusion of the speech of the defending party. Words of other parties or the interrogation of witnesses do not appear. This is not surprising, for the missing of the other party leads to the final conclusion. This trial speech differs from the others in that it lays the emphasis on the challenge of the opponents.

1.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

An old tradition of 'stirring up a foreign power in order to change history on Israel's behalf' can be derived by comparison to related passages.¹⁰² In 41, 25a as in 41, 2 and 45, 13 the verb '*wr* (hi.)' is used in connection with Cyrus. These texts join a tradition with other texts of exilic origin, in which Yahwe announces that he will stir up a nation or a king destined to destroy Babylon, in order to deliver Israel.¹⁰³ In the prophecy of doom '*wr* (hi.)' was used as a technical term for Yahwe's action with reference to Israel through foreign nations or kings. "In times of national distress, prayer is made to God to bestir himself, awaken, and intervene. He answers with the proclamation 'I will stir up' in the form of an oracle of salvation to his chosen people. Thus, as Yahwe here confronts the foreign gods, his argument, the stirring up of Cyrus, is a mode of which Israel had had experience during

¹⁰² Cf. Westermann, 87–90.

¹⁰³ Cf. Is 13, 17; Jer 50, 9; 51, 1.11. Cf. I.A.2.3.3..

the entire course of her history”¹⁰⁴. The appearance of the Persian is on one line with her tradition!

The *rîb* as a contest between gods is an old motif in the OT.¹⁰⁵ A comparison of the trial speeches with 1 Kgs 18, which describes a contest between Baal and Yahwe on Mt. Carmel, suggests itself. The similarities to the trial speeches are obvious: the contest is about a crisis of Lordship of Yahwe; an assembly is summoned to decide whether Yahwe is God or not; the listeners can confirm that the God pronounced by the prophet is active. Likewise the formal and structural elements ‘summons’, ‘defence speech’ and ‘decision’ are to be found. However, 1 Kgs 18 looks more like a contest than a trial. A remarkable difference from the classical *rîb* is the fact that Yahwe addresses his opponents directly. Hereby the point of the trial is shifted. It turns into a defence of Yahwe’s claims. Instead of accusations we find challenges and arguments. The speeches want to convince doubters that Yahwe is God. In 41, 22f. the gods are challenged to perform deeds that would prove deity. However, the performance of these deeds does not take place in the speech. “On the contrary, the outcome of the trial is dependent upon an argument which appeals to Yahwe’s past record of prophesying the future”¹⁰⁶. With Melugin we can conclude that both passages draw upon a common motif, which appears in different settings.¹⁰⁷ We cannot prove that Deutero-Isaiah knew the Elia-tradition. As Elia was the only one before Deutero-Isaiah to make use of a *rîb* to prove Yahwe as the only God, it is difficult to speak of an old already existing genre ‘trial to determine deity’ which Deutero-Isaiah only had to employ in his speeches.

To prove a god’s divinity, Deutero-Isaiah makes use of the ‘Weissagungs-beweis’. This proof of divinity through the ability to predict events occurs frequently in the trial speeches and is closely connected with expressions of time, which justifies having a thorough look at this characteristic argumentation.

EXCURSUS 2: ‘Weissagungs-beweis’ – Promise and Fulfilment

The situation of the exile was that of a heavy theological crisis. The events of 587, in which apparently the Babylonian gods had gained the upper hand, had shattered the exiles’ trust in Yahwe. Deutero-Isaiah addresses Israelites who were “in despair about the meaningfulness of their history and about Yahwe’s power to give them a future”¹⁰⁸. To meet the doubts and objections, the prophet argues theologically to prove that Yahwe

¹⁰⁴ Westermann, 89.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Jud 3, 61; 1 Sam 5, 1–5; 2 Kgs 1, 1–8; Ps 82; Jer 2, 1ff.; Dt 32; Ex 1–12; 2 Kgs 18f.

For parallels in the environment see Preuß, *Verspottung*, 30f., 38, 53, 114..

¹⁰⁶ Melugin, *Formation*, 60.

¹⁰⁷ In contrast, H. Klein (272) suggested that the passive role of Ahab can only be explained if the passage is about a sacral trial, in which the king’s only function is to make sure that everything happens correctly.

¹⁰⁸ Anderson, 189.

has not ceased to be powerful. His concern is to establish Yahwe's sovereign greatness against the nothingness of the gods. This is the setting for his argumentation with *ri'sōnōt^h*, *'ah^ari^th* and *habbā'ōt^h*. Although the prophet sticks to the old proof of Yahwe's power by military victory (Cyrus's power politics), he uses this argument quite differently, including it in the larger context of the proof of prediction. This complete innovation explains why the technical terms for this argument appear nowhere else in the OT. Deutero-Isaiah makes history the "battlefield"¹⁰⁹ between Yahwe and the gods, in order to prove the gods deprived of their power in spite of their apparent supremacy. The present hour in history is the time for the final decision about the claim to divinity. The stylization of the rivalry between the parties condenses the conflict and projects it to a fundamental level.

Five times in his prophecy,¹¹⁰ Deutero-Isaiah points out that Yahwe proves himself to be God by the announcement of events and their fulfilment. In the 'Weissagungsbeweis' the point at issue is the reliable connection between a god's word and his deed. The idea is that divinity "becomes effective as lordship over history"¹¹¹. The claim to deity is based on the divine activity in the field of human affairs. But this alone is not enough. As "Yahwe's historical purpose runs consistently from the remote past to the present and on to the future which is yet to be"¹¹², "there must be a historical continuum in which word and act have equal importance"¹¹³. The criterion for the decision is, whether the former proclamations of the parties in court tally with the present event(s) or if the parties are able to predict future events, which they are really going to make happen afterwards. The main argument is the inability of the gods addressed to give any information on this point, let alone to influence the course of history in this way. In this context, the parallelism of *former things* and their *'ah^ari^th* expresses the unity of past and present in Yahwe's will. In this decisive point the gods are challenged. To Deutero-Isaiah, history is a continuous process, which leads from God's word, his promise, to its fulfilment in historical acts.¹¹⁴

Unlike the Babylonian gods Yahwe can refer to promises on his part. And more important, he can also prove the continuity between his promise and its fulfilment, for he has witnesses to testify it. He can show that he guided Israel through history by means of proclamations of salvation *and* judgment, whose fulfilment allowed the people to know that this God can be relied on ('Selbsterweis'). His saving acts are the fulfilment of a pledge and not mere coincidence.

Consequently, Deutero-Isaiah leaves the final decision about his message to his listeners, who now have a standard with which to check the prophet's argumentation of *former*, *latter* and *coming*. At the same time he hits the centre of the doubts of his time, for the exile, the point of Yahwe's apparent defeat, suddenly turns out to prove Yahwe's control over history. Addressed to Israel, the 'Weissagungsbeweis' is thus a consolation,

¹⁰⁹ Von Rad, *Theologie 2*, 253. Cf. R. W. Klein, 101.

¹¹⁰ 41, 22-26; 43, 9; 44, 7; 45, 21; 48, 14.

¹¹¹ Westermann, 83.

¹¹² Anderson, 189.

¹¹³ Westermann, 85. "Zum Wort gehört bei Deuterjesaja der 'Zeitbogen', durch den jeder Augenblick der Gegenwart durch einen in die Vergangenheit und Zukunft reichenden Arm umspannt ist und gehalten wird" (Preuß, *Verspottung*, 201).

¹¹⁴ "[Das] Moment der Kontinuität ist für das Geschichtsverständnis des Alten Testaments von großer Bedeutung. Kontinuierliches Geschehen und damit geschichtliche Erstreckung wird wahrgenommen, wo im Verhältnis zwischen Gott und Mensch zwei Zeitpunkte durch Reden und Handeln in Gegenseitigkeit (d.h. in Entsprechung von Wort und Antwort) aneinander gebunden werden. Dies ist der Fall, wenn ein von Gott gegebenes Wort (Verheißung als Versprechen) den Augenblick dieses gegebenen Wortes auf den Augenblick der Auslösung hin spannt" (Westermann, *Vergegenwärtigung*, 312).

which affirms the reliable power of Yahwe.

Interestingly, in disputations between Babylonian gods we never come across the argument of promise and fulfilment. If not here, where then are the roots for the idea that divinity can be proven by the fulfilment of predictions? Opposed to BEGRICH, who derives the concept from the cult,¹¹⁵ KAISER and H. KLEIN point to the profane conception that a prophet is to be judged by the accuracy of his forecast.¹¹⁶ Although a number of prophecies of OT-prophets were not fulfilled, this idea was preserved tenaciously and reinforced after the destruction of the temple, which seemed to be the fulfilment of the prophecy of doom. The redactory remark in Am 3, 7 and the increase in use of the formula of recognition (*kî 'a nî h 'û*) in Ez show that this theory represented a widespread conviction during the exile.¹¹⁷ Klein suggests that Deutero-Isaiah, who lived in this climate took the idea seriously and applied it to the legal process, the purpose of which is to decide who is truly God.

I wonder, if these explanations are not too narrowly limited to explain the proof of prediction. In my opinion we have to understand the 'Weissagungsbeweis' on the broad context of the whole of Yahwism, which was inclined to think in the category of promise/threat and fulfilment from its very beginnings.¹¹⁸ A promise/threat is a word that goes forth in unfilled time and presses for realization. It reaches ahead of its speaker and its recipient, to mark an appointment between them in the future. Yahwe's word thus, pregnant with the future, points beyond itself to events to come and sets them in motion. At the same time, the former *events* of Israel's history take on promising overtones. "Die ganze atl. Geschichte, insofern sie von Jahwes Wort gelenkte und geschenkte Geschichte ist, bekommt Erfüllungscharakter — aber in der Erfüllung neuen Verheißungscharakter"¹¹⁹. In spite of the problem of delayed fulfilment and the tension between promise and fulfilment the repeated new pledges laid the basis for the insight that Yahwe has committed himself to the people and that he is faithful. He did not forget his promise, but fulfilled it; he does what he pledges and assures what he does with his word. As his words hold good, history is under his management. Deutero-Isaiah uses the old category, but alters it. He turns the statement that Yahwe shows himself faithful in promise and fulfilment upside down into the claim that the connection and continuity between promise and fulfilment proves Yahwe to be God alone. "Divinity is demonstrated by what may be termed the operational arc connecting his word and its effect at a far remove. The trial speeches in Deutero-Isaiah give the first conceptual expression to what was factually in existence as early as the exodus"¹²⁰.

¹¹⁵ According to Begrich (*Heilsorakel*, 82) Yahwe was called upon for help at the sanctuary. Then a priest or a prophet would have announced the aid of Yahwe, whereby he emphasized that Yahwe proved himself as God by the fulfilment of his promises.

¹¹⁶ Cf. H. Klein, 269f.. "[Es] wird deutlich, daß sich zwei verschiedene Motive in dem Weissagungsbeweis zur Erweisung der Gottheit Jahwes verbunden haben: Die Abrenuntiation der fremden Götter und das mit ihr verbundene Vertrauensbekenntnis zu dem in der Geschichte selbst mächtigen Jahwe hat sich unter dem Einfluß des Eintreffens der großen Unheilsweissagungen der vorexilischen Propheten mit dem alten Grundsatz verbunden, daß sich die Wahrheit einer Prophezeiung in ihrer Erfüllung offenbart" (Kaiser, 43). Cf. Dtn 18, 21f., but cf. Dtn 13, 2f.. One could add Jer 28, 8f., where only the prophet of salvation is judged by the standard of fulfilment. Cf. also Jer 23, 9–40, Ez 14, 1–14 and Jer 4, 27f; Is 37, 26 (cf. 2 Kgs 19, 25); Ez 12, 25; Lam 2, 17.

¹¹⁷ Cf. O. Kaiser, *Einleitung in das AT*, 41978, 197.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Zimmerli, *Verheißung*; id., *Theology*, 27–31; Preuß, *Jahweglaube*.

¹¹⁹ Zimmerli, *Verheißung*, 52.

¹²⁰ Westermann, 85.

1.7. Interpretation

The Text: In an 'Anspruchstreit' Yahwe challenges his opponents, the other gods. The issue is, who of the parties is really God (v. 23a β . γ). The gods are to show that they influence and shape the course of history. They are urged to prove that they plan history (v. 22f.). As they fail to show that there is a connection between their words and the present event, they are declared to be nothing (v. 24), powerless 'non-gods'. The consequence is that they do not dominate history. They are even unable to do anything, so that they also cannot be experienced in history (v. 23f.).¹²¹ In contrast, Yahwe can defend his claim, as he fulfills the condition. He proves that he is the proper author of the rise of Cyrus (v. 25). From of old Israel was acquainted with this way of Yahwe's stirring up of rulers. He declared the victories of the Persian in advance to Israel (v. 26f.). Now the promise is completed by its fulfilment. The conclusion is clear: Yahwe is Lord over history. Here the claim of divinity turns into a claim for the one God. As such it serves to avert the danger of idolatry and asks those, who had already chosen the foreign gods, to come back. Hence, Israel is the proper addressee of the passage.

The Expressions of Time: This passage is decisive for the further definition of the expressions of time, as it contains more of these terms than any other unit and reveals a lot about their employment and their relation to one another. Unit A argues on a fundamental level. The gods are challenged by the "principle of prediction"¹²²: 'tell us what is to happen' (v. 22a β . γ). In v. 22b this argument is applied to the *ri'sōnōt^h*. These *former things* have to tally with their *'ah^ari^t^h* (v. 22b δ). What is the relation between these two terms? To answer this question we have to investigate the use of the term *'ah^ari^t^h* in the OT.

\sqrt{hr} : The basic meaning of *'ah^ari^t^h* (61 \times OT) is 'that which comes after' or 'that which follows upon'. Yet, according to its context the term can take on many "shades of meaning"¹²³. Mostly, "the reference is not to a chronological end, but to the outcome". "The 'after(wards)' can end a transaction"¹²⁴, an event or a movement. According to Jenni, in 41, 22 *'ah^ari^t^h* combines both 'continuation' and 'end' in the meaning 'result (of the matter)'.¹²⁵ In this case 'that which follows upon a matter' is in fact part of this matter, its 'consequence', as it were. Related to this meaning are pericopes in which *'ah^ari^t^h* means 'after' in the logical sense.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Cf. Schoors, *God*, 218.

¹²² Volz, 25.

¹²³ Seebaß, *hr*, TDOT 1, 207. The comparative meaning 'latter time' (= 'future' or 'following time' [cf. Jer 29, 11; Prv 23, 18 = 24, 14; 24, 20.]) can shift into a superlative one ('last time' = 'result', 'end' [cf. Dtn 11, 12; Jer 5, 31; Dan 12, 8; 8, 19.23]).

¹²⁴ Seebaß, *hr*, TDOT 1, 210. Cf. Boman, 119.

¹²⁵ Cf. E. Jenni, *hr*, THAT 1, 115. Cf. 46, 10; 47, 7; Am 8, 10; Prv 14, 12 = 16, 25; 14, 13 (e); 20, 21; 25, 8; Koh 7, 8.

¹²⁶ Prv 23, 22; 20, 21; Jer 5, 31; Lam 1, 9; Is 47, 7.

$\sqrt{r'š} - \sqrt{hr}$: As their 'consequence', 'ah^ari^h' is thus part of the ri'-šōnōt^h. The 'result' is the complementary part of a preceding prediction. How can this 'outcome' be specified further in the present context? A clue is the root qrh in v. 22a, which implies that the prediction (*w^p yaggidū*) is followed by *events*, for only events can 'happen'. We can therefore assume that the 'ah^ari^h' are the event-aspect of the proof. The question is, whether the gods can give plausible evidence how the *former* can be understood in the light of this 'ah^ari^h'. Whoever is able to elucidate this connection has a justified claim to deity. V. 22b implies that the 'outcome' of the *former* can actually be perceived by the listeners at the present moment. In this context *yd'* means 'to realize the consequences of an act',¹²⁷ in order to know who is God. The listeners have to check if a god's former acts agree with their contemporary experience.

In unit B, Deutero-Isaiah applies the fundamental proof to particular and concrete field, the campaigns of Cyrus. The strict parallelity between units A and B indicates that we can identify the Persian with the 'ah^ari^h' of the *former things*. He is indeed the one who has coined the contemporary history. In this field Deutero-Isaiah's listeners are able to decide, whether the promise was meaningful or worthless. Cyrus is part of their personal experience. While in 41, 1-4 Cyrus's approach is described in imperfect tenses, i.e. as a contemporary event, 41, 25 uses the imperf. cons.. Somehow it seems that for the prophet the mission of the Persian has already come to a close, although the Persian is still on his way (cf. 46, 9f.). Important is merely the fact that Yahwe's plan has been executed. From this point of view Cyrus is both the result and the end of the *former things*.

$\sqrt{r'š}$: The *former* can thus not be limited to the events associated with Cyrus.¹²⁸ The verbs in v. 26 indicate that Yahwe has announced the coming of the Persian *mērō's* and *mil^p fānīm*. I agree with Vogt that in the trial speeches it is "für den Beweisgang . . . unwesentlich, ob sie [die Weissagungen] vor langer oder kurzer Zeit verkündet wurden"¹²⁹. Both adverbs, however, refer to a more or less distant past.¹³⁰ In my opinion, we need not look for particular prophecies about Cyrus or the fall of Babylon. The preceding promise does not necessarily have to be a prophetic word. It can just as well be a deed, which was pressing for new fulfilment. In excursus 2 I tried to show that Israel's whole history had the character of a promise. The *former* seems to cover the past history as a whole, which was in itself a promise that was waiting for fulfilment. Now it reaches its outcome in Cyrus. The listeners have to affirm that their present experience is in accordance with their tradition, i.e. that Cyrus is on one line with Yahwe's former deeds. The wording (perfect tenses) suggests that at the contemporary moment the fulfilment of the *former* contains a note of finality.

¹²⁷ Leene, *Dingen*, 21.

¹²⁸ This is also supported by the LXX-reading *τα προτερα*.

¹²⁹ Vogt, 59.

¹³⁰ Cf. excursus 3.

$\sqrt{bw'/'t^h h}$: The proof is also applicable to the *coming things*. Apparently, the 'ô in v. 22b_c offers an alternative to the gods, but it is obvious that they neither have any power in this area. In contrast, Yahwe, the one who has been reliable in the past, will be as reliable in the future. Especially in Deutero-Isaiah and in Job, $\sqrt{bw'}$ can be replaced by $\sqrt{'t^h h}$ (19× q. and 2× hi.),¹³¹ which is the common aramaic word for 'to come'. No difference in meaning can be traced between these roots. Both expressions can be regarded as synonyms. This finding is supported by the use of $\sqrt{'t^h h}$ in Deutero-Isaiah as a poetic equivalent for *habbā'ô^{t^h}* in parallel with *ušær^{t^h} āb'ônâ*.¹³² The terms *habbā'ô^{t^h}* and *hā'ô^{t^h} iyyô^{t^h}* are genuinely Deutero-Isaianic.¹³³ It is very interesting that the expression *habbā'ô^{t^h}* in this form (pt. pl. fem.) only occurs here in the OT.¹³⁴ The term *l'āhōr* which implies a general continuation in the future from the perspective of the speaker ('what comes afterwards', i.e. in the future) shows that Deutero-Isaiah has no concrete events in mind. Also the exact distance of the expressions from the present does not seem to be important.¹³⁵ The prophet carries out an experiment in the use of words, since the process imagined in the verbs *bw'* and *'t^h h* "is only conceivable in space, as a movement there. It needs violent and drastic abstraction to transfer it to time and the temporal"¹³⁶. This abstract way of thinking is hardly Babylonian,¹³⁷ but also in the Hebrew language, which is on principle poor in conceptual terms,¹³⁸ this is the first attempt to find a comprehensive term for what we would call 'the future'. This abstract term had become necessary in the situation of the exile. "When the pre-exilic prophets proclaimed a future event, it was a future narrowly limited both in space and time. Now, however, in the situation reflected in the trial speeches, Israel's future and the future as it affected other nations and gods had to be reduced to a common denominator"¹³⁹.

$\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{bw'/'t^h h}$: In this passage the word pairs *ri'sōnô^{t^h} - habbā'ô^{t^h}* and *ri'sōnô^{t^h} - hā'ô^{t^h} iyyô^{t^h}* respectively thus seem to express two poles of a whole,¹⁴⁰ past and future, the total of history. The *former* is limited by its *'ah^a rî^{t^h}*, the raise of Cyrus. Apart from this contemporary event, Deu-

¹³¹ Cf. E. Jenni, *bw'*, THAT 1, 264–269, 269. Cf. W. G. E. Watson, *Fixed Pairs in Ugaritic and Isaiah*, VT 22 (1972), 460–468; Leene, *Dingen*, 19.

¹³² Cf. appendix 1, table 1.

¹³³ Apart from Ez 16, 16 both terms are only employed by Deutero-Isaiah.

¹³⁴ Cf. however the relative clause in 44, 7b, where the same sense is implied.

¹³⁵ Cf. Elliger, 184f..

¹³⁶ Westermann, 84. Contrast Leene, *Dingen*, 18, 21.

¹³⁷ An oracle of the god Nebo to Esarhaddon ("I, I declare the future as the past"), which Stummer (179) referred to and which was often cited further on, appears finally to be an incorrect translation. Cf. Steck, *Deuterojesaja*, 290.

¹³⁸ Cf. Preuß, *Jahweglaube*, 92.

¹³⁹ Westermann, 84.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. other Hebrew word pairs like 'heaven – earth' or 'day – night'.

tero-Isaiah does not picture any particular details. The prophet argues on a remarkable level of abstraction. Both *hāri'sōnôth* and *habbā'ôth* are more or less relative expressions from the viewpoint of the speaker. The *former* denotes the earlier history in comparison to the present of the prophet. The *coming* is the future time that is to follow. Both terms are used in the proof of prediction to manifest Yahwe's power in and over history.

ri'sôn:¹⁴¹ The adjective *ri'sôn* appears 182× in the OT.¹⁴² Similar to *mē-rō's* and *mērē'sîth*, it expresses a relative relation ('earlier than'), whereby the distance from the standpoint of the speaker can vary, but only in exception it refers to a very remote past.¹⁴³ In the majority of cases it is used attributively in the meaning 'first (of two or more), preceding, former'. In the context of 41, 21–29 it has become clear that Yahwe is the only God, since he could pronounce the coming of Cyrus. Already in 41, 1–4 he has proved this. Thus, there is no question of predicting 'earlier' than the gods (i.e. as the *first*), for these gods are totally powerless or even nonexistent. Yahwe is the only one to decide about the future. The prophet points out that Yahwe will care for his people as the *former*, i.e. in the same reliable way as Israel has experienced it time and again in her history. As the *former* their God is the only one who can help her in the present situation.

EXCURSUS 3: The Adverbs of Time and the Preposition *min*¹⁴⁴

Deutero-Isaiah made the former predictions a subject of conscious reflexion. The polemic argument against the foreign gods supported the coining of new terms.¹⁴⁵ In the new context the verbs *šm'* (hi.), *ngd* (hi.)¹⁴⁶ and *dbr* (pi.) and the conjunction *ṭaræm* can be used as expressions for the prediction of the course of history.¹⁴⁷ "An diesem Gebrauch zeigt sich beispielhaft abstrakt-theologische Begriffsbildung"¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴¹ Cf. H. P. Müller, *rō's*, THAT 2, 700–715, 709; Leene, *Dingen*, 14f..

¹⁴² Cf. Lisowsky.

¹⁴³ Cf. Dtn 4, 32; Job 15, 7; cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 15. The pl. *ri'sônîm* (e.g. in Lev 26, 45; Dtn 19, 14) is used as a term for the forefathers. Cf. E. Jenni, 'āb, THAT 1, 4.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Vogt; Jenni, *min*; id., 'ōlām, ZAW 64, 223–226; id., ZAW 65, 17; Schoors, *Choses*, 26; North, *Second Isaiah*, 137; id., *Things*, 123.

¹⁴⁵ "Der in der Geschichte handelnde Gott, der Schöpfer und Vollender der Welt, der allmächtige und einzige Herr über den Weltlauf kann nicht mit den alten Worten verkündigt werden, ohne daß diese neugefüllt und neu geprägt werden" (Jenni, 'ōlām, ZAW 65, 15).

¹⁴⁶ Both verbs are remarkably frequent. *ngd* appears 22× on its own and 11× in connection with *šm'* (41, 22.26; 42, 9; 43, 9.12; 44, 7.8; 45, 19.21; 46, 10; 48, 14).

¹⁴⁷ "Deutung des Zeitgeschehens als Gotteswerk, ... die Geschichte deuten und die weitere Entwicklung voraussagen" (Elliger, 318) "Es geht um ein qualifiziertes Vorhersagen ... Vorhersagen [und] ... zugleich Deuten von Gegenwart und Vergangenheit" (Ibid., 196). Cf. ibid., 82, 192 and 316. Similarly Zimmerli (*Deuterojesaja*, 117): "Im Vokabular dieses Prozeßverfahrens ist ... mit den Vokabeln *higgîd* und *hišmîa'* das geschichtliche Ankündigen im Prophetenwort umfaßt".

¹⁴⁸ Westermann, *ngd*, THAT 2, 31–37, 36. Cf. F. García-López, *ngd*, ThWAT 5, 188–201, 196f.; Schoors, *Choses*, 26f.; id., *God*, 215f.; Elliger, 81f.M; H. Schult, *šm'*, THAT 2, 974–982, 97; Merendino, 373; H. Simian-Yofre, 'bd, ThWAT 5, 982–1011, 1003–1010,

This observation lead VOGT to the thesis that the same central idea of the proof can be expressed in a nutshell by a number of adverbs of time in connection with the preposition *min*. He tries to show that these adverbial phrases do not necessarily refer to most distant times, but can instead be subsumed under the meaning 'zum voraus' ('in advance', 'ahead of time'), calling attention to such verses as 48, 5 and 46, 10.¹⁴⁹ According to Vogt the preposition *min* does not express a starting point from within time in these references, but it emphasizes the relative anteriority between prediction and fulfilment.¹⁵⁰

This assumption caused JENNI¹⁵¹ to examine all *min temporale* in Deutero-Isaiah. All 30 occurrences (22% of all *min* in Deutero-Isaiah) are —like the references to the *former, latter, coming* and *new things*— limited to chs. 40–48. The preposition is connected with 13 different expressions of time, two of which have their starting point in the present: *miyyôm* and *mē'at^ht^hâ*.¹⁵² Out of the remaining *28 references, only the *17 occurrences, in which *min* is connected with a general term for 'beginning' or 'earlier time' are relevant for the analysis of this study. These are listed in appendix 1.¹⁵³ 12 of them occur in connection with an expression of prediction.¹⁵⁴

In this account Jenni too stresses the fact that these terms express the anteriority: it is important that they were announced before they happened. "Der Anfangspunkt der Verkündigung wird nicht näher charakterisiert und damit in der Schwebe gehalten"¹⁵⁵. Yet, as opposed to Vogt he points out that the anteriority is not measured relative to the event coming true, as in 42, 9 (*tæræm*, 'before'). Rather, it is expressed as absolute as possible "durch übersteigerndes Vorverlegen der göttlichen Aktion"¹⁵⁶. From this premise Jenni refutes Vogt's arguments. He comes to the conclusion that in connection with independent terms *min* has predominantly the ablative meaning 'seit', 'von ... an'¹⁵⁷ ('since'), when these terms imply the idea of a beginning. In connection with prepositional phrases, which give a relative orientation within time, however, a change of perspective is possible, but not always necessary. Something that exists *since/from qædæm*, appears to the observer to be *in qædæm*. It follows that it is possible to translate *mē'âz*, *mîll^efânîm* and *miqqædæm* by 'damals' ('at that time'), 'früher' ('in time past') and 'in der Vorzeit' ('in beforetime'), if this corresponds more to the perspective of the observer. Even the translation 'längst schon', 'seit jeher' ('always') or 'schon' ('already')

1007.

¹⁴⁹ Vogt, 58–60. His thesis was followed by Stuhlmüller (*Redemption*, 139f.). Similarly Schoors (*Choses*, 26): "Puisque dans ces textes [41, 23; 42, 9; 44, 7; 46, 10; 48, 5] les adverbes *mē'âz* ..., *mē'ôlām* ... et *miqqædæm* ... soulignent la prédiction, nous pouvons présumer que ces mêmes adverbes, dans un conte similaire, suggèrent le sens de 'prédire' (44, 8; 45, 21; 48, 3)".

¹⁵⁰ "[Die Präposition] dient zum Ausdruck der relativen Vorzeitigkeit; gerade sie besagt, daß die Verkündigung vor ihrer Erfüllung, jenseits der vergangenen oder diesseits der künftigen Ereignisse erfolgte" (Ibid., 60). Vogt's view was adopted by Elliger, 83 note 1, 124, 126, 190, 292, 403f..

¹⁵¹ Jenni, *min*.

¹⁵² Cf. row 1 and 2 of table 2 in the appendix. Cf. II.A.2.2.f.! In contrast, Vogt does not understand *mē'at^ht^hâ* in the sense of 'from now on', but as 'on the side of the now' ("auf der Seite des Jetzt") in reference to a future event "jetzt zum voraus" (Vogt, 60, note 1).

¹⁵³ Cf. table 2, rows 3–8. *The term *mē'et^h* does not appear in Jenni's statistic.

¹⁵⁴ The exceptions are 41, 4; 42, 14; 46, 9; 48, 7.8; 48, 16 (*mē'et^h*).

¹⁵⁵ "Ziel der Aussage ist die Vorzeitigkeit des göttlichen Verkündigens und damit Einleitens der Geschehnisse" (Jenni, *min*, 295). Cf. Vogt, 59; Herrmisson, 71.

¹⁵⁶ Jenni, *min*, 295. Cf. 2 Kgs 19, 25 = Jer 37, 26.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Jenni, *ôlām*, THAT 2, 228–243, 231.

would not change the intention of the statement. Yet, to translate the expressions by 'zum voraus' ('in advance'), in the sense 'earlier than a certain point of time, which is to be found out from the context' is impossible.

NORTH states that "these terms have a way of fading into one another"¹⁵⁸. A look at appendix 2 affirms North's impression. The triangle relationship *mē'āz* – *mē'ōlām* (44, 7), *mē'ōlām* – *miqqædæm* (46, 9), *miqqædæm* – *mē'āz* (45, 21) renders it likely to regard these terms as interchangeable. In addition, all three adverbs can be found in the immediate context of $\sqrt{r'š}$. This is also true for *mērō's*, which is elsewhere associated with *mē'ēt^h* (48, 16) and *mill^efānîm* (41, 26). If we try to detect nuances in meaning, we have to consider their use in the rest of the OT.¹⁵⁹

Out of 18 occurrences in the OT, *mē'āz* functions 10× as an adverb. In Is 45, 21 *mē'āz* is parallel to *miqqædæm* (cf. Prv 8, 22). Similar to the other adverbs, the distance of the past designated by *mē'āz* can vary a lot, as the use of the term is quite flexible. In Ps 93, 2 and Prv 8, 22 it means a starting point in the distant past. Often it can be translated by 'since', but only sometimes it includes a long period of time. In 48, 5 the parallel *ṭæræm* seems to indicate that *mē'āz* has to be understood in the relative sense 'beforehand'. In any way, the argumentation with *mē'āz* always reinforces the difference to the present, the 'now', and thus obviously means a (more or less) distant (point of) time. In 44, 8 and 45, 21 it is followed by a present summons, in 48, 3.8 (cf. 6.7) by *mē'at^h t^h â*. The latter opposition is striking.¹⁶⁰

In contrast to the figurative sense 'leader, chief, principal',¹⁶¹ the temporal *rō's* means always 'beginning'.¹⁶² Referring to a limited period of time (Is 41, 26; 48, 16; cf. *bārō's*: 1 Chr 16, 7), the adverbial *mērō's* is less specific than other references where *rō's* is followed by a genitive, which indicates the beginning of the period.¹⁶³ In 41, 26 *mērō's* is in parallel with

¹⁵⁸ North, *Second Isaiah*, 137.

¹⁵⁹ Parallels for: *mē'āz*: 2 Sam 15, 34; Is 16, 13; Ps 93, 2; Prv 8, 22; *mērō's*: Prv 8, 23; Koh 3, 11; *mērē'sit^h*: Dtn 11, 12; (Jer 17, 12); *miqqædæm*: Mi 5, 1; Hab 1, 12; Pss 74, 12; 77, 6.12; 78, 2; 143, 5; Prv 8, 23; Neh 12, 46; aram.: Dan 6, 11; Esr 5, 11; *mē'ēt^h*: Ez 4, 10.11; Ps 4, 8; Dan 12, 11; Neh 13, 21; 1 Chr 9, 25; 2 Chr 25, 27; *mill^efānîm*: hapax!

¹⁶⁰ Cf. 2 Sam 15, 34; Is 16, 13; 48, 3.5.6.7 (see C.3.7.). cf. Ruth 2, 7.

¹⁶¹ Cf. J. R. Bartlett, *The Use of the Word rō's as a Title in the OT*, VT 19 (1969), 1–10.

¹⁶² "Figuratives *rō's* im zeitlichen Sinn benennt den 'Anfang' einer Zeitstrecke oder die 'erste' einer Reihe von Zeiteinheiten und von gezeitigten Handlungen (Handlungsergebnissen)" (H. P. Müller, *rō's*, THAT 2, 701–715, 708). Cf. B.1.7. (*mērē'sit^h*) and Kim, 171f..

¹⁶³ Ex 12, 2; Num 10, 10; 28, 11; Judg 7, 19; Ez 40, 1. Müller (*rō's*, THAT 2, 708, 703) and Herrmisson (71) claim that *mērō's* in other references can also designate the (absolute) beginning of time. The former refers to Prv 8, 26 (*rō's āfrōt^h t^h ēbēl*) and especially to 8, 23, where *mērō's* is parallel to *mē'ōlām* and interpreted by "Urzeit der Erde". Starting from this verse, Müller postulates the absolute meaning for Is 40, 21 (in parallel to *mōs^e dōt^h hā'āræš*, 'foundation of the earth') and 41, 4 (Yahwe as *qōrē' haddōrōt^h mērō's*, 'the one who called the generations from the beginning'). This interpretation has been justly criticized by Leene (*Dingen*, 14), who pointed out that the

mill^e fānîm. The element *lifnê* implies the relative meaning 'before'. We can assume that the two adverbs do not differ too much in meaning.

Nearly half of the 61 occurrences of *qædæm* in the OT are temporal ('past time', 'earlier time', 'beforetime'). In this meaning (45, 21; 46, 10) the distance from the present is relative to the present of the speaker.¹⁶⁴ Out of 13 references in which *qædæm* is preceded by a preposition, this preposition is *min* in 11 of the cases. In comparison to *rō'sš*, which often asks for precision through an accompanying genitive ('beginning of ...'), *miqqædæm* can be used without further specification. The fact that it can possess mythical connotations, may make it sound less abstract and more vivid and emphatic than *mērō'sš* and *mērē'sšîth*.¹⁶⁵

We find 28 appearances of *mē'ôlām* in the OT. In contrast to the other adverbs, it designates the origin of something from the furthest past. Nevertheless, nowhere does it mean "einen abgeschlossenen frühesten Zeitraum"¹⁶⁶. It always refers to the most remote terminus a quo.¹⁶⁷ It is therefore not surprising that —unlike *mē'āz*, *mērō'sš* and *miqqædæm*— *mē'ôlām* is nowhere connected with 'earlier predictions'.¹⁶⁸

To summarize, we can assume that the terms *mē'āz*, *mērō'sš*, *miqqædæm* and *mē'ôlām* —in this order— refer increasingly back to the past. Whereas *mē'ôlām* points back to the furthest point in the past, the other adverbs describe a lesser distance from the standpoint of the speaker, but still refer back to a remote past.

It is true, in the 'Weissagungsbeweis' in Deutero-Isaiah the point is the fact that the events have been predicted, but this does not mean that all adverbs can be reduced to the meaning 'in advance'. Rather, Deutero-Isaiah emphasizes this fact by advancing the divine promise as far as possible into the past. Thus, with Jenni we can retain the usual translation 'von Anbeginn', 'seit jeher', 'vorlängst' ('from antiquity', 'from of old')¹⁶⁹ assuming a more or less hyperbolic mode of expression. "Die Vorzeitigkeit versteht sich damit von selbst"¹⁷⁰. Possible translations are: *mē'ôlām*: 'from the most distant past', 'from the very beginning'; *miqqædæm*: 'from time past'; *mērō'sš/mērē'sšîth*: 'from the beginning'; *mē'āz*: 'from of old'; *mill^e fānîm*: 'from beforetime'.

mere fact that *mērō'sš* in Prv 8, 23 requires the illustration *miqqadmē-aræš*, speaks in favour of the relative meaning also in these cases.

¹⁶⁴ Kiesow, 102f. and E. Jenni, *qædæm*, THAT 2, 587–581, 587f. Cf. 51, 9 ("mythische Urzeit") with Job 29, 2 ("frühere Zeit des eigenen Lebens").

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 15.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. E. Jenni, 'ôlām, THAT 2, 228–243.

¹⁶⁷ "Nur wo in theologischen Zusammenhängen ein Anfang der Schöpfung bzw. Gott als vor allem Anfang existierend vorausgesetzt wird, kann allenfalls mit 'von Uranfang an' (Jes 44, 7 ... [(e)]; 46, 9; 63, 16; vgl. Spr 8, 23) ... übersetzt werden" (loc. cit.).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 279, note 78.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. also KBL 24a, 688b, 823b, 865b.

¹⁷⁰ Herrmisson, 71.

2. Analysis of Is 43, 8-13

2.1. Translation

- 8 a α *Bring forth*^a the people [that is] blind
 β and [yet] has eyes.
b α — and [the] deaf
 β who [yet] have ears.
- 9 a α All the peoples are gathered¹ together
 β and the nations assemble(d)².
 γ Who among them declares this (z \bar{o} 't^h)?
 δ And former things (ri's \bar{o} m \bar{o} t^h) — let them make (us) hear^b!
b α Let them bring their witnesses
 β that they may be justified,
 γ that they may hear
 δ and say:
 ϵ “[It is] true.”
- 10 a α You [are] my witnesses
 β — oracle of Yahwe —
 γ and my servant^c
 δ whom I have chosen
b α that you may know
 β and believe me
 γ and realize
 δ that [only]³ I [am] he.
 ϵ Before me no god was formed,
 ζ nor shall [there] be any after me.
- 11 a I, I [alone] [am] Yahwe
 b and beside me [there is] no saviour
- 12 a α I declare(d),
 β I save(d)^d
 γ and I proclaim(ed).
 δ [There is] none among you [to whom these my proclamations
 are] strange [=unknown]⁴.
b α ^e And you [are] my witnesses
 β ^e — oracle of Yahwe —

¹ Cf. GK §51.

² V. 9 implies that “the event is regarded to have taken place” (Snaith, *Studies*, 182). Cf. Elliger, 315; North, *Second Isaiah*, 41. Kissane gives the verse a conditional meaning: “Were all the nations ...”. This is unlikely. Though the event is fictional, the presence of the nations belongs to the court scene (cf. excursus 1). According to Leene (*Dingen*, 111) one and the same event is described twice, once as a fact (v. 9a α) and once as an act (v. 9a β): “Het bijeenkomen van allen volken is daar, zie eens hoe natiën zich verzamelen”.

³ Cf. Michel, *Jahwe*, 151.

⁴ For the translation of *zar* see 2.4. Semantics.

- γ that I [am] God.
 13 αα Also henceforth^f (miyyôm) I [am] he.
 β And [there is] none who delivers from my hand.
 βα I do [it]
 β and who will reverse it?

2.2. Textcriticism⁵

a. Rignell and de Boer⁶ translate as a perfect. Q^b ('wšy') and LXX (καὶ ἐξηγαγόν) read 1. pers. sg., probably as continuation of the preceding verse. V has 2. pers. sg imperative (educ), interpreting *hōšê'* (BHS).⁷ This consonantal text could also be understood as inf. abs..⁸ I read *hwšy'w* with Q^a.⁹

b. Elliger and North follow Q^a, which does not read the suffix (*yašmî'û*). Some exegetes¹⁰ render the vocalisation into *yašmî'ênû* and translate with LXX as a question: "who tells us [the] former things?". I read MT, as it expresses a similar idea. In 41, 21–29 too Yahwe speaks in the 1. pers. pl..

c. Some commentators¹¹ read pl., which is grammatically more in keeping with the parallel *'ēday*. Simian-Yofre¹² understands *'abdî* as the subject of an incomplete nominal clause: 'you are my witnesses, and my servant (is also my witness)' and distinguishes the servant and Israel. This is not necessary. Cf. 2.4.

d. Some scholars¹³ delete *w^ehōša't^hî* as dtgr. of the following *w^ehišma't^hî*.¹⁴ I read MT, as no problem is attested in the textual tradition. I think the word fits well into the context.¹⁵ The fact that Deutero-Isaiah likes threefold sequences¹⁶ supports this and is also an argument against the solution of Clifford a.o.¹⁷ who combine *w^ehišma't^hî* with v. 12b.

e. V. 12βα.β is deleted by Westermann as a repetition of v. 10a. Fohrer

⁵ Cf. BHS; BHK; Elliger, 306–308; Westermann, 119f.; Schoors, *God*, 223; Leene, *Dingen*, 116.

⁶ Cf. Rignell (137) and de Boer (12).

⁷ Cf. Delitzsch, Muilenburg, Torrey and GK §§53m, 69v, 741.

⁸ So Duhm, Köhler, Volz, Fohrer, Elliger and Merendino.

⁹ Cf. Westermann; Bonnard; North, *Second Isaiah*; Schoors, *God*; von Waldow, *Anlaß*.

¹⁰ Condamin, Feldmann, van Hoonacker, S. Smith, Marti, Haller, Whybray, Bonnard, Budde, Westermann.

¹¹ Apart from the older critics also BHS, Herrmisson (*Israel*, 4), McKenzie and Fohrer.

¹² H. Simian-Yofre, *'bd*, ThWAT 5, 982–1011, 1003–1010, 1007.

¹³ Recently Fohrer, Westermann, Elliger.

¹⁴ Cf. also the solution of H. G. M. Williams.

¹⁵ Cf. 2.7.. Contrast Elliger, 326.

¹⁶ E.g. 41, 26b; 43, 10b; 45, 20a.21a; 46, 11. Cf. also the series of perfects in the 1. pers. sg. in 43, 7 and 48, 15.

¹⁷ Cf. Clifford (55), Torrey, Kissane, Bonnard, Haller.

and Volz think 12b and 13aα to be secondary. Yet, the phrase can be justified stylistically. I regard the repetition as a stylistic device and retain MT. Cf. 2.3..

f. The LXX-reading $\alpha\pi \alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ —followed by V (ab initio)— and T ($m\bar{e}'\delta\bar{l}\bar{a}m$) make some exegetes¹⁸ insert $m\bar{e}'\delta\bar{l}\bar{a}m$ after 'ēl. I can hardly see any basis for this emendation. T is not very reliable on principle and LXX never translates 'ōlām by $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ in Deutero-Isaiah¹⁹ and rarely elsewhere in the OT.²⁰ Althann takes the view that the deviations of the versions is due to the fact that sometimes *yōm* can denote past time. In this context, he says, it receives the nuance 'antiquity' or 'eternity'.²¹ Thus the "desired sense" would not require an emendation. Althann translates: 'Yes, from antiquity I am He'. In my opinion this interpretation can hardly be convincing in the light of the parallel Ez 48, 35. With S, I therefore read MT.

2.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and end of the unit: The separation is relatively easy. In 43, 7 an oracle of salvation, which wants to encourage Israel, can be distinguished from the present unit. V. 8a presupposes a different situation: Israel is summoned as a witness in court. The messenger formula 'thus says Yahwe' in v. 14 introduces a new unit.²²

Integrity of the passage: As 41, 21–29, the whole text is a direct Yahwe-speech. The rhetorical question in v. 9aγ interrupts the introduction of the court scene. The verbs *ngd* (hi.) and *šm'* (hi.) introduced here reappear in v.12aα.γ and seem to limit a separate paragraph. This would leave us with the formal threefold division: vv. 8–9aβ; 9aγ–12a; 12b–13. This structure can also be justified by the content. In the middle section Yahwe's challenge of the gods (v. 9γ.δ) corresponds to his 'Selbsterweis' (v. 12a). This pattern resembles the relation of 41, 21–24 with vv. 25–29.

However, there are interrelations between the paragraphs. The personal pronoun 'at^h t^h æm in v. 10a refers to the 'am addressed in v. 8 and is taken up in v. 12b and hereby interconnects the sections. So does the repetition

¹⁸ Budde; McKenzie; Penna; Kissane; Westermann; Schoors, *Choses*.

¹⁹ Cf. Elliger, 308. Cf. Hatch/Redpath.

²⁰ Only in Jos 24, 2; Prv 8, 23; Jes 63, 16.19.

²¹ Althann, 4. Cf. C.3.2.i..

²² Westermann (120), who extends the unit to v. 15, has to sacrifice this formula as a "mistaken fresh introduction". Yet, also MT has a closed parashah after v. 13 and agrees in this break with Q^{a+b}. For a detailed description of Q, see Elliger, 309f.. vv. 8–13 are also separated by Begrich (*Studien*, 47), Beuken, Delitzsch, Duhm, Haller, Koole, Marti, Merendino, Muilenburg, North, Torrey. In contrast, Budde, Bonnard, Kissane, Ridderbos and Rignell take vv. 9–13 as a unit. It is true that v. 8 is grammatically not connected with the following. Yet, as concerns the content, there is a clear allusion in 'eyes' and 'ears' to Israel's function as a witness (cf. v. 12b).

of the pronoun ^anî/ 'ānokî in vv. 10bδ-13a. As there are no disturbing tensions or repetitions²³, we can treat the pericope as a simple unit.

2.4. Linguistic Observations

Syntax and Style: The relation between verbal clauses and nominal clauses is ca. 4:3. Nearly half of the verbal clauses are inverted. This word order is important, as the subject placed at the head of x-qatal-sentences is reinforced. The brief, paratactical disputation style²⁴ alternates with a hymnic self-praise style with its characteristic 'ānokî-formulae²⁵. Interestingly enough, the synonyms *ngd* and *šm'* are used for Yahwe in the perfect, for the gods in the imperfect. The tenses thus distinguish Yahwe's activity from that of the other gods. The perfects indicate that—in opposition to the gods—Yahwe really predicted the events. They “call attention not so much to ‘time’—in past, present or future—as to the effectiveness of Yahwe's word”²⁶. The prophet argues on an abstract level. Abstract uncountable nouns predominate. Concrete terms, like members of the human body, are used figuratively.

The most obvious of these metaphors is the personification of Israel with the expressions ‘blind and deaf’ and ‘eyes and ears’. These antithetical and paradoxical word pairs are used to illustrate that Israel has got the physical abilities (eyes, ears) to be Yahwe's witness (cf. vv. 9b, 10aα, 12), yet at the same time she lacks the deeper understanding of the events that God had predicted and that have now come true, because of her attitude in the course of history (cf. 42, 18-20).

The specific use of *'am* for Israel and *gôy* and *'ôm* for the other peoples is obvious.²⁷ In this context it also puts weight on the contrast between the two groups, just as the six-fold repetition of the keyword ^anî/ 'ānokî again brings out the contrast between Yahwe, the God of Israel, and the gods of the nations. This means that Israel's relation to her God is now to be seen in a broader context. There had always been other gods surrounding Israel, but here and now the question who is really god has to be answered on principle and once and for all.

Semantics: As the termini technici *yš'* ('to bring forward'), *šdq* ("the fact of being justified"²⁸) and ^{ae}*mæth* ('truth; the statement that agrees

²³ For v. 10a/12b see 2.2.e..

²⁴ Cf. the characteristic *mî*-questions in vv. 9aγ and 13bβ.

²⁵ Cf. 2.6..

²⁶ Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 46.

²⁷ Deutero-Isaiah is consistent in this distinction throughout his prophecy: *gôy*: 40, 17; 42, 1; 45, 20; 49, 6; 52, 10; in parallelism always in the first place: 40, 15; 43, 9; 49, 22; 54, 3. *'ôm* (always in the pl. and when in parallelism always in the second place): 41, 1; 43, 4; 49, 1; 51, 4; 55, 4; in parallel with *gôy* only here (43, 9). Cf. C.1.4..

²⁸ Schoors, *God*, 225. Cf. 41, 26a.

with reality')²⁹, the term 'ēd hints again at a juridical setting. The words 'at^h t^h æm 'ēday are an allusion to a well known formula in Israelite law, by which normally the inhabitants of the town are asked to exercise their notarial function.³⁰ 'ēd is the "Rechtfertigungszeuge"³¹ who affirms the statements of his client. However, v. 8 stresses that no initiative is to be taken by Israel herself. The witnessing to the power of Yahwe which the people is to undertake is that of a passive recipient of a gift.³² So the meaning of 'ēd as an active witness who affirms facts is extended to that of a passive one who witnesses events because of his experience of the course of history.

'ēd is used in parallel with 'æbæd. Being witness and servant is one. The primary connotation of the word 'æbæd is the belonging to a lord and the being sheltered by him.³³ To be the servant of God means always being able to rely on a good lord. The title expresses the idea of belonging utterly to Yahwe by grace. Yahwe made contact with his people in history, and held them to history as the place where he is near and where responsible decisions are made. His promise to help had and has its effects; protection and deliverance, in the past (41, 8f.; 44, 1f.), the present (45, 4) and the future (48, 20).³⁴ Thus the title is used as a privilege, which can be seen in the present context from its close relation to election.³⁵ The Ancient Orient knew the *election* of the king. The election of a people was unique. This idea expresses the peculiar relationship of Yahwe and his people, which put her in a position to witness. Israel is the object of Yahwe's free choice and his gracious acts. In a situation, where Israel is asked if there is any future for her at all, Deutero-Isaiah takes up this idea to fight against the doubts. The knowledge of election opens up a new future. Yahwe has announced what was to happen. As the predictions come true, he turns out to be the only true God as no other god did what he did. The whole history, as the realization of election is a token meant to make Israel recognize that only

²⁹ Cf. Sach 7, 9; Prov 14, 25. Cf. A. Jepsen, 'æmæt^h, TDOT 1, 309-316, 312; H. Wildberger, 'mn, THAT 1, 177-209, 203.

³⁰ C. van Leeuwen, 'ēd, THAT 2, 209-221, 212, 215. Cf. Prv 14, 25.

³¹ Elliger, 318. Cf. Van Leeuwen, 'ēd, THAT 2, 212.

³² "None of Israel's own actions, not even its acts of devotion, make it a witness, but only the fact that it has experienced in its own history the hand of Yahwe acting by virtue of his own free grace and 'bear witness' to his experience" (Zimmerli, *Theology*, 220).

³³ Cf. C. Westermann, 'æbæd, THAT 2, 182-200, 191. Cf. excursus 6.

³⁴ W. Zimmerli, πικς θεου, TDNT 5, 653-676, 661.

³⁵ The terms 'æbæd and b^hr belong to one field of collocation in Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy: cf. 41, 9; 44, 1. "Die Parallele 'æbæd/b^hr stammt aus der Königsideologie ... Die 'Demokratisierung' der Vorstellung von der Erwählung des Königs ist bei Dtjes also zu Ende geführt" (H. Wildberger, b^hr, THAT 1, 275-300, 290.). For the following cf. also H. Seebaß, b^hr, TDOT 2, 73-87; K. Koch, *Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel*, ZAW 67 (1955), 205-226, 219-222. Cf. the bibliography in Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 123f..

Yahwe is God. The extinguished Israel is therefore a people of hope: in the moment she realizes that she is extinguished, she is capable of realizing the uniqueness of her God and able to witness.³⁶

The purpose (*ʔmaʿan*) of the election is the *knowledge of God*. This idea is rendered prominent by three verbs of one word field. *ydʿ*³⁷ indicates a personal relationship, often of the most intimate nature between the subject and the object of the knowledge. In the exclusive relationship between Yahwe and Israel, 'to know Yahwe' does not only mean the intellectual knowledge of God, but includes a practical behaviour towards him, i.e. 'to be familiar with, to acknowledge' him.³⁸ In this comprehensive sense, it is the word for existential knowledge, "the act of experiencing, entering into a heightened awareness"³⁹. The people is to attend to Yahwe's work in history, to 'understand' (*byn*)⁴⁰ distinctly the unique incomparability of Yahwe displayed in his ability to guide its history.⁴¹ *'mn* expresses the aspect of the reliability: 'to regard as reliable, firm, strong, sure'.

In contrast, a *zar* is an 'outsider' who does not know and has not heard Yahwe's predictions. Hence, v. 12 emphasizes that all Israelites know about the announcements of their God. Therefore they can be witnesses for him.⁴²

The verb *ysʿ* is used for the "saving intervention of a third party in favour of the oppressed and in opposition to the oppressor"⁴³. Interestingly in Deutero-Isaiah it always refers to recent events.⁴⁴ If God is the subject, the verb describes the deliverance, help or salvation through him. Only Yahwe can liberate the exiles. The word *môšîʿ*⁴⁵ 'underlines this salutary aspect of the monotheistic faith. It characterizes Yahwe primarily as protector and saviour (cf. 45, 21), who interferes for his people. He manifests his salvific functions in his words (*ngd, šmʿ* [hi.]) and in his acts (*ysʿ*).⁴⁵ Whereas *ysʿ*'

³⁶ "Das Wissen um Erwähltheit eröffnet Israel Zukunft" (Wildberger, *bhr*, THAT 1, 291).

³⁷ With 36 occurrences (33× q., 3× hi.) *ydʿ* is one of Deutero-Isaiah favorite words.

³⁸ Cf. W. Schottroff, *ydʿ*, THAT 1, 682-701, 692-265.

³⁹ Knight, 97.

⁴⁰ Cf. 40, 21; 44, 18.

⁴¹ "What Israel is to understand is that Yahwe alone is God, and what she has to bear in mind is to know that this God alone deserves to be trusted. Israel was to bear witness to this among the nations. If there is only one God for Israel (and therefore, for the world), then there is also only one God in whom she can completely trust" (A. Jepsen, *'mn*, TDOT 1, 292-323, 307).

⁴² In my opinion, Elliger's discussion of the word (326f.) proved convincingly that in this case *zar* refers to Israel. His interpretation, which follows L. A. Snijders (*The meaning of zar in the OT*, OTS 10 (1954); cf. id., *zār*, TDOT 4, 52-58, 57f.) is by far the best solution for this verse.

⁴³ G. Fohrer, *σωζω*, TDNT 7, 970-980, 973.

⁴⁴ Leene, *Dingen*, 119.

⁴⁵ "'To be God' is not intended statically or abstractly, but is also and especially 'to be saviour', to intervene in behalf of those with whom God stands in intimate relationship"

(hi.) depicts the getting rid of the oppressor, *nšl* (hi.) ('to snatch sth./sb. away') describes the removal out of dire straits. The verb *p'l* is used for Yahwe's interference in the history of Israel.⁴⁶ In Deutero-Isaiah this verb refers exclusively to the contemporary liberation.⁴⁷ The noun *yād* in this context stands for Yahwe's unconquerable power.⁴⁸

2.5. Form Criticism

2.5.1. Structure of the Form:

8–9aβ:	introduction: <i>summons</i> to a trial and description of the court scene
9aγ–12a:	<i>trial</i>
9aγ–δ:	issue: 'Weissagungsbeweis'
9b:	challenge to the opponents to convoke witnesses who verify their ability to predict <i>former things</i>
10a–12a:	Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' in self-predications and the appeal to Israel to act as his witness
12b–13:	<i>decision</i> : declaration of Yahwe's power in history

2.5.2. Application of the Genre to the Form of 43, 8–13

Like 41, 21–29, this passage is a trial speech. The threefold pattern 'summons — trial — decision' is clearly recognizable.⁴⁹ The confrontation of Yahwe with opponents who question his claim as well as the issue is close to the preceding trial speech 41, 21–29.

(H. Ringgren, *ʿlōhīm*, TDOT 1, 267–284, 284). Cf. Schoors, *God*, 227. Against this interpretation, J. Sawyer (*What was a mōšîʿ?*, VT 15 (1965), 475–486) suggested for 43, 12; 45, 21 and a number of parallels to understand the term *mōšîʿ* as a substantif in its own right for the 'advocate' or the 'witness for the defence' in a law court, i.e. as a word with forensic connotations. He proposes "a development from a definite office within a definite sphere of life to a title of God related anthropomorphically to that same sphere of life, and from there to a title of God in a general context" (ibid., 485). According to Sawyer, the activity of this 'defender of the unjustly accused' seemed "to have been verbal rather than physical in many contexts" (ibid., 486). Elliger (486f.) refuted this thesis convincingly.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. Vollmer, *p'l*, THAT 2, 461–466, 465.

⁴⁷ Leene, *Dingen*, 119.

⁴⁸ Cf. A. S. van der Woude, *yād*, THAT 1, 667–674, 672.

⁴⁹ Contrast Leene, *Dingen*, 118.

Yet 43, 8–13 has characteristic features. Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' based on activity in history allied with a word, which can also be found in 41, 4 and vv. 25ff. is much more dominant, so that the other party only appears at random. The gods have no chance to speak. They are not even addressed. The proof has therefore a slightly different nuance. The argument is not only whether the gods have predictions to refer to on their side, but also whether these are true. New also is the appeal to produce witnesses who are to affirm the divine claims. Israel shall appear on Yahwe's behalf. She is now more than a mere observer of the trial. It turns out that she is summoned for her own benefit: to know and to rely on her God. This idea is unique.

2.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

The unit is strongly concerned with Yahwe being God. To communicate his monotheism in the briefest form, Deutero-Isaiah employs a number of ^a*nî*-statements throughout his prophecy. In this unit, these concise formulae function as catch-phrases, which convey the idea that Yahwe is unique and therefore the only God who controls history. Again and again they remind the listeners of the fact that their God is reliable.

The formula *'ānokî yhw*⁵⁰ is the old formula of self-representation, here reinforced by the repetition of the 'I'. Deutero-Isaiah shortens the formula drastically, in order not to limit the meaning of the word 'Yahwe' to the event of the exodus alone — as all the other references do.⁵¹ 'Yahwe' is now to be associated with the memory of his guidance throughout the whole of history from the beginning up to the present situation in the exile.⁵² The personal name of the God of Israel begins to become identical with the genre for 'god', so that the name of Yahwe can be replaced by *'el* in the absolute sense, without the article.⁵³ Now the name contains the claim to be God alone.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ 43, 11; 45, 3.8.21; 49, 23; with addition in 41, 13; 42, 8; 43, 3.15; 44, 24; 45, 5.6.7.18.19.22; 46, 9; 48, 17. For the following, cf. Elliger, 324; Ringgren, *hû*', TDOT 3, 350–352 and esp. Michel, *Jahwe*.

⁵¹ Cf. Ex 20, 2.5 = Dtn 5, 6.9, also Hos 13, 4. In these references always with the apposition 'your god' or with a hint at the deliverance in the Exodus.

⁵² "Ich, ich allein bin Gott als der Jahwe, wie ihr ihn durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch erfahren habt" (Elliger, 324). Cf. Westermann, 124.

⁵³ 40, 18; 43, 12; 45, 22; 46, 9 also 44, 6; 45, 5.14.21 and 44, 8. "*'el* ohne Attribut hat bei Dtjes immer den besonderen Sinn: ein Gott, der wirklich Gott ist, und erscheint immer in monotheistischen Aussagen" (Elliger, 323).

⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 72. Cf. Preuß, *Jahweglaube*, 19–23, 21: "Wenn [Deuterojesaja] ... in den Gerichtsreden sein 'ch bin Jahwe' herausstellt, so geschieht auch sieses um seine Macht, unddas heißt auch hier sein kommendes Handeln, und das Vertrauen darauf als möglich und verheißungstragend ... zuzusprechen".

Blank⁵⁵ established that in the clause *'anî Yahwe* in Deutero-Isaiah, the tetragramme has lost its notation as a proper name of the national God of Israel, and has instead become a designation of the Universal God. It is used to express Yahwe's absoluteness. He alone is God and none else.

Morgenstern extended this thesis to the pronoun *h'û*. In 43, 10b, he says, *h'û* is apparently used as a noun, a designation of the Deity. The formula *'anî h'û*⁵⁶ is thus another modification of the formula of self-representation. It expresses an important development, for a god only needs to present himself to his worshippers when they assume the existence of other gods. At a point, where Yahwe is the only God, his name and the act of his self-representation become superfluous. Now he can say: 'I am He' as there is no doubt who this He is.⁵⁷ Correctly this expression in Deutero-Isaiah was called the 'monotheistic formula'.⁵⁸

Surely, these monotheistic statements are directed against theogonies in the environment⁵⁹ with the deliberate polemical purpose of contrasting Yahwe as the one God with the foreign gods who vaunted their power against each other. However, this does not seem to be their primary intention, as the prophet addresses Israel. The formulae in vv. 10–13 have two major functions. They serve a self-glorification on the part of Yahwe ('expression of majesty'): Yahwe is incomparable.⁶⁰ For Israel they function as a motive for consolation ('expression of grace'): Yahwe is the unique saviour and helper. Therefore the people can rely on him.

⁵⁵ Blank, *Studies*, esp. 14–18, 34–46; cf. id. *Faith*, 67–73.

⁵⁶ Besides 43, 10 also in 41, 4; 46, 4; 48, 12. Cf. N. Walker, *Concerning hû and 'anî hû*, ZAW 74 (1962), 205f..

⁵⁷ "I am He ... is a characteristic expression ... to express the conviction that Yahwe is the only God" (Whybray, 61). "Es geht um das Gott-sein, genauer um das Allein-Gott-sein, ... aber es zeigt sich, daß die Formel nicht nur die Einzigartigkeit Jahwes proklamiert, sondern zugleich eine bestimmte Qualifikation des Gottesbegriffes enthält: Jahwe ist Gott durch seine Geschichtsmächtigkeit" (Elliger, 185).

⁵⁸ Cf. North, *Second Isaiah*, 94; Elliger (125).

⁵⁹ 43, 10be might allude to the idea of the creation of gods (*Enuma eliš* I, 9ff.). The addition v. 10bç could have been necessary to attack the thought that a god can gain power over "the gods, his fathers" (e.g. Marduk in the *Enuma eliš*). In opposition, Yahwe claims that he will never be superceded by any god. Also vv. 11 and 13 might be passing shots against Babylonian statements that there is only one saviour (Marduk, Ištar and others) and against the idea that a God's word is unchangable, which is found in hymns about Marduk, his son Nebo and Šamaš. For details see Stummer, 180–183. Cf. Westermann, 26. The fact that Deutero-Isaiah has to defend Yahwe's exclusive divinity might presuppose a dispute with pagan religion, maybe with the background of the religious persecution under Nabonidus. Cf. J. M. Wilkie, *Nabonidus and the Later Jewish Exiles*, JTS 2 (1950/51), 42.

⁶⁰ Here they might have been influenced by the self-praise style of Sumerian and Babylonian hymns. Cf. Ringgren, *h'û*, 351; S. Schwertner, *'ayin*, THAT 1, 127–130, 129; Westermann, *Sprache*, 145ff..

2.7. Interpretation

The Text: 43, 8–13 is closely related to 41, 21–29. Both pericopes belong to the same genre and describe the same situation as concerns setting and issue. In both passages the suit turns upon the proof of prediction. Here, however, the emphasis lies more on the discussion with Israel (vv. 8, 10–13) than on the argument with the gods (v. 9), but as in the preceding passage, we find both the challenge to the gods and Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis'. In contrast, 43, 8–13 leaves out a direct reference to the helper awakened by Yahwe (41, 25).⁶¹

A new aspect to the preceding passage is the vocation of witnesses, who have to furnish the proof of the continuity between the god's words and deeds. The peoples have to testify the statements of the gods (v. 9b) and as they cannot do this, Israel is incorporated into the trial as witness for Yahwe (v. 10a). This indicates an important shift, for now it is no longer the prophet, the messenger of Yahwe's word, alone who announces historical events as Yahwe's word. Israel herself, by her existence has become witness for Yahwe among the nations. The people is the indisputable proof of his works, for it witnesses them (v. 8). That is why Israel now can vouch for Yahwe's uniqueness.⁶² Thus her whole past history as a token of election guarantees the fact that Yahwe is God.

The strict monotheism is the second new feature in this unit (vv. 10–13). However, Yahwe's exclusivity is not the main theme. It rather has a pastoral-soteriological function, for the climax v. 13a β .b refers to the deliverance of Israel. The proper intention of the statement that there is no God apart from Yahwe is to encourage Israel. Because his power is so total, she can rely on him, the saviour, who directs history. Her comparing the past with the present will open her eyes and ears, encourage her in the desperate situation of the exile. The prophet refers to the idea of the election of the people (v. 10a δ) to make clear that the present Babylonian powers cannot break the bond between her and her God.

The Expressions of Time: This unit does not give us any new insights about the relation $\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{bw'/'t^h} - \sqrt{hd's}$. Instead we have to consider the meaning of the demonstrative pronoun $z\bar{o}'t^h$ and its relation to the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$. From this passage alone it is difficult to say whether the pronoun is in pposition with the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$, whether both terms are synonyms or if $z\bar{o}'t^h$ is part of $h\bar{a}ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ or $habb\bar{a}'\hat{o}t^h$. The closest parallel for $z\bar{o}'t^h$ is 45, 21.⁶³ We will have to ask if our findings of 41, 21–29 can be affirmed by the analysis of this text.

$z\bar{o}'t^h$: Different interpretations have been given for the content of the

⁶¹ Fischer referred the 'abdi in v. 10a γ to Cyrus, but this is unlikely as it is clearly parallel to 'witnesses', which means Israel. Fischer found no support for this interpretation.

⁶² "Durch sein Dasein, in dem sich Jahwes Handeln spiegelt, ist es Zeuge der Rettung durch Jahwe, den Heiligen" (Wolff, *Israel*, 7).

⁶³ For a complete list see table 1 in appendix 1.

zō'th.⁶⁴ Some scholars think of a future event in general,⁶⁵ others try to define the term by the immediate context of the unit. The preceding text 43, 1-7 talks about the return or reconstitution of the people.⁶⁶ In this case, the allusion to Yahwe's glory (v. 7) could be a hint that we deal with the *new*, which is associated with this *kābôd* in other texts.⁶⁷ An argument against this thesis is the fact that the *new* does not appear elsewhere in the context of the trial speeches.

What clues do vv. 8-13 give? Again the argumentation aims at the decision of the witnesses whether or not the gods have a claim to deity (v. 9bε). In 41, 21-29 this decision was reached by the convergence of *ri'sōnôth* and *'ah^ari^t*. In v. 9 *zō'th* is preceded by the verb *ngd* in the imperfect. This indicates that the gods are to declare something that is to happen or which is happening now.⁶⁸ With North⁶⁹ I interpret *yaggîd* therefore in the sense 'who can explain this?'. My suggestion is that for the prophet the use of the demonstrative (!) pronoun is a compressed way of hinting at something that is concrete, topical and at the same time obvious to the listeners and which has now to be explained by the gods. In view of the following passage (43, 14f.), this event can only be the fall of Babylon through Cyrus,⁷⁰ although the Persian is not mentioned expressly in this trial speech. V. 14 describes the liberation through Cyrus in perfect tenses. This affirms our impression that the events associated with the Persian are anticipated and regarded as complete by Deutero-Isaiah. The fall of Babylon belongs already to the past, although it might actually not have happened yet. Unlike most scholars⁷¹ I think that we do not deal with the *new*, but with the present as the outcome of the past. In 41, 25ff. Cyrus was referred to as the *'ah^ari^t* of the *ri'sōnôth*. I suggest to identify *zō'th* with the *'ah^ari^t*-part of the proof of prediction. Thus in v. 9 Yahwe exhorts the gods to explain the contemporary situation as on one line with the past (v. 9bγ).

ri'sōnôth: Conversely, the witnesses have to compare the *former* with its result, i.e. they have to check whether the gods can produce any former deeds or predictions that explain the contemporary coming of Cyrus (v. 9bδ). Here, the *ri'sōnôth* seem to be a more or less abstract category, as it is clear that the gods cannot bring forth anything like that. We deal with merely imaginary promises of the past. The *former* cannot be limited

⁶⁴ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 112.

⁶⁵ Cf. Westermann and Fohrer.

⁶⁶ So Delitzsch, Marti, Duhm, Fischer, von Orelli, Giesebrecht, van Hoonacker, Feldmann, but also Kissane, Muilenburg, Bonnard, Beuken, Young, Odendaal, Leene.

⁶⁷ Cf. C.1./3..

⁶⁸ In contrast, Koole and Bonnard translate in a perfect sense. Cf. the striking parallel *mê*-sentences in 41, 26; 45, 21; 48, 14, which are all accompanied by *ngd* in perfect tense.

⁶⁹ North, *Second Isaiah*, 122.

⁷⁰ Contrast Leene, *Dingen*, 119.

⁷¹ Cf. North; Bonnard; Whybray; Elliger; Schoors, *Choses*, 34; id., *God*, 224.

to a specific period or point of time. Again, it has a particular function for the 'Weissagungsbeweis'.

ri'sōnōt^h - zō't^h: This interpretation can also be supported by the parallelity between the claims to the gods (v. 9aγ.δ) and Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' (v. 12a).⁷² Yahwe is able to prove the connection between promise in the past *ngd* and fulfilment in the present. As pointed out above,⁷³ *yš'* (hi.) refers to contemporary events. Again perfect tenses in v. 12 show that Yahwe regards his saving intervention as complete, although its execution might not yet be terminated (cf. v. 13: 'æf'al). The main point is that Yahwe's promise of the past can explain the present events. While the gods cannot 'make this connection hear', Yahwe can do so.⁷⁴ The convergence of his promise and act proves his claim. Deutero-Isaiah points out that Israel experiences events which are on one line with her former history. Yet, although she can witness them, she did not fully understand them as in agreement with earlier promises and was ignorant of them (v. 8).

The expressions *l'fānay* and 'ah^arê remind the reader of Yahwe's self-predication as 'ri'sōn and 'ah^arôn'. They express the same idea: what Yahwe reveals now has to be understood in the light of the remote past. This connection proves him to be the only reliable God. No other god can produce anything like this. None is like Yahwe.

miyyôm: The relation *former - latter* has established the proof of Yahwe's saving power. Now the adverb *miyyôm*, which has the meaning 'from [this] day on', affirms that the only God will be as reliable furtheron. It describes the whole area, in which Yahwe will realize this power in future, seen from the viewpoint of the prophet. Just as the *l'āhōr* of 41, 23, it expresses a general future continuation. As such it comes close in meaning to the sphere of the *habbā'ōt^h*.

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43, 9:	<i>ri'sōnōt^h</i> + <i>zō't^h</i>	<i>šm'</i>
	<i>former</i> + <i>latter</i>	
	promise + fulfilment	
43, 12:	<i>ngd</i> (hi.) + <i>yš'</i>	<i>šm'</i>

⁷³ Cf. 2.4..

⁷⁴ Cf. the parallelity of *šm'* (hi.) in vv. 9bδ and 12aγ.

3. Analysis of Is 44, 6-8

3.1. Translation

- 6 αα Thus says Yahwe, the king of Israel
β and her redeemer, Yahwe of hosts:
βα "I [am the] former (ri'šōm)
β and I [am the] latter ('ah^arōn);
7 αα^a And who [is] like me?
β Let him speak.
γ Let him declare
δ and set it forth before me.
ε^b Who announced from beforetime (mē'ōlām) the things to come
('ōt^hiygōt^h)?
b And what is [yet] to be ('āšær t^hābō'nā) — let them tell us^c.
8 αα Fear not
β and do not be terrified^d!
γ Have not I told [it] from of old (mē'āz)?
δ Yes!^e I declared [it].
ε^e And you are my witnesses:
βα is there a god beside me?
β And [there is] no rock
γ I know none."

3.2. Textcriticism¹

a. LXX reads before v. 7a: *τις ωπερ εγω; σπητω καλεσατω και ετοιμασατω μοι.*² On this basis many commentators³ add *ya'amōd w'* before *yigrā*. But only in less than one third of its 32 occurrences in the LXX, *ισταναι* corresponds with *'md* (q.),⁴ so that this rendering does not seem to be reliable. With Q^a I read MT.

b. The textual tradition gives no reason for changing the text. Unanimously Q^a, LXX, V, T and S attest MT, though the wording "from my placing a people of eternity and things to come" does not make sense. I think the emendation *mī hišmī^a 'mē'ōlām 'ōt^hiygōt^h*, as proposed by BHS,⁵

¹ Cf. Elliger, 396-398; Schoors, *God*, 230f.; M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology*, Roma 1965, 32; id., *Lexicography*, 409.

² For a discussion of this addition cf. Schoors (*God*, 229f.) and Leene (*Dingen*, 129) who tries to prove it as original. Cf. his interesting rendering of v. 7: "Wie immers roept [= LXX] zoals ik laat hij het melden en mij confronteren [*'rk*] mit iets dat opweegt tegen mijn stiching van oerude volk en de dingen die zouden volgen".

³ Duhm, Volz, Fischer, König, North, Leene (*Dingen*, 129), Köhler (*Deuterojesaja*, 23), Begrich (*Studien*, 42). Cf. BHS.

⁴ Cf. Hatch/Redpath.

⁵ Other suggestions that come close to MT are: *mī yašmī^a 'am 'ōlām 'ōt^hiygōt^h*

is acceptable as it changes MT only slightly.⁶ The consonants *yod*, *waw* and *he* are often confused. Stylistically the verb *šm'* can be supported by the parallel *hišmathî(kā)* in v. 8 and the occurrence of *ngd* in v. 7, by which it is often accompanied.⁷ Further, it fits well into the trial speeches, as we can see from the interpretation of the first two speeches.

c. Most commentators read with T *lānû* instead of 3. pers. pl. *lāmō*. However, it is worth mentioning Dahood's suggestion to "assume a new morpheme in consonantal *lmw*, 'for us'"⁸. This is probable because of a number of parallels⁹ and as in both Isaianic texts Q^a does not support an emendation.

d. Against the majority of commentators who follow the Q^a-reading *thîr'û*, I try to retain MT on the basis of the root *yrh* 'to be stupefied (with fright)', which is hapax legomenon, but can be derived from the Arabic *wariha*.¹⁰

e. The suffix of the 2. pers. sg. seems to be wrong in this context. The parallel *higgadthî* speaks in favour of leaving it out, rather than changing it into 2. pers. pl.. With Schoors¹¹ I prefer to contract the the ending *-kā* with the following *w^e* and render it as a forgotten *kî*, which goes with the following verb. The emphasis fits well in the context.

f. The masoretic punctuation combines this verse with v. 8aδ (cf. the athnach!). The *w^e* before *'at^hthæm*, however, speaks in favour of referring v. 8aε to the following statements.

3.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and End of the Unit: Vv. 6–8 clearly stand out from their context in ch. 44, both as regards content and style. In v. 5 an address to the *'æbæd* ends. The messenger formula in v. 6 marks off a new section. The following paragraph (vv. 9–20), a satire on the manufacture of idols, deals with a different theme. Here, v. 9 seems to function as an introduction rather than as an ending. Also the poetic style¹² favours the delimitation. Q^a begins a new paragraph with 44, 6 and leaves a gap between vv. 8 and 9.¹³

(Koole) or *mašmā^a 'mē'ôlām 'ôth'iygôth* (Torrey, Kissane, Muilenburg).

⁶ In contrast, Leene (*Dingen*, 130) argues that the smoothness of the emended text could have hardly caused any changes. Naturally, his attempt to keep MT leads him to different conclusions.

⁷ Cf. excursus 2.

⁸ Dahood, *Lexicography*, 409.

⁹ Pss. 28, 8; 44, 11; 64, 6; 80, 7; Is 26, 16; Job 22, 17.

¹⁰ KBL, 403b.

¹¹ Schoors, *God*, 233.

¹² Details on the metre in Elliger, 398.

¹³ In contrast, Leene holds that vv. 6–8 function as an introduction to the following

Integrity of the Passage: Concerning the subject, the verses are closely connected. On the word level this can be affirmed on the grounds of the repetition of the words *mibbal'āday* and *'ēn* (v. 6b) in v. 8b and the chain of questions in vv. 7–8. The foreign elements of style do not force us to treat them separately as fragments or combine them with further verses,¹⁴ as they can be explained by the prophet's free handling of literary genres,¹⁵ which is characteristic of him. The integrity of this unit has practically not been questioned.¹⁶

3.4. Linguistic Observations

Syntax and Style: The use of both taut disputation style and elements of Yahwe's self-praise, which are emphasized by rhetorical questions is the result of the need to persuade, to announce hope and express Yahwe's reliability. The prophet argues mainly with inanimate, uncountable abstracts. Among the *verba dicendi*, which we have already come across in other trial speeches, we find negated verbs of fear. The accumulation of negations is striking. They underline God's uniqueness and ask the people not to be afraid. In v. 7 the argumentation is reinforced by a chiasm.¹⁷

Semantics: Apart from *ngd* (hi.), *šm'*, *qr'* ('to give a speech') and *'rk* ('to expound arguments') are *juridical terms*. They describe the presentation of an argument. Again Israel is addressed as 'witness'. Also *w'yaggîdehā w'ya'kehā* (v. 7) and *bal-yāda'tî* carry forensic overtones.¹⁸

The *gō'ēl*¹⁹ is the next of kin who has the duty of redemption in three, possibly four cases. He acquires land property which a close relation had to sell because of poverty or buys out an Israelite who had to sell himself to a stranger.²⁰ He is also obliged to blood vengeance and possibly to levirate marriage. The word thus is a term of family law for the re-establishing of a lost unity. The basic meaning is "to lay claims to a person or thing, to claim back from an other's authority, to redeem"²¹. The act of redemption always presupposes a connection between redeemer and redeemed. In its

unit.

¹⁴ Following Duhm (302), Westermann (113) and Whybray (96) suggested to join the unit with the assurance of salvation in vv. 21f. in order to explain the formula of assurance in v. 8. I think this is an arbitrary attempt. Schoors (*God*, 232f.) has listed a number of good arguments against this position. Cf. also Leene, *Dingen*, 135.

¹⁵ Cf. 3.5. and excursus 1.

¹⁶ Only Merendino (373ff.) regards vv. 7b.c/8a as later additions.

¹⁷ *šm'* (hi.) — *'oth'iyyôth* — *šær t'ābō'nā* — *ngd*.

¹⁸ Cf. Ruth 4, 4. Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 136.

¹⁹ Cf. J. J. Stamm, *g'l*, THAT 1, 383–394, 390f.; H. Ringgren, *g'l*, TDOT 2, 350–355, 354f. [Lit.]; Elliger, 150f.; Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 99–131; Schoors, *God*, 262f..

²⁰ Cf. Lev 25, 25–28.47–49.

²¹ KBL 162b.

religious usage its is often connected with the exodus from Egypt. Deutero-Isaiah²² identifies Yahwe with a human *gō'ēl*, who delivers his people who are his next of kin because of the covenant relationship, which is based on the election of Abraham. Even if Abraham's descendents have been sold due to their failures this is not the final separation from their God, who now insists on his right and claims back his own property, for he created and elected Israel. This way, the prophet embeds the end of Israel's history in its beginnings.²³ The connotations of the title are that God frees his people from their present political and social afflictions because of his special relation to them. *g'l* describes this redeeming action on the part of Yahwe. It expresses "both the initial tie between Yahwe and his people and the subsequent enthrallment of Israel by alien powers, from which Yahwe 'redeems his people'"²⁴.

The expression *yhwh š^e bā'ōt^h* is extremely popular in prophetic diction.²⁵ The interpretation of *š^e bā'ōt^h* is controversial.²⁶ The military interpretation explains the name as the 'Israelite army' (cf. 1 Sam 17, 45). The cosmic interpretation sees in *š^e bā'ōt^h* "all bodies, multitudes, masses in general, the content of all that exists in heaven and in earth"²⁷. LXX often transcribes the expression by *παντοκρατωρ*, which supports the reading of a plural of extension and importance ('Yahwe of mightiness') which implies royal power.²⁸ In Deutero-Isaiah the term designates Yahwe as the ruler over history, who executes his divine plan.²⁹

*šûr*³⁰ is a stereotype image for the help and protection of God, his saving acts and his unshakable faithfulness. It is frequent in statements of incomparability.³¹ In 44, 8 it is used as an honorary title³² with salvific meaning. It stresses Yahwe's majestic strength and reliability. He is the only refuge and salvation (cf. Ps 19, 15).

²² In Deutero-Isaiah the participle appears nine times as an epithet of God, in seven of these cases as the expansion of the messenger formula.

²³ Cf. Stamm, *g'l*, THAT 1, 391. Contrast Ringgren, *g'l*, TDOT 2, 354.

²⁴ Zimmerli, *Theology*, 217.

²⁵ 255 occurrences in the prophets out of a total of 279.

²⁶ Cf. A. S. van der Woude, *šābā'*, THAT 2, 498-507, 503-507, [Lit.!] and H. J. Kraus, *Theologie der Psalmen*, BK 15/3, Neukirchen 1978, 17-20.

²⁷ Eichrodt, *Theology*, 193.

²⁸ The occurrences of the epithet in Samuel and the Psalms affirm that "by the time Israel took it over, it had become the name of a god whose principal attribute was royal majesty" (J. P. Ross, *š^e bā'ōt^h in Samuel and Psalms*, VT 17 (1967), 76-92, 92).

²⁹ Cf. Kim, 150f..

³⁰ Cf. A. S. van der Woude, *šûr*, THAT 2, 538-543, 542.

³¹ Apart from 44, 8 in Dtn 32, 31; 1 Sam 2, 2; 2 Sam 22, 32 = Ps 18, 32.

³² Cf. Dtn 32, 4.15.18.30; 2 Sam 23, 3; Jes 30, 29; Hab 1, 12 a.o.

3.5. Form Criticism

3.5.1. Structure of the Form:

6a:	introduction: messenger formula and self-praise
b:	claim of the plaintiff
7a:	<i>summons</i> : challenge to the opponents, self-praise in rhetorical questions
b:	<i>trial</i> : issue: 'Weissagungsbeweis'
8b:	assurance of salvation, appeal to witnesses and 'Selbsterweis'
b:	<i>decision</i>

3.5.2. Application of the Genre to the Form of 44, 6-8

As the previously analysed units, 44, 6-8 is a trial speech that turns on rival claims. It takes up a number of linguistic elements of these speeches.³³ In contrast to the previous passages this unit is introduced by a complete messenger formula. Whereas in 41, 4 the divine self-predication appears at the end and in 43, 8-13 and 45, 20-25 in the middle of the passage, it occurs at the beginning of the Yahwe speech in this unit, where it replaces the structure of the 'summons' in the trial speeches. The court is already in session. Yahwe is no longer concerned with the other party, but with Israel, who again is addressed as a witness. His role has changed into that of the plaintiff who wants his claim that he is the only God to be confirmed by the court.³⁴ The confrontation with the other gods has faded into insignificance. In contrast to 41, 4 and 43, 10f. the self-predications precede the challenging questions. This observation shows clearly the actual subject of the trial has turned into a rhetorical question. Deutero-Isaiah is less and less concerned with the trial.³⁵ His main interest lies in the encouragement of Israel. The text provides no new argument for the proof itself.

A new element in this trial speech, however, is the formula of assurance³⁶, which genuinely belongs to the oracle of salvation.³⁷ Volz is right, when he says: "was unsere Stelle von den verwandten unterscheidet und

³³ Cf. 41, 1-4: *ri'sôn - 'ah^arôn*; 41, 21-29: *'ôth^hiyyôth^h - √bw'*; 43, 8-13: *w^e'ên mib-bal'aday*.

³⁴ Cf. Begrich, *Studien*, 19, 27.

³⁵ Cf. Elliger, 399.

³⁶ Cf. Begrich, *Heilsorakel*, 81-92; id., *Studien*, 14-26; v. Waldow, *Anlaß*, 11-28; Westermann, *Heilsworte*; id., *Sprache*, 117-124; cf. 3.6..

³⁷ Leene (*Dingen*, 136) points out that trial speech and oracle of salvation are closely connected in Deutero-Isaiah.

einzigartig macht, ist die Verbindung des apologetisch-theozentrischen und des praktisch-tröstenden Momentes”³⁸.

3.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

The combination of the elements of disputation with terminology, which was originally at home in the cult, such as the self-praise of the deity and the formula of reassurance ‘fear not’ was possible, as both turn on the reliability of Yahwe’s words and deeds.³⁹ It has to be pointed out, however, that the cultic elements “are but one of the areas of life from which Deutero-Isaiah drew his language”⁴⁰ and that their placing in the new context was the prophet’s own creation.⁴¹

The new context comprises of statements about Yahwe’s uniqueness⁴² and his incomparability⁴³. We have to distinguish between these traditions clearly. Parallels in the Ancient Orient to statements that there is no one besides a certain god are numerous, but they stem from another setting than their Deutero-Isianic equivalents. Their primary function was, “sich das Wohlwollen des angerufenen göttlichen Wesens zu sichern”⁴⁴. Thus, although these formulas sound monotheistic, it was possible for the worshippers to address another god similarly. This would have been impossible to any Israelite. Care must be taken not to confuse the categories.⁴⁵ To express Yahwe’s incomparability, Deutero-Isaiah uses a number of verbs of comparison or the old *k^e*-formula. Whereas statements of incomparability elsewhere in the OT⁴⁶ never prove Yahwe’s uniqueness, Deutero-Isaiah’s formula *mî kāmônî* in 44, 7 serves this purpose. It is clearly embedded in monotheistic statements.

The tradition of *Yahwe as the sole God* is an old tradition rooted in the first commandment (Ex 20, 3; Dtn 5, 7), which forbids the erection of an image of another god in the sanctuary, as well as the worshipping of a foreign god in the surroundings.⁴⁷ This means that Yahwe is the God of

³⁸ Volz, 50.

³⁹ Cf. Schoors, *God*, 232.

⁴⁰ Melugin, *Formation*, 62.

⁴¹ Against the cultic interpretation I therefore agree with Melugin that they “are not all-embracing categories by means of which we can describe the genre of these trial speeches” (Ibid., 61f.). Cf. excursus 1.

⁴² Cf. 2.6..

⁴³ Cf. Labuschagne.

⁴⁴ Cf. Wildberger, 251 (cf. note 8), cf. 268 note 63.

⁴⁵ “Monotheismus ist nicht nur die engagierte und ausschließliche Zuwendung zur Gottheit, sondern das klare Bewußtsein der Einheit von Kosmos und Geschichte und der Abhängigkeit beider Welten des einen Herrn samt all den Konsequenzen, die eine solche Weltanschauung für den Glauben an den einen Gott mit sich bringt” (ibid., 252).

⁴⁶ 1 Sam 2, 2; Ps 35, 10; 71, 19; 89, 19; 113, 5; Hi 36, 22.

⁴⁷ See Ps 81, 10. Cf. H. P. Müller, *Gott und Götter in den Anfängen der biblischen*

Israel and the people is to worship him exclusively, but other nations may have other gods and are allowed to worship them (monolatry). The prophets thought Yahwe's power no longer limited to Israel alone. For them, he was the lord of history of all peoples. In the exile the question, whether Yahwe could still be regarded as helper and saviour emerged. Apparently he had left his people in the lurch. When Deutero-Isaiah asserts "that is actually the God of his little group of exiles who set in motion the machinery of world politics—a God whose sole sanctuary has been destroyed and whose cult has been abolished—he has to stretch his metahistorical framework far beyond the bounds accepted by his prophetic predecessors"⁴⁸. If Yahwe was really capable of helping he could not be one among many gods, only responsible for his own people, limited in his power to the area of the Holy Land. His territory had to be expanded to include the entire world. Deutero-Isaiah carries out this idea of Yahwe's autocracy to demonstrate that the God of Israel has never ceased to be in ultimate control of the historical events. He argues that Yahwe is a God who evinces himself as lord through the continuity of his promise and its fulfilment.⁴⁹ In this field Yahwe is incomparable. For this reason he can ridicule the man-made and therefore worthless gods who underlie the changes and fortunes of time and are consequently historically dumb.⁵⁰

3.7. Interpretation

The Text: The unit links thematically with the preceding trial speeches. The messenger formula reminds the listeners of Yahwe's power and his close relationship to Israel. Programmatically, Yahwe introduces himself as 'ri'sôn and 'ah^arôn' (v. 6b), the only one who was and is in control of the historical events.⁵¹ It is clear by now that he no longer argues against the other gods. The rhetorical question 'who is like me?' excludes all opponents from the start. The idol gods have no say in the whole passage. Yahwe is only interested in his people. Again Israel is convoked as a witness (v. 8aε), but her witnessing task is now extended and the point is shifted. Previously the people had to testify the connection between Yahwe's promise and fulfilment. Now the issue is the fact that there is no other god beside him.⁵² The 'Weissagungsbeweis' (v. 7) provides enough evidence for this claim. The strict monotheism thus becomes a new content of faith. As in

Religion. Zur Vorgeschichte des Monotheismus, in: O. Keel, *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt*, Freiburg 1980, 99–142, 137.

⁴⁸ Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 131.

⁴⁹ Cf. excursus 2.

⁵⁰ Cf. 40, 18–20; 41, 21–29; 44, 9–20; 46, 6f..

⁵¹ Cf. Elliger (401): "Es geht um die Geschichtsmächtigkeit als Charakteristikum des wahren Gottseins."

⁵² "Der Text macht die Angeredeten auf ihre Eigenschaft aufmerksam, Zeugen von Jahwes Selbstoffenbarung als des einzigen Gottes zu sein" (Merendino, 379).

43, 8–13 it serves a soteriological interest. Yahwe, the king and redeemer (v. 6) is the only reliable rock (v. 8b). For this reason the people need not to be afraid in the present situation (v. 8a).⁵³ On the contrary, they are witnesses to Yahwe's power to redeem. The text answers the doubts of the Israelites with an invitation to trust in Yahwe's power.

The Expressions of Time: In contrast to the texts in I.B., which lay the stress on Yahwe's act, the stirring up of Cyrus,⁵⁴ in 44, 6–8 (e) the controversy is limited to the point of the *announcement*. Again Deutero-Isaiah turns upon a 'Weissagungsbeis', which is based on the continuity of predicting the future in the past (v. 7aε) and in the present (v. 7b). This contrast has a close parallel in 41, 21–29. The same train of argument suggests to compare the expressions in both passages.

*ri'sôn*⁵⁵ – *'ah^arôn*: Most critics understand the wordpair *ri'sôn* – *'ah^arôn* as expressing Yahwe's all embracing ruling power in the course of history, his everlasting sovereignty over the whole sweep of time and human history. In this view Yahwe's majesty spans history from the beginning to the end. God is He, who directs history from the earliest time, the very beginning up to the most distant future.⁵⁶ This interpretation goes along with a similar explanation of the title *ae^elōhē 'ōlām* in 40, 28.⁵⁷ It is true, *'ah^arôn* can

⁵³ The commentators vary in their interpretation of the object of Israel's fear. Elliger (404) thinks of the change initiated by Cyrus. Merendino (37) has the confrontation with the gods in mind. In contrast, Leene (*Dingen*, 281f.) justly points out that at this point the gods are already proven to be powerless. Leene concludes this from the biting mockery of the following unit (vv. 9–20). This might be true, but the decrease of the power of the gods is also an inner development within the trial speeches. Cf. 5..

⁵⁴ Cf. also 41, 1–4!

⁵⁵ Cf. 1.7..

⁵⁶ Cf. T on 41, 4b: 'I, Yahwe ... the eternities of the eternities belong to me, and besides me there is no God'. Cf. Morgenstern (*Terminology*, 273, 269f.) "Die Überlegenheit Jahwes über die Götter weist Deuterojesaja erstmalig im Blick auf das Geschichtsganze nach, soweit es sein Auge umgreift; Ziel dieses Nachweises ist die Selbstprädikation Jahwes als *ri'sôn* und *'ah^arôn*" (H. P. Müller, *rō's*, THAT 2, 701–715, 711). Cf. Elliger, 127; Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 148.

⁵⁷ Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis*, Minneapolis 1985, 350, [ET]; Anderson, *God*, IDB 2, 412b; Elliger, 98f.; H. Sasse, *αων*, TDNT 1, 197–209, 199–201. Jenni assumes that in Deutero-Isaiah the idea of eternity undergoes a change and takes on a new theological importance ('*ōlām*, THAT 2, 239; contrast H. D. Preuß, '*ōlām*, ThWAT 5, 1152). According to him, it does no longer signify merely a remote past, but 'unending time', 'hidden' or 'distant time', 'furthest time' which extends backward into the past (antiquity) and indefinitely forward into the future (futurity), whereby the chronological distance is relative. Nowhere in the OT '*ōlām* is an abstract term or contains connotations of timelessness. On the contrary, it is time filled with history, the world as history. Applied to Yahwe, it expresses Yahwe's absolute sovereignty, his being lord over all temporalities (cf. id., '*ōlām*, ZAW 65, 16f.; Elliger, 98). "His sovereignty continues through the ages,

be translated by 'später, künftig' ('later', 'future'),⁵⁸ but I think that this meaning does not match for the stereotype⁵⁹ antithesis with *ri'sôn*.⁶⁰ Here it is rather used for the 'latter' of two⁶¹ or for the last part of the matter (Dtn 13, 10; 17, 7; 1 Kgs 17, 13). In the Deutero-Isaianic trial speeches it describes Yahwe as bringing his promises to a result which is in convergence with the listeners' experience. He presents himself as the one who begins a matter and brings it to an end. Yahwe is the only God who can prove this connection. Just as the *'anî*-formulae Deutero-Isaiah's statements of Yahwe being 'the former and the latter'⁶² have therefore to be interpreted by the background of his monotheism. In my opinion, these sentences do not primarily express the identity of Yahwe in the past, the present and the future.⁶³ Deutero-Isaiah is not interested in Yahwe's existence, but in his acts in history. He is not concerned with any metaphysical speculation, but only with Yahwe's historical salvific power.⁶⁴

Yet, we do not have to deny all 'eschatological' overtones.⁶⁵ The opposi-

unaffected by the passing time" (Anderson, *God*, IDB 2, 412b). Yahwe embraces time monotheistically; he is above all time that he holds in his hands, governing and forming history from its beginnings up to the most remote future. "*'ôlām* wird zum Kennwort für die Welt Gottes und für Gottes Handeln, das im Eschaton alleinbestimmend übrigbleibt" (Jenni, *'ôlām*, THAT 2, 239). As such the term conveys an element of faithfulness towards his people.

⁵⁸ Cf. E. Jenni, *hr*, 110–118, 111; KBL.

⁵⁹ Cf. appendix 2. Out of its 51 occurrences in the OT, 30 can be found in the immediate context of *ri'sôn*.

⁶⁰ Cf. Leene (*Dingen*, 130f.): "Al bezitten *ri'sôn* en *'ah^arôn* iets alomvattends, overkoepelelds, het zijn toch veel minder *termini post et ante quem*, dan de gebruikelijke weergave 'de Eerste en de Laatste' kan doen vermoeden. Zij nodigen er vooral toe uit dat wat Jhwh heden aangaande zichzelf openbaart, in het licht te zien van wat over hem uit het verre verleden wordt verhaald en omgekeerd". Contrast Volz, 25.

⁶¹ Ex 4, 8; Dtn 24, 3.4; Hag 2, 9; Ruth 3, 10. In Is 44, 6 and 48, 12 it is a relative term: "(in der Reihenfolge) dahinter kommend, später" (Elliger, 125).

⁶² 41, 4; 44, 6; 48, 12; cf. 43, 10.13.15; 45, 5.6.21 and 46, 4. Cf. 2.7. and appendices.

⁶³ Contrast Ringgren (*h'û*, TDOT 3, 341–345, 344, 351) and Koch (*Deutero-Isaiah*, 149) who understand them as ontological statements about God. Ringgren tries to prove this thesis referring to Ps 102, 27f. (similarly, H. Sasse, *αων*, TDNT 1, 199 with reference to Pss 89, 2 and 101, 26), in which —it is true— the creator is described as "the one who endures and is the same for ever, who outlives his creation". However, this psalm differs from the Deutero-Isaianic formulae, as here Yahwe is not the speaker, but addressed in the 2. pers. sg. (*'at^ht^hāh hū*). As to 43, 10 Ringgren too has to admit that the stress is on "Yahwe as the one God". Because of the fact that he is the only one, Yahwe is, unlike the 'non-gods', not limited by the changing cycles of nature.

⁶⁴ Cf. the covenant relationship and the election (2.4.). See also Mulenburg (451), Westermann (17), Stuhlmüller (*Yahwe*, 193), B. W. Anderson, (*God*, IDB 2, 428a) and Elliger (402).

⁶⁵ Cf. BDB, KBL. Contrast Leene, *Dingen*, 17. Cf. excursus 5.

tion $\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{bw'/t^h}$ expresses Deutero-Isaiah's attempt of understanding the whole of history as a sphere under Yahwe's control. Within the *ri'sōnōt^h*, the relation promise and *'ah^ari^t* establishes the the proof of Yahwe's reliability, which will also hold for the coming future.

$\sqrt{t^h}$: In 41, 21–29 it is pointed out that the *ri'sōnōt^h* were predicted *mērō's*. 44, 7 (e) says that the *'ōt^hiyōt^h* were announced *mē'ōlām*. The question is, whether we are allowed to identify the *ri'sōnōt^h* of 41, 22 with the *'ōt^hiyōt^h* of 44, 7. Should they not form an opposition, as the parallel 41, 23⁶⁶, in which *'ōt^hiyōt^h* refers to future things, suggests? At a closer look at the two references it becomes quite clear that both can indeed be replaced, as they are relative expressions. There is indeed no other place in the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah, where the *former things* and the *coming things* are so close to each other. In 41, 23 *'ōt^hiyōt^h* refers to the time that comes 'hereafter' (*'āhōr*), i.e. the period which starts with Yahwe's present challenge to the gods. In 44, 7, however, the term is applied to the time that began with a promise of the past. We can conclude that it is used as a general and relative term for 'the future'. As such it can be applied to the 'period to come' from the speaker's point of view. Yahwe's future acts have a connection with his former acts. The people can feel safe in the reliability of the continuity between his promise and its fulfilment. Yahwe has always (*mē'ōlām*) announced the future and so he will now. From the present standpoint of the prophet, Yahwe's earlier promises for the future lie in the past. It is therefore easy to associate the *'ōt^hiyōt^h* with the *ri'sōnōt^h*.⁶⁷ Both terms refer to the same past period from different angles.

$\sqrt{bw'} - \sqrt{t^h}$: In the same way 'the future' can also be described by $\sqrt{bw'}$. $\sqrt{t^h}$ and $\sqrt{bw'}$ express the same idea.⁶⁸ The *šær t^hāb'ōnā* is still in the future of the speaker. The future events move in the direction of man, not vice versa. Therefore, "it is only the person who has heard the promise who turns expectantly towards the things that have up to then lain invisibly behind him"⁶⁹. The fact that Deutero-Isaiah uses different expressions for the same idea, indicates that he is still in the process of coining these termini technici. I don't think that we can fill the *šær t^hāb'ōnā* with any qualities.⁷⁰ In my view this term represents a neutral, relative category.

⁶⁶ Cf. appendix 1, table 2. For 45, 11 cf. II.2..

⁶⁷ "*ri'sōnōt^h* and *'ōt^hiyōt^h* can be interchangeable when the standpoint is that of the original pronouncement" (North, *Things*, 123). Similarly Schoors (*Choses*, 32): "Au v. 7, les *'ōt^hiyōt^h* sont à comprendre comme des faits appartenant à l'avenir pour celui qui dans le passé avait à les prédire. Au moment où le prophète parle, elles sont déjà accomplies". Contrast Knobel (313).

⁶⁸ Cf. 1.7..

⁶⁹ Wolff, *Anthropology*, 89.

⁷⁰ Because of v. 8 Leene (*Dingen*, 178.) says, it is more likely to see in them something threatening than something salutary.

4. Analysis of Is 45, 18–25

4.1. Translation

- 18 aα Yes, thus says Yahwe
β creator of the heavens
γ — he [is] God! —
δ shaper of the earth
ε and its maker
ζ — he established it —
η not a chaos did he create it
θ he formed it to be lived in:
bα “I [am] Yahwe.
β and [there is] no other [God]!”
19 aα Not in secret did I speak
β in [some] corner of a land of darkness.
γ Not did I say to the offspring of Jacob:
δ ‘Seek me in vain!’¹
bα I [am] Yahwe,
β speaker of right things,
γ declarer of the truth.
20 aα Assemble yourselves
β and come
γ draw near together^a,
δ [you] survivors of the nations!
bα They have no knowledge
β [those] who carry about their wooden idols
γ and who pray to a god
δ that cannot save.
21 aα Declare
β and set forth [your proofs]²
γ Yes, *take counsel*^b together!
bα Who told this (zō’t^h) long ago (miqqædæm)?
β in time past (mē’āz) — [who] declared it?
γ [Was it] not I, Yahwe?
δ and [there is] no other god beside me
ε [there is] no just and saving god besides me.
22 aα Turn to me
β and be saved.³
γ all the ends of the earth
bα For I [am] God
β and [there is] no other.

¹ KBL 1019a.

² In analogy with 41, 21bα.

³ Joüon (§ 116f.) translates as an indirect imperative: “revenez à moi et vous serez sauvés”.

- 23 αα By myself I swear^c,
 β from my mouth trustworthiness goes forth^c,
 γ a word that does not return.⁴
 βα Yes, to me every knee shall bow,
 β every tongue shall swear.
- 24 a 'Only in Yahwe', *it will be said*^d, '[there is] salvation
 and strength.
 βα To him *will come*^e
 β and be ashamed,
 γ all who are [/were] incensed against him'.
- 25 α In Yahwe will have a just cause
 β and will glory
 γ all the offspring of Israel".

4.2. Textcriticism⁵

- a. Q^a reads *w'th yw* (*w^e 'ēth āyū*), 'and come'. Cf. 41, 5.25.
 b. I change MT (3. pl. imperf.) into ni. impt. pl. on the basis of the parallel imperatives.
 c. I render the perfects in the mouth of Yahwe by present tense, as they express "events . . . , which although completed in the past nevertheless extend their influence into the present"⁶.
 d. MT ('to me he said') is difficult, as the personal pronouns have no connections in the context. With LXX (*λεγω*), BHS a.o. read *lē'mōr* and transpose it to the beginning of the verse (cf. S). I follow Q^a which takes the form as a ni.: *yē'āmēr* (q. is always written plene!). The *lî* can be understood as emphatic, corresponding to the Arabic "li of command"⁷.
 e. The subject (pl.!) and the parallel verb (v. 24bβ) make me change the sg. into pl. (*yābō'ū*). With Q^a, LXX, S, V a.o..

4.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and End of the Unit: It is not easy to set off these verses from their immediate context, as there are several links with 45, 14–17.⁸ However, the messenger formulae (vv. 14.18) and the fact that the preceding verses have a different addressee (Zion/Israel) suggest that both units were originally unconnected. Also the theme changes, for vv. 18ff. describe

⁴ Job 29, 12 is a parallel for a relative clause introduced by *w^e*. Cf. Hab 2, 5; Is 48, 6.

⁵ Cf. Hermisson, 52–54.

⁶ GK § 106.2.

⁷ Cf. North, *Second Isaiah*, 156; cf. Schoors, *God*, 236f..

⁸ Cf. Melugin (*Formation*, 128–130), who lists the formal and thematic correlations. Cf. Leene (*Dingen*, 195–198) who bases his interpretation of the passage on the structural analogy with 45, 9–13.14–17.



the reliability of the word of Yahwe. The *kî* in v. 18a α could indicate a later attempt of joining both units together because of a similar theme and vocabulary.⁹ In the same way there seem to be links with the following chapter.¹⁰ Yet, in 46,1ff. the theme is no longer the 'offspring of Israel' but the Babylonian gods. 45, 25 is a "volltönender Schluß"¹¹. Q^a affirms the delimitation after v. 25 by a small indentation.

Integrity of the Passage: The word *z^era'* frames the passage (v. 19.25) and is therefore an indicator for the integrity of the whole unit. Further, *šdq* is a clear leit-motif of vv. 18–25. Also it must not be overlooked that the Yahwe-speech begins in v. 18b carries on till v. 25.¹² In V. 20, however, the change from the 1. pers. sg. into 2. pers. pl. signals a break that marks a new paragraph.¹³ Another argument for a separation is the fact that Deutero-Isaiah, as we have seen in the preceding texts, likes to begin new sections with imperatives.

Yet, vv. 18–19 can hardly stand as an independent unit.¹⁴ I understand them as a fragment, which is meant to introduce the following verses. The fact that there is a relation between both units is affirmed by the style of v. 18f., which shares the same "argumentative tone"¹⁵. They will therefore deserve consideration for the interpretation of the following verses.

These fall into two units. The first argumentation A (vv. 20–21) ends with the 'Weissagungsbeweis'. Here, v. 20b need not be a gloss, although it interrupts the chain of imperatives.¹⁶ It does not clash with the context. On the contrary, the opposition between the gods 'who cannot help' (negative) and Yahwe, 'the only helping God' (positive), emphasizes Yahwe's uniqueness and his power in history. In the second reasoning B (vv. 22–25), again introduced by an imperative, the call to be saved is followed by a strong affirmation about Yahwe's power of salvation.¹⁷ Although there are similarities between A and B, such as the address of the nations in the 2. pers, the formcritical differences justify us to analyse both units separately. The

⁹ Cf. Merendino, 451f., 456–461; Whybray, 110; Hermisson, 54.

¹⁰ Cf. Westermann, 177f..

¹¹ Hermisson, 55.

¹² On the basis of my textcritical decision (cf. 4.2.d!) I need not see a change of speaker and therefore a break in v. 24. Contrast Merendino. Instead I can understand this verse as spoken by Yahwe, who speaks about himself in the 3. pers. pl. ("one will say ...").

¹³ Against Melugin (*Formation*, 126), who joins v. 20 with the introduction.

¹⁴ Cf. Westermann, 172; Whybray, 110.

¹⁵ Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 194. Cf. Westermann, 172.

¹⁶ With Preuß (*Verspottung*, 216), who defends the originality: "der Vers charakterisiert die vorgeladenen Völker nur näher und stellt ihre Götter dem Gott Jahwe gegenüber". Contrast Westermann (177) and Hermisson (78). Knight (144) suggests that it could be a polemic allusion to the processions during the Babylonian New Year festival.

¹⁷ On linguistic and thematic grounds, Hermisson (56f.) regards vv. 24f. as a secondary interpolation. Stuhlmüller (*Redemption*, 266) and Nielsen (191) separate vv. 20–23 and 20–24 respectively.

analysis of 45, 18f. will have a more summarizing character, as it has to be restricted to the most important points.

4.4. Linguistic Observations

4.4.1. Unit A (45, 20–21)

Syntax and Style: The powerful imperatives underline the liveliness of the compressed style that is dominated by verbs of action. In v. 20b the worshippers of the idol gods are described in participles. Their knowledge and power to save is denied (*lōʾ*). This characterisation provides the foil for the 'Weissagungsbeweis' (introduced by the rhetorical *mî*-question and emphasized by the chiasmic word order) and Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' in self-praise formulae, which provides the answer to the preceding question and draws the conclusion about Yahwe being God alone. As in all texts investigated so far, Yahwe talks about himself in nominal clauses which express the general validity of the statements.

Semantics: The most important question is: who is addressed? The connection of *plṭ* with *gōy* is unusual. As it normally occurs in combination with Israel, Juda, Jerusalem or 'ām,¹⁸ Merendino thinks, *gōy* designates the Israelites also in this passage. In his opinion this interpretation is justified in the light of 45, 18f.¹⁹ This explanation is not very convincing, as it does not explain the plural. Further, Deutero-Isaiah usually distinguishes Israel and the nations terminologically.²⁰ An equally unconvincing interpretation was given by Hollenberg who understands the 'the nations' as a "holistic category which includes both the foreign nations as such and the people of uncertain status within them"²¹. Thus for him the 'survivors of the nations' are "survivors *among* the nations, or crypto-Israelites who have fled away into the nations and escaped the crisis which befell Israel"²². I cannot see a basis for this thesis in the text. However, Hollenberg pointed out correctly that the root *plṭ* is a clue for the passage. It implies the escaping after a crisis. Some scholars think of a general catastrophe,²³ Melugin recognizes an allusion to an eschatological event.²⁴ In the context of Deutero-Isaiah's trial speeches and his allusions to Cyrus, I think it most likely that the fall of Babylon is meant. The 'nations' thus would have to be understood as the defeated or about to be defeated 'heathen peoples'.²⁵

¹⁸ Cf. J. Hausmann, *Israels Rest: Studien zum Selbstverständnis der nachexilischen Gemeinde*, BWANT 124 (1987), 74–76. Cf. Hermisson, 69.

¹⁹ Cf. Merendino, 447.

²⁰ Cf. 2.4. (note 27).

²¹ Hollenberg, 29.

²² *Ibid.*, 31.

²³ Cf. Duhm, 348; North, *Second Isaiah*, 160; Volz, 72.

²⁴ Melugin, *Formation*, 130; cf. Fohrer, 95. Contrast McKenzie, 82.

²⁵ With the majority of exegetes. Cf. Begrich, *Studien*, 87; Schoors, *God*, 234; Moye,

4.4.2. Unit B (45, 22–25)

Syntax and Style: Apart from v. 22b (Yahwe-self-representation in a nominal clause), we only find concise verbal phrases. Nouns and verbs are balanced, which indicates verbal style. Graphic verbs of movement illustrate the peoples acknowledging Yahwe. The nouns are used figuratively. Members of the body stand as *pars pro toto* for all mankind.²⁶ In this context *bæræk* — *lāsôn* is a characteristic word-pair. The root *šdq* has a key significance, as it is repeated three times. These references touch on v. 21b and thus connect units A and B.

Semantics: *š^edāqâ*²⁷ proves the uniqueness of God. This is emphasized by the fact that in Deutero-Isaiah only Yahwe talks about his *š^edāqâ*. This means that *š^edāqâ*, Yahwe's (sphere of) power, is a gift to his people. Only God is *šaddîq*. As his promises correspond to their fulfilment, his *š^edāqâ* can be proved in a trial. "Its central thrust is to describe a judicial and soteriological process of judging, acquitting and saving. When applied to the initiator of such action it assumes the concepts of merciful, compassionate, benevolent and good"²⁸. In Deutero-Isaiah the salvific aspect of the term is dominant. Yahwe's *š^edāqâ* is equivalent to and consists of his saving will, -means and -deed(s)²⁹ and the state of salvation which thereby arises. It may denote 'divine rule', 'divine influence' or 'conditions acceptable to the divine will'. The emphasis lies on the many aspects of Yahwe's power and on his being God. One of the most important effects of his influence was the peace, harmony and well-being of the community. *šaddîq* and *š^edāqâ* "describe God's intervention on behalf of his people and his people's sharing in the fruit of this intervention"³⁰. In this unit, it denotes the force which gathers the nations. *šdq* is embedded in statements of creation,³¹ which indicates that Yahwe's salvation is the consequence of his order of creation.³²

Yahwe's acts of salvation are mediated by his *word*. The word is true as it does what it promises. By his word, the creator both announces and shapes history. Thus word and event do not appear as two independent phenomena, but as a unit.³³ The word is a power that works in history.³⁴

114; Bonnard, 178; Westermann, 174f.. But cf. 46, 3: "rests of the house of Israel". Israel and peoples have a common fate.

²⁶ B. Kedar-Kopfstein, *lāsôn*, ThWAT 4, 595–605, 601f.

²⁷ Cf. Preuß, *Deuterojesaja*, 83–87; K. Koch, *šaddîq*, THAT 1, 527–529; Anderson, *God*, IDB 2, 426b; Scullion; Reiterer, 40–55; H. H. Schmid; Hermisson, 67, 72; Whitley, *Šedeq*.

²⁸ J. P. Justesen, *On the meaning of SADAQ*, AUSS 2 (1964), 53–61, 60f..

²⁹ Cf. 45, 8.13; 46, 13; 51, 5f.8.

³⁰ Scullion, 338.

³¹ Cf. 45, 13.19.21.23.24.25.

³² "Das (Heils-)Wort Jahwes entspricht (und entspringt) der Schöpfungsordnung, dem grundlegenden *šdq*. Sein Heil und seine Rettung ist letztlich Konsequenz seiner Schöpfung, sie gehören beide zu seinem *šdq*." (H. H. Schmid, 132).

³³ W. H. Schmidt, *dbr*, TDOT 3, 94–125; G. Gerlemann, *dbr*, THAT 1, 433–443.

³⁴ It can 'go out' (Gen 24, 50; Is 2, 3) and 'return' (Is 55, 11).

Therefore it can serve as the decisive argument in the prediction proof.³⁵ The other gods cannot compete with its power. As a consequence all people will finally acknowledge Yahwe's salvific strength.

'ōz describes both Yahwe's overwhelming-majestic power and his protecting help, especially the deeds with which he protects Israel.³⁶ Often it implies the defeat of opponents. In this context, however, it is not the power that destroys the enemies, but the force that gathers the people around Yahwe. Here, 'ōz stands for Yahwe's present work in creation and history.

z^era' "expresses an organic cohesion within history under the same God, under his judgment and salvation, the unfolding into the future of the gifts given and promised to the fathers by Yahwe, and the assurance of standing in this heritage and being able to apply it to oneself"³⁷. Here it is used as a term for the exilic community as the heir of Abraham and the promise made to him. Westermann assumes that the term includes all those, who belong to Yahwe, even former opponents who can now participate in the salvation.³⁸ Yet, *z^era'* is normally not used for proselytes.³⁹

In contrast, the term 'afsê - 'æræš does not mean the Israelites who are dispersed over the world,⁴⁰ but denotes the totality of the peoples, humanity.⁴¹

"To kneel means to bow low in humble obeisance and subservience"⁴². The proskynesis together with the confession of faith in Yahwe seem to imply the abandonment of the worship of other gods.⁴³

The basic meaning of šb'⁴⁴ is 'to bind oneself for the future'. Often the verb refers to a solemn promise, an obligation to do something in any case. 75× it is said of Yahwe that he 'engaged himself on oath'. He does not demand any promises from humans. He only swears by himself.⁴⁵ He is the only guarantor of his promises, for only he can dispose of himself. Yahwe announces his acts in advance so that his announcement binds him irrevocably.

³⁵ Cf. excursus 2.

³⁶ Cf. A. S. van der Woude, 'ōz, THAT 2, 252-256. Cf. Jud 5, 11; Mi 6, 6; Ps 89, 11.

³⁷ H. D. Preuß, *z^era'*, TDOT 4, 143-162, 162. Cf. 41, 8; 43, 5; 44, 3; 45, 19; 51, 2; 54, 3.

³⁸ Westermann, 176.

³⁹ Cf. 41, 8; 43, 5; 44, 3; 45, 19; 48, 19; 54, 3. Cf. Reiterer, 54. Contrast Leene (*Dingen*, 198) who holds that the term covers all those who see history in the light of Israel's tradition, i.e. also non-Israelites.

⁴⁰ So Snaith, *Isaiah*, 185.

⁴¹ With Hermisson, 74.

⁴² Snaith, *Isaiah*, 186.

⁴³ Blenkinsopp (*Isaiah*) suggests that these elements draw on the beginnings of proselytism in the Babylonian diaspora.

⁴⁴ Cf. C. A. Keller, šb', THAT 2, 855-863.

⁴⁵ Gen 22, 16; Ex 32, 13; Jer, 22, 5; 49, 13.

4.5. Form Criticism

4.5.1. The Fragment (45, 18f.): Structure of the Form and Genre

18a:	extended messenger formula
18b-19:	'Selbsterweis' in self-predications

V. 18 states that Yahwe intended the earth to be a meaningful creation, not a 'chaos'. V. 19 emphasizes Israel's unique key position in the creation as an agent to mediate Yahwe's 'truth' (cf. 45, 14). Yahwe's plan, his will to deliver, is straight and certain (*šdq, mēšārîm*). Deutero-Isaiah affirms that the event of deliverance has been publicly announced and rejects the view that a salutary interpretation of contemporary history be impossible. The deliverance is a consequence of Yahwe's unique position.

Vv. 18f. are often regarded as a disputation (cf. the *l'ô*-sentences). Yet, the argumentative elements are interwoven into a strong hymnic style with its characteristic participles. Another distinctive feature of these two verses is their vocabulary of the earth creation, with which they are overloaded. The statements about creation underline Yahwe's claim to be the only God and lay at least the logical foundation for what follows in AB.⁴⁶

Merendino's suggestion to characterize the verses as 'Selbsterweiswort'⁴⁷ is suitable. This denotation implies the relation to the following verses, as Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' is often part of the genre 'trial speech'. Also the messenger formula, the emphatic negations and the divine self-predications are associated with the trial speeches. Thematically, the fragment shares the the idea of Yahwe's uniqueness and the universalistic view that he is a God not limited to Israel, but also for the nations with unit AB.

4.5.2. Unit A (45, 20-21): Structure of the Form and Genre

20a, 21a:	<i>summons</i> : challenge to appear in court and to bring forth proofs
20b:	reproachful introduction of the opponents
21b α . β :	<i>trial</i> : 'Weissagungsbeweis'
22b γ - δ :	<i>decision</i> in Yahwe-self-praise

After the summons to a trial (v. 20), the 'Weissagungsbeweis' is evoked, in which the familiar contention is developed that the one who can foresee the course of history is indeed the lord of history. V. 21 pronounces the decision: Yahwe is God alone. Thus, the passage is a small trial speech with all three elements. Again it discusses a God's power to dispose of

⁴⁶ Cf. excursus 4.

⁴⁷ Merendino, 453.

history. In comparison to the previous trial speeches, the nothingness of the gods is no longer stated explicitly. The (negative) result of the trial is implied in the positive self-praise of Yahwe. This result asks for continuation in unit B.

4.5.3. Unit B (45, 22–25): Structure of the Form and Genre

22a:	exhortation to turn to Yahwe (consequence of A?)
b:	proof (<i>kî</i>) by self-predication
23:	promise of trustworthiness and of the fact that everyone will recognize Yahwe
24–25:	confession of the nations, statement of recognition

This section can be characterized as an ‘invitation’, which is addressed to the ‘ends of the earth’, i.e. the whole world. Yahwe’s promise (v. 23) is framed by statements about the power of the divine word. The aim of the universal ‘Heilsruf’⁴⁸ is the praise of Yahwe (v. 25).

4.5.4. Unit AB (45, 20–25)⁴⁹

In the preceding trial speeches only one issue was primary, to show the claims of the other gods to be groundless. In this compound unit, the combination of trial speech (A) and invitation/admonition (B) is a new feature. Nevertheless there is a thematic continuity between the units. Yahwe’s uniqueness, proved by the ‘Weissagungsbeweis’ (A) and evinced in historical acts (B) lays the foundation for the trust and faith in him. The fact that Yahwe fulfills what he promises leads to the worldwide acknowledgment of his saving power. We can thus recognize three movements in the trial: Yahwe denies the claims of the other gods to divinity and invites the survivors of the nations to turn to him. Finally, the rest of the nations confess their faith in him as a sovereign. They do not want to return to their idols.

4.6. Criticism of Motifs and Tradition

EXCURSUS 4: Creation and History

Our observations on 45, 18f. rise the question how the relation between Deutero-Isaiah’s idea of ‘Yahwe as Creator’ and his statements about ‘Yahwe as the Lord of history’ have to be judged.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Kim, 79.

⁴⁹ The roots *yš’* (v. 20bδ; 22aβ; 24a) and *šdq* indicates that A and B are meant to be read as one passage.

⁵⁰ Cf. Von Rad, *Problem*; B. D. Napier, *On Creation Faith in the OT*, Int 16 (1962), 21–42; Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, [Lit.]; id., *Yahwe*; Chary; Habel; Harner; Rendtorff, *Stellung*; Ludwig, *Traditions*; Odendaal, *Expectations*, 136–142; Kirchschräger; Hessler,

G. von RAD answered the question about the relation of creation faith and salvation faith in Deutero-Isaiah as follows: "at no point in the whole of Second Isaiah does the doctrine of creation appear in its own right: it never forms the main theme of the pronouncement, nor provides the motive of the prophetic utterance. It is there, but as applied by the prophet in the course of his argument it performs only an ancillary function"⁵¹.

In direct opposition to this view, HARNER tried to prove that the creation faith is linked with important themes of the prophet's proclamation (deliverance from exile, God's sovereignty and uniqueness and esp. the exodus⁵²) and therefore has to be regarded as an integral part of his message with a certain independence of its own.⁵³

Following von Rad's 'soteriological understanding' of creation faith, RENDTORFF pointed out that the statements about creation, originally rooted in the hymnic tradition, have undergone an important modification in Deutero-Isaiah. The 'hymnic' view of Yahwe's creative acts as a great deed of the past has been replaced by the immediate relation between creation and Yahwe's present acts.⁵⁴ Hence, creation faith and salvation faith support each other, or better both are different aspects of the same reality. This is to be seen from the fact that the prophet uses vocabulary of creation⁵⁵ and historical acts promiscuously. Both, creation and history meet in Yahwe's word, the creative power that works saving acts in history. I agree with ANDERSON, ZIMMERLI and KOCH that the prophet never thinks of creation out of relation to history.⁵⁶ "Es ist das eine Handeln Jahwes, in dem die äußersten Gegensätze der Natur und Geschichte zusammengefaßt sind"⁵⁷.

HABEL and LUDWIG pointed to two important traditions of creation which provide the basis for Deutero-Isaiah's proclamation of Israel's deliverance and mission. The tradition of 'Yahwe as the Maker of the Earth' is governed "by a polemical reformulation of the role of Yahwe as the creator"⁵⁸. In contrast, the formulae of the 'Establishing of the Earth' are cultic expressions, "associated with traditions which have to do with the

Gott; Haag, *Gott*; Albertz; Begrich, *Studien*, 115, 120ff.; Baltzer, *Deuterojesaja*, 100ff.; Mauch; Kraus, *Schöpfung*, 160-168.

⁵¹ Von Rad, *Problem*, 134. Similarly North (*Second Isaiah*, 13): "the Hebrews first knew Yahwe as their deliverer from Egypt and the doctrine of creation was something in the nature of an afterthought". Cf. also Preuß, *Deuterojesaja*, 58. Stuhlmüller (*Creation*) shrinks the importance of the creation tradition in Deutero-Isaiah even more by his distinction between 'first creation' and 'the fruitful creation of lordship'. The first creation, he says, does hardly play a role in Deutero-Isaiah.

⁵² For him creation faith in Deutero-Isaiah serves as a fulcrum in balancing the exodus tradition with the expectation of imminent restoration. For his position cf. I.B.2.3.. Cf. R. W. Klein (115): "Second Isaiah gave the events of Israel's salvation history a new dimension by describing them as creative acts".

⁵³ Cf. *ibid.*, 305. Ludwig (*Traditions*, 357) comes to a similar conclusion from a different argumentation.

⁵⁴ Rendtorff, *Stellung*, 9.

⁵⁵ Cf. C.1.4.. For the terminology cf. Ludwig (*Traditions*) and Stuhlmüller (*Redemption*, 209-229, cf. 138). Cf. 41, 4a; 43, 13b; 43, 19-21; 46, 10f.; 48, 3b.7a.

⁵⁶ "Frequently, Deutero-Isaiah "appeals to Yahwe's creation to support faith in his power to redeem his people and to accomplish his world-embracing purpose. ... In some places he links creation and redemption so closely together that one is involved in the other. ... [Yahwe's] redemptive acts are acts of creation; and his creative acts are acts of history" (Anderson, 184f.). Cf. Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 135. "Jahwes Wort' ist Schöpfungswort und konkretes Geschichtswort zugleich" (Zimmerli, *Deuterojesaja*, 117).

⁵⁷ Rendtorff, *Stellung*, 11.

⁵⁸ Habel, 337.

overcoming of chaos and the ordering of the cosmos"⁵⁹. Deutero-Isaiah capitalized on this original context. Yahwe's victory over the cosmic forces and his ordering of the world could provide a theological basis for the doubts during the exile that Yahwe fulfills his purpose for the world in history. They were means to explain the role of Israel and the victories of Cyrus as Yahwe's agents to reestablish order in the current chaos of the world. By the actualization of the traditions, Deutero-Isaiah's statements take on an 'existential' character. They are interested in the present of the exiles and in Yahwe's creative power in present and future. The creator of the earth is also its lord. Yahwe is with his people at any time and therefore able to initiate new creative acts by his interference in history. The use of participles supports this "présence créatrice permanente de Dieu"⁶⁰. In the disputations the statements about creation are linked with Yahwe's uniqueness. Here they have a polemic function: *Yahwe*, not Marduk, is the creator. The fact that he is the creator of the whole world implies that Israel can feel secure even in the exile.

4.7. Interpretation

The Text: The fragment shows "an important humanistic emphasis"⁶¹. It rejects the claim that God did create the earth as a chaos (v. 18) and points out instead that he made it a good work.⁶² It succeeded so that everyone can live in it. This statement provides the context for the declaration of Yahwe's uniqueness (v. 18b).⁶³ For Deutero-Isaiah the two ideas that Yahwe is the only God and that he is the creator "are simultaneous affirmations, each one implying the other"⁶⁴. "The proof presented by creation converges on a proof offered by history, which permits human beings living here and now to see what happens to them as having a meaning"⁶⁵. In v. 19a the statement that God did not speak in secret renders prominent the 'public character' of his word. His revelation is given to everyone and is not only accessible by experts in the techniques of divination.⁶⁶ Yahwe's word gives evidence that he is trustworthy, as it fulfills what it says. In this context, 'to seek Yahwe' means therefore 'to try to recognize God at work in contemporary events'. *bqš* has the sense of 'seeking after revelation', 'knowing God in his deed', i.e. it is not to be interpreted institutionally. "Fundamentally, this passage has reference to God's being revealed through his acts in creation

⁵⁹ Ludwig, *Traditions*, 356.

⁶⁰ Chary, 11b.

⁶¹ Ludwig, *Traditions*, 356. Here the prophet joins a tradition: Jer 10, 12; 27, 8; Prov 8, 26; Is 45, 12.

⁶² Maybe this is a concrete answer to the reproach that the chaotic work of Cyrus cannot possibly agree with Yahwe's orderly plan of creation. Cf. the preceding context. The fact that Cyrus's coming had been predicted long ago and therefore was part of Yahwe's plan refutes the chaotic aspect of his approach. Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 196f..

⁶³ Cf. 40, 25; 48, 12f..

⁶⁴ Harner, *Creation*, 302.

⁶⁵ Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 135.

⁶⁶ *biqeš* can indicate the oracular questioning. Cf. Ex 32, 7; 2 Sam 21; 1 Kg 10, 24; Hos 5, 15; Ps 24, 6; 27, 8.

and history (cf. v. 18).⁶⁷ In his word, creation and history are strangely intertwined. God's word is a creative power that shapes history. The participles (v. 18a) make it clear that Deutero-Isaiah does not think of creation as an event long ago, but as what is happening now in the exilic community.⁶⁸ They want to attest Israel's presence in the hand of her God and strengthen her faith in him, the present creator and ruler of history.⁶⁹ On the whole, the fragment prepares in nuce the following verses in that it joins the two themes which appear in detail in unit AB: uniqueness of Yahwe and the unity of mankind under Yahwe's sovereignty.⁷⁰

In AB Deutero-Isaiah "disputes the notion that Yahwe's purpose was limited to the people of Israel"⁷¹. He invites all peoples to share in his salvation. His word will affect the universal history. That is why it can serve once again as the evidence that Yahwe is God (v. 21b). After the chaos worked through Cyrus, Yahwe's oath, a new reliable word, goes forth to mankind that will establish a new political order, in which the nations, former opponents of the God of Israel, will turn to Yahwe. Now the nations are in a similar situation to that of the exiles. "Historical experience had now demonstrated to them the inadequacy of their gods to provide political continuity"⁷². Some will welcome the dramatic turn. Others will be shaken by it. Nevertheless all will acknowledge it. Interestingly, Deutero-Isaiah pictures the individual aspect of the recognition of Yahwe's power (v. 23b). Proskynesis and confession indicate a radically new orientation in the life of the individual. While 45, 21b-24 amount to salvation for the peoples, v. 25 refers to Israel alone. The universal tendency of the whole text carries nationalistic overtones.⁷³ It is true that the work of the only God cannot be limited to Israel. Its aim is the submission of the whole world. The new order will consist of both Jewish and Gentile nations. But Israel seems to play a significant role in Yahwe's plan.

Hausmann⁷⁴ compares the passage with Zech 14, 16, where the heathen are invited to join in the worship and thus to participate in the communion with God. In opposition, 45, 18-25 does not speak of any relationship between Yahwe and the nations. Rather, like the other trial speeches the text is primarily concerned with Yahwe being the only God, so that his

⁶⁷ S. Wagner, *bqš*, TDOT 2, 229-241, 238.

⁶⁸ "Creation takes place in order to provide the conditions which make history possible. A protological interest, which treats creation as a singular divine disposition, carried out thousands of years previously, is remote from Deutero-Isaiah's thinking" (Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 135).

⁶⁹ The creator is also the lord of history: cf. 45, 12; 43, 8-13; 44, 6-8; 45, 14-17; 46.

⁷⁰ Cf. McKenzie, 82.

⁷¹ Ludwig, *Traditions*, 356.

⁷² Lind, 436.

⁷³ Cf. Moye, 114. In contrast Reiterer (54) assumes that the mentioning of Israel is casual and due to an old formula which is influenced by the Psalms. Cf. Ps 64, 11.

⁷⁴ Hausmann, *Israel's Rest*, 76.

power can serve as a reliable basis for Israel's trust in him.

The Expressions of Time: How can we understand v. 21? In contrast to the preceding passages, the prophet argues without the *ri'sšonôth*. Instead he uses adverbs of time. As we saw in excursus 3, these adverbs do not merely express a relative anteriority, but refer to a more or less distant past. In fact, the two expressions do not differ significantly from the meaning of *mē-rō's* and *mill^efanîm* in 41, 26. On the basis of the parallel *qædæm*, which implies antiquity,⁷⁵ it is very likely that *mē'āz* in this case too indicates a more remote point in the past. Therefore the promises must be quite old. This excludes all attempts to search for actual predictions by Deutero-Isaiah himself or other predictions that have been preserved in books of the Bible. It has to be pointed out that the texts, which come into question (Is 13, 14, 21; Jer 50f., etc.⁷⁶), are considered to be exilic by recent scholarship.⁷⁷ In contrast, Hermisson suggests that the prophet understood his message as part of the entire (preceding) prophecy as the (whole) word of Yahwe.⁷⁸ In my opinion, Israel understood her earlier history as having a character of a promise. This implies that earlier events were pregnant with future and waited for further fulfilments.⁷⁹

zō'th: The fact that the adverbs in v. 21 refer to the past has important consequences for the interpretation of the demonstrative pronoun, for if *zō'th* was announced *miqqædæm*, it cannot be part of the *h^adāšôth*, which only start in the present (*mē'at^ht^hâ*: 48, 6f.).⁸⁰ In 43, 8–13 we assumed that the *zō'th* has to be understood as a specific aspect and an important part of the *ri'sšonôth*. This thesis can now be affirmed by 45, 18–25. As in 43, 9 *zō'th* is used as a grammalogue, which needs a reference point that is missing within the text. Obviously, further information was superfluous. The listeners could understand the allusion.⁸¹ For a more specific interpretation of the demonstrative pronoun, we have to consider that the participles in v. 18 prove that Deutero-Isaiah understands by Yahwe's creation contemporary salvific events. He looks to what is happening at the present moment. On the other hand the *zō'th* is presented as already completed. As the contemporary part of the *former things*, *zō'th* represents thus their *'ah^arîth*. As our passage has a close relationship to its context,⁸² the literary composi-

⁷⁵ Cf. Mic 6, 2; Hab 1, 12; Pss 74, 12; 77, 11f.; 88, 2; 143, 5. Cf. North, *Second Isaiah*, 160; Feldmann, *Das Frühere*, 160. Contrast Elliger; cf. I.B.2.2.4..

⁷⁶ Cf. I.A.2.3.2./3..

⁷⁷ Cf. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK 10/2, Neukirchen 1978, 509–511, 542f., 770f.; H. Ringgren, *bābæł*, TDOT 1, 466–469, 468f..

⁷⁸ Hermisson, 71. Cf. von Rad, *Theologie 2*, 97, 252.

⁷⁹ Cf. Leene (*Dingen*, 198) and Westermann (87–90).

⁸⁰ In this way the contradictions Feldmann (*Das Frühere*, 169) rightly recognizes can be solved. His difficulties are due to the fact that he subsumes the pronoun among the *new things*.

⁸¹ Hermisson (61) assumes that a redactor might have shortened the text deliberately.

⁸² Cf. 4.3..

tion can be hint for a further interpretation.⁸³ The preceding Cyrus oracles (45, 11–13.14f.), in which the liberation of the exiles is explicitly mentioned, and the following ch. 46, which is concerned with the escape of the defeated Babylonians, clearly point to the approach of Cyrus. It seems therefore to be quite clear that *zō'th* must point to a specific event in connection with the march of the Persian.⁸⁴ Can we specify this event? As we saw above,⁸⁵ the root *plḥ* in v. 20a presupposes a battle, probably the fall of Babylon. Hence, the text presupposes the end of Cyrus's march and the capture of the city. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the prophet speaks from a perspective after the event. To Deutero-Isaiah it was so self-evident that the city would fall that he could anticipate this event⁸⁶, but also his listeners must have been in a position to check whether their liberation through Cyrus tallies with Yahwe's former promises. In this case the emphasis lies more on the experience the 'survivors of the nation' make in the critical situation shortly before the conquest, which forces them into a decision. The fall of Babylon brings Israel's liberation. In his argumentation with *zō'th* Deutero-Isaiah regards this liberation as already complete. *zō'th* is part of the *former*.⁸⁷ At the same time Yahwe reveals in this event his fundamental character. He is the saviour, also for those among the nations, who survived the fall. They are to recognize him as the only saviour. The general validity of the proof opens up a universal horizon. Now the people are invited to turn to Yahwe. The argumentation with the *former* that finds its *'ah^ariḥ* in Cyrus is the presupposition for the universal knowledge of God.

(The *new*): At the end of the last trial speech, now after Cyrus's politics of power, it becomes clear that Yahwe wants to start a new politics through his word. "The oath of Yahwe will go forth as a new word after Cyrus has worked his havoc upon the nations, a word which would also be effective. ... Though Cyrus was Yahwe's anointed, his military might was not to be the basis for the politics of the new world community"⁸⁸. Although the proof of prediction the is accessible to everybody who accepts it, the passage closes with nationalistic overtones. The nations will come to Yahwe through Israel. In my opinion this is an allusion to the *new*,⁸⁹ which will evoke the glory of Yahwe.

⁸³ Cf. Merendino, 446; Schoors, *God*, 235; North, *Second Isaiah*, 160.

⁸⁴ Contrast Giesebrecht, 125.

⁸⁵ Cf. 4.4.1..

⁸⁶ "[Der Text] setzt den erfolgreichen Abschluß des Siegeszugs des Kyros und den Fall Babylons voraus, obwohl das in der Gegenwart des Propheten noch bevorsteht; solche Antizipationen sind in der Prophetie ganz geläufig" (Hermisson, 60).

⁸⁷ Cf. "*zō'th* no longer envisages the future, but what has already taken place: Cyrus's victory over Babylon" (Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 194).

⁸⁸ Lind, 46.

⁸⁹ Cf. C. Contrast Leene, *Dingen*, 199.

5. SUMMARY OF A. ($\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{hr} - \sqrt{bw'/t'h}$)

The Texts:

The trial speeches are embedded into the prophecy in such a way that they have an even more powerful effect, as they are arranged in an ascending order. 41, 1-5, a passage we have not looked at in detail, announces the rise of Cyrus. The second speech 41, 21-29 leaves the gods a possible chance. Although they could not do it in the past, they can still prove their divinity, if they predict that something is going to happen. But it is already obvious that this is no real alternative. 43, 8-13 addresses the listeners of the speech directly and calls upon witnesses. The people are to realize that Yahwe is the sole God. In 44, 6-8 the uniqueness of Yahwe, which was already mentioned in the third speech, has become established. The last speech 45, 20-25 calls for a return to this God not only Israel, but the whole world, 'the ends of the earth'. With the pronouncement of the 'bowing of all knees' this speech ends the trial.

The Expressions of Time:

$\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{bw'/t'h}$: It is striking that within the trial speeches only the *former things* ($ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$) and the *coming things* ($b\bar{a}'\hat{o}t^h$, $'\bar{o}t^h iyy\hat{o}t^h$) are juxtaposed (41, 22f.). This opposition serves the fixed function within the proof of prediction. Deutero-Isaiah's argument itself is drawn from a high level of abstraction and a conceptional understanding of time. The thesis is that Yahwe has been the only one who has been at work in history, promising and fulfilling, proves his claim to be the only God.

$\sqrt{r's}$: The promise was given $m\bar{e}r\bar{o}'s$, $mill^e f\bar{a}n\hat{i}m$, $m\bar{e}'\hat{o}l\bar{a}m$, $m\bar{e}'\bar{a}z$ and $miqq\bar{a}d\bar{a}em$ respectively. Although they do not point to an exact point of beginning, these adverbs refer to a more or less distant past. It is therefore unlikely to think of predictions in the book of Deutero-Isaiah, other exilic texts or former prophecy in general as *the* word of Yahwe. Rather they are events of Israel's history, which in itself had a promising character. This interpretation overcomes the dispute whether the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ are predictions or events. They are events pregnant with a future promise. The proper proof is established by the connection between $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ and $'a\hat{h}^a r\hat{i}t^h$.

$\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{hr}$: The $'a\hat{h}^a r\hat{i}t^h$ is the result of the *former* in the present, i.e. the event-part of the proof (41, 22). The reliability of the proof of prediction can be established by the convergence of the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ with this outcome ($'a\hat{h}^a r\hat{i}t^h$). The outcome can be perceived and the connection between the former tradition and the present experience can thus be checked by the listeners, who are to affirm or deny the proof. Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' holds water, as he refers to the contemporary events in connection with the Persian Cyrus, in whom the promise of the past has reached its fulfilment. Deutero-Isaiah holds that the promise of Israel's history of salvation is fulfilled in the coming of Cyrus. Israel has to attest that Yahwe can explain

the present as a result of the past. The capture of Babylon seems to be anticipated by the prophet as belonging to the *former*.

$z\bar{o}'t^h$: The demonstrative pronoun (43, 9; 45, 20) is a grammalogue for this event, which is obvious to the listeners. It functions as a compressed expression which alludes to the coming of Cyrus and its climax, the fall of Babylon, which is foreseen by the prophet proleptically (45, 20). $z\bar{o}'t^h$ designates thus what is elsewhere called $'ah^a r\hat{t}^h$.

$ri's\bar{o}n - 'ah^a r\hat{o}n$: This self-predication has to be understood by this background. God is he, who brings his promises to a close. Yahwe's former promises tally with their present fulfilment. The predication does therefore not primarily express Yahwe's ruling power in an absolute sense as the one who governs history from the very beginning up to the very end ('the first and the last').

$\sqrt{bw'/'t^h}h$: However, the reliable connection $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h - 'ah^a r\hat{t}^h$ is the basis for Yahwe's future reliability. As much it was true in the past that Yahwe fulfilled what he promised, as certain it will be in the future. $habb\bar{a}'\hat{o}t^h$, $'\bar{o}t^h iyy\hat{o}t^h$ and ${}^u\bar{s}\bar{a}r t^h \bar{a}b' \bar{o}n\hat{a}$ are synonyms for the time to come. The same idea can also be expressed by the adverbial phrases ${}^E' \bar{a}h\hat{o}r$ (41, 23), $miyy\hat{o}m$ (43, 13). We do thus not have to exclude all eschatological overtones.

In fact there are two other passages, where the prophet uses a similar argument as in the trial speeches, however, addressed to Israel. These texts reveal more about the relation $\sqrt{r'\bar{s}} - \sqrt{r'hr}$. We will have to see, whether our previous findings agree with the results of the analysis of 46, 9-11 and 48, 12-16 in the following chapter.

B. YAHWE'S 'SELBSTERWEIS' (addressed to Israel)

1. Analysis of Is 46, 9-11

1.1. Translation

- 9 αα Remember the former things (ri'sōmōt^h) of old (mē'ōlām),
βα yes, I [am] God
β and [there is] no other.
γ I [am] God
δ and [there is] none like me.
- 10 αα [I] declare the end [= the result of the matter] ('ah'rit^h)
from the beginning (mērē'sit^h)
β and from antiquity (miqqædæm) what is not [yet] done
(lō'-na'šû)
βα [I] speak:
β "My counsel shall come about
γ and all my desire — I^a (will) do [it]."
- 11 αα [I] call from the east a bird of prey
β from a far country a man of my^b counsel [= one who carries out
my plans]¹.
βα Yes, I have spoken,
β Yes, I bring [it] to pass ('abi'ænnâ).
γ I have shaped.
δ Yes, I do [it].

1.2. Textcriticism

a. Q^a reads 3. pers. sg. (y'sh) and thus refers the verse even more explicitly to Cyrus.

b. I read suffix 1. sg. (^ašāt^hi) with LXX (βεβουλευμαι), V (voluntatis meae) and Qere against Q^a and Ketib ('št^hô). With Westermann, North a.o..

1.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and End of the Unit. To delimit the passage is problematic, as the verses are linked with their immediate context. *zīkrû* takes up the same impt. in v. 8. Again, this might be a (secondary?) attempt at joining the verses by a catchword connection.² Thematically v. 5 joins the theme of uniqueness with v. 9, but at the same time it introduces vv. 6ff., which join

¹ KBL 726b.

² Schoors (*God*, 277) points out that the importance of this repetition should not be overstressed. BHS suggests even to delete v. 8a as dtgr. and to combine v. 9a with 8b instead.

a group of texts about the manufacture of images³. This theme is rather unrelated to 46, 9ff.. V. 8 can be understood as a summary of vv. 5ff.. Hence, the demonstrative pronoun *zō'th* in v. 8a refers to what has been said before⁴ and does not function as a contrast with the *ri'sōnôth*.

In 46, 9 Yahwe's 'Selbsterweis' sets off a new argument. Also Schoors who treats vv. 5–11 as one text has to admit that vv. 5–8 "could constitute a small unit"⁵. The 'Selbsterweis' reaches its climax in v. 11. The delimitation of the end of the unit is easier. The imperative in v. 12 introduces a proclamation of salvation. But again, in spite of the difference of the genre, vv. 12f. form a logical conclusion from the preceding proof.

Integrity of the Passage: Again, the whole section is a Yahwe-speech. Vv. 10–12 are closely linked by a chain of participles. We can treat all verses as one unit, as they represent a conclusive argument without tensions.

1.4. Linguistic Observations

Syntax and Style: Simple, accumulative short sentences evoke an incisive and brief style. Nominal clauses and verbal clauses are balanced. Three times participles open a sentence. This typical Deutero-Isaianic participial style brings out the present aspect of Yahwe's speech and acts. Verbs of action ('*sh* has a leading function) and speech are intervowen, which suggests the interrelationship of Yahwe's acts and his word. Abstract inanimate nouns create a nominal style. Also the threefold repetition 'af verb in the 1. pers. sg. in a parallel structure focuses on Yahwe's activity and assures the people that he is in control of the events. Vv. 10f. are clearly dominated by the polarity between promise and fulfilment. Both vv. 10aa and 11b stress in strict synonym parallelisms that Yahwe's plan of the past will now reach its outcome. In v. 11b this connection is underlined by the use of perfect tenses for the announcement and imperfects for its execution. The verses which are surrounded by this context concentrate on one of the two aspects at a time. While v. 10b speaks of Yahwe's plan, v. 11a pictures the one who executes it. We deal with a kind of chiasmic structure.

Semantics: *zkr* designates "den erinnernden Rückgriff auf die Vergangenheit, um diese im gegenwärtigen Handeln bestimmend werden zu lassen"⁶. The listeners are to think of the past with the topical meaning of this past for the present in view.⁷ They are to compare their past tradition with their present experience.

³ 40, 19f.; 44, 9–20.

⁴ Contrast H. Eisig, *zkr*, TDOT 4, 64–82, 69. With Schoors, *God*, 277. Cf. Leene, *Isaiah*.

⁵ Schoors, *God*, 274; cf. 277.

⁶ Schottroff, 136.

⁷ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 176. Cf. id., *Isaiah*.

In the secular use, *ḥēfæṣ*⁸ denotes the favour, friendship or affection on the part of a person with a higher social rank to a subordinate. It is thus natural that in theological language the expression is used with God as subject and never as object. In comparison with verbs of the same word-field the emphasis lies more on the element of will and less on the emotional side. In Deutero-Isaiah 'Yahwe's will' carries salvific overtones, as it refers to his soteriological acts.⁹ In 44, 28; 46, 10 and 48, 14 it appears in parallel to *'ēṣâ(h)*, which can have similar implications.¹⁰ *'ēṣâ(h)* designates the "Geschichtshandeln Gottes"¹¹. History is the work of Yahwe, who acts towards an aim which is part of his plan. In all these verses the reference is to Cyrus who fulfills Yahwe's will in history. The Persian is the 'man of Yahwe's counsel', God's tool to execute his decision.

Therefore *'ayit*, which stands for the "figure of a warrior that rushes on in haste"¹², has to be understood in the singular.¹³ It is a clear allusion to Cyrus. According to Xenophon, Cyrus's ensign was "a golden eagle with outspread wings mounted upon a long shaft"¹⁴.

1.5. Form Criticism

1.5.1. Structure of the Form

9a:	admonition / exhortation
b:	reason in self-predications (nominal clauses)
10-11a:	(<i>trial</i>): 'Selbsterweis'
11b:	(<i>decision</i>): concise summary of the 'Selbsterweis' as affirmation

1.5.2. Genre and Sitz im Leben

We find the same argument as in the trial speeches. Also the themes of Yahwe's uniqueness and his incomparability match with the passages

⁸ Cf. G. Gerlemann, *ḥfṣ*, THAT 1, 623-626; G. J. Botterweck, *ḥfṣ*, TDOT 5, 92-107; Elliger, 286; Jensen.

⁹ Cf. 42,1; 49, 1; 44, 26.28; 48, 10; 53, 10 partially with allusions to the liberation of Israel and the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple.

¹⁰ Cf. Jes 28, 29; 40, 13. Cf. Albrektson, 68-74; Jensen, 450.

¹¹ Elliger, *Begriff*, 34.

¹² FL 1040a. Cf. GL 622a; BDB 743b.

¹³ Contrast KBL.

¹⁴ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VII, i 4: "ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ [Κυρῷ] τὸ σημεῖον αἶτος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δορατοῦ μακροανατεταμένος. καὶ νῦν δ' ἐτι τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεὶ διαμένει". Cf. id., *Anabasis* I, x 12.

previously analysed.¹⁵ Yet, in this pericope the threefold pattern is not as clear and the opposite party is missing. Now the addressee is Israel. A number of scholars regard the unit as a disputation,¹⁶ but here no objections seem to be refused which question Yahwe's relationship with Israel.

As we saw in the trial speeches, the function of the connection *ri'sō-nôṭ^h - 'ah^ariṭ^h*, the convergence of past and present, is to establish Yahwe's reliability and his uniqueness. This is also the primary concern of the self-predications in this unit. Yahwe is the only God and therefore history unfolds according to his plan. In contrast to the idols (vv. 5–8), Yahwe is capable of interfering at present. As the 'Selbsterweis' plays a major role, we can call this unit a 'Selbsterweiswort' (cf. 45, 18f.) which is addressed to the Israelites who are to acknowledge Yahwe's claim. In an exhorting and consoling, encouraging tone Deutero-Isaiah addresses people who have lost confidence in the power of Yahwe.

1.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

EXCURSUS 5: Cyrus and 'Eschatology'?¹⁷

It is often claimed that Deutero-Isaiah's future expectations are genuinely 'eschatological'.¹⁸ The discussion of 'eschatology' in the Deutero-Isaiah is complicated by two factors. Firstly, it is difficult to talk about the phenomenon in one particular prophet, without drawing comparisons to other books of the OT.¹⁹ Secondly, the research has not come to an agreement on what is to be understood by 'eschatology'. Unfortunately, the term is used diversely.²⁰ In the narrower sense it means "the doctrine of the (dramatically conceived) end of history and of the course of the universe"²¹. After a cosmic-dualistic changeover, in which the old world will be destroyed, a new world and age arises. In my opinion this use of the term is not very helpful, as only few texts meet these criteria. Further, the dualism is more characteristic for apocalypticism. I prefer the wider definition. Here, 'eschatology' refers to a future turning point, Yahwe's future intervention, which leads to a radical change so that one can speak of "a new, entirely different, state

¹⁵ "Vv. 9–11 could be part of the trial speeches" (Westermann, 184).

¹⁶ Begrich, *Studien*, 42, 45; von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 36; Fohrer, 101; Schoors, *God*, 277; Westermann, *Sprache*, 153.

¹⁷ Nearly all contributions relevant for the discussion of OT-eschatology can be found in Preuß (ed.), *Eschatologie*. Cf. the critical remarks of Westermann (*Heilsworte*, 206) on this book. On eschatology in Deutero-Isaiah see Odendaal, *Expectations*, 116–120; Smend, 260f.; Schoors, *Eschatologie*; Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 162–167 [Lit.]; Richter, 114–116; Michel, *Deuterocesaja*, 519; Carroll; Lindblom, 94–104; Hermisson, *Probleme*.

¹⁸ Cf. Fohrer, North, Smart, Wright. In opposition, Whybray, Elliger, Herrmann and Leene are more cautious about this term.

¹⁹ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 10.

²⁰ Cf. Preuß, *Eschatologie*, 4–8.

²¹ Jenni, *Eschatology*, 126b. Cf. id., *Kyros*. In this sense, Schoors (*God*, 304): "In my opinion, it is of no use to call every expectation eschatological. If the prophet does not expect a new definite order, it is not an eschatological expectation, for eschatology must have something to do with *τα εσχατα*, otherwise it does not have any meaning at all".

of things”²². In this sense ‘eschatology’ is the experience and hope of future finality, which has a decisive modifying and determinating influence in the course of history.²³ The central idea is the coming of Yahwe. According to this definition, ‘eschatology’ is a major component of OT faith and of the expectations of Deutero-Isaiah.²⁴

On the other hand the prophet talks about the concrete and immediate political interference of Cyrus. How can we understand the relationship between both ideas? Do they not clash with one another?

We saw that TORREY and SMART come out against the ‘idealizing’ identification of present events with an ultimate “intervention of God in the history of his people and the world”²⁵. They simply delete the allusions to Cyrus as secondary interpolations. I pointed out that this radical textcritical solution of the problem cannot be satisfying.

In contrast, BEGRICH suggested a chronological solution.²⁶ In his opinion, the Cyrus expectation represents the meagre remnant of the disappointed eschatological hopes after 546.

Following ELLIGER²⁷, SCHMITT solves the problem by redactionary criticism. Exemplarily, he tries to prove that in Is 48 the Deutero-Isaianic ‘Grundschrift’ has undergone a redaction by a post-exilic school, which was interested in the relativation of the role of Cyrus and the events associated with him, as it faced the problem that the eschatological expectations connected with the Persian had not been fulfilled.²⁸

In opposition, JENNI integrates both expectations under the concept of the prophet’s “actualizing eschatology”²⁹. As Deutero-Isaiah experiences Yahwe’s eschatological acts as imminent, the historical victories of Cyrus form an organic part of his prophecy. The coming of Yahwe is not merely foretold, but described as being in the process of accomplishment. Cyrus fits well into this concept. He can be associated with Yahwe’s acts, as the agent of salvation Cyrus is the tool in his plan of world history.³⁰ The Cyrus

²² Jenni, *Eschatology*, 126b.

²³ Cf. Preuß, *Eschatologie*, 7.

²⁴ “The kingdom of God . . . is experienced as coming. The world is going to be changed: Israel is now called upon to listen, and people certain of the glory of the Zion, the mountain of God’s temple, where every knee shall bow and all kings shall pay true homage to Israel” (Th. C. Vriezen, *Prophecy and Eschatology*, VTS 1 (1953), 199–229, 227 (= Preuß, *Eschatologie*, 88–128)). Cf. Elliger (245): “[eschatologisch ist die Botschaft, die] das neue sieghafte Eingreifen Jahwes, das der Weltgeschichte die neue und für alle Zukunft entscheidende Wendung gibt, [ansagt]”.

²⁵ Smart, 39. Cf. I.A.2.3.2..

²⁶ Begrich, *Studien*, 68–73, 143f., 69: “Da ein Nebeneinander [beider Vorstellungen] ausgeschlossen ist, kommt nur ein Nacheinander in Betracht”.

²⁷ Elliger, *Verhältnis*.

²⁸ “Das Problem, das hierbei im Mittelpunkt steht, ist die Nichterfüllung der an Kyros gebundenen eschatologischen Naherwartung” (H. C. Schmitt, 60). In the book of Deutero-Isaiah we find “[ein] Ineinander von —an einer konkreten Situation orientierter— charismatischer Geschichtsdeutung und einer auf historische Kontinuität achtenden theologischen Verarbeitung” (ibid., 61). Cf. C.3.3.2..

²⁹ With Vriezen and J. Lindblom (*Gibt es eine Eschatologie bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten?*, StTh 6 (1952), 79–114 (= Preuß, *Eschatologie*, 31–72)), Jenni (*Stellung*) distinguishes four periods of OT eschatology:

1. pre-eschatological (before the classical prophets)
2. proto-eschatological (Isaiah and his contemporaries)
3. actual-eschatological (Deutero-Isaiah and his contemporaries)
4. transcendentalizing-eschatological (postexilic).

³⁰ Odendaal (*Expectations*, 120.) sees Cyrus primarily as “the instrument of judgement on the world of the nations and thus [as] a witness of Yahwe’s sole Godhead”. According

expectation may be regarded as "a valid historical embodiment of the saving presence of Yahwe"³¹.

With LEENE, I think that Cyrus has never been *the* eschatological event.³² Leene refers to the interesting material in 2 Kgs 19, 25 and Is 37, 26 to show Cyrus executes a plan, which has been enclosed in history.³³ By the crisis that comes into being through Cyrus, the former history of salvation becomes even clearer. In the appearance of the Persian and the fall of Babylon, something of the typologies Abraham and exodus, which have to be understood as *pars pro toto* for the whole history, shines through. The former tradition converges in Cyrus. This convergence is the proper proof for Yahwe's reliability. The "argument is that Cyrus is Yahwe's agent exercising violent power politics is not in discontinuity with his previous word-fulfillment argument based upon Israel's historical experience. It is rather the climatic point of that argument. The Cyrus poems point to the present demonstration of the word-event continuity of Israel's political history"³⁴. The Persian is not the *new*, but the *'ah^ari^h* of the *former things*.

1.7. Interpretation

The Text: As the context (self-praise, reference to Cyrus, 'Weissagungs-beweis') is identical with that of the preceding pericopes, we can assume that this unit serves the same purpose. Yahwe manifests himself by making his announcements come true (v. 10a). V. 11b α sums up this argument in the shortest form: "I have spoken — I (will) bring [it] to pass". The specific difference is that Israel is now addressed directly (v. 9a). The opening imperative ('remember') reminds the hearer of those statements in which Israel is called upon as witness within the trial speeches. She is admonished to remember the *ri'sōnōt^h*, in order to match them with the contemporary events. This comparison proves that Yahwe is incomparable. Once again for Israel the past becomes the proof of Yahwe's reliability. The people can experience the continuity between Yahwe's promise and its fulfilment in their present history and thus know of Yahwe's uniqueness (v. 9b) and trustworthiness. History unfolds according to Yahwe's plan. Yahwe is the one who acts within history to accomplish his purpose. Cyrus, 'the man of my counsel' (v. 11a), is an agent in Yahwe's plan of salvation, the proof for God's present activity. As such he is on one line with of God's past dealings with Israel and in fact their result. He is the tool with which Yahwe is shaping history now and the guarantor that Yahwe's power has not ceased (v. 11b). The intention is again to comfort those who could not believe that Yahwe was still in control of history and sceptically asked for new salvific acts in the present. Israel has to remember the past events and looking at the present situation she is to recognize that Yahwe is indeed the only powerful God. On this basis, the following word of salvation (vv. 12f.) fits

to Jenni, Cyrus's function is to be the "Kronzeuge für die geschichtslenkende Göttlichkeit Jahwes" (Jenni, *Stellung*, 252).

³¹ W. Zimmerli, *παις θεου*, TDNT 5, 656–673, 670 note 90.

³² Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 296, note 96.

³³ *Ibid.*, 185f..

³⁴ Lind, 436.

well into the succession of thought.

The Expressions of Time: Compared to the previous trial speeches, the passage does not add any new aspects to the interpretation of the expressions of time.

$\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{hr}$: All the emphasis of this unit is on the relation $ri'sōnōt^h$ – $'ah^a rî^h$, which functions —just as in the trial speeches— as a proof for Yahwe's incomparable divinity. This connection between the past tradition and the present experience testifies to Yahwe's dominion and control over history. The unit adds the idea that history unfolds according to Yahwe's plan. The climax of this plan is the present intervention through Cyrus. As in the trial speeches Cyrus and the fall of Babylon are not the *new*,³⁵ but the outcome and thus part of the earlier history. In contrast to the preceding texts analysed, the stress of these verses is now clearly on the event-part of the proof, the execution of the plan.

$'ah^a rî^h - lô'-na^a sū$: Again $'ah^a rî^h$ designates the present outcome of past history. In v. 10 the term is in synonym parallelism with $lô'-na^a sū$. This indicates that Cyrus's activity is sweepingly regarded as the result of the $ri'sōnōt^h$, although it has not reached its peak (cf. the imperfects in v. 11). Deutero-Isaiah anticipates the culmination, since it is clear to him that the Persian is part of Yahwe's plan of history, whose outcome is so certain that it can already be regarded as materialized. For as soon as Yahwe has planned something, he has already executed it. The mere plan is enough, the execution is only the final proof and affirmation for the listeners.

$\sqrt{r's}$: The likeness of the argumentation as in the trial speeches suggests that we have to assume similar connotations for the interpretation of the former. Again, the $ri'sōnōt^h$ are quite general events of the past. They include "the entirety of God's past dealings with Israel"³⁶. As in the preceding texts (A.) Deutero-Isaiah might think of very remote events with a promising character, events that set a motion going, which reaches its result in the present.

As pointed out above,³⁷ the accompanying adverb $mē'ōlām$ designates the furthest starting point of the past out of all adverbs with *min*, which excludes all allusions to recent facts like the first victories of Cyrus.

The two following adverbs specify the expression $ri'sōnōt^h mē'ōlām$ further. $mērē'sî^h$ appears 51× in the OT. Only in five of these cases it is not followed by a genitive or a suffix. Two of these are temporal: Gen 1, 1 and Is 46, 10. The parallelism with *mīqqædæm* in this pericope is a clear indicator that the promise stems from a quite distant past. Müller goes even farther in his interpretation. Due to his understanding of $mērō's$, he assumes the

³⁵ Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 33: "L'action de Cyrus ... n'est pas présentée comme une donnée 'nouvelle' à opposer aux choses anciennes. Le prophète affirme uniquement que le plan de Dieu se réalisera par Cyrus". Contrast Feldmann, Fischer, van Hoonacker.

³⁶ Childs, 58. Cf. Schoors, *Choses*, 33; id., *God*, 275.

³⁷ Cf. excursus 3 and A.3.7. (note 57).

absolute sense 'the beginning of time' for *mēre'sit^h*.³⁸ His thesis implies that the oppositum '*ah^arit^h*' would designate the 'last time', the eschaton.³⁹ Our previous findings do not support this interpretation. Deutero-Isaiah is not interested in the beginning of time, but in the beginning of his promise and the result of his corresponding acts.⁴⁰ *mēre'sit^h* is closely related to the group of OT-parallels in which *re'sit^h* is accompanied by a genitive or a suffix which refers to a person or a matter, whose existence expands in time. In fact, in these cases it is often in opposition to '*ah^arit^h*'.⁴¹ Related to this group are verses where *re'sit^h* can have the meaning 'the first (in a number of results of events)'.⁴² Here it describes, much as *mēro's*, a 'beginning' of a limited period of time, whereby it might go further back to the beginning than *ro's*. On the whole, *mēre'sit^h* seems to be more abstract than *ro's*, for it has no concrete figurative references.⁴³

We can conclude that *mē'ôlām* too does not refer to a period which has become full circle, but designates a terminus post quem, to which the listeners are exhorted to think back. I agree with Leene's interpretation of v. 9: 'look back to the past history up to the furthest point (*mē'ôlām*). No matter how far you think back, there has never been another plan than that which is now executed through Cyrus'.⁴⁴

³⁸ Müller, *ro's*, THAT 2, 710. Cf. excursus 3.

³⁹ Cf. Koch, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 148: "He [=Yahwe] at least already communicated in the primordial period what his final purpose for mankind is going to be. He already anticipated the final history in his *dābār*, even the emergence of a Cyrus is no surprise to anyone who knows Yahwe". Similarly also Childs (58): "He is bringing his purpose . . . , which spans both the beginning and the end of history. By linking herself to the past in memory Israel becomes part of the future, because past and future are one in God's purpose".

⁴⁰ Leene, *Dingen*, 21; Elliger, 190; E. Jenni, *hr*, THAT 1, 110-118, 115 and A.1.7..

⁴¹ Cf. Job 8,7; Nu 24, 20; 42, 12; Koh 7, 8; Dtn 11,12; Hos 9, 10.

⁴² "Das 'erste' einer Reihe von Handlungsergebnissen" (Müller, *ro's*, THAT 2, 710): Gen 49, 3; Dt 21, 17; 33, 21; Ps 105, 36; 78, 51; Hos 9, 10; Hi 40, 19; cf. Prv 8, 22.

⁴³ Cf. Müller, *ro's*, THAT 2, 709.

⁴⁴ Leene, *Dingen*, 200.

2. Analysis of Is 48, 12–16

2.1. Translation

- 12 αα “Listen to me Jacob
β and Israel, my called one
βα I [am] he!
β I [am the] former (ri’šōn)!
γ Yes, I [am the] latter (‘āḥ^arōn)!
13 αα Yes, my [left]¹ hand founded [the] earth
β and my right hand spread out [the] heavens.
βα When I call [out] to them [= heaven and earth]
β they stand forth together.
14 αα^a Come together all of you
β^a and hear!
γ Who among them announced these [things] (‘ēllā):
βα (Yahwe:)^b
β ‘My^c friend will perform my^d desire against Babylon
γ and my^c arm^e [will perform my desire] [against]²
the Chaldeans.’?
15 αα I [was it], I have spoken.
β Yes, I called him.
βα I have caused him to come (hæōt^hāh)
β that his way will^f prosper.³
16 αα Draw near to me!
β Hear this (zō’t^h):
γ Not have I spoken in secret from the beginning (mērō’s),
δ from the time (mā’ēt^h) it came (in)to be(ing).
ε I [have been] there”.
b (“But now (w^e‘at^ht^hā) the Lord Yahwe has sent me and his spirit
...”).^g

2.2. Textcriticism⁴

a. The MT suffixes (v. 14a) refer to Israel, though a summons in the 2. pers. pl. in a similar context is normally addressed to the nations. This is probably the reason for the difficulties the versions felt. Q^a (yqbšw kwlw wyšm’w) and LXX (συναχθησονται παντες και ακουσονται) agree in

¹ M. Dahood (*Lexicography*, Bib 46, 315f.) suggested that “yad signifies ‘left hand’ ... by reason of its balance with yāmîn”. Cf. Judg 3, 21; 5, 26; 2 Sam 20, 9 and various Pss.. I adopt this idea of a conditional meaning of yad to reinforce the antithetic parallelism.

² Cf. GK § 119hh.

³ Cf. 55, 11; Ps 1, 3.

⁴ Cf. Apart from BHS and BHK, cf. esp. North, *Second Isaiah*, 179–182; Schoors, *God*, 278–280; Merendino; also KBL 321b, 266b, 16a.

reading q. and the suffix of the 3. pers. pl.. In contrast, North tries to retain MT, taking *-kæm* as referring to the nations (as in 43, 9; 45, 20) and *-hæm* to their gods (cf. 41, 22.26). This is possible, though the change of address seems to be very abrupt. Also Merendino, Bonnard and Westermann want to keep the text. As in 48, 1–6 the same argument is addressed to Israel we can assume that it is absolutely possible that here too Israel is the direct addressee. Cf. 46, 9–11.

b. The preceding context suggests that Yahwe is the speaker. In v. 14b however he appears in the 3. pers. sg., whereas v. 15 continues with *'anî*. The difficulty remains, even if one understands 'Yahwe' as an answer to the question in v. 14aγ, as Merendino.⁵ On the background of Deutero-Isaiah's self-praise formulae, an *'anî*-statement would have been more likely in this case. In contrast, Melugin suggests that "v. 14b might be something like a quotation of a previously-uttered word concerning Cyrus"⁶. To him it sounds like a royal oracle, which was spoken in the 3. pers. sg.. Morgenstern proposes that one of the two *'anîs* in v. 15a "stood originally at the beginning of v. 14bα and was transposed to its present, improper position through scibal carelessness or confusion"⁷, so that we would have to translate a nominal clause which is part of the direct speech: 'I [am] Yahwe...'. This is an attractive solution, esp. as LXX too does apparently not read the second *'anî* in v. 15. On the other hand, the same repetition of the *'anî* occurs in the Yahwe-selfpraise in 43, 11 and the Septuagint omits also tetragramm in 48, 14b, which suggests that it has to be regarded as a later addition to indicate that Yahwe is speaking. Recent commentators⁸ delete it.

c. In consideration of the problem indicated above (b.), I follow Duhm a.o.⁹ who change the vocalization into participle and the suffix into 1. pers. sg. according to Q^a, which suits the context much better. Volz, Muilenburg and Stuhlmüller struggle with the close relationship between Cyrus and Yahwe that is indicated by the *'hb* and as a consequence read the first two words as a titular name ('He-whom-Yahwe-loves')¹⁰. I think that the intimacy is intended.¹¹ It can hardly be a later addition. North remarks correctly that it is "not the kind of marginal comment that a scribe would dare to invent"¹². Even from MT it is clear that Cyrus is the object of Yahwe's love.¹³

⁵ Merendino, 516.

⁶ Melugin, *Formation*, 138.

⁷ Morgenstern, *Message*, HUCA 30, 10.

⁸ Schoors, *God*, 278–280; Elliger, *Verhältnis*, 213; Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 197.

⁹ Cf. Haller (290), North, Schoors and KBL.

¹⁰ In analogy to other symbolic names. Cf. Is 1, 26; 7, 3.14; 8, 1.

¹¹ Cf. the other designations for Cyrus: 'my shepherd' (44, 28), 'my anointed' (45, 1), 'the man of my counsel' (46, 11).

¹² North, *Second Isaiah*, 180.

¹³ For expressions of a god's love of a ruler in the environment see the Cyrus Cylinder,

d. With Q^a I read suffix of the 1. pers. sg.. The suffix of the 3. sg. would indicate that Cyrus executes his own purpose through Yahwe's favour. The context is clearly against this interpretation. Cf. c. and f..

e. LXX reads *σπερμα*, which goes back to *z^era'* ("against the seed of the Chaldeans"). But MT (*z^erô^a'*) makes sense, is well attested in Q^a and appears frequently in Deutero-Isaiah as a symbol of Yahwe's strength and his deeds.¹⁴ With Merendino I understand the expression as a new subject. This translation brings out the parallelism of the verse and makes clear that Yahwe uses Cyrus as his tool. Ultimately, he is the cause for the success of the Persian.

f. With North¹⁵ I consider *darkô* to be the subject of the verb, in spite of the difference in the gender. LXX, S and T suggest to read 1. pers. sg. *wā'ašlî^ah*, which adds more emphasis on Yahwe's initiative.¹⁶ The immediate context of v. 15 implies anyway that there is Yahwe's power behind Cyrus's victories (cf. e.).¹⁷ At the same time the versions interpret the perfect consecutive verb in a perfect sense (*wā-*), stressing that the action is completed. We saw in part I. that the LXX-aorist-reading (*καὶ εὐδωσα*) was one of the main arguments for Haran to understand the Deutero-Isaianic prophecy as uttered after the fall of Babylon. Although this idea is plausible, it cannot be supported by the similar statement in 46, 10f.¹⁸ However, even if Cyrus's final success is still in the future, the fall of Babylon can be anticipated by the prophet (cf. 45, 20–25 and 47). The event is so near that in the trial speeches Deutero-Isaiah can include it the *'ah^ari^h*, as it is the result of Cyrus's activity, which at the same time terminates the *ri'sônô^h*. To the prophet the *former* has come, even if the city has not yet fallen.

g. Some critics bring forward emendations for this difficult verse. Kissane¹⁹ suggests *šālah^hî r^ewāhâ* ('I [Yahwe] have sent deliverance'). Volz²⁰ changes MT into *'ašlāhennû r^e'ārô^h* ('I [Yahwe] will send him [i.e. Cyrus] on his way'). These speculative attempts are not justified, as MT is well attested in the versions.²¹

ANET, 315f..

¹⁴ Cf. KBL 226b, who emend though.

¹⁵ North, *Second Isaiah*, 53.

¹⁶ So also Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, Torrey and Morgenstern (*Message*, HUCA 30, 11), who keeps the future sense.

¹⁷ Cf. Jer 21, 1; Dtn 28, 29; Ps 37, 7; Gen 24, 21.40.

¹⁸ See also Ginsberg's criticism (I.A.2.3.3.).

¹⁹ Kissane, 113f., 117.

²⁰ Volz, 92.

²¹ Cf. however 2.3.

2.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and End of the Unit: Most commentators agree on this separation.²² The preceding verse (v. 11) has a summarizing character. The introductory imperative in v. 12 and the new address ('Jacob/Israel' [sg.!), cf. 48, 1) mark a new beginning, although the similarity of 48, 12a with 48, 1a suggests a sweeping connection with 48, 1–11.²³ It builds up expectations for the following. Undoubtedly the messenger formula in v. 17 opens a new section.

Integrity of the Passage: A chain of the pronoun ^anî, which runs through the whole text (vv. 12b, 13b, 15a, 16a) frames the unit and speaks in favour of its unity. It suggests further to see all the verses as an uninterrupted Yahwe-speech. Nevertheless, the imperatives are again useful indicators for a subdivision. A first chain of argument (Yahwe-self-praise) in vv. 12f. is followed by a line of thought about Yahwe's announcements (v. 14f.). The summons (v. 16a) is not very suitable at the end of the unit. Schoors comments rightly that with v. 15 the argument is past so that v. 16 "has lost its thrust"²⁴, though the adverbs of time in v. 16aβ.γ touch on the preceding verses. Melugin²⁵ proves v. 16 to be formcritically independent. Thematically, v. 16a reminds of 45, 19. Formally it is attached to v. 15 in taking up the *dibart^hî* from 15aα, $\sqrt{r'}$ š from v. 12b and the imperative of v. 14.

V. 16b is a 'crux interpretum'. The change of subject is very unnatural and abrupt. As it stands, the verse seems to be up in the air.²⁶ This causes the majority of scholars to delete it as a gloss, which must have been added at an early stages. Obviously a speaker other than Yahwe talks about his mission. The key question for any interpretation is the identity

²² Cf. Delitzsch, Duhm, Greßmann, Feldmann, Schoors, Merendino.

²³ Melugin (*Formation*, 140) listed further connections, but also the decisive discontinuities between 48, 1–11 and 48, 12ff..

²⁴ Schoors, *God*, 281. Also according to North (*Second Isaiah*, 182) the verse "has a certain finality about it".

²⁵ Melugin, *Formation*, 139f.. Following Elliger (*Verhältnis*), H. C. Schmitt understands the whole v. 16 as spoken by the prophet and singles it out from the preceding unit vv. 12–15 as a later gloss.

²⁶ It is "an incomplete, fragmentary statement, [which] not only has no thought-connection whatever with either what precedes or what follows, but also it disturbs the natural thought-sequence" (Morgenstern, *Message*, HUCA 30, 1.). Westermann (203) holds that the words "cannot possibly be explained in their present context". Even Muilenburg (560) admits that it is "either misplaced or textually corrupt". Cf. Volz, 92. Following Buber, Merendino tries to connect it with v. 17ff.. Westermann, North, Bonnard Schoors (*God*, 282f.) and Elliger (*Verhältnis*, 215) assume that the later insertion of the verse could be based on 61, 1. Penna refers to 50, 4. Morgenstern (*Message*, HUCA 30, 1) holds that the verse is a quotation from Zech 4, 9b; 6, 15aβ, inserted by a later scribe. Marti thinks that the insertion was triggered by the mechanic opposition *mērō'š* – *mē'at^ht^hâ*. For a synopsis of further views on this verse see Schoors (*God*, 281–283) and Rignell (54).

of this speaker. basically, three interpretations have been suggested. Some commentators think of Cyrus,²⁷ others of the prophet himself.²⁸ Recently, the old solution that the Servant of the Lord is speaking is defended again.²⁹ If we do not want to delete it entirely, I think the verse is best understood as the imagined reaction of Israel to her refinement in 48, 10.³⁰

Result: I will treat the passage as a compound unit, consisting of two units A (vv. 12f.) and B (vv. 14f.) and a fragment (v. 16a). In my view, v. 16b talks about Israel's answer to the *new*.

2.4. Linguistic Observations

2.4.1. Unit A (48, 12f.)

Syntax and Style: In its conciseness, the style is comparable to that of the trial speeches. Again the Yahwe-self-praise is developed in nominal clauses (v. 12b) and participles (v. 13b α). It is closely connected with the vocabulary of the creation of the earth. Again, the verbs reflect Yahwe's word and acts. The nouns are mostly concrete, but non-human. Their relation to the present verbs indicates a nominal style.

An introductory chiasm (v. 12a) arouses attention. The antithetic word-pairs '[left] hand'-'right hand' and 'heaven'-'earth' describe a totality. As Yahwe is the only one, he has created everything. This claim is emphasized by the repetition of *'a nî* (4 \times !) and affirmed by the interjection *'af*. The respective verses are also stressed by the synonym parallelisms (vv. 12b; 13a) and alliterations (vv. 12b γ). Personifications develop the idea of a personal God.

²⁷ McKenzie (96): "the imagined response of Cyrus to the commission which has just been described". Similarly Rignell, *Isaiah*, 54.

²⁸ Cf. Knight (172), North (*Second Isaiah*, 182) and H. C. Schmitt (48, note 28). Duhm (337) objected to his view that the prophet keeps himself in the background in the entire prophecy. Melugin (*Formation*, 138f.) recognizes a similar pattern in Zech 2, 13.15; 4, 9; 6, 15, "where the divine word is attached to a divine promise; when the promise is fulfilled, the prophet's hearers will know that Yahwe has sent him", but 48, 16 differs in other respects (context, genre) from the statement in Zech.

²⁹ E.g. by Duhm, Young, Beuken, Koole. Leene (*Dingen*, 209), who argues in favour of the integrity of the whole passage, regards the verse as the climax of the unit. In his opinion it represents the first dramatic speech of the envoy. In vv. 17ff. follows what the spirit of the Lord tells him. The surprising change of the speaker indicates such a special and close relationship between Yahwe and the envoy that in the framework of the book, according to Leene, only the Servant can be meant.

³⁰ Cf. C.3..

Semantics: Like $z^e r\hat{o}^a$, $y\bar{a}d$ ³¹ in metaphorical use is associated with power and control. In 48, 12f. the divine omnipotence manifests itself in Yahwe's creative power.³² The basic meaning of ysd is 'to lay the fundamentals (of a building)'. This meaning can still be recognized in the terminology of creation. The statement that 'God founded the earth and stretched out the heavens'³³ has to be understood in a metaphorical sense. In 48, 13 the 'craftsman'-image supplements the idea of the creation through the word (qr). The verb ' md reinforces the constancy, stability, continuance, conservation, firmness and durability of the creation.'³⁴

2.4.2. Unit B (48, 14f.)

Syntax and Style: This unit consists of four times more verbal clauses than nominal clauses. The taut, paratactical style of unit A is carried on. The $m\hat{i}$ -questions and the terminology ($\bar{s}m$ (hi.), ngd (hi.) and the demonstrative pronoun) are typical of the trial speeches.³⁵ Also the $'a n\hat{i}$ -self-praise (repetition of $'a n\hat{i}$ and affirmation by $'a f$) is taken up from the preceding unit. The nouns are mostly concrete, 'Babylon' and 'the Chaldeans' are expressly mentioned. Object-suffixes play an important role, connecting the subject (Yahwe) with Cyrus. In contrast to the preceding unit, B consists of a powerful verbal style, which underlines Yahwe's actions in history. "The four emphatic and swiftly moving verbs (cf. 41, 20) are characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah and in keeping with the momentuousness of what is taking place"³⁶. V. 14b has to be understood as a parallelism, in which 'Yahwe's friend' and his own 'arm' are synonyms, opposed to 'Babylon'/'Chaldeans'.

Semantics: More than any other prophet, Deutero-Isaiah is interested in the fall of Babylon.³⁷ Nebo and Bel, the Babylonian Gods, will bow down and go into captivity (46, 1f.). Therefore the prophet can already sing a satire against the city (ch. 47) and invite the survivors who have escaped the anticipated catastrophe to come to Yahwe (45, 20-25). All this indicates that the event must be very near. Deutero-Isaiah talks about it, as if it had already happened. He links the fall of the city closely with Cyrus's mission. Yahwe sends to $b\bar{a}b\bar{a}el$ (43, 14.) and the Persian 'performs his purpose' (v. 14).

³¹ Cf. A. S. van der Woude, $z^e r\hat{o}^a$, THAT 1, 522-524. Cf. 2.2.e.. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, $y\bar{a}d$, THAT 1, 667-674; P. R. Ackroyd, $y\bar{a}d$, TDOT 5, 397-426, 420.

³² Cf. 41, 20; 45, 12; 49, 2.22; 51, 16; Ps 8, 7; Job 26, 13. Cf. excursus 4 and C.1.4..

³³ Cf. 51, 13.16; Zech 12, 1; 78, 69; 102, 26. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, ysd , THAT 1, 736-738.

³⁴ Cf. S. Amsler, ' md , THAT 2, 328-332. See also 44, 11; 46, 7; 47, 12.

³⁵ Cf. the striking similarity between v. 14a γ and 45, 21.

³⁶ North, *Second Isaiah*, 181. Cf. Volz (93): "die gehäuften Verba malen den raschen Vollzug".

³⁷ Cf. H. Ringgren, $b\bar{a}b\bar{a}el$, TDOT 1, 466-469, 468.

2.4.3. The Fragment 48, 16a

Syntax and Style: The two introductory imperatives and the demonstrative pronoun *zō'th* touch on the disputation style. The fact that the *'anî* is placed at the end of the sentence, indicates that it is supposed to frame vv. 12–16. Within v. 16a it emphasizes Yahwe's promise.

Semantics: As 45, 19, 48, 16a, which refers to the commissioning of Cyrus, presupposes a negativ understanding of *sētær* (covering, hiding place, secrecy). Yahwe has not talked in secrecy. From the beginning he has clearly stated what the addressees are to expect.³⁸

2.5. Form Criticism

2.5.1. Unit A (48, 12f.): Structure of the Form

12a:	call to attention
b:	Yahwe's claim in self-praise-predications
13:	argumentation: 'creator'
a:	creation in the past (perf.)
b:	creation in the present (imperf./pct.)

2.5.2. Unit B (48, 14f.): Structure of the Form

14α.β:	<i>summons</i> to a trial
αγ-b:	'Weissagungsbeweis' in rhetorical question and argumentation: 'lord of history'
15:	'Selbsterweis'
a:	Yahwe's word
b:	Yahwe's acts (Cyrus)

2.5.3. Unit AB (48, 12–15): Genre and 'Sitz im Leben'

After a call to attention addressed to Israel, Yahwe claims that he is the one who brings his promise to a fulfilment. He bases this claim on the fact that he created and still sustains the world. As its creator, he is also presently at work. In B Yahwe evokes the 'Weissagungsbeweis', which argues from his historical deeds. Both units bring forth different arguments

³⁸ S. Wagner, *st^hr*, ThWAT 5, 967–977, 975.

(creation and history) to support the same claim.

Various scholars regard the pericope as a disputation,³⁹ which refuses the objection that Yahwe is incapable to call a foreign king in order to free Israel, by reference to creation and history. But it is questionable, whether the target of the dispute is really the origine of Cyrus. I think that a much more fundamental issue is at stake: the power of the god of Israel to intervene in history. The listeners are to recognize Yahwe's plan of history, since the convergence of Cyrus with Yahwe's former word, Israel's tradition, proves Yahwe's sovereign dominion in this field.

As in 46, 9–11 the elements of the trial speeches ('Weissagungsbeweis' in rhetorical questions, self-predications, 'Selbstbeweis') are used as arguments addressed to Israel. The gods have been proven to be powerless and nonexistent. The suffix-allusion to them (*hæm*)⁴⁰, v. 14 γ serves merely to bolster up Yahwe's power, which is central throughout the text. Due to its affinity with 46, 9–11 we can also regard 48, 12–16a as a 'Selbsterweiswort'.

2.5.4. The Fragment 48, 16a: Structure of the Form

16 α . β :	<i>summons</i>
a γ . δ :	'Selbsterweis'

Here too the summons is reminiscent of that of the trial speeches. Whereas vv. 12–15 are concerned with the credibility of Yahwe's words concerning Cyrus, v. 16a deals more generally with the believability of the connection between divine promise (*dbr*) and fulfilment (*hyh*). The argument is reinforced by the adverbs.⁴¹ The short fragment can be regarded as a concise summary of what has been said before. V. 16a γ underlines that Yahwe's plan has been obvious from of old.

2.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

Cyrus executes Yahwe's plan. Whatever the immediate political plan in the Persian's military success may be, there is a deeper, i.e. Yahwe's, purpose at work. The decisive point is that Yahwe acts through Cyrus, even if the Persian was unaware of this. The God of Israel is the real cause of the present political events. The fact that Cyrus is a ruler from outside of the history of Israel indicates that the continuity of promise and fulfilment

³⁹ Cf. Begrich, *Studien*, 42; Fohrer, 115; Schoors, *God*, 278f.; von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 36; Westermann, *Sprache*, 126; Merendino, 522.

⁴⁰ In contrast Leene (*Dingen*, 212) thinks that the suffix refers to heaven and earth, which are summoned in v. 13.

⁴¹ Cf. 2.7..

is not limited to the history of Israel alone, but it is extended to the history of the world. The argument with Cyrus opens up a universal perspective.

The idea that God can take political powers outside Israel in his service was not new.⁴² Amos had proclaimed the judgement on the hostile neighbour.⁴³ Isaiah made Assyria the instrument of Yahwe's wrath without any initiative on its own.⁴⁴ Jeremiah could say that Nebuchadnezzar acts as agent who carries out Yahwe's will.⁴⁵ Deutero-Isaiah radicalized this understanding. He dares to call the Persian Yahwe's 'shepherd' and even his 'anointed'⁴⁶.

2.7. Interpretation

The Text: As in 46, 9–11, in this speech Yahwe adduces the same arguments he brought forth against the nations and their 'gods' to Israel (vv. 12b, 14a, 15, 16a). The peoples do not appear any more and their gods occur only at random (v. 14aγ). The emphasis of the argumentation is on the fulfilment of the proof. For the first time there is a clear link between the mission of Cyrus and the fall of Babylon. The Persian has not reached the "the climax of his military program"⁴⁷ yet (vv. 14b, 15b). But Deutero-Isaiah is not interested in this political success anyway. It seems to be pretty obvious to him. Rather he wants Israel to recognize that Yahwe is presently at work in the activities of Cyrus and that this contemporary interference agrees with his old plan of history. The statements about creation (v. 13) show that the appearance of Cyrus is actually in accordance with the order of creation.

The parenetic overtones prove the text as an objection to doubters, who could not believe this. Yet over all it is also a word of hope which states that God is in control of the present events. "In explicitly repeating to his own nation what had had to be said against the foreign nations and their gods, Deutero-Isaiah's purpose was so to impress them with God's sovereign power that they would regain confidence"⁴⁸. At the lowest point of Israel's history, God proves his power to his people to convince them of the power of his promise-fulfilment argument.

⁴² Cf. Gelston, *Message*, 309f..

⁴³ Cf. Am 1, 3–2, 3; 9, 7.

⁴⁴ Cf. Is 10; 14, 24–27.

⁴⁵ Cf. Jer 25, 9; 27, 6; 43, 10. In the postexilic community similar statements were made about Serrubbabel in Haggai and Sacharja.

⁴⁶ 44, 38; 45, 1. It has to be noticed, however, that the title 'Messiah' in Deutero-Isaiah does not yet indicate the transfer of (later) Messianic hopes to Cyrus, but is always used as the title of the present king, a military expression for a position of trust. Cf. Preuß, *Deuterjesaja*, 79; Jenni, *Messiah*, IDB 3, 360–365; id., *Eschatology*. Cf. excursus 5.

⁴⁷ Morgenstern, *Message*, HUCA 30, 11.

⁴⁸ Westermann, 201.

The Expressions of Time: ri'sôn - 'ah^arôn: As in 41, 1–4, it is obvious here that this self-predication has to be understood in the context of Cyrus's appearance. Yahwe reveals his power by executing his ancient plan of history through the Persian at the present moment. He is the one who uses history as an expression of his will, realizing now what he formerly planned. In spite of the textcritical problems it is quite clear from the context of v. 15 that the demonstrative pronoun 'ellê refers to the capture of Babylon. The use of the plural might view the course of the events, which lead to the fall of the city, while the singular zô^{'t^h}, used in the trial speeches, pictures the event sweepingly as a whole. The same idea seems to be alluded to by the fem. (!) suffix in haxô^{t^h}âh (v. 16aδ). Here the event is regarded as already completed. This supports our thesis that the whole career of Cyrus, from his very first appearance up to the (anticipated) fall of Babylon is viewed as one movement.

This is a clue for the interpretation of the adverbs.⁴⁹ Maybe a subtle distinction can be made between mērō's and mē'ēt^h. In any case, the preposition *min* marks the terminus a quo. The question is, how far this point reaches back to the past. For mērō's it is quite clear that the point is in the remote past (cf. 40, 21; 41, 4.26). We deal with an ancient promise. mē'ēt^h has not been discussed in excursus 3. The immediate context of v. 16 intends to emphasize that Yahwe's purpose prospers in Cyrus from the moment he appeared on the world scene. We can therefore assume that this expression refers to the fulfilment of the promise of old (mērō's) in the present. I regard mē'ēt^h as the terminus a quo for the beginning of the 'ah^arî^{t^h}, the march of Cyrus, which reaches its end in the fall of the city. Cyrus's work is seen in its entirety. The capture of Babylon is only the final point of his activities. It has to be included in the *former*. V. 15 reminds the reader of 46, 11b. Before Cyrus has reached the end of his march, Deutero-Isaiah announces his victory (cf. ch 47). The fall of the city is interpreted as the present fulfilment of Yahwe's past promise.

V. 16b marks a new beginning. [w^l-] 'at^{t^h}â is often used for the "Aktivierung der Sprechsituation"⁵⁰ of something that is going to happen in opposition to something that has happened. The term occurs exceptionally in direct speech. Here it marks of something new in the history of salvation. In other texts it is closely connected with the h^adāsô^{t^h}.⁵¹ The speech of the refined Israel is preceded by the the result of the *former things* in Cyrus (vv. 12–15), which is summarized in v. 16a.

⁴⁹ Leene (*Dingen*, 207–209) gives an excellent and detailed summary of the discussion on the three terms.

⁵⁰ E. Jenni, 'ēt^h, *THAT* 2, 370–385, 379. Cf. 43, 1; 44, 1; 49, 5; 52, 5.

⁵¹ Cf. the appendix and C.1./2..

3. SUMMARY OF B. ($\sqrt{r'\bar{s}}$ – \sqrt{hr})

The Texts:

The polemic texts 46, 9–11 and 48, 12–16 are similar in their argumentation. Now Yahwe addresses the arguments formerly directed to the gods to Israel. Both units illustrate the idea that history unfolds according to Yahwe's plan. The people are to realize that Yahwe's ancient plan of history is now being executed through Cyrus. The stress is here particularly on the event-part, the 'ah^ari^t^h, of the proof. The whole former tradition converges in the Persian. The fall of Babylon has to be included in Cyrus's activities, although it has not taken place yet. Nevertheless, Deutero-Isaiah is not primarily interested in this political event. His main concern is show that Cyrus acts on behalf of Yahwe and for the sake of Israel.

The Expressions of Time:

The texts confirm our findings on the expressions of time in the trial speeches against the nations (A.). With the exception of 48, 16b, there are hardly any new aspects. 46, 9–11 and 48, 12–16 illustrate the relation $\sqrt{r'\bar{s}}$ – \sqrt{hr} , in which Deutero-Isaiah seems to be particularly interested.

Although the 'ah^ari^t^h is the result of the former history in the present, it is not yet fully completed (*lô'-na^asû*). Babylon, which is alluded to by the demonstrative pronoun 'ellê and the fem. suffix, has not been captured yet. But the adverb *mē'ēt^h* marks the point when the 'ah^ari^t^h came into being and has already the capture of the city in view. Cyrus's march is described as an entirety, although it has not reached its climax. The outer political liberation belongs to the *ri'sōnōt^h*. Cyrus is not the *new*, but the logical outcome of the *former*. Yahwe makes use of the Persian, who does not know him (45, 4), in order to execute his former promise in corresponding acts and free his people. This well known argument justifies and affirms his claim and objects to doubts within the Israelite community. The self-predication *ri'sōn* – 'ah^arōn expresses that Yahwe is reliable, as he is the one who is able to execute his promise. The listeners can experience this in the campaigns of the Persian. As far as they think back to the past (*mē'ôlām*), they will not be able to discover any other plan than that which Cyrus is bringing to an end. The idea is that history unfolds in one arch from the distant past to the present. The *ri'sōnōt^h* must thus be ancient (*miqqædæm*, *mēre'sit^h*) promises (events).

As indicated above, in 48, 16b we find a new aspect. 'at^ht^hâ is elsewhere connected with the *h^adāsōt^h*, so that we may understand this verse as the adequate reaction of Israel to the *new things*. Already at the end of the last trial speech (45, 20–25) we found a hint at the *new*. Here the context was the establishing of a new order of the world, in which the nations participate. To answer the question what the *new* consists of more precisely, we will now analyse the three texts, in which the *h^adāsōt^h* are explicitly mentioned.

C. TEXTS AGAINST DOUBT AND FEAR (addressed to Israel)

1. Analysis of Is 42, 5–9

1.1. Translation

- 5 αα Thus says the God Yahwe,
β who creates the heavens
γ and who stretches them out,
δ who founds the earth
ε and what grows out of it,
βα who gives breath to [all] people [/humanity] upon it
β and breath [of life] to those who walk on it:
6 αα “I, Yahwe called you for a saving purpose¹
β and [now] I take^a you by your hand
βα and form^b you
β and make^c you a covenant of people [/a mediator of my covenant
with the peoples]^d,
γ a light for the nations,^e
7 a to open blind eyes,
βα to bring [the] prisoner out of the dungeon
β and^f from the prison [those] who live in darkness.
8 αα I [am] Yahwe!
β That [is] my name!
βα And my glory I will not give to another,
β nor my praise to graven images.
9 a The former things (hāri’sōnōt^h) — see they have come [to pass],
βα and new things (h^adāšōt^h)^g [I] [now] declare.
β Before (b^et̄æraem) they burst forth
γ I make you hear [of them]”.

1.2. Textcriticism

a. The jussive in the first pers. (MT) is rare.² S, T, V and most modern commentators³ prefer the impf. cons. on the basis of the parallel perfect form *q^erā’^hikā*. The finalis form *w’hzyqh* of *Q^a* leaves both possibilities open.⁴ As, even if we alter the pointing, “the full effects of the initial call lie still in the future”⁵, I read imperfect, following LXX with Westermann and North. This decision has consequences also for the following verbs (cf. b. and c.).

b. Again most scholars interpret in a perfect sense (cf. a) with S (*whylt^hk*) and V (et servavi te), but LXX translates future (*ενοχυσω σε / ενοχυσσα*

¹ Cf. A.4.4.2..

² Cf. A.1.2.k..

³ BHS, Elliger, Fohrer, McKenzie.

⁴ Cf. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* 2, ³1969, § 63, 5b, cited in Elliger, 3.

⁵ North, *Second Isaiah*, 131.

σϵ), now also supported by T (imperf.: *w't^h qnynk*). MT is therefore to be preferred. The root of the verb is not clear. Older commentators, but also Westermann, McKenzie and Elliger prefer the derivation *yšr*, whereas most modern exegetes⁶ think of *nšr*, 'to guard, to watch over, to preserve' (with V). Both meanings fit into the context. I read *yšr*, which is "more pregnant with meaning"⁷ and more frequent in Deutero-Isaiah,⁸ where it is often found in the context of creation. It also goes well with the following *nt^hn*.

c. While T (impf.) and S and V (perf.) remain consistent, LXX swaps into perfect (*εδωκα σϵ*) here. However, this uncertainty of LXX and the consistency of the relatively unreliable versions S and V does not provide a sufficient basis for an emendation.⁹ The participles in the immediate context suggest the present tense and justify MT.

d. MT is well attested in the versions. There is no reason for emending the text into *p^edūt^h 'ām* (Duhm), *l^enēr 'ām*¹⁰ or *b^erīt^h 'ōlām*¹¹, to replace 'ām by the plural 'ammîm¹² or to change the word order in the verse (Budde).

e. *l^e'ôr gôyim* is only omitted by LXX^{B*}.¹³ This version seems to regard the expression as offensive. In 49, 8 it leaves out the same words. MT—supported by S, T, V and the other LXX-versions, which read *εις φως εθνων*—is reliable.¹⁴ Cf. 1.4.!

f. Read copula (*w^e-*) with Q^a, LXX, S, T a.o..

g. Q^a adds the article, probably because of the antithetic parallelism with *hāri'sōnōt^h*.

1.3. Literary Criticism¹⁵

Beginning and End of the Unit. The separation of this unit is very controversial and dependent on the understanding of the context. Often the interpretatory question, who is addressed (cf. the *-kā* in v. 6) plays an im-

⁶ Kissane, de Boer, Muilenburg, Fohrer, North, Merendino, Rignell, S. Wagner (*nšr*, ThWAT 5, 577–587, 584).

⁷ North, *Servant*, 131.

⁸ Cf. 1.4.(note 46 [6.]) and 45, 7.18[2×]; 46, 11; 49, 5.8.

⁹ Contrast Elliger and Stamm (510).

¹⁰ Schwarz (280f.) holds that v. 6b has suffered two corruptions, from the misreading (or mishearing?) of *nēr* as *b^erīt^h*, and from the word order. According to him the original form of this verse was: *w^e aššūrkā l^enēr 'ām w^e æt^h t^h ænkū l^e'ôr gôyim*.

¹¹ So 4QIs^h, Lowth. and A. B. Ehrlich (*Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel IV*, 1912, 153).

¹² So Cheyne, Marti (288), Mowinckel, Elliger (*Verhältnis*, 56), North (*Servant*, 134).

¹³ Cf. Ottley, 307.

¹⁴ Contrast Elliger (*Verhältnis*, 56) and North (*Servant*, 134), who delete.

¹⁵ Cf. Elliger, 234f.; Schoors, *Choses*, 35–37; Leene, *Dingen*, 62–67; North, *Servant*, 131f..

portant role. Cf. 1.4..

Sometimes vv.1-7(9) are separated as a larger unit¹⁶ on the basis of the parallelity between the ideas in vv. 1-4 and vv. 5-9. It is true that by their position vv. 5-9 belong into the context of the Servant Songs, but they are quite distinct from the preceding text because of their polemic tone and can therefore be regarded as an independent unit. Likewise, vv. 1-4, a 'word of presentation', form a unit on their own. The messenger formula in v. 5 indicates an obvious new beginning. It cannot be spoken by Yahwe himself.

Although vv. 10ff. are connected to the preceding text as to their content,¹⁷ the end of the Yahwe-speech in v. 9, the new address in the 2. pers. pl. and the hymnic style, praising Yahwe in the 3. pers., in the following verses are enough formal indicators to justify the break after v. 9. Some scholars assume that the 'new song' (42, 10-13) was "inserted as a spontaneous echo of the declaration (42, 9)"¹⁸. The delimitation of vv. 5-9 is favoured by the majority of scholars¹⁹ and is graphically supported by Q^a and MT.

Integrity of the Passage: There have been attempts to divide vv. 5-9 into two small units, vv. 5-7 and vv. 8f., because of the change of address from singular (v. 6a) into plural (v. 9b).²⁰ In this case, the latter passage is mostly understood as the continuation of 41, 21-29,²¹ which was separated by 42, 1-7. In my opinion, this interpretation cannot be correct, due to the integrity of the trial speech 41, 21-29. As we have seen above,²² this passage is a well-structured unit, consisting of two parallel arguments. V. 29, the conclusion of the preceding verses as concerns form and content, marks a clear ending. The reader does not expect a continuation at this point. Moreover, nowhere in the trial speeches Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the *new things*.

Vv. 8f. alone cannot stand as an independent unit.²³ A new introductory formula to v. 8 is missing and the Yahwe-speech, which started in v. 6, continues. The expressions of time in this fragment would have no connection without an immediate context. Correctly, Elliger points out that the divine self-presentation, which occurs frequently (18x) in Deutero-Isaiah,

¹⁶ Cf. the list of scholars in Schoors (*Choses*, 35), also Kaiser, Fischer, Penna, Ridderbos.

¹⁷ Cf. Melugin, *Formation*, 101.

¹⁸ C. R. North, *ḥdš*, TDOT 4, 239f.. Cf. C. Westermann (*ḥdš*, THAT 1, 527): "die Antwort des Lobes: dem neuen Tun entspricht das neue Lied", cf. Elliger, 245.

¹⁹ North, Westermann, von Waldow, Haller, König, Marti, Köhler, Odendaal, McKenzie, Young, Schoors, Melugin, Beuken, Mowinckel, Volz, Begrich, Elliger.

²⁰ Cf. Knight, Fohrer, Herrmann. In contrast, Westermann wants to single out only v. 9, which he regards as a "fragment out of its proper context" (101, cf. 98).

²¹ So Penna, Duhm, Stuhlmüller. Cf. North, *Second Isaiah*, 132; Elliger, 224; Merendino, 240.

²² Cf. A.1.3..

²³ Cf. V. de Leeuw, *De Ebed Jahwe-profetieën*, Assen 1956, 126: "De verzen 8-9 komen als sluitstuk ... het best tot hun recht ... op zichzelf staand hebben zij geen betekenis".

does never form the beginning of a pericope.²⁴ On the contrary, in this case it is a connecting element between vv. 8f. and the preceding verses, as it takes up the *'anî hû'* of v. 6a and remind the reader of the *hā'ēl yhw* in v. 5a. The change from singular to plural can be explained, if we take the commissioning of the one who is called as "an artistic device for an address to the community"²⁵. Vv. 8f. are a good continuation of v. 7, which without them would end abruptly. It is therefore best, to treat 42, 5–9 as a unity.

1.4. Linguistic Observations

Syntax and Style: In v. 5, the introductory formula is extended by a chain of participial expressions, which reminds the reader of 45, 18. In the rest of the unit verbal clauses dominate. As in the trial speeches, nominal clauses introduce the Yahwe-self-presentation. The subject of the striking infinitives in v. 7 is not Yahwe himself, although this is a syntactic possibility, but the one who is called.²⁶ In vv. 6b, 7b and 8b, the second colon is elliptical and has to be supplemented by the preceding verb. The terms *kābôd*, *hāri'sōnôth* and *h^adāšôth* in vv. 8b/9, rendered prominent by their position at the head of the sentence, seem to indicate the climax of the unit. Twice as much nouns as verbs in the unit coin a nominal style. Inanimate, uncountable abstracts indicate that the text deals with theoretical matters, though some concrete images are used. The repetition of the tetragramme in combination with the rare expression *hā'ēl* and the occurrence of Yahwe's 'name', 'honour' and 'praise' as opposed to that of the idols (v. 8) proves the polemical tone of this unit. The name 'Yahwe' functions as a leit-word. Antithetic images ('open blind eyes', 'free the prisoner') illustrate a radical change, the liberation through Yahwe's interference. The structure of the unit is coined by parallelismus membrorum, which illustrates the stereometry of Hebrew thought. In the parallelisms of v. 5, an increasing number of synonym objects is dependent on participles, whose subject is Yahwe. Vv. 6, 7 and 8b carry on the parallelisms.²⁷ Against this background the antithesis *hāri'sōnôth* – *h^adāšôth* is especially striking. It is heightened by the statements about both terms. Whereas the *ri'sōnôth* have come, the *h^adāšôth* are still in the future.

²⁴ Elliger, 225.

²⁵ Melugin, *Formation*, 69. Cf. Robinson and 1.4..

²⁶ Cf. Uffenheimer, 13; Volz, 56. In this context, Westermann (100) refers to the interesting parallel in 61, 1ff..

²⁷ V. 6a: verb + *b^e* + noun; v. 6b: verb + suffix 2. pers. sg. (+ synonym objects). This structure seems to indicate that the expressions *b^erith* 'am and 'ôr *gôyim* form a hendiadyoin. See below. V. 7: *l^e* + infinitive + object(s). Synonym word-pairs are 'dungeon' – 'prison'; 'prisoner' (sg.) – 'who live in darkness' (pl.). V. 8b: *w^e* + 'glory' – 'praise' + suffix 1. pers. sg. + *l^e* + 'another' – 'graven images'.

Semantics: Yahwe's uniqueness: The rare *hā'ēl*²⁸ in emphasized position in the messenger formula proves that Deutero-Isaiah is interested in stressing the statement that Yahwe is the only God. Yahwe's being God is the presupposition to regard the mission described in the following verses as the manifestation of his own power to act in history. As in the trial speeches this intention is also obvious in the ^a*nî*-statements (vv. 6, 8, 9b) and in the use of the absolute *h'û* as the subject of the sentence.²⁹

Closely related to this claim are the statements about *creation*. For when Deutero-Isaiah says that Yahwe 'creates the *šāmayim*', he deprives the heavens of any autonomous sacral sphere and subordinates them into the category of things created by Yahwe.³⁰ Likewise, the God of Israel is the founder of the earth and thus the lord of nature (*šæ'æšæ'yâ*) and human beings. Here, the cration of man is not focused on the individual, but on humanity as a whole (*'ām*).³¹ Deutero-Isaiah views all humans as a unity. Likewise, the antithetic parallelism 'heaven – earth'³² describes a totality. Yahwe creates the whole universe and sustains it. 'Breath' is the basic physiological principle of human life, which originates in Yahwe (cf. Gen 2, 7). Humans cannot survive without it. In this context the synonym word-pair *n^ešāmâ – rû^ah* underlines the idea of God's conservation of his creation, his continuous creative acts. Yahwe's creation is the proof for his being God alone. The verb *br'* has a specific theological significance.³³ The fact that it can be accompanied by a number of other verbs of creation indicates that it does not represent the result, but one stage of the creation. The same is true for *yšr*. This verb, "the older a[nd] more concrete word for [the] younger *br'*"³⁴, stresses the idea of careful workmanship. As *br'*, it is an important term both for creation and history, which for Deutero-Isaiah are a unseparable unity.³⁴ In contrast, *rq*³⁵ is exclusively used for cosmic creation. Its use increases during the exile. But whereas in P it refers consistently to the hard surface of the sky, Deutero-Isaiah applies the rare word to the living surface of the earth. The basic meaning of *nth*³⁶ is 'to extend, i.e. to pitch, a tent or the tabernacle.'³⁷ In Deutero-Isaiah, the idea

²⁸ Elsewhere only in Ps 85, 9.

²⁹ Cf. A.2.6..

³⁰ Cf. J. A. Soggin, *šāmayim*, THAT 2, 965–970, 968; Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 213–229.

³¹ In this context, *'ām* has to be understood in the general sense of 'mankind'. Cf. 45, 12.

³² Occurrences: 40, 2; 42, 5; 44, 23f.; 45, 8.18; 49, 13; 51, 6α.β.13.16. Cf. 40, 22; 45, 12; 48, 13 (here in reverse order).

³³ Cf. 3.4..

³⁴ "The idea of creation is ... presented ... as a redemptive act continuing in the history of Israel" (Stuhlmüller, *Redemption*, 215). Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *yšr*, THAT 1, 764 and excursus 4.

³⁵ Occurrences with object 'earth': 42, 5; 44, 24; 40, 4; Ps 136, 6.

³⁶ Occurrences: 40, 22; 42, 5; 44, 13.24; 45, 12; 51, 13.16.

³⁷ Gen 12, 8; 26, 25; 35, 21, etc.. // Ex 33, 7; 2 Sam 6, 17 (= 1 Chr 16, 1); 1 Chr 15,

is that Yahwe dwells in the universe as his tent, extending the sky over the world-wide area of his redemptive activity. *šmh*³⁸ originally belongs to the vocabulary of plant life, where it designates the germination or sprouting of a plant out of the earth. The Israelites were amazed about the dynamic phenomenon of this development. In its metaphorical sense, the verb does therefore not only imply affluence, success, beauty or happy existence, but first of all it carries connotations of surprise. The emphasis lies on the suddenness. On the other hand, as one could expect the phenomenon of vegetation after rainfall, the word could become a symbol of hope, 'growing and becoming between present and future'. The fact that in Israel the powers of vegetation were ascribed to Yahwe, rendered it possible that the vocabulary of plant life could be transferred to the field of history. Here the verb expresses the wonderful harmony and certainty of Yahwe's acts of salvation. Just like the plant growth follows the rain, the salvation of the people will follow after Yahwe's personal intervention.³⁹ In 42, 9 *šmh* can be understood as an opposite to non-existence, but also as a contrast to the past.

Yahwe's *th^ehillâ* and *kābôd* are associated.⁴⁰ His glory manifests itself in history. God is God only in what he does. His acts demand a corresponding human reaction. To praise God means to acknowledge him as God. Yahwe grants this acknowledgment to nobody else. He alone is the reason for Israel's honour. At the same time his acts for Israel reveal his *kābôd*. In the exile the 'importance' and 'majesty' of Yahwe is no longer recognizable. Now, shortly before the fall of Babylon, his 'glory' is visible again before the whole world.

qr' is closely connected with election (*bhr*),⁴¹ but less frequent. In Deutero-Isaiah, it can have various subjects.⁴² The key question thus is to whom vv. 5-9 refer. The similarity of the passage with 49, 1-6 and its position after the first Servant Song support the thesis that the text is addressed to the Servant.⁴³ A group of scholars⁴⁴ regard the unit as a description of

1; 2 Chr 1, 4.

³⁸ Occurrences: q.: 42, 9; 43, 19; 44, 4; hi.: 45, 8; 55, 10. Cf. S. Amsler, *šmh*, THAT 2, 563-566.

³⁹ Cf. Is 42, 9; 43, 19; 45, 8.

⁴⁰ Cf. C. Westermann, *hill*, THAT 1, 493-502, 498; id., *kbd*, THAT 1, 794-812. Both terms are parallel in 40, 5; 42, 8.12; 48, 11. Cf. 48, 9: *th^ehillâ* - *šēm*.

⁴¹ "Die Einführung des Schöpfungsgedankens in diesen Zusammenhang entspricht genau der ... Korrespondenz zwischen Erschaffung und Erwählung Israels bei Dtjes." (B. Otzen, *yšr* ThWAT 3, 830-839, 835). Cf. Albertz, 48-50; Rendtorff, 12.

⁴² Israel: 41, 9; 43, 1.7; 48, 12; 54, 6; cf. Hos 11, 1; Abraham: 51, 2; generations: 41, 4; Cyrus: 45, 3f.; 46, 11; 48, 15.

⁴³ So also Odendaal, *Expectations*; Kaiser: Elliger, *Verhältnis*; Leene, *Dingen*; Haag; P. Grelot (*Les Poèmes du Serviteur*, Paris 1981, 35).

⁴⁴ Haller, Merendino, Schoors, Elliger (comm.), Bonnard, Reiterer (78-81). Cf. also the enumeration of scholars in North (*Servant*, 46) and Kaiser (39f., note 3).

the task of Cyrus. It is true, there are a number of parallels, which suggest this association,⁴⁵ but these are not limited exclusively to the Persian. An equally long list of parallels can be established for Israel.⁴⁶ Apart from these, the use of the plural pronoun in v. 9 speaks in favour of the identification of the addressee with the people. Since the *'æt^hkæm* in v. 9 refers to Israel, it is likely that the *-kā* throughout the rest of the text means Israel. There is nothing to indicate a sudden shift of addressee. Lindblom⁴⁷ is right when he remarks that 'the called' obviously is a community that can be addressed both in the singular and the plural and that this community is Israel. The passage is thus one example for what Robinson called 'the Hebrew conception of corporate personality'. Arguing with the expressions of time, we will see that the *h^adāšōt^h* appear exclusively in texts against fear and doubt addressed to Israel, whereas the Cyrus passages occur mainly in trial speeches and disputations. In the polemic genres, Cyrus is closely connected with the *'ah^arīt^h* of the *former things*. A further important argument is the fact that Cyrus can hardly be *'ôr gôyim* and *b^erīt^h* 'am.⁴⁸ Both *qr'* (42, 6) and *bhr* (42,1) indicate that we deal with the commissioning of the people.

The hi. of *h^zq* develops the meaning 'to grasp'. "Probably the ritual of appointment to office plays an important role: when a person in power appoints someone else to a specific office, he grasps him by the hand. Through this act of, 'power' flows from the hand —itself a symbol of power— of the stronger into the hand of the new official, in other words, the one appointed to office is made strong through the ritual gesture of 'grasping the hand'"⁴⁹.

'ôr is a common figure for salvation in the OT, especially in prophetic literature. "Light not only represents the manifestation of justice, but also

⁴⁵ (1.) 42, 6 – 45, 13 (*b^ešædæq*); (2.) 42, 6 – 45, 1 ([right] hand); (3.) 42, 6 – 45, 3f.; 46, 11; 48, 15 (called); (4.) 42, 7 – 45, 13 (release the exiles); (5.) 42, 8f. – 41, 4.22.27; 44, 24ff.; 45, 5.11ff.; 46, 9; 48, 12 (motif of Yahwe's glory); (6.) the closeness of 42, 8f. to 41, 21–29 (cf. 1.3.).

⁴⁶ (1.) 42, 6 – 41, 10 (*zdqy*); (2.) 42, 6 – 41, 9.13 ([right] hand); (3.) 42, 6 – 41, 9; 43, 1.7; 48, 12; 54, 6 (called); (4.) 42, 7 – 42, 6 (liberation of Israel through Yahwe? or liberation of mankind through the one who is called?); (5.) 42, 8f. – 43, 9; 44, 7; 45, 21; 48, 3 (motif of Yahwe's glory); (6.) 42, 6 – 43, 1.7.21; 44, 2.21.24; 45, 9.11 (formed). Cf. Lind (440): "There is no indication whatsoever in Deutero-Isaiah's thought that Yahwe would use Cyrus as his servant to extend his role over the nations. This task was given to Israel and to Israel alone".

⁴⁷ Lindblom, 22. Cf. Gitay, *Prophecy*, 123.

⁴⁸ I do not want to deny that a relation to Cyrus is absolutely impossible. It could well be that an oracle originally relating to the commissioning of Cyrus was subsequently transformed to mean the servant who in my opinion is identical with Israel in this passage (see excursus 6). Cf. Bonnard, 128; Lind, 445. The proper commissioning of Cyrus takes place in 45, 1–7. The parallelity between 42, 5–9 and 45, 1–7 can be explained as a kind of analogy. Israel is called in and for the future as Cyrus was called in the past. This explains also the similar commissioning language.

⁴⁹ F. Hesse, *h^zq*, TDOT 4, 301–308, 304.

the salvation of the oppressed which is attained through justice. Light is salvation which appears in the daytime . . . and which is brought about by justice. Now inasmuch as justice has its source in the Torah (42, 4; 51, 4), it is also, as it were, a light for those who are saved"⁵⁰. The phrase *'ôr gôyim* thus denotes that the addressee is to become become a mediator of salvation for the people. The genitival construction is a gen. object.. Israel mediates the justice that brings salvation and the Torah.

This interpretation can help to clarify the difficult term *b^erîṯ^h* 'am. A number of very specific translations have been suggested for the rendering of the expression in this particular context,⁵¹ but these are only to be considered, if the normal meaning of the word fails to make sense. In its basic meaning *b^erîṯ^h* denotes either 'Verpflichtung' (obligation)⁵² or 'Bund' (bond of obligation, covenant)⁵³. Barr⁵⁴ holds that the translation 'covenant' does not diminish the aspect of the obligation, as it seldom means an alliance, but primarily an obligation unilaterally undertaken. In this sense, I adopt the rendering of *b^erîṯ^h* as 'covenant'. Consequently, we are left with three possible translations for the whole phrase: (1.) 'covenant-people'; (2.) 'covenant(-bond) of the people' (i.e. of Israel); (3.) 'covenant(-bond) of the peoples' (i.e. of the nations).⁵⁵ As the first rendering can be ruled out

⁵⁰ S. Aalen, *'ôr*, TDOT 1, 147–167, 163. Cf. M. Sæbø, *'ôr*, THAT 1, 84–90. Occurrences in Deutero-Isaiah: 42, 6.16; 49, 6; 51, 4.

⁵¹ Cf. 1.1.d., Stamm (513, note 17) and Hillers. Two of these are worth mentioning. Torczyner's 'splendour' (*Presidential address*, JPOS 16 (1936), 7) on the basis of the Akkadian *barârû* has been refuted by Stamm (511), North (*Servant*, 133), Elliger (234) and Hillers (175). The latter derives *b^erîṯ^h* from *brr* and postulates the meaning 'emancipation (clearing, brightness)' on the grounds that in legal contexts there is the persistent association in the Ancient Orient of light with freedom (cf. biblical Hebrew: Is 9, 1–3; Mic 7, 8f.; Ezra 9, 8; also Is 42, 16; 45, 7; 49, 6; 53, 11). This translation fits the context in 42, 6 very well, as it obtains the perfect parallelism 'brightness/emancipation of people'–*'ôr gôyim* (cf. the roots in Ps 19, 9). The weak point in Hillers's argumentation, however, is his hypothesis that "a common word, *b^erîṯ^h*, 'covenant', has been substituted for a less common word which happened to be written the same" (Hillers, 180). His attempts to posit a new form **bērîṯ^h*, to choose a homonym of *bōrîṯ^h* ('cleanser, soap') or to claim a different meaning for this word are not convincing.

⁵² So E. Kutsch, *Verheißung und Gesetz: Untersuchungen zum sogenannten 'Bund' im AT*, BZAW 131, Berlin 1973. Cf., id. *b^erîṯ^h*, THAT 1, 339–352. Based on Kutsch's observations, Elliger (comm.) translates 'obligation on the people'. This understanding of *b^erîṯ^h* has been criticized as one-sided by M. Weinfeld (*b^erîṯ^h* — *covenant vs. obligation*, Bib 56 (1975), 124f.). Hillers (176) objects that the second noun in the cs.-connection usually denotes the granter of the covenant or a partner to it.

⁵³ M. Weinfeld, *b^erîṯ^h*, TDOT 1, 253–279.

⁵⁴ J. Barr, *Some Semantic Notes on the Covenant*, in: H. Donner, R. Hanhardt, R. Smend (ed.), FS W. Zimmerli, Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie, Göttingen 1977, 36. Cf. Haag, *Bund*, 12.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the problems associated with these possibilities, see North (*Ser-*

grammatically,⁵⁶ the decisive problem is whether *'ām* refers to Israel or to humanity. Deutero-Isaiah usually differentiates between *'ām* (the people of God, Israel) and *gôyim* (the peoples, heathen nations),⁵⁷ whereby he reinforces the special position of Israel and her unique relationship with Yahwe, which is also implied by the term *b^erîṯ^h*. In this view, *'ôr gôyim* and *b^erîṯ^h* *'am* do not form a parallelism, but are appositions to one another. The nations will get the chance to reach the same intimate *b^erîṯ^h*-position, which Israel has already got.⁵⁸ If, however, *b^erîṯ^h* *'am* and *'ôr gôyim* do form a synonym parallelism, a case can be made for the interpretation 'humanity',⁵⁹ just as in the preceding verse.⁶⁰

"The blind and the prisoners here represent peoples who lack the right knowledge of God. Separation from God, who is light, means darkness"⁶¹. Is 42, 6 refers thus to "the imprisoned and enslaved of all mankind"⁶², the "liberation of all the peoples from bondage"⁶³, not merely to the exile. The expression *b^erîṯ^h* *'am* is thus best understood as a "selfobligation on the part of Yahwe for the benefit of the people". "The addressee is to become an agent of salvation for mankind"⁶⁴.

vant, 132f.; *Second Isaiah*, 112), Hillers (175f.) and Stamm.

⁵⁶ Cf. North, (*Servant*, 132; *Second Isaiah*, 112); Stamm, 511f.; Hillers, 175.

⁵⁷ Cf. A.2.4. (note 27). The majority of scholars follow the versions (LXX [γενοσ/εθνοσ], V [populus/gentes], T [*'ām/ammîn*] and S [sg./pl. of *'amā*]) in this distinction, but think too hastily of an individual servant. Cf. the list of critics in Stamm, 517–519. Cf. Haag, *Bund*; id., *Licht*.

⁵⁸ Cf. Lauha, 259f..

⁵⁹ In a few further cases, in which *'ām* is in parallel with *gôyim*, it means foreign people: Ps 18, 44; 2 Sam 22, 44; Is 25, 3; 13, 4. Moreover, the fact that the article is missing speaks in favour of a general, collective sense of the word. Also theologically, this interpretation fits well into Deutero-Isaiah's universal horizon (cf. A.4.). Scholars who follow this view are listed in Stamm, 519f..

⁶⁰ Cf. J. van der Ploeg (*Les chants du Serviteur de Jahvé*, 1936, 31): "Il semble donc plus indiqué de donner ici à *'ām* le même sens indéterminé sans pourtant y vouloir comprendre toutes les nations comme telles, car il faut entendre un même mot dans le même contexte de la même manière, à moins que le contraire ne soit clairement exprimé". Cf. also 40, 7. "If the prophet wanted to understand the *'ām* in verse 6 as a reference to Israel, why did he not use *'ādām* rather than *'ām* to refer to mankind in verse 5?" (van Winkle, 456).

⁶¹ H. Ringgren, *hšk*, TDOT 5, 245–261, 248–258, 253. Cf. id., *sgr*, ThWAT 5, 753–756, 755: "Gefangene ins Licht zu führen heißt sie zu befreien". Cf. Stummer, 180. Contrast J. Hausmann, *kl'*, ThWAT 4, 153–156, 155. Cf. H. Simian-Yofre, *bd*, ThWAT 5, 982–1011, 1003–1010, 1005f..

⁶² Hillers, 181. Cf. 45, 20. Similarly Haag (*Bund*, 12): "Die Bilder beschreiben die von Gott im Zuge der Heilswendung durchgeführte Befreiung der Menschheit aus dem Zustand des Gerichts".

⁶³ North, *Second Isaiah*, 113. Cf. Elliger (233); Haag, (*Bund*, 12).

⁶⁴ Van Winkle, 456. Cf. Kissane, 38.

1.5. Form Criticism

1.5.1. Structure of the Form

5:	extended messenger formula in hymnic style (participial appositions): creation
6f.:	'Einsetzungswort': Yahwe's call of the addressee (sg.); the purpose of the commissioning of the addressee and specification of his task (<i>Berufung, Zuständigkeitsbereich und Dienstanweisung</i>)
8:	Yahwe's motivation for sending the called one in polemic self-predications
9:	Declaration on Yahwe's power in history: the <i>former things</i> have come; proclamation of the <i>new things</i> to the addressees (pl.); language of disputation

1.5.2. Genre and Sitz im Leben

Westermann thinks that "vv. 5, 8 and 9 could be the introduction to a trial speech addressed to the gods of the nations"⁶⁵, but although a certain similarity (reference to creation; Yahwe-self-praise) cannot be denied, we never come across the *new things* in the argument of the texts in II.A. and B.. The argumentation with the opposition $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h - ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ is not connected with the trial speeches, but serves a special function.

Begrich⁶⁶ designates the unit as an 'oracle of vocation'. Similarly, Baltzer⁶⁷ thinks of an 'Einsetzungsbericht', which forms the beginning of a biography. Yet, only vv. 6f. resemble a vocation. The surrounding verses emphasize Yahwe's power and uniqueness. Here is the proper point of the unit.

On these grounds, Elliger holds that the passage reflects a disputation, which disputes the claims of other gods to have called the addressee. After my decisions on the identity of the Servant, this interpretation is not convincing. No other god would have claimed to have called Israel. Rather, the polemic tone and the polemic self-praise indicate Yahwe's claim to be the only God.⁶⁸ Once again, the issue is monotheism. No other god except Yahwe deserves the praise and honour of the claim to be the only one. It is

⁶⁵ Westermann, 101.

⁶⁶ Begrich, *Studien*, 61.

⁶⁷ K. Baltzer, *Zur formgeschichtlichen Bestimmung der Texte vom Gottesknecht im Deuteronomium*, in: H. W. Wolff (ed.), *FS G. v. Rad, Probleme biblischer Theologie*, München 1971, 27-43.

⁶⁸ Cf. A.2.6. and A.3.6..

Yahwe who called Israel, just as he called Cyrus.

Leene⁶⁹ points out that in both 42, 5f. and 45, 12f. the call follows a reference to creation. We can therefore conclude that although the structure of the unit cannot be convincingly subsumed under a current genre, the polemic tone and structural similarities with 45, 12f. are over-individual traits, which help to understand the unit as a whole.

The text is addressed to those in the Israelite community, who did not believe any longer that Yahwe was in control of the events and doubted his power to interfere. Against these doubts, the God of Israel points out that he is the only one. He creates and sustains the earth. Nature and history depend on him. He is the God of all humanity. The task to which Israel is now commissioned is in agreement with his purpose and the order of creation. Israel is to carry her knowledge of this universal God to the nations.

1.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

EXCURSUS 6: The Identity of the Servant

It is impossible to discuss the servant problem in this thesis,⁷⁰ but it is necessary to clarify the identity of the servant in 42, 5–9, as in this unit we are close to the problem how far the servant is linked with the *new things*. The question that concerns us is, whether Israel can be understood as the servant in this passage.

Outside the Servant Songs there is no doubt that the servant is Israel.⁷¹ Within the Servant Songs, 49, 3 is the only support for the collective interpretation. By its insertion of the word 'Israel' in 42, 1, the LXX asserts an ancient tradition pointing to this interpretation. Also, the fact that the *former* and the *new* have nowhere in Deutero-Isaiah an immediate connection with the servant, but only with Israel, speaks in favour of identifying the servant with the people. In my view, the figure of the individual who is addressed in the singular in 42, 1ff. has thus to be understood as the national community in the sense of the 'corporate personality'⁷², similar to Ez 16 and 23.

As often pointed out, this interpretation runs against a major difficulty, for in 49, 5f. the servant is entrusted with the mission to Israel and therefore cannot be Israel herself. The solution offered by some critics, to distinguish here between an ideal and a real Israel,⁷³ finds no textual support and seems rather arbitrary. Recently, WILCOX/PANTON-WILLIAMS tackled this problem anew in a fresh approach. Starting from the observation that "all the obstacles to identifying the servant consistingly with Israel

⁶⁹ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 65f..

⁷⁰ For an excellent treatment of the Servant Songs see North, *Servant*. Cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord*, London ²1965; Michel, *Deuterojesaja*; W. Zimmerli, *παις θεου*, TDNT 5, 654–677, 666–673; H. Simian-Yofre, 'bd, ThWAT 5, 982–1011, 1003–1010, 1005f., H. Haag.

⁷¹ Cf. 41, 8; 44, 1.2.21[2×]; 45, 4; 48, 20. All seven references occur in Is 40–48!

⁷² Cf. Robinson; Westermann (99): "If the Servant is an individual, it would be difficult to see, why such an interpretation should be substantiated by reference to God's work of creation: elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah this substantiates or underpins both God's historical action with Israel and the stirring up of Cyrus . . . , but never the call and mission of the servant".

⁷³ So e.g. Kaiser, 35. Cf. Michel, *Deuterojesaja*, 521–530.

occur at or after Isa. 49, 4⁷⁴, they explain the identity of the servant against the background of the striking differences between chs. 40–48 and 49–55.⁷⁵ Our findings about the distribution of the expressions of time and the occurrences of the *min temporale* in Deutero-Isaiah support this differentiation. As we saw above,⁷⁶ the theme of *former, latter, coming* and *new things* is restricted to the first part of Deutero-Isaiah. Likewise, chs. 40–48 show a preference for the terms ‘Jacob’/‘Israel’. Used directly of the people of God, they are almost exclusively limited to these chapters. At the same time this address proves the intense personification of Israel in the first part of the book. “All this strongly suggests that there is a consistent conception of Israel as the servant of Yahwe throughout chs. 40–48”⁷⁷.

An objection against the identification of the servant with Israel raised by some scholars⁷⁸ is that the servant in 42, 1ff. has an active role while Israel’s role outside the Servant Songs is always passive. This is true.⁷⁹ “The passive nature of Israel’s commission outside the Servant Songs is determined by ... [her] present state. Captive and discouraged, Israel is only fit for a passive role ... But even outside the songs there are hints that this was not intended to be the end of the matter. Even outside the songs, the prophet looks forward to the time when Israel will recover an active role as the servant of the Yahwe”⁸⁰. Thus, “there is a difference between the *character* of the servant within the first Servant Song and the *character* of servant Israel in chs. 40–48; but there is no difference of *identity*”⁸¹. In 42, 6, passive Israel is commissioned to take up her mission to mankind, as an active servant among the nations. As I see it, these are the *new things* that Israel is now told.

But in the course of the prophecy it becomes clear that Israel cannot fulfill these expectations. As she does not take up her active task, the prophet and Yahwe are disappointed (49, 4). Therefore the task is now transferred to Deutero-Isaiah himself. 49, 5f. describes “the re-commissioning of the prophet, to do what Israel was called to do”⁸²: ‘You are my servant, [you are] Israel’. In ch. 49–55 the servant is the prophet. He “has a double mission now, both to Israel and to the nations”⁸³.

1.7. Interpretation

The Text: Critics differ, whether the passage has Cyrus, the servant or Israel in view. Accordingly, there is a disagreement in determining the task of the called one. The view taken here is that the text in its present context has to be regarded as a secondary Servant Song. In Is 40–48, however, the

⁷⁴ Wilcox/Panton-Williams, 81.

⁷⁵ The references to Cyrus, Babylon and the Chaldeans, and the polemic against the idols are confined to chs. 40–48. As to the literary genres, the promise of salvation occurs concentratedly in these chapters. In contrast, chs. 49ff. deal with the return of the exiles and the rebuilding of Zion. Unlike in the first part of the book, there is a note of urgency in the second part.

⁷⁶ Cf. II.2., the appendices and excursus 3.

⁷⁷ Wilcox/Panton-Williams, 83.

⁷⁸ Cf. Whybray, 71; North, *Servant*, 206.

⁷⁹ Israel has to ‘hear’ (44, 1; 46, 6; 48, 1.12); ‘see’ (40, 9; 41, 11.15; 43, 19); ‘remember’ (44, 21; 46, 8.12), ‘take courage’ (41, 10.13.14; 43, 1.5); ‘witness’ (43, 10.12; 44.8; cf. A.2./3..).

⁸⁰ Wilcox/Panton-Williams, 88. Cf. 41, 15f.; 43, 21; 48, 20.

⁸¹ Wilcox/Panton-Williams, 88.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 92.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 99.

servant is Israel.

The introductory messenger formula reminds the reader that Yahwe is the absolute God and no one beside him.⁸⁴ He is the creator and sustainer of the world. Once again, the idea of creation is closely connected with Yahwe's lordship over history. His power to creation is directly related to his revelations in history. The hymnic participles (v. 5) and the Yahwe-self-praise (v. 8) frame the the call (vv. 6f.). They underscore the amazing sweep of the future expectation, which is in agreement with Yahwe's plan of creation. V. 6 touches on Israel's election and describes, how Yahwe prepares her for the new task, an active historical mission. As he made use of Cyrus, Yahwe will now use Israel as his tool to realize his plan and purpose. Yet, unlike Cyrus's task, the violent overthrows which will soon lead to the capture of Babylon, Israel will have a meditorial role. She is to be a *b^erit^h* 'am (v. 6bβ) a 'covenant(-salvation) for all mankind'⁸⁵, a 'covenant(-bond) of the peoples'. Israel is to become the mediator of Yahwe's covenant, an agent of salvation for humanity.⁸⁶ Through Israel the nations are to experience 'light' i.e. 'salvation'.⁸⁷ "Die Aufgabe des Gottesknechts besteht also in der wirksamen Verbreitung des göttlichen Heils, das eine grundlegende Veränderung der Lebensverhältnisse bei den Geretteten hervorruft"⁸⁸. Therefore the people can be called a 'light for the nations' (v. 6bγ). This idea is new and unique in the OT.⁸⁹ Consequently, the metaphors of liberation (v. 7) are to be understood as a reference to the removal of human suffering in general. For Deutero-Isaiah this plan with his tool Cyrus, the liberation of the exiles, has come to pass (v. 9a). The *new things* are still to come, but it seems as if Yahwe announces them in the present moment (v. 9b). Now Israel is to take over an active task.

The Expressions of Time: √hds̄: For the first time in our investigation, we come across the term *h^a dāsōt^h*. The noun/adjective *hādās* appears only 53× in the OT. Interestingly, in prophetic texts *hds̄* occurs exclusively during the exile.⁹⁰ In Deutero-Isaiah the term differs significantly from its use in the OT in that it is expressly subject to theological reflection.⁹¹ Whereas other references speak about a renewal (*hiddēs*), for Deutero-Isaiah "something genuinely new —not there before yet somehow leaping forth from the midst of what was before—"92 comes into being. A formal difference to other texts is that in the three pericopes, in which the *new* opposes the

⁸⁴ Cf. 43, 10–12; 45, 22; 46, 9.

⁸⁵ Westermann, 100.

⁸⁶ For Israel's liberation from Babylon and her exaltation over the nations, cf. 41, 11; 45, 14; 49, 23.26; 55, 3–5.

⁸⁷ Cf. 42, 4; 45, 14.22f.; 51, 5.

⁸⁸ Haag, *Bund*, 12.

⁸⁹ The closest parallel is probably the rainbow-covenant of Gen 9, 8–17.

⁹⁰ 5× Deutero-Isaiah, 5× Trito-Isaiah, 4× Jer, 5× Ez.

⁹¹ Cf. C. Westermann, *hds̄*, THAT 1, 524–530, 527. Cf. esp. C..

⁹² North, *hds̄*, TDOT 4, 225–244, 240: "Deutero-Isaiah does not see this notion merely

ri'sōnōt^h, it is always used as the object of the sentence.⁹³ The opposition with $\sqrt{r's}$ is in itself very unusual. Normally $\sqrt{hāš}$ opposes 'old' or 'current'. We can conclude that "in contrast to the opposition *former – latter* ... the opposition *former – new* ... does not correspond with the word usage in the rest of the OT"⁹⁴. It will depend on the particular context to clarify the term *h^a dāšōt^h*.

The preceding context is dominated by Yahwe's self-praise, which strongly emphasizes Yahwe's position as the only God. Yahwe has to bring forth powerful arguments in order to show that he is really able to make the *new things* happen. His authority is used in the further argumentation. Yahwe's name, his honour and his praise, established in the trial speeches, are guarantors for the realization of the *h^a dāšōt^h*.

The participle *maggîd* can indicate both, what Yahwe does all of the time and what he is doing now. In the present context the second interpretation is more likely, for the *new things*—in contrast to the *former*—obviously they are still to happen. We can therefore exclude the possibility that the servant himself is the *new*, as the call of the addressee has already happened (*q^e rā't^h ikā*, perf.). It was part of God's plan.

Yahwe announces the *new things* before they 'sprout'. This aspect seems to be of particular importance, as the idea reappears in 43, 19a. For one, the verb *šmḥ* emphasizes the surprise and suddenness by which they come into being. For the other, it expresses that they, once 'triggered' through Yahwe's interference, come into being for themselves.

The *h^a dāšōt^h* seem to be directly associated with the announcement of vv. 6f., especially the liberation, which Yahwe realizes through the addressee. In v. 7 this emancipation is expressed in powerful metaphors, which refer to mankind in general. Here, the *new* is therefore not the liberation of Israel, but the liberation of mankind mediated through Israel. As I see it, we deal with the attempt to overcome the exclusivity of the Israelite religion through the mission of Israel to the nations, as a consequence of her election.⁹⁵ The expectation that the people is to become an agent of salvation to mankind is indeed new. It implies that the former system of religious ideas breaks to pieces. Deutero-Isaiah's eschatological vision of a universal religion takes shape. Again it is noteworthy that this development is in agreement with Yahwe's creation (v. 5). *šmḥ*, a verb taken from the field of vegetation, functions as the connecting link.

$\sqrt{r's}$: As the respective opposition specifies the content of the *ri'sōnōt^h*, it is possible that the *former things* may have to be interpreted differently in comparison with the texts of A. and B..

as renewal or transformation of something already existing. On the contrary, God brings from nowhere a thing that previously had not existed at all (48, 7)". Cf. 41, 15.

⁹³ Cf. Lisowsky, 456. The only exception is Jer 31, 22.

⁹⁴ Leene, *Dingen*, 323, 19f.).

⁹⁵ Cf. Lauha (257): "[Die Erwählung] erlegt dem Volke eine Selbstaufopferung, eine Sendung für andere, auf".

The *hinnê* in v. 9a points to a visible and obvious fact, which the listeners can recognize and affirm. The verse states categorically that the *ri'sōnôth* 'have come'. \sqrt{bw} reminds the reader of 41, 25, where it is said that Cyrus 'came' ($\sqrt{t^h h}$). In my view, both statements are closely related to one another. Consequently, in 42, 9 the *ri'sōnôth* include their '*ah^arit^h* in the present, Cyrus, anticipating the final success of the Persian. The fact that the city is going to fall is visible to the listeners. It seems that Deutero-Isaiah envisages the whole past period, which has now come to a close. He coins a term for Israel's former history of salvation. In the trial speeches this period Yahwe reveals his power that Israel can testify as a passive witness.

$\sqrt{r's}$ – $\sqrt{hd's}$: The fact that the *former things* have come with the liberation through the Persian, is the outer presuppositions for the *new*, which will be genuinely new. While the *h^adāsōth* are connected with the servant, i.e. Israel, the *ri'sōnôth* refer to Cyrus.

2. Analysis of Is 43, 16–21¹

2.1. Translation

- 16 αα Thus says Yahwe,
 β who makes a way in the sea
 b and in mighty waters a path.
- 17 αα Who leads out chariot and horse,
 β armee and warrior [/commander] together^a.
 βα They lie down,
 β not [can] they rise
 γ They are extinguished^b,
 δ quenched^b like a wick.
- 18 a "Remember not [the?] former things (*ri'sōnôth^h*)
 b and the things of old (*qadmōniyyôth^h*) — do not consider them!
- 19 αα See, [I] [am] do[ing] a new thing (*h^adāā*).
 β Now ('at^ht^hā) it bursts forth.
 γ Do you not perceive it?^c
 βα Yes, I put a way in the wilderness
 β [and] in the desert *paths^d*
- 20 αα The wild beasts will honour me,
 β jackals and young oistriches,
 βα for I gave^e water(s) in the wilderness,
 β rivers in the desert
 γ to give to drink to my chosen people.
- 21 αα The people [whom] I formed for myself,
 β they will tell my praise".

¹ Cf. the discussion of the various interpretations of this passage in I.A.2.2.4./5. and Kiesow, 67–78; Leene, *Dingen*, 121–129.

2.2. Textcriticism

a. MT refers *yaḥdāw* to v. 17bα.

b. The verbs are "stative perfects"² and should be transposed as accomplished facts. They emphasize the completeness of the destruction.

c. LXX has *καὶ γινώσεθε αὐτὰ*, avoiding the parenthesis. Q^a (*hlw' td'w*) leaves out the suffix,³ whereas S, T and V seem to read MT. I think it is possible to keep MT, since also in 48, 6f. *yd'* is accompanied by a suffix that refers to an event.

d. In accordance with Q^a, *n^ehārōt^h* should be replaced by *n^et^hîbô^th* or *n^et^hîbîm* (the last consonant is corrupt),⁴ though LXX reads *ποταμούς*. Both words resemble one another graphically and the appearance of 'rivers' in v. 20b suggests a copying mistake. The emendation not only produces a synonym parallelism between vv. 19bα and 19bβ, but puts the whole v. 19b in an antithetic parallelism with v. 16aβ.b.⁵

e. Q^a reads imperfect (*'t^hn*), which stresses the immediateness of Yahwe's act.

2.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and End of the Unit: Again the delimitation of the passage is of special importance as it has immediate consequences for the interpretation of the expressions of time. Some commentators take vv. 14–21 as one unit.⁶ However, the interrelations within vv. 16–21 are much closer than the connections to the preceding unit (v. 14f.), which is framed by epithets of Yahwe and thus complete. Further, the messenger formula in v. 16 marks a clear beginning of a new unit.

² Cf. North, *Second Isaiah*, 125. Cf. Marti, 297.

³ Köhler, BHK, Elliger and Fohrer leave out either *halô* (with LXX) or the suffix (with Q^a) for metrical reasons.

⁴ With Fohrer, North, Bonnard, Kissane, Knight, McKenzie and Schoors. In contrast, de Boer, Elliger, Muilenburg, Penna, Westermann and Leene (*Dingen*) follow MT and the other versions. For a detailed discussion of the verse cf. H. M. Orlinsky, *Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll*, JBL 69 (1950), 149–166, 160–164; id. *Photography and Paleography in the Textual Criticism of St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll 43, 19*, BASOR 123 (1952), 33; J. C. Trever, *Is 43, 19 according to First Isaiah Scroll*, BASOR 121 (1951), 13–16; R. J. Wilson, *De emendatione Is 43, 19 ex Qumran confirmata*, IrEr 91 (1959), 233–241.

⁵ Cf. *dərək* (vv. 16, 19); *mayîm* (vv. 16, 20); *nt^hn* (vv. 16, 20); *n^et^hîbâ/ô^th* (vv. 16, 19).

⁶ Marti, Budde, König, Torrey, McKenzie, Rignell. Muilenburg regards vv. 14f., 16f., 18f. and 20f. as strophes of one poem. Though v. 14 is partially corrupt, it is clear that the verse speaks of the fall of Babylon. The scholars of this group argue that there is a close link between vv. 16ff. and the preceding verses, so that the *new thing* in v. 19 can directly be identified with this event.

The break after v. 21 can be justified thematically. With the Yahwe-speech 43, 22ff., an accusation of Jacob/Israel in a reproachful tone, a new theme and genre begin, which indicates a new unit. Syntactically, there are no connections with the preceding verses. Q^a affirms this separation graphically by indentations.⁷

Integrity of the Passage: The extended messenger formula (vv. 16f.) can clearly be distinguished from the following direct speech (vv. 18ff.). As we have seen in ch. I,⁸ the relation of both sections to one another is very controversial and decisive for the interpretation of the expressions of time.⁹ In spite of the formal interruption after v. 17, the structural and semantic parallelism between Vv. 16aβ and 19/20b¹⁰ proves that both paragraphs are meant to be closely connected.¹¹ Also thematically, there is no doubt that it is the function of the extension of the messenger formula to prepare the following verses.

Another difficulty concerns the final verses of the passage. The repetitions and the change of address to Israel (2. pers. into 3. pers.) caused some authors to regard vv. 20b/21 as secondary interpolations.¹² I avoid the repetition by my textcritical decision,¹³ but even the reading *n^e hārôt^h* would not be annoying. Duhm¹⁴ admits that repetitions like this are not unusual in Deutero-Isaiah. Also the change of address can be found in other passages, so that the reasons for omitting the verses are not cogent.¹⁵ The stylistic analysis will prove the artful structure, which affirms the integrity of the whole text.¹⁶

⁷ Cf. Elliger (343), who also draws attention to the distinctive metre of this passage (345); Leene, *Dingen*, 125.

⁸ Cf. I.A.2.2.4./5..

⁹ Scholars who see no functional link between the description of the exodus and the proper oracle can interpret the *ri'sōnôt^h* in the larger context of judgement and salvation. Others, who do not separate the introduction from the following Yahwe-speech identify the *former things* with the exodus.

¹⁰ See 2.1.d. and 2.4.. Cf. Schoors, *God*, 95.

¹¹ In contrast to Elliger who distinguishes clearly between the word of the prophet and the Yahwe-speech, Leene (*Dingen*, 126) points out that the messenger formula in Deutero-Isaiah often gives the impression as if it was spoken by Yahwe himself.

¹² So Duhm (327, 330) and Marti. With slight variations: Budde (vv. 20bβ/21), Volz (v. 20bβ), Fohrer (v. 21b). Contrast Elliger (359): "Es gibt keine durchschlagenden Gründe gegen die Echtheit der drei Schlußzeilen [vv.] 20b 21".

¹³ Cf. 2.2.c..

¹⁴ Cf. Duhm, 300.

¹⁵ Cf. 40,2 and 41, 16.20. Leene, arguing from the composition of the whole book, tries to justify v. 21 as a signal for the connection of the text with the following of ch. 43.

¹⁶ Cf. Muilenburg (494), who speaks of a "close-knit unity".

2.4. Linguistic Observations

Syntax and Style: There are slightly more verbal than nominal clauses, most of which are inverted. The nominal clauses are mostly participial constructions with Yahwe as subject or elliptical extensions. The relation between nouns and verbs is ca. 3:2 (nominal style). Compared to the trial speeches, the unit contains a higher proportion of concrete nouns, most of which, however, are used in a figurative sense. The verbs underline on the one hand the passivity of the opponents, on the other hand they describe Yahwe's action. In the address to Israel verbs of knowing and remembering play an important role. On the sentence level, the strophes are carefully combined.¹⁷

The prohibitives in v. 18a.b and the introductory *hinn^e nî* in v. 19a α call attention to centre of the unit. The impressive antithetic parallelism between these verses¹⁸ stresses their importance. I designate this complex as C. The statements about the *former* (C.I.: v. 18) and the *new* (C.II.: v. 19a) are the heart of the passage.

In vv. 16a β -17b (B) and 19b-20 (D) Yahwe both times gives a way (B.I.: v. 16a β .b and D.I.: v. 19b). It is interesting that the formal parallelity between these sections coincides with a powerful antithesis as concerns the content. In v. 17b (B.II.) the reaction to Yahwe's interference is a passive, the downfall of the persecuters. Their helplessness is described in a vigorous comparison with a 'quenched wick'. In contrast, v. 20a (D.II.) describes an active reaction, the praise of Yahwe through the animals of the desert.

This antithesis is stressed by the imagery, which at the same time links the sections formally on the word level.¹⁹ Firstly, the difference is emphasized by the animal symbolism. Instead of 'extinguished horses', metaphors of destruction, in B.II., we find animals of the desert, who are known for their mournful howls,²⁰ praising God's deed, as a reaction to Yahwe's in-

¹⁷ Cf. the parallels between vv. 16a β -19/20b and 19b α -20b α and the chiasm vv. 19b β -20b β .

¹⁸ *hinn^e nî* - 'al-t^hizk^e rû; h^a dâšâ - ri'sônô^th; 'at^h t^h â - qadmônîyyô^th; t^h êdâ'ûhâ - t^h it^h. bônânú.

¹⁹ Kiesow (69) proves that sections are interwoven by double word-pairs:

(B.I.):	sea - way	water(s) - path
(D.I.):	wilderness - way	desert - paths
(D.II.):	wilderness - water(s)	rivers - desert

The chain of leitmotifs is thus: water/way; way/desert; desert/water.

²⁰ The animals cannot clearly be identified. *t^han (cf. Is 13, 22; 34, 13; 35, 7; 43, 20; Jer 9, 10; 10, 22; 14, 6; 49, 33; 51, 37; Mi 1, 8; Ps 44, 20; Job 30, 29; Lam 4, 3) is most likely a jackal (cf. KBL 1034b). BDB (1072a) and North (*Second Isaiah*, 126) suggest also the meaning 'wolf'. *yâ'ên (cf. Is 13, 21; 34, 13; 43, 20; Jer 50, 39; Mi 1, 8; Job 30, 29) is an unclean (cf. Lev 11, 16; Dtn 14, 15) bird, probably an ostrich (KBL 389b). North

terference in D.II.. Secondly, Deutero-Isaiah makes use of the ambiguity of the symbol *water*.²¹ B.I. brings out the element of the power and the threat of the water to the fleeing Israelites. This impression is emphasized by the plural and the accompanying, exaggerating adjective from the root 'zz'²², which reappears also in the description of the persecutors. In D.II., however, the water is Yahwe's gift, which enables the Israelites to survive in the desert. Here the plural stresses the affluence: there will be plenty of it. This idea is underlined by the contrast with the noun *y^ešimôn*, which designates a dry region.

Apart from the discontinuity there are also elements of continuity. After all it is the same Yahwe who acts both times. The decisive point each time is the sudden, unexpected deliverance, which is made possible through the God of Israel. Both events are therefore salutary. The second event will be equally important and surprising for Israel as the first one, but it will even surpass the first in that it will not be accompanied by any negative overtones (threat, destruction),²³ but instead by the praise of Yahwe.

The sections are bracketed by the messenger formula in v. 16aα (A) and a statement about Israel's reaction²⁴ (E: v. 21), which touches on the election, the close relationship between Yahwe and his people. A is connected with B, as the Yahwe is the common subject of the participles of the extended messenger formula. E is linked to D.II. by the repetition of 'ām.

To summarize, we deal thus with a clear concentric structure of the whole text.²⁵ The formal parallelity of C.I./C.II., B.I/D.I. and B.II./D.II. heightens the contrast in content between these sections and the two events. I think that on the basis of the regularity of the composition we are justified to identify the *former* (C.I.) with section B. and the *new* (C.II.) with section D. A (subject: Yahwe) and E (subject: Israel) frame the whole unit. Here the emphasis is on the intimate relationship between God and his people, which is to result in Israel's praise of Yahwe.

Semantics: In B, Yahwe is portrayed as a conquerer in *military imagery*. The use of *yš'* is striking. As we have seen above, it can have both forensic and military connotations (cf. 43, 8 with 40, 26). Here it is used as a

argues for the the translation 'owl'. According to BDB both are symbols of loneliness and desolation, as they dwell in the desert. Moreover, both howl mournfully (cf. BDB, 419). Leene (*Dingen*, 126) therefore speaks of "klaagdieren". I cannot follow Hessler, who searches for a hidden meaning, interpreting the 'wild animals' as "die heidnischen Volksgenossen Israels" (*Struktur*, 262), the Babylonians who participate in the gift of the water (Cyrus?, the Ebed?) that renovates the life of Israel (cf. I.B.2.2.).

²¹ Cf. 41, 18; 48, 21.

²² Cf. A. S. van der Woude, 'zz, THAT 2, 252-256.

²³ Cf. Muilenburg (495): "But now in this new and greater event, the desert will cease to be a threat of destruction and death".

²⁴ It is true, the 3. pers. pl. of *y^esapērû* (v. 21aβ) does not agree with 'ām (3. pers. sg.), but it is more likely to refer to the people rather than to the animals in v. 20a.

²⁵ Cf. 2.5.1..

technical term for the mobilization of troupes.

dæræk (706× OT) in Deutero-Isaiah is frequently used for the exodus from the exile to the peaceful possession of the Promised Land.²⁶ Muilenburg points out that in Deutero-Isaiah the term “becomes a primary figure to express the realities of history” The *dæræk* imagery “weaves itself into the accounts of the history of Israel (the road of the Exodus; the journey through the wilderness to Sinai and from Sinai to Palestine; the going away into exile and the return to Jerusalem”²⁷. This agrees with the fact that the accompanying verb ‘*śh* can describe God’s acts in history and nature, “in der Menschen- und Völkerwelt wie in der Schöpfung, in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft”²⁸. When Yahwe opens a *dæræk* for historical movements like the Exodus or the sending of Cyrus (cf. 45, 13; 48, 15), his power is apparent. But the ‘way’ can mean much more. Apart from the spatial meaning (the actual road), it often has a figurative background sense, including divine commandments, “which come from afar and into which salvation comes to be integrated”²⁹. In Deutero-Isaiah it seems to carry these broader connotations in the sense ‘behaviour, conduct’ (‘Verhalten, Wandel, Ergehen, Brauch, Art und Weise’). In this sense, *dæræk* is not only a way back to the homeland, but also a way back to Yahwe.

Also *n^et^hibâ* (21× OT), which originally designated a type of caravan route, can take on this metaphorical meaning, denoting “the nexus of deeds and events when people are faithful to each other in a common bond of fellowship . . . , but . . . also . . . the conduct of people who are hostile to one another”. Yahwe’s *n^et^hibô^th* “go back to primitive times and open a future to the man who walks resolutely therein”³⁰.

2.5. Form Criticism

2.5.1. Structure of the Form

(A) 16a:	messenger formula (Yahwe)
(B) 16b–17:	expansion of the messenger formula in hymnic style (participial appositions):
(B.I.) 16b–17a:	Yahwe’s interference (way in the sea)
(B.II.) 17b:	neg. reaction (opponents)
(C.I.) 18:	exhortation (negative command about the <i>former</i>)

²⁶ Cf. 40, 3; 42, 16; 43, 16.19; 49, 9.11; 51, 10.

²⁷ Muilenburg, 495. Cf. G. Sauer, *dæræk*, THAT 1, 456–460; K. Koch, *dæræk*, TDOT 3, 270–293.

²⁸ J. Vollmer, ‘*śh*, THAT 2, 359–370, 366.

²⁹ K. Koch, *dæræk*, TDOT 3, 290. Cf. 48, 17–19.

³⁰ K. Koch, *dæræk*, TDOT 3, 280. Cf. Jer 6, 16; Job, 24, 13; Ps 119, 35.

(C.II.) 19a:	announcement of (<i>new</i>); rhetorical question
(D) 19b-20:	Yahwe's interference (way in the desert)
(D.I.) 19b:	interference
(D.II.) 20:	pos. reaction (animals); motivation
(E) 21:	reaction (Israel)

2.5.2. Genre and Sitz im Leben

The skilfully constructed unit cannot easily be subsumed under any genre. Leene recognizes a thematical likeness with 42, 14-17 and 41, 17-20. Formally, there are similarities with this latter passage and with 44, 1-5. On the broadest level the structure resembles the threefold pattern of the oracle of salvation: interference of Yahwe (water in the desert) – consequence of the interference (praise of Yahwe by the wild animals) – purpose of the interference (giving to drink to the elected people for the praise of Yahwe). Begrich³¹ found these elements in vv. 19-21, but could not explain the the introductory verses. Westermann tried to specify the structure of this form, arguing for the existence of a second basic genre for the word of salvation, the 'proclamation of salvation', which consists of the elements: I. Reference to a community lament, II. Proclamation of salvation, 1. God's turning towards Israel, 2. God's intervention (the outcome), III. The end in view (final goal).³² As he has difficulties to find the first part of this structure in the present passage, he attempts to regard vv. 16f. as an answer to a community lament. This however remains unconvincing.³³ As for the second and third part of Westermann's distinction, Elliger shows that in the following text it is equally arbitrary to distinguish between God's turning and his intervention. Thus all in all, Westermann's attempt is not very helpful. Rightly, Elliger comes to the conclusion that a formcritical analysis of 43, 16-21 is unsatisfying,³⁴ as typical elements are missing.³⁵ Deutero-Isaiah seems to have shaped the unique form of this unit himself, using the style and the general pattern of the salvation oracle.

It is therefore as difficult to define the 'Sitz im Leben' of this unit. Be-

³¹ Begrich, *Studien*, 14-23; cf. id. *Heilsorakel*.

³² For this genre cf. Westermann, 128; id. *Heilsworte*, 36; Schoors, *God*, 44, 84-175, 96.

³³ Cf. my discussion of this position (I.A.2.2.5.) and the critical remarks in Merendino, 340f.; Schüpphaus; Melugin, *Formation*, 22ff.; Elliger, 343f.; Richter, 94; Leene, *Dingen*, 127.

³⁴ Cf. Elliger, 344.

³⁵ Cf. Kiesow, 76: "Mit dem Zurücktreten typischer Züge und dem Überwiegen des Individuellen mindert sich notwendig der mögliche Beitrag der Gattungskritik zur Analyse und Interpretation".

grich³⁶ rightly pointed to the hymnic elements in the passage, whose function it is to remind the listeners of Yahwe's deeds of salvation in the past. In combination with the following exhortation and the elements of disputation in vv. 18f. it is thus more likely that these verses presuppose a discussion or disputation with the prophet, rather than a lament.³⁷ The artful construction is a clear indicator that the passage in its present form is a literary product.

2.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

The exodus from Egypt³⁸ was Israel's founding experience, the most crucial moment in her salvation history. In this event the God of Israel begins his way with his people as their helper and guide.³⁹

In Deutero-Isaiah the exodus is a dominant theme. Exodus motifs can be found throughout his prophecy,⁴⁰ including such crucial points as the beginning and the end of the book. Yet, it cannot be denied that the prophet also makes use of very different motifs.⁴¹ In his study on the pentateuch traditions in Deutero-Isaiah, van der Merwe⁴² therefore comes to the conclusion that, although the prophet uses traditional Exodus motifs, it cannot be proved that the exodus is the background, on which he bases the whole of his prophecy. Rather, Deutero-Isaiah has developed a flexible and independent concept.

In my opinion, this is also true for 43, 16–21. There are considerable differences between the Exodus narrative and the description of the event in Is 43, 16f.. Deutero-Isaiah restricts himself to the miracle at the Sea of Reed and focuses the attention on some specific features. Now Yahwe does not lead out Israel, but her persecuters. The persecution and liberation of the Israelites, which is reported in detail in Ex 14f., is not mentioned and the original purpose of the exodus (entry into the land) is shifted. Instead, the prophet emphasizes the way through the water. Though the nouns *rækæb* and *sûs* appear frequently in the Ex 14/15,⁴³ their combination is

³⁶ Begrich, *Studien*, 18.

³⁷ Cf. Schüpphaus; Elliger, 343f..

³⁸ Cf. Kiesow; Preuß, *Deuterojesaja*, 42–45; Leene, *Dingen*, 148–152 [Lit.]; Anderson; Blenkinsopp, *Scope*.

³⁹ "The Exodus report remains in the centre of the Israelitish religious world because it represents the historical warrant of ... [Yahwe's] leading in unsurpassable concreteness" (M. Buber, *Kingship of God*, London 1967, 23 [ET]).

⁴⁰ 40, 3–11; 41, 17–20; 42, 14–17; 43, 1–7.16–21; 44, 1–5.27; 48, 20f.; 49, 8–12; 50, 1–3; 51, 9f.; 52, 11f.; 55, 12f..

⁴¹ Cf. the sections 'Criticism of Motifs and Traditions'.

⁴² B. J. van der Merwe, *Pentateuchtradities in die prediking van Deuterojesaja*, Groningen/Djakarta 1955, §41.

⁴³ *rækæb*: Ex 14, 6.7.9.17.18.23.26.28; 15, 19; cf. Dtn 11, 4; Jos 24, 6. *sûs*: Ex 14, 9.23;

only found in reverse order in the rest of the OT.⁴⁴ Likewise, *ḥayîl* is a common motif of the Exodus tradition,⁴⁵ but Deutero-Isaiah combines it with the rare noun *'izzûz*.⁴⁶ Thus, re-arranging the traditional elements in an ascending order (according to their military rank), Deutero-Isaiah obtains a new idea, the emphasis of the power of the enemy, which is only a minor motif in the Exodus report. In his presentation, this description of power is immediately followed by the description of the result of Yahwe's intervention, the destruction of the enemy. The reader is left with the impression of the surprising, abrupt turn. It is further remarkable that the prophet describes the event in participles, stative perfects and imperfects. These tenses hint at the actuality of the event and suggest to draw a direct parallel to the present political events, the power politics of Cyrus, which are mentioned in the preceding pericope (43, 14). The situation in Babylon, the 'furnace of affliction' (48, 10), made a comparison with the situation in Egypt inevitable. On this basis I would support the thesis that the analogy between the *ri'sšônôth* and the *ḥ^a dāšôth* is not between the first exodus from Egypt and a second exodus from Babylon, as is often claimed. Rather, this analogy is already subsumed in B through the concentration of exodus motifs on some significant points. The interpretation of the *former* and the *new* cannot be adequately described by and based on the exodus pattern. This can also be seen from distribution of the two motifs in the book of Deutero-Isaiah. While the exodus motif occurs in both parts,⁴⁷ the *ri'sšônôth* and *ḥ^a dāšôth* are limited to chs. 40–48.

2.7. Interpretation

The Text: The prophet introduces Yahwe as the God who revealed his power in the miracle of the Sea of Reeds (vv. 16f.). The point here is not the exodus as such. Rather, motifs from Ex 14, 21–27 are taken up selectively and are concentrated on some particular features: the power of the opponent and the suddenness of the change. The use of the tenses adds to the impression that the event is actualized (cf. Jer 51, 54–56). By the actualization of the tradition, reminiscent of Cyrus, the prophet refuses fears and objections of his fellow exiles, who doubted or denied that a present intervention through Yahwe could be possible. Yet, at the same time he designates this military intervention as the *former* and exhorts his hearers not to remember it.⁴⁸ From now on, the view has to be directed to the *new* (vv. 18ff.), which "eclipses the old and deserves a more undivided

15, 1.19.21; cf. Dtn 11, 4.

⁴⁴ Cf. Dtn 20, 1; Jos 11, 4; 1 Kgs 20, 1.2; 2 Kgs 6, 15; Ez 39, 20.

⁴⁵ Ex 14, 4.9.17.28; 15, 4; cf. Dtn 11, 4; Ps 136, 15.

⁴⁶ Elsewhere only in Ps 24, 8.

⁴⁷ Cf. Preuß, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 43.

⁴⁸ Cf. the summary of interpretations on the *'al-th izk^e rû* in Leene, *Dingen*, 123.

and prolonged attention"⁴⁹. Although there is a correspondance in the mode the *new* comes, it will be radically new, qualitatively superseding the *former things* and thus putting them in perspective. This is to be seen from the images, by which the *new* is illustrated. These are taken up from A/B, but interpreted quite differently. The metaphors express Deutero-Isaiah's conviction that Yahwe's saving power has not ceased. Yahwe's faithfulness is also implied by the attributes that characterize Israel ('formed' and 'chosen'). They touch upon earlier traditions, the creation and election of Israel, which demonstrate the intimate relationship between Yahwe and his people. As reminders of Israel's 'on-working' past history with her God they are tokens of his future faithfulness. In this respect, they can be regarded as a starting-point for the *new*. On the other hand the images state that the $h^a d\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}$ is actually a radically new gift of Yahwe, which will evoke an active reaction of Israel that was still missing in A/B.

The Expressions of Time: $\sqrt{r's}-\sqrt{hd's}$: This passage is important for the mutual relationship of $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ and $h^a d\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}$. Both terms are rendered prominent by their central position.⁵⁰ The interpretation must follow the result of the literary criticism of the passage. The analysis of the structure proved the text to be a coherent unit. On the basis of the strict formal parallelity between the sections, we can refer the *former* (C.I.) to the preceding (A/B) and the *new* (C.II.) to following (D/E) verses. It is thus not correct to separate the introduction from the oracle, in order to interpret the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ as referring to the fall of Jerusalem, which can now be forgotten.⁵¹ The $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ cannot be associated with calamity. Otherwise it would not make sense to introduce Yahwe as the powerful liberator at the Sea of Reeds. In the trial speeches the people are even asked to be witnesses for the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$, in which Yahwe proves himself as the only God. Both $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ and $h^a d\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}$ are salutary events. The main analogy between them is the surprising change (cf. $\bar{s}m\bar{h}$ ⁵², v. 19a β !) and the fact that it is the same Yahwe who will act as powerfully, but quite differently. Whereas the former deliverance is still accompanied by threat, destruction and death, the new will have a thoroughly positive character. The main difference is that the negative overtones, which accompanied B will cease in D/E. While the *former* was only self-praise of Yahwe, the *new* will even cause the mourning animals to give Yahwe praise and also the people will join in. In this respect, the *new* puts the *former* in the shade.

I tried to show that the opposition does not strictly follow the typology 'first' and 'second exodus'. Although the Exodus motifs 'way', 'desert' and

⁴⁹ Delitzsch, cited in Odendaal, *Expectations*, 112. "The prophet is calling upon Israel to turn from memory to hope, from the epochal events of the past to the even more decisive and redemptive events of the future" (Muilenburg, 495). Cf. Childs, 59; Bonnard, 146.

⁵⁰ Cf. 2.4..

⁵¹ Cf. 2.3. (note 9) and I.A.2.2.5..

⁵² Cf. 1.4..

'water'⁵³ are taken up in D, they are not used as simple analogies. The water is now a gift instead of a threat; the way leads through the desert, not through the sea; and the desert itself will be completely changed. The proper opposition is rather that between Yahwe's military intervention at the Sea of Reeds, which in its presentation is suggestive of Cyrus's contemporary power politics, and a radical inner change in Israel's attitude (D/E), which presupposes this outer political liberation.

$\sqrt{r's/qdm}$: The adjective *qadmōnî* ('vormalig') occurs 10× in the OT, four of which are temporal.⁵⁴ As *qædæm* it usually refers to a remote past. "The *things of old* were Yahwe's saving acts, performed long ago when Israel 'went down at the first (*bāri'sōnâ*) into Egypt' (52, 4)"⁵⁵. In the strict parallelism vv. 18–19a⁵⁶, *qadmōniyyôth* is opposed to '*at^ht^hâ*, the term that marks the beginning of the *new*. We can thus assume that likewise *qadmōniyyôth* reach back to the beginnings of the *former* in the distant past. The relation *ri'sōnôth*–*qadmōniyyôth* differs little from that of *mērō's-miqædæm*.⁵⁷ The *ri'sōnôth* too originate in the distant past. However, the main difference between both expressions is that *qadmōniyyôth* can denote the past independently, whereas *ri'sōnôth* implies a relation to the '*ah^ari^h*'.⁵⁸ The events of the exodus find their outcome in the fall of Babylon (cf. 43, 14). Again Deutero-Isaiah pictures the whole history of salvation from the very past up to the present. This time was a period, in which Yahwe was acting for Israel, but the people did not respond adequately.

$\sqrt{hd's}$: With the *new* something thoroughly new begins, which is more important than the *former*. It has its setting in the relationship between Yahwe and Israel. How can we define the *h^adāšâ*? Again *šmḥ* implies that it comes suddenly and surprisingly. In contrast to the *ri'sōnôth*, the *h^adāšâ* is happening now ('*at^ht^hâ*). This excludes Cyrus to be the *new thing*, as the coming of the Persian is presupposed as known (cf. 43, 14). The immediate context implies that the *new* is the way in the desert itself. But the combination of *dæræk* with the verbs *šmḥ* and *yd'* indicates the use of metaphorical language. A real way cannot 'sprout' or 'be perceived'. The correct interpretation of the 'Realsymbole'⁵⁹ is difficult. The prophet plays with the ambiguity of the metaphors.

⁵³ Ex 14, 20.22.26.29; cf. Ps 77, 20.

⁵⁴ E. Jenni, *qædæm*, THAT 2, 587–589, 587.

⁵⁵ Anderson, 188.

⁵⁶ Cf. 2.4..

⁵⁷ Leene (*Dingen*, 21) and excursus 3.

⁵⁸ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 15.

⁵⁹ "[Realsymbole] sind Begriffe, die an sich konkret sind, aber oft etwas weit über ihre konkrete Bedeutung Hinausreichendes meinen" (O. Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das AT*, Zürich 1972, 8). This means that the images do neither have a merely literary function (so Schoors, *God*, 96), nor have they to be understood as symbols of a hidden spiritual reality (so Hessler, *Struktur*, 361f.).

For *dæræk* the figurative sense is not unusual. In A/B, the *way*⁶⁰ is a symbol of the possibility of the deliverance. As such Deutero-Isaiah uses it elsewhere also for Cyrus.⁶¹ In D/E this outer possibility for the return is provided by the fall of Babylon. Now it will be accompanied by an actual radical change on the side of Israel. The way home is also to become a way back to Yahwe. Here *dæræk* stands for both Yahwe's commandments and Israel's according behaviour. The return will evoke the praise of Yahwe. It is started by the 'mourning animals' (v. 20a), but finally Yahwe will receive it through Israel as the people's response to Yahwe's present acts of salvation (v. 21b). Here, at the climax of the passage, lies the main difference between the events of B and D.

In the contrast 'water in the desert' we deal with a similar image for the *new thing*. The antithesis does not merely indicate "daß die Bewältigung des Weges in erster Linie ein Problem des Trinkwassers ist"⁶², but it illustrates the fact that the *new* is accompanied by a radical change. An interesting parallel is 44, 3, where the people is compared to dry earth, which will sprout (*šmḥ*), after Yahwe has poured water and streams on it. Here, water can be replaced by Yahwe's spirit and blessing. The 'way' and the 'water' are not only outer circumstances of the return, but they are images of God's turning towards Israel, which provide life in abundance. The gift of the water will quench Israel's thirst. The people are to become aware of this, which presupposes that the *new* must be already there. In fact, it has already been given (cf. *nt^hn* perf., v. 20b) by Yahwe. Israel only has to accept it. Once she has recognized it, the *new* will surprisingly come into being (v. 19b). Once the *new* is perceived by attentive people, it will lead them to praise Yahwe.⁶³

⁶⁰ Cf. 40, 3f.; 42, 16; 49, 11.

⁶¹ Cf. 45, 13; 48, 15.

⁶² Elliger, 357.

⁶³ "The helpless, sinful Israel of the past, the Israel who does not know, is to become the Israel who knows and has faith in Yahwe's redemption to come" (Melugin, *Formation*, 114). Cf. 3.

3. Analysis of Is 48, 1-11

3.1. Translation

- 1 αα Hear this, house of Jacob,
 β [those] who are called by the name of Israel
 γ and who came forth from *the belly*^a of Judah
 βα who swear by the name of Yahwe
 β and confess^b the God of Israel,
 γ [but] not in truth
 δ and not in trustworthiness [/sincerity]
 2 αα even if¹ they call themselves² 'from the Holy City'
 β and brace themselves on the God of Israel,
 b 'Yahwe of hosts' [is] his name:
 3 αα 'The former things (*hāri'šōnōt^h*) I declared of old (*mē'āz*)
 β and from my mouth they went forth
 γ and I *made*^c them known.
 βα Suddenly (*pit^hō'm*) I did [them]
 β and they came [to pass] (*t^hābō'nā*).
 4 α³ From my knowledge that you [were/are] obstinate
 βα and your neck an iron sinew
 β and your forehead brass
 5 αα I declared [them] to you from of old (*mē'āz*).
 β Before (*b^et̄æræm*) [they] came [to pass] (*t^hābō'*)
 γ I made [them] hear to you,
 βα lest you should say:
 β "My idol^d has done them
 γ and my graven image and my molten image commanded
 them".
 6 αα You have heard,
 β [now] see it all!
 γ and you^e, will you not admit^{f4} [it]?
 βα I make you hear^g new things (*ḥ^adāsōt^h*) from now on (*mē'at^ht^hā*)
 β and things kept in reserve⁵ (*n^ešûrōt^h*)
 γ and you have not known them.
 7 αα Now (*'at^ht^hā*) they are created^h

¹ For the concessive *kī* cf. GB, 343a. Leene (*Het vroegere*, 80-85) understands it as *'af kī*.

² Cf. KBL, 851a.

³ V. 4: Syntactically, v. 4 can be connected with both the preceding and the following verse. In combination with v. 3, Yahwe's knowledge of Israel's stubbornness motivates the sudden realization of the *former things*. More likely v. 4 has to be taken as the antecedent to v. 5, for the main difference between the *former* and the *new* in this passage is their prediction.

⁴ This translation follows a suggestion of Volz, 86. Cf. Westermann, 197.

⁵ KBL 631b.

- β and not from of old ($m\bar{e}'\bar{a}z$)
 γ and before [to]day
 δ neverⁱ have you heard of them
ba lest you should say:
 β 'Behold, I knew them'.
8 a α No, you have not heard [them],
 β nor have you known [them],
 γ nor have *you opened*^j your ear from of old ($m\bar{e}'\bar{a}z$).
ba For I knew you [were/would be/are] utterly faithless
 β and [I] called you a rebel from birth ($mibb\bar{a}t\bar{a}en$ ⁶).
9 a α For my name's sake
 β I refrain my anger
 γ and [for the sake of]⁷ my praise
 δ I spare [it]⁸ from you,
b so that [I] do not cast you off.
10 a α See, I (have) refine(d)^g you,
 β but not^k for^l silver
b (have) I chose(n)^m you in the furnace of affliction.
11 a α For my sake, for my [own] sake, I [am] do[ing] [it]
 β —for how shall [*my name*]ⁿ be profaned^o!—
b and my glory I will not give to another'.⁹

3.2. Textcriticism¹⁰

a. The MT reading 'from the waters of Judah', supported by Q^a, α' , σ' , θ' and V, is not likely to be original, though North points to references in which Israel's ancestor Jacob is called 'fountain'. North admits that this comparison "is somewhat remote"¹¹. LXX ($\epsilon\xi\ \iotaουδαια$) probably reads $\hat{u}m\hat{i}h\hat{u}d\hat{a}$. With the majority of commentators,¹² I render into $\hat{u}mimm^e\hat{e}$ ('and from the inward parts'). T understands the term as the *semen virile*¹³ ($wmzr'yt^h$ = 'and from my seed'). This might be a euphemism for the above reading.

⁶ Cf. 44, 2; 46, 3; 49, 1.5.

⁷ "In poetic parallelism the governing power of the preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member" (GK § 119hh). Cf. Joüon § 132g; Duhm (335). Contrast Volz, 86.

⁸ Cf. Merendino (499): "so regiert das Verb *'h\bar{t}m* ein nicht geschriebenes *'fy*".

⁹ Cf. 42, 8b α .

¹⁰ Cf. Schoors, *God*, 284–291; North, *Second Isaiah*; Watts; McKenzie; Merendino; Volz; Duhm; Delitzsch; Elliger (*Verhältnis*, 185); H. C. Schmitt (51).

¹¹ North, *Second Isaiah*, 174.

¹² BHS, KBL (547a), BDB (588f.), Duhm, North, Schoors, McKenzie, R. E. Clements, *mayim*, ThWAT 4, 843–866, 843–845, 845. Cf. 2 Sam 7, 12; Is 48, 19; 2 Chr 32, 21; Q^a on 39, 7.

¹³ Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, VT 3 (1953), 201; C. A. Keller, *šb'*, THAT 2, 855–863, 861.

b. The change of the address from sg. to pl. is suspicious, but not uncommon elsewhere.¹⁴ Therefore we do not necessarily have to regard the verse as displaced or secondary. The singular stresses the individual aspect. Cf. e..

c. I read impf. cons. (*wā-*) with LXX, S, T and V,¹⁵ because of the context (perfects!). In the prediction proof the announcement precedes the fulfilment.

d. The form **ōšæb* is hapax legomenon.¹⁶ An emendation into the more common form **āšāb*¹⁷ is not necessary, as the meaning 'idol' can be derived from the root 'šb (I.) 'to shape' (pi.), 'to make an image of' (hi.).¹⁸

e. Cf. b.. In v. 6 MT reads plural, though the context is full of 2. pers. singulars. Again the change can be explained by the concept of Israel as corporate personality.¹⁹ We can keep MT, which is supported by all versions and need not change into *w^eæt^h* or '*ōt^hām ... t^hgyd*.²⁰ The '*at^ht^hæm* contrasts the divine 'I'.

f. The fact that *ngd* is usually employed with Yahwe as subject renders the idea of a human announcement unlikely. Yahwe announced the things, Israel heard them, can see them now and is to attest them. If we keep MT, *ngd* has to be understood in a similar sense. The LXX-reading (*οὐκ ἐγνώτε;*) suggests *t^hd'w*, which could be a corruption for *t^hā'idû*. This rendering brings out the meaning 'to acknowledge, to attest' even clearer. It fits well with the idea that Israel is witness in the trial speeches.²¹

g. In v. 6b the versions (T [*b^esart^hāk*]; LXX [*ἀλλὰ ἀκουστά σοι ἐποίησα*]; α' and θ' [*ἠκουτίσα σεκαίνα*] and S) support the perfect. I understand the form as a *perfectum confidentiae*, which is used to express "facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished"²².

h. The ni. perf. *nibr^eû* must be given a present meaning as it is preceded by '*at^ht^hâ*. "The word implies here an imminent fulfilment of the 'new things'"²³.

i. BHK suggests two alternative emendations. The first is to read *ûl^epānîm lō'* ('and formerly ... not') in view of LXX (*προτεραις ημεραις*)

¹⁴ Cf. Joüon § 158m. Cf. North, *Second Isaiah*, 174; Schoors, *God*, 287f.; Morgenstern, *Message*, HUCA 30, 1; H. C. Schmitt, 51, note 52. Leene, *Dingen*, 295.

¹⁵ Also Duhm, Marti, Morgenstern. Contrast Watts, 175.

¹⁶ KBL 726a.

¹⁷ So Torrey (375); Morgenstern (*Message*, 76f.); BHS.

¹⁸ Cf. E. Würthwein, VT 7 (1957), 173f.; Ch. Dohmen, *massekâ*, ThWAT 4, 1009–1015, 1011. Cf. 3.3. (note 63) and 3.6..

¹⁹ Cf. Robinson and 2.4..

²⁰ So BHS; Torrey, 375; Volz, 86.

²¹ Cf. A.2.4.. With KBL (686a), Volz (86), H. C. Schmitt (51), Westermann and Fohrer. Contrast Leene, *Dingen*, 295; Watts, 175.

²² GK § 106h. Cf. Joüon § 112f/g.

²³ Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 196.

and Q^a (*lw'* instead of *wl'*).²⁴ The other is to read *lifnê yômô lō'* ('before this day ... not'), thus turning the *waw* into a suffix for *yôm*. In contrast, Althann suggests that the verse is carefully constructed and makes good sense. In his opinion the "chiastic pattern in the cola lengths of v. 7a"²⁵ implies that the major verse division occurs after v. 7aγ. The observation that v. 7aβ and γ are paired is important, but Althann's conclusion that *yôm* is thus influenced by *mē'āz* and has to be translated by 'antiquity' ('[Now ...] and not of old / or before antiquity, / never have you heard of them / ... ') is very doubtful. I think it is more likely that both expressions complement one another. If *miyyôm* in 43, 13 means 'from now on'²⁶, we can assume that *lifnê yôm* has the meaning 'up to/until now'²⁷ and keep MT. Positive, however, is Althann's appreciation of the emphatic *waw* in *w^e lō'* ('never').²⁸

j. According to S and V (*aperta est*), Schmitt suggests the pu.-reading *pu^h t^he hā* ('was opened').²⁹ The MT-ending could be a hint at an intended ni. reading (*w^e nift^he hū*) which too is possible.³⁰ LXX (ηνοιξα) reads either *pit^h t^h aht^h i* or *pāt^h aht^h i*. On the basis of the parallel verbs in v. 8aα.β and because of the Q^a-reading (*pt^h ht^h*) and T ('*rkynt^h*'), I change the pi. into q. and read 2. pers. sg.: *pāt^h aht^h ā*.³¹

k. McKenzie and Westermann leave out the negation in order to give the verse the opposite meaning. Torrey changes the *lō'* into *lī*. These suggestions are not convincing, as they find no textual support.

l. The explanation of the preposition is a problem. Westermann and others emend into *k^e*.³² Muilenburg takes the *b^e* as a *bêt^h essentiae* ('as silver'), "the meaning being that the refining process has not produced silver but much dross"³³. More likely is North's interpretation of the preposition as a *bêt^h pretii*. "Yahwe has not refined his people for any disadvantage or profit that might accrue to himself from the process"³⁴.

m. MT (*bhr*), supported by LXX (εξειλαμην) and V (*elegite*), makes

²⁴ With Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 196; H. C. Schmitt, 52, note 54; Westermann, 194.

²⁵ Althann, 5.

²⁶ Cf. A.2.2.f. and excursus 3.

²⁷ Cf. North, *Second Isaiah*, 174.

²⁸ So also Freedman, cited in McKenzie, 94. North (*Second Isaiah*, 174) translates 'never', but deletes the *waw*.

²⁹ H. C. Schmitt, 52, note 55. So already Oort (cited in Duhm, 335) and Elliger (*Verhältnis*, 185).

³⁰ So KBL 787b, GK § 52k and North, *Second Isaiah*, 174. Already Grätz (cited in Duhm, 335). Cf. 40,11; 35, 5.

³¹ With BHS; G. R. Driver (*Hebrew Notes*, JBL 68 (1949), 59) and Schoors (*God*, 290).

³² Westermann, 195. Cf. the discussion in Volz (86) and North (*Second Isaiah*, 179).

³³ Muilenburg, 557. Cf. 1, 22.25; Ez 22, 18-22; Mal 3, 3. Cf. GK § 119i; Delitzsch (250).

³⁴ North, *Isaiah*, 104. Cf. id., *Second Isaiah*, 178f.; Leene, *Dingen*, 214; GK § 119p. Similarly Volz, 87.

sense in that Yahwe 'chose' Israel, although he knew that there is no 'silver' in the people. While in Akkadian and in Aramaic *bhr* can mean 'to test',³⁵ this meaning is not absolutely proved for the Hebrew q.³⁶ Here, this meaning could be supported by Q^a, which reads *b^eḥantîkâ*, and by the fact that *šrf* and *bhn* do not rarely appear together in the OT.³⁷ The similarity in form and meaning between *bhn* and *bhr* suggests that both verbs are closely related to one another and that in Hebrew 'to test/examine' and 'to choose/elect' are not clearly distinguishable.³⁸ In my view, v. 10aα implies that the result of the test is positive (purity as the result of the refinement). The alternative, which is negated by Yahwe, would be Israel's destruction (*krt^h*, v. 9b). Also the in the context of v. 11 only a positive meaning can be meant. MT has the more difficult reading and is to be preferred.

n. The verse is lacking a subject. Morgenstern suggests that a word has been lost.³⁹ Volz transposes *t^{he}hillāt^hi* from v. 9 before *l^e'ahēr* and takes the preceding *kābôd* as the missing subject. In contrast, Duhm changes the second *l^ema^anî* into *s^emî*. This emendation could be supported by T, which reads 'for my name's sake'. However, T is probably only a paraphrase (cf. the following 'for my word's sake'). A repetition at the beginning of a verse is characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah.⁴⁰ Haran⁴¹ refers v. 11a,β to the *s^emî* in v. 9. This is a better solution, as it conserves MT, which has the *lectio difficilior*. True, also LXX could merely be a paraphrase of MT, but it might have taken up this interpretation explicitly: *οτι το εμου ονομα βεβηλουται*. I follow this suggestion to give the line an acceptable meaning.⁴²

o. MT can be kept, although the versions deviate. V reads 'I am blasphemed' (blasphemer). Q^a has *'yhl* ('I profane'), supported by S and L. T reads *yt^hhl* ('it be profaned'). For LXX cf. n..

3.3. Literary Criticism

Beginning and End of the Unit. The delimitation of the unit is easy. The-matically, the preceding ch. 47 belongs to the the group of oracles against

³⁵ G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisches-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum und Mi-drasch*, Hildesheim 1967, 51f.; HAL, 115a; North, *Second Isaiah*, 179. Cf. Z. Weisman, *The Nature and Background of bāḥūr in the OT*, VT 31 (1981), 441-450, 447f..

³⁶ Cf. H. Seebaß, *bhr*, TDOT 2, 73-87, 74-87, 74. Contrast KBL (117b); E. Jenni, *bhn*, THAT 1, 272-275, 273.

³⁷ Cf. Jer 9, 6; Zech 13, 9; Pss. 17, 3; 26, 2; 66, 10; Prv 17, 3.

³⁸ Cf. H. Wildberger, *bhr*, THAT 1, 275-300, 275; Rignell, 53; Leene, *Dingen*, 214.

³⁹ Morgenstern, HUCA 30, 12.

⁴⁰ Cf. 40, 1; 43, 11.25; 48, 15; 51, 9.12.17; 52, 1.11.

⁴¹ Haran, *ri'sōnōt^h*, 66. Cited in Schoors, *God*, 290.

⁴² With Torrey, McKenzie and Knight. Leene's (*Dingen*, 203) solution to take the *k^ebôdî* as the subject is less likely, for v. 11b is separated by *atnach* and *waw*.

Babylon in the OT. Also stylistically it has a special character.⁴³ The imperative in 48, 1 addresses Israel. The change of address, tone and subject entitles us to separate 48, 1ff. from the preceding context. For the determination of the end of the passage see B.2.3.!

Integrity of the Passage: We face a lot of difficulties with the unity of the section.⁴⁴ Two intentions can be distinguished within the text. Whereas some verses encourage Israel in order to strengthen her confidence, using the argumentation of the 'Weissagungsbeis', others express hard charges of judgment against her in order to remind her of her sinfulness. Various solutions have been offered to explain this tension.

1. One denies the Deutero-Isaianic authorship of the whole chapter, ascribing it to a post-exilic redactor.⁴⁵

2. One differentiates between two layers within the text, suggesting that the condemnatory verses are an interlinear commentary, inserted into an original poem of consolation.⁴⁶ Duhm's main argument is the fact that in 48, 1-11 Deutero-Isaiah's argumentation of *ri'sōnōt^h* and *ḥ^adāsōt^h* is confronted and related to Israel's unbelief which is a strange element in the rest of his prophecy.⁴⁷ Apart from these inner contradictions, the harshness of the accusations,⁴⁸ repetitions, unusual vocabulary in places, the polemic against idols and the parallels to Ez and the Deuteronomistic literature⁴⁹ are further arguments that support this thesis. Among the commentators who take this view a relatively high degree of agreement on the extent of the interpolations has been reached.⁵⁰ I indicated the possible insertions by indentations in the translation (3.1.). In the opinion of these scholars, the additions can be identified as forming a coherent whole with a characteristic negating style, the tone of accusation and the use of *kî* (vv. 2aα, 4a, 8bα, 11aβ) to connect the verses to the original text. In their view, a redactor wanted to change the scopus of the original text intentionally, giving the text

⁴³ Cf. Westermann, 188f..

⁴⁴ The interpretation of this passage has been one of the most difficult problems in Deutero-Isaiah. Begrich (*Studien*, 171f.) and Elliger (*Verhältnis*, 185) call the passage a "Schmerzenskind der Exegese". Cf. Westermann, *Bezeugung*, 357; H. C. Schmitt.

⁴⁵ So Fohrer (112), following Staerk, ZWTh (1909), 40, note 1 (cited in Elliger, *Verhältnis*, 187).

⁴⁶ So Duhm, (332-336) modified by a number of scholars (see below).

⁴⁷ Westermann formulates this problem to the point: "[Die Schwierigkeit] liegt darin ... daß diese Worte scharfer Anklage gegen Israel in einem Zusammenhang stehen, der deutlich deuterojesajanisch ist, durch jene anklagenden Sätze aber in einem Sinn entscheidend verändert wird" (Westermann, *Bezeugung*, 357).

⁴⁸ The reproachful tone supersedes that of 42, 19f.; 43, 22f.; 45, 9f.; 46, 12; 50, 1-3.

⁴⁹ Cf. H. C. Schmitt, 54f.; Westermann, 198; Marti, 322. Westermann points also to the similarity between 48, 17-19 and Ps 81, 14-17.

⁵⁰ The opinions differ particularly on vv. 1f. and 5b. Cf. Stuhlmüller (*Yahwe*, 197f.), Preuß (*Verspottung*, 224-227), Schoors (*God*, 284-289 [esp. the table on p. 285]), Köhler (Deuterojesaja, 34), Westermann (*Bezeugung*, 357f.), Merendino (512ff.), Whybray.

a parenetic, instructive character. Attempts have been made to identify the redactor with an individual (Trito-Isaiah)⁵¹ or with a post-exilic school.⁵² On the basis of the structural parallels to Ps 81, Westermann assumes that the insertion of the invective into the oracle of salvation is due to a cultic use of the text. If we really deal with insertions, I think it is more likely to regard them as literary additions.⁵³

3. One defends the Deutero-Isaianic authorship of the whole text.

a. Begrich's suggestion that the prophet jointed two originally independent passages⁵⁴ fails, as his reconstructed units cannot stand independently.⁵⁵

b. Volz⁵⁶ explains the tension by the 'Sitz im Leben'. He postulates that the section may be part of a prophetic address delivered by the prophet on a day of penitance. This thesis, however, is mere speculation.

c. Some scholars try to demonstrate the unity of the passage from a formcritical⁵⁷, rhetorical⁵⁸ or dramatic⁵⁹ conception.

d. A number of scholars take it for granted that Deutero-Isaiah holds both intentions at the same time.⁶⁰

I will join this last view. An ultimate and detailed separation of two layers is not possible. Linguistic comparisons have a certain value, but can only support decisions of probability, especially if we consider the small basis of 15 chapters these comparisons are based on. Likewise the novelty of expression and content in comparison to the previously analysed texts is an insufficient criterion to distinguish between two different voices within ch. 48.⁶¹ I agree with Muilenburg⁶² that the contradictions in the text are more apparent than real.⁶³ "Also it is difficult to see what motive

⁵¹ So Elliger, *Verhältnis*, 187-196.

⁵² So H. C. Schmitt.

⁵³ Cf. the criticism of Westermann's thesis by Preuß, *Verspottung*, 226.

⁵⁴ Begrich (*Studien*, 169f.) separates A: vv. 4f., 6b β -10 and B: vv. 3, 6b α , 11.

⁵⁵ Cf. also the criticism of Melugin, *Formation*, 39.

⁵⁶ Volz, 87.

⁵⁷ Von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 32ff.; Melugin, *Formation*, 39ff..

⁵⁸ Cf. Gitay, *Prophecy*, 215-222.

⁵⁹ Cf. the well argued 'dramatic' interpretation of ch. 48 by Leene (*Dingen*, 206). He explain the similarity to Ez and Dtn by an 'ecumenical' tendency of Deutero-Isaiah.

⁶⁰ So König, Orelli, Haller, Fischer, Feldmann, Kalt, Clifford, Kissane, McKenzie, Bonnard, Ridderbos, Rignell, Muilenburg, North.

⁶¹ Here the argumentation moves in a circle: at first 'Deutero-Isaiah's theology' is established on the basis of the texts, which then functions as a criterion to eliminate parts of the text.

⁶² Muilenburg, 553.

⁶³ Vv. 1b γ -2b: The interruption of the introduction by negations is indeed unusual, as normally the address is meant in a positive sense. V. 2b, however, takes up Deutero-Isaianic vocabulary (cf. 44, 6; 45, 13; 47, 4; 54, 5). V. 4: the thought that promise preceded its fulfilment because of Israel's obstinacy is a foreign element in Deutero-

an editor could have in turning Deutero-Isaiah's mildness into harshness, especially when the general tendency was to tone down the asperities of the prophets"⁶⁴. It would be unusual that one particular chapter should have undergone a careful redaction, although there have hardly been any hints at redactory work in the preceding passages analysed. "Whatever the history of the text may have been, we can only interpret it now in its present form"⁶⁵. I will therefore try to explain it as it stands. The unit falls into a lengthy introduction (vv. 1f.) and a following rational argumentation arranged in climactic order which focuses on the contrast between the *ri'sōnōt^h* and the *h^adāsōt^h* and follows the juxtaposition of these key words (vv. 3-6a, 6b-11).

3.4. Linguistic Observations

Syntax and Style: The wordy introduction consists of short enumerative sentences, but does not run smoothly, as participial appositions alternate with co- and subordinate nominal and verbal clauses. The listing of the patriarchs and the accumulation of terms depicting the God of Israel, anticipates the main theme of the following verses: the close relationship between Yahwe and his people; Yahwe's salutary gifts in his convers with Israel and the people's negative response.

Verbal sentences, more than half of them inverted, dominate the unit and coin an expository and accumulative verbal style. The concise argumentation, reminiscent of that of the trial speeches, although without

Isaianic thought. The 'Weissagungsbeweis' is usually employed to establish Yahwe as the only God in order to encourage, not to accuse, the people. Yet, also in the trial speeches the people is addressed as 'blind and deaf', 'rebel', 'transgressors', 'far from righteousness', etc. (cf. 3.6.) V. 5b: Duhm (333), Westermann (*Bezeugung*, 360) and Marti (321f.) argue that the grammatical connection by *pæn* is difficult. With Schoors (*God*, 287) and Preuß (*Verspottung*, 226) I think that the terminology of the verse as well as the thought that Israel's tendency to attribute the events to idols motivates the announcement of the *former things* fits into the Deutero-Isaianic argumentation (cf. v. 11b and 42, 8b!). V. 7b: In contrast to the masculine suffixes in the preceding verses, the feminine suffix in *y^eda't^hîn* could be an indicator that this verse is secondary. But this is not cogent. The grammatical link is the same as in v. 5bα. vv. 8b-10 form a whole. They are loosely connected to v. 8a by a causal *kî*. As to the content, v. 8b is close to the statements in v. 4. It is true, vv. 9f. introduce a new thought: although Israel deserves destruction, Yahwe defers his anger and subjects Israel to a process of refining. But this is not surprising as the prophet talks about the *new things*. The motivation ('for the sake of my name/praise') could be influenced by v. 11aα.b, but Yahwe's name and praise do also occur in 42, 8.10.12; 43, 21 (praise) and 41, 16; 45, 25 (*hll*) in connection with the *new*. V. 11aβ is a complaint in the form of an exclamation of lament about the faithless people. It can be explained as reinforcing the statement that Yahwe alone does the *new*.

⁶⁴ North, *Second Isaiah*, 175.

⁶⁵ Melugin, *Formation*, 40.

the characteristic *mê*-questions, is interrupted by explanatory subordinate clauses, which are mostly linked by *kî*.⁶⁶ This intervoven structure makes the text a bit ponderous.

In the abstract argumentation⁶⁷ (vv. 3, 5a, 6–9, 11), verbs of communication lay the stress on the announcing on Yahwe's and the listening, attesting and not knowing on Israel's side. The nouns are mostly uncountable, inanimate and non-human abstracts, but we also find metaphorical language (vv. 4, 5b, 10). Here, images of the word fields 'metal(lurgy)' and 'polemic against idols' are leit-motifs. In v. 8 the obstinacy of the people is rendered prominent by the repetition of the *gam lō'* + perf. and the figura etymologica of the verb *bgd*.⁶⁸ In contrast, the repetition of *l^ema'an[î]* (vv. 9a, 11a [2×]) stresses that Yahwe does the *new* merely for his own sake. It enters into collocations with *sēm*, *t^he hillâ* and *kābôd*. The parallelism in v. 10 stresses that the *new* will be a salutary event.⁶⁹

As in the preceding texts analysed, the *ri'sōnôth* are the object of *ngd* (hi.)⁷⁰, *šm'* (hi.)⁷¹ and *'šh*⁷² and the subject of *yš' mippî*⁷³ and *bw*⁷⁴. The *h^a dāsôth* are connected with *šm'* (hi.) and *br'* on Yahwe's and negated verbs of listening and knowing (*šm'* [2×], *yd'* [2×], *pt^hh 'ōzæn*) on Israel's side. In v. 8 Yahwe's knowledge of Israel's obstinacy contrasts her not knowing of the *new*.

Semantics: Whereas 'Israel' is first of all a religious term that designates the people as a religious unity and carrier of the tradition of God's deeds in history, 'Juda' means primarily the political entity, the kingdom of David.⁷⁵

šb' implies that the speaker is obedient to the god and at his disposal. 'To swear by the name of Yahwe' is therefore practically a synonym for 'to acknowledge Yahwe', 'to confess'.⁷⁶ It expresses the belonging to Yahwe. 48, 1 lists a number of parallel idioms. The causative element of *zkr* (hi.) supports the translation 'to extol', 'to praise', 'to proclaim'. "A mighty act of God is brought to remembrance and thus proclaimed, which is in itself an act praising God, but can also lead to encomium"⁷⁷. The formula 'in *'mt^h* and in *š^e dāqâ* "points to an oath that calls upon God as protector

⁶⁶ Cf. 3.3.2..

⁶⁷ Leene (*Dingen*, 212) speaks of "een zeker theologisch abstractieniveau".

⁶⁸ Cf. 3.6..

⁶⁹ Leene (*Dingen*, 214) recognizes a metathetic parallelism: 'I refine you' – 'in the furnace of affliction'; 'I chose you' – 'not for silver'.

⁷⁰ Cf. vv. 3a, 5a with 41, 21.

⁷¹ Cf. vv. 3a, 5a with 43, 9; see also v. 6b, q.: 7a, 8a.

⁷² Cf. v. 3b with 46, 10.

⁷³ Cf. v. 3a with 45, 23.

⁷⁴ Cf. vv. 3b, 5a with 42, 9.

⁷⁵ G. Gerlemann, *yisrā'ēl*, THAT 1, 782–785, 785.

⁷⁶ Cf. C. A. Keller, *šb'*, THAT 2, 855–863, 861. See A.4.4.2..

⁷⁷ H. Eising, *zkr*, TDOT 4, 64–82, 74. Cf. in this sense Ex 20, 24; Is 26, 13; Am 6, 10; Ps 45, 18, where also the 'name' to be praised occurs.

of the right and judge of the truth”⁷⁸. ‘To swear not in truth’ means that Israel is unreliable, as she practice a mere lip service.

In contrast, Yahwe’s announcement of the *former things* is presented as a reliable oath. The formula *ys’ mippi* is usually employed as a technical term in reference to a promise.⁷⁹ The prophet can point to the fulfilment of this promise by *hzh*, which depicts the beholding of God’s works.⁸⁰

The *h^a dāsôt^h* are closely linked with the verb *br’*. The subject of statements with this word is exclusively Yahwe,⁸¹ never another deity (cf. *zwh* of idols in v. 5b). *br’* expresses “Gottes außerordentliches, souveränes, sowohl müheloses wie völlig freies, ungebundenes Schaffen”⁸². Yahwe’s creation has no analogies and cannot be pictured. This corresponds to the fact that the objects that accompany the verb are often something special, extraordinary or new.⁸³ The emphasis is on the fact that something absolutely new comes into being, which (in this mode) has not been there before. Further, *br’* conveys a notion of suddenness and surprise. “By being connected with the theology of election, the historically orientated *br’* in Deutero-Isaiah takes on a soteriological character. *br’* no longer denotes an act of Yahwe merely in remote primitive time, but also in the immediately imminent future”⁸⁴.

3.5. Form Criticism

3.5.1. Structure of the Form

1-2:	address (extended by appositions; participial style) and invective
3-11:	argumentation
3.5a:	‘Weissagungsbeweis’ addressed to Israel: the <i>former things</i>
4.5b:	Yahwe’s motivation for their announcement (Israel’s obstinacy)
6a:	appeal to Israel to verify the proof (as the basis for the following argumentation)

⁷⁸ H. Eising, *zkr*, TDOT 4, 64–82, 74.

⁷⁹ Cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *pā*, THAT 2, 406–411, 409. Cf. 55, 11 and A.4.4.2..

⁸⁰ A. Jepsen, *hzh*, TDOT 4, 280–290, 289. Cf. Job 36, 35.

⁸¹ Cf. Lisowsky.

⁸² W. H. Schmidt, *br’*, THAT 1, 336–339, 338.

⁸³ Cf. 48, 6; 41, 20.

⁸⁴ K. H. Bernhardt, *br’*, TDOT 2, 246–248, 247.

6b:	declaration of the <i>new things</i>
7:	Yahwe's motivation for their announcement (Israel's self-willedness)
8:	invective against Israel (Israel's ignorance)
10:	reference to Israel's refinement
9.11:	Yahwe's motivation for the realization of the <i>new</i>

3.5.2. Genre and 'Sitz im Leben'

Westermann, Stuhlmüller and Preuß are reminded of the trial speeches against the nations.⁸⁵ It is true that in parts the argumentation follows the line of the trial speeches. But here "the usual arguments against the nations are explicitly addressed to Israel in a direct, vigorous but friendly way"⁸⁶. The proof of prediction plays merely a minor role and concerns only the *ri'sōnôth*.

Schoors, von Waldow and Melugin identify the passage as a disputation.⁸⁷ According to these scholars Yahwe is taking issue with the objection that he has not told the events beforehand and that therefore these events cannot be caused through him. In my opinion, Yahwe's claim to deity has already been established by the trial speeches. True, this intention might be present in the argumentation about the *former*, but the main interest of the text lies in vv. 6b-11. Yahwe's power is only the background for the announcement of the *new*. Here his aim is not to dispute, but to announce salvation. Also the accusations against Israel are only the dark foil that contrasts the salutary overtones of the *new* and emphasize them all the more. Therefore I would designate the passage as a proclamation of salvation.⁸⁸

Melugin⁸⁹ is right when he speaks of a complex speech, which comprises of elements from several genres. The argumentation about the expressions of time is combined with the theme of Israel's obstinacy and Yahwe who saves the people merely for his own sake. Its main characteristic is the explicit reflexion on this issue. Again it is therefore difficult to define a 'Sitz' for the passage. As a literary product the text is probably a "free creation"⁹⁰ by Deutero-Isaiah.

⁸⁵ Stuhlmüller, (*Yahwe*, 198) recognizes *summons* (v. 1ab), *trial* (vv. 3.5a, 6-7a, 8a) and *decision* (v. 11a.c). Cf. Westermann, 195; Preuß, *Verspottung*, 227.

⁸⁶ Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 198.

⁸⁷ Schoors, *Choses*, 41; von Waldow, *Anlaß*, 32; Melugin, *Formation*, 40.

⁸⁸ Cf. also Preuß, *Deuterocesaja*, 225; Westermann, *Forschung*, 155.

⁸⁹ Melugin, *Formation*, 39-41.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

3.6. Criticism of Motifs and Traditions

Israel's obstinacy is a classic motif. In 48, 8 it is illustrated by the verb *bgd*, which is often used in the context of the covenant ideology, where it designates the faithlessness of the people vis á vis the obligations of the covenant.⁹¹ As a synonym it can replace *mš'* and *hṭ'*. Faithlessness can be recognized in that the people do not follow the word of God (cf. Ps 119, 58), which leads them to worship idols.

As 41, 29, 48, 5 accumulates a number of expressions of the word field 'polemic against the idols' (*næsæk, pisli u' niski* [cf. *pæsæl ûmassekâ*])⁹² These texts identify the offerings to images (libation) with idol worship.⁹³ *nsk* has a general undifferentiated meaning ('to forge', 'to form') and is used for the making of an idol.

Israel's stubbornness is often illustrated by the image of a metal (i.e. hard) neck, sinew and forehead. These metaphors are probably originally used for cattle, whose power is concentrated on the neck. Those who struggle against the yoke are 'hard of neck (= obstinate)'. Applied to humans such images designate self-willed, disobedient rebels against God. Therefore they are often used in parenetic style.⁹⁴

Yahwe's purpose with Israel is in contradiction to her obstinacy. Her blindness and deafness⁹⁵ unfitted her for the task of the servant.⁹⁶ Therefore the refinement is necessary to make her ready instrument for Yahwe's purpose. Also for the refinement of the people the prophet uses images of metallurgy (v. 10). Yahwe does not refine Israel because there is still some silver among the iron and bronze, i.e. a shade of obedience among all the obstinacy. Rather, in spite of the total disobedience, he produces something pure.⁹⁷ Although Israel refused to serve Yahwe, as she broke the yoke of his law,⁹⁸ God renews his promise of election, a new covenant.

⁹¹ S. Erlandson, *bgd*, TDOT 1, 470–473.

⁹² Cf. A.1.4.1./2.. Cf. Is 10, 10f.; Mic 1, 7 and the postexilic Jer 10, 14 = 51, 17.

⁹³ Cf. Ch. Dohmen, *massekâ*, ThWAT 4, 1009–1015, 1011; id., *nsk*, ThWAT 5, 488–493, 490.

⁹⁴ Cf. A. S. van der Woude, *qsh*, THAT 2, 689–692, 691. Cf. Ex 32, 8; 33, 3.5; 34, 9; Dtn 9, 6.13; 10, 16; 2 Kgs 17, 14; Jer 6, 28ff.; 7, 26.

⁹⁵ 'blind and deaf': Is 6, 9f.; 42, 19f., 43, 8; cf. 43, 22–28; 45, 9–11; 46, 12.

⁹⁶ "By her unfaithfulness to God they have actually forfeited their right to claim the relation of a covenant people with him" (Smart, 144).

⁹⁷ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 214. North (*Second Isaiah*, 178f.) postulates the meaning 'to buy' for *šrf*, which is nowhere attested and therefore not convincing. I understand the verb in the conventional sense 'to refine (by melting)', i.e. to make/become pure.

⁹⁸ Cf. Jer 2, 20; 5, 5.

3.7. Interpretation

The Text. This passage is distinct from the preceding units in that it reflects explicitly on the *former* and the *new things*. The long introduction contains the main aspects of the following argumentation. The historic honorary titles (names of the patriarchs, v. 1) sketch Israel's history reminding the listeners of her dependence on God and Yahwe's past saving deeds Deutero-Isaiah sees his listeners in continuity with this past. Yet, in spite of her knowledge of the true God, Israel has shown historic incredulity and praised him insincerely (vv. 1b-2).⁹⁹

In vv. 3ff. the proper argumentation begins. Once again, the argument of the trial speeches is taken up, but motivated differently. Yahwe declared *ri'sōnôth* of old (vv. 3a, 5a) and brought them to pass (v. 3b), so that the obstinate people should not attribute them to idols (vv. 4, 5b). The listeners are exhorted to compare the announcement and attest that promise and fulfilment tally. They have to affirm that Cyrus is about to capture Babylon and thus bring the *'ah^ari^t* of the *former* (cf. B.2.). But although the *former things* have come, the people stay obstinate.

Therefore, on the eve of the liberation, Yahwe announces that he is about to create something *new* from now on, unheard, hidden things so far unknown (v. 6b). He waited until now with the announcement, in order that Israel would not say she knew them beforehand (v. 7b), deal once again faithlessly (v. 8b) and thus spoil them. "There existed nothing inherent in Israel herself that could be of use to God. There was in fact no vestige of intrinsic goodness in the chosen people"¹⁰⁰ (cf. v. 4). Although they deserve to be cut off Yahwe's delays his anger and lets the people go through a purifying process, which takes place in the furnace of affliction, the exile. (vv. 9f.). He makes the people "what covenant and election destined Israel to be"¹⁰¹. The *new things* will remove her obstinacy, but "the purification does not depend on any merits that Israel may possess"¹⁰². Rather, Yahwe's only motivation for the realization of the *new*, the unexpected turn, is within his inner being. Yet, his honour is closely bound up with the existence of Israel. The end of the people in the eyes of the world would also have meant the end of her God. Terminating the humiliation of the people, he saves their honour and at the same time his own. Yahwe is no longer prepared to share his name and glory with any idol (vv. 9, 11). Could the people still try to ascribe the *former things* to idols, the *new things* are Yahwe's work alone, in order that this will not happen again. The time of profanization of this name by the exiles is past.

⁹⁹ "The emphasis upon God's carrying Israel throughout its history suggest not only God's unflinching support of his people but also the burdensomeness of Israel burdening God with its sins and wearying him with its iniquities" (Smart, 142-147).

¹⁰⁰ Knight, 170. Similarly Fohrer, 114; Merendino, 499 a.o..

¹⁰¹ McKenzie, 98.

¹⁰² Rignell, 53.

The Expressions of Time: $\sqrt{r's}$: Once again, the description of the *former things* focuses on the announcement, which is particularly emphasized,¹⁰³ and on the fulfilment. Yahwe alone brought them to pass (*'sh*). *pit^hō'm* (v. 3b) expresses suddenness and surprise, "a way far beyond expectation", "the startling, unexpected mode"¹⁰⁴ by which the *former* was fulfilled. The only other occurrence of the term is 47,11¹⁰⁵, where it refers to the fall of Babylon. Also the feminine form *t^hābō'* (v. 5) and the fem. suffix in *kūllāh* (v. 6a) could be indicators that this event is meant. If this is true, *zō't^h* in v. 1 refers to the result of the *former*, as in 43, 9 and 45, 21. As a witness Israel can once again attest the connection between promise and fulfilment. Whereas in vv. 3a/5a perfect tenses are used for the announcement and the fulfilment of the *ri'sōnōt^h*, the people are to recognize and affirm the convergence between *former* and *latter* in the present (imperfects!). In the trial speeches this connection establishes the proof of Yahwe's uniqueness. In this unit it is used as an argument against idolatry, so that Israel does not attribute the *ri'sōnōt^h* to another God (v. 5b).

The names of the patriarchs in v. 1a provide a hint to define the *ri'sōnōt^h* further. They comprise Yahwe's dealings with the patriarchs, which are *pars pro toto* for the whole history of Israel with Yahwe. Now this history reaches its outcome in the present political liberation. As in 43, 16ff. the *former things* are thus salutary events. However, they could only evoke an insincere praise of Yahwe. Israel has not changed her attitude. She remains obstinate, although the *former* has come. *bw'* (vv. 3b, 5a) is reminiscent of 42, 9a.

$\sqrt{hās}$: The *new* is interpreted as an act of creation. On the one hand *br'* implies that the *h^adāsōt^h* will be something extraordinary, radically new. On the other hand, the verb applies the idea of *pit^hō'm* to the *new*. This sudden realization is also suggestive of the implications of the verb *smh* in 42, 9 and 43, 19. In ch. 48, the announcement of the *new things* (v. 6b) coincides with their fulfilment (v. 7a). "In some very real way the new is not only announced, but is happening *now*, in the full force of its suddenness"¹⁰⁶. The verbs to which the *h^adāsōt^h* are subject or object are exclusively perfects (v. 7, cf. vv. 6b, 8, 10), which suggest that Yahwe has already given what he desires. Israel has to accept what is already there. This notion is also expressed by the term *n^ešūrōt^h*, hidden things. Somehow the *new* is already present, "stirring beneath the surface"¹⁰⁷.

For the content of the *new*, vv. 9ff. are informative. It consists of the deferring of Yahwe's anger for his own sake and the refinement of Israel, which reassures Israel of Yahwe's unique relationship to his people. The

¹⁰³ Cf. the accompanying verbs, see 3.4..

¹⁰⁴ Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 199. Cf. KBL, 786. Cf. also the idea of *pit^hō'm* in the surprising turn of the events in 43, 17.

¹⁰⁵ Lisowsky, 1195a.

¹⁰⁶ Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 200.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 201.

purifying process will renew Israel's election¹⁰⁸ and evoke the praise of Yahwe. Yahwe did not announce the refinement earlier, because Israel was obstinate (vv. 7f.). Now the *hinnê* in v. 10a indicates that the people can perceive it (cf. 43, 19). The purifying process will put the people in a position to respond to their election adequately, although the *ḥ^a dāsôṯ^h* are founded irrespective of the people's response, but merely in Yahwe himself. As in 42, 8, the *new* is closely linked with Yahwe's name, praise and glory. In ch. 48 these terms frame the statement about Israel's refinement (v. 10), accompanied by imperfects (vv. 9 and 11). 48, 11b repeats 42, 8bα literally. Yahwe is doing the *new* for his own sake, in order not to cede his *kābôd* to other gods. The accent falls clearly on Yahwe's sovereignty. There are also parallels to 43, 16–21. The *new* has a saving effect. The negative aspects that accompanied the *ri'sōnôṯ^h*, Israel's obstinacy and her tendency to idolatry, will vanish through the refinement.

$\sqrt{r's} - \sqrt{hd's}$: There is a certain analogy between the *former* and the *new*. 48, 5a says the same about the *ri'sōnôṯ^h* as 42, 9b about the *ḥ^a dāsôṯ^h*: Yahwe declares them, he makes them hear before (*b^eṭææm*) they come into being. Both times the announcement precedes the fulfilment. Whereas the *former things* were predicted long ago, the *new* is announced only now. In both fields Yahwe uses his word to prevent his honour from being attributed to an idol.¹⁰⁹ In ch. 48, as in 43, 16–21, the mode in which the *former* comes is analogous to that of the *new*. The *ri'sōnôṯ^h* illustrate the suddenness and surprise in which the *new* comes. "By pondering the old, Israel is now better prepared to recognize the *new*"¹¹⁰. Both times the listeners have to watch out for Yahwe's acts. They have to 'attest' the outcome of the *former* (v. 6a) and 'see' the new refinement.

Yet, there is a qualitative difference between the two expressions. In this context the opposition of the adverbs *mē'āz* and *mē'at^h t^h â*¹¹¹ is noteworthy, as it coincides with that of *ri'sōnôṯ^h* and *ḥ^a dāsôṯ^h*. The combination *ri'sōnôṯ^h/mē'āz* (cf. 46, 9) – *ḥ^a dāsôṯ^h/mē'at^h t^h â* appears only here.¹¹² It indicates that Deutero-Isaiah pictures two periods, one reaching from the distant past¹¹³ up to the present, the other starting now. *mē'at^h t^h â* indi-

¹⁰⁸ Cf. 55, 3, where the covenant of David is conferred to the people.

¹⁰⁹ Melugin, *Formation*, 41.

¹¹⁰ Stuhlmüller, *Yahwe*, 200. Cf. *ibid.*, 203.

¹¹¹ Cf. L. Köhler, *Archäologisches*, ZAW 40 (1922), 15–46, 45f.; A. Laurentin, *w^e'at^h t^h â* — *καὶ νῦν. Formule caractéristique des textes juridiques et liturgique*, Bibl 45 (1964), 168–195, 413–432; H. A. Brongers, *Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch des adverbialen w^e'at^h t^h â im AT*, VT 15 (1965), 289–299; E. Jenni, *Zur Verwendung von 'attâ "jetzt" im AT*, ThZ 28 (1972), 3–12; Tachau, 34–41; Fischer, *Perikopen*, 25f..

¹¹² Cf. the appendices.

¹¹³ Although it is true that in parallel with *b^eṭææm* (v. 5a) *mē'āz* "does not necessarily refer to events of remote antiquity" (Anderson, 187), this meaning is likely here, as it contrasts the *'at^h t^h â*.

cates that the $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$ reaches into the future.¹¹⁴ The prophet is the first to use $'at^h t^h \hat{a}$ in an explicitly temporal sense (“prophetisch vergegenwärtigte Zukunft”¹¹⁵). The adverbs thus mark the starting points of both periods, which have their turning point in the present.

validity of the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$: $m\bar{e}'\bar{a}z \rightarrow 'at^h t^h \hat{a}$
validity of the $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$: $m\bar{e}'at^h t^h \hat{a} \rightarrow$ future

I do not agree with Leene that v. 7a emphasizes the statement that the information of the previous chapters about the $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$ does no longer count. Rather, the expressions $m\bar{e}'\bar{a}z$ and $lifn\hat{e}-y\hat{o}m$ encircle the exact period of the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$. Hereby Deutero-Isaiah underlines that the *new* does not belong to the sphere of validity of the *former*. The *former things* have found their outcome and seem to have lost their thrust. They are complete in their own way, but they have merely affected Israel from the outside. Yet, thanks to Yahwe, this is not the end of history. The emphasis of the whole passage is clearly on the $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$, which will bring an inner change of the people, achieving that Yahwe does not forfeit his glory. The $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$, the former history of salvation (exodus, patriarchs, Cyrus), should not only demonstrate Yahwe's uniqueness, but also Israel's obstinacy, since the people could still attribute them to idols (v. 5b). In contrast, the *new* can only be ascribed to Yahwe. It will be done exclusively for his name's sake.

There is an interesting parallelity within ch. 48. Just as the relation *former-latter* (vv. 1–5) is developed in vv. 12–16a,¹¹⁶ vv. 16b–22 extend the explanations of vv. 6–11 about the *new*.¹¹⁷ While the $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$ are mentioned explicitly in v. 6b, the final verses of the chapter take up the images by which the *new* is illustrated in 43, 19–21 (way in the desert, praise of Yahwe). Again the way is not only a symbol of the way out of Babylon, but also a way back to Yahwe, which is possible through the refinement.

In 48, 16b Israel gives the appropriate answer to the *new*.¹¹⁸ After the refinement she is prepared to take up her task, which formerly was spoiled by her obstinacy and idolatry.

¹¹⁴ Cf. E. Jenni, $'at^h t^h \hat{a}$, ThZ 28, 3–12, 11 ('from now on', 'from this day onwards').

¹¹⁵ Id., $'\bar{e}t^h$, THAT 2, 370–385, 379.

¹¹⁶ Cf. B.2..

¹¹⁷ Cf. Leene, *Dingen*, 210.

¹¹⁸ Cf. B.2.3..

4. SUMMARY OF C. ($\sqrt{r's}$ – $\sqrt{hd's}$)

The Texts:

The juxtaposition of $ri'sōnōt^h$ and $h^a dāšōt^h / h^a dāšā$ is unusual in the rest of the OT, but central in three texts in Deutero-Isaiah. Unlike $\sqrt{r's}$ – $\sqrt{bw' / t^h h}$, this opposition has no direct connection to the proof of prediction. Although the texts appear to be non-uniform in content, there are formal agreements. The opposition *former* – *new* occurs exclusively in units addressed to Israel, which carry salutary overtones.

In 42, 5–9 Israel, the servant, is commissioned to carry her knowledge that Yahwe is the God of all peoples to the nations. The *new things* are Israel's task, her new, active role as a mediator of salvation ('light') between Yahwe and the nations. In the vision of a universal religion, Yahwe's honour will reach out to the gentiles.

43, 16–21 plays on the miracle at the Reed Sea with the emphasis on liberation through Yahwe's military intervention, reminiscent of the corresponding fall of Babylon through Cyrus, which still comprises of negative aspects (threat, death, destruction, havoc). The *former*, although salutary in itself, will be superseded by a new intervention of Yahwe, which will concern Israel directly. Antithetic images illustrate a radical change. The metaphor of the 'way' is ambiguous. Apart from the the way home it expresses the way of Yahwe's commandments, to which Israel will return. The *new* (sg.!) will give Yahwe the praise that the *former* could not evoke. Both passages allude to Israel's ancient election through Yahwe.

The interpretation of ch. 48 is rendered difficult by a number of literary problems. Vv. 1–11 reflect explicitly on the *former* and the *new*. In spite of Yahwe's support, the former history of salvation (patriarchs) is accompanied by Israel's stubbornness and her tendency to idolatry. Now Israel undergoes an inner change through Yahwe's refining, a kind of new election by which Yahwe will make the people what the ancient covenant and election destined her to be. Yahwe brings about this change for his own sake, in order not to attribute his glory to idols.

The Expressions of Time:

$\sqrt{r's}$: As to the *former things* Deutero-Isaiah alludes to some fundamental events of the history of salvation (Reed Sea, patriarchs), which are representative of the whole history of Israel with her God. Although salutary events, they are accompanied by negative aspects. The fact that they 'have come' means that they reach their outcome in Cyrus's sudden ($pit^h \bar{o}'m$) and visible capture of Babylon, an outer political liberation. Also the 'Weissagungsbeis' in 48, 5f. indicates that as in the trial speeches the $ri'sōnōt^h$ imply a relation to the \sqrt{hr} . Where the *former* opposes the *new* it includes its $'ah^a rīt^h$. In contrast $qadmōnit^h$ can depict the past independently. It refers to the distant past, the beginnings of the $ri'sōnōt^h$.

$\sqrt{hd\bar{s}}$: The term $h^a d\bar{a}\bar{s}\hat{o}t^h$ always designates something extraordinary, which has not existed before and is thus radically new. In Deutero-Isaiah it appears in the context of the election and creation of Israel, i.e. it deals with a relation between Yahwe and his people. Yahwe alone produces it. Somehow, the *new* is hidden ($n^e \bar{s}ur\hat{o}t^h$), but already present. Yahwe has already offered it, but after all the refinement coincides with the attention that Israel is to spend on it. The *new things* have to be grasped as a possibility by the people. They can be perceived and deserves attention. Once recognized, they 'sprout'. The radical inner change of Israel is described by various images. However, the realization of the missionary task lies still in the future. The *new things* are announced in the present moment. In ch. 48 the announcement of the *new* coincides with its fulfilment. $'at^h t^h \hat{a}$ marks off a new time in Yahwe's history with his people that starts in the present. Their sudden, surprising realization corresponds to the nature of the *new things* ($\bar{s}mh, br'$). The $h^a d\bar{a}\bar{s}\hat{o}t^h$ are thoroughly salutary. They will evoke the praise of Yahwe. The people will find themselves in a position that corresponds to their election and acknowledge Yahwe as the only God, renouncing all idolatry. Yahwe's honour, name and praise are the aim of the *new*.

$\sqrt{r'\bar{s}} - \sqrt{hd\bar{s}}$: Analogously to the *former*, the *new things* will come suddenly. Also, both declared before they come. $ri'\bar{s}\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ and the $h^a d\bar{a}\bar{s}\hat{o}t^h$ are linked with the adverbs $m\bar{e}'\bar{a}z$ and $m\bar{e}'at^h t^h \hat{a}$. While the *former things* are valid up to now, the *new things* begin from now on. The terms encircle two periods, which are qualitatively distinct. The *former* is now complete and has lost its thrust. Although Israel is thus no longer rooted in the former tradition, this is not the end of her history. History is rather understood as a way under Yahwe's guidance. Yahwe is therefore the only one now able to produce the *new*. He refines Israel completely. The *new* supersedes *former* and deserve more attention. The negative aspects, that accompanied the $ri'\bar{s}\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$, will vanish. The *new* will evoke the praise of Yahwe, which the *former* could not produce.

Summary of Part II.: Results

Already in ch. I. it turned out that $h^a d\bar{a}s\hat{o}t^h$, $habb\bar{a}'\hat{o}t^h / 'o\hat{t}^h iyy\hat{o}t^h$ and $'ah^a r\hat{i}t^h$ cannot be identified, as has often been done. The respective context in which the expressions are used determines their specific content.

The opposition *former – coming things* appears exclusively in trial speeches addressed to the nations and their gods (A.). Here, the terms have their setting in the main argument, the proof of prediction. This proof is based on the convergence between promise and fulfilment, tradition and contemporary experience of the listeners. Blind and deaf Israel is called as a witness, for she can attest that the contemporary history is in keeping with Yahwe's former dealings with his people. The $'ah^a r\hat{i}t^h$, the 'outcome' of the $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$, are the present events, as observed by the exiles. The relation $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h - 'ah^a r\hat{i}t^h$ proves Yahwe's power and reliability in the past, so that Yahwe's claim can be affirmed: 'He is God'. Likewise, $habb\bar{a}'\hat{o}t^h / 'o\hat{t}^h iyy\hat{o}t^h$ is a sphere in which Yahwe will prove his power further on. In the trial speeches the terms are abstract categories for the specific argumentation in the proof of prediction.

In two polemic texts (B.) the arguments of the trial speeches are directed to Israel. These passages illustrate the relation $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h - 'ah^a r\hat{i}t^h$ and concentrate especially on the event-part of the proof, the execution of Yahwe's plan of history. It corresponds to Yahwe's uniqueness that he can take people from outside Israel in his service. He makes use of a Persian as a tool, in order to realize his plan of history. The former history converges with the present outcome in Cyrus and the (anticipated) fall of Babylon. Yahwe's plan unfolds so undoubtedly, the events are so obvious and topical that the capture of the city need not be mentioned by name, but can instead be referred to by the demonstrative pronouns $z\bar{o}'t^h$ and $'ell\hat{a}$, fem. verb-forms and suffixes.

The $ri's\bar{o}n\hat{o}t^h$ are not defined any further. They do not point to concrete predictions in the narrow sense, let alone biblical promises of the fall of Babylon or the rise of Cyrus as handed down by other prophets. The texts suggested have shown themselves to be (post-)exilic and can therefore be hardly announced 'long ago', as implied by the adverbs of time, which refer to a remote past. Rather, Israel's tradition was understood as a promise in itself. The events at the very beginning had a promising character. Yahwe's ancient plan turns out now to be fulfilled in the military liberation through the Persian. Therefore Cyrus does not belong to the *new*. He is rather the outcome of the *former*. An old tradition that God can shape history by 'stirring up' humans as tools for the sake of his people might have influenced this conception. New is the fact that the military success of a ruler, which had always been an indicator for the power of his god, is subordinated to the scheme 'promise – fulfilment'. The 'Weissagungsbeweis' with conceptual terms of time is a completely new way of proving Yahwe's uniqueness and sovereignty on the one hand and the nothingness and impotence of the idols

on the other. Apart from the proof of prediction, the argument of Yahwe as the creator who is presently at work plays an important role. In the context of absolute monotheism, Yahwe's historical acts are in fact presented as acts of creation. The intention of the argumentation in the texts of A. and B. is to make Yahwe known as the true God. Yahwe's self-predication as *ri'sôn* and *'ah^arôn* designates him as the one, who brings his promise to a close. He manifests himself as the same from the early beginnings.

As Yahwe is the only God, he directs not only the fate of the small Israelite community, but is in fact interested in the well being of all peoples. As a consequence of this universalism he invites the nations to join in this insight and come to him in order to participate in his salvation at the end of the last trial speech. After Cyrus's politics of power, it is clear that Yahwe wants to start new politics for a new world community that includes Israelites and Gentile nations through his word. All mankind will be one in their trust in the universal God and the commitment to his will. Nevertheless, 45, 18-25 closes with nationalistic overtones. The nations will come to Yahwe through Israel. Against the background of 42, 5-9, this seems to be an allusion to the *new*.

The opposition *former - new things* (C.) is unusual in the rest of the OT. In Deutero-Isaiah it does not play any role for the proof of prediction, but appears rather in the context of the prophet's theology of election. The *new* has its setting in the relation between Yahwe and Israel. The relevant passages, all addressed to the people, can hardly be subsumed under a common genre, such as the 'proclamation of salvation'. The prophet handles the 'Gattungen' with great freedom. Yet, although some texts contain accusations, they carry always salutary overtones which argue against the doubts and fears of the exiles.

The *former things* are Israel's history of salvation from the beginnings (*qadmōniyyô^h*, exodus, patriarchs), which finds its outcome in Cyrus. Thus where the *former* opposes the *new*, it includes its result and end (*'ah^arî^h*). Deutero-Isaiah holds that the *former things* have now been revealed. Their validity from the distant past (*mē'āz*) up to the present is somewhat complete. The *former* has lost its thrust. It is superseded by the *new*, which reduces its topicality. The *new things* are announced and created only now (*mē'at^ht^hâ*). The turning point between the two periods lies in the present.

Both the *former* and the *new* are the work of the same Yahwe, both are realized as surprisingly and suddenly. But nevertheless, Yahwe's new act is quite different from his former acts. While the *former* and the *coming* differ only relatively, there is a qualitative difference between the *former* and the *new*. Although we deal with earlier salutary deeds of salvation, some negative aspects (destruction at the Reed Sea, havoc through Cyrus, disobedience of Israel) still overshadow the *former*. In contrast, the *new* will be entirely salutary.

The prophet concentrates on the future destiny of Yahwe's servant. Israel cannot remain the passive witness of the trial speeches. She is to become the instrument by which Yahwe transmits the *new*, just as Cyrus was his

tool for the execution of the *former*. Israel is to show that Cyrus's politics have not been Yahwe's last word. The *new* is the universal task, which Yahwe proclaims now after the political liberation. The people are to become a *b^e rî^t* 'am for the world, an agent of salvation ('light') for mankind.

But how can a blind people make the nations see? The *former things* constitute Israel's failure to act adequately according to her position. Her ignorance and her idol worship did not correspond to her ancient election and her role as the people of God. Therefore a refinement of Israel is necessary. Creation is the answer to the behaviour of the obstinate people in the past. The *new* is not rooted in the *former*. Rather, a genuinely new act of creation (*br'*), by which Yahwe renews the old election, will enable Israel to take up her active mission. The people participate in a radical inner change, a restoration which transforms them thoroughly.

The *h^a dāšô^t* correspond to the attention the people pay to them. An appropriate image for the *new* is therefore the 'way', given by Yahwe and to be taken by Israel. This metaphor does not only indicate the way out of Babylon, as the result of the political liberation. More fundamentally and comprehensively it is also the way back to Yahwe, so that Israel's conduct will agree with Yahwe's purpose for his people.

Yahwe does the *new* for his own sake. The *h^a dāšô^t* are closely linked to Yahwe's honour, name and praise. Through the *new*, Yahwe's *kābôd*, restored in the trial speeches, will receive its appropriate praise. The *new* will now evoke the praise, which the *former* could not produce. The purified people are able to give an adequate answer to Yahwe's *kābôd*, so that the glory of God will be revealed to all flesh.

Appendix 1: The Occurrences of the Expression of Time in Deutero-Isaiah

Expr. of time	41, 1-4	21-29	42, 5-9	43, 8-13	16-21	44, 6-8	45, 18-21	46, 9-11	48, 1-11	12-16	cf.
[hā]ri'sōnōt ^h		[22]	[9]	9	18			9	[3]		
ri'sōn	4	27				6				12	*
qadmōniyyōt ^h					18						
'ah ^a rōn[īm]	[4]					6				12	
'ah ^a rīt ^h		22						10			(47, 7)
'āhōr		23									42, 23
habbā'ōt ^h		22									
^a s̄ær t ^h ābō'nā						7					(47, 9)
[hā]'ōt ^h iyōt ^h		[23]				7					†
h ^a dāsā					19						
h ^a dāsōt ^h			9					6			
n ^e qūrōt ^h								6			
'ēllē										14	‡
zō't ^h				9			21		1	(16)	††

* Cf. 43, 27; 52, 4. † 45, 11 is to be emended. Cf. II. 2. note 8. ‡ 40, 26; 44, 21; 45, 7; 49, 15.21 †† 41, 20; 42, 23; 46, 8; 47, 8; 48, 20; 50, 11; 51, 21; 54, 9.17. Cf. II.A.2.7..

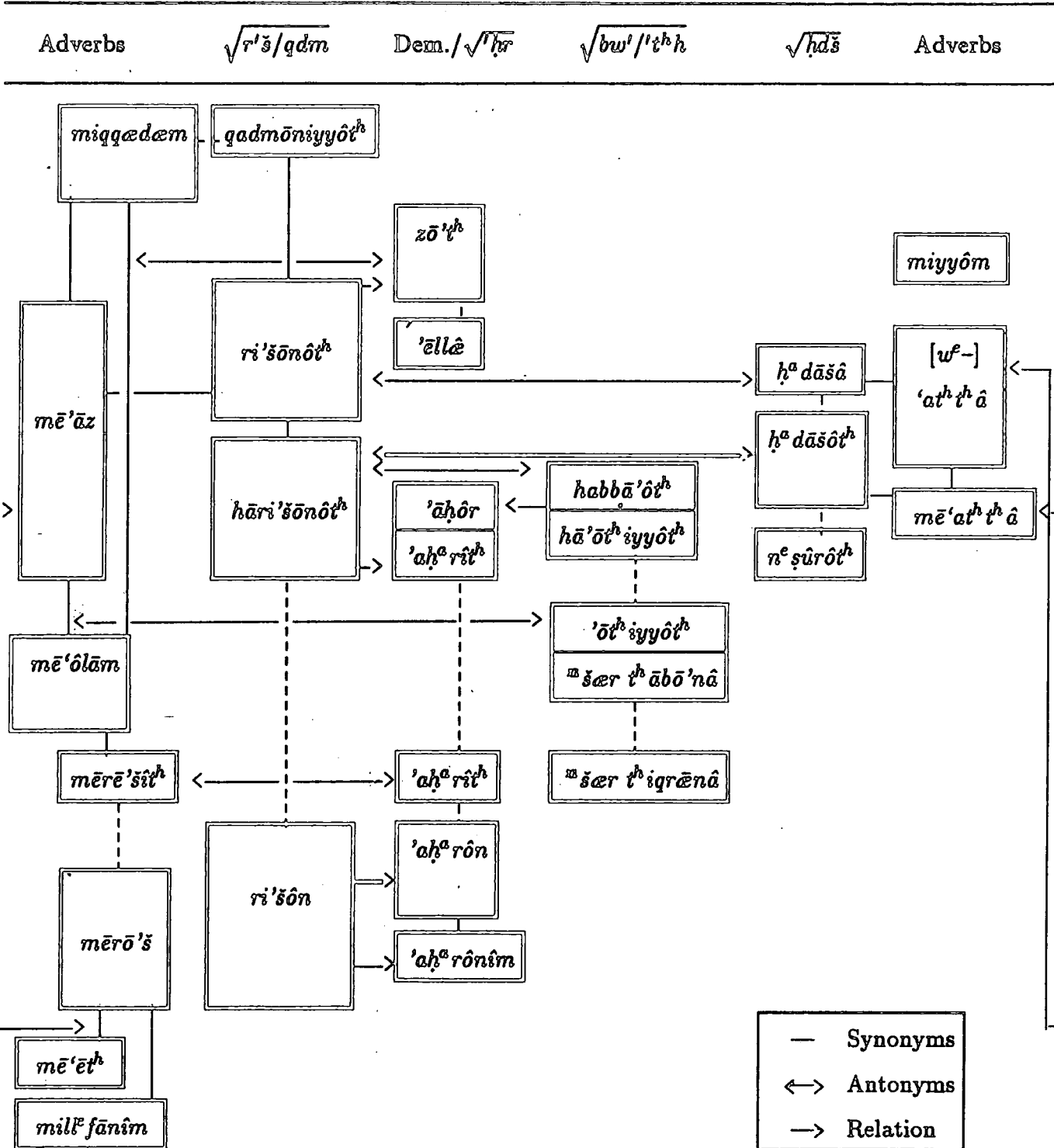
Table 1

Adv. of time*	41, 1-4	21-29	42, 5-9	43, 8-13	16-21	44, 6-8	45, 18-21	46, 9-11	48, 1-11	12-16	cf.
miyyōm				13 [†]					‡		
mē'at ^h t ^h ā									6		
[w ^e]'at ^h t ^h ā					19				7	[16]	††
mē'ōlām						7 (e)		9			42, 14
mē'āz						8	21		3.5.7.8		
miqqædæm							21	10			(51, 9)
mill ^e fānīm		26									
mē'ēt ^h										16	
mērō's	4	26								16	40, 21
mērē'sit ^h ††								10			

* Cf. excursus 3. † Cf. II.A.2.2.f.. ‡ Cf. II.C.3.2.i.. †† 43, 1; 44, 1; 49, 5. 19; 52, 5. ††† Cf. II.B.1.7..

Table 2

Appendix 2: The Etymological and Contextual Relations
between the Expressions of Time in Deutero-Isaiah*



* The height of the boxes is proportional to the number of occurrences of the terms in the passages analysed.

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³ See also no. 147, 178, 227.

⁴ Dictionaries: BDB, FL, GL, IDB, KBL, RGG, TDNT (ThWNT), TDOT (ThWAT), THAT, TRE.

List of Abbreviations*

AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bijdr	Bijdragen
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BiKi	Bibel und Kirche
BiLe	Bibel und Leben
BiRes	Biblical Research
BSt	Biblische Studien
CaThMo	Calwer Theologische Monographien
CB	The Century Bible
Conc	Concilium
COT	Commentar op het Oude Testament
CuTM	Currents in Theology
CV	Communio Viatorum
Did	Didaskalia
DunR	Dunwoodie Review
(e)	emended
EMZ	Evangelische Missionszeitschrift
ET	English Translation
FAT	Forschung am AT
FL	Fuerst, J., A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, Leipzig 1867, [ET]
FTL	Forum Theologicae Linguisticae
GL	Gesenius, W., Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, Grand Rapids 1949, [ET]
HBK	Herders Bibelkommentar
Imm	Immanuel
IrEr	Irish Ecclesiastical Record
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTS	JSOT Supplement
L	Vetus Latina
LavalTh	Laval Théologique et Philosophique
LBC	The Layman's Bible Commentaries
LecD	Lectio Divina
MBi	Le Monde de la Bible
MH	Modern Hebrew
NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
NZSysT	Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or	Orientalia
PB	The Polychrome Bible

* The abbreviations follow those of Botterweck, G. J./Ringgren, H., *Theological Dictionary of the OT* (= ThWAT [ET]), Grand Rapids 1974ff., vol. 5. Additionally the following abbreviations are used.

RechBib	Recherches Bibliques
S	Syriac, Peshitta
SBB	Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge
Scrip	Scripture
SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
StBTh	Studies in Biblical Theology
StHRel	Studies in the History of Religions
T	Targum
TBC	The Torch Bible Commentaries
ThEv	Theologia Evangelica
ThG	Theologie der Gegenwart
ThQ	Theologische Quartalsschrift
ThViat	Theologia Viatorum
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
V	Vulgate (ca. 370 A.D.)
VuF	Verkündigung und Forschung
WaG	Die Welt als Geschichte
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
ZB	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
α'	Aquila (ca. 130 A.D.)
θ'	Theodotion (ca. 190 A.D.)
σ'	Symmachus (ca. 170 A.D.)

